



Summer 2020

POL 438H1 F – Topics in Comparative Politics I
Political Economy of East Asian Development

Instructor:	Steven Denney steven.denney@utoronto.ca
Location:	Quercus Bb collaborate
Course Time:	Tuesday & Thursday: 16:00-18:00
Office Hours:	Rolling basis (meetings by request)

Course Description

The second half of 20th century East Asia is defined in large part by a select number of “miracle” economies. Who are these countries and how did they realize sustained, high economic growth rates? This course will closely examine the political and economic development of capitalism in East Asia, focusing on Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Comparisons with other East Asian economies (e.g., Hong Kong and Singapore) and non-East Asian countries are made, where appropriate. Particular focus will be given to the rise (and fall) of the “developmental state,” especially as it relates to government-business, capital-labour, and state-society relationships. Students will read widely across the political economy literature and pen weekly critical responses, in addition to writing a research proposal and research paper.

Learning Objectives

Topics and concepts in international and domestic political economy will be covered. At the end of the course, you should understand the following:

- The developmental state – what it is; why it was so controversial; what it did well and where it created problems; and why it (arguably) no longer exists
- Debates regarding linkages and continuity of economic institutions established under colonization, and why this debate is fraught with acrimony and contention
- The geopolitical context of the so-called “miracle” economies, especially the Cold War background and the role played by the United States
- State-society and state-business relations in developmental East Asia, and how the nature of these relationships challenged the economic orthodoxy of the time
- Democratic transitions and how the political transitions of select East Asian countries set them apart from the rest of the world
- The causes and consequences of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis
- Debates regarding the “East Asian model,” especially as it relates to international development policy

Course Essentials

Use of technology and technical requirements

Given physical distancing requirements during the COVID-19 pandemic, the entirety of this course will be taught online. All relevant material and communications will be conducted via Quercus. Lectures will be conducted via Bb Collaborate, as will additional student-instructor interactions (e.g., meetings, office hours), unless otherwise arranged. You will need a stable internet connection and functioning microphone in order to participate in this course. The use of video/web cam is not necessary during lectures and optional for meetings with the instructor. The instructor will use both video and audio for lectures.

Office hours and instructor guidance/feedback

There will be no formal office hours held. The instructor will be available upon request in order to discuss the course material, reading, writing, or other (personal or professional) concerns. Please email the instructor to find a mutually agreeable time to meet.

Lectures and required reading

The lecture material will come almost entirely from the weekly reading assignments (including optional reading), in addition to background information, which can be found on publicly available resources. Especially for students who haven't taken any courses on modern or contemporary East Asia, it is strongly recommended that they read country backgrounders for Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan at the CIA World Factbook or another web-based resource.¹

Lecture materials will be made available to students on Quercus after submission of reading responses (more below). The reading assigned for each lecture is mandatory. Students are strongly encouraged to at least browse the optional readings. Required reading – articles, books chapters – and selected optional reading will be provided on Quercus, or information about how to access materials will be made available. Contact the instructor for any questions about the assigned reading or recommendations for additional reading.

Assignments, grading, and expectations

Grades will be assessed based on the following (weights included):

- Attendance (15% of total grade)
- Digital participation (5%)
- Reading responses (35%)
- Research proposal (20%)
- Research paper (25%)

Attendance

This is based on a record of attendance for virtual lectures.

Digital participation

This is awarded upon completing instructor consultation (easy money!). More information will be provided by instructor.

¹ See: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>.

Reading responses

These are critical responses to the week's reading. Based on one of the week's "core questions" (listed below). It should consist of the following:

- Chosen question (student may pose their own question, if motivated to do so)
- 500-700 words in length
- A clear answer to the question (!)
- Critical engagement with the assigned reading, including evidence of having read and understood the required and/or optional reading (e.g., citations, quotations, summaries). Students are encouraged to draw upon previous weeks' reading; sometimes necessary)

Each response is worth 10 points. Critical responses are due Fridays at the designated location on Quercus no later than 11:59pm. In total, students will write four reading responses (Weeks 2, 4, 5, and 6).

Research proposal

Students are expected to write a research paper. To prepare, a modest proposal of 1-2 pages in length will first be submitted. It must consist of the following elements: 1) *what* (topic and research question); 2) *why* (what's the point of the research); 3) *how* (research methods); and 4) *expected contribution* (usefulness of conclusions). The proposal should serve as the draft introduction for the full research paper.

In addition to the written proposal, students are expected to submit an *annotated bibliography* of no fewer than four (4) academic sources. The annotations should be 2-3 sentences that explain 1) the research covered; 2) an overview of the findings; and 3) the relevance to the research being proposed.

The proposal is worth 50 points. Additional material for the research proposal will be provided by the instructor, including the grading rubric used to assess it. Students are expected to schedule a one-on-one (digital) consultation with the instructor in order to discuss research interests, the proposal, and related matters (more information on this will be provided). The proposal is due no later than 11:59pm on Monday, May 25 (Week 4) at the designated location on Quercus.

Research paper

The research paper will build on the proposal, with substantive argumentation and expanded sourcing. The paper should be 8-10 pages in length (double spaced; 2,000-2,500 words), with a minimum of six (6) academic sources. Additional, non-academic sources (e.g., *The Economist*, *Wall Street Journal*, etc.) are permitted, but no popular/informal media are allowed (e.g., *Vice News*, personal blogs, etc.).

The research paper is worth 100 points. Additional material for the paper will be provided by the instructor, including the grading rubric used to assess it. The research paper is due on Monday, June 15 – the Monday following the last week of class – by 11:59pm at the designated location on Quercus.

Submission dates

- ❖ Friday (by 11:59pm) for Weeks 2, 4, 5, and 6: *Reading responses*
- ❖ Week 4, Monday, May 25 (by 11:59pm): *Research proposal*
- ❖ Tuesday, June 15 (by 11:59pm): *Research paper*

Week 1: May 5 and 7
The “rise” of East Asia and the developmental state

Core questions:

- What makes the economic development of countries like Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan so unique? Is it a mistake to look for generalizable patterns with such a small sample size?
- What are the core features of the “developmental state”? What differentiates a developmental state from a “predatory state” or a (neo-)liberal state?
- Why was the concept of the developmental state so controversial in the 1980s and 1990s (at least in the Anglosphere)?

Class 1.1 – Introduction to political economy of East Asian development

- Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asia Industrialization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), Chapters 1-2.

Class 1.2 – Introduction to the developmental state

- Peter Evans, “Predatory, Developmental, and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State,” *Sociological Forum* 4, no. 4 (1989): 561-587.
- Chalmers Johnson, “The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept,” in Woo-Cummings (ed.), *The Developmental State* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1999).

Optional reading:

- Barbara Geddes, “How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics,” *Political Analysis* 2, no. 1 (1990): 131–50.

Week 2: May 12 and 14
Preconditions for (rapid) growth?
Colonial legacies, geopolitics, and late industrialization

Core questions:

- Why might late-industrialization be a good thing?
- Did it matter that most of East Asia’s “miracle” economies took place in the geopolitical context of the Cold War? What role did the United States play?
- Colonialism was (and continues to be) a racist, inherently discriminatory, and often physically violent enterprise. Why, then, do we debate its long-term impact on institutions and economic growth? What is there to debate regarding colonial legacies and political-economic development in East Asia?

Class 2.1 – Debating institutional continuity

- Twitter thread by Prof. Ken Opalo on colonial legacies. (*Very short! Will take less than a minute to read.*) - <https://twitter.com/kopalo/status/1133477886256656386>
- Atul Kohli, “Where do High-Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea’s ‘Development State’,” *World Development* 22, no. 9 (1994): 1269-1293.
- Stephan Haggard, David Kang and Chung-in Moon, “Japanese Colonialism and Korean Development: A Critique,” *World Development* 25, no. 6 (1997): 867-881.

Class 2.2 – Geopolitics of development and industrial late-comers

- Alexander Gerschenkron, “Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective,” in B.F. Hoselitz (ed.), *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 5-30.
- Bruce Cumings, “The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Industrial Sectors, Product Cycles, and Political Consequences,” *International Organization* 38, no. 1 (1984): 2-40.

Optional reading:

- Atul Kohli, “Japanese Colonialism and Korean Development: A Reply,” *World Development* 25, no. 6 (1997): 883-888.
- Kent Calder, “Securing Security through Prosperity: the San Francisco System in Comparative Perspective.” *The Pacific Review*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2004, pp. 135–157.
- Victor Cha, “Powerplay: The Origins of the U.S Alliance System in East Asia,” *International Security* 34, no. 3 (2009/10): 158-196.
- Victor Cha, “Bridging the Gap: The Strategic Context of the 1965 Korea—Japan Normalization Treaty,” *Korean Studies* 20 (1996): 123-160.

Week 3: May 19 and 21

Economic bureaucracies and the role of industrial policy

Core questions

- What are the chief characteristics of economic bureaucracies in East Asian developmental states? What specific role(s) did they play?
- What, exactly, is export-oriented industrialization? Why is this a significant feature of East Asian economic development?

Class 3.1 – Economic bureaucracies in Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea

- Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*, Chapter 2.
- Wade, *Governing the Market*, Chapter 7.
- U.S. Library of Congress entry on South Korea (*short read*) - <http://countrystudies.us/south-korea/47.htm>

Class 3.2 – Economic bureaucracies and industrial policies in action

- Robert Wade, “Managing Trade: Taiwan and South Korea as Challenges to Economics and Political Science,” *Comparative Politics* 25, no. 2 (1993): 147-67.
- Ziya Öniş, “The logic of the Developmental State,” *Comparative Politics* 24, no. 1 (1991): 109-126.

Optional reading:

- Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*, Chapters 3 and 7.

Week 4: May 26 and 28 ***Capital, finance, and labour***

Core questions:

- Capitalist developmental states didn't control the means of production, but they did exercise strong control over capital flows. How so, exactly? And why was capital control so important to these states? How does it differ from predatory and (neo-)liberal states?
- What was the state of relations between business (capital) and labour in developmental states? Who had more power?

Class 4.1 – The state and finance

- Atul Kohli, “A Cohesive-Capitalist State Reimposed: Park Chung Hee and Rapid Industrialization,” in *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
- Jung-en Woo, “The Political Economy of Korea, Inc.: The State, Finance, and the Chaebol,” in *Race to the Swift: State and Finance in Korean Industrialization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

Class 4.2 – Business-labour relations

- Chalmers Johnson, “Political Institutions and Economic Performance: The Government-Business Relationship in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan,” in Frederic Deyo (ed.), *Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- Frederic C. Deyo, “Labor and Development Policy in East Asia,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 505 (1989): 152-161.

Optional Reading:

- Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*, Chapter 6 (Japan)
- Wade, *Governing the Market*, Chapter 4 (Taiwan)

Week 5: June 2 and 4 ***Civil society and democratization***

Core questions:

- What was the status of civil society during Korea and Taiwan's developmental periods?
- Is liberal democracy and the developmental state compatible?
- What is puzzling about the democratic transitions in Korea and Taiwan?

Class 5.1 – Political transitions: political values and elite perspectives

- Dan Slater and Joseph Wong, “The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia,” *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 3 (2013): 717-733.
- Russell Dalton and Doh Chull Shin, “Growing up Democratic: Generational Change in East Asian Democracies,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 15, no. 3 (2014): 345-372.

Class 5.2 – Civil society and democratization

- Yoonkyung Lee, “Diverging Patterns of Democratic Representation in Korea and Taiwan: Political Parties and Social Movements,” *Asian Survey* 54, no. 3 (2014): 419-444.
- Sunhyuk Kim, “Civic Engagement and Democracy in South Korea,” *Korea Observer*, 40, no. 1 (2009): 1-26.

Optional reading:

- Robert Pekkanen, “After the Developmental State: Civil Society in Japan,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4 (2004): 363-388.
- Jae-Jin Yang, “Korean Social Concertation at the Crossroads: Consolidation or Deterioration?” *Asian Survey* 50, no. 3 (2010): 449-473.

Week 6: June 9 and 11

Crisis and reform: Whither the developmental state?

Core questions:

- What were the causes and consequences of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis?
- Why didn't the developmental state survive the 1990s? (Or did it?)
- What impact did Asia's developmental experience have on international development policy?
- Is there an East Asian model?

Class 6.1 – 1997 financial crisis: causes and consequences

- Gregory Noble and John Ravenhill, “Causes and Consequences of the Asian Financial Crisis,” in Noble and Ravenhill (eds.), *The Asian Financial Crisis and the Architecture of Global Finance* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Chang Ha-Joon, Park Hong-Jae and Yoo Chul Gyue. “Interpreting the Korean Crisis: Financial Liberalization, Industrial Policy and Corporate Governance,” *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 22 (1998): 735-746.

Class 6.2 – Whither the developmental state? Its decline and legacy

- Joseph Wong, “The Adaptive Developmental State in East Asia,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 345-362.
- Justin Lin and Chang Ha-joon, “Should Industrial Policy in Developing Countries Conform to Comparative Advantage or Defy it? A Debate Between Justin Lin and Chang Ha-joon,” *Development Policy Review* 27, no. 5 (2009): 483-502.

Optional reading:

- Elizabeth Thurbon, “Rebirth of the Developmental State,” in *Developmental Mindset: The Revival of Financial Activism in South Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).
- Gregory Noble and John Ravenhill, “The Good, the Bad and the Ugly? Korea, Taiwan and the Asian Financial Crisis,” in Noble and Ravenhill (eds.), *The Asian Financial Crisis and the Architecture of Global Finance* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Ee-Hwan Jung and Byung-you Cheon, “Economic Crisis and Changes in Employment Relations in Japan and Korea,” *Asian Survey* 46, no. 3 (2006): 457-476.
- Andrew Walter, “From Developmental State to Regulatory State: Japan's New Financial Regulatory System,” *The Pacific Review* 19, no. 4 (2006): 405-428.

Course Policies and Additional Information

Late penalties, emergencies, and extensions

For the *research proposal* and *final paper*, the late penalty is 5% per day (inclusive of weekends) for up to five days, after which point a mark of zero will be assigned. Due to time constraints regarding feedback, no late submissions of *critical reaction* papers will be accepted.

*However, amid the COVID-19 pandemic, we are operating in a time of national (and international) emergency. No student should be obligated to sacrifice their mental and/or physical well-being in order to finish an assignment on time. If you are having trouble completing an assignment amid this crisis, for whatever reason, please **contact me via email** and I will do whatever I can to accommodate and assist you; this includes granting assignment extensions but also anything else you might need assistance with.*

Accessibility

Accessibility Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please approach me and/or the AccessAbility Resource Centre as soon as possible. AccessAbility staff are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals, and arrange appropriate accommodations to the extent possible. Please call 416-978-8060 or email accessibility.services@utoronto.ca. The sooner you communicate your needs, the faster you might receive assistance in meeting your learning goals.

Due to COVID-19, all communications with AccessAbility should be done via phone or email. For more information and updates, please see: <https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as/covid-19-updates>.

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Equity Statement

The University of Toronto is committed to equity and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect. As a course instructor, I will neither condone nor tolerate behaviour that undermines the dignity or self-esteem of any individual and wish to be alerted to any attempt to create an intimidating or hostile environment. It is our collective responsibility to create a space that is inclusive and welcomes discussion. Discrimination, harassment and hate speech will not be tolerated. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns you may contact the U of T Equity and Diversity officer.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the presentation of someone else's work as your own. This could include direct quotations from sources that you do not properly cite or presenting someone else's work as your own. Even omitting quotation marks for verbatim quotes is an academic offence. Material from the internet is subject to the same citation requirements as any other material. If you are unsure what constitutes plagiarism or how to cite properly, talk to your tutorial leader or the professor. You should also refer to <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-toplagiarize>. Penalties for plagiarism will be dealt with by the department and university. For further information, consult the last page of this syllabus.

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