

PSC 781: Politics of the Developing World¹
Fall 2024

Mondays, 9:30AM – 12:15PM
Eggers Hall 100A

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Office Hours: M 1:00 – 3:00PM / Zoom by appointment

COURSE DETAILS

Course Description:

This course considers the specific challenges of governing in poorer countries. The course begins by interrogating whether “developing world” is a useful concept. It continues by considering questions related to the shared history and prospects of poorer countries, including the legacies of colonialism, development of nationalism, theory and practice of democracy, persistence of authoritarianism, strategies for economic growth, resource curses, the politics of foreign aid, and political violence.

Objectives:

1. Gain familiarity with what unites the “developing world” politically as well as an appreciation for the diversity within it.
2. Understand how the theories of comparative politics apply to—or must be adapted to—lower-income countries.
3. Demonstrate expertise in at least one area of comparative politics as it relates to the developing world.

Course Requirements and Grading:

Memos (3)	25%
Participation	25%
Final Paper	50%

Memos

Three times over the course of the semester, you will write a memo responding to the week’s reading. Memo-writers for the week will also act as discussion leaders (see below). Memos should be 3-4 pages (double-spaced) and include **at least 2** of the week’s readings. Memos should adhere to the following format:

1. Briefly introduce the topic
2. Provide a short (1-2 paragraph) summary of the readings you will address
3. Consider how the readings, in conversation with each other, shed light on 1-2 of the questions from the topic description.
4. Provide a critique. Are one or both of these readings convincing? Why or why not? You may include additional references here to support your point, but it is not required.

Memos should be submitted to Blackboard by 9am on the Monday we cover your assigned topic. You may use Grammarly on your memos with disclosure (“This assignment was edited with the assistance of Grammarly.”)

¹ I did not choose the name of this course. The term “developing world” and the concepts it invokes are contested, and we will discuss this terminology and its usefulness in class.

Participation

Participation in this course will be evaluated in three ways:

1. Attendance: attendance is required, and numerous absences will negatively impact your final grade. If extenuating circumstances prevent you from attending multiple sessions, **please communicate with me** so we can make a plan for moving forward.
2. Leading discussion: On the days you write a memo, you will also be responsible for leading 15-20 minutes of class discussion. As a discussion leader, you should focus on your critique of the readings and pose questions to your classmates that enable fruitful debate about the merits of each of the readings. This is **not** a presentation, but an opportunity to engage with classmates and direct the conversation toward things you found interesting, provocative, or problematic. Discussion leaders can also use the time to pose questions about things they did not understand, either substantively or methodologically.
3. In-class participation: in a seminar-style class, active participation is an important component of the course experience. I expect all students in the class to contribute their ideas, questions, and/or misgivings about the topics we cover. If you struggle with speaking in class, please let me know.

Final Paper

At the end of the semester, you will produce **either** a literature review or a research design. A literature review summarizes the state of the literature on a particular topic, identifying emerging points of consensus, ongoing debates, and new areas of exploration. A research design identifies an interesting and relevant question related to one of the course topics, presents hypotheses informed by the literature, and proposes a design and method for adjudicating between the hypotheses. The research design may be ambitious, but should be feasible with funding. Note that in either case, you will be expected to review literature beyond the sources included on the syllabus. Literature reviews and research designs should be 15-20 pages, not including works cited. This project should be useful for you in your course of study; I encourage you to select a topic related to your (likely) thesis or prospectus topic. I will provide additional assignment parameters later in the semester. During the second half of the semester, we will spend some time talking about how to build a bibliography using traditional and AI-enabled tools.

COURSE POLICIES

Late Work:

I do not accept late work in this class. Memos are due prior to the class period in which we are discussing the readings; late submissions defy the purpose of the assignment. It is far better to submit something incomplete than nothing at all. Extensions are possible for the final paper under extenuating circumstances.

Course Policy on Use of AI:

Based on the specific learning outcomes and assignments in this course, artificial intelligence is permitted on the following: Grammarly is permitted on all assignments with disclosure. You may use AI-enabled tools like Elicit or ResearchRabbit to help identify appropriate works to build your bibliography for your final project. The only AI tool permitted for writing your memos or final paper is Grammarly (with disclosure). See each assignment, quiz, or exam instructions for more information about what artificial intelligence tools are permitted and to what extent, as well as citation requirements. If no instructions are provided for a specific assignment, then no use of any artificial intelligence tool is permitted. Any AI use beyond that which is detailed in course assignments is explicitly prohibited except when documented permission is granted.

If you find a useful tool, let us know! We, as a class, can discuss appropriate and inappropriate usage. We are all navigating this rapidly changing technology environment together. My goal is to facilitate the use of helpful tools while maintaining intellectual integrity.

UNIVERSITY POLICIES

Academic Integrity:

As a pre-eminent and inclusive student-focused research institution, Syracuse University considers academic integrity at the forefront of learning, serving as a core value and guiding pillar of education. Syracuse University's Academic Integrity Policy provides students with the necessary guidelines to complete academic work with integrity throughout their studies. Students are required to uphold both course-specific and university-wide academic integrity expectations such as crediting your sources, doing your own work, communicating honestly, and supporting academic integrity. The full Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy can be found by visiting class.syr.edu, selecting, "Academic Integrity," and "Expectations and Policy."

Upholding Academic Integrity includes the protection of faculty's intellectual property. Students should not upload, distribute, or share instructors' course materials, including presentations, assignments, exams, or other evaluative materials without permission. Using websites that charge fees or require uploading of course material (e.g., Chegg, Course Hero) to obtain exam solutions or assignments completed by others, which are then presented as your own violates academic integrity expectations in this course and may be classified as a Level 3 violation. All academic integrity expectations that apply to in-person assignments, quizzes, and exams also apply online.

Students found in violation of the policy are subject to grade sanctions determined by the course instructor and non-grade sanctions determined by the School or College where the course is offered. Students may not drop or withdraw from courses in which they face a suspected violation. Any established violation in this course may result in course failure regardless of violation level.

Disability Related Accommodations:

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located in Room 309 of 804 University Avenue, or call (315) 443-4498, TDD: (315) 443-1371 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented Disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

Religious Observances:

SU religious observances notification and policy, found at <http://hendricks.syr.edu/spiritual-life/index.html>, recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holidays according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance provided they **notify their instructors before the end of the second week of classes for regular session classes** and by the submission deadline for flexibly formatted classes. An online notification process is available for students in **My Slice / StudentServices / Enrollment / MyReligiousObservances / Add a Notification**.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Most of the readings below are available through the SU library. Readings marked with an * are available as PDFs on Blackboard.

PART 1: WHAT IS POLITICALLY DIFFERENT ABOUT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES?

8/26 (Week 1) What is the developing world?

*Ba, Oumar. 2022. "The Europeans and Americans Don't Know Africa: Of Translation, Interpretation, and Extraction," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*

Rodrik, Dani. 2003. *In Search of Prosperity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction.

North, Douglass C. 1991. "Institutions." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5(1): 97-112.

9/2 – No class – Labor Day

9/9 (Week 2) Geographic Determinism + Economic Development

It is generally accepted that economic development requires a strong central state with the capacity to tax, enforce contracts and rule of law, and facilitate trade. Why do some states have greater capacity? Is state capacity geographically and historically determined? Or, does society play a role in shaping state development?

Carneiro, Robert L. 1970. "A Theory of the Origin of the State," *Science* 169 (August): 733-738.

*Tilly, Charles. 1992. "How War Made States, and Vice Versa." In his *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 67-95

Nunn, Nathan. 2009. "The Importance of History in Economic Development," *Annual Review of Economics* 1: 65-92.

Garfias, Francisco and Emily A, Sellars. 2022. "State Building in Historical Political Economy," in Jeffrey Jenkins and Jared Rubin, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy*. Oxford UP.

9/16 (Week 3) Colonial Institutional Legacies + Economic Development

How does the history of state formation influence the subsequent development of governing institutions? What are the political and economic institutional legacies of colonialism, specifically? How does the interaction between colonial and pre-colonial institutions shape economic outcomes today?

Engerman, Stanley and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2002. "Factor Endowments, Inequality, and Paths of Development Among New World Economies" *NBER Working Paper 9259*

Dell, Melissa. 2010. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita." *Econometrica* 78(6): 1863-1903.

Iyer, Lakshmi. (2010). "Direct versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 92(4): 693-713.

Wilfarht, Martha. 2018. "Precolonial Legacies and Institutional Congruence in Public Goods Delivery: Evidence from Decentralized West Africa," *World Politics* 70(2):239-74.

PART 2: POLITICAL ECONOMY

9/23 (Week 4) Taxation

The ability to raise revenue through taxation is fundamental to both building and maintaining state capacity, but tax regimes in poorer countries are often underdeveloped and poorly enforced. Why is it so hard to tax in poorer countries? What are the implications for state capacity and the fiscal contract?

Levi, Margaret. 1988. "The Theory of Predatory Rule." Chapter 2 in *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 11-40.

Besley, Timothy and Torsten Persson. 2014. "Why do Developing States Tax so Little?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28(4): 99-120

Morrison, Kevin M. 2014. "Taxation Leads to Instability, Not Representation." Chapter 2 in *Nontaxation and Representation: The Fiscal Foundations of Political Stability*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Christensen, Darin and Francisco Garfias. 2021. "The Politics of Property Taxation: Fiscal Infrastructure and Electoral Incentives in Brazil," *Journal of Politics* 83(4): 1399-1416.

9/30 (Week 5) State Capacity and Decentralization

Decentralization may help low-capacity or divided governments perform better, or they may enable central governments to renege on their responsibilities and contribute to uneven government performance. When is decentralization helpful and when is it harmful? Does it bolster or undermine state capacity?

Faguet, Jean-Paul. 2014. "Decentralization and Governance," *World Development* 53:2-13.

Kosec, Katrina, and Tewodaj Mogues. 2020. "Decentralization without Democracy." *World Politics* 72(2): 165-213.

Molina-Garzón, Adriana, Tara Grillos, Alan Zarychta, and Krister P. Andersson. (2021). "Decentralization Can Increase Cooperation among Public Officials." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Mattingly, Daniel C. 2016. "Elite capture: How decentralization and informal institutions weaken property rights in China." *World Politics* 68(3): 383-412.

10/7 (Week 6) Non-tax Revenue and the Resource Curse

Many developing countries rely on non-tax revenue from resource rents or foreign aid. What are the political implications of reliance on non-tax revenue? How does it impact the development of the fiscal contract and government accountability? How does it impact stability and political and economic access?

Ross, Michael. 2015. "What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18:239-259.

Moss, Todd, Gunilla Pettersson, and Nicolas van de Walle. 2006. "An Aid-Institutions Paradox? A Review Essay on Aid Dependency and State Building in sub-Saharan Africa," Center for Global Development Working Paper #74.

Hill, Hal and Donny Pasaribu. 2024. "Indonesia and the Resource Curse: Economic and Environmental Dimensions," in *The Indonesian Economy and the Surrounding Regions in the 21st Century*. Springer

Harris, Adam, Rachel Sigman, Jan-Henrik Meyer-Sahling, Kim Sass Mikkelsen, Christian Schuster. 2020. "Oiling the Bureaucracy? Political Spending, Bureaucrats, and the Resource Curse," *World Development* 127:1-19.

10/14 – No Class – Fall Break

10/21 (Week 7) (Geo)political Economy of Climate Change and Transition Minerals

This week's readings are at the intersection of a number of numerous topics related to the role of developing countries in countering climate change. What responsibility (and capability) do low-income countries have to transition their domestic energy generation to renewable sources? How is major power competition likely to affect the market for minerals critical to the energy transition, most of which are in developing countries? What are the likely social, environmental, and economic challenges developing countries are likely to face in extracting these minerals? Is there a way to supply the world with the minerals necessary for the energy transition while avoiding "green imperialism" or resource curse dynamics?

Poncian, Japhace and Rasmus Hundsbaek Pedersen. 2023. "Resource Nationalism and Energy Transitions in Lower-Income Countries: the Case of Tanzania," *Review of African Political Economy* 355-373.

Kalantzakos, Sophia. 2020. "The Race for Critical Minerals in an Era of Geopolitical Realignments," *The International Spectator* 55(3): 1-16.

Muller, Melanie, Meike Schulze, and Svenja Schoneich. 2023. "The Energy Transition and Green Mineral Value Chains: Challenges and Opportunities for Africa and Latin America," *South African Journal of International Affairs* 30(2): 169-175

Cictci, Mehmet Metehan and Xavier Lemaire. 2023. "Deciphering the Impacts of 'Green' Energy Transition on Socio-Environmental Lithium Conflicts: Evidence from Argentina and Chile," *The Extractive Industries and Society* 16: 1-16.

Radley, Ben. 2023. "Green Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Quest for National Development in the Congo," *Review of African Political Economy* 50(5):322-339.

10/28 (Week 8) The Political Economy of Foreign Aid

What is the point of foreign aid? While there is little evidence that aid leads to economic development, it is a clear policy tool for developed countries in their relations with developing countries. What do donors achieve with foreign aid? How (if at all) does it impact the politics and economies of recipient states?

van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. "The Crisis and Foreign Aid," Ch. 5 in *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*. Cambridge UP.

Blair, Robert, Robert Marty, and Philip Roessler. 2022. "Foreign Aid and Soft Power: Great Power Competition in Africa in the Early Twenty-First Century," *British Journal of Political Science* 52: 1355-1376

Dreher, Axel, Valentin Lang, and Bernhard Reinsberg. 2024. "Aid Effectiveness and Donor Motives," *World Development*, 176: 1-20.

Donno, Daniela, Sara Fox, and Joshua Kaasik. 2021. "International Incentives for Women's Rights in Dictatorships," *Comparative Political Studies* 55(3): 451-492.

PART 3: DEMOCRACY

11/4 (Week 9) Democracy in Lower-Income Countries

Is there something inherently different about how democracy functions in lower-income countries? How, and in what way, might high levels of poverty democracy? Is democracy universally and objectively the best form of governance, or is it a Western concept emerging from the specific historical development of European states?

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53(1): 69-105.

*Knutson, Carl Henrik and Sirianne Dahlum. (2022) "Economic Determinants." Chapter 5 in Coppedge et al, Eds. *Why Democracies Develop and Decline*. Cambridge Up.

Hyden, Goran. 2024. *Theorizing in Comparative Politics: Democratization in Africa*. Cambridge UP. Chapters 2-3.

Ake, Claude. 1993. "The Unique Case of African Democracy," *International Affairs* 69(2):239-244.

11/11 (Week 10) Patronage and Nonprogrammatic Politics

How do citizens hold elected officials accountable in countries with newer, less programmatic democracies? Is accountability possible in countries with non-programmatic politics? Are programmatic political linkages always preferable to clientelist linkages?

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics," *Comparative Political Studies* 33:845-879.

Hyden, Goran. 2024. *Theorizing in Comparative Politics*. Chapter 6.

Lindberg, Staffan. 2010. "What Accountability Pressures do MPs in Africa face and How Do They Respond?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48(1): 117-142.

Toral, Guillermo. 2024. "How Patronage Delivers: Political Appointments, Bureaucratic Accountability, and Service Delivery in Brazil," *American Journal of Political Science* 68(2): 797-815.

11/18 (Week 11) Democracy in Divided Societies

Many countries with colonial histories struggle with deep social divisions. What is the best way to design democratic institutions in such places? Is it better to enshrine difference in the institutions, or design institutions that overcome differences? Can constitutional engineering enable functional democracy in deeply divided societies?

Horowitz, Donald. 1993. "The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict: Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* 4(4):18-38.

Lijphart, Arend. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* 15(2):96-109.

Reilly, Ben. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 156-170.

Haddad, Simon. 2009. "Lebanon: From Consociationalism to Conciliation," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 15(3-4): 398-416.

11/25 No Class – Thanksgiving Break

12/2 (Week 12) Threats to Democracy: Election Manipulation and Political Violence

When and where does election manipulation occur? What makes it more likely? Why do elections sometimes devolve into violence? Who perpetrates it, and under what conditions is political violence more likely? What is the impact of electoral or other forms of political violence on political behavior?

Rozenas, Arturas. (2016). "Office Insecurity and Electoral Manipulation," *The Journal of Politics* 78(1): 232-248.

Chaves, Isaías, Leopoldo Fergusson & James A. Robinson. (2015). "He who counts elects: Economic elites, political elites, and electoral fraud." *Economics & Politics* 27(1): 124-159.

Birch, Sarah, Ursula Daxecker, and Kristine Höglund. 2020. "Electoral violence: An introduction." *Journal of Peace Research* 57(1): 1-14.

Gutiérrez-Romero, Roxana and Adrienne LeBas. 2020. "Does electoral violence affect vote choice and willingness to vote? Conjoint analysis of a vignette experiment," *Journal of Peace Research* 57(1): 77-92.

12/9 (Week 13) Flex Day

This is an extra day built into the schedule. If we have to cancel class at any point during the semester, we will shift the schedule back one week. If not, we will use this final session to workshop your final papers.