1. OVERVIEW

Following an introductory Part I 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 the 9 sessions of Part II to understanding the origins, evolution, political implications and performance of this evolving policy paradigm. Case studies drawn from Latin America, Africa, and Asia complement our discussion of general themes and issues.

The final part of the course (Part III) surveys progressive 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 advocated nationally-based social-democratic and ‘twenty-first-century’ socialist projects, experiments of local empowerment and community-centred development, and programs for reforming or transforming the global order. We probe the nature, practicability and desirability of these development alternatives. Throughout, we explore the heuristic value of Karl Polanyi’s holistic political economy in understanding the neoliberal world order and its possibilities.

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 45-50 minute presentation (or a 30-35 minute presentation each in jointly-led seminars). Each class member will make two presentations. We provide guidelines for these presentations below. Please be ready in the week leading up to September 16th to provide a list of three sessions, beginning with session 6 and excluding session 15, which you would be willing to lead. The schedule of presentations will then be available on Sept. 16th; we will do our best to assign you your top choices.

The course requirements are as follows.

- **1 term paper**
  
  (20-25 double-spaced pages — about 6,000 words — due March 10th 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)
  
  (one presentation may be on a topic related to your research paper; each should be based on the required and several of the supplementary readings under your session; written evaluation to be provided). Please note that the instructor will cut you off at the maximum allowable duration.
- **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 and online discussions  10%

  (grade to be assigned for active and informed seminar participation, based on the average of the scores of the two instructors. Note that students will be awarded one percent for each comment they make in response to posts on the following blog [http://sandbroo.faculty.politics.utoronto.ca/blog/](http://sandbroo.faculty.politics.utoronto.ca/blog/), up to a maximum of 5 percent. NO STUDENT IS REQUIRED TO COMMENT. The seminar participation grade will be based on the 5-10 percent remaining after points are awarded for participation in the online discussion.)

- **Take-home test** due **March 31st**  20%

  (answer 2 of the 4 questions, which are organized into two parts; test questions to be provided at the end of the class on March 24th)
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 wrote to be read is rarely effective. Instead, deliver your presentation from notes, if you feel comfortable doing so. 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 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 a recorder. You will discover whether you have too much material to cover in 45-50 minutes.

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 30-35 minutes. In a solo presentation, plan to speak for 45-50 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 or questions 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 you do not need to be right in 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.

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 or are available in electronic journals. We have selected as many readings as possible from electronic journals.

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 for purchase


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. 9)


NOTE: SUBMIT THIS WEEK A LIST OF 3 CHOICES FOR SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS


The classic critique of economic liberalism and explanation of the socio-political dynamics of the liberal era by reference to the notion of the ‘double movement’


3. Market-led development (Sept 23 – RI)

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"?


Is neoliberalism best understood as 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 since 2008-2009 mark the end of the Post-Washington Consensus?

* J. Rapley, Understanding Development, Chapters 4 & 5.
* R. Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left in the Global South (Cambridge University Press, 2014), chap. 2.


5. **State-led development: A Historical Perspective** (Oct. 7 – RI)

*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?*


6. The Return of the State: The importance of “Industrial Policy” (Oct. 14 – RI)

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?


The institutional turn in development policy: good governance and strong institutions

The institutional turn in development policy: good governance and strong institutions (Oct. 21 – 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?

*D. Acemoglu, “Root Causes: A Historical Approach to Assessing the Role of Institutions in Economic


J. Rapley, Understanding Development, Chapter 6.


8. Does neoliberal capitalism ineluctably lead to environmental decline, or is a ‘Green Capitalism’ feasible? (Oct. 28 – RS)

*P. Lawn, "Is a Democratic-Capitalist System compatible with a Low-Growth or Steady-State Economy?" Socio-Economic Review 3(2) (2005), 209-32.
*Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left, pp.81-92.

F.H. Buttel, "Ecological Modernization as a Social Theory." Geoforum 31:1, 2000, pp. 57-65. [EJ]
S. A. Margline, "Premises for a New Economy," Development 56:2 (2013), 149-54. (statement of 18 ecological experts on the sort of approach that must be adopted now)
D.F. White, “A Political Sociology of Socionatures: Revisionist Manoeuvres in Environmental Sociology.”
9. Do neoliberal economic policies generate inequalities on a national and regional basis? Can economic growth and social equality proceed in tandem under capitalism? (Nov. 4 – RI)

*Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left, 72-80.
*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 Inequality and Poverty:


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


**On the Economic Record:**


**10. The Contemporary Food Crisis and the Financialization of Agricultural Risk (Nov. 11 – RI)**

What are the strengths and limitations of using financial instruments to manage the risks associated with agri-food provisioning? Are financial instruments preferable to alternative institutions for mitigating agricultural risk?

*S. Breger Bush,, Derivatives and Development: A Political Economy of Global Finance, Farming, and Poverty, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-49. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. (This is available as an ebook through the library website.)


November 18: Fall Break

11. Case of Chile: A neoliberal success story? (Nov. 25 – RI)


12. Case of Ghana: Is neopatrimonialism or neoliberalism ascendant, or are the two reconcilable? (Dec 2 – RS) (brief video to be shown)


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

13. Case of India: Why have the poor gained so little from the economic growth that has been promoted by economic liberalization? (Jan. 6 – RS)


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


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.


M. Sengupta, “Making the State Change its Mind: The IMF, the World Bank, and the Politics of India’s Market

14. Is it true to say that contemporary China, though not a neoliberal case, is undergoing a process of neoliberalization? Or do we find a new form of the developmental state? (Jan. 13 – RI)

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?


PART III: ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

15. Polanyi, the double movement and the rise of leftist development alternatives at the national and global levels (Jan. 20 – RS) – Discussion led by R. Sandbrook

16 Participatory democracy at the firm level: The case of Recovered Enterprises in Argentina (Jan. 27–RI)

How successful has the recovered Enterprises Movement in Argentina been in politically and economically empowering its participants? What lessons does the Argentine example offer about the development potential of participatory democracy at the firm level?


*Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left, 237-49.


17. Participatory democracy at the community level: The case of the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico (Feb. 3 – RI)

How successful has the Zapatista Movement been at politically and economically empowering its community members? Is participatory democracy at the community level likely to be an effective strategy for effectively regulating market processes?


**18. Food Rights and Food Sovereignty (Feb. 10 – RI)**

_How does food sovereignty differ from previous understandings of food rights? Is the food sovereignty agenda a desirable and viable strategy for (re)embedding food economies?_


O. De Schutter, Countries Tackling Hunger With a Right to Food Approach. FAO Briefing Note 01, May 2010.


Handy, J. “The ‘Non-economy’ and the Radical Dreams of Food Sovereignty,” Third World Quarterly, Forthcoming.


19. Reading Week (Feb. 17)

20. The Moderate Social-Democratic Path: The Case of Brazil (Feb. 24 – RI)

   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?

   *Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left, chap. 5.

General issues concerning social democracy:


Social Democracy: The Case of Brazil


S. Cunningham, “Made in Brazil; Cardoso’s Critical Path from Dependency via Neoliberal Options and the Third Way in the 1990s,” European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies 67 (1999), 75-86.


Was, or is, Venezuela moving toward socialism? If there a Left populist path to socialism and, if so, what are the main features of this approach and what are the pitfalls it confronts?

*Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left, 187-214.


22. The radical social-democratic path: The CPI(M) in Kerala, India, from the 1950s to the early 1990s (March 10 – RS)

Why did a radical social-democratic path emerge in Kerala and with what effect? Was it a “development debacle” or an “accumulation crisis” that led to the party’s shift to moderate social democracy in the 1990s? Is this radical strategy feasible in one country today, and might it become more feasible in the future?

NOTE: TERM PAPER IS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS

*Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left, 214-26.


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23. **Counter-hegemonic globalization: political strategies for civilizing globalization** (March 17 – RS)

*If we can speak of a global counter-movement to neoliberal globalization, what form does it take and what are the obstacles to forging an effective ‘movement of movements’? How does change in world orders come about?*

*Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left (2014), 249-63.*
Is there an alternative global order that feasibly, in Polanyian terms, submerges the fictitious commodities – labour, land and money – in society, thereby taming global markets in the public good? Can the major global governance and transfer institutions, including the IMF, the World Bank and foreign aid, be transformed to serve the goals of democratization and genuine poverty reduction? Are there major efficiency costs to such regulatory and institutional measures and, if so, is this sufficient grounds to reject these initiatives?

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


25. Take-home test due (March 31)

NOTE: PLEASE DROP OFF YOUR TEST ANSWERS AT THE OFFICE OF RICHARD SANDBROOK, SS3061