

## **POLS 340/540: Politics of Developing Areas**

Dr. Brandon Kendhammer

kendhamm@ohio.edu

Place: 023 Bentley Hall

Time: 12:10-2:00 PM (with one/two additional meetings for movies)

My Office: 215 Bentley Annex

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 1:30-4:00 PM and by appointment

POLS 340/540 focuses on the political aspects of economic and human development in the Global South. We will explore historical and contemporary theories and issues of development (including current debates on foreign aid) in an effort to understand why, in a remarkably rich world, so many people in so many countries remain poor, malnourished, and deprived of economic and political rights.

So that you understand going in, this course is not a practical seminar on “doing” development. Your instructor is not a development practitioner, and this course will not focus (except in an occasional, illustrative fashion) on how to design or implement development projects for the NGO or governmental sectors. Rather, we will spend most of the quarter exploring the various ways in which states and international organizations are empowered to either promote or impede economic development. We will pay particular attention to the ways in which academic theories of development have influenced (sometimes for the good, but often for the bad) the agendas of domestic and international actors. While much of the work we will be reading is written by economists, the perspective we will be adopting throughout is that of the political scientist: that state institutions and policy choices matter as much or more than geographic or cultural factors in creating the conditions necessary for economic growth.

### **Course Format**

This course will feature a combination of lecture and discussion. Typically, I will begin class with a short lecture that both contextualizes the day’s material and incorporates terms and concepts that I believe are important but are not found in the reading materials. From there, we will begin a discussion based on your questions and comments. We will often conclude with another short lecture summarizing the significance of that day’s material in terms of the broader trajectory of the course.

During our discussions, I expect that we will be able to develop a community of scholarship in which we share, discuss, and critique ideas with relatively little attention to normal teacher-student hierarchies. The state of social scientific knowledge on this topic is quite limited, as you will quickly discover. I do not have “Truth” (with a capital “T”) to disseminate on the topics we’ll be exploring together, and much of the intellectual work to be done in this class involves each of you parsing the various arguments and bits of evidence we’ll encounter into a (relatively) coherent narrative of what development means and how and why it happens. What I or any of the authors we will be reading have to say about development is by no means definitive.

All of this means that I have very high expectations for your participation during our time together. This kind of class can only work if you all come prepared by completing the reading assignments in a timely manner—one that allows you time to think about them, to come up with

questions, arguments, and points of possible disagreement. Along those lines, I will provide you with a number of opportunities designed to reward you for your preparation. This kind of class also depends on your active participation in discussion, as an inquisitive and critical (but also civil) member of our community. If you do not believe that you can commit to completing the readings on time, to preparing for class discussions based on those readings, and to speaking up when necessary, then this class may not be appropriate for you. I believe that this goes without saying, but students are expected to be civil as we discuss what can sometimes be heated political issues. If you cannot behave accordingly, I will insist that you leave.

## **Books and other Readings**

### Required Books

- John Rapley (2008), *Understanding Development, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition* (Lynne Rienner)
- Peter Griffiths (2003), *The Economist's Tale* (Zed Books)
- Jeffrey D. Sachs (2006), *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (Penguin)
- Paul Collier (2008) *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford University Press)
- William Easterly (2007) *The White Man's Burden* (Penguin)
- Robert H Bates (2010) *Prosperity and violence, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed* (W.W. Norton & Co.)

I have placed all the required texts at the various local booksellers, but many will likely be available for substantial discounts online. Equally, note that when I say there are “required” texts, I mean only that I have assigned you to read them in their entirety, not that you must purchase them. You are encouraged to share copies, form anarcho-syndicalist book-trading collectives, or do anything else necessary to make sure you have the texts to read and study from.

For the articles and other readings, I will make them available through Blackboard.

## **Evaluation**

The following activities will compose your grade in this course (by weight, subject to change):

- Attendance and Participation (10%)
- “Prep” Exercises (30%)
- Undergraduate*: Synthesis Essay #1 and Synthesis Essay #2 (20% each, 40% total)
- Undergraduate*: Foreign Aid Position Paper (20%)
- Graduate*: Research Paper (5,000-7,000 words) (60%)

I do not (except under exceptional and usually illness-related circumstances) accept late work. You have the schedule of the various due dates now. Please plan accordingly. This is a class that some students will find can “sneak up” on them, because the nature of the work is independent and the final due date is late in the term. If you wait until the last week to research and write your paper, you’ll be miserable and you’ll likely receive a mediocre grade. Do yourself a favor and be proactive (and consider meeting with me if you’re confused about how to do the necessary research or writing).

*Participation and Attendance*

My policy here is simple. If you attend class regularly and participate actively in discussion, you will receive full credit. If you skip class and/or are disengaged from our discussions, you will not. Anyone who misses more than 4 class sessions will be eligible for no more than half-credit for this category; anyone who misses more than 6 class sessions will automatically fail this course. Grading “participation” is inevitably a more subjective process, but I reserve the right to adjust your grade in this category up or down based on my notes on your level of participation during class time. One or two “bad” days in which you participate minimally will not hurt your grade, but 5 or 6 will.

I require that you complete your reading assignments in advance of class, and that you **BRING YOUR READING ASSIGNMENT TO CLASS**. We will often be having discussions or engaging in group work that will necessitate having a copy of the reading assignment on hand. If you do not have it with you (accessible electronic copies are fine), you may be asked to leave.

*“Prep” Exercises*

The short “prep” exercises are a way for you to organize your thoughts on paper in preparation for an active discussion on the week’s reading. I will expect you to complete 12 of 17 possible exercises with a grade of “satisfactory” (which exercises you complete is at your discretion). Each exercise, which you will post to our class blog (instructions to follow), will be due no later than 9 AM on the day of class associated with each exercises; because the point of the exercises is to prepare you to participate in that particular class session, **NO LATE EXERCISES WILL BE ACCEPTED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES**. I will be looking at these assignments before class, so as to get a sense of what you have understood and found important in the readings. I encourage you all to do the same.

The questions themselves (which will typically ask you to answer some question or explain some concept based upon your reflections on our reading assignments) are to be answered in **no more** than 300 words (a bit more than a page, double-spaced, in Microsoft Word). They will be graded on a very simple scale—if you fully complete the exercise, you receive full credit. If you do not, you receive no credit. Below is my grading rubric:

| <b>PREP EXERCISE RUBRIC</b> |   |  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
|                             | <b>UNSATISFACTORY<br/>(ANY OF THE FOLLOWING)</b>  | <b>SATISFACTORY<br/>(ALL OF THE FOLLOWING)</b>   |
| <b>Completeness</b>         | Does not answer all the questions or include all the elements requested in the assignment<br><b>and/or</b><br>is not posted to the blog (in a new post) by 9 AM on the due date | Answers all the questions and includes all the elements requested in the assignment<br><b>and</b><br>is posted to the blog (in a new post) by 9 AM on the due date |
| <b>Focus</b>                | Does not explicitly and directly answer each of the questions.  | Explicitly and directly answers each of the questions.   |

|                   |   |  |
|-------------------|---|--|
| <b>Effort</b>     | Written carelessly, or evidencing only a superficial attempt to engage with the materials or complete the task. | Demonstrates an effort to engage with the reading materials and/or complete the assigned task. |
| <b>Word Count</b> | Is not under 300 words, and/or fails to append a word count at the end of the blog post, i.e. (20 words).       | Is under 400 words, and appends a word count (9 words).  |

As noted above, you must complete 12 of a possible 17 exercises with a grade of “satisfactory” to receive full (100%) for this portion of your grade. If you should complete fewer than 12, your grade will be calculated on a sliding scale:

- 12=100%
- 11=90%
- 10=80%
- 9=70%
- 8=60%
- 7 and Below=0%

**UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS: *Synthesis Essays***

Several times over the course of the term, I will provide you an opportunity to reflect on the content and meaning of the concepts and examples discussed in this class. For these essays, you will receive the prompts in class, and they will be due a week from the distribution date. While I reserve the right to modify the format, I expect to ask you to respond to two (2) questions, in less than 2000 words (to be distributed between the two prompts as you see fit. I stop reading after word 2000, so be advised). You will submit a hard copy to me in class, with numbered pages, a final word count listed at the end of the essays, and (where appropriate) in-text citations with page numbers. Typically, you will have a very strong indication as we are going along about what the prompts will be—this is not an exam, and I do not aim to trick, stump, or surprise you.

Because this is not an exam, and because you have the assignments well in advance, no “make-ups” or late submissions will be accepted, barring truly exceptional (health-related) circumstances, and entirely at my discretion. You are responsible to make the necessary time to complete these essays.

**GRADUATE STUDENTS: *Research Paper (and Deadlines)***

The research paper for this class will be on a topic of your choice, chosen in consultation with me. A typical paper will focus on the past successes and failures and future prospects for development in a single country, but I’m open to other ideas. The quarter system doesn’t leave much time to complete a big project, so it is crucial that you begin early. You will need to schedule a meeting with me (preferably, but not necessarily, during my office hours) during the next 2 weeks to discuss your ideas and to pin down a final topic.

In order to get you as much feedback as possible (and to keep you on track) the paper will be due in stages. An initial, one-page summary of your proposed research, along with a separate page containing at least 10 prospective academic sources, is due on Tuesday, January 25 in class. An initial draft is due Tuesday, February 22, and the final draft is due at the final exam time,

which is Wednesday, March 16 at 12:20 PM. Also, you must schedule two meetings with me, one during the week of January 18 (to discuss your initial ideas), and one during the week of March 1 to discuss my comments and your plans for revision. I will circulate a sign-up sheet the week before.

### **UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS: *Foreign Aid Position Paper***

As a final writing exercise, undergraduate students will be asked to write a short (2000 words or less) essay that expresses your position on the debate over what should be done by the developed nations to assist the development of nations in the Global South. This essay should follow standard academic writing conventions (including in-text citations with page numbers). I will expect you to briefly summarize the competing positions adopted by our authors, provide critiques of each as necessary, and assert your own position (taking possible counter-arguments into account). A hard copy will be due at the final exam period (our last meeting).

### **Schedule**

**January 4 (T): Introductions and Syllabus, and First Discussion**

**January 6 (R): What is Development (continued)? And Where Does it Come From?**

-Robert Bates (2010), *Prosperity and Development* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed), pp. 1-98

Course Concept #1: Where Does Global Inequality Come From? (and how much of it is there?)

**January 11 (T): The Great Divergence and the Origins of Global Inequality**

-Jeffrey Sachs (2005), *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, pp. 26-50

-Jack Goldstone (2000), "The Rise of the West—Or Not?: A Revision to Socio-Economic History," *Sociological Theory*, 18:2, pp. 175-94

**January 13 (R): "Traps" and Global Inequality**

-Jeffrey Sachs (2005), *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, pp. 51-73

-Paul Collier (2007), *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Falling Behind, and What Can Be Done About it*, pp. 17-96

**January 18 (T): Building on Sachs: The Geographic Origins of Underdevelopment (and a counter-argument)**

-John Luke Gallup, Jeffrey Sachs, and Andrew Mellinger (1999), "Geography and Economic Development," *International Regional Science Review*, 22:2, pp. 179-232\*

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\* This article includes a fair bit of math (as does most serious macroeconomic research). Luckily, the goal of this article for our purposes is only tangentially related to the math, so feel free to skim over it, focusing instead on getting the main arguments and identifying the key variables (what geographic factors impede economic growth) and causal mechanisms (why said factors have a negative effect). That is, unless you have a calculus background, in which case, have at it! Also, feel free to ignore or skim the lengthy appendices.

-Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson (2001), "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation," *The American Economic Review*, 91:5, pp. 1369-1401\*

**January 20 (R): Building on Collier (I): The Political Origins of Underdevelopment (The Logic of Political Behavior in Weak States)**

-Michael Ross (1999), "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse," *World Politics*, 51, pp. 297-322

-Peter Lewis (1996), "From Prebendalism to Predation: The Political Economy of Decline in Nigeria," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 34:1, pp. 79-103

**January 25 (T): Building on Collier (II): The Political Origins of Underdevelopment (The Logic of Corruption and Violence)**

-Robert Gay (1999), "The Broker and the Thief: A Parable (Reflections on Popular Politics in Brazil)," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 36:1, pp. 49-70

-Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz (1999), *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*, pp. 77-91, 95-109

**SYNTHESIS ESSAY #1 DISTRIBUTED (IN-CLASS)**

Course Concept #2: The Invention of Development Economics: Postwar Attempts to Grow Economies

**January 27 (R): Modernization Theory, State-led Development, Dependency Theory**

-John Rapley (2007), *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition), pp. 1-62

-W.W. Rostow (1960), *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, pp. 4-35

**February 1 (T): The "Failure" of ISI and the Rise of Neoliberalism**

-John Rapley (2007), *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition), pp. 63-86

-World Bank (1981), *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda For Action*, pp. 9-44

**SYNTHESIS ESSAY #1 DUE (IN-CLASS)**

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\* The same goes for this article. These guys are math-crazy, but that's not the reason we're reading it.

### Course Concept #3: Neoliberalism and Structural Adjustment

#### **February 3 (R): The Foundations of Neoliberalist Policies**

-John Rapley (2007), *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition), pp. 87-133

-John Williamson (1990), "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in John Williamson (ed), *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?*

-Joseph Stiglitz (2002), "The Promise of Global Institutions," in *Globalization and its Discontents*, pp. 3-22

#### **February 8 (T): Structural Adjustment as Seen From the Top-Down**

-Dani Rodrik (1996), "Understanding Economic Policy Reform," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 34, pp. 9-41

-World Bank (1994), *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead*, pp. 43-98

#### **February 10 (R): The Political Economy of Global Financial Crisis—Stiglitz and the IMF**

-Joseph Stiglitz (2002), "The Promise of Global Institutions," in *Globalization and its Discontents*, pp. 89-165

-Kenneth Rogoff (2002), "An Open Letter to Joseph Stiglitz,"  
<http://www.imf.org/external/np/vc/2002/070202.htm>

-Kenneth Rogoff (2003), "The IMF Strikes Back," *Foreign Policy*, 134, pp. 38-46

#### **February 15 (T): Structural Adjustment as Seen from the Bottom-Up (I)**

-Peter Griffiths (2003), *The Economist's Tale: A Consultant Encounters Hunger and the World Bank*, pp. vii-123

#### **February 17 (R): Structural Adjustment as Seen from the Bottom-Up (II)**

-Peter Griffiths (2003), *The Economist's Tale: A Consultant Encounters Hunger and the World Bank*, pp. 124-251

### **SYNTHESIS ESSAY #2 DISTRIBUTED (IN-CLASS)**

February 22 (T): Film (*Bamako*)

### Course Concept #4: An Alternative? Economic Growth and Development in Asia

#### **February 24 (R): The Asian Tigers and the Role of the State**

-Peter Evans (1995), *Embedded Autonomy*, pp. 3-20, 43-73

-David Kang (2002), "Bad Loans to Good Friends: Money Politics and the Developmental State in South Korea," *International Organization*, 56:1, pp. 177-207

## **SYNTHESIS ESSAY #2 DISTRIBUTED (IN-CLASS)**

### **March 1 (T): China and India**

Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, pp. 149-87

-Bruce Dickson (2007), "Integrating Wealth and Power in China: The Communist Party's Embrace of the Private Sector," *The China Quarterly*, 192, pp. 827-54

### The Foreign Aid Debate and the Way Forward

### **March 3 (R): The Foreign Aid Debate (I): The Logic of Development and The "Big Push"**

- Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, pp. 210-87

-William Easterly (2006), *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, pp. 3-59; 270-310

### **March 8 (T): The Foreign Aid Debate (II): The Problems of Planning**

-William Easterly (2006), *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, pp. 60-207

- Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, pp. 309-28

### **March 10 (R): The Foreign Aid Debate (III): What's the Solution?**

- William Easterly (2006), *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, pp. 341-84

-Paul Collier (2007), *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Falling Behind, and What Can Be Done About it*, pp. 135-56, 175-92

-Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, pp. 329-368

**Final Papers (Foreign Aid Essays and Grad Papers) Due: Friday, March 18, by 10:00 A.M**