

The Political Economy of International Development

JPE 2408Y

2010-2011

Prof. Richard Sandbrook

Munk School of Global Affairs,
Rm. 357S

E-mail: richard.sandbrook@utoronto.ca

Tel: 416-946-8936

Website: www.chass.utoronto.ca/~sandbrook/

Office Hrs: Fall term: Tues. 3-4:30

Prof. Gustavo Indart

Department of Economics
Rm. 175

E-mail: g.indart@utoronto.ca

Tel: 416-978-5331

Website: www.economics.utoronto.ca/gindart/

Office Hrs: By appointment

1. OVERVIEW

Following an introductory section that sets out the context and themes of the course, we evaluate a range of development strategies. Neoliberal reforms, featuring economic stabilization, liberalization, privatization, and external opening, have dominated the development agenda since the early 1980s; we therefore devote 12 sessions to understanding the origins, evolution, political implications, and performance of market-oriented models. Case studies of neoliberal reform in Latin America, Africa, and Asia complement our discussion of the general themes and issues.

The final section of the course deals with development alternatives to the mainstream approach. Proposals to reform or transform the global economy and global economic governance to enhance fairness, poverty reduction, and environmental sustainability have recently been championed by various groups and scholars. In addition, nationally-based social-democratic, 'twenty-first-century' socialist, and revived developmental-state strategies, together with projects of local empowerment and community-centred development excite interest among those who are sceptical of neoliberalism. We will discuss the nature, practicability and desirability of these development alternatives.

2. ORGANIZATION AND REQUIREMENTS

One of the instructors will introduce the topic of the first five sessions. Each of these sessions will include a guided discussion based on the required readings.

A member of the class will introduce the topic of most of the remaining seminars with a 40-45 minute presentation (or a 30-minute presentation each in jointly-led seminars). Each class member will make two presentations. The instructors will provide guidelines for these presentations. Please be ready on **September 21st** to provide a list of **three** sessions, beginning with session 6, which you would be willing to lead. The schedule of presentations will then be available on September 28th; we will do our best to assign you your top choices.

The **course requirements** are as follows.

- 1 term paper 25%
(20-25 double-spaced pages — about 6,000 words — due **March 15th** in class; choose a topic within the general theme of one of the sessions for your essay, including those on which you make your presentations; essay must reflect readings beyond the sources listed in this outline; you may select a case study or studies to focus your essay. Please try to print your essay on both sides of the paper. Late penalty: 2 percentage points per day, excluding weekends)
- 2 oral presentations (see guidelines below) 30%
(one presentation may be on a topic related to your research paper; both presentations will be weighted equally; each should be based on the required and some of the supplementary readings under your session; written evaluation to be provided)

- 4 written critical reflections on the weekly required readings (see guidelines below) 15%
 (2-3 single-spaced pages that reflect on the cogency of the argument(s) presented; select one or more of the required readings from two sessions from each term; do not select readings from sessions on which you make a presentation; to be handed in at the beginning of the relevant class; written evaluation to be provided)
- participation in class discussions 10%
 (grade to be assigned for active and informed participation; may include participation as a discussant on one presentation — a 5-minute reflection which offers a divergent perspective on the issue and/or indicates agreement or disagreement on an argument and/or adds further themes/issues or evidence for discussion)
- take-home test due **April 5th** 20%
 (questions to be provided in class on March 29th)

Guidelines on Making an Effective Presentation

1. A presentation is an **oral essay**. Therefore, you need to present a thesis near the beginning, and organize your material to support or elaborate this thesis. Note, however, that written and oral essays are delivered differently. Merely reading aloud an essay that one intends to be read is rarely effective. Instead, deliver your presentation from notes. The three hallmarks of a good oral presentation are the following:

- **Organization.** Sufficient signposts guide your listeners through your argument; everyone is always aware of the relevancy of the point you are making. (One experienced speaker summarized his advice this way: "Tell your audience what you are going to say, say it, and then tell them what you said.")
- **Clarity.** Avoid ambiguity and vagueness by adhering to your outlined, clearly connected, points. Avoid jargon. Explain all concepts concisely.
- **Pacing.** Slow down in your delivery. Make eye contact. Do you notice puzzled looks or signs of boredom? If so, try to respond to these cues. Clarify the point you are making, or speak more slowly/loudly/with more emphasis.

Consider rehearsing your presentation, perhaps before a sympathetic listener or tape recorder. You will discover whether you have too much material to cover in 40 minutes or so.

2. Technical Details.

- Your presentation is not a research exercise. Base your oral essay on the required reading for your session plus a couple of supplementary readings.
- If you are sharing a topic, work out a division of labour with your partner. Each person should speak for 20-25 minutes. In a solo presentation, plan to speak for 30-40 minutes.
- Tell your audience whether you welcome questions as you proceed, or whether you wish your listeners to hold all their questions until the end. Alternatively, you might entertain only questions of clarification (not challenges) while you work through your commentary, saving the latter for the discussion period. (Remember that, if you respond to objections to your argument as you proceed, you may lose the thread of your case.) If you entertain questions and objections during your talk, you will need to extend your presentation beyond the limits suggested above.
- It is helpful to conclude your presentation with an issue or issues that you think require(s) further discussion.
- After (or during) your presentation, respond in a reasoned and friendly manner to questions, comments, and challenges to your thesis. Remember that you do not have to be right on every element of your case. It is surely more important to be clear than 'right'.

Guidelines on Writing the Critical Reflections on Required Readings

1. This assignment involves the submission of a critical reflection on a required reading or readings for 4 of the sessions throughout the year (2 from each term), excluding the two sessions on which you deliver a presentation.
2. The critical reflection should be no more than 2-3 pages in length (600-800 words). The emphasis is on concise, focused thought. You need to identify the author's thesis, and respond critically to that thesis. Is the argument logically sound? Is it supported both by the evidence that the author cites and by further data or knowledge of which you are aware? Does the piece pose an 'important' question in a challenging manner? Is the article/book/excerpt well-organized and clearly written? Does the essay suggest interesting new avenues for thought or research? Some of these questions, and perhaps others, should guide your critical reaction.
3. You will receive a brief, written evaluation of your submissions within two weeks. The evaluation will be based on the following criteria:
 - effectiveness in taking a clear and critical position on issues
 - capacity to synthesize complex ideas
 - familiarity with the material you have selected to review
 - clarity and conciseness of expression.

3. READINGS FOR THE COURSE

This outline identifies required readings for each topic (*) plus select supplementary readings. You should find the latter useful in preparing your presentations and essay and following up on a subject which particularly interests you. Obviously, you must read the required readings each week if we are to have a stimulating seminar. The required readings are on reserve in the short-term loan section on the 3rd floor of Roberts Library. We have also tried to select as many readings as possible from electronic journals [EJ].

Your purchase of some of the heavily used books will ease your task of preparing for the seminars. We have asked the bookstore to stock copies of the following:

M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

K. Gallagher, Putting Development First: The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and IFIs. London: Zed Books, 2005.

D. Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

J. Rapley, Understanding Development, 3rd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007.

R. Sandbrook, M. Edelman, P. Heller & J. Teichman, Social Democracy in the Global Periphery: Origins, Challenges, Prospects. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Less heavily used, but also available:

K. Polanyi, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 [1944].

J. Stiglitz, Globalization and Its Discontents. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002.

PART I: APPROACHES TO THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT

1. Overview of the course and brief discussion of "What Is the Political Economy of Development?" (Sept. 14)

*D.P. Levine, "Political Economy and the Idea of Development," Review of Political Economy 13:4 (2001), 523-36. [EJ]

J. Haynes (ed.), Advances in Development Studies. London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006.

R. Kanbur, "Economics, Social Science and Development," World Development, 30:3 (2002), pp. 477-86. [EJ]

- A. Leftwich, "Politics in Command: Development Studies and the Rediscovery of Social Science." New Political Economy, 10:4 (2005), pp. 573-607. [EJ]
- J. Rapley, Understanding Development, 3rd Edition, Chapters 1 & 2. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- F. Stilwell, Political Economy: The Contest of Economic Ideas, chaps. 1-4. London: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- M. Staniland, What is Political Economy? New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985, Chapters 1 & 2.

2. Polanyi: The classic political-economic critique of economic liberalism and explanation of the socio-political dynamics of the liberal era by reference to the notion of the 'double movement' (Sept. 21 – RS)

NOTE: SUBMIT A LIST OF YOUR CHOICES FOR SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS

- *K. Polanyi, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 [1944], "Introduction" by Fred Block, pp. 3-5, & chs. 3-6, 11-13, and 21.
or both of
- *F. Block and M. Somers, "Beyond the Economistic Fallacy: The Holistic Social Science of Karl Polanyi." In T. Skocpol (ed.), Vision and Method in Historical Sociology, pp. 47-84. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- and**
- *F. Adaman, P. Devine & B. Ozkaynak, "Reinstituting the Economic Process: (Re)embedding the Economy in Society and Nature," International Review of Sociology, 13:2 (2003), 357-74. [EJ]
- E. Altvater and B. Mahnkopf, "The World Market Unbound," Review of International Political Economy 4:3 (1997), 448-71.
- F. Block, "Karl Polanyi and the Writing of *The Great Transformation*," Theory and Society, 32 (2003), 275-306. [EJ]
- M. Bernard, "Ecology, Political Economy and the Countermovement: Karl Polanyi and the Second Great Transformation," in S. Gill and J. Mittelman, eds., Innovation and Transformation in International Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1997.
- V. Birchfield, "Contesting the Hegemony of Market Ideology: Gramsci's Good Sense and Polanyi's Double Movement," Review of International Political Economy 6:2 (1999), 27-54.
- D.W. Brown, Towards a Radical Democracy: The Political Economy of the Budapest School. London: Unwin Hyman, 1988, chaps. 1-3.
- S.C. Humphreys, "History, Economics and Anthropology: The Work of Karl Polanyi," History and Theory, 8:2 (1969), pp. 166-212.
- K. Polanyi, The Livelihood of Man, edited by H. W. Pearson. New York: Academic Press, 1997.
- K. Polanyi-Levitt, "Towards Alternatives: Re-reading The Great Transformation," Monthly Review 47:2 (1995), 1-15.
- W.C. Schaniell and W.C. Neale, "Karl Polanyi's Forms of Integration and Ways of Mapping," Journal of Economic Issues, 34:1 (2000), 89-104. [EJ]
- D.R. Searey, "Beyond the Self-Regulating market in Market Society: A Critique of Polanyi's Theory of the State," Review of Social Economy 51:2 (1993), 217-32.
- J.M. Servat *et al.*, La modernité de Karl Polanyi. Paris: Harmattan, 1997.
- J.R. Stanfield, The Economic Thought of Karl Polanyi. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

3. State-led development I: History, types, results (Sept. 28 – GI)

- *L.C. Bresser-Pereira, "Macroeconomics of Stagnation and New Developmentalism in Latin America," in M. Forstater and L.R. Wray (eds.), Keynes for the Twenty-First Century: The Continuing Relevance of The General Theory. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- *P. Evans, "In Search of the 21st Century Developmental State," The Centre for Global Political Economy, University of Sussex, Working Paper No. 4, December 2008. [Available online at http://www.sussex.ac.uk/cgpe/documents/cgpe_wp04_peter_evans.pdf]
- *B. Fine, "The Developmental State and the Political Economy of Development," in Jomo K.S. and B. Fine (eds.), The New Development Economics After the Washington Consensus, pp. 101-22. London: Zed Books, 2006.
- *J. Rapley, Understanding Development, 3rd Edition, Chapter 3, pp. 35-62. Boulder: Lynne Rienner,

2007.

- *E.S. Reinert, "The Role of the State in Economic Growth," in P.A. Toninelli (ed.), The Rise and Fall of State-Owned Enterprise in the Western World, pp. 73-99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- L.C. Bresser-Pereira, "The New Developmentalism and Conventional Orthodoxy," Economie Appliquée, Vol. 59, No. 3, 2006, pp. 95-126. An earlier version is available online at http://www.networkideas.org/featart/jul2006/Developmentalism_%20Orthodoxy.pdf.
- H.J. Bruton, "A Reconsideration of Import Substitution," Journal of Economic Literature, 36:2 (1998), pp. 903-36. [EJ]
- H.J. Chang, "The East Asian Development Experience," in H.-J. Chang (ed.), Rethinking Development Economics, pp. 107-24. London: Anthem Press, 2004.
- H.J. Chang and I. Grabel, Reclaiming Development – An Alternative Economic Policy Manual. London and New York: Zed Books, 2004.
- Y.H. Chu, "The East Asian NICs: A State-Led Path to the Developed World," in B. Stalling (ed.), Global Change, Regional Response: The New International Context of Development, pp. 199-237. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz, "The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation: The Past and Future of Policies for Industrial Development," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- R. Ffrench-Davis, O. Muñoz, and G. Palma, "The Latin American Economies, 1950-1990." Cambridge History of Latin America, Vol. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- E. Frankema and J.-P. Smits, "Exploring the Historical Roots of Eastern Asia's Post-war Catch-Up Growth: A Trade Perspective, 1906-1999," Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy, Vol. 10, No. 2, May 2005, pp. 178-94.
- C. Johnson, "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept," in M. Woo-Cumings (ed.), The Developmental State, pp. 32-60. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- C. Kay, "The Structuralist School of Development," in his Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment, pp. 25-57. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- A. Kohli, "Where Do High-Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea's 'Developmental State,'" in M. Woo-Cumings (ed.), The Developmental State, pp. 93-137. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- A. Kohli, State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- J. Kriekhaus, "Reconceptualizing the Developmental State: Public Savings and Economic Growth," World Development, Vol. 30, No. 10, 2002, pp. 1697-1712.
- P. Leeson and M. Minogue, Perspectives on Development, Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-88. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- J. Martinusen, "The State and the Development Process," in Ch. 16 of his Society, State & Market. A Guide to Competing Theories of Development. London and New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1997, pp. 219-36.
- P. Meller (ed.), The Latin American Development Debate. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991.
- G. Palma, "Latin America during the Second Half of the Twentieth Century," in H.-J. Chang (ed.), Rethinking Development Economics, pp. 125-51. London: Anthem Press, 2004.
- R. Prebisch, The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems. New York: United Nations, 1950.
- G. Ranis, "The Evolution of Development Thinking: Theory and Policy." Economic Growth Center, Yale University, Discussion Paper No. 886, May 2004. Available at <http://www.econ.yale.edu/~granis/>.
- A. Saad-Filho, "The Rise and Decline of Latin American Structuralism and Dependency Theory." In K.S. Jomo and E.S. Reinert (eds.), Development Economics, pp. 128-45. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- J. M. Salazar-Xirirachs, "The Role of the State and the Market," in O. Sunkel, ed., Development from Within: Toward a Neostructuralist Approach for Latin America, 361-395. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.
- R. Thorp, "A Reappraisal of the Origins of Import-Substituting Industrialisation 1930-1950," Journal of Latin American Studies, Vol. 24, Quincentenary Supplement, 1992, pp. 181-95.
- J. Toye, The Dilemmas of Development, Second Edition, Chapters 3-4, pp. 68-117. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1993.

- R. Wade, Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of the Government in East Asian Industrialization. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- R.H. Wade, "What Strategies Are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of 'Development Space'" in K.P. Gallagher (ed.), Putting Development First – The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and International Financial Institutions, pp. 80-101. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- M. Woo-Cumings (ed.), The Developmental State. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.

4. Neoliberal doctrine since 1980: From the Washington to the Post-Washington Consensus and beyond (Oct. 5 – RS)

- *D. Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Intro & chaps. 1 and 2.
- *J. Rapley, Understanding Development, Chapters 4 & 5.
- *R. Gagnier, "Neoliberalism and the Political Theory of the market," Political Theory 25:3 (1997), 434-54. [EJ]
- *D. Rodrik, "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion," Journal of Economic Literature, 44:4, 2006, pp. 973-87. [EJ]
- M. Bienefeld, "Development Theory: A New Hegemonic Ideology?" in A. Bakan & E. MacDonald, Critical Political Studies: Debates and Dialogues from the Left, pp. 208-31. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2004.
- T. Biersteker, "The 'Triumph' of Liberal Economic Ideas in the Developing World," in Barbara Stallings (ed.), Global Problems, Regional Responses. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 174-96. (excellent overview)
- P. Collier *et al.* "Redesigning Conditionality," World Development 25:9 (1997), pp. 1399-1407. (heterodox ideas from the World Bank)
- D. Craig and D. Porter, "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: A New Convergence," World Development 31:1 (2003), 53-69.
- D. Eyoh and R. Sandbrook, "Pragmatic Neo-liberalism and Just Development in Africa," in A. Kohli *et al.* (eds), States, Markets and Just Growth: Development in the 21st Century. Tokyo: UNU Press, 2003.
- B. Fine, "Neither the Washington nor the Post-Washington Consensus," in B. Fine *et al.* (eds.), Development Policy in the 21st Century, pp. 1-27. London: Routledge, 2001
- A. Gamble, "Neoliberalism." Capital and Class 75, 2001, pp. 127-34. [EJ]
- C. Gore, "The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries," World Development 28:5 (2000), pp. 789-804.
- R.H. Green, "A Cloth Untrue: The Evolution of Structural Adjustment in Africa", Journal of International Affairs 52:1 (1998), 207-32.
- R.N. Gwynne and C. Kay, "Views from the Periphery: Futures of Neoliberalism in Latin America." Third World Quarterly, 21:1, 2000, pp. 141-156.
- B. Jessop, "Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective." Antipode 34:3, 2002, pp. 452-72. [EJ]
- W. Larner, "Neoliberalism?" Environment and Planning: Society and Space 21:5, 2003, pp. 509-12.
- N.H.I. Lipumba, Africa Beyond Adjustment. Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, 1994. (good critique of early neoliberal thinking)
- M. Naim, "Fads and Fashions in Economic Reforms: Washington Consensus or Washington Confusion?" Third World Quarterly 21:3 (2000), pp. 505-28.
- Z. Onis & F. Senses, "Rethinking the Emerging Post-Washington Consensus," Development and Change, 36:2, 2005, pp. 263-90. EJ
- J. Pender, "From 'Structural Adjustment' to 'Comprehensive Development Framework': Conditionality Transformed?" Third World Quarterly 22:3 (2001), 397-411.
- J.L. Richardson, Contending Liberalisms in World Politics: Ideology and Power. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.
- A. Saad-Filho, "From Washington to Post-Washington Consensus: Neoliberal Agendas for Economic Development," in A. Saad-Filho and D. Johnston (eds.), Neoliberalism, Chapter 12, pp. 113-19.
- J. Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in J. Williamson (ed.), Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?, pp. 7-38. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1990. (concise statement of the Washington consensus)

- J. Williamson, "Democracy and the 'Washington Consensus'," World Development 21:8 (1993), pp. 1329-36.
- World Bank, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1989.
- World Bank, Adjustment Lending Policies for Sustainable Growth. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1990.
- World Bank, Adjustment in Africa. Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- World Bank, The World Bank Group: Four Years of Change and Renewal: A Progress Report Sept. 1999
<www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/pb/pbfouryears.htm>
- World Bank, World Development Report 2000: Poverty. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- World Bank, World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development. New York: OUP, 2006.
- T. Young, "A Project to Be Realized': Global Liberalism and Contemporary Africa." Millennium, 24:3, 1995, pp. 527-48.

5. State-led development II: The importance of "Industrial Policy" (Oct. 12 – GI)

- *H.J. Chang, "Kicking Away the Ladder: 'Good Policies' and 'Good Institutions' in Historical Perspective," in K.P. Gallagher (ed.), Putting Development First – The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and International Financial Institutions, pp. 102-25. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.
 - *M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz, "The Future of Industrial Policies in the New Millennium: Toward a Knowledge-Centered Development Agenda," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
 - *S. Lall, "Rethinking Industrial Strategy: The Role of the State in the Face of Globalization," in K.P. Gallagher (ed.), Putting Development First – The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and International Financial Institutions, pp. 33-68. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.
 - *E.S. Reinert, "Emulation versus Comparative Advantage: Competing and Complementary Principles in the History of Economic Policy," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- K. Aiginger, "Industrial Policy: A Dying Breed or A Re-emerging Phoenix," Journal of Industry, Competition and Trade, Vol.7, No.3-4, 2007, pp.297-323.
- A. Amsden, The Rise of the Rest: Challenges to the West from Late-Industrializing Economies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- A. Berry, Chapter 1 ("Issues Surrounding Growth Acceleration") and Chap. 12 ("Generalizing") in A. Berry, Taking off into Sustained, Equitable Growth. Johannesburg: Human Sciences Research Centre, 2009.
- H.J. Bruton, "A Reconsideration of Import Substitution," Journal of Economic Literature, 36:2 (1998), pp. 903-36. [EJ]
- H.J. Chang, The Political Economy of Industrial Policy. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- H.J. Chang, Kicking Away the Ladder. London: Anthem Press, 2002.
- H.J. Chang, "Kicking Away the Ladder: The 'Real' History of Free Trade," in A. Shaikh (ed.), Globalization and the Myths of Free Trade, pp. 23-49. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- M. Cimoli and J. Katz, "Structural Reforms, Technological Gaps and Economic Development: A Latin American Perspective," Industrial and Corporate Change, 12:2, 2003, pp. 387-411.
- M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, R. Nelson and J. Stiglitz, "Institutions and Policies Shaping Industrial Development: An Introductory Note," Working Paper, Initiative for Policy Dialogue, Columbia University, 2006.
- M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz, "The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation: The Past and Future of Policies for Industrial Development," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- M. Di Maio, "Industrial Policies in Developing Countries: History and Perspectives," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- B. Greenwald and J.E. Stiglitz, "Helping Infant Economies Grow: Foundations of Trade Policies for Developing Countries," American Economic Review, Vol. 96, No. 2 (May 2006), pp. 141-46.
- C.H.M. Ketels, "Industrial Policy in the United States," Journal of Industry, Competition and Trade, Vol.7, No. 3-4, 2007, pp.147-67.

- M.H. Kahn and S. Blankenburg, "The Political Economy of Industrial Policy in Asia and Latin America," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- L. Kim, "Building Technological Capabilities for Industrialization: Analytical Framework and Korea's Experience," Industrial and Corporate Change, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1999, pp. 111–36.
- W. Latsch, "The Possibility of Industrial Policy," Oxford Development Studies, Vol. 36, No. 1 (March), 2008, pp. 23-37.
- J.S. Mah, "Industrial Policy and Economic Development: Korea's Experience," Journal of Economic Issues, Vol. 41, No. 1 (March), 2007, pp. 77-92.
- M. Noland and H. Pack, Industrial Policy in an Era of Globalization: Lessons from Asia. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 2003.
- E. Pérez Caldentey and A. Ali, "The Comparative Advantage Fallacy and a Rule for Convergence," CEPAL Review, No. 93, December 2007, pp. 125-36.
- E. Reinert, "Catching-Up from Way Behind – A Third World Perspective on First World History," in J. Fagerberg, B. Verspagen and N. von Tunzelmann (eds.), The Dynamic of Technology, Trade, and Growth, pp. 168-97. Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1994.
- E. Reinert, How Rich Countries Got Rich ... and Why Poor Countries Stay Poor. London: Constable & Robinson, 2007.
- D. Rodrik, "Getting Interventions Right: How Korea and Taiwan Grew Rich," Economic Policy, Vol. 20, 1995, pp. 55–107.
- D. Rodrick, "Policies for Economic Diversification," CEPAL Review, No. 87, December 2005, pp. 7-23.
- D. Rodrik, "Industrial Policy for the Twenty-First Century," in his One Economics, Many Recipes, Chapter 4, pp. 99-152, 2007. [An earlier version of this paper is available online at <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~drodrik/UNIDOSep.pdf>]
- A. Shaikh, "Globalization and the Myth of Free Trade," in A. Shaikh (ed.), Globalization and the Myths of Free Trade, pp. 50-68. New York: Routedledge, 2007.
- M. Shafaeddin, "How Did Developed Countries Industrialized? The History of Trade and Industrial Policy: The Case of Great Britain and the USA," Discussion Paper No. 139, Geneva, UNCTAD, 1998. (Available online at http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/dp_139.en.pdf)
- M. Shafaeddin, "Is the Industrial Policy Relevant in the 21st Century?" MPRA Paper No. 6643, Munich, 2006. (Available online at <http://mpa.ub.uni-muenchen.de/6643/>)
- J. Stiglitz, "Development Policies in a World of Globalization" in K.P. Gallagher (ed.), Putting Development First – The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and International Financial Institutions, pp. 15-32. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- R.H. Wade, "What Strategies Are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of 'Development Space'" in K.P. Gallagher (ed.), Putting Development First – The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and International Financial Institutions, pp. 80-101. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- L.E. Westphal, "Industrial Policy in an Export-Propelled Economy: Lessons from South Korea." Economic Perspectives, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Summer), 1990, pp. 41-60.

PART II: EVOLUTION AND EFFECTS OF NEOLIBERALISM IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

6. Broadening the neoliberal agenda to good governance and strong institutions – Are they key to development, and how does a country get them? (Oct. 19 – RS)

- *D. Acemoglu, S. Johnson & J. Robinson, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development," American Economic Review 91:5 (2001), 1369-1401. [EJ]
- *D. Rodrik, "Institutions for High-Quality Growth: What They Are and How to Acquire Them," Studies in Comparative International Development, 35:3, 2000, pp. 3-31. [EJ]
- *M. Andrews, "The Good Governance Agenda: Beyond Indicators without Theory," Oxford Development Studies, 36:4 (2008), 379-407. [EJ]

D. Acemoglu, "Root Causes: A Historical Approach to Assessing the Role of Institutions in Economic Development," Finance & Development 40 (June 2003), 27-30. concise, clear statement.

J. Aron, "Growth and Institutions: A Review of the Evidence," World Bank Research Observer 15:1, 2000, pp. 99-135.

- N.F. Campos & J.B. Nugent, "Development Performance and the Institutions of Governance: Evidence from East Asia and Latin America." World Development 27:3, 1999, pp. 439-52.
- A. Diop *et al.*, "Is Per Capita Growth in Africa Hampered by Poor Governance and Weak institutions?" African Development Review 22:2 (2010), 265-75.
- U. Engel & R. Olsen, eds., The African Exception: Notes on Governance in Africa. London: Ashgate, 2005.
- A.A. Goldsmith, "Africa's Overgrown State Reconsidered: Bureaucracy and Economic Growth," World Politics 51:4 (1999), 520-46.
- M. Grindle, "Good Enough Governance: Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries." Governance, 17:4, 2004, pp. 525-48. [EJ]
- M. Grindle, "Good Enough Governance Revisited." Development Policy Review 25:5, 2007, 533-74.
- S. Haggard, Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990 (especially pp. 254-69).
- G. Harrison, The World Bank and Africa: The Construction of Governance States. London: Routledge, 2004.
- A. Kohli *et al.* (eds.) States, Markets and Just Growth: Development in the 21st Century. Tokyo: UNU Press, 2003. (good selection of essays relating to all regions of the developing world)
- I. Lienert, "Civil Service Reform in Africa: Mixed Results after 10 Years," Finance and Development 35:2 (1998), 42-5.
- J. Martinussen, Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development, chapters 17-18
- T. Mkandawire, "Stylizing Accumulation in African Countries and the Role of the State in Policy Making," in M. Lundahl and B.J. Ndulu, eds., New Directions in Development Economics. London; Routledge, 1996, pp. 323-51. (excellent critique of neoliberal thinking on the state)
- T. Mkandawire, "The Political Economy of Financial Reform in Africa," Journal of International Development 11:3 (1999), pp. 321-42.
- M. Moore, "Promoting Good Government by Supporting Institutional Development?" IDS Bulletin, 26:2, 1995, pp. 89-96.
- B.J. Ndulu & S.A. O'Connell, "Governance and Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa," Journal of Economic Perspectives 13:3, 1999, pp. 41-66.
- B. Olowu, "Redesigning African Civil Service Reforms," Journal of Modern African Studies 37:1 (1999), 1-23.
- D. Olowu and A. Williams, Governance and Democratization in West Africa. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1999.
- P. Oxhorn & P.K. Starr, eds., Markets and Democracy in Latin America: Conflict or Convergence? Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999.
- R. Palan, "Recasting Political Authority: Globalization and the State," in R. D. Germain, ed., Globalization and its Critics. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.
- A. Przeworski, "Institutions Matter?" Government and Opposition 2004, 527-40.
- J. Rapley, Understanding Development, Chapter 6.
- D. Rodrik, A. Subramanian and F. Trebbi, "Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Integration and Geography in Economic Development," IMF WP/02/189, 2002.
- D. Rodrik, "Introduction", in D. Rodrik, ed., In Search of Prosperity. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2003.
- R. Sandbrook, The Politics of Africa's Economic Recovery, chs. 1, 3, 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- N. Van de Walle, African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999. Cambridge U.P. 2001.
- World Bank, World Development Report 2002: Building Institutions for Markets. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

7. Assessing neoliberal reform: The social and economic record (Oct. 26 – GI)

- *A. Dreher, "IMF and Economic Growth: The Effects of Programs, Loans, and Compliance with Conditionality," World Development, Vol. 34, No. 5, May 2006, pp. 769-88. [EJ]
- *L. Lindio-McGovern, "Women and Neoliberal Globalization Inequities and Resistance," Journal of Developing Societies, Vol. 23, No. 1/2, 2007, pp. 285-97. [EJ]
- *J.A. Ocampo, "Lights and Shadows in Latin American Structural Reforms," in G. Indart (ed.), Economic Reforms, Growth and Inequality in Latin America, pp. 31-62. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- *J. Rapley, Understanding Development, 3rd Edition, Chapter 5, pp. 87-133. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- *P. Sparr, "Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment," in P. Sparr (ed.), Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment. London: Zed, 1994, pp. 13-39.

On the Social Record:

- D. Alarcón and E. Zepeda, "Economic Reform or Social Development? The Challenges of a Period of Reform in Latin America: Case Study of Mexico," in G. Indart (ed.), Economic Reforms, Growth and Inequality in Latin America, pp. 159-90. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- O. Altimir, "Income Distribution and Poverty through Crisis and Adjustment," CEPAL Review, 52 (April), 1994, pp. 7-31.
- H. Afshar and C. Dennis (eds.), Women and Adjustment Policies in the Third World. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- J. A. Ball, "The Effects of Neoliberal Structural Adjustment on Women's Relative Employment in Latin America," International Journal of Social Economics, Vol. 31, No. 10, 2004, pp. 974-87.
- L. Benería, Gender, Development, and Globalization: Economics as if All People Mattered. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- A. Berry, "Confronting the Income Distribution Threat in Latin America," in A. Berry (ed.), Poverty, Economic Reform, and Income Distribution in Latin America. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998, pp. 9-41.
- A. Berry and F. Stewart, "Globalization, Liberalization, and Inequality: Real Causes", Challenge: The Magazine of Economic Affairs, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2000, pp. 42-92.
- A. Berry, "Latin America's Lost Quarter-Century: What Went Wrong?" Munk Centre Monitor, Winter 2006.
- P. Collier, "The Impact of Adjustment on Women," in L. Demery et al. (eds.), Understanding the Social Effect of Policy Reform. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1993.
- G.A. Cornia, "Globalization and the Distribution of Income between and within Countries." In H. Chang (ed.), "Rethinking Development Economics," pp. 426-51. London: Anthem Press, 2004.
- A. Cornwall, "Making a Difference? Gender and Participatory Development," in S. Razavi (ed.), Shifting Burdens: Gender and Agrarian Change under Neoliberalism, pp. 197-232. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2002.
- D. Elson, "The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: The Concepts and Issues," in B. Onimode (ed.), The IMF, The World Bank and the African Debt. London: Zed Books, 1989.
- D. Elson, "Male Bias in Structural Adjustment," in H. Afshar and C. Dennis (eds.), Women and Adjustment Policies in the Third World. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- G. Geisler, "Who is Losing Out? Structural Adjustment, Gender, and the Agricultural Sector in Zambia," Journal of Modern African Studies, 30, 1, 1992, 113-39.
- L. Haddad et al., "The Gender Dimensions of Economic Adjustment Policies: Potential Interactions and Evidence to Date," World Development, 23:6, June 1995, pp. 881-96.
- S. Haggard, "Markets, Poverty Alleviation, and Income Distribution: An Assessment of Neoliberal Claims," Ethics and International Affairs, 5, 1991, pp. 175-96.
- D. Johnston, "Poverty and Distribution: Back on the Neoliberal Agenda?" in A. Saad-Filho and D. Jackson (eds.), Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader, Chapter 15, pp. 135-41. London: Pluto Press, 2005.
- N. Kanji and N. Jazdowska, "Structural Adjustment and the Implications for Low-Income Urban Women in Zimbabwe," ROAPE, 56, March 1993, 11-26.
- L. Lindio-McGovern and E.G. Polakoff (eds.), "Women and Globalization," Journal of Developing Societies, Vol. 23, No. 1/2, 2007.
- M. Kevane, Women and Development in Africa: How Gender Works. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.
- S. Morley, "Reform, Macroeconomic Instability and the Distribution of Income in Latin America in the 1990s," in G. Indart (ed.), Economic Reforms, Growth and Inequality in Latin America, pp. 89-118. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- J. Nelson, "Poverty, Equity, and the Politics of Adjustment," in S. Haggard and R. Kaufman (eds.), The Politics of Economic Adjustment, pp. 221-62. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- C. Obbo, "Women, Children and a 'Living Wage'," in H. B. Hansen and M. Twaddle (eds.), Changing Uganda, pp. 98-111. London: J. Currey, 1991.
- A.H. O'Malley and H. Veltmeyer, "Banking on Poverty in Latin America: Assessing the World Bank's 'War on Poverty'," Canadian Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 27, No. 3, 2006.
- S. Razavi (ed.), Shifting Burdens: Gender and Agrarian Change under Neoliberalism. Bloomfield, CT:
- F. Stewart, "Can Adjustment Programmes Incorporate the Interests of Women?" in H. Afshar and C. Dennis (eds.), Women and Adjustment Policies in the Third World, pp. 13-46. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- R. Wade, "Is Globalization Reducing Poverty and Inequality?" World Development, Vol. 32, No. 4, 2004, pp. 567-89.

J. Wong, "Democratization and the Welfare State" in J. Wong, Healthy Democracies: Welfare Politics in Taiwan and South Korea. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

On the Economic Record:

J.N. Cohen and M.A. Centeno, "Neoliberalism and Patterns of Economic Performance, 1980-2000," The Annals of the American Academy, No. 606, July 2006, pp. 32-67.

P. Collier and J. Gunning, "Why has Africa Grown Slowly?" Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1999, pp. 3-22.

J.M. Cypher, "The Slow Death of the Washington Consensus on Latin America," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 25, No. 6 (November), 1998, pp. 47-51.

W. Easterly, "The Lost Decades: Developing Countries' Stagnation in Spite of Policy Reform," Journal of Economic Growth, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2001, pp. 135-57. [EJ]

B. Fine, C. Lapavistas and J. Pincus (eds.), Development Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond the Post-Washington Consensus. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

R.H. Green, "The IMF and the World Bank in Africa: How Much Learning?" in T. Callaghy and P. Ravenhill (eds.), Hemmed In: Responses to Africa's Economic Decline. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, pp. 54-89.

D. Green, "Latin America: Neoliberal Failure and the Search for Alternatives," Third World Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 7, 1996, pp. 109-22.

D. Greenaway and O. Morrissey, "Structural Adjustment and Liberalisation in Developing Countries: What Lessons Have We Learned?" Kyklos, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1993, pp. 241-61.

M. Healey and E. Seman, "Down, Argentine Way: How the IMF's Darling Collapsed," The American Prospect, January 28, 2002.

D. Hellinger and R. Hammond, "Structural Adjustment: Debunking the Myth," Africa Report, Vol. 39, No. 6, 1994, pp. 52-5.

G. Indart, "The Reform, Growth and Inequality Debate in Latin America," in G. Indart (ed.), Economic Reforms, Growth and Inequality in Latin America, pp. 3-20. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

P. Mosley, T. Subasat, and J. Weeks, "Assessing Adjustment in Africa." World Development, Vol. 23, No. 9 (September), 1995, pp. 1459-74.

J.A. Ocampo and L. Taylor, "Trade Liberalisation in Developing Economies: Modest Benefits but Problems with Productivity Growth, Macro Prices, and Income Distribution." The Economic Journal, 108:450, September 1998, pp. 1523-46.

A. Margheritis and A.W. Pereira, "The Neoliberal Turn in Latin America: The Cycle of Ideas and the Search for an Alternative," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 34, No. (May), 2007, pp. 25-48.

A. Przeworski and J.R. Vreeland, "The Effect of IMF Programs on Economic Growth," Journal of Development Economics, Vol. 62, No. 2, August 2000, pp. 385-421.

D. Rodrik, The New Global Economy and Developing Countries: Making Openness Work. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1999

A. Singh, "Openness and the Market Friendly Approach to Development: Learning the Right Lessons from Development Experience," World Development, Vol. 22, No. 12 (December), 1994, pp. 1811-23.

J. Stiglitz, Globalization and Its Discontents, Chapters 4, pp. 89-132. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002.

H. White and A.G. Dijkstra, Programme Aid and Development: Beyond Conditionality. London: Routledge, 2003.

8. Broadening the neoliberal agenda to social capital – What is it, why is it so important, and how does one create it? (Nov. 2 – RS)

*A. Portes, "The Two Meanings of Social Capital," Sociological Forum 15:1, 2000, pp. 1-12. [EJ]

*F. Schuurman, "Social Capital: The Politico-Emancipatory Potential of a Disputed Concept," Third World Quarterly 24:6, 2003, pp. 991-1110. [EJ]

*A. Bebbington et al., "Exploring Social Capital Debates at the World Bank," Journal of Development Studies 40:5, 2004, pp. 33-64. [EJ]

*J. Vermaak, "Reassessing the Concept of Social Capital: Considering Resources for Satisfying the Needs of Rural Communities," Development Southern Africa 26:3 (2009), 399-412. [EJ]

B. Edwards & M.W. Foley, "Social Capital and the Political Economy of our Discontent," American Behavioral

- Scientist 40:5, 1997.
- B. Fine, Social Capital versus Social Theory: Political Economy and Social Science at the Turn of the Millenium. London: Routledge.
- F. Fukuyama, "Social Capital and the Global Economy," Foreign Affairs 74:5 (1995), 89-103.
- D. Halpern, Social Capital. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005. Highly recommended.
- J. Harriss, Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital. London: Anthem Press, 2002.
- J. Harriss, "Social Capital" in Jomo K.S. and B. Fine (eds.), The New Development Economics After the Washington Consensus, pp. 184-99. London: Zed Books, 2006.
- J. Healey and M. Robinson, Democracy, Governance and Economic Policy: Sub-Saharan Africa in Comparative Perspective. London: ODI, 1992.
- M. Hooghe and D. Stolle, eds. Generating Social Capital: Civil Society and Institutions in Comparative Perspective. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2003.
- G. Hyden, "Civil Society, Social Capital and Development: Dissection of a Complex Discourse," Studies in Comparative International Development 32:1, 1997.
- M. Paldam & G. T. Svendsen, eds. Trust, Social Capital and Economic Growth; An International comparison. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004.
- M. Paldam, "Social Capital: One or Many Definitions and Measurement," Journal of Economic Surveys 14:5, 2000.
- A. Portes, "Social Capital: Origins and Applications," Annual Review of Sociology 24, 1998, pp. 1-24.
- J. Sobel, "Can We Trust Social Capital?" Journal of Economic Literature 40, March 2002.
- M. Somers, "Let Them Eat Social Capital: Socializing the Market versus Marketizing the Social," Thesis Eleven 81, May 2005, pp. 5-19. [EJ]
- G.L.H. Svendsen & G.T. Svendsen, The Creation and Destruction of Social Capital, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004
- M. Szeftel, "Misunderstanding African Politics: Corruption and the Governance Agenda," Review of African Political Economy 76 (1998), pp. 221-40.
- J. Teichman, The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2001, chs. 1, 7 and 8.
- E. Uslaner, The Moral Foundations of Trust. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.
- N. Van de Walle, "Political Liberalization and Economic Policy Reform in Africa," World Development, 22:4 (1994), 483-500.

9. Assessing neoliberal reform: Does free-market capitalism ineluctably lead to environmental decline, or is a 'Green Capitalism' feasible? (Nov. 16 – RS)

- *C. Greenhalgh, "Why does Market Capitalism Fail to Deliver a Sustainable Environment and Greater Equality of Incomes?" Cambridge Journal of Economics 29:6, 2005, 1091-1109. [EJ]
- *I. Wallerstein, "Ecology and Capitalist Costs of Production: No Exit" in W. Goldfrank et al. (eds.), Ecology and the World System, pp. 3-11. Westport: Greenwood, 1999.
- *F.H. Buttel, "Ecological Modernization as a Social Theory." Geoforum 31:1, 2000, pp. 57-65. [EJ]
- *D.F. White, "A Green Industrial Revolution? Sustainable Technological Innovation in a Global Age," Environmental Politics 11:2, 2002, pp. 1-26. [EJ]
- T. Benton, "Beyond Left and Right: Ecological Politics, Capitalism and Modernity." In Greening the Millennium, ed. M. Jacobs, pp. 34-46. London: Blackwell.
- J. Clapp, Toxic Exports: The Transfer of Hazardous Wastes from Rich to Poor Countries. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2001.
- D. Deb, "Development versus Freedom in Sustainability," Capitalism, Nature, Socialism 17:3, 2006, pp. 49-70.
- M. Goldman, Privatizing nature: Political Struggles for the Global Commons. London: Pluto Press, 1998.
- M. Goldman, Imperial Nature: The World Bank and Struggles for Social Justice in the Age of Globalization. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2005.
- K. Gould, D. Pellow & A. Schnaiberg, "Interrogating the Treadmill of Production," Organization and Environment, 17:3, 2004, pp. 296-316. [EJ]
- M. Grieg-Gran *et al.*, "How Can Market Mechanisms for Forest Environmental Services Help the Poor?" World Development 33:9, 2005, 1511-27.
- D. Harvey, Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996, chaps. 6-8.
- N. Heynen & P. Robbins, "The Neoliberalization of Nature." Capitalism, Nature, Socialism 16:1, 2005, pp. 5-

8.

- J. Kovel, The Enemy of Nature: The End of Capitalism or the End of the Earth? London: Zed, 2002.
- B. Milani, Designing the Green Economy: The Postindustrial Alternative to Corporate Globalization. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.
- A.P.J. Mol, Globalization and Environmental Reform: The Ecological Modernization of the Global Economy. Boston: MIT Press, 2003. (believes reforms within capitalism are practicable)
- J. O'Connor, Natural Causes: Essays in Ecological Marxism. New York; Guilford Press, 1998. (leading Marxist in environmental field)
- J.T. Roberts & B.C. Parks, A Climate of Injustice: Global Inequality, North-South Politics and Climate Policy. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007. (without justice, no effective environmental policy)
- M. Watts, "Green Capitalism, Green Governability." American Behavioral Scientist 45:9, 2002, pp. 1313-17.
- D.F. White, "A Political Sociology of Socionatures: Revisionist Manoeuvres in Environmental Sociology." Environmental Politics 15:1, 2006, pp. 59-77.
- E.O. Wright, "Interrogating the Treadmill of Production: Some Questions I Still Want to Know about and Am Not Afraid to Ask." Organization and Environment 17:3, 2004, pp. 317-22. EJ
- R. York & E. Rosa, "Key Challenges to Ecological Modernization Theory." Organization and Environment 16: 3, 2003, pp. 273-85.

10. Initiatives to deal with special developmental challenges: Debt and the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Nov. 23 – GI)

- *J.S. Arbache, "The links between HIV/AIDS and development outcomes," in E.L. Lule, R.M. Seifman, and A.C. David (eds.), The Changing HIV/AIDS Landscape: Selected Papers for the World Bank's Agenda for Action in Africa, 2007-2011, pp. 63-79. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2009. (http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPHIVAIDS/Resources/The_Changing_HIV-AIDS_Landscape.pdf.)
- *F. Cheru, "Debt Relief and Social Investment: Linking the HIPC Initiative to the HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Africa: Case of Zambia," Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 27, No. 86 (December), 2000, pp. 519-35. [EJ]
- *G.R. Gupta, "Globalization, Women and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic," Peace Review, Vol. 16, No.1 (March), 2004, pp. 79-83. [EJ]
- *E. Helleiner and G. Cameron, "Another World Order? The Bush Administration and HIPC Debt Cancellation," New Political Economy, Vol.11, No.1, 2006, pp.125-40. [EJ]
- *K. Johnson, "Globalization, Social Policy and the State: An Analysis of HIV/AIDS in South Africa," New Political Science, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September), 2005, pp. 309-29. [EJ]
- *J.E. Serieux, "Debt of the Poorest Countries: Anatomy of a Crisis Kept on Hold." Canadian Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2001, pp. 305-42. [Re-printed in J. Serieux and Y. Samy (eds.), Debt Relief for the Poorest Countries, pp. 17-54. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2003.]

On the HIV/AIDS Pandemic:

- F.W. Agbola, M.Y. Damoense and Y.K. Saini, "South Africa: Impact of HIV/AIDS on Food Demand," International Journal of Social Economics, Vol. 31, No. 7, 2004, pp.721-31.
- C. Arndt and J.D.Lewis, "The Macro Implications of HIV/AIDS in South Africa: A Preliminary Assessment." South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 68, No. 5, December 2000, pp. 856-87.
- T. Barnett and A. Whiteside, "The World Development Report 2000/01: HIV/AIDS Still Not Properly Considered!" Journal of International Development, Vol. 13, No. 3, April 2001, pp. 369-76.
- C. Baylies, "HIV/AIDS in Africa: Global and Local Inequalities and Responsibilities." Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 86, Dec. 2000, pp. 487-500.
- F. le R. Booyesen, "Income and Poverty Dynamics in HIV/AIDS-Affected Households in the Free State Province of South Africa," South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 72, No. 3, Special Issue, September 2004, pp. 522-45.
- M. Casale and A. Whiteside, "The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Poverty, Inequality and Economic Growth," IDRC Working Papers on Globalization, Growth and Poverty Working, Working Paper No. 3.
- F. Cheru, "Debt, Adjustment and the Politics of Effective Response to HIV/AIDS in Africa." Third World Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 2, Apr. 2002, pp. 299-312.
- C. Conrad and C.R. Doss, "The AIDS Epidemic: Challenges for Feminist Economics," Feminist Economics,

- Vol. 14, No. 4 (October), 2008, pp. 1-18.
- P. Corrigan, G. Gloom, and F. Mendez, "AIDS Crisis and Growth," Journal of Development Economics, Vol. 77, 2005, pp. 107-24.
- R. De Vogli and G.L. Birbeck, "Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa," Journal of Health, Population, and Nutrition, Vol. 23, No. 2, June 2005, pp. 105-20.
- A. De-Waal, "Why the HIV/AIDS Pandemic is a Structural Threat to Africa's Governance and Economic Development." Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol. 27, No. 2, Summer-Fall 2003, pp. 6-24.
- A. De-Waal, "How will HIV/AIDS Transform African Governance?" African Affairs, No. 406, Jan. 2003, pp. 1-23.
- S. Dike, "Research on the Economic Impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa: Review of Methodology and Lessons Learned." South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 70, No. 7, 2002, pp. 1283-91.
- S. Dixon, S. McDonald and J. Roberts, "AIDS and Economic Growth in Africa: A Panel Data Analysis." Journal of International Development, Vol. 13, No. 4, May 2001, pp. 411-26.
- M. Drinkwater, "HIV/AIDS and Agriculture in Southern Africa: What Difference Does It Make?," IDS Bulletin-Institute Of Development Studies, Vol. 36, No.2, 2005.
- W. Easterly, "How, and How Not, to Stop AIDS in Africa," The New York Review of Books, Vol. 54, No. 13, August 13, 2007.
- N. Eberstadt, "The Future of AIDS." Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 2002, pp. 22-45.
- L.L. Ellis, B.W. Smith, and P. Laubscher, "The Macro-Economic Impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa." Journal for Studies in Economics and Econometrics, Vol. 27, No. 2, August 2003, pp. 1-28.
- H. Epstein, The Invisible Cure: Africa, the West, and the Fight Against AIDS. New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007.
- F.K. Fraser et al., "The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Small and Medium Enterprises in South Africa." South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 70, No. 7, December 2002, pp. 1216-34.
- K.R. Hope, "Africa's HIV/AIDS Crisis in a Development Context," International Relations, Vol. 15, No. 6 (December), 2001, pp. 15-36.
- L.M. Johansson, "Fiscal Implications of AIDS in South Africa," European Economic Review, Vol. 51, No. 7 (October), 2007, pp. 1614-40.
- S. Lewis, Race against Time. Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2005.
- E. Lovasz and B. Schipp, "The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Economic Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa," South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 77, No. 2 (June), 2009, pp. 245-56.
- R. Love, "HIV/AIDS in Africa: Links, Livelihoods and Legacies," Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 31, No. 102, December 2004, pp. 639-48.
- E.L. Lule, R.M. Seifman, and A.C. David (eds.), The Changing HIV/AIDS Landscape: Selected Papers for the World Bank's Agenda for Action in Africa, 2007-2011. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2009.
- S. McDonald and J. Roberts, "AIDS and Economic Growth: A Human Capital Approach," Journal of Development Economics, Vol. 80, No.1, June 2006, pp. 228-50.
- C. O'Manique, Neoliberalism and AIDS Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa: Globalization's Pandemic. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- N.-K. Poku, "Poverty, Debt and Africa's HIV/AIDS Crisis." International Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 3, July 2002, pp. 531-46.
- N.-K. Poku and F. Cheru, "The Politics of Poverty and Debt in Africa's AIDS Crisis." International Relations, Vol. 15, No. 6, Dec. 2001, pp. 37-54.
- G. Rugalema, "Coping or Struggling? A Journey into the Impact of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa." Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 27, No. 86, December 2000, pp. 537-45.
- H. Schneider, "On the Fault-Line: The Politics of AIDS Policy in Contemporary South Africa." African Studies, Vol. 61, No. 1, July 2002, pp. 145-168.
- G. Seidel, "HIV/AIDS: Behind the Rhetoric, Whose Interests Are Begin Served?" Review of African Political Economy. Vol. 30, No. 98, Dec 2003, p. 664.
- S.Z. Theodoulou, "AIDS: the Challenge to African Development and Democracy." Journal of African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 1, Fall-Winter 1999-2000, pp. 27-46.

On the Debt Crisis and Relief:

- G.C. Abbott, Debt Relief and Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Aldershot, U.K.: Elgar; distributed in the U.S. by Ashgate, Brookfield, Vt., 1993.
- S. Arslanalp and P.B. Henry, "Debt Relief," Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 20, No. 1, Winter 2006,

- pp. 207-20.
- N. Birdsall, S. Claessens and I. Diwan, "Will HIPC Matter? The Debt Game and Donor Behaviour in Africa." CEPR Discussion Papers: 3297, 2002.
- J.K. Boyce and L. Ndikumana, "Is Africa a Net Creditor? New Estimates of Capital Flight from Severely Indebted Sub-Saharan African Countries, 1970-96." Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 38, No. 2, December 2001, pp. 27-56.
- C.A. Primo Braga and D. Domeland (eds.), Debt Relief and Beyond: Lessons Learned and Challenges Ahead. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2009.
- F. Cheru, "Debt Relief and Social Investment: Linking the HIPC Initiative to the HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Africa: The Case of Zambia." Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 27, No. 86, December 2000, pp. 519-35.
- C. Collins, "'Break the Chain of Debt!' International Jubilee 2000 Campaign Demands Deeper Debt Relief." Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 26, No. 81, Sep 1999, p. 419.
- S.E. Dessy and D. Vencatachellum, "Debt Relief and Social Services Expenditure: The African Experience, 1989-2003," African Development Review, Vol. 19, No. 1 (April), 2007, pp. 200-216.
- S.E. Edo, "The External Debt Problem in Africa: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and Morocco." African Development Review, Vol. 14, No. 2, December 2002, pp. 221-36.
- D.C. Fonchamnyo, "Debt Relief Incentives in Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC): An Empirical Assessment," International Advances in Economic Research, Vol. 15, No. 3 (August), 2009, pp. 322-35
- B.G. Gunther, J. Rahman and Q. Wodon, "Robbing Peter to Pay Paul? Understanding Who Pays for Debt Relief," World Development, Vol.36, No.1 (January), 2008, pp. 1-16.
- J. Hanlon, "'Illegitimate' Loans: Lenders, Not Borrowers, Are Responsible," Thir World Quaterly, Vol 27, No. 2, January 2006.
- G.K. Helleiner, "External Resource Flows, Debt Relief and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," in G.A. Cornia and G.K. Helleiner, From Adjustment to Development in Africa: Conflict, Controversy, Convergence, Consensus?, pp. 317-33. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- M.N. Hussain and B.G. Gunter, "External Shocks and the HIPC Initiative: Impacts on Growth and Poverty in Africa," African Development Review, Volume 17, Number 3, December 2005, pp. 461-92.
- IMF, "The Logic of Debt Relief for the Poorest Countries," September 2000. [Available online at <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2000/092300.htm>.]
- M. Kremer and S. Jayachandran, "Odious Debt." NBER Working Papers: 8953, 2002.
- T. Moss, "Briefing: The G8's Multilateral *Debt Relief* Initiative and Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa," African Affairs, Vol.105, No.419, 2006, pp.285-93.
- F. Owusu, "Pragmatism and Gradual Shift from Dependency to Neoliberalism: The World Bank, African Leaders and Development Policy in Africa," World Development, Vol. 31, No. 10, 2003, pp. 1655-72.
- J. Serieux and Y. Samy (eds.), Debt Relief for the Poorest Countries. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2003.
- A.D. Waal "What is New in the New Partnership for Africa Development," International Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 3, 2002, pp. 463-76.

PART III: MARKET-ORIENTED REFORM: CASE STUDIES

Note to students who are preparing a presentation on a case study in session 11-14:

You should pose one or more of the questions from the following list in your presentation and/or essay. Your selection of questions will depend upon your interests, your particular case, and the orientation of the relevant literature.

1. What has been the nature of the economic reform programmes, and how 'successful' have they been? What has been the impact on poverty? On women? On the environment?
2. To what extent have poor governance and poor institutions been implicated in this country's economic problems? What have been the domestic and international pressures towards democratization? To what degree has democratic governance been consolidated? What has been achieved in the way of institutional reform, other than in the realm of democratization?

3. What are the politics of economic reform? To what extent is the government committed to economic reform, and what accounts for this degree of commitment? Has the reforming government managed to build a political coalition in favour of economic stabilization and liberalization, or are opponents of reform still politically powerful? If the country is undergoing or underwent political liberalization or democratization, has this process been favourable or unfavourable to economic reform and/or economic progress?
4. Has the integration of this country into global markets helped its economic recovery? What has been the impact of this integration upon inequality? Poverty reduction? Democratization?

11. Chile: Neoliberal reform and capitalist transformation (Nov. 30 – GI)

- *J.R. Barton, "State *Continuismo* and *Pinochetismo*: The Keys to the Chilean Transition," Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 21, No. 3 (July), 2002, pp. 358-74. [EJ]
 - *J.M. Cypher, "The Political Economy of the Chilean State in the Neo-Liberal Era: 1973–2005," Canadian Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2005, pp. 763-79.
 - *M. Kurtz, "State Developmentalism without a Developmental State: The Public Foundations of the 'Free Market Miracle' in Chile." Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Summer), 2001, pp. 1-25. [EJ]
 - *R. Sandbrook, M. Edelman, P. Heller and J. Teichman, "Chile: The Tumultuous Path to the Third Way" in their Social Democracy in the Global Periphery: Origins, Challenges, Prospects, pp. 147-74. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- A. Berry "Chile's Dramatic Sequence from Crises to Sustained Growth" in A. Berry, Taking off into Sustained, Equitable Growth. Johannesburg: Human Sciences Research Centre, 2009.
- J.R. Barton and W.E. Murray, "The End of Transition? Chile: 1990-2000," Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 21, No. 3 (July), 2002, pp. 329-38.
- B.P. Bosworth, R. Dornbusch, and Raúl Labán, eds., The Chilean Economy: Policy Lessons and Challenges. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994.
- C. Díaz-Alejandro, "Good-Bye Financial Repression, Hello Financial Crash," Journal of Development Economics, 19, 1985, pp. 1-24. Reprinted in J.I. Domínguez (ed.), Economic Strategies and Policies in Latin America, New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1994, pp. 205-28.
- S. Edwards, "Stabilization with Liberalization: An Evaluation of Ten Years of Chile's Experiment with Free-Market Policies, 1973-83," in J. Domínguez (ed.), Essays on Mexico, Central and South America. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994.
- A.E. Fernández Jilberto, "Transition to Democracy in a Neoliberal Economy: Rethinking State-Society Relations in Chile," International Journal of Political Economy, 23:1, Spring 1993, pp. 13-34.
- R. Ffrench-Davis, Economic Reforms in Chile: From Dictatorship to Democracy. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- R. Ffrench-Davis, "A Macroeconomics-for-Growth in the Democratic Transition in Chile," in his Reforming Latin America's Economies after Market Fundamentalism, pp. 213-39. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.
- R. Ffrench-Davis and O. Muñoz, "Economic and Political Instability in Chile" in S. Teitel (ed.), Towards a New Development Strategy for Latin America. Washington, D.C.: The John Hopkins University Press for the Inter-American Development Bank, 1992.
- M.A. Garretón, "The Political Dimension of Processes of Transformation in Chile" in W.C. Smith et al., Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America. London: Transaction Publishers, 1994.
- D.E. Hojman, Chile: The Political Economy of Development and Democracy in the 1990s. London: MacMillan, 1993.
- J. Martínez and A. Díaz, Chile: The Great Transformation. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1996.
- J. Petras and F.I. Leiva, Democracy and Poverty in Chile: The Limits to Electoral Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.
- P. Meller, "Adjustment and Social Cost in Chile during the 1980s." World Development, Vol. 19, No.11 (November), 1991, pp. 1545-61.
- P. Meller, R. O'Ryan, and A. Solimano, "Growth, Equity, and the Environment in Chile: Issues and Evidence." World Development, Vol. 24, No. 2 (February), 1996, pp. 255-74.
- E.A. Paus, "Economic Growth through Neoliberal Restructuring: Insights from the Chilean Experience."

- Journal of Developing Areas, October 1994.
- D. Raczynski and P. Romaguera, "Chile: Poverty, Adjustment, and Social Policies in the 1980s," in N. Lustig (ed.), Coping with Austerity: Poverty and Inequality in Latin America. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995.
- C. Scott, "The Distributive Impact of the New Economic Model in Chile," in V. Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), The New Economic Model in Latin America and its Impact on Income Distribution and Poverty, pp. 147-84. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- E. Silva, "Capitalist Coalitions, the State, and Neoliberal Economic Restructuring: Chile, 1973-88." World Politics, 45, July 1993.
- P. Silva, "Technocrats and Politics in Chile: From the Chicago Boys to the CIEPLAN Monks." Journal of Latin American Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2 (May), 1991, pp. 385-410.
- A. Solimano, E. Aninat, and N. Birdsall (eds.), Distributive Justice and Economic Development: The Case of Chile and Developing Countries. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- B. Stallings and P. Brock, "The Political Economy of Economic Adjustment: Chile, 1973-90" in R.H. Bates and A.O. Krueger, eds., Political and Economic Interactions in Economic Policy Reform. Cambridge, MA.: Blackwell Publishers, 1993, pp. 78-122.
- M. Taylor, "From National Development to 'Growth with Equity': Nation-Building in Chile, 1950-2000," Third World Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 1, February 2006, pp. 69-84.
- J. Teichman, The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America, Chapter 4. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- T. Tucker, "The Uses of Chile: How Politics Trumped Truth in the Neo-Liberal Revision of Chile's Development," Discussion Paper, Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch, September 2006. Available online at <http://www.citizen.org/documents/chilealternatives.pdf>.
- J.G. Valdés, Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School in Chile. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- P. Vergara, "Market Economy, Social Welfare, and Democratic Consolidation in Chile," in W.C. Smith et al., Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America. London: Transaction Publishers, 1994.
- K. Weyland, "'Growth with Equity' in Chile's New Democracy?" Latin American Research Review, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1997, pp. 37-67.
- P. Winn, Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- T.C. Wright and R. Oñate Zúñiga, "Chilean Political Exile," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 34, No. 4 (July), 2007, pp. 31-49.

12. Ghana: From Neopatrimonialism to Neoliberalism? (Dec. 7 – RS) (*brief video to be shown*)

*R. Sandbrook, Closing the Circle: Democratization and Development in Africa, Chapter 5. London: Zed Books, 2000.

or

*R. Sandbrook & J. Oelbaum, "Reforming Dysfunctional Institutions Through Democratization? Reflections on Ghana", Journal of Modern African Studies, 35: 4, 1997, pp. 603-46. [EJ]

and

*J. Oelbaum, "Ethnicity Adjusted? Economic Reform, Elections, and Tribalism in Ghana's Fourth Republic," Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, 42:4 (2004). [EJ]

*S. Lindberg, "It's Our Time to 'Chop': Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter It?" Democratization 10:2, 2003. [EJ]

- I. Agyeman-Duah, An Economic History of Ghana (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2008).
- H. Alderman, "Ghana: Adjustment's Star Pupil," in D. Sahn (ed.), Adjusting to Policy Failure in African Economies. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994, pp. 23-52.
- N. Amponsah, "Ghana's Mixed Structural Adjustment Results: Explaining the Poor Private Sector Response," Africa Today 47:2 (2000).
- P. Arthur, "Ghana: Industrial Development in the Post-SAP Period," Canadian Journal of African Studies 23:4, 2002, pp.717-42.
- E. Aryeetey and R. Kanbur, eds., The Economy of Ghana: Analytical Perspectives on Stability, Growth and Poverty (New York: Africa World Press, 2008).
- E. Aryeetey and F. Tarp, "Structural Adjustment and After: Which Way Forward?" in E. Aryeetey et al., eds., Economic Reforms in Ghana. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

- K. Boafo-Arthur (ed.), Ghana: One Decade of the Liberal State. London: Zed Books, 2007.
- M. Bawumia, "Understanding the Rural-Urban Voting Pattern: ...The Distributional Pattern of Ghana's Structural Adjustment Programme," Journal of Modern African Studies 36:1 (1998), 47-90.
- L. Brydon and K. Legge, Adjusting Society: The World Bank, the IMF and Ghana. London: Tauris, 1996.
- J. Busumtwi-Sam, Economic Crisis and Policy Adjustment: The Politics of Foreign Economic Policy Making in Ghana, 1982-90. Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1992. (Robarts)
- D. Green, "Ghana: Structural Adjustment and State (Re)Formation," in L. A. Villalon and P. A. Huxtable (eds.), The African State at a Critical Juncture. Boulder: Westview, 1998.
- A. Handley, "Business, Government and the Privatization of the Ashanti Goldfields co. in Ghana," Canadian Journal of African Studies 41:1 (2007), 1-34.
- J. Herbst, The Politics of Reform in Ghana, 1982-91. Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1992.
- Ho Won Jeong, "Economic Reform and Democratic Transition in Ghana," World Affairs 160:4 (1998), 218-30.
- E. Hutchful, "Why Regimes Adjust: The World Bank Ponders Its 'Star Pupil'," Canadian Journal of African Studies, 29:2 (1995), 303-17.
- E. Hutchful, Ghana's Adjustment Experience: The Paradox of Reform, Chapters 4-7. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002.
- J.C. Leith and L. Soderling, Ghana – Long Term Growth, Atrophy and Stunted Recovery, Research Report #125, Uppsala: Nordic African Institute, 2003.
- S. Lindberg *et al.*, "Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana," Political Science Quarterly 123:1, 95-.
- T. Manuh, "Ghana: Women in the Public and Informal Sectors Under the Economic Recovery Programme," in P. Sparr (ed.), Mortgaging Women's Lives. London: Zed, 1994, pp. 61-77.
- M. Martin, "Neither Phoenix nor Icarus: Negotiating Economic Reform in Ghana and Zambia," in T.M. Callaghy and J. Ravenhill (eds.), Hemmed In: Responses to Africa's Economic Decline (1993).
- P. Nugent, Big Men, Small Boys and Politics in Ghana: Power, Ideology and the Burden of History, 1882-1994. London: Pinter, 1996. (excellent)
- P. Nugent, "Living in the Past: Urban, Rural and Ethnic Themes in the 1992 and 1996 Elections in Ghana," Journal of Modern African Studies 37:2 (1999), 287-319.
- D. Rimmer, Staying Poor: Ghana's Political Economy, 1950-90. Oxford: Pergamon, 1992.
- D.A. Smith, "Consolidating Democracy? The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's 2000 Elections," Journal of Modern African Studies, 40:4 (2002), 621-50.
- N.K. Sowa *et al.* "Financial and Foreign Exchange Market Liberalization in Ghana," Journal of International Development 11:3 (1999), 385-409.

13. South Korea (Jan. 11 – GI)

- *P. Krugman, "The Myth of the Asian Miracle." Foreign Affairs, Vol. 73, No. 6 (November-December), 1994, pp. 62-78. [EJ]
- *T. Kalinowski, "Korea's Recovery since the 1997/98 Financial Crisis: The Last Stage of the Developmental State," New Political Economy, Vol. 13, No. 4 (December), 2008, pp. 447-62. [EJ]
- *J. Lee, "East Asian NIEs' Model of Development: Miracle, Crisis, and Beyond," The Pacific Review, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1999, pp. 141-62. [EJ]
- *J.S. Mah, "Industrial Policy and Economic Development: Korea's Experience," Journal of Economic Issues, Vol. 41, No. 1 (March), 2007, pp. 77-92. [EJ]
- *J.E. Stiglitz, "Some Lessons from the East Asian Miracle." The World Bank Research Observer, Vol. 11, No. 2 (August), 1996, pp. 151-177. [EJ]
- A.H. Amsden, Asia's New Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- A.H. Amsden (ed.), The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy. Special section in World Development, Vol. 21, No. 4 (April), 1994, pp. 615-70.
- B. Balassa and J. Williamson, Adjusting to Success: Balance of Payments Policy in the East Asian NICs. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1990. (A neoclassical view.)
- A. Berry "South Korea's Acceleration and Impressively Sustained Growth" in A. Berry Taking off into Sustained, Equitable Growth. Johannesburg: Human Sciences Research Centre, forthcoming.

- C. Bradford, "The East Asian Development Experience," in E. Grilli and D. Salvatore, eds., Handbook of Economic Development. North Holland Press, 1992.
- H.J. Chang, "Korea: The Misunderstood Crisis." World Development, Vol. 26, No. 8, 1998, pp. 1555-61.
- H.J. Chang, "The East Asian Development Experience" in H.-J. Chang (ed.), Rethinking Development Economics, pp. 107-24. London: Anthem Press, 2004.
- H.J. Chang, The East Asian Development Experience - The Miracle, the Crisis, and the Future. London and New York: Zed Press, 2005.
- S. Cho, The Dynamics of Korean Economic Development. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1994, pp. 11-59 and 177-197.
- Y. Chu, "The East Asian NICs: A State-Led Path to the Developed World," in B. Stallings (ed.), Global Change, Regional Response. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Y. Chu, "Eclipse or Reconfigured? South Korea's Developmental State and Challenges of the Global Knowledge Economy," Economy and Society, Vol. 38, No. 2 (May), 2009, pp. 278-303.
- D. Cole, Y. Lim and P. Kuznets (eds.), The Korean Economy: Issues of Development. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1980.
- J. Crotty and K.-K. Lee, "Was the IMF's Imposition of Economic Regime Change in Korea Justified? A Critique of the IMF's Economic and Political Role in Korea During and After the Crisis." IDEAS Working Paper, August 2004. Available at http://networkideas.org/featart/aug2004/fa11_Korean_Crisis.htm
- P.O. Demetriades and B. A. Fattouh, "The South Korean Financial Crisis: Competing Explanations and Policy Lessons for Financial Liberalization." International Affairs, 75:4 (October), 1999, pp. 779-792.
- F.C. Deyo (ed.), The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- F.C. Deyo, "Labor and Development Policy in East Asia," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 505, No. 1, September 1989, pp. 152-61.
- F.C. Deyo, Beneath the Miracle: Labour Subordination in the New Asian Industrialism. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.
- R. Dornbusch and Y.C. Park, "Korean Growth Policy." Brooking Papers on Economic Activity, 2, pp. 389-454.
- A. Fishlow, C. Gwin, S. Haggard, D. Rodrik and R. Wade, Miracle or Design? Lessons from the East Asian Experience. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1994.
- G. Gereffi and D.L. Wyman (eds.), Manufacturing Miracles: Paths of Industrialization in Latin America and East Asia. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- I. Grabel, "The Asian Financial Crisis: What Went Wrong?" in R. Baiman, H. Boushey, and D. Saunders (eds.), Political Economy and Contemporary Capitalism, pp. 218-24. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.
- S. Haggard, R.N. Cooper and C. Moon, "Policy Reform in Korea," in R. H. Bates and A. O. Krueger (eds.), Political and Economic Interactions in Economic Policy Reform, pp. 294-332. Cambridge, MA.: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.
- M. Hart-Landsberg, The Rush to Development: Economic Change and Political Struggle in South Korea. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1993.
- M. Hart-Landsberg and P. Burkett, "Mainstream Responses to the East Asian Crisis?" in R. Baiman, H. Boushey and D. Saunders (eds.), Political Economy and Contemporary Capitalism, pp. 236-44. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.
- M. Hart-Landsberg, S. Jeong, and R. Westra (eds.), Marxist Perspectives on South Korea in the Global Economy. Aldershot, U.K. and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2007.
- D. Hundt, "A Legitimate Paradox: Neo-liberal Reform and the Return of the State in Korea," Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 41, No. 2, Special Issue, February 2005, pp. 242-60.
- Y.-D. Jeon and Y.-D. Kim, "Land Reform, Income Redistribution, and Agricultural Production in Korea." Economic Development and Cultural Change, 48:2 (January), 2000, pp. 783-801.
- K.S. Jomo, "Growth after the Asian Crisis: What Remains of the East Asian Model?" UNCTAD and Harvard's Centre for International Development, G-24 Discussion Paper Series, No. 10 (March). New York and Geneva: United Nations, 2001. [<http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/pogdsmdpbpg24d9.en.pdf>]
- K. Kang and V. Ramachandran, "Economic Transformation in Korea: Rapid Growth without an Agricultural Revolution." Economic Development and Cultural Change, 47:4 (June), 1999, pp. 783-801.
- E.M. Kim, Big Business, Strong State: Collusion and Conflict in South Korean Development, 1960-1990. Albany, State University of New York Press, 1999.
- A. Kohli, "Where Do High-Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea's

- 'Developmental State,'" in M. Woo-Cumings (ed.), The Developmental State, pp. 93-137. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- J. Lee, "Comparative Advantage in Manufacturing as a Determinant of Industrialization: The Korean Case." World Development, 23:7, July 1995, pp. 1195-214.
- S.J. Lee and T. Han, "The Demise of 'Korea, Inc.': Paradigm Shift in Korea's Developmental State," Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 36, No. 3, 2006, pp. 305-24.
- H. Lim, "The Transformation of the Developmental State and Economic Reform in Korea," Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 40, No. 2 (May) 2010, pp. 188-210.
- H. Lim and J. Jang, "Neo-Liberalism in Post-Crisis South Korea: Social Conditions and Outcomes," Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 36, No. 4, 2006, pp. 442-63.
- J. Minns, "Of miracles and models: The Rise and Decline of the Developmental State in South Korea," Third World Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 6 (December), 2001, pp. 1025-1043.
- S. Okita, "The Lessons of Economic Development in East and Southeast Asia," in B. K. Kapur et al. (eds.), Development, Trade and the Asia-Pacific. Singapore: Prentice Hall, 1996.
- I. Pirie, The Korean Developmental State: From Dirigisme to Neo-liberalism. Routledge: London, 2007.
- I. Pirie, "The New Korean State," The New Political Economy, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2005, pp. 25-42.
- G. Ranis, "Another Look at the East Asian Miracle." The World Bank Economic Review, 9:3 (1995), pp. 509-34.
- B.N. Song, The Rise of the Korean Economy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- J.K. Sundaram, "Obstacle to Implementing Lessons from the 1997-1998 East Asian Crises," DESA Working Paper No. 66, United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, August 2008.
- V. Thomas and Y. Wang, "Distortions, Interventions, and Productivity Growth: Is East Asia Different?" Economic Development and Cultural Change, 44:2, January 1996, pp. 265-88.
- R. Wade, Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of the Government in East Asian Industrialization. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- R. Wade, "East Asia's Economic Success: Conflicting Perspectives, Partial Insights, Shaky Evidence," World Politics, 44:2, 1992, pp. 270-320.
- L.E. Westphal, "Industrial Policy in an Export-propelled Economy: Lessons from South Korea." Economic Perspectives, 4:3 (Summer), 1990, pp. 41-60.
- World Bank, The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy, Policy Research Report. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1993.

14. India: Why the shift to liberalization? With what effects? (Jan. 18 – RS)

- *A. Kohli, "Politics of Economic Growth in India, 1980-2005", Economic and Political Weekly, Part I: April 1, 2006, pp. 1251-59, and Part II: April 8, 2006, pp. 1361-70.
- *M. Sengupta, "Making the State Change its Mind: The IMF, the World Bank, and the Politics of India's Market Reforms," New Political Economy 14:2, 2009, 181-210. [EJ]
- *A. Kochar, "The Effectiveness of India's Anti-Poverty Programme," Journal of Development Studies 44:9, 2008, 1289-1308.
- I. Ahluwalia and I.M.D. Little, India's Economic Reforms and Development. London: OUP, 1998.
- M. Ahluwalia, "Economic Reforms in India since 1991: Has Gradualization Worked?" Journal of Economic Perspectives 16:3, 2002, pp. 67-88.
- P. Bardhan, The Political Economy of Development in India. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984. (excellent brief interpretation of statist development strategy and its problems)
- K. Basu (ed.), India's Emerging Economy: Performance and Prospects in the 1990s and Beyond Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.
- M. Bouton, "India's Problem is not Political," Foreign Affairs 77:3 (1999), 80-93.
- R.H. Cassen and V. Joshi (eds.), Economic Liberalization in India. London: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- V. Chibber, Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialization in India. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- P. Chhibber, "Political Parties, Electoral Competition, Government Expenditures and Economic Reform in India," Journal of Development Studies 32:1 (1995), 74-96.
- B. Currie, "Governance, Democracy and Economic Adjustment in India: Conceptual and Empirical Problems," Third World Quarterly, 17:4 (1996), pp. 787-808.
- B. Das and L.N. Dash, "India and the World Bank: Interaction and Implication," Indian Quarterly 51:4 (1995), 79-90.

- K. Dutt, "Uncertain Success: The Political Economy of Indian Economic Reform," Journal of International Affairs 51 (1997), 57-83.
- R. Jenkins, Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India. Boulder; Westview, 2000.
- R. Jha, "Reducing Poverty and Inequality in India: Has Liberalization Helped?" WIDER, United Nations University, WP 204, Nov. 2000. (download from WIDER web site)
- V. Joshi and I.M.D. Little, India's Economic Reforms, 1991-2001. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996. (Subtle neoclassical viewpoint.)
- R. Kaplinsky, "India's Industrial Development: An Interpretative Survey," World Development, 25:5 (May 1997), 681-94.
- S. Kaushik, "India's Evolving Economic Model: A Perspective on Economic and Financial Reforms," American Journal of Economics and Sociology 56 (1997), 69-84.
- A. Kochar, "The Effectiveness of India's Anti-Poverty Program," Journal of Development Studies, 44:9, 2008, 1289-1308.
- A. Kohli (ed.), India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- A. Kohli, "Politics of Economic Liberalization in India," World Development, 17:3, 1989, pp. 305-28.
- A. Kohli, State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004, chaps. 6 & 7.
- A. Kohli (ed.), The Success of India's Democracy Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- S. Kothari, "Whose Independence? The Social Impact of Economic Reform in India," Journal of International Affairs 51:1 (1997), 85-116.
- B.R. Nayar, "Political Structure and India's Economic Reforms of the 1990s," Pacific Affairs 71:3, 1998, pp. 337-60.
- I. Ness, "Blinded by the Neoliberal Agenda: India's Market Transition Failure," New Political Science, 28:1 (2006), pp. 135-41.
- J.D. Petersen, "Explaining Economic Liberalization in India: State and Society Perspectives," World Development 28:2, 2000, pp. 265-82. [EJ]
- S. Sharma, "India's Economic Liberalization: A Progress Report," Current History 102:663 (April 2003), pp. 176-79. EJ
- V. Shastri, "The Politics of Economic Liberalization in India," Contemporary South Asia 6:1 (1997), pp. 27-56.
- A. Sinha, "India's Unlikely Democracy: Economic Growth and Political Accommodation," Journal of Democracy 18, 2, 2007, 41-56.

PART IV: ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

15. The 'double movement' and the dilemmas of development alternatives in the global South: A neo-Polanyian Approach (Jan. 25) Presentation by R. Sandbrook

*R. Sandbrook, "Polanyi and Post-neoliberalism in the Global South: Dilemmas of 'Re-embedding the Economy'", New Political Economy, 16:3 (2011). To be sent electronically.

*M. Levien, "India's Double Movement: Polanyi and the National Alliance of People's Movements," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 51: 119-49. [EJ]

K. Rankin, The Cultural Politics of markets: Economic Liberalization and Social Change in Nepal. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

W. Schaniel & W. Neale, "Quasi-Commodities in the First and Third Worlds," Journal of Economic Issues 32:1 (1999), 95-116.

Fulong Wu, "China's Great Transformation: Neoliberalization as Establishing a Market Society," Geoforum 39:3 (2008), 1093-96.

16. Does reviving the Developmental State remain a viable alternative? The case of China (Feb. 1 – GI)

*S. Baek, "Does China Follow the 'East Asian Development Model'?" Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2005, pp. 485-98. [EJ]

*D. Harvey, "Neoliberalism 'with Chinese Characteristics'" in his A Brief History of Neoliberalism, Chapter 5, pp. 120-31. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

- *L.H. Liew, "China's Engagement with Neo-liberalism: Path Dependency, Geography and Party Self-Reinvention," Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2005, pp.331-52. [EJ]
- *F. Robins, "China: A New Kind of 'Mixed' Economy?," Asian Business and Management, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March), 2010, pp. 23-46. [<http://www.palgrave-journals.com/abm/journal/v9/n1/pdf/abm200921a.pdf>]
- *A.Y. So, "Peasant Conflict and the Local Predatory State in the Chinese Countryside," Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2008, pp. 560-81. [EJ]
- A. Berry "China's Breakout from a Storied Past" in A. Berry, Taking off into Sustained, Equitable Growth. Johannesburg: Human Sciences Research Centre, 2009.
- A. Boltho and M. Weber, "Did China Follow the East Asian Development Model?," The European Journal of Comparative Economics, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2009, pp. 267-86.
- D.W. Bromley and Y. Yao, "Understanding China's Economic Transformation," World Economics, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2007, pp. 73-95.
- F. Cai and M. Wang, "Growth and Structural Changes in Employment in Transition China," Journal of Comparative Economics, Vol. 38, No. 1 (March), 2010, pp. 71-81.
- J. Chai, China: Transition to a Market Economy New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- M. Chamon and R.S. Prasad, "Why Are Saving Rates of Urban Households in China Rising?," American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics, Vol. 2, No. 1 (January), 2010, pp. 93-130.
- G. Chow, China's Economic Transformation Oxford: Blackwell Publishers., 2002.
- C.J. Dahlman, "Growth and Development in China and India: The Role of Industrial and Innovation Policy in Rapid Catch-Up," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), Industrial Policy and Development, The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- R.E. Gamer (ed.), Understanding Contemporary China. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008.
- R. Garnaut and L. Song, China's Third Economic Transformation: The Rise of the Private Economy. New York, Taylor & Francis Group, 2004.
- M. Hart-Landsberg and P. Burkett, China and Socialism: Market Reforms and Class Struggle, Chapters 1, 2 & 5. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2005. (Also published in Monthly Review, July-August, 2004.)
- H. Li, "China's Path of Economic Reform and Its Implications," Asian Affairs, Vol. 31, No. 4, 2005, pp.195-211.
- J. Lin, F. Cai and Z. Li, The China Miracle: Development Strategy and Economic Reform. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1996.
- K. Liou, Managing Economic Reforms in Post-Mao China. Westport: Praeger, 1998.
- J. Marangos, Alternative Economic Models of Transition. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- X. Meng, R. Gregory and Y. Wang, "Poverty, Inequality, and Growth in Urban China, 1986-2000," Discussion Paper No. 1452, Institute for the Study of Labour, Bonn.
- P. Nolan, China's Rise, Russia's Fall: Politics, Economics and Planning in the Transition from Stalinism. London: McMillan Press Ltd., 1995.
- P. Nolan, China and the Global Economy: National Champions, Industrial Policy and the Big Business Revolution. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- W. Parish and E. Michelson, "Politics and Markets: Dual Transformation," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 101, No. 4, 1996, pp. 1042-1059.
- Y. Qian, "How Reform Worked in China," in D. Rodrik (ed.), In Search of Prosperity: Analytic Narratives on Economic Growth, pp. 297-332. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- M. Ravallion and S. Chen, "China's (Uneven) Progress against Poverty," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3408, September 2004.
- A. Razmi, "Exploring the Sustainability of the Chinese Growth Model in Light of Some Key Structural Characteristics," International Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring), 2010, pp. 54-92.
- D. Rodrik, "Making Room for China in the World Economy," American Economic Review, Vol. 100, No. 2 (May), 2010, pp. 89-93.
- A.Y. So, "The Chinese Developmental Miracle: Origins, Characteristics, and Challenges," Asian Perspectives, Vol. 25, No. 4, 2001, pp. 5-31.
- A. Sweetman and J. Zhang (eds.), Economic Transitions with Chinese Characteristics: Thirty Years of Reform and Opening Up. Montreal and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press; distributed by Cornell University Press Services, 2009.
- S. Tong and J. Wong, "China's Economy," in R.E. Gamer (ed.), Understanding Contemporary China. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008.
- R. Weil, Red Cat, White Cat: China and the Contradictions of Market Socialism. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1996.

- J. Whalley and X. Xin, "China's FDI and Non-FDI Economies and the Sustainability of Future High Chinese Growth," China Economic Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March), 2010, pp. 123-35.
- M.K. Whyte, "Rethinking Equality and Inequality in PRC," Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Jan. 2006.
(http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/1068_MKW_rethinkingequality.pdf)
- M. Xia, The Dual Developmental State: Development Strategy and Institutional Arrangements from China's Transition. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- D.L. Yang and L. Zhao (eds.), "China's Reforms at 30: Challenges and Prospects." Series on Contemporary China, Vol. 15. Hackensack, N.J. and Singapore: World Scientific, 2009.
- W. Yu and H.G. Jensen, "China's Agricultural Policy Transition: Impacts of Recent Reforms and Future Scenarios," Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 61, No. 2 (June), 2010, pp. 343-68.

17. Radical Populism or 21st Century Socialism? The Case of Venezuela under Chávez (Feb. 8 – GI)

- *S. Ellner, "Hugo Chavez's First Decade in Office: Breakthroughs and Shortcomings," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 37, No. 1 (January), 2010, pp. 77-96. [EJ]
- *M.A. Lebowitz, "Venezuela: A Good Example of the Bad Left of Latin America," Monthly Review, Vol. 59, No. 3 (July/August), 2007, pp. 38-54. [EJ]
- *M. Weisbrot and L. Sandoval, "Update: The Venezuelan Economy in the Chávez Years," Center for Economic and Policy Research, Washington, D.C., February 2008. Available online at http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/venezuela_update_2008_02.pdf
- *G. Wilpert, "Venezuela: Participatory Democracy or Government as Usual?" Socialism and Democracy, Vol. 19, No.1 (March), 2005, pp. 7-32. [EJ]
- W. Avilés, "The Democratic-Peace Thesis and U.S. Relations with Colombia and Venezuela," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May), 2005, pp. 33-59.
- T. Barry, "What To Do about Hugo?," IRC Americas, August 25, 2005 (<http://americas.irc-online.org/pdf/commentary/0508hugo.pdf>).
- A. Berry, "How Growth Momentum Dissipates in Dutch Disease Countries: The Cases of Venezuela and Nigeria" in A. Berry Taking off into Sustained, Equitable Growth: Lessons from Successes and Failures. Johannesburg: Human Sciences Research Centre, forthcoming.
- A. Boeckh, "Globalization and Neopopulist Regression in Venezuela," in H. Barrios et al. (eds.), Resistance to Globalization: Political Struggle and Cultural Resilience in the Middle East, Russia, and Latin America. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 2003.
- J. Boykoff, "Devil or Democrat? Hugo Chavez and the US Prestige Press," New Political Science, Vol. 31, No. 1 (March), 2009, pp. 3-26.
- J. Buxton, The Failure of Political Reform in Venezuela. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001.
- J. Buxton, "Venezuela's Contemporary Political Crisis in Historical Context," Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2005, pp. 328-347.
- D. Canache, "From Bullets to Ballots: The Emergence of Popular Support for Hugo Chavez," Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Spring), 2002, pp. 69-90.
- D. Canache, Venezuela, Public Opinion and Protest in a Fragile Democracy. Coral Gables, Fla.: North-South Center at the University of Miami, 2002.
- D. Canache and M.R. Kulisheck (eds.), Reinventing Legitimacy: Democracy and Political Change in Venezuela. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- B. Cannon, "Venezuela, April 2002: Coup or Popular Rebellion? The Myth of a United Venezuela," Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 23, No. 3 (July), 2004, pp. 285-302.
- J. Castañeda, "Latin America's Left Turn." Foreign Affairs, Vol. 85, No. 3 (May-June), 2006, p. 28.
- A.V. Castro, "Privatization and Democracy in Venezuela," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May), 2005, pp. 112-24.
- H. Chávez, "The Price of Oil in a World of Equals," Foresight, Vol. 2, No. 4 (August), 2000, pp. 375-78.
- C. Clement, "Confronting Hugo Chávez: United States 'Democracy Promotion' in Latin America," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May), 2005, pp. 60-78.
- S.D. Collins, "Breaking the Mold? Venezuela's Defiance of the Neoliberal Agenda," New Political Science, Vol. 27, No. 3, 2005, pp. 367-95.

- M. Coppedge, "Venezuelan Parties and the Representation of Elite Interests," in K.J. Middlebrook (ed.), Conservative Parties, the Right and Democracy in Latin America. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- F. Coronil, The Magical State. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- M. Derham, "Undemocratic Democracy: Venezuela and the Distorting of History," Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 21, No. 2 (April), 2002, pp. 270-89.
- J. Di John, "Economic Liberalization, Political Instability, and State Capacity in Venezuela," International Political Science Review, Vol. 26, No. 1 (January), 2005, pp. 107-24. [EJ]
- S. Ellner, "Leftist Goals and the Debate over Anti-neoliberal Strategy in Latin America," Science and Society, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Spring), 2004, pp. 10-32.
- S. Ellner, "Venezuela: Defying Globalization's Logic," NACLA Report on the Americas, September-October 2005.
- S. Ellner, "The Perennial Debate over Socialist Goals Played Out in Venezuela," Science & Society, Vol. 74, No. 1 (January), 2010, pp. 63-84. [Available online at <http://www.atypon-link.com/GPI/doi/pdf/10.1521/asiso.2010.74.1.63?cookieSet=1>]
- S. Ellner and D. Hellinger (eds.), Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization and Conflict. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003.
- S. Ellner and M.T. Salas, "The Venezuelan Exceptionalism Thesis: Separating Myth from Reality," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 2 (March), 2005, pp. 5-19.
- S. Ellner and M.T. Salas (eds.), Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and the Decline of an 'Exceptional Democracy'. Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.
- O. Feo and C.E. Siqueira, "An Alternative to the Neoliberal Model in Health: The Case of Venezuela," International Journal of Health Services, Vol. 34, No. 2, 2004, pp. 365-75.
- T. Gibbs, "Business as Unusual: What the Chávez Era Tells Us about Democracy under Globalization," Third World Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2006, pp.265-79.
- L. Goodman, J. Forman, M. Naím, J. Tulchin and G. Bland (eds), Lessons from the Venezuelan Experience. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- O.B. Gombri (ed.), The Venezuela Reader: The Building of a People's Democracy. Washington, D.C.: Epica, 2005.
- A. Guevara, Chávez, Venezuela and the New Latin America: An Interview with Hugo Chávez. Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2005.
- M. Harnecker, "After the Referendum Venezuela Faces New Challenges," Monthly Review, Vol. 56, No. 6, November 2004, pp. 34-48.
- M. Harnecker, "Latin America and Twenty-First Century Socialism: Inventing to Avoid Mistakes," Monthly Review, Vol. 62, No. 3 (July/August), 2010, pp. 1-83.
- R. Hausmann, "Venezuela's Growth Implosion: A Neoclassical Story?" in D. Rodrik (ed.), In Search of Prosperity: Analytic Narratives on Economic Growth. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- K. Hawkins, "Populism in Venezuela: The Rise of Chavismo," Third World Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 6 (December), 2003, pp. 1137-60.
- K.A. Hawkins and D.R. Hansen, "Dependent Civil Society: The Círculos Bolivarianos in Venezuela," Latin American Research Review, Vol. 41, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 102-32.
- D. Hellinger, "When 'No' Means 'Yes to Revolution': Electoral Politics in Bolivarian Venezuela," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May), 2005, pp. 8-32.
- R.S. Hillman, Democracy for the Privileged: Crisis and Transition in Venezuela. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.
- International Crisis Group, "Venezuela: Hugo Chávez's Revolution," Latin America Report No. 19, February 2007. Available online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4674&l=1>.
- T.L. Karl, "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela," Latin America Research Review, Vol. 22, 1987, pp. 63-94.
- T.L. Karl, The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997.
- J. Kelly and C.A. Romero, The United States and Venezuela: Rethinking a Relationship. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- M. Kornblith, "The Referendum in Venezuela: Elections versus Democracy," Journal of Democracy, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January), 2005, pp. 124-37.
- N. Kozloff, Hugo Chávez – Oil, Politics and the Challenge of the U.S. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

- E. Lander, "Venezuelan Social Conflict in a Global Context," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 2 (March), 2005, pp. 20-38.
- M.A. Lebowitz, Build It Now: Socialism for the Twenty-First Century. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2006.
- D.H. Levine, "The Decline and Fall of Democracy in Venezuela: Ten Theses," Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 21, No. 2 (April), 2002, pp. 248-69.
- J.P. Lupi and L. Vivas, " (Mis) Understanding Chávez and Venezuela in Times of Revolution," The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol. 29, No. 1, 2004, pp. 81–102.
- J.D. Martz and D. Myers (eds.), Venezuela: The Democratic Experience. New York: Praeger, 1977.
- M. McCaughan, "The Battle of Venezuela," Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 23, No. 4 (October), 2004, pp. 518-20.
- J.L. McCoy, "Chávez and the End of 'Partyarchy' in Venezuela," Journal of Democracy, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1999.
- J.L. McCoy, "From Representative to Participatory Democracy? Regime Transformation in Venezuela," in J.L. McCoy and D.J. Myers (eds.), The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela, pp. 263-95. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- J.L. McCoy, "The Referendum in Venezuela: One Act in an Unfinished Drama," Journal of Democracy, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January), 2005, pp. 109-23.
- J.L. McCoy and D.J. Myers (eds.), The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- J.E. Molina and C. Pérez, "Radical Change at the Ballot Box: Causes and Consequences of Electoral Behavior in Venezuela's 2000 Elections," Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 46, No.1 (Spring), 2004, pp. 103-34.
- M. Naím, "The Real Story behind Venezuela's Woes," Journal of Democracy, Vol. 12, No. 2 (April), 2001, pp. 17-31.
- D. Parker, "Chavez and the Search for an Alternative to Neoliberalism," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 2 (March), 2005, pp. 39-50. Reprinted in S. Ellner and M.T. Salas (eds.), Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and the Decline of an 'Exceptional Democracy', pp. 60-74. Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.
- D. Raby, "The Greening of Venezuela," Monthly Review, Vol. 56, No. 6, November 2004, pp. 49-52.
- D.L. Raby, Democracy and Revolution. London: Pluto Press, 2006.
- K.M. Roberts, "Social Correlates of Party System Demise and Populist Resurgence in Venezuela," Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 43, No.3 (Fall), 2003, pp. 35-57.
- F. Rodríguez, "An Empty Revolution: The Unfulfilled Promises of Hugo Chávez," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2008. [See also M. Weisbrot's reply, "An Empty Research Agenda: The Creation of Myths about Contemporary Venezuela," Center for Economic and Policy Research, Washington, D.C., March 2008.]
- S. Sharma, S. Tracy and S. Kumar, "Venezuela: Ripe for US Intervention?," Race and Class, Vol. 45, No. 4 (April-June), 2004, pp. 61-74. [EJ]
- C.Valencia Ramírez, "Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution: Who Are the Chavistas?" Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May), 2005, pp. 79-97.
- C.Valencia Ramírez, "Venezuela in the Eye of the Hurricane: Landing an Analysis of the Bolivarian Revolution," Journal of Latin American Anthropology, Vol. 11, No. 1, April 2006, pp. 173-86.
- C.Valencia Ramírez, "Hemos Derrotado el Diablo! Chávez Supporters, Anti-Neoliberalism, and Twenty-First-Century Socialism," Identities, Vol. 15, No. 2 (March), 2008, pp. 147-70.
- M. Weisbrot, "Poverty Reduction in Venezuela: A Reality-Based View," Re-Vista: Harvard Review of Latin America, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2008, pp. 36-39.
- M. Weisbrot, L. Sandoval and D. Rosnick, "Poverty Rates in Venezuela: Getting the Numbers Right," Center for Economic and Policy Research, Washington, D.C., 2006.
- K. Weyland, "Threats to Latin America's Market Model?" Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 119, No. 2, 2004, pp. 291-313.
- J.P. Zuquete, "The Missionary Politics of Hugo Chávez," Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Spring), 2008, pp. 91-121.

18. What is social democracy in the periphery? What accounts for the emergence of social democracies in the global periphery? Does globalization vitiate social democratic regimes? (with special reference to Costa Rica or Mauritius) (Feb. 15 – RS)

*R. Sandbrook, M. Edelman, P. Heller, & J. Teichman, Social Democracy in the Global Periphery: Origins, Challenges, Prospects. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chaps.1, 4 or 5 & 7-9.

In general:

- P. Cammack, "Cardoso's Political Project in Brazil: The Limits of Social Democracy," The Socialist Register 1997, pp. 223-43.
- J. Castañeda, Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. (excellent)
- B. Deacon, "Globalisation: A Threat to Equitable Social Provision?" Institute for Development Studies Bulletin 31:4 (2000), 32-47. ('social liberal' vs. 'social-democratic' visions of poverty amelioration)
- "Debate: Democracy and Development", New Political Economy 7:2 (2002), 269-81. (impediments to social democracy in LDCs)
- D. Ghai, "Social Security: Learning from Global Experiences to Reach the Poor," Journal of Human Development 4:1, 2003, pp. 125-50.
- R. Kuttner, Everything for Sale: The Virtues and Limits of Markets. New York: Random House, 1997. (excellent critique of *laissez-faire* capitalism and advocacy of a 'third way')
- N. Rudra, "Globalization and the Decline of the Welfare State in LDCs," International Organization 56:2, 2002, pp. 411-45.
- J. Seekings, "Trade Unions, Social Policy and Class Compromise in Post-Apartheid South Africa," Review of African Political Economy 100, 2004, pp. 299-312

Readings on Costa Rica:

- M.H. Biesanz, *et al.* The Ticos: Culture and Social Change in Costa Rica (1999).
- J. Booth, Paths to Democracy and the Political Culture of Costa Rica, Mexico & Nicaragua (1990), chap. 4.
- Castaneda, J. and P. Navia, "The Year of the Ballot," Current History 106 (697), 2007, 51-7.
- M.A. Clark, Gradual Economic Reform in Latin America: The Costa Rican Experience (2001).
- M. Edelman, Peasants against Globalization: Rural Social Movements in Costa Rica (1999). See esp. the chapter on the origins of social democracy.
- D. Goldstein, "Financial Sector Reform and Sustainable Development in Costa Rica," Ecological Economics 37:2 (2001), 199-215.
- J. Goss, and D. Pacheco. "Comparative Globalisation and the State in CR and Thailand," Journal of Contemporary Asia 29:4 (1999), 515-35.
- L. Gudmundson, "Lord and Peasant in the making of Modern Central America," in E. Huber & F. Safford, eds., Agrarian Structure and Political Power (1995).
- M Lungo, & R. Tardanico. "Local Dimensions of Global Restructuring: Changing Labour-Market Contours in CS," International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 19 (June) 1995, 223-49.
- J. Mahoney, The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependency and Political Regimes in Central America (2002)
- C. Mesa-Lago, *et al.* Market, Socialist and Mixed Economies: Comparative Policy and Performance: Chile, Cuba, and Costa Rica (2000).
- R.K Noonan. "Gender and the Politics of Needs: Broadening the Scope of Welfare State Provision in CR," Gender and Society 16:2 (2002), 216-39.
- J. Paige, Coffee and Power: Revolution and the Rise of Democracy in Central America (1997).
- M.A. Rodriguez Echeverria, "Getting Costa Rica Right," Journal of Democracy 17, 2, 2006, 161-4.
- J.T. Ryan, "Decentralization and Democratic Instability: The Case of Costa Rica," Public Administration Review 64:1 (2004), 81-91.
- D. Sanchez-Ancochea, "States, firms and the Process of Industrial Upgrading: The Costa Rican Experience," Economy and Society 38:1 (2009), 62-86.
- M.A. Seligson, "Trouble in Paradise? The Erosion of System Support in CR, 1978-1999," Latin American Research Review 37:1 (2002), 160-85.
- B.M. Wilson, Costa Rica: Politics, Economics and Democracy (1998), Intro, chaps.3-6.
- B.M. Wilson, "Elections in Costa Rica: 2002," Electoral Studies 22:3 (2003), 509-16.
- D. Yashar, Demanding Democracy: Reform and Reaction in Cpsta Rica and Guatemala, 1870s-1950s

(1997).

Readings on Mauritius:

- A. K. Aubeelock, A Comparative Study of island Economies, London: Minerva, 2000.
- L. W. Bowman, Mauritius: Democracy and Development in the Indian Ocean, Boulder: Westview, 1991.
- D. Brautigam, "Institutions, Economic Reform, and Democratic Consolidation in Mauritius," Comparative Politics, 30 (1997).
- D. Brautigam, "Mauritius: Rethinking the Miracle," Current History, 98:628 (1999), 228-31.
- D. Brautigam, "Strategic Engagement, Markets, Transnational Networks, and Globalization in Mauritius," Yale Journal of International Affairs 1, 1, 2005, 53-78.
- B.W. Carroll and T. Carroll, "The Consolidation of Democracy in Mauritius," Democratization 6:1 (1999), 179-97.
- B.W. Carroll and T. Carroll, "Accommodating Ethnic Diversity in a Modernizing Democratic State," Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23:1 (2000).
- R. Dabee & D. Greenaway (eds.), The Mauritian Economy, New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- N. Gulhati & R. Nallari, Successful Stabilization and Recovery in Mauritius, Washington, DC: World Bank, Economic Development Institute, 1990.
- R. Laville, "In the Politics of the Rainbow: Creoles and Civil Society in Mauritius," Journal of Contemporary African Studies 18:2, 2000, 277-94.
- T. Meisenhelder, "The Developmental State in Mauritius," Journal of Modern African Studies, 35:2 (1999), 279-97.
- R. Ramtohul, "Trade Liberalization and the Feminization of Poverty: The Mauritian Scenario," Agenda 78: 55-67.
- S. Sobhee, "The Economic Success of Mauritius; Lessons and Policy Options for Africa," Journal of Economic Policy Reform 12 (March), 29-42.
- F. Teal, "Why Can Mauritius Export Manufactures and Ghana Not?" World Economy 22:7 (1999), 981-93.

19. What accounts for the emergence and survival of social democracy in the state of Kerala (India)?
(March 1 – RS)

- *R. Sandbrook, M. Edelman, P. Heller, and J. Teichman, Social Democracy in the Global Periphery, chap. 2 & 3.
- *K.R. Raman, "Asian Development Bank, Policy Conditionalities and Social-Democratic Governance: Kerala Model under Pressure?" Review of International Political Economy 16:2 (2009), pp. 284-308. [EJ]
- *J. Tharamangalam, "The Perils of Social Development without Economic Growth: The Development Debacle of Kerala," Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars 30:1 (1998), pp. 23-34. [EJ]
- "Kerala Model of Development: A Symposium," Special Issue of Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars 30:4 (1998). Articles by George (35-40), Parameswaran (40-2), Tornquist (43-4) and Alexander (44-7).
- "Symposium on Kerala," Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars (Oct. 2001). [Access at <http://csf.Colorado.edu/bcas/kerala/kerintro.htm>.]
- G. Cairo, "State and Society in India: Explaining the Kerala Experience," Asian Survey 41:4 (2001), pp. 669-92. [EJ]
- R. Chandavarkar, "From Communism to 'Social Democracy': The Rise and Resilience of Communist Parties in India, 1920-95," Science and Society 61 (1997), 99-106.
- A. Deshpande, "Does Caste Still Define Disparity? A Look at Inequality in Kerala, India," American Economic Review 90:2 (2000), 322-5.
- M. Desai, "Party Formation, Political Power and the Capacity for Reform: Comparing Left Parties in Kerala and West Bengal," Social Forces 80:1 (2001), 37-60.
- M. Desai, "Indirect British Rule, State Formation and Welfarism in Kerala, India, 1860-1957," Social Science History 29:3 (2005), 457-88.
- R. Franke and B. Chasin. "Kerala State: A Social Justice Model," Multinational Monitor, 16:7-8 (1996), 25-8.
- P. Heller, "From Class Struggle to Class Compromise: Redistribution with Growth in a South Indian State," Journal of Development Studies 31 (1997), pp. 645-72.
- P. Heller, "Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralization in Kerala, South Africa and Porto Alegre," Politics and Society 29:1 (2001), 131-63.
- P. Heller, The Labor of Development: Workers and the Transformation of Capitalism in Kerala (1999).

- T.M.T. Isaac and P. Heller, "Democracy and Development: Decentralized Planning in Kerala," in A. Fung and E.O. Wright (eds.), Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance, pp. 77-110. London: Verso, 2003.
- K.P. Kannan, "Public Intervention and Poverty Alleviation: A Study of the Declining Incidence of Rural Poverty in Kerala," Development and Change 26:4 ('95), 701-27.
- N. Pani & K. Jafar, "Mass-Education Led Growth and Non-Agrarian Villages: Long Term Results of the Kerala Model," Oxford Development Studies 38:1 (2010), 25-42.
- G. Parayil, (ed.) Kerala: The Development Experience (2000). See chapters by Heller, Kurien, Veron, and Parameswaran..
- V. Prasad, "The Small Voice of Socialism: Kerala, Once Again," Critical Asian Studies 33:2 (2001), 301-11.
- B.A. Prakash ed. Kerala's Economic Development: Issues and Problems (1999).
- S. Ramanathaiyer, Social Development in Kerala: Illusion or Reality? (2000).
- R. Veron, "The New Kerala Model: Lessons for Sustainable Development," World Development 29:4 (2001), 601-17.
- M. Zachariah, Science for Social Revolution? Achievements and Dilemmas of a Development Movement: the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad. (1994).

20. Can empowerment work at the community level, and, if so, how? The case of Chiapas, Mexico (March 8 – GI)

- *A. Borón, "Civil Society and Democracy: The Zapatista Experience," Development, Vol. 48, No. 2, 2005, pp. 29-34. [EJ]
- *R. Stahler-Sholk, "Resisting Neoliberal Homogenization: The Zapatista Autonomy Movement," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 34, No. 2 (March), 2007, pp. 48-63. [EJ]
- *A.C.S. Swords, "Neo-Zapatista Network Politics: Transforming Democracy and Development," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 34, No. 2 (March), 2007, pp. 78-93. [RJ]
- *K.A. Zugman, "Zapatismo and Urban Political Practice," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32 No. 4 (July), 2005, pp. 133-147. [EJ]
- A. Andrews, "Constructing Mutuality: The Zapatistas' Transformation of Transnational Activist Power Dynamics," Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Spring), 2010, pp. 89-120.
- N. Adelson, "The Environmental Roots of the Chiapas [Mexico] Uprising." Journal of Public and International Affairs, Vol. 8, Spring 1997, pp. 122-42.
- D.W. Bray, "Beyond Neoliberal Globalization: Another World," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 29, No. 6, November 2002, pp. 117-131. [EJ]
- K. Bruhn, "Antonio Gramsci and the Palabra Verdadera: The Political Discourse of Mexico's Guerrilla Forces." Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 41, No. 2, Summer 1999, pp. 29-55.
- L. Castellanos, "Learning, Surviving: Marcos After the Rupture," NACLA Report on the Americas, Vol. 41, No. 3 (May/June), 2008, pp. 34-9.
- R.H. Chilcote, "Globalization or Imperialism?" Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 29, No. 6, November 2002, pp. 80-87.
- G.A. Collier, Basta!: Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, 3rd edition. Oakland, CA: Food First Books, 2005.
- G.A. Collier and J.F. Collier, "The Zapatista Rebellion in the Context of Globalization," The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3-4, July-October 2005, pp. 450-60.
- M. De Angelis, "'Zapatismo' and Globalisation as Social Relations," Humboldt Journal of Social Relations, Special Issue: "Zapatismo as Political and Cultural Practice," Vol. 29, No. 1, 2005, pp. 179-203.
- E. Duncan and J. Simonelli, Uprising of Hope: Sharing the Zapatista Journey to Alternative Development. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005.
- B. Evans, "Revolution without Violence," Peace Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January-March), 2009, pp. 85-94.
- W.F. Fisher and T. Ponniah, Another World Is Possible. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Publishing, 2003.
- C. Gilbreth and G. Otero, "Democratization in Mexico: the Zapatista Uprising and Civil Society." Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 28, No. 4, July 2001, pp. 7-29.
- P. González-Casanova, "The Theory of the [Mexican] Rain Forest against Neoliberalism and for Humanity." Thesis Eleven 53, May 1998, pp. 79-92.
- G. Haar, "Land Reform, the State, and the Zapatista Uprising in Chiapas," Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3-4, July-October 2005, pp. 484-507.

- R.L. Harris, "Resistance and Alternatives to Globalization in Latin America and the Caribbean," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 29, No. 6, November 2002, pp. 136-151.
- N. Harvey, "Globalization and Resistance in Post-Cold War Mexico: Difference, Citizenship and Biodiversity Conflicts in Chiapas." Third World Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 6, Dec. 2001, pp. 1045-61.
- N. Harvey, "Inclusion through Autonomy," NACLA Report on the Americas, September-October 2005.
- T. Hayden (ed.), The Zapatista Reader. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2002.
- L. Hernández Navarro, "Between Memory and Forgetting: Guerrillas, the Indigenous Movement, and Legal Reform in the Time of the EZLN," in C.J. Arnson (ed.), Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America. Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1999.
- R.A. Hernandez Castillo and V.J. Furio, "The Indigenous Movement in Mexico: Between Electoral Politics and Local Resistance," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 33, No. 2, March 2006, pp. 115-31.
- J. Holloway, Zapatista!: Reinventing Mexico's Revolution.
- J. Holloway, "Zapatismo Urbano," Humboldt Journal of Social Relations, Special Issue: "Zapatismo as Political and Cultural Practice," Vol. 29, No. 1, 2005, pp. 168-78.
- J. Johnston and G. Laxer, "Solidarity in the Age of Globalization: Lessons from the Anti-MAI and Zapatista Struggles." Theory and Society, Vol. 32, No. 1, Feb. 2003, pp. 39-91.
- A. Khasnabish, Zapatismo without Borders – New Imagination of Political Possibility. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- C. Kovic, "The Struggle for Liberation and Reconciliation in Chiapas, Mexico: Las Abejas and the Path of Nonviolent Resistance." Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 30, No. 3, May 2003, pp. 58-79.
- S. Lynn, Zapata Lives!: Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico. University of California Press, 2002.
- M. Mentinis, Zapatistas: The Chiapas Revolt and What It Means for Radical Politics. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006.
- T. Mertes, The Movement of Movements: Is Another World Really Possible? London: Verso, 2004.
- J. H. Mittelman, "Alternative Globalization," in R. Sandbrook (ed.), Civilizing Globalization. A Survival Guide. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003, pp. 237-251.
- M. Mora, "Zapatista Anticapitalist Politics and the 'Other Campaign': Learning from the Struggle for Indigenous Rights and Autonomy," Latin American Perspectives, Vol 34, No. 2 (March), 2007, pp. 64-77.
- R. Munck, "Globalization," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 29, No. 6, November 2002, pp. 24-31.
- T. Oleson, "Globalising the Zapatistas: from Third World solidarity to global solidarity?," Third World Quarterly, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2004, pp. 255-67.
- J. Petras, The New Development Politics. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003.
- J. Ponce de León (ed.), Our Word Is Our Weapon: Selected Writings of Subcomandante Marcos. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001.
- J.F. Rochlin, Vanguard Revolutionaries in Latin America: Peru, Colombia, Mexico, Chapters 6-7, pp. 171-252. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003.
- J. Ross, The War against Oblivion: Zapatista Chronicles, 1994-2000. Philadelphia: Common Courage Press, 2000.
- P. Rosset, M.E. Martinez-Torres and L. Hernandez-Navarro, "Zapatismo in the Movement of Movements," Development, Vol. 48, No. 2, June 2005, pp. 35-41.
- R. Stahler-Sholk, "Globalization and Social Movement Resistance: The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico." New Political Science, Vol. 23, No. 4, Dec. 2001, pp. 493-516.
- J. Stolle-McAllister, "What Does Democracy Look Like? Local Movements Challenge the Mexican Transition," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32 No. 4 (July), 2005, pp. 15-35.
- Subcomandante Marcos, Our Word Is Our Weapon: Selected Writings. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001.
- H. Veltmeyer (ed.), Transcending Neoliberalism: Community-Based Development in Latin America. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2001.
- H. Veltmeyer (ed.), Globalization and Antiglobalization: Dynamic of Change in the New World Order. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- S. Washbrook, "The Chiapas Uprising of 1994: Historical Antecedents and Political Consequences," The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3-4, July-October 2005, pp. 417-49.
- I. Watson, "Rethinking Strategy and Geopolitics: Critical Responses to Globalisation." Geopolitics, Vol. 6, No. 3, Winter 2001, pp. 87-116.
- I. Watson, "Reengaging Radical Democracy: An Examination of the Emiliano Zapata Army of National

Liberation (EZLN) and New Political Participation." Democracy and Nature, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 2002, pp. 63-86.

21. Can empowerment work at the local level and, if so, how? The case of Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil (March 15 – GI)

- *G. Baiocchi, "Participation, Activism and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment," Politics and Society, Vol. 29, No.1, 2001, pp. 43-72. [EJ]
- *A. Novy and B. Leuboldt, "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Social Innovation and the Dialectical Relationship of State and Civil Society," Urban Studies, Vol. 42, No. 11, October 2005, pp. 2023-36. [EJ]
- *H. Wainwright, "Porto Alegre: Public Power beyond the State," in her Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy, pp. 42-69. London and New York: Verso, 2003.
- R. Abers, "Learning Democratic Practice: Distributing Government Resource through Popular Participation in Porto Alegre, Brazil," in M. Douglass and J. Friedmann (eds.), Cities for Citizens, pp. 39-65. Chichester, England: John Wiley and Sons, 1998.
- R. Abers, Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.
- R. Abers, "Reflections on What Makes Empowered Participatory Governance Happen," in A. Fung and E.O. Wright (eds.), Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance, pp. 200-07. London: Verso, 2003.
- A. Acharya, A. Gurza Lavallo and P.P. Houtzager, "Civil Society Representation in the Participatory Budget and Deliberative Councils of Sao Paulo, Brazil," IDS Bulletin - Institute of Development Studies, Vol. 35, No. 2, 2004, pp.40-48.
- L. Avritzer, "Public Deliberation at the Local Level: Participatory Budgeting in Brazil," 1999. <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/avritzer.pdf>
- G. Baiocchi, "Synergizing Civil Society: State-Civil Society Regimes in Porto Alegre, Brazil." Political Power and Social Theory, Vol. 15, 2002, pp. 3-52.
- G. Baiocchi, "Emergent Public Spheres: Talking Politics in Participatory Governance." American Sociological Review, Vol. 68, No. 1, Feb. 2003, pp. 52-74.
- G. Baiocchi (ed.), Radicals in Power: The Workers Party and Experiments in Urban Democracy in Brazil. London: Zed, 2003.
- I. Bruce, Porto Alegre: Direct Democracy in Action. New York: Pluto, 2004.
- B. De Souza Santos, "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy," 1998. <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/santosweb.html>
- Fung, A. and E.O. Wright (1998). "Experiments in Deliberative Democracy: Introduction." Available online: <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/deliberative.html>.
- B. Goldfrank, "Making Participation Work in Porto Alegre," in G. Baiocchi (ed.), Radicals in Power: The Workers Party and Experiments in Urban Democracy in Brazil. London: Zed, 2003.
- W.W. Goldsmith, "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil." Planners Network Online, No. 140, 2000. Available online: <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/140/goldsmith.htm>.
- W.W. Goldsmith and C.B. Vanier, "Participatory Budgeting and Power Politics in Porto Alegre." Land Lines 13 (1), 2001. Available online: <http://www.lincolnst.edu/landline/2001/january/january3.html>.
- A. Latendresse, "The Case of Porto Alegre: The Participatory Budget," in Participatory Democracy: Prospects for Democratizing Democracy. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2005.
- J. Martinussen, Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development, Chapters 20 and 24, pp. 289-95 and 331-41.
- R. Munck, "Neoliberalism, Necessitarianism and Alternatives in Latin America: There Is No Alternative (tina)?" Third World Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 3, June 2003, pp. 495-511.
- W.R. Nylen, Participatory Democracy versus Elitist Democracy: Lessons from Brazil. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- R. Stren, "New Approaches to Urban Governance in Latin America." Prepared for the Seminar on CIID-IDRC and urban development in Latin America", Montevideo, Uruguay, April 6-7, 2000. http://www.idrc.ca/lacro/docs/conferencias/urban_s.html
- UNESCO (1996). The Experience of the Participative Budget in Porto Alegre, Brazil.
- H. Wainwright, Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy. London and New York: Verso, 2003.
- H. Wainwright, "Making a People's Budget in Porto Alegre," NACLA Report on the Americas, Vol.36, No.5,

2003, pp. 37-42.

B. Wampler, "A Guide to Participatory Budgeting," 2000. Electronically downloadable at:
<http://www.internationalbudget.org/cdrom/papers/systems/ParticipatoryBudgets/Wampler.pdf>

22. Barrio Democracy in Latin America: Participatory Decentralization and Community Action in Montevideo (March 22)

Guest speaker: Eduardo Canel, York University

Eduardo Canel is an Associate Professor in the Division of Social Science and Director of the Centre for Research on Latin America & the Caribbean (CERLAC) of York University. His research focuses on the changing nature of state-civil society relations in Latin America resulting from neoliberal restructuring, democratization, and recent development discourses advocated by international development agencies.

23. Replacing 'neoliberal globalization' with 'social-democratic globalization'? Proposals and prospects for reforming the international economic order (March 29 – RS)

NOTE: QUESTIONS FOR TAKE-HOME TEST TO BE PROVIDED

*R. Sandbrook (ed.), Civilizing Globalization: A Survival Guide, Introduction, Part II, Core Issues for Part III, plus chapters 10 and 12. Albany: SUNY Press, 2003.

*P. Evans, 'Is an Alternative Globalization Possible?' Politics and Society 36:2 (2008), 271-305. [EJ]

*J. Faux, "Without Consent: Global Capital Mobility and Democracy." Dissent (Winter 2004), 43-50. [EJ]

W. Bello, "Globalization in Retreat," Foreign Policy in Focus, (22 Dec. 2006). www.fpif.com

W. Bello, Deglobalization: Ideas for a New World Economy London: Zed Books, 2002.

M. Blowfield, "Ethical Trade; A Review of Developments and Issues," Third World Quarterly 20:4 (1999), 753-70.

H.J. Chang and I. Grabel, Reclaiming Development – An Alternative Economic Policy Manual. London: Zed Books, 2004.

A. Colás, "Neoliberalism, Globalization and International Relations," in A. Saad-Filho and D. Jackson (eds.), Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader, Chapter 7, pp. 70-79. London: Pluto Press, 2005.

M. Edwards, Future Positive: International Cooperation in the 21st Century, London: Earthscan, 1999.

P. Evans, "From Situations of Dependency to Globalized Social Democracy," Studies in Comparative International Development 44:4 (2009), pp. 318-36.

R. Falk, "On the Creation of a Global People's Assembly: Legitimacy and the Power of Popular Sovereignty," Stanford Journal of International Law 36:2 (2000), 191-220.

W.F. Fisher and T. Ponniah (eds.), Another World is Possible: Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum London: Zed, 2003.

G. Greenfield, "The Success of being Dangerous: Resisting Free Trade and Investment Regimes," Studies in Political Economy 64 (Spring), 2001, 83-90.

D. Held, "Democracy and Globalization," Global Governance 3:3 (1997), 251-67.

D. Held, Global Covenant: The Social Democratic Alternative to the Washington Consensus. Cambridge: Polity, 2004.

D. Held, "Reforming Global Governance: Apocalypse Soon or Reform!" New Political Economy 11:2, 2006, 157-76.

International Forum on Globalization, Alternatives to Economic Globalization, San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2002.

E.B. Kapstein, "A Global Third Way: Social Justice and the World Economy," World Policy Journal 15:4 (1998), 23-34.

M. Khor, Rethinking Globalization: Critical Issues and Policy Choices (2001).

M. Khor, "Globalization, Global Governance and the Dilemmas of Development." In H.-J. Chang (ed.), Rethinking Development Economics, 523-44. London: Anthem Press, 2004.

C.N. Murphy, "Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood," International Affairs 76:4 (2000), 789-803.

L. Panitch, "The State in a Changing World: Social-Democratizing Global Capitalism?" Monthly Review (1999). (critical Marxist view)

J. N. Pieterse (ed.) Global Futures: Shaping Globalization (2000).

- J.A. Scholte, Globalization; A Critical Introduction (2000), Part III.
- H. Shutt, A New Democracy: Alternatives to a Bankrupt World Order (2001).
- P. Singer, One World: The Ethics of Globalization, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2002.
- J. Stiglitz, Globalization and Its Discontents, Chapters 2 and 9. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002.
- J.-P. Thérien, "Multilateral Institutions and the Poverty Debate: Towards a Global Third Way?" International Journal 57:2 (2002), 233-52.
- A. Touraine, Beyond Neoliberalism. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

24. Take-home test due (April 5)