**Political Economy of the Global South: Paradigms, Crises, Alternatives**

**MPhil in Politics & International Studies (2020-21, Lent Term)**

**Course Convenor:** Dr. Mehmet Erman Erol, POLIS & Churchill College ([mee38@cam.ac.uk](mailto:mee38@cam.ac.uk))

**Teaching Pattern:** Friday 2-4pm (from 22 January 2021)

**Course Description**

Since its emergence, the history of global capitalism is marked by its uneven character in terms of development. Some states, mainly in the ‘Global North’, were quickly industrialised and developed, while others, mainly in the ‘Global South’, struggled and remained less developed and/or are still developing. Hence, the problem of ‘catching-up’ with developed countries came to the fore as early as the 19th century. This paper focuses on this question and aims to make sense of the roots, alternative paradigms, and empirical issues of development in the Global South, from the 20th century to the contemporary global political economy.

We begin by debating alternative definitons of development and the Global South and their historical legacies. Then we discuss various theories of development that have shaped the development paradigms in the Global South. The paper then moves on to development trajectories in the 20th century, from state-led development to neoliberalism and the crises associated with them. Following this, alternatives/challenges to neoliberalism are discussed. Finally, we examine the climate change and justice from the perspective of Global South.

**Learning Outcomes**:

By the end of the module the students will be able to:

* Critically analyse and explain the different theories of development and their strengths and weaknesses
* Demonstrate the ability to critically assess the historical trajectories of development in the Global South from 20th century to the contemporary era
* Critically assess contemporary issues pertinent to Global South such as the rise of the BRICS, South-South Cooperation, and Climate Crisis.

**Course Structure**

Weekly 1,5-2 hour seminars (7 weeks). Core readings form the most important aspect of the seminars, hence students are expected to read core material and contribute actively to the discussion.

**Assessment**

3000 word essay, due on 19 March 2021.

**Week 1. Debating Conceptual Framework and History: Global South and Development**

**Core Reading**

Preston, P.W. (1996). *Development Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell. Ch.8 “The legacies of the colonial era: structures, institutions, and images”, pp. 137-152.

Willis, K. (2011). *Theories and Practices of Development.* New York: Routledge (2nd Edition). Ch.1 “Introduction: What do we mean by development?”, pp. 1-35.

Rist, G. (2008). *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith.* London: Zed Books (3rd Edition). Ch.4 “The invention of development”, pp. 69-79.

Dados, N. and Connell, R. (2012). The Global South, *Contexts,* 11(1), pp. 12-13 [https://doi.org/10.1177/1536504212436479](https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1536504212436479)

Sajed, A. (2020). From the Third World to the Global South, E-International Relations, <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/07/27/from-the-third-world-to-the-global-south/>

**Further Reading**

Esteva, G. (2010). “Development”, in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power.* London: Zed Books (2nd Edition), pp. 1-23.

Rist, G. (2008). *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith.* London: Zed Books (3rd Edition). Ch.1 “Definitons of development”, pp. 8-24

Prashad, V. (2012). *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South.* London: Verso. Introduction, pp. 1-15.

Polanyi Levitt, K. (2018). “History from a critical development perspective”, in H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 31-47

Chiriyankandath, J. (2011). “Colonialism and post-colonial development”, in P. Burnell, V. Randall, L. Rakner (eds.), *Politics in the Developing World.* New York: Oxford University Press (3rd edition). pp. 36-52.

Dirlik, A. (2007). Global South: Predicament and Promise, *The Global South,* 1(1), pp. 12-23

Grovogui, S. (2011). A Revolution Nonetheless: The Global South in International Relations, *The Global South,* 5(1), pp. 175-190.

Kiely, R. (2016). *The Rise and Fall of Emerging Powers: Globalisation, US Power and the Global North-South Divide.* Ch. 2 “The ‘rise of the south’ and International Relations and Development Theory”, pp. 9-42.

Williams, G., Meth, P., Willis, K. (2009). *Geographies of Developing Areas: The Global South in a Changing World*, Ch. 1 “Defining the global south: Real and Imagined dividing lines”, pp. 1-21.

Rodney, W. (2018). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Verso.

**Week 2. Conventional Theories of Development**

**Core Reading**

Peet, R. and Hartwick, E. (2009). *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives*. New York: The Guilford Press (2nd edition). Ch.2 “Classical and Neoclassical Economics”, pp. 23-52.

Rostow, W.W. (1960). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch.1 “Introduction”, Ch. 2. “The five stages of growth- a summary”, pp. 1-16.

Gerschenkron, A. (1962). *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Ch.1. “Economic backwardness in historical perspective”, pp. 5-30

Leftwich, A. (1995). Bringing politics back in: towards a model of the developmental state, *The Journal of Development Studies,* 31(3), pp. 400-427

**Further Reading**

Berthoud, G. (2010). “Market”. in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power.* London: Zed Books (2nd Edition), pp. 74-94.

Selwyn, B. (2014). *The Global Development Crisis*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Ch.2. “Friedrich List and the foundations of statist political economy”, pp. 29-52

Chang, H.J. (2003). *Kicking Away the Ladder.* London: Anthem Press. Chs 1-2.

Selwyn, B. (2011). Trotsky, Gerschenkron and the political economy of late capitalist development, *Economy and Society,* 40(3), pp. 421-450

Evans, P.B. (1995). *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 1.

Kohli, A. (2004). *State-directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*, Ch.1

Woo-Cumings, M. (ed.) (1999). *The Developmental State.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hayashi, S. (2010). The developmental state in the era of globalization: beyond the Northeast Asian model of political economy, *The Pacific Review,* 23(1), pp. 45-69

Bowles, P. (2018). “The developmental state and late industrialization: still feasible? And desirable?” in H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 225-234.

Wade, R. (2018). The developmental state: dead or alive?, *Development and Change*, 49(2), pp. 518-546

Haggard, S. (2018). *Developmental States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Week 3.** **Alternative Theories of Development & Underdevelopment**

**Core Reading**

Peet, R. and Hartwick, E. (2009). *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives*. New York: The Guilford Press (2nd edition). Ch.5 “Marxism, Socialism and Development”, pp. 143-196.

Makki, F. (2015). Reframing development theory: the significance of the idea of uneven and combined development, *Theory and Society,* 44, pp. 471-497.

Selwyn, B. (2016). Elite development theory: a labour-centred critique, *Third World Quarterly*, 37(5), pp. 781-799.

Kothari, U. (2002). “Feminist and postcolonial challenges to development”, in U. Kothari and M. Minogue (eds.), Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 35-51

**Further Reading**

Rist, G. (2008). *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith.* London: Zed Books (3rd Edition). Ch.7 “The periphery and the understanding of history”, pp. 109-122.

Frank, A.G. (1966). The development of underdevelopment, *Monthly Review*, 18(4), pp.17-31

Petras, J. (1981). Dependency and world system theory: a critique and new directions, *Latin American Perspectives*, 8(3-4), pp. 148-155

Cardoso, F.H. and Faletto, E. (1979). *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. London: University of California Press.

Amin, S. (1977). *Imperialism and Unequal Development*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Babones, S. (2018). “The world-systems perspective”, in H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 109-117.

Petras, J. And Veltmeyer, H. (2018). “Imperialism, capitalism and development”, in H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 128-137.

Rai, S. M. (2002). *Gender and the Political Economy of Development*. Cambridge: Polity. Ch.2 “Gender and Development”, pp. 44-83.

Wanderley, F. (2018). “Development in question: the feminist perspective”, in H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 94-106.

Wilson, K. (2015). Towards a radical re-appropriation: gender, development and neoliberal feminism, *Development and Change*, 46(4), pp. 803-832.

Peet, R. and Hartwick, E. (2009). *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives*. New York: The Guilford Press (2nd edition). Chs.6-7

Selwyn, B. (2013). Karl Marx, class struggle and labour-centred development. *Global Labour Journal,* 4(1), pp. 48-70.

Song, H.Y. (2013). Marxist critiques of the developmental state and the fetishism of national development, *Antipode*, 45(5), pp. 1254-1276.

**Week 4**. **State-led Development in the Global South in the 20th Century**

**Core Reading**

Kingstone, P. (2018). *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development after the Commodity Boom*. New York: Routledge (2nd edition). Ch. 2. “Import substitution industrialization and the great transformation in Latin America”, pp. 28-54

Jenkins, R. (1991). The political economy of industrialization: a comparison of Latin American and East Asian newly industrializing countries, *Development and Change,* 22, pp. 197-231.

Cammett, M. et.al. (2015). *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. New York: Routledge. Ch. 7 “The rise and fall of state-led development”, pp. 233-269.

Mendes, A.P.F., Bertella, M., Teixeira, R. (2014). Industrialization in Sub-saharan Africa and import substitution policy, *Brazilian Journal of Political Economy*, 34(1), pp. 120-138

**Further Reading**

Baer, W. (1972). Import substitution and industrialization in Latin America: experiences and interpretations, *Latin American Research Review*, 7(1), pp. 95-122.

Bayar, A.H. (1996). The developmental state and economic policy in Turkey, *Third World Quarterly*, 17(4), pp.773-785.

Bulmer-Thomas, V. (2003). The Economic History of Latin America since Independence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2nd edition). Ch.9.

Akyuz, Y., Chang, H.J., and Kozul-Wright, R. (1998) New perspectives on East Asian

Development, *Journal of Development Studies*, 34(6), pp 4-35.

Milor, V. (1990). The genesis of planning in Turkey, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 4, Fall 1990, pp.1-30

Chibber, V. (2014). The developmental state in retrospect and prospect: lessons from India and South Korea. In M. Williams (ed.), *The End of the Developmental State?*, New York: Routledge, pp. 30-54.

Willis, K. (2011). *Theories and Practices of Development.* New York: Routledge (2nd Edition). Ch.3 “Structuralism, neo-Marxism and socialism”, pp. 70-102.

Kohli, A. (2004). *State-directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery.*

Leftwich, Adrian (2000) *States of Development.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

**Week 5. Neoliberal Development Strategies in the Global South: Policies and Crises**

**Core Reading (77 Pages)**

Saad-Filho, A. (2005). “From Washington to post-Washington consensus: neoliberal agendas for economic development”, in A. Saad-Filho and D. Johnston (eds.), *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 113-119

Radice, H. (2008). The developmental state under global neoliberalism. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(6), pp. 1153-1174

Onis, Z. And Aysan, A.F. (2000). Neoliberal globalisation, the nation-state and financial crises in the semi-periphery: a comparative analysis , *Third World Quarterly*, 21(1), pp.119-139.

Bond, P. (2005) “Neoliberalism in Sub-saharan Africa: from structural adjustment to NEPAD”, in A. Saad-Filho and D. Johnston (eds.), *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 230-236.

Saad-Filho, A. (2005). “Political Economy of Neoliberalism in Latin America”, in A. Saad-Filho and D. Johnston (eds.), *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 222-229

Hanieh, A. (2015). “Mapping the political economy of neoliberalism in the Arab world”, in U. Mattei and J.H. Haskell (eds.) *Research Handbook on Political Economy and Law*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. pp. 280-297.

**Further Reading**

Jayasuriya, K. and Rosser, A. (2001). Economic orthodoxy and the East Asian crisis, *Third World Quarterly*, 22(3), pp.381-396.

Slobodian, Q. (2018). *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Ch. 7. “A world of signals”, pp. 218-262.

Onis, Z. and Senses, F. (2005). Rethinking the emerging post-washington consensus, *Development and Change*, 36(2), pp.263-290

Chang, H.J. (2000). The hazard of moral hazard: untangling the Asian crisis. *World Development*, 28(4), pp. 775-778

Önis, Z. (2006). Varieties and crises of neoliberal globalisation: Argentina, Turkey and the IMF. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(2), pp. 239-263.

Wade, R. (1998) The East Asian Debt and Development Crisis of 1997-?: Causes and Consequences, *World Development*, Vol. 26, No.8, 1998, pp.1535-1553

Koelble, Thomas A. (2004) Economic Policy in the post-colony: South Africa between

Keynesian remedies and Neoliberal Pain, *New Political Economy* 9(1) pp 57-78

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief history of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Week 6. Alternatives to Neoliberalism? - BRICS - South-South Cooperation**

**Core Reading**

Gray, K. and Gills, B.K. (2016). South-South cooperation and the rise of the Global South, *Third World Quarterly,* 36(4), pp. 57-74.

Golub, P.S. (2013). From the New International Economic Order to the G20: how the ‘global south’ is restructuring world capitalism from within. *Third World Quarterly*, 34(6), pp. 1000-1015.

Kingstone, P. (2018). *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development after the Commodity Boom*. New York: Routledge (2nd edition). Ch. 4 “Democracy, development and the Pink Tide”, pp. 102-137.

Hanieh, A. (2015). “Challenging neoliberalism in the Arab world”, in L. Pradella and T. Marois (eds.), *Polarizing Development: Alternatives to Neoliberalism and the Crisis.* London: Pluto*,* pp. 226-236.

**Further Reading**

Chodor, T. (2015). *Neoliberal Hegemony and the Pink Tide in Latin America: Breaking up with TINA?*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Bond, P. And Garcia, A. (Eds.) (2015). *BRICS: An Anti-Capitalist Critique*, London: Pluto.

Gu, J., Shankland, A., Chenoy, A. (Eds.) (2016). *The BRICS in International Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Chang, D. (2015). “The rise of East Asia: a slippery floor for the left”, in L. Pradella and T. Marois (eds.), *Polarizing Development: Alternatives to Neoliberalism and the Crisis.* London: Pluto*,* pp. 180-191.

Munck, R. (2018). “Rethinking Latin America: towards new development paradigms”, in H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 417-425.

Stephen, M.D. (2014). Rising powers, global capitalism and liberal global governance: a historical materialist account of the BRICs challenge, *European Journal of International Relations*, 20(4), pp. 912-938.

Morvaridi, B. And Hughes, C. (2018). South-South cooperation and neoliberal hegemony in a post-aid world, *Development and Change*, 49(3), pp. 867-892.

Gezmiş, H. (2018). From neoliberalism to neo-developmentalism? The political economy of post-crisis Argentina (2002-2015), *New Political Economy*, 23(1), pp. 66-87.

Cooper, A. F. (2020). China, India and the pattern of G20/BRICS engagement: differentiated ambivalence between ‘rising’ power status and solidarity with the Global South, *Third World Quarterly*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1829464>

Rampa, F., Bilal, S., Sidiropoulos, E. (2012). Leveraging South-South cooperation for Africa’s development, South African Journal of International Affairs, 19(2), pp. 247-269.

Kiely, R. (2015). *The BRICs, US ‘Decline’ and Global Transformations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

**Week 7**. **The Challenge of Climate Crisis, Climate Justice and the Global South**

**Core Reading**

Taylor, M. (2018). “Climate change and development”, In H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 351-359.

Green, J. (2019). *Is Globalization Over?* Cambridge: Polity. Ch.5 “Planning for the Anthropocene”, pp. 120-139.

Paul, H.K. (2020). The Green New Deal and global justice. *Renewal: A Journal of Social Democracy*, 28(1), pp. 61-71.

Downie, C., Williams, M. (2018). After the Paris Agreement: What role for the BRICS in Global Climate Governance?, *Global Policy*, 9(3), pp. 398-407

**Further Reading**

Warlenius, R., Pierce, G., and Ramasar, V. (2015). Reversing the arrow of arrears: the concept of “ecological debt” and its value for environmental justice, *Global Environmental Change*, 30, pp. 21-30.

Aronoff, K. et.al. (2019). *A Planet to Win*. London: Verso. Ch.4 “Recharging Internationalism”

Sealey-Huggins, L. (2017). ‘1.5°C to stay alive’: climate change, imperialism and justice for the Carribean, *Third World Quarterly*, 38(11), pp. 2444-2463.

Roberts, J. Timmons and Parks, B. (2007). *A Climate of Injustice: Global Inequality, North-South Politics, and Climate Policy*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Sachs, W. (2015). *Planet Dialectics: Explorations in Environment and Development*. London: Zed Books.

Chomsky, N. and Pollin, R. (2020). *Climate Crisis and the Global Green New Deal.* London: Verso

Kalinowski, T. (2020). The politics of climate change in a neo-developmental state: the case of South Korea, *International Political Science Review*, [https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120924741](https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0192512120924741)

Warlenius, R. (2017). Decolonizing the Atmosphere: the climate justice movement on climate debt, *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 27(2), pp. 131-155.

Barkin, D. (2018). “Popular sustainable development, or ecological economics from below”, in H. Veltmeyer & P. Bowles (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies.* Oxon: Routledge. pp. 371-381.

Beer, C.T. (2014). Climate justice, the Global South, and policy preferences of Kenyan environmental NGOs, *The Global South*, 8(2), pp. 84-100.