

Politics 351
Politics in the Developing Countries

Spring Term 2005
Lectures: Mon, Weds: 10-10:50am
Precepts: TBA

Professor: Evan Lieberman
239 Corwin Hall
Office hours: Weds 9-10; 11-12
ESL@Princeton.edu
Telephone: 258-6833

Teaching assistants:
Rachel Riedl [rbeatty@]
Sophie Ahn [ahn@]
(Office hours will be announced to precept)

Overview:

Most of the world's population lives outside of the advanced industrialized countries, particularly in the regions of Africa, Latin America, and Asia. In the context of impoverished financial and human resources, political competition is a high stakes game. And yet, there are wide ranging differences in the nature of political life within and across world regions – from relative calm and stability to ethnic-based genocide; and from economic stagnation to rapid growth. What are the causes and consequences of such outcomes?

In this course, we will investigate the distinctive and not-so-distinctive features of political life in the developing world, attempting to understand patterns of similarity and difference across countries. In particular, we will consider the rise of the modern state, trying to understand the degree to which national governments have been able to wield effective authority over societies. In the course of this exploration, we will consider the role of various collective identities, and the role of democratic forms of government in linking states and societies, and producing the collective goods that people care about. We will conclude with a discussion of “globalization” – asking about the impact of globalization on the developing countries, particularly in the wake of the AIDS pandemic. What do these new pressures mean for the future of the state, particularly in the developing countries?

We will consider a wide range of country examples in the readings and in lectures, but the primary goal of the course is to explore a set of general ideas about the causes and consequences of political interactions.

Reading

On average, the reading load is about 200pp/week. Memorizing specific details of any given piece is much less important than making sure you understand the central arguments, and how the arguments are supported with empirical evidence. The reading is sometimes difficult, and it may be necessary to *re-read* some of the materials in order to “get” it. Before coming to precept, make sure that you can summarize each piece, describe the central question and answer, and provide some critical assessment of the work. **Your preceptor will probably require you to come prepared with written notes/summaries of readings and these will be collected for review from time-to-time.**

Optional/suggested readings are identified for students who may be interested in pursuing certain themes and ideas further on their own, especially for independent work. Please consult the professor and/or your preceptor for additional suggestions.

Books for purchase: (available at the Princeton University Store.)

- Bates, Robert H. (2001) *Prosperity and Violence : The Political Economy of Development*. 1st ed. New York ; London: Norton
- Herbst, J. I. (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.

Other Readings:

Virtually all of the other readings are scholarly articles, news articles and book excerpts. All of these will be available via Electronic Course Reserve, and can be accessed through our blackboard website. A course packet will not be produced.

Course requirements/ Grading:

- Class participation: 20 percent of final grade.
- Written assignment: 30 percent of the grade
- Take-home mid-term Exam: 20 percent of the grade
- Take-home final exam: 30 percent of the grade

Grading is necessarily a subjective enterprise. In general, we shall try to adhere to the University’s general standards for grading. See:

http://www.princeton.edu/~odoc/grading_policies.htm

On all papers and exams, we will be looking for a thorough understanding and command of the materials presented in lectures and readings, original critical analyses of those materials, and an attempt to think about how those ideas make sense of particular country cases or experiences in the real world.

- “A” grades will be awarded to work that does all of these things extremely well.
- “B” grades will be awarded to work that manages to accomplish these goals, but to varying degrees (i.e., some excellent, others not).
- “C” grades will be awarded to work that manages to accomplish only one of these goals adequately.
- Reasonable attempts to complete the assignments, but with virtually no success will be awarded “D” grades.
- “F” grades will be recorded for assignments that are not completed in a remotely acceptable manner.
- Pluses and minuses will be attached as appropriate...

Exams:

- The mid-term exam will be a take-home essay – the question will be available on Blackboard starting at 9am on Monday March 7. You may take the exam any time during the week, but it **must be completed by noon Friday March 11**. You are on your honor to spend no more than two hours on the essay once you have logged on. The mid-term will cover readings and lectures through lecture 10.
- The final exam will also be a take-home available on blackboard that will involve some short questions and two essays. It will be available starting at 9am on Wednesday May 11, and it **must be completed by noon on Monday May 16**. You may take as much time as you would like to complete the final exam.
- Both exams will be open book, but you are on your honor to not discuss the exams with anyone once they have been assigned.

Class participation:

We expect you to participate actively in precept, and attendance will be taken. Please come prepared to discuss the materials presented in the two lectures prior to your precept meeting and the readings assigned for those days.

Country expertise/writing assignments

Every student in the course will be asked to be a country expert, and will be expected to contribute to our collective knowledge of the developing world. You will be randomly assigned a country during the first precept meeting, and you will have limited ability to trade, but by the end of the first precept your choice will be final. Each week, you should try to follow news and events in your country, and try to share with the class facts that confirm or contradict ideas discussed in the lecture and readings.

Each of the two paper assignments will provide an opportunity for you to link the broader theoretical questions considered in lecture and readings to the specific situation of your country. **In each paper, you should critically discuss at least three of the assigned readings and explain the extent to which those readings do or do not help to make sense of your country case.**

Assignment #1 STATE STRENGTH: (DUE Monday Feb. 28th/5pm via email) In a 1500-2000 word paper, assess the strength of your country's state, particularly with reference to other countries we have read about or discussed in lecture. What is the nature of political authority in this country? Of the various explanations we have considered in lecture what explains this country's relative strength or weakness compared with other countries?

Assignment #2 GLOBALIZATION: (DUE Monday April 18th – in lecture) In a 1500-2000 word paper, written as a policy brief, assess the consequences of increasing global integration for your country. You may choose to emphasize a particular sector or segment of society if you prefer (the agricultural industry; workers; business owners), or the society at large. You may choose to focus on one or more of the following: stability; democratic participation; inequality; growth and development. In your paper, you should make an argument about what types of international agreements would help or hurt your country? For example, would your country benefit from more insulation or more protection from the global political economy? Note: This paper will help you to prepare for our development conference, which will take place on April 18, 20.

Lecture topics/reading assignments

All readings should be completed *before* the scheduled precept meeting for that week.

I. Introduction, Patterns of (under)development

Lecture 1: Overview – patterns and puzzles of political and economic development (Jan. 31)

Bates, Robert H. *Prosperity and Violence : The Political Economy of Development*. 1st ed. New York ; London: Norton, 2001. **Please try to read this very concise book as soon as possible. It provides a nice, quick overview of many of the themes we will be exploring throughout the course – particularly up through lecture 8.

Lecture 2: Development and explanatory frameworks (Feb. 2)

Rostow, W.W. "The Five Stages-of-Growth–A Summary" in his *The Stages of Economic Growth*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), Chapter 2, pp. 4-16.

Valenzuela, J. S., & Valenzuela, A. (1978). Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment. *Comparative Politics*, 535-557.

Inglehart, R., & Carballo, M. (1997). Does Latin America Exist? (And is There a Confucian Culture?): A Global Analysis of Cross-Cultural Differences. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 34-47.

Krueger, Anne O. (1990). Government Failures in Development. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4 (3):9-23.

Lecture 3: Authority and the modern state (Feb. 7)

Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 1-32; 59-71.

Weber, Max. (1964). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: The Free Press, 324-363.

Lecture 4: The state's role in development (Feb. 9)

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

Further reading:

Cohen, Youssef, Brian R. Brown, and A.F.K. Organski. "The Paradoxical Nature of State Making: The Violent Creation of Order." *American Political Science*

Review 75, no. 4 (1981): 901-10.

Sandbrook, R. (1989). *The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Evans, Peter; James E Rauch, "Bureaucracy and growth: A cross-national analysis of the effects of "Weberian" state structures on economic growth," *American Sociological Review*; Albany; Oct 1999;

North, Douglass. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton, 1981, pp.143-157.

Lecture 5: State-building and the impact of colonialism I (Feb. 14)

Kohli, Atul. (1999). "Where Do High-Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea's 'Developmental State' " in Meredith Woo Cumings, *The Developmental State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), 93-136.

Young, Crawford. (1994). *The African colonial state in comparative perspective*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 244-292.

Lenin, Vladimir "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism" (excerpt) from Cohen, C. (1972). *Communism, fascism, and democracy; the theoretical foundations*. New York,: Random House., pp.128-137.

Further reading:

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, 2001, The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation, *American Economic Review*, Vol. 91 (December), 1369–1401.

Franz Fanon, "The Wretched of the Earth," (excerpt) from Cohen, M., & Fermon, N. (1996). *Princeton readings in political thought : essential texts since Plato*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 615-622.

Lecture 6: The formation of modern India (Feb.16)

(In lecture, we will watch the first part of the film, *Gandhi*)

Kesselman, M. J. (1999). "India," in *Introduction to Third World Politics*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 83-128.

**Watch the remainder of Gandhi on the web-server (see Blackboard site for details).

Lecture 7: State-building and the impact of colonialism II (Feb.21)

Herbst, J. I. (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 11-136.

Lecture 8: Other explanations of state formation: Geography, resources, timing, and the international system (Feb. 23)

Herbst, J. I. (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 137-197.

Jeffrey Sachs (2003). Institutions Matter, But Not for Everything: The role of geography and resource endowments in development shouldn't be underestimated. *Finance and Development* June 2003, 38-41.

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2003/06/pdf/sachs.pdf>

Optional/suggested:

Ross, M. (1999). "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse," *World Politics*, 51, 297-323.

Herbst, J. I. (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 201-26.

II. Collective identities and collective actors

Lecture 9: Nations, nationalism, and citizenship (Feb. 28)

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith, eds. (1994). *Nationalism, Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Selections from Renan, Deutsch, Brass, and Anderson (pp: 17-18; 26-9; 83-96).

Herbst, J. I. (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 227-247.

-- Read one of the following:

Booth, Douglas. (1996). Mandela and Amabokoboko: the Political and Linguistic Nationalism of South Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34 (3):459-477.

De la Fuente, Alejandro. (1998). Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba: An Overview. *Latin American Perspectives*. Issue 100, vol. 25: 3: 43-69.

Lecture 10: Ethnic politics I (March 2)

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, edited by C. Geertz. New York: Basic Books, 255-269.

Varshney, A. (2001). Ethnic Conflict and Civil society: India and Beyond. *World Politics*, 53, 362-98.

Laitin, D. (1985). *Hegemony and Religious Conflict: British Imperial Control and Political Cleavages in Yorubaland* in Evans, Peter, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. *Bringing the state back in*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 285-316.

Optional/suggested:

Bates, R. (1974). Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 457-484.

Geertz, C. (1973). "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," In Geertz (Ed.), *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 255-310.

Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Weiner, Myron. 2001. The Struggle for Equality: Caste in Indian Politics. In *The success of India's democracy*, edited by A. Kohli. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 193-225.

Hardin, R. (1995). *One for All : The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Esman, Milton J. *Ethnic Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Lecture 11: Ethnic politics II (March 7)

Marx, Anthony W. 1996. Race-Making and the Nation-State. *World Politics* 48 (January):180-208.

Peter Uvin, "On Counting, categorizing, and violence in Burundi and Rwanda," in Kertzer DI, Arel D, eds. 2002. *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, chapter 6: 148-175.

The Tutsis, The "Jews of Africa" in *The Economist*, August 21, 2004, pp37-9

Optional:

Listen to Radio Diaries of Mandela History at

<http://www.radiodiaries.org/mandela/mstories.html>

Easterly, William, and Ross Levine. 1997. Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (4):1203-1250.

Lecture 12: Methodological Approaches in Comparative Analysis: A short-course for independent research on the politics of developing countries (March 9)

Landman T. 2000. Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction. London ; New York: Routledge, 3-37 (Available only via the Electronic Course Reserves.)

SPRING BREAK

Lecture 13: Organized labor and demands from below (March 21)

Selected writings of Karl Marx in Tucker, Robert C., ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978, 203-220.

Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier. *Shaping the Political Arena*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, 40-55; 169-195.

Seidman, Gay. *Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa 1970-85*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994, pp.143-196.

Optional/suggested:

Durand, Francisco, and Eduardo Silva. *Organized Business, Economic Change, and Democracy in Latin America*. Coral Gables, Fl.: North-South Center Press, 1998, pp.1-50.

Boone, Catherine. "States and Ruling Classes in Postcolonial Africa: The Enduring Contradictions of Power." In *State Power and Social Forces*, edited by Joel Migdal and et.al., 1995, pp.108-140.

III. Political regimes, causes and consequences

Lecture 14: Political regimes: Democracy and the alternatives (March 23)

Bratton, M. and N. Van de Walle (1997). *Democratic experiments in Africa : regime transitions in comparative perspective*. Cambridge ; New York, Cambridge University Press, 1-18.

Donald L. Horowitz, "Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, no. 4 (October 1993), pp. 18-38.

Diamond, Larry Jay, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* - Volume 13, Number 2, April 2002, pp. 21-35.

Przeworski A, Alvarez ME, Cheibub JA, Limongi F. 2001. "What Makes Democracies Endure?" In *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, ed. L Diamond, MF Plattner. Baltimore, MD; London, England: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 178-84. **Appendix only for this lecture; rest of article for next lecture.

Optional/suggested:

Linz J. 1996. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* Winter 1990, pp.51-69.

Stepan A. 1999. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model," *Journal of Democracy* 10: 19-34.

Przeworski, A., Alvarez ME, Cheibub JA, Limongi F (2000). *Democracy and Development : Political Institutions and Material Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.13-77.

Lecture 15: Why are some countries democratic and not others? (March 28)

Przeworski A, Alvarez ME, Cheibub JA, Limongi F. 2001. "What Makes Democracies Endure?" In *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, ed. L Diamond, MF Plattner. Baltimore, MD; London, England: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 167-78.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 2001. "The Centrality of Political Culture" In *The Global Resurgence of Democracies*, ed. L Diamond, MF Plattner. Baltimore, MD; London, England: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 150-3. **available only on electronic course reserves.

Varshney A. 2000. "Why Democracy Survives." *Journal of Democracy* 9: 36-50.

Optional/Suggested:

Rustow D. 1970. Transitions to Democracy: Towards a Dynamic Model. *Comparative Politics* 2: 337-63.

Lecture 16: What's the impact of democracy on development? (March 30)

Weyland K. 1996. *Democracy Without Equity: Failures of Reform in Brazil*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp.,17-49.

Sen A. 2001. "Democracy as a Universal Value." In *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, ed. L Diamond, MF Plattner. Baltimore, MD, London, England: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-17.

Optional/Suggested:

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-76.

Lecture 17: Party systems in the Developing Countries (April 4)

Mainwaring, Scott, and Timothy Scully. 1995. *Building democratic institutions : party systems in Latin America*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, chapter 1
 Van de Walle, Nicholas (2003). Presidentialism and clientelism in Africa's emerging party systems. *Journal of Modern African Studies* (41, 2), 297-321.

Lecture 18: The democratic transition in South Africa (April 6)

Carbone, Giovanni, "Constitutional Alternatives for the Regulation of Ethnic Politics? Institution Building Principles in Uganda's and South Africa's Transitions," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 19,2 (2001): 229-253.
 Bratton, Michael, "South Africa," in Kopstein J, Lichbach M, eds. 2000. *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 381-412.
 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa – available at:
<http://www.gov.za/constitution/1996/96cons.htm>

IV. Globalization and New Constraints on Development

Lecture 19: Globalization: Framing the debates (April 11)

Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002, pp.3-52.
 Bhagwati F. 2002. "Coping with Antiglobalization: A Trilogy of Discontents," *Foreign Affairs*: 2-7.
 Lechner, Frank J., and John Boli, eds. 2000. *The Globalization Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. Selections from Kenichi Ohmae "The End of the Nation State," ; Susan Strange, "The Declining Authority of States"; and World Social Forum, "Porto Alegre Call for Mobilization (214-224; 435-7.)
 Stallings B. 2003. "Globalization and Liberalization: The Impact on Developing Countries," In *States, Markets, and Just Growth: Development in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. A Kohli, C-i Moon, G Sorensen. Tokyo, Japan; New York, NY: United Nations Press, pp. 9-34.
 Herbst, *States and Power*, 251-272.
 Hobsbawm, Eric J. "Spreading Democracy," *Foreign Policy* September/October 2004: 40-1.

Suggested/optional:

Winters, Jeffrey A. "The Determinants of Financial Crisis in Asia," in T.J. Pempel, (ed.), *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999, pp. 79-97.
 Evans, Peter, "Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization," *World Politics*, 50.1 (1997): 62-87.
 Couch, Jen, "Imagining Zapatismo: The Anti-Globalization Movement and the Zapatistas," *Communal/Plural* 9.2 (2001): 243-261.
 Huntington SP. (1993). "The Clash Of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72: 22-49.
 Chua A. 2003. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Random House, pp. 49-76.

Kaplan, Robert. (1994). "The Coming Anarchy," *Atlantic Monthly* 273,2: 44-81.

Lecture 20: AIDS part I (April 13)

Barnett, Tony, and Alan Whiteside. 2002. *AIDS in the twenty-first century : disease and globalization*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2-23; 347-65.

Visit the following websites: <http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/> ; www.unaids.org and investigate the extent of your country's AIDS epidemic and the government's response

Suggested/optional:

Altman, Dennis. "Globalization, Political Economy, and HIV/AIDS." *Theory and Society* 28 (1999): 559-84.

Poku, Nana, "The Global AIDS Fund, Context and Opportunity," *Third World Quarterly*, 23.2 (2002): 283-298.

Lectures 21 and 22: Davos Meets Porto Allegre – A Mock Conference on Development (April 18, 20)

**This week we will all participate in a simulated conference on the role of globalization, liberalization, and democratization in the developing countries. Monday's meeting will focus more on diagnoses: How have different actors been affected? What are their views? Wednesday's meeting will focus more on developing "solutions."

You may want to consider some of the lessons from previous parts of the course. PAPER ASSIGNMENT #2 is due at the start of lecture. Review readings from lecture 19 for the conference this week.

Lecture 23: AIDS Part II: Policy responses in Brazil and South Africa (April 25)

Van der Vliet, Virginia. 2001. AIDS: Losing "The New Struggle?" *Daedalus* 130 (1):151-184.

Rosenberg, Tina. 2001. Look at Brazil. *The New York Times Magazine*, January 28, 2001.

Gauri, Vaun and Lieberman, Evan. 2004. "AIDS and the State: The Politics of Government Responses to the Epidemic in Brazil and South Africa," *Unpublished Manuscript*.

Boone, Catherine, and Jake Batsell. 2001. Politics and AIDS in Africa: Research Agendas in Political Science and International Relations. *Africa Today* 48.

Suggested/optional:

Farmer, Paul. 2003. *Pathologies of power: health, human rights, and the new war on the poor, California series in public anthropology ; 4*. Berkeley, Calif. ; London: University of California Press.

Farmer, Paul. 2001. *Infections and inequalities: the modern plagues*. Updated ed. Berkeley ; London: University of California Press.

Lecture 24: Conclusions (April 27)