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v. 19 Jan. 2026

GV339: Global Change, Regional Responses: The Political Economy of National Development in the Global South

Meetings: 12.30 to 3.00 pm. PAN 2.04 (Seminar 1)
4.00 to 6.30 pm. PAN 2.04 (Seminar 2)
Because of group work, pls do not switch between seminars.
Office hrs: Available weekly -- sign up on Student Hub

Aims of the Course

How do changes in the international political economy shape possibilities and prospects for national development within the countries of the Global South? This course tracks "global changes" (changes in the structure and functioning of the global economy, geopolitics, and global governance) over time from the 1950s to the present. We define three broad eras that have offered different possibilities and constraints for sustainable development in the domains of inclusive economic development, downwardly accountable government, and environmental sustainability. The course asks: How have the national trajectories of "late-developing" or postcolonial countries been shaped by the changing contours and governance architecture of the global economy over the last 75 years? How did governments in each region take advantage of options, cope with constraints, and pursue their national projects?

Students work in regionally defined clusters of their choice (focused on Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa) to develop a 3-person research presentation and individual short research papers that identify some of the biggest challenges that face developing countries today. Comparison and contrasts help unpack the category of "Global South," revealing huge divergences across states and regions, as well as commonalities.

Our course sits at the nexus of the Comparative Politics and International Political Economy subfields of Political Science. We adopt the focus on world regions and country-level changes that is characteristic of Comparative Capitalism and "varieties of developmentalism" studies, and also follow IPE's focus on structure and change in the global economy and global governance over time.

The first four lectures of the course introduce GV339's overarching analytical framework in its temporal, spatial, and scalar aspects. We trace structure and change in the global economy and institutions of global governance since the 1950s, and consider theories of determinants of national trajectories in countries of the late-developing/ postcolonial world. Thereafter, the course focuses on three world regions -- Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) – devoting two weeks of class time to each one.

Requirements and Assessments (in order of due date):

Formative annotated bibliography. One formative written exercise in the first half of the course: an annotated bibliography (reading list) on the world region that will be the focus of the student's Assessed Research Paper. This should consist of six items identified by the student and a one paragraph annotation of each. Up to three of these items may be drawn from required or

recommended readings on Weeks 5, 7 or 8 on the course syllabus. The annotations should show how each reading relates to course themes. Due Monday, Feb. 16 (Monday Week 5)

Assessed paper outline (30% of final mark). A three-page (~750 words) outline of the material (background, analysis, proposed argument, sources) the student has prepared for the Assessed Research Paper (see below). Include a 10-item reference list. This work will provide a basis for your contribution to the group in-class presentation that will happen in the last weeks of class. Due Th., March 12 (Th., Week 8)

Formative group presentation. These happen in week 9 (Latin America), 10 (Africa), or 11 (Middle East). Three person groups, each devoted to one of the world's late-developing regions, will prepare a 30-min group presentation for week 9, 10, or 11. The presentation address this prompt:

> Identify and analyze the most pressing challenge facing the [LA, Africa, or MENA] region from now to 2050. What forward-looking paths and strategies are open to region leaders and societal actors?

Groups are encouraged prepare a presentation using PPT or similar. You may include AV/ multimedia materials (e.g. YouTube or other video or music clips), self-generated visuals or media (e.g. clips of interviews with other students or with lay persons, artwork, performance), and/or interactive methods in your presentations. Each week, two group presentations (on the same world region) will be followed by class discussion of the presentations and of the region and its challenges. (Due in Week 9, 10, or 11.

Assessed research paper (70% of final mark). An approximately ten-page research paper (3,000 words, ~~including reference list~~). The papers should address the prompt below. (Due in May term.)

> Identify and analyse the most pressing challenge facing the countries of the [LA, Africa, or MENA] region from now to 2050. You may employ the typology of political, economic, and sustainability challenges proposed in class, but this is not obligatory. Your analysis should engage the range of "rival theories" of determinants of national trajectories employed in GV339 (i.e. factors arising from the global system; or national politics and agency; or endowment, location, and/or "neighbourhood"). Given your argument about the most important determinants of national trajectories, what forward-looking paths and strategies are open to the region's leaders and societal actors?

Use of Generative AI for paper writing (brainstorming, outlining, drafting, "rewriting," etc.) is strongly discouraged because of its demonstrated negative impacts on your own generative capacities -- i.e. cognitive development, analytical reasoning capacity, and writing skills. Please be aware that you may be randomly or otherwise selected to be interviewed about the content of your written assignments.

Modifications of assessments will be designed as needed, following inclusion plan requirements.

✅ **Included in the Word Count:**

- Main body of text
- Quotations within the text
- All footnotes and endnotes

❌ **Not Included in the Word Count:**

- Cover page
- Table of contents
- Acknowledgments

- Abstract (maximum 300 words)
- Figures, graphs, and their captions
- Tables and their captions
- Appendices
- Bibliography

Indicative Readings

Stallings, B., ed. *Global Change, Regional Responses: The New Political Economy of Development*, 1995.

Dicken, P. *Global Shift: Mapping the contours of the global economy. (*8th edition).

Naseemullah, D. 2023. The Political Economy of National Development: A research agenda after neoliberal reform? *World Development* 168. Week 2.

Steffen Hertog. 2023. *Locked Out of Development: Insiders and Outsiders in Arab Capitalism.* CUP: Cambridge Element.

Barbara Stallings, Dependency in the Twenty-First Century? The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations. Cambridge Element. Cambridge University Press:

Adom Getachew. 2019. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton.

Heller, P., Rueschemeyer, D., & Snyder, R. (2009). Dependency and development in a globalized world. *Studies in comparative international development,* 44, 287–295.

Jepson, Nicholas. 2020. In China's Wake: How the Commodity Boon Transformed Development Strategies in the Global South. NY: Columbia University Press.

Lavers, Tom. *Ethiopia's 'Developmental State': Political Order and Distributive Crisis,* CUP, 2023.

Heydemann and Lynch, eds. *Making Sense of the Arab State.* University of MI Press, 2024.

Weekly program and readings:

Week 1. Introduction: What is the Political Economy of National Development? Jan. 19

In this course we will chart the co-evolution of economic and political order in three world regions -- Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East -- through three distinctive eras since WWII: the era of modernization under Cold War Keynesianism, the era of globalization under the Neo-Liberal International Order and the rise of China), and the post 2010 era of rising geopolitical and geoeconomic rivalry. How did these region changed politically and economically with each turn of the clock? What state and regime forms emerged? What possibilities for diversification of economies and endogenous growth were seized? How did governments in each region take advantage of options, cope with constraints, and pursue their national projects?

This week introduces three theories (theoretical approaches) for debating and understanding the determinants of national trajectories of political and economic change. The first focuses on the global system itself, in terms of both the structure of the global economy and the nature and workings of global governance institutions. The second focuses on national choices, policy, and the agency of leaders and governments, as shaped by the dynamics of domestic political alliances and competition.

The third points to deeper constraints that are embedded in countries' natural endowment and location. These theoretical debates engage long-standing theoretical tensions around "levels of analysis" in explaining world and national politics; the role of structure and agency in producing change; and the scope and limits of history, contingency, and choice in national politics.

Required Readings

Peter Dicken, Global Shift, Ch. 2, "The Changing Contours of the Global Economy," pp. 11-36.

Naseemullah, D. 2023. The Political Economy of National Development: A research agenda after neoliberal reform? *World Development* 168., Sections 1, 2, 3, and 5.3.

Recommended readings

Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery.* Cambridge U. Press, 2012. Introduction, pp. 1-24.

Atul Kohli, Greed and Guns: Imperial Origins of the Developing World (Cambridge University Press). 24 October 2022 Elements in the Politics of Development.

Mark McGillivray, What is Development? In Kingsbury, McKay, Hunt, McGillivray, and Clarke, eds. International Development: Issues and Challenges. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012: 23-52.

Lavers, Tom. Ch. 1, pp. 8-12, Structural Transformation and the Role of the State," in Ethiopia's Developmental State, CUP, 2023. And Ch. 2, "Late-Late Development and Political Order" in same volume.

Weber, Isabella et al. "What You Exported Matters: Persistence in Productive Capabilities across Two Eras of Globalization." UMass Amherst Dept of Econ. Working Papers, Scholarworks@UMassAmherst, 2021.

Week 2. 1945-1980 [1985]. The Political Economy of Cold War Developmentalism and State-Led Development. Jan. 26

This week focuses on the era of the developmental state during the Cold War, which presented a distinctive set of opportunities and constraints for the pursuit of "national development" in the postcolonial countries of what was then called "The Third World." In terms of ideologies of national development, as Tom Lavers (2024: 7) of the Manchester Global Development Institute put it: "Following World War II, the state was widely seen as the main actor responsible for promoting economic catch-up with the advanced economies. In particular, the state was expected to play key roles in agricultural and industrial development and in providing public goods, including infrastructure... During the Cold War, many developing countries were able to secure external finance for large-scale investments from the United States, the Soviet Union, and their allies as these global powers sought to build alliances."

Required Readings

Fred Halliday, Ch. on Third World and the Cold War, in Barbara Stallings, "Introduction: Global Change, Regional Response." In B. Stallings, ed. *Global Change: Regional Response: The New International Context of Development*, 1995. Read pp. 36-52 only.

Adom Getachew. 2019. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton. Ch. 3, pp. 71-106, and Ch. 5, 141-171.

Nicholas Jepson, In China's Wake: How the Commodity Boon Transformed Development Strategies in the Global South, 2020. Read the first part of Ch. 2, pp. 29-38 only.

Recommended readings

Helleiner, Eric. The Development Mandate of the International Institutions: Where did it come from? *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44 (2009): 189-211.

Week 3. Neoliberal Globalization and the era of "the Rise of China": 1990-2000, and 2000-2010. Feb. 2

The reversal and upheavals of this era are captured well by Tom Lavers (2024: 7-8), who writes that "The debt crises of the early 1980s, brought about in part by the poor performance of many debt-financed infrastructure investments, heralded a sea change in the role of the state as a development actor. Increasingly, the state was seen not as the solution to developmental failings but as the cause of them. As part of the Washington Consensus, structural adjustment exchanged debt relief from the international finance institutions (IFIs) for liberalization and privatization aiming to roll back the state, stimulate markets, and 'get the prices right'. A common focus was the liberalization of financial sectors, removing one of the central tools that states had previously used to mobilize resources for infrastructure investment. The rise of China and its 'Going Out' strategy from the late 1990s eventually created some opportunities (and some new constraints) for late-developing states to play key roles in the development of their economies, albeit in a quite different global political economic context.

Reqjuired Readings

Barbara Stallings, "Introduction: Global Change, Regional Response." In B. Stallings, ed. *Global Change: Regional Response: The New International Context of Development,* CUP, 1995, pp. 1-30.

Jepson, Nicholas. 2020. In China's Wake. Read the remainder of Ch. 2 (pp. 39-45) on "Neoliberal Globalization," and Ch. 1, "Introduction," pp. 1-10.

J. Barry Riddel. 1992. "Things fall apart again: Structural Adjustment Programs in Sub-Saharan Africa," *J. of Modern African Studies*, 30/1: 53-68.

Adom Getachew. 2019. *Worldmaking after Empire:*. Last of Ch. 5 (p. 171-181) and Epilogue, 182-188.

Recommended Readings

Robert Wade. 2003. What strategies are available for developing countries today? The World Trade Organization and the shrinking of 'development space.'" *Review of International Political Economy*, 10/4: 621-644.

Dani Rodrik, "Premature Deindustrialization," *Journal of Economic Growth* 21, no. 1 (March 2016): 1–33.

Naseemullah, D. 2022. The International Political Economy of the Middle-Income Trap. *Journal of Development Studies*, 58:10, 2154-2171.

Gabor, Daniela (2021) 'The Wall Street consensus', *Development and Change* 52(3): 429-59.

Venables, A. J. (2016). Using Natural Resources for Development: Why Has It Proven So Difficult? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *30*(1),

Ferchen, M. and Mattlin, M. 2023. Five modes of China's economic influence: Rethinking Chinese economic statecraft. The Pacific Review, 36(5), pp.978-1004.

Knight, J. (2014). China as a developmental state. The world economy, 37(10), 1335–1347

Yuen Yuen Ang. 2016. How China Escaped the Poverty Trap. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Nana de Graaff. 2020. China Inc. goes global. Transnational and national networks of China's globalizing business elite. Review of International Political Economy, 27(2): 208-233.

Stephen, M.D., 2021. China's new multilateral institutions: A framework and research agenda. *International Studies Review*, *23*(3), pp.807-834.

Rithmire, M. 2021. Going Out or Opting Out? Capital, Political Vulnerability, and the State in China's Outward Investment. *Comparative Politics,* 54(3), 477–499.

David Harvey, The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession. *Socialist Register,* 2004.

Fischer, A. (2015). The End of Peripheries? On the Enduring Relevance of Structuralism for Understanding Contemporary Global Development. *Development And Change* 46 (4), 700-732.

Week 4. Multipolarity, Neomercantile Nationalism, and the New State Capitalism: 2015+ . Feb. 9

The world economy is undergoing profound transformation. Everywhere there is a sense of major paradigm shift. The world economy has fractured into a state of multipolarity, and geoeconomic competition raises the spectre of war. Statist economic nationalism seems to be coalescing everywhere, and a new imperialism in the Americas and the Horn of Africa is rearing its head. The Trump Tariffs of 2025 were said to herald "the end of globalization." Western foreign aid is drying up. Chinese President Xi Jinping has stated that China will assume the leadership of 21st Century globalization. What is next for countries of the Global South? What are the greatest challenges facing countries of LA, Africa, and the MENA, and what constraints will be most binding as governments and societal actors seek to address them?

Required Readings

Alami, I., Dixon, A. D., & Mawdsley, E. 2021. "State Capitalism and the New Global Development Regime," *Antipode*, 53(5), 1294–1318.

T.V. Paul, The Specture of Deglobalization, *Current History*, January 2023. pp. 1-8.

David Singh Gawal, A world-historical gamble: The failure of neoliberal globalization, *American Affair*s, 24 May 2022.

Recommended readings

Ian Bremmer, State Capitalism Comes of Age, *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2009.

Stepan Verkhovets and H. E. Karaoguz. 2022. "Inclusive globalization or old wine in a new bottle? China-led globalization in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Globalizations*, 19:8, 1195-1210.

Kate Bayliss & Elisa Van Waeyenberge, 2018. "Unpacking the Public Private Partnership Revival," *Journal of Development Studies,* vol. 54(4), pages 577-593, April.

Week 5. Latin America: Dependent Development. Feb. 16

Former Brazilian President Fernando Enrique Cardoso (2012: 13) wrote that for Latin American countries, "democracy, economic stability, and development are three indivisible challenges." This is as true today as it was in the 1990s and 2000s, when Cardoso was writing. How have waves of change in the openness of the world economy and in global economic governance shaped and conditioned Latin American countries' efforts to master these "three indivisible challenges"?

Required readings

Hochstetler, K. and E. Montero. 2013. The Renewed Developmental State: The National Development Bank and the Brazil Model. *Journal of Development Studies*, 49/11: 1484-1499.

Fernando Enrique Cardoso and Eduardo Graeff. 2012. "Political Leadership and Economic Reform: The Brazil Experience in the Context of Latin America," In Javier Santiso and Jeff Dayton-Johnson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Political Economy*, OUP: 13-42.

Alden, Chris , and Álvaro Méndez. 2022. Ch. 8, "Global China, the United States, and the New Geopolitics of Latin America," In Alden and Mendez, *China and Latin America: Development, Agency and Geopolitics.* London,: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 163-177.

Recommended readings

Heller, P., Rueschemeyer, D., & Snyder, R. (2009). Dependency and development in a globalized world. Studies in comparative international development, 44, 287–295.

Nicola Philipps, Consequences of a Rising China: Is Development Space Disappearing for LA and the Caribbean? Working paper 14, Center for Governance Innovation, Jan. 2007.

Ocampo, Jose Antionio. 2017. Commodity-led Development in LA. *International Development Policy*, No. 9

Daniela Campello and Cesar Zucco. *The Volatility Curse: Shocks and Representation in Resource-Rich Democracies.* Cambridge 2020.

Tilzy, M. 2019. “Authoritarian Populism and Neo-extractivism in Bolivia and Ecuador: The UnresolvedAgrarian Question and the Prospects for Food Sovereignty as Counter-Hegemony.” Journal of Peasant Studies46 (3-4): 626–652

Albert O. Hirschman. 1968. The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 82(1): 1-32.

Jose Antonio Ocampo. 2004. Latin America’s Growth and Equity Frustrations During Structural Reforms, Journal of Economic Perspectives, 18(2): 67-88

Kevin Gallagher. 2016. The China Triangle: Latin America’s China Boom and the Fate of the Washington Consensus. Oxford University Press.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. "New Paths: Globalization [in LA] in Historical Perspective, Studies in Comparative International Development, 44 (2009): 296-317.

Jazmin Sierra, “The Politics of Growth Model Switching: Why Latin America tries, and Fails, to Abandon Commodity-Driven Growth, in Baccaro, Blyth, and Pontussen, eds. 2022. *Diminishing Returns: The New Politics of Growth and Stagnation*. OUP.

Week 6: Reading Week. No meetings. Feb. 23

Week 7. Africa: Uneven Development on the Periphery of the Periphery . March 2

The challenges of economic growth, structural economic change, and political cohesion and stability in the developing world have been particularly pronounced in sub-Saharan Africa. Formed in the colonial crucible, most African economies have been dominated by smallholder agriculture and minerals extraction, with limited development of manufacturing and services until the last two decades. Since the colonial era, African states and economies have passed through phases of expansion, crisis, retrenchment, and revitalization. Rulers' quest for political sovereignty and their developmental aspirations have been shaped and constrained by transformation over time in the global economy and global governance structures. As Fosu and Ogunleye wrote in 2015 (p. 1), "Going forward, African countries need to craft growth strategies that ensure sustenance of the impressive growth recorded over [2003-2013]. The growth must be more inclusive, through the optimal use of fiscal and natural resources as well as effective governance to improve job creation, and reduce inequality and poverty. Any future strategy must be mindful of the environment and technological advances, and should entail strengthening of regional integration and South-South cooperation." This is a big agenda. What major challenges face African countries in 2026 and what is the main source of constraint and possibility -- international forces, domestic institutions and politics, or geography and endowment?

Required readings

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni. 2020. African Decolonizations's Past and Present Trajectories. *Current History*, May 2020. 188-193.

Julius Nyerere. 1985. "Africa and the Debt Crisis." *African Affairs*, 84/337, pp. 489-497.

Mkandawire T. 2005. Maladjusted African Economies and Globalisation. *Africa Development*, 30:1-2, 1-33.

Léonce Ndikumana. 2015. "Integrated yet Marginalized: Implications of Globalization for African Development," *African Studies Review*, 58/2 (Sept.): 7-29

Recommended readings

Fosu, A. and E. Ogunlelye. 2018. African growth strategies -- the past, present, and future. *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics -- Volume II: Policies and Practices*, OUP. Ch. 1.

Boone, C. *Inequality and Political Cleavage in Africa: Regionalism by Design.* CUP 2024

Padayachee, V. ed. *The PE of Africa* (Routledge, 2010). *(selections)*

J. Barry Riddel. 1992. "Things fall apart again: Structural Adjustment Programs in Sub-Saharan Africa," *J. of Modern African Studies*, 30/1: 53-68.

Mkandawire, T. 2009. Institutional Monocropping and Monotasking in Africa. Democracy, Governance and Well-Being Programme Paper No. 1, UNRISD.

Kojo S. Amanor, Global Value Chains and Agribusiness in Africa: Upgrading or Capturing Smallholder Production? *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 8(1-2): 30-63. (You can skip pp. 37-41).

Xiaofang Shen. 2015. Private Chinese Investment in Africa: Myths and Realities, *Development Policy Review,* vol. 33, n°1, January, pp. 83-106.

Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, Researching Africa and the Offshore World, 10 June 2022.

Abel Gaiya, "African Cooperation in the Age of Anti-Globalization," *The Republic* (Lagos), 22 May 2025

Brautigam, D (2022) 'China and Zambia: creating a sovereign debt crisis' *International Affairs* 98: 4, pp.1347–1365.

Fold and Larsen, Globalization and the Restructuring of African Commodity Chains, Nordic African Institute, 2008. Ch. 1.

Week 8. MENA's Rentier States. March 9

The MENA, perhaps more than any other region, was crucial turf for the playing out of the Cold War and superpower rivalry. The oil wealth of the region has proven to be both a curse and a blessing, fuelling economic development but also the consolidation of authoritarian regimes, brittle social contracts around "allocative states," insider-outsider divides in economic development, and regional conflict. Yet in many ways, the challenges facing the countries of the MENA are similar to those elsewhere in the world -- political stability, inclusiveness, national autonomy, sustainability. Governments across the region are strategizing for a post-oil future. Global geopolitics and geoeconomics, combined with the changing character of states and social actors in the region, will go far in determining MENA trajectories in the 21st century.

Required Readings

Alan Richards, John Waterbury, Melani Cammett, Ishac Diwan, A Political Economy of the Middle East, 3rd Edition, Westview, 2014. Ch.1, "Introduction" (pp. 23- 30), Ch. 3, "Economic Growth and Structural Change" (pp. 44-71), and Ch. 7, The Emergence of the Public Sector," pp. 207-244

Adeel Malik, "Rethinking the Rentier Curse," *International Development Policy/ Revue internationale de politique de développem*ent, n. 7 (2017): https://doi.org/10.4000/poldev.2266

Recommended readings

Melani Cammett, "Development and Underdevelopment in the Middle East and North Africa," in Lancaster and Van de Walle, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of Development,*" 2018: 596-625.

Steffen Hertog. 2023. *Locked Out of Development: Insiders and Outsiders in Arab Capitalism.* CUP: Cambridge Element.

Robert Springbord, *Political Economies of the Middle East and North Africa*. Polity, 2020.

Ash Bali and Omar Dajani, Beyond the Nation State, in Adom Getachew, ed. 2022. Imaging Global Fitures, Boston Review Forum, pp. 96-114.

Heydemann and Lynch, eds. *Making Sense of the Arab State.* University of MI Press, 2024.

Karen E. Young. 2023. *The Economic Statecraft of the Gulf Arab States*. IB Tauris.

Luciani, G. "Allocation vs. Production States," In Luciani, G., ed., *The Arab State*, 2015.

Waldner, D., 1999. *State Building and Late Development*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Emily Melerding, "Over a Barrel? Oil Busts and Petrostate Stablity," *Comparative Politics*, 54/4 (2022): 671-694).

Diwan, Ishac, Adeel Malik, and Izak Atiyas. 2019. *Crony Capitalism in the Middle East: Business and Politics from Liberalization to the Arab Spring*. Oxford: University Press.

Eibl, Ferdinand. 2020. *Social Dictatorships: The Political Economy of the Welfare State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Oxford University Press.

Cammett, Melani, Ishac Diwan, Alan Richards, and John Waterbury. 2015. *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. Fourth edition. Boulder: Westview Press.

Devarajan, Shantayanan, and Elena Ianchovichina. 2018. 'A Broken Social Contract, Not High Inequality, Led to the Arab Spring'. *Review of Income and Wealth* 64 (s1): S5–25.

Henry, Clement M., and Robert Springborg. 2010. *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Malik, Adeel, and Bassem Awadallah. 2013. 'The Economics of the Arab Spring'. *World Development* 45: 296–313.

Week 9: Student Presentations. March 16. LA

Week 10: Student Presentations. March 23. AF

Week 11: Student Presentations. March 3 MENA