

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS U6412
STATE AND SOCIETY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD
SPRING 2005**

Time: Wednesdays 2:10 – 4:00 p.m.

Location: IAB 410

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Introduction

The principal aim of this course is to survey leading issues of post-1945 development from a state-in-society perspective. It provides a comparative analytic history of the major intellectual debates in the field from 1945 to the present. Themes include state-directed planning and the exigencies of late industrialization; dependency in the world economy and its presumed affinities with bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes; neoclassical critiques of rent-seeking activities and post-structural accounts of ‘governmentality’; varieties of state-in-society relations that govern the market and mobilize social capital; and present-day debates regarding political democratization, economic liberalization and globalization.

My reasons for taking such an approach are twofold. In part, it is so that you acquire a grasp of the contours of development theory and practice over this period by critically engaging with key texts, which represented significant intellectual positions and leading development strategies in various regions. Hence it is important to familiarize ourselves with these writings to know what happened in the past, and to understand contemporary development theories and practices. Apart from assessing contending arguments over particular issues, we will also examine their usefulness for understanding specific cases in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia.

In part, it is also to encourage you to develop a critical understanding of the key concepts of development, state and society, and the ways in which theorists and practitioners use them. Hopefully you will gain a self-reflexive awareness of how disputes over conceptualization, and different understandings of the past, shape development policy-making in the world today.

Inevitably, given the complexity and range of issues that fall under its rubric, any course that tackles the subject of ‘state and society in the developing world’ is selective and partial. The topics chosen, readings assigned, and vantage taken here are subject to the same limitations. Moreover, there are many general issues – such as democratization, conflict and violence – and crucial perspectives – relating to gender, labor and the environment, for instance – integral to the study of development that we can address only tangentially. Hence you are

strongly encouraged to take courses that engage with other themes and issues, in different regional contexts, in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding.

Requirements & Assessment

You must read all the set theoretical and case material for each section prior to each class. A newspaper article, which refers to the readings in each session, will also be circulated the preceding week. Background and recommended material for those interested in pursuing certain topics further are respectively listed at the beginning and end of each section.

Although the size of the class will pose challenges, its success depends on your active and informed participation. Being active means contributing your insights to, and asking questions in, class; being informed entails careful reading of the set material.

In addition, you are required to submit:

1. One short-paper (**5-6 pages double-spaced – worth 20% of final grade**) that engages with issues emerging from the first section of the course: questions and deadlines to be announced in class;
2. Another short-paper (**5-6 pages double-spaced – worth 20% of final grade**) that addresses questions raised in the second part of the course: questions and deadlines to be announced in class;
3. One take-home exam (**10-12 pages double-spaced – worth 60% of final grade**) that seeks to synthesize your understanding of the entire course.

Course Material

The only required text for the course, which provides a comprehensive multi-disciplinary overview of the issues, is John Martinussen, *Society, State and Market: a guide to competing theories of development* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004). It is available at Labyrinth Books, which is located on 112th Street between Broadway and Amsterdam.

The other assigned readings will be available on the course website through Courseworks@Columbia. There will also be a hard copy of each reading at Lehman Reserves.

A course reader will also be available shortly. I will send you details in due course.

Schedule & Readings

Critical Perspectives

Week 1 (01/19): Introduction to the Course

Week 2 (01/26): Conceptions of ‘Development’: Contested Meanings

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 34-47 and 165-176.

Theoretical:

- H. Arndt, “Economic development: a semantic history,” in *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (Vol. 29, 1981): 457-66; also in Stuart Corbridge (ed.), *Development: critical concepts in the social sciences – Volume I: Doctrines of Development* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 46-56.
- S.N. Eisenstadt, “Breakdowns of modernization,” in his *Readings in Social Evolution and Development* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970), pp. 421-453.
- Samuel P. Huntington, “Political development and political decay,” *World Politics* XVII (3) April 1965: 386-431.
- Amartya Sen, “Poverty as capability deprivation,” in his *Development as Freedom* (New York: Knopf, 1999), pp. 87-111.
- Estava Gustavo, “Development,” in Wolfgang Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: a guide to knowledge as power* (London: Zed Books, 1992), pp. 6-26.

Recommended:

- James Manor (ed.), *Rethinking Third World Politics* (London: Longman, 1991)
- Gerald M. Meier and Joseph E. Stiglitz (eds.), *Frontiers of Development Economics: the future in perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen (eds.), *The Quality of Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Week 3 (02/02): The Modern (Post-Colonial) State: The Question of Autonomy

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 179-184, 203-210 and 237-241..

Theoretical:

- Michael Mann “The autonomous power of the state,” in his *States, War and Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1988), pp. 1-33.
- Erik Olin Wright, “Class and politics,” in his *Interrogating Inequality: essays in class analysis, socialism and Marxism* (London: Verso, 1994), pp. 88-107.
- Joel S. Migdal, “A model of state-society relations,” in his *Strong Societies and Weak States: state-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 10-42 and 269-278.
- James C. Scott, “Patron-client politics and political change in South East Asia,” *American Political Science Review*, 66 (1) March 1972: 91-114.
- Timothy Mitchell, “The limits of the state: beyond statist approaches and their critics,” *American Political Science Review* 85 (1) 1991: 77-97.

Recommended:

- Nicos Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes* (London: New Left Books, 1973)
- Alfred Stepan, *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978)
- Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Week 4 (02/09): The Constitution of Society: Class, Ethnicity and Nation

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 246-251 and 320-331.

Theoretical:

- Clifford Geertz, “The integrative revolution: primordial sentiments and civil politics in the new states,” in his edited volume, *Old Societies and New States: the quest for modernity in Asia and Africa* (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 105-158; also in his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 255-311.
- Nelson Kafir, “Explaining ethnic political participation,” *World Politics* 1 (3) 1979: 365-388.
- Robert Bates, “Ethnic competition and modernization in contemporary Africa,” *Comparative Political Studies* 6 (4) 1974: 457-483.
- Benedict Anderson, “Census, map, museum,” in his *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, [1983] 1991), pp. 163-187.

- Mahmood Mamdani, “Customary law: the theory of decentralized despotism,” in his *Citizen and Subject: contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 109-138.

Recommended:

- Bernard S. Cohn, “The census, social structure and objectification in South Asia,” in his *An Anthropologist amongst the Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, [1987] 1990), pp. 224-255.
- David D. Laitin, *Identity in Formation: the Russian-speaking populations in the near abroad* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1998)
- Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1983] 1992)

Historical Transformations: 1945-1991

Week 5 (02/16): Primacy of the State: The Imperatives of ‘Late Development’

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 56-73.

Theoretical:

- Alexander Gerschenkron, “Economic backwardness in historical perspective,” in his *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: a book of essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 5-31; also in Corbridge, *Development – Volume I* (op.cit.), pp. 85-105.
- Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 131-134 and 171-191.
- Geoffrey Hawthorn, “‘Waiting for a text?’” in James Manor (ed.), *Rethinking Third World Politics* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), pp. 24-51.

Case:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, “The ‘tall men’ and the ‘third way’: Nehru, Patel and the building of modern India,” in their *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 43-67.

Recommended:

- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, [1957] 2001)
- P. Rosenstein-Rodan, “Problems of industrialization of Eastern and Southern Europe,” *Economic Journal* 53 (1943): 202-211.

- R. Nurske, *Problems of Capital Formation in Under-Developed Countries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953)

Week 6 (02/23): Critique of the State (I): Class, Authoritarianism and Dependency

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 73-100 and 176-178.

Theoretical:

- Andre Gunder Frank, “The development of underdevelopment,” in Corbridge, *Development – Volume I* (op.cit.), pp. 225-236; originally in *Monthly Review* 18 (September) 1966
- Guillermo O’Donnell, “Toward an alternative conception of South American politics,” in his *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: studies in South American politics* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, [1973] 1979), pp. 51-102.
- Albert O. Hirschman, “The turn to authoritarianism in Latin America and the search for its economic determinants,” in David Collier (ed.), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 61-99.

Case:

- Peter B. Evans, “From classic dependence to dependent development,” in his *Dependent Development: the alliance of multinational, state and local capital in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 55-101.

Recommended:

- Raul Prebisch, “The economic development of Latin America and its principal problems,” *Economic Bulletin for Latin America* 7 (1962)
- Martin Carnoy, *The State and Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)
- Cristóbal Kay, *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment* (New York: Routledge, 1989)

Week 7 (03/02): Critique of the State (II): The Neoclassical Counter-Revolution

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 129-143 and 257-264.

Theoretical:

- T. Srinivasan, “Neoclassical political economy, the state and economic development,” in Corbridge, *Development – Volume I* (op.cit.), pp. 368-390.
- Peter Bauer, “Development economics: a retrospective view,” in Corbridge, *Development – Volume I* (op.cit.), pp. 353-368.
- John Toye, “Is the Third World still there?” in his *Dilemmas of Development: the counter-revolution in development theory and policy*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 1-22.

Case:

- Robert H. Bates, “Governments and agricultural markets in Africa,” in his *Toward a Political Economy of Development: a rational choice perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 331-359.

Recommended:

- I.M.D. Little, *Economic Development: theory, policy and international relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1982)
- Deepak Lal, *The Poverty of Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985)
- James M. Buchanan, Robert D. Tollison, and Gordon Tullock (eds.), *Toward a Theory of the Rent-Seeking Society* (College Station: Texas A & M University, 1980)

Week 8 (03/09): Critique of the State (III): The Dangers of Governmentality

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 316-320 and 331-343.

Theoretical:

- Arturo Escobar, “The problematization of poverty: the tale of three worlds and development,” in his *Encountering Development: the making and unmaking of the third world* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 21-55.
- James Ferguson, “The anti-politics machine” and “Epilogue,” in his *The Anti-Politics Machine: ‘development,’ depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 257-278 and 279-289.
- Stuart Corbridge, “‘Beneath the pavement only soil’: the poverty of post-development,” *Journal of Development Studies* 34 (6) 1998: 138-149.

Case:

- James C. Scott, "Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania," in his *Seeing like a State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 223-262.

Recommended:

- Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978)
- Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (Worcester: The Harvester Press, [1972] 1980)
- David Lehmann, "An opportunity lost: Escobar's deconstruction on development," *Journal of Development Studies* 33 (X) 1997: 568-578.

Week 9 (03/23): Rethinking State-Society Relations (I): Governing the Market

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 251-257 and 264-272.

Theoretical:

- John Williamson, "Democracy and the Washington consensus," *World Development* 21 (8) August 1993: 1329-1336.
- Charles Gore, "The rise and fall of the Washington consensus as a paradigm for developing countries," *World Development* 28 (5) 2000: 789-804.
- Adrian Leftwich, "Governance, the state and the politics of development," *Development and Change* 25 (1) January 1994: 363-386.

Case:

- Alice H. Amsden, "Industrializing through learning," and "Getting relative prices 'wrong,'" in her *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and late industrialization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 3-24 and 139-156.

Recommended:

- Datta-Chaudhuri, Mrinal. 'Market failure and government failure.' *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4 (3) 1990: 25-39.
- Joseph Stiglitz, "Economic organization, information and development," in H. Chenery and T.N. Srinivasan (eds.), *Handbook of Development Economics: Volume 1* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1988), pp. 39-71.
- Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: economic theory and the role of government in East Asian industrialization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990)

Week 10 (03/30): Rethinking State-Society Relations (II): Mobilizing Social Capital

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 210-217 and 232-237.

Theoretical:

- Robert D. Putnam, "Social capital and institutional success," in his *Making Democracy Work: civic traditions in modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 163-187.
- Peter Evans, "Government action, social capital and development: reviewing the evidence on synergy," *World Development* 24 (6) 1996: 1119-32.
- John Harriss, "The trojan horse?," "Putting social capital to work," and "Conclusion," in his *Depoliticizing Development: the World Bank and social capital* (London: Anthem, 2002), pp. 76-126.

Case:

- Judith Tendler, "Preventive health: the case of the unskilled meritocracy," in her *Good Government in the Tropics* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 21-46.

Recommended:

- Partha Dasgupta and Ismail Serageldin (eds.), *Social Capital: a multifaceted perspective* (Washington: World Bank, 2000)
- Anirudh Krishna, *Active Social Capital: tracing the roots of development and democracy* (New York : Columbia University Press, 2002)
- Patrick Heller, *The Labor of Development: workers and the transformation of capitalism in Kerala, India* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)

Contemporary Dilemmas: 1991-

Week 11 (04/06): Civil Society: A Promise to What?

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 309-316.

Theoretical:

- Nicos Mouzelis, "Modernity, late development and civil society," in John A. Hall (ed.), *Civil Society: theory, history, comparison* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 224-250.

- Larry Diamond, “Toward democratic consolidation,” in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy, 2nd edition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 227-241.
- Rob Jenkins, “Mistaking ‘governance’ for ‘politics’: foreign aid, democracy and the construction of civil society,” in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (eds.), *Civil Society: history and possibilities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 250-269.

Case:

- Sami Zubaida, “Civil society, community and democracy in the Middle East,” in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (eds.), *Civil Society: history and possibilities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 232-250.

Recommended:

- Ernest Gellner, *Conditions of Liberty: civil society and its rivals* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994)
- Partha Chatterjee, “On civil and political societies in post-colonial democracies,” in Kaviraj and Khilnani, *Civil Society* (op.cit.), pp. 165-179.
- Jean-Francois Bayart, “Civil society in Africa,” in Chabal, *Political Domination in Africa* (op.cit.), pp. 109-126.

Week 12 (04/13): Democratic Politics and Economic Reforms: An Elective Affinity?

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 184-203.

Theoretical:

- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 3-37.
- Guillermo O’Donnell, “Illusions about consolidation,” in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 113-131.
- Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, “Economic adjustment and the prospects for democracy,” in their edited volume, *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 319-351.
- Adam Przeworski et al, “Economic reforms in new democracies,” in his co-authored *Sustainable Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 67-91.

Case:

- Susan C. Stokes, “Explaining policy switches,” in her *Mandates and Democracy: neoliberalism by surprise in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 60-94.

Recommended:

- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Guillermo O’Donnell, “Delegative democracy,” in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy, 2nd edition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 94-109.
- Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes and Bernard Manin (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability and Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis 1979-1999* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Rob Jenkins, *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Week 13 (04/20): Globalization: The End of Democracy? The Demise of the State?

Background:

- Martinussen, *Society, State and Market*, pp. 114-129, 275-287 and 343-358.

Theoretical:

- Dani Rodrik, “Introduction,” and “Implications,” in his *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* (Washington: Institute of International Economics, 1997), pp. 1-11 and 69-89.
- Paul Hirst, “Economic backwardness and future prosperity: the developing economies and globalization,” in his co-authored *Globalization in Question: the international economy and the possibilities of governance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), pp. 99-121.
- Peter Evans, “The eclipse of the state? reflections on stateness in an era of globalization,” *World Politics* 50 (X) 1997: 62-87.

Case:

- Robert Wade, “The Asian debt-and-development crisis of 1997-?: Causes and consequences,” *World Development* 26 (8) August 1998: 1535-1553

Recommended:

- Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State: the diffusion of power in the world economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- David Held et al, *Global Transformations: politics, economics and culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999)
- Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: cultural dimensions of globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1996)

Week 14 (04/27): Conclusion