1. OVERVIEW

Following an introductory section that sets out the context and themes of the course, we evaluate a range of development strategies. Neoliberal reform has dominated the theory and practice of development since 1980, shifting from an initial market-fundamentalist Washington Consensus to an augmented Post-Washington Consensus. We therefore devote 10 sessions to understanding the origins, evolution, political implications and performance of this evolving policy paradigm. Case studies of neoliberal reform in Latin America, Africa, and Asia complement our discussion of general themes and issues.

The second half of the course deals with development alternatives to the mainstream paradigm. These alternatives operate at one or more of three levels: local, national and global. To achieve such goals as prosperity, fairness, poverty reduction, equal freedom and environmental sustainability, activists and scholars have recently explored nationally-based social-democratic, 'twenty-first-century' socialist, and revived developmental-state strategies, projects of local empowerment or community-centred development and programs for reforming or transforming global economic governance. We probe 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 45 minute presentation (or a 30-minute presentation each in jointly-led seminars). Each class member will make two presentations. We provide guidelines for these presentations below. Please be ready on September 18th 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 October 2nd (or earlier); 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 12th 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 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 several 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 a 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 2nd 20%

(answer 2 of the 4 questions, which are organized into two parts; test to be provided at the end of the class on March 26th)

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 and 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.

2. Technical Details.

   • Your presentation is not a research exercise. Base your oral essay on the required reading for your session plus several supplementary readings.

   • If you are sharing a topic, work out a division of labour with your partner. Each person should speak for 30 minutes. In a solo presentation, plan to speak for 45 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 time limits suggested above.

   • It is helpful to conclude your presentation with issues you think require 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. But you do need to be clear.
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 Robarts 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:


Less heavily used, but also available:


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. 11)

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. 18 – RS)

NOTE: SUBMIT A LIST OF YOUR CHOICES FOR SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS.


3. State-led development I: History, types, results (Sept. 25 – GI)

What is the role of the state in the economy? What role has it played in the economic development of today’s industrialized countries? What is a “developmental state”? Is a “developmental state” still possible today?


4. Market-led development (Oct. 2 – RS)

What are the strengths and the costs of depending on markets as coordinating mechanisms? In what sense are markets cultural and political, in addition to economic, institutions? What distinction was Polanyi drawing when he observed that what he opposed was “market society”, not “a society with markets”?


5. State-led development II: The importance of “Industrial Policy” (Oct. 9 – GI)

Is industrial upgrading the result of a spontaneous process? Are comparative advantages the creation of the market or of industrial policy? What is the relevance of industrial policy in a globalized economy? Is industrial policy possible in the 21st century?


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.

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


Is neoliberalism a development paradigm, an institutional arrangement or a class project (in Harvey’s terms), or some combination of these three? Is the Post-Washington Consensus actually, as the term suggests, a replacement of the Washington Consensus or is it rather an augmentation of the latter? Did the Great Recession of 2008-2009 mark the end of the Post-Washington Consensus?


*J. Rapley, Understanding Development, Chapters 4 & 5.


C. Gore, “The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries,” World
7. **Broadening the neoliberal agenda to include good governance and strong institutions** (Oct. 23 – RS)

   How is ‘good governance’ defined? What is its relationship to democracy? Are institutions key to economic development and, if so, how does a country get strong institutions? Can the widely accepted view that democratic governments are good for development be sustained in light of the ‘success’ of China since 1979?


J. Rapley, Understanding Development, Chapter 6.

8. Assessing neoliberal reform: Does free-market capitalism ineluctably lead to environmental decline, or is a 'Green Capitalism' feasible? (Oct. 30 – RS)


P. Newell & m. Paterson, Climate Capitalism; Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
T. Scudder, Global Threats, Global Futures; Living with Declining Living Standards (London: Edward Elgar, 2010).

PART III: MARKET-ORIENTED REFORM: CASE STUDIES

Note to students who are preparing a presentation on a case study in session 9 and 11-13:
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?
9. Chile: Neoliberal reform and capitalist transformation (Nov. 6 – GI)


November Study Break (Nov. 13)

10. Assessing neoliberal reform: The social and economic record (Nov. 20 – GI)

Guest speaker: Judith Teichman, University of Toronto

*J. Teichman, Social Forces and States: Poverty and Distributional Outcomes in South Korea, Chile, and Mexico, chapters 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7. Stanford: Stanford University press, 2012.

On the Social Record:


S. Razavi (ed.), *Shifting Burdens: Gender and Agrarian Change under Neoliberalism*. Bloomfield, CT:


11. Ghana: From Neopatrimonialism to Neoliberalism? (Nov. 27 – RS) *(brief video to be shown)*


*or*


N. Amponsah, “Ghana’s Mixed Structural Adjustment Results: Explaining the Poor Private Sector Response,”


S. Lindberg et al., "Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana," Political Science Quarterly 123:1, 95-.


12. South Korea (Dec. 4 – GI)


B. Balassa and J. Williamson, Adjusting to Success: Balance of Payments Policy in the East Asian NICs.


13. **India: Why have the poor gained so little from economic liberalization?** (Jan. 8 – RS)


   M. Bouton, "India’s Problem is not Political," *Foreign Affairs* 77:3 (1999), 80-93.


   B. Currie, "Governance, Democracy and Economic Adjustment in India: Conceptual and Empirical Problems,*
R. Jha, “Reducing Poverty and Inequality in India: Has Liberalization Helped?” WIDER, United Nations University, WP 204, Nov. 2000. (download from WIDER web site)
A. Kohli (ed.), The Success of India’s Democracy Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

PART IV: ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

14. The ‘double movement’ and the dilemmas of development alternatives in the global South: A neo-Polanyian Approach (Jan. 15 – RS) – Discussion led by R. Sandbrook


15. Does reviving the Developmental State remain a viable alternative? The case of China (Jan. 22 – GI)

Has the rapid economic growth experienced by China since the late 1970s been the result of economic liberalization or of industrial policy? Can the Chinese model of economic development be defined as neoliberal, developmental, or neither?


17. Moderate and Radical Social-Democratic Paths (Feb. 5 – RS)

RS: Brief Introduction: What is the essence of social democracy in the global periphery, and how does it differ from social liberalism? How do we distinguish between radical and moderate social democracy, and why is it important to do so?

Student Presentation: Why was the Workers Party (PT) able to introduce moderate social democracy into highly inegalitarian Brazil, especially since 2007? What impact has the shift had on poverty and inequality?


General Issues:


D. Ghai, “Social Security: Learning from Global Experiences to Reach the Poor,” Journal of Human
18. Radical Social-Democratic Politics in Kerala, India (1957-late 1980s) (Feb. 12 – RS)

Why did a radical social-democratic path emerge in Kerala? Was it a “development debacle” or an “accumulation crisis” that led to the party’s moderation by the 1990s?


20. Participatory democracy at the community level: The case of the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico (March 5 – GI)


J. Holloway, Zapatista! Reinventing Mexico’s Revolution.


21. Participatory democracy at the local level: The case of Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil (March 12 – GI)

NOTE: TERM PAPER IS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS

*H. Wainwright, “Porto Alegre: Public Power beyond the State,” in her Reclaim the State: Experiments in


22. Participatory democracy at the firm level: The case of Recovered Enterprises in Argentina (March 19 – GI)

Guest speaker: Nicolas Saldias, University of Toronto


*T.W. Evans, “Counter-Hegemony at Work: Resistance, Contradiction and Emergent Culture Inside a


23. Replacing ‘neoliberal globalization’ with ‘social-democratic globalization’? Proposals and prospects for reforming the international economic order (March 26 – RS)

NOTE: QUESTIONS FOR TAKE-HOME TEST TO BE PROVIDED. Please type your answers.


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


24. Take-home test due (April 2)

NOTE: PLEASE DROP OFF YOUR TEST ANSWERS AT THE OFFICE OF RICHARD SANDBROOK.