

State, Society and Markets: The Politics of Development

GO 454/Colby College

Spring 2021
T&Th 2:30-3:45 [Remote]

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Office Hours:

T and Th 4-5; and by app't
online most M and W evenings

Course Description:

Many countries in Africa are nearly as poor today as they were three decades ago. On the other hand, many countries in Asia, most notably China, have enjoyed a sustained period of strong economic growth. Why have some Third World countries managed to achieve widespread industrialization and rising standards of living, while others have not? We look at this question from the status quo perspective of liberal economic and political theory, which calls for “getting the prices/incentives right,” as well as from the revolutionary perspective of post-colonial and dependency theory, which casts global capital as the villain and the Third World as the victim, but far more often from the perspective of political sociology, which considers the relationship between state actors/institutions and social forces/interests. At the outset, we will explore the problematic concept of “development,” examine the competing theories used to explain success and failure, and consider the different roles of state and society in this complex process. We then will try to apply our analytical tools to four case studies: South Korea, Nigeria, Brazil, and India.

Course Objectives:

In addition to introducing you to the literature on development, especially the political sociology of development, and to the political challenges facing many developing countries, this seminar is designed to help you strengthen your grip on the following skills you already should have begun to acquire as a government and/or international studies major:

- a) Analysis (the ability to use theory, logic and evidence to think and write analytically)
- b) Research (the ability to independently investigate a problem over an extended period)
- c) Written and verbal exposition (the ability to effectively organize and communicate your ideas, sometimes to non-specialists)
- d) Collegial Discussion (the ability to make cogent comments to peers, listen carefully as they do the same, and work together to make sense of difficult, often abstract problems)

Class format:

This is a seminar. Although I will share some knowledge, mostly via power points (made available asynchronously), this will be a joint venture of intellectual exploration. You should expect to read, write, talk, and listen a lot. My job will be to stimulate curiosity as much or more than to impart knowledge.

Required materials:

Two books are available at the Colby Book Store:

- Atul Kohli, *State Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Robert Bates, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies* (University of California Press, 2005).

Most of the other readings are available through our course moodle or the Colby e-library (searching by journal name, etc.). I will distribute some others.

Hatch House Rules:

- You cannot pass this course without completing all required assignments and without attending most meetings. (Three absences permitted.)
- Written work should be completed by the given deadline – and when that deadline coincides with a class meeting, it must be completed before class begins. Work received after the assigned time will be penalized at the rate of one-half letter grade per day. I will not extend deadlines, or waive the penalty, except in the extraordinary case of a verifiable family emergency or documented medical problem. Plan ahead and build a cushion into your time budget so that you aren't derailed by last-minute surprises (like a broken printer or a computer virus).
- I will vigorously enforce Colby's policy on academic negligence and dishonesty. The former includes simple but apparently unintended mistakes like quoting sources without using quotation marks around the borrowed words; the latter includes cheating on exams and plagiarizing the work of others. The policy is outlined in your student handbook, in the 2020-21 course catalogue, and here:
<http://www.colby.edu/academicintegrity/wp-content/uploads/sites/179/2019/09/StudentHandbook19AcademicIntegrity.pdf>
- If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism and/or how to avoid it, please refer to this site provided by Colby libraries:
<https://libguides.colby.edu/avoidingplagiarism>
- Please treat other members of this class with respect. I will do my best to maintain the integrity of this community by discouraging any action or speech that denigrates the race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, social class, or political ideology of others.
- Colby College prohibits and will not tolerate sexual misconduct or gender-based discrimination. If you want to report such behavior, please contact Counseling Services (x4490) or the Gender and Sexual Diversity Program (x4093). To learn more, visit www.colby.edu/sexualviolence
- No audio, video, or photographs of the class may be recorded without my explicit consent.
- Please focus on class discussions (not Instagram, email, etc) during class. (Duh?)
- I reserve the right to modify the syllabus.

Course Requirements:

- Research paper* (30% of course grade: this includes a small amount (5%?) for paper topic (question) due March 24th; a small amount (5%?) for annotated bibliography and outline due April 7th; and a much larger amount (20%?) for final product due May 15th. Most of you will write a paper of no more than 3,000 words (10 pages) that analyzes some question about the politics of development. Others (who opt to use this class to complete your “significant writing” project for the government major) will write longer papers (15 pp minimum). Either way, your paper will be judged primarily on its analytical quality, i.e., its use of compelling logic and solid evidence to persuasively defend a proposition. (See our moodle for two handouts on analytical writing and hypotheses.) I will provide additional guidance in class and during individual meetings with you. For now, please note: Description is not analysis. Also note: You have less than six weeks to come up with a topic (or, really, a question)!
- Mini-papers* (40%). You will write four short papers (no more than 600 words) answering questions I ask about each of our case studies (and relevant readings). The first one (Korea; East Asia) is due March 11th at 2:30 pm; the second (Nigeria; “Tropical Africa”) is due March 23rd (same time); the third (Brazil/Latin America) is due April 1st (same time); the fourth and final mini-paper is due April 13th (same time). I will provide guidelines in a handout.
- Oral presentations* (10%). You will present an overview of your research to date at one of our April meetings (or perhaps May 4th, if we need an additional meeting). I will grade you on both content and style of presentation. To evaluate content, I will be asking: Did you clearly identify your research question, your hypothesis, and major supporting evidence? Did you explain why alternative hypotheses are un- or less persuasive? For style, I will be asking: Did you effectively communicate your message by maintaining eye contact (not reading your notes); by using voice inflection (avoiding monotone); and by pacing yourself appropriately (not going too fast or too slow; not getting lost). I will provide additional guidelines in a handout.
- Class participation* (20%). A successful seminar relies not only on the routine attendance but also the active participation (oral and aural) of all members. I hope you will engage actively and respectfully with one another. But genuine engagement in a seminar like this also requires preparation (reading and thinking carefully in advance of conversation). I promote this preparation/participation by requiring you to write something before almost every meeting. Sometimes these will be assignments (short memos or posts on moodle forum). More often, you will prepare an outline on assigned readings. It can be short (length is up to you), but I think a useful outline would: a) identify the author’s main argument(s); b) situate them in the literature on development (What theory do they use? What ideological “camp” do they belong to?); and c) summarize the author’s key findings. Again, the outline is really for your own use during our discussions, but I want you to share it with me by email before the relevant zoom meeting. It will demonstrate that you have prepared for class.

Course plan:

February 11 (Th): Intro (Some Facts on ppt)

Courtney Martin, “The Reductive Seduction of Other People’s Problems,” a blog post in BRIGHT magazine, January 11, 2016

<https://brightthemag.com/the-reductive-seduction-of-other-people-s-problems-3c07b307732d>

Feb 16 (T): The Problem of Development – History of a Concept (PPT)

Daniel Lerner, “The Grocer and the Chief: A Parable,” from *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Free Press, 1958), especially pp. 35-42 [moodle]

Arturo Escobar, “The Problematization of Poverty,” from *Encountering Development* (Princeton 1995), especially pp. 31-54 [moodle]

Feb 18 (Th): Competing Approaches – Liberal, Dependency, Cultural, Institutional (PPT)

W.W. Rostow, “The Five Stages of Growth: A Summary,” chapter two from *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 4-16 [moodle]

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, “Dependent Capitalist Development in Latin America,” *New Left Review*, vol. 74, July-August 1972, pp. 83-95 [moodle]

David Brooks, “The Underlying Tragedy” (January 14, 2010); “The Culture of Nations” (August 13, 2006); and “Questions of Culture” (February 19, 2006), columns published in the *New York Times* [moodle]

Samuel Huntington, “Political Order and Political Decay,” chapter one from *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale, 1968), pp. 1-92 [moodle]

Feb 23 (T): State and Society (PPT)

Francis Fukuyama, “The Missing Dimensions of Stateness” (chapter 1) in *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (Cornell UPress, 2004), pp. 1-42 [moodle]

James C. Scott, “Freedom and Freehold: Space, People and State Simplification in Southeast Asia,” in David Kelly and Anthony Reid, eds, *Asian Freedoms: The Idea of Freedom in East and Southeast Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 37-64 [moodle]

Walter Hatch, parts of two chapters from *Asia’s Flying Geese: How Regionalization Shapes Japan* (Cornell University Press, 2010): pp. 13-39 in chapter one (“Relationalism and Positional Power”) and pp. 61-70 in chapter two (“The Postwar Political Economy of Japan”) [Hatch will distribute]

Feb 25 (Th): Regulatory, Developmental, Predatory, Embedded States

Anne O. Krueger, “Government Failures in Development,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Summer 1990, pp. 9-23 [moodle]

Peter Evans, “The State as Problem and Solution: Predation, Embedded Autonomy, and Structural Change,” in Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, eds, *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 139-181 [moodle]

Thomas Heberer, “The Chinese ‘Developmental State 3.0’ and the resilience of authoritarianism,” *Journal of Chinese Governance*, December 2016 (Vol. 1 No. 4), pp. 611-632 **[moodle]**

optional: Chalmers Johnson, “Political institutions and economic performance: the government-business relationship in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan,” in Frederic C. Deyo, ed., *The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism* (Cornell, 1987), pp. 136-164 **[moodle]**

March 2 (T): Korea (PPT)

Kohli, chapters 1, 2 and 3

March 4 (Th): Korea II

Bela Balassa, “The Lessons of East Asian Development,” *Economic Development & Cultural Change*, 36:3, April 1988 supplement, pp. S273 - S290 **[moodle]**

Peter Evans, “Class, State, and Dependence in East Asia: Lessons for Latin Americanists,” in Frederic C. Deyo, ed., *The Political Economy of New Asian Industrialism* (Cornell, 1987), pp. 203-26 **[moodle]**

optional: Jong-sung You, “The changing dynamics of state–business relations and the politics of reform and capture in South Korea,” *Review of International Political Economy*,” March 2020 **[moodle]**

optional: Nathan Park, “South Korea is a liberal country now,” *Foreign Policy*, April 16, 2020 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/16/south-korea-is-a-liberal-country-now/>

March 9 (T): No class (spring mini-break, part one)

March 11 (Th): No class but ...

Korea/East Asia mini-paper is due

March 16 (T): Nigeria I (PPT)

Kohli, chapters 8 and 9

March 18 (Th): Nigeria II

Bates, especially pages 1-44, 81-106

optional: Dare Ezekiel Arowolo, “Ethnicisation of corruption in Nigeria,” *Journal of Financial Crime*, July 2020 **[still pre-print; I’ve requested]**

optional: Abosede Omowumi Babatunde, “Oil pollution and water conflicts in the riverine communities in Nigeria’s Niger Delta region: challenges for and elements of problem-solving strategies,” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* (38:2), 2020, pp. 274-293 **[moodle]**

optional: Anietie Ewang, “Gruesome Boko Haram Killings in Northeast Nigeria,” Human Rights Watch reports, December 1, 2020

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/12/01/gruesome-boko-haram-killings-northeast-nigeria>

March 23 (T): No class, but ...

Nigeria and “Tropical Africa” mini-paper is due

March 24 (W)

for research paper: question is due

March 25 (Th): Brazil (PPT)

Kohli, chapters 4 and 5

March 30 (T): Brazil II

Edmund Amann and Werner Baer, “Neoliberalism and its Consequences in Brazil,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* (34:4), November 2002, pp. 945-959

Ronn Pineo, “The Free Market Experiment in Latin America: Assessing Past Policies and the Search for a Pathway Forward,” COHA’s Washington Report on the Hemisphere, posted March 29, 2013

<http://www.coha.org/the-free-market-experiment-in-latin-america-assessing-past-policies-and-the-search-for-a-pathway-forward-the-first-of-a-three-part-series/>

Lecio Morais and Alfredo Saad-Filho, “Neo-Developmentalism and the Challenges of Economic Policy-making under Dilma Rousseff,” *Critical Sociology*, 38:6 (2012), pp. 789-798

optional: Michael Chibba, “Political economy and democracy in Brazil under Bolsonaro,” in *Open Democracy*, June 19, 2020

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/political-economy-and-democracy-brazil/>

optional: Brian Winter, “Messiah Complex: How Brazil Made Bolsonaro,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2020

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/brazil/2020-08-11/jair-bolsonaro-messiah-complex>

optional: Leslie Elliot Armijo, “Mass Democracy: The Real Reason that Brazil Ended Inflation?” in *World Development* (33:12), December 2005, pp. 2013-2027

April 1 (Th): No class but ...

Brazil/Latin America paper due

April 6 (T): India (PPT)

Kohli, chapters 6 and 7

April 7 (W):

for research paper: annotated bibliography and outline are due

April 8 (Th): India II

Sudipta Kaviraj, “On State, Society and Discourse in India,” from James Manor, ed., *Rethinking Third World Politics* (Longman, 1991), pp. 72-99 [moodle]

Nikita Sud, “The Actual Gujarat Model: Authoritarianism, Capitalism, Hindu Nationalism and Populism in the Time of Modi,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, November 18, 2020
[moodle]

optional: Shalendra D. Sharma, “Modinomics in India: The Promise and the Reality,” in *Asian Survey* (59:3), 2019, pp. 548–572 [moodle]

optional: Pranab Bardhan, “India and China: Governance Issues and Development,” in *Journal of Asian Studies* (Vol. 68 No. 2), May 2009, pp. 347-357 [moodle]

April 13 (T): No class but ...

India mini-paper due

April 15 (Th): No class (spring mini-break, part two)

April 20 (T): Oral Presentations, part one

April 22 (Th): Oral Presentations, part two

April 27 (T): Oral Presentations, part three

April 29 (Th): Oral Presentations, part four

May 4 (T): Oral Presentations, part five (if necessary)

Maybe a time for Q&A? Maybe no class? We will decide on 4/29

May 6 (Th): The Chinese Miracle

Yang YAO, “The political economy causes of China’s economic success,” chapter five in *China’s Forty Years of Reform and Development* (edited by Garnaut, Song and Fang), ANU Press, 2018, pp. 75-92 [moodle]

Matthew Kroenig, “Why the U.S. Will Outcompete China,” *Atlantic*, April 3, 2020

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/04/why-china-ill-equipped-great-power-rivalry/609364/>

May 11 (T): Is the USA becoming “underdeveloped?”

Anshu Siripurapu, “The U.S. Inequality Debate,” Council on Foreign Relations, July 15, 2020
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-inequality-debate>

Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, “Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups and Average Citizens,” *Perspectives on Politics* (12:3), September 2014

https://scholar.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/mgilens/files/gilens_and_page_2014_testing_theories_of_american_politics.doc.pdf

optional: Jeffrey A. Winters, “Oligarchy and Democracy,” *The American Interest* (7:2), 2011

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/2011/09/28/oligarchy-and-democracy/>

optional: Thomas Piketty, Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, “Economic growth in the United States: A tale of two countries,” in the e-newsletter of the Washington Center for Equitable Growth, December 6, 2016

<http://equitablegrowth.org/research-analysis/economic-growth-in-the-united-states-a-tale-of-two-countries/>

May 15 (Saturday)

Research papers due by 5 pm