GOVT 231: Politics in the Developing World

Spring 2022 M/Th 4:05-5:20 Kerwin Hall 105

Instructor: Laura Paler

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Office hours: Th 2:30-4:00pm (In-person or virtual)

This course investigates why so many countries worldwide are mired in poverty, bad governance, and civil conflict and explores their prospects for mitigating these challenges in the future. We will begin by examining arguments about the effects of geography, colonialism, and slavery on how the state and political institutions of developing countries evolved. We will look at why some developing countries achieved strong states where others suffer from failed states and the consequences of strong states for development. We will also consider the relationship between democracy and development and examine the determinants of successful democratization. The second part of the course then confronts pernicious obstacles to development, including corruption, ethnic divisions, conflict, and natural resource wealth. We will conclude by debating the role of international aid and what, if anything, wealthy countries can and should do to promote development.

This course draws on a dynamic field of research on the political economy of development. We will be discussing both classic and cutting-edge research conducted by political scientists, economists, and other social scientists. We will study not only particular countries throughout the developing world but also broad patterns across countries. By the end of the course, you should be able to think critically not only about the causes and consequences of under-development but also about the different approaches for promoting development in the future.

COURSE EXPECTATIONS

This course will typically be conducted seminar-style, which means that each week will be centered around a set of readings that you will be expected to do *in advance* and come prepared to discuss. If you struggle with the amount of reading, please come talk to me about how to read strategically. Not keeping up with the reading will limit what you will get out of the course personally as well as what we all will get out of our class-time together.

TECHNOLOGY PLATFORMS

Zoom classes

We will now be starting the semester online, which means our classes will meet via Zoom. I have set the Zoom settings such that your audio and video will be off when you enter the classroom. I encourage everyone to turn their video *on* once they've joined the class, if possible. This will make the class feel more

interactive and engaging for all. I especially encourage the moral support of pets, if they are not too distracting. Please do, however, keep your mics muted unless you've raised your hand and I've called on you or we're in an open discussion. Zoom has a lot of nice features that we will take advantage of, including breakout rooms and polls.

There is also a chance that we will need to hold one or two additional classes this semester via Zoom. If we do, we will use the same link.

Link to Zoom classes is **HERE**

Meeting ID: 935 5213 9221

Passcode: 772078

Zoom Office Hours

I am also giving you the option of doing in-person or Zoom office. There will be a weekly signup for office hours to help me manage both in-person and online office hours (see Canvas), but hopefully this allows for maximal flexibility.

Optional Zoom for office hours: Click the link here

Meeting ID: 910 6831 4521

Passcode: 498683

Canvas

Canvas is our main Learning Management System (LMS) for this course. Every week by the end of the day on Friday I will post to Canvas the module for the coming week. Each module will include an overview of the coming week, including a list of the tasks that you should plan on accomplishing and by what dates. You should start each week by reading the Overview carefully, noting any deadlines, and planning on when to do the various tasks. The module will also contain everything else you'll need for the week, including supplementary readings, slides, links to recorded lectures, discussion boards, and activities you might need to prep for the Thursday discussion. The only think that will not be in the weekly modules are the main readings from the *Foundations* textbook (see below) since you are expected to acquire that for yourself.

To logon to Canvas, go to canvas.american.edu and logon with your AU credentials.

COURSE MATERIALS

The readings are divided into required and recommended readings. All required readings for the course (and some of the recommended readings) will be posted on Canvas.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Attendance and participation (10%): You are expected to attend class and to keep up with the readings. Readings listed under each session heading are required. All readings listed as 'Recommended' are suggested for your reference but are not required. Remember, since this is a seminar-style class, you

should come prepared to answer questions, ask your own questions, and share your opinions or respond (respectfully!) to the opinions of others. You are expected to attend regularly, meaning that you do not miss more than a few (2-3) classes in the semester. Your grade will be based on whether you come to class and make meaningful contributions often, sometimes, rarely, or never (corresponding to an A, B, C, or D respectively).

Unannounced quizzes on the reading (10%): Because reading, attendance, and participation are so important to this course, ten percent of your grade will be based on your scores on unannounced quizzes on the required readings. These will be held periodically at either the start or end of class. The two lowest quiz grades will be dropped. There will be no make-up quizzes, including for those who have excused absences, or for those who miss a quiz because they arrive late or leave early on days they are given.

Midterm exam (25%): There will be an in-class midterm exam on <u>February 28</u>. Details will be announced closer to the date.

Group country development debates (25%): The final three sessions of the semester are devoted to country debates in which you will grapple with the real-world development records of three countries confronting development challenges. Each of you will be assigned to one country (e.g. Indonesia, Colombia, Rwanda) and to one actor within that country (e.g. the incumbent governing party, a civil society organization representing poor citizens, and a business association representing the private sector). The context for the debate is the following: Elections are coming up and the incumbent governing party wants to win re-election. To do so, it needs to make a compelling case for the success of its development record. Organizations representing poor citizens and the private sector are trying to decide wither to support the incumbent party in the next elections and what changes, if any, they want the incumbent party to make to earn their endorsement. The debates are an opportunity for representatives of citizens to press the incumbent government on its development record. More detailed instructions on the country debates will be provided after the midterm.

Final exam (30% total): The final will be worth 30% of your grade; details will be announced closer to the date.

GRADING POLICIES

Grading scale:

93-100	A	87-89	B+	77-79	C+	60-69	D
		83-86	В	73-76	C	<60	F
90-92	A-	80-82	B-	70-72	C-		

Late papers and exams: Late papers will be penalized 4 percentage points per day (or 2 percentage points every 12 hours) beyond the deadline including weekends and holidays, except in the case of a verified emergency or documented medical excuse. So, say a paper is due at 11:59pm on Wednesday and would have received a 95 percent if submitted on time—that same paper would receive a 93 percent if submitted at 11:59 am on Thursday and a 91 percent if submitted at 11:59 pm on Thursday. Late exams will not be accepted without my permission.

Re-grading policy: You have <u>one week</u> after your graded work is returned to request a re-grade. You should submit a written statement to me via email explaining why you think your work deserves to be re-graded. Remember that after re-evaluating your work, your grade may remain unchanged or could be adjusted higher *or* lower.

OFFICE HOURS

Office hours will be Thursdays from 2:30-4:00. In order to be maximally flexible, you have the option of doing in-person or virtual office hours. To help me coordinate, I ask all students to sign up for a slot in advance by following this link to Google Sheets. You do not need a google account to access the form or sign up for a slot. Time slots are in ten-minute increments and you can reserve up to two slots/day. If you would like to meet for longer than 20 minutes, please send me an email and we can make arrangements. If you are unable to make regular office hours due to a time conflict, email me to arrange another meeting time.

The Zoom link to office hours if you prefer virtual can be found in the 'Welcome and Important Items' page in the Intro module on Canvas.

UNIVERSITY POLICIES

Academic Integrity Code

All students are required to follow the University's Academic Integrity Code. If you have not already done so, please familiarize yourself with the standards and requirements of the University's Academic Code of Conduct. Violations of the Code of Conduct will not be tolerated and will be reported appropriately. You can find more information about the University's Academic Integrity Code here: http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm

In addition to following the Academic Integrity Code, I want to make it crystal clear that graded assignments must be done individually. You cannot collaborate with fellow students on any paper or exam. Since the two exams will be done remotely, you are free to use your notes and any other sources you can find but you cannot collaborate with a fellow student in any way and you cannot plagiarize.

Other Policies

All University-wide policies apply to this course. For more detailed information on the university's policies on discrimination, emergency preparedness, and academic support and access for those with disabilities, see Appendix A below.

SCHEDULE OVERVIEW (BY SESSION)

Week	Session	Month	Date	<u>Day</u>	Topic
1	1	Jan	10	Monday	Intro
1	2	Jan	13	Thursday	What is development?
2		Jan	17	Monday	MLK
2	3	Jan	20	Thursday	Geography
3	4	Jan	24	Monday	Colonial institutions
3	5	Jan	27	Thursday	Other legacies of history
4	6	Jan	31	Monday	Origins of modern states
4	7	Feb	3	Thursday	Failed states
5	8	Feb	7	Monday	Developmental states
5	9	Feb	10	Thursday	Developmental states
6	10	Feb	14	Monday	Regime type
6	11	Feb	17	Thursday	Democratization
7	12	Feb	21	Monday	Consolidation and Backsliding
7	13	Feb	24	Thursday	Midterm review
8	14	Feb	28	Monday	Midterm
8	15	March	3	Thursday	Virunga
9		March	7	Monday	Spring Break
9		March	10	Thursday	Spring Break
10	16	March	14	Monday	Accountability/political failure
10	17	March	17	Thursday	Clientelism
11	18	March	21	Monday	Ethnic divisions
11	19	March	24	Thursday	Solutions for divided societies
12	20	March	28	Monday	The resource curse
12	21	March	31	Thursday	Solutions for the resource curse
13	22	April	4	Monday	Civil War/solutions
13	23	April	7	Thursday	The aid debate I
14	24	April	11	Monday	The aid debate II
14	25	April	14	Thursday	Country debate 1
15	26	April	18	Monday	Country debate 2
15	27	April	21	Thursday	Country debate 3
16	28	April	25	Monday	Final review

SCHEDULE OF READINGS

PART I: FOUNDATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Session 1: Course Intro

Main Readings

• NPR "If you shouldn't call it the Third World, What Should you Call It?"

Session 2: What is development?

Main Readings

- Banerjee, Abhijit and Esther Duflo. 2007. "The Economic Lives of the Poor" Journal of Economic Perspectives 21(1): 141-167.
- Cypher, James and James Dietz. 2009. *The Process of Economic Development*: Chapter 1 (3-29) (chapter 2 has a handy summary of measures of economic development)
- Sen, Amartya. 1999. Development as Freedom: Chapters 1-2 (pp. 3-53).

Recommended

- Acemoglu, Daron. 2008. Introduction to Modern Economic Growth: Chapter 1 (pp. 3-27).
- Boo, Katherine. 2012. Behind the Beautiful Forevers: Life, Death, and Hope in a Mumbai Undercity. Random House.
- Video: World Bank Global Links. 2001. Hear our Voices—The Poor on Poverty.
- UNDP Human Development Report, 2013 (read the summary, full report also available)

Session 3: Geography and development

Main Readings

- Diamond, Jared. 1997. Guns, Germs and Steel: Prologue + Chapter 4 (pp. 13-32 and 85-92).
- Sachs, Jeffrey, Andrew Mellinger and John Gallup. 2001. "The Geography of Poverty and Wealth," *Scientific American* 284(3): 70-75.

Session 4: Colonialism, institutional legacies, and development

Main Readings

- Hochschild, Adam. 1998. King Leopold's Ghost: Chapters 8, 10 (pp. 115-139 and 150-166).
- Acemoglu and Robinson, Why Nations Fail: Chapters 1-3 (pp. 7-95).

Session 5: Other legacies of history

Main Readings

- Nunn, Nathan. 2008. "The Long-Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(1): 139-176 (focus on parts I-III).
- Timur Kuran. 2003. "The Islamic Commercial Crisis: Institutional Roots of Economic Underdevelopment in the Middle Esat," *Journal of Economic History* 63(2): 414-446.
- Acemoglu and Robinson, Why Nations Fail: Chapter 4 (pp. 96-123)

Session 6: The origins of modern states

Main Readings

- Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in *Bringing the State Back In* (eds. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol): pp. 169-185.
- North, Douglass and Barry Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England," *The Journal of Economic History* XLIX(4): 803-832.

Recommended

• Centeno, Miguel Angel. 1997. "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America" *The American Journal of Sociology* 102 (6): 1565-1605.

Session 7: Failed states

Main Readings

- Jackson Robert and Carl Rosberg. 1986. "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 24(1), pp. 1-31.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control:* Chapters 1 and 9 (pp. 11-31 and 251-272).
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2004. "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security* 28(4): 5-43.

Sessions 8-9: Developmental states

Main Readings

- Doner, Richard and Bryan Ritchie and Dan Slater. 2005. "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective," International Organization 59: 327-361.
- Kohli, Atul. 2004. State Directed Development: Chapter 1 (pp. 1-24).

Recommended

- Spruyt, Hendrik. 2002. "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 127-49.
- Page, John. 1994. "The East Asian Miracle: An Introduction," World Development 22(4): 615-625.

Session 10: Democracy, dictatorship, and development

Will give country group assignments

Main Readings

- Karl, Terry and Phillipe Schmitter. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2(3), pp. 75-88.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce et al. 2001. "Political Competition and Economic Growth" *Journal of Democracy* 12(1): 58-72.

Recommended

• Watch: <u>TED talk by Economist Yasheng Huang</u> (18 minutes).

Session 11: Democratization

Main Readings

- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*: Chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-47).
- Inglehart, Ronald. 2000. "Culture and Democracy" in *Culture Matters*, Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington (eds): pp. 80-97.

Session 12: Consolidation and Back-Sliding

Main Readings

- Marcinkiewicz, Kamil and Mary Stegmaier. "Poland appears to be dismantling its own hard-won democracy" *The Washington Post.* July 21, 2017.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1996. "Democracy's Third Wave" in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds): pp. 3-25.
- Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13.1, p. 5-21.
- Lust, Ellen and David Waldner. 2015. "Unwelcome Change: Understanding, Evaluating, and Extending Theories of Democratic Backsliding" Washington, DC: USAID: 1-15.

Recommended

- Coleman, Isobel and Terra Lawson-Remer. 2013. "A User's Guide to Democratic Transitions" *Foreign Policy*.
- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle. 1994. "Neo-Patrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa" *World Politics* 46: 453-89 (skim).

Session 13: Overflow and midterm review

Session 14: In-class midterm

Session 15: In-class movie (Virunga)

PART II: SOURCES OF STATE AND POLITICAL FAILURE AND POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

Session 16: Democratic failure, corruption, and criminality

Main Readings

- Fearon, James, "Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians" in *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation* edited by Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes and Bernard Manin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp. 55-97.
- Vaishnav, Milan. 2017. *When Crime Pays*. Yale University Press. Chapters 1 and 5 (pp. 3-24 and 157-204).

Recommended

• Fisman, Ray and Miriam Golden. 2017. *Corruption: What Everyone Needs to Know.* Oxford University Press. Chapters: pp. 23-53.

Session 17: Clientelism

You will have time to meet with your country debate groups

Main Readings

• Stokes, Susan, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism.* Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 8 (pp. 3-27 and 200-242).

Session 18: (Ethnically) divided societies

Main Readings

• Horowitz, Donald. 1986/2000. Ethnic Groups in Conflict: Chapters 1 and 4.

Recommended

- Easterly, William. 2002. The Elusive Quest for Growth: Chapter 13 (pp. 255-283).
- Tajfel, Henri. 1982. "Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations" *Annual Review of Psychology* 33:1-39.

Session 19: Solutions for ethnically divided societies?

Main Readings

- Lijphardt. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies" *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 96-109.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies" *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 156-170.
- Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation-building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania," *World Politics* 56: 327-362 (focus on parts I-III).

Recommended

- Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*: pp. 261-282.
- Norris, Pippa. 2005. "Stable Democracy and Good Governance in Divided Societies: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?" *Harvard University Faculty Working Paper Series*.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1993. "Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* 4(4): 18-38.
- Habyarimana, James et al. 2008. "Is ethnic conflict inevitable? Parting ways over nationalism and separatism," *Foreign Affairs* 87(4): p. 138.

Session 20: The resource curse

Main Readings

• Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse:* Chapters 1-3, 5 and 7 (pp. 1-109, 223-253)

Recommended

• Aspinall, Edward. 2007. "The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(6): 950-972.

Session 21: Policy solutions for the resource curse

You will have time to meet with your country debate groups

Main Readings

- Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse:* Chapter 7 (pp. 223-253)
- Karl, Terry Lynn, "Ensuring Fairness: The Case for a Transparent Fiscal Social Contract," in *Escaping the Resource Curse*: 256-285.

Session 22: Civil war

Main Readings

- Collier, Paul. 2006. "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy," *unpublished manuscript*.
- "Creating Jobs to End War" (Chicago Policy Review, available <u>here</u>)
- Blattman, Chris and Jeannie Annan. 2016. "Can Employment Reduce Lawlessness and Rebellion? A Field Experiment with High Risk Men in a Fragile State" *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 1-17.

Session 23: The aid debate

Main Readings

- Radelet, Steven. 2006. "A Primer on Foreign Aid," Center for Global Development Working Paper 92. Washington, D.C.
- Sachs, Jeffrey. 2005. *The End of Poverty:* Chapters 3, 13, and 16 (pp. 51-73, 244-265, and 309-328).

Recommended

• Documentary: Good Fortune

Session 24: The aid debate continued

Main Readings

- Easterly, William. 2006. The White Man's Burden: Chapters 1-2 (pp. 3-59).
- Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. "Why Foreign Aid is Hurting Africa," Wall Street Journal, March 21:W1.
- Banerjee, Abhijit and Esther Duflo. 2011. *Poor Economics:* Chapters 1 and 10 (pp. 1-19 and 235-265).

Session 25: Country development debate I

Session 26: Country development debate II

Session 27: Country development debate III

Session 28: Final review