

# The Politics of Global Development

Fall 2018

Tues, Thurs 10.30-11.45am

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341 - Mergenthaler

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Office Hours: Thurs 1-3 and by appointment

Development is often assumed to be an economic issue. In this course we examine the politics of development on a global scale. We begin by looking at the colonial and Cold War histories of development. We then use these histories to contextualise contemporary development issues that directly affect international relations such as aid and debt, humanitarianism, food security, land “grabs”, migration and indigenous rights. The course also seeks to understand the ways in which the issues underlying global development have always connected and continue to connect the peoples and polities of the Global North and Global South.

Course requirements are as follows:

## **Presentation (15%):**

Each student will be assigned an in-class presentation at the beginning of the semester.

Your presentation will comprise of the following: a) a synopsis of each reading/video for that particular class; b) what you found to be most controversial or provocative about the arguments and claims made in the readings/videos; c) one question arising from the presentation that the class will subsequently debate.

Your presentation will be no more than 10 minutes (strictly enforced) and should use a presentational aid such as PPT.

## **Papers (30% \* 2):**

You will write two (2) papers of 6-8 pages in length each (excluding bibliography), fully referenced.

For your first paper you will select from topics 3-6 and you will address the question provided for that week's topic (found in the outline below). For your second paper you will select from topics 7-11 and, again, you will address the question provided for that week's topic.

The first paper will be due on October 18<sup>th</sup> and the second will be due on November 13<sup>th</sup>. N.B.: ***you cannot select a topic that you presented on.***

To address the topic question you will engage with all the readings/videos assigned for that week (over the two classes) including the additional “essay reading” listed. You do NOT need to undertake any further research.

You will be assessed on a) the degree to which you answer/address the question convincingly; b) the degree to which you structure your essay in a logically accretive fashion (a leads to b leads to c); and c) the degree to which you engage with – and synthesise – the resources at hand.

## **Video (25%):**

You will be assigned groups half way into the semester. You will collectively produce a video that will critically address the following statement: “Whether you’re from the Global North or South, we all live in the same world and development is destroying it.”

This question especially pertains to topic 14 (see below), and you will focus your research on that topic and the resources that I have provided. You should, however, research ways in which the issues broached in the academic resources might speak to “real life” and/or popular issues, and you should make these connections in a critical but creative way. You can, of course, make use of social media sources.

You can use any basic and free editing software, such as Windows Movie Maker. I will check, when I assign groups, that each group has access to free software.

You will **NOT** be assessed on the professionalism of the video. You will be assessed as follows: 40% - engagement with intellectual sources; 30% - engagement with “real life”/popular issues; 30% - critical creativity (in terms of putting together your argument and expressing it).

Your video should be 10 mins long **max**. Video presentations will take place on 4<sup>th</sup> Dec (Tues). Presentations will comprise of a showing of the video and a 10 mins class conversation about it immediately afterwards. (The conversation will not be graded, but you will, as a group, need to participate).

This video assignment pertains to the previous week’s topic. However, do NOT start this assignment only after we have gone through topic 14. Start immediately after you have handed in the last essay on Nov 13<sup>th</sup>. Use our classes on topic 14 as an opportunity test, expand and critique your ideas in preparation for the video presentation.

## **COURSE OUTLINE**

*(Readings marked with an \* can be found on Blackboard. All other readings are available through JHU’s electronic library).*

### **1: Introduction (Tues 4<sup>th</sup> Sep)**

#### **PART 1: HISTORICAL TRAJECTORIES**

### **2: Colonialism and Development**

How and to what extent was colonialism considered a means by which to improve humanity?

#### **Thurs 6<sup>th</sup> Sep: *The Idea of Improvement***

- Nathaniel Wolloch, "William Robertson on Natural Resources and Cultural Contacts in Colonial America", *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 38 (1), 2018
- Ben (Nnamdi) Azikiwe, "Ethics of Colonial Imperialism", *The Journal of Negro History* 16 (3), 1931

### **3: The Cold War and Development**

In what ways did Cold War politics contour the “Development project”?

### **Tues 11<sup>th</sup> Sep: *The US Project***

- Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, 1995), ch.2 \*
- M. F. Millikan and W. W. Rostow, "Foreign Aid: Next Phase," *Foreign Affairs* 36, 3 (April 1958) 418- 436
- The Guardian (2008), "US economist Walt Rostow and his influence on post-1945 development" <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2012/oct/08/us-economist-walt-rostow-development>

### **Thurs 13<sup>th</sup> Sep: *The Bandung Conference***

- President Sukarno of Indonesia, *Speech at the Opening of the Bandung Conference*, April 18 1955 <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1955sukarno-bandong.asp>
- *Final Communiqué of the Asian-African conference of Bandung* (24 April 1955) [http://franke.uchicago.edu/Final\\_Communique\\_Bandung\\_1955.pdf](http://franke.uchicago.edu/Final_Communique_Bandung_1955.pdf)
- Heloise Weber, "The Political Significance of Bandung for Development" in Q. Pham & R. Shilliam (eds.) *Meanings of Bandung* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016) \*

**Essay reading:** Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (London: Zed, 2008) , chs 5-6 \*

## **4: Decolonization, Disorder, Development**

"In a modernizing society, security means development." Explain McNamara's maxim by reference to the Vietnam War.

### **Tues 18<sup>th</sup> Sep: *Huntington and the Military***

- Samuel Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay", *World Politics* 17 (1965)
- Samuel Huntington, "The Bases of Accommodation", *Foreign Affairs* 46 (4), 1968

### **Thurs 20<sup>th</sup> Sep: *McNamara and the Security/Development Nexus***

- Robert McNamara, "Security in the Contemporary World", Speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1966 <http://www.oldcolo.com/McNamara/mcnamara.txt>
- Errol Morris (Dir.), *The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara*, (2003) <https://vimeo.com/149799416>

**Essay reading:** Michael Latham, "Redirecting the Revolution? The USA and the failure of nation-building in South Vietnam", *Third World Quarterly* 27 (1), 2006

## **5: The Beginnings of "Global" Development**

How divergent were claims made in the 1970s as to the "global" significance of development?

### **Tues 25<sup>th</sup> Sep: *Needs and Redistribution***

- UN General Assembly, *Declaration of the Establishment of a New International Economic Order* (1974) <http://www.un-documents.net/s6r3201.htm>
- Willy Brandt, *North-South: A Programme for Survival* (London, 1980), selected sections \*
- Mahbub ul Haq, "Negotiating the Future", *Foreign Affairs* 59 (2), 1980

### **Thurs 27<sup>th</sup> Sep: *(Over)Population***

- Donella H. Meadows & Dennis Meadows, "The History and Conclusions of The Limits to Growth", *System Dynamics Review* 23 (2-3), 2007

- Robert Golub & Joe Townsend, "Malthus, Multinationals and the Club of Rome", *Social Studies of Science* 7 (2), 1977

**Essay reading:** Patrick Sharma, "Between North and South: The World Bank and the New International Economic Order", *Humanity* 6 (1), 2015

## 6: The Rise of Neoliberalism

"Neoliberalism first triumphed in the Global South." Unpack this claim.

### Tues 2<sup>nd</sup> Oct: *The Defeat of the Third World project*

- Mark Berger, "The End of the 'Third World'?", *Third World Quarterly* 15 (2), 1994
- Michael Winterbottom, "Naomi Klein's Shock Doctrine" (2009)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B3B5qt6gsxY&vl=en>

### Thurs 4<sup>th</sup> Oct: *Debt*

- Midnight Notes Collective, *The New Enclosures* (1990) pp.1-22 \*
- Stephanie Black (Dir.), *Life and Debt* (2001) \*

**Essay Reading:** Alexander Barder, "American Hegemony Comes Home: The Chilean Laboratory and the Neoliberalization of the United States" *Alternatives* 38 (4), 2013

## PART 2: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

### 7: "Humanising" Development

In what ways might globalisation be conceived as a human rather than economic endeavour, and what risks come with emphasising the "human"?

### Tues 9<sup>th</sup> Oct: *Human Development*

- UNDP, *Human Development Report* (2016)  
[http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016\\_human\\_development\\_report.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf)
- Sakiko Fukada-Parr, "The Human Development Paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's Ideas on Capabilities", *Feminist Economics* 9 (2-3), 2003 \*

### Thurs 11<sup>th</sup> Oct: *Participatory Development*

- World Bank, "Engaging Citizens: A Game Changer for Development?" (2015)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=23ID9Xb5nTc>
- World Bank "Participatory Planning Improving the Lives of Communities in Lao" (2017)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t7ZKiDBBMWs>
- "Andrea Cornwall, "Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development", *World Development* 31 (8), 2003
- Ilan Kapoor, "Participatory Development, Complicity and Desire", *Third World Quarterly* 26 (8), 2005

**Essay Question:** Amartya Sen, "A Decade of Human Development", *Journal of Human Development* 1 (1), 2000

### 8: The Security/Development nexus

How have the security concerns of the Global North impacted upon the development agenda for the Global South?

**Tues 16<sup>th</sup> Oct: "Securitization" of Development**

- Kofi Annan, "In Larger Freedom": Decision Time at the UN", *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2005
- Kwesi Aning, "Security, the War on Terror, and official development assistance", *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 3 (1), 2010

**Thurs 18<sup>th</sup> Oct: Refugees and Asylum Seekers**

- Matthew Cassel, "The Journey from Syria", *New Yorker* (2016) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NR0uIPXY37g> (in 6 parts)
- Paul Jackson & Danielle Beswick, *Conflict, Security and Development: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2018), ch.4

**Essay reading:** Maria Stern, Joakim Öjendal, "Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?", *Security Dialogue* 41 (1), 2010

**9: Crises in the Global North**

How have recent economic and political upheavals in the Global North impacted upon development issues?

**Tues 23<sup>rd</sup> Oct: Economic Migration**

- Hein de Haas, "The Migration and Development Pendulum: A Critical View on Research and Policy" *International Migration* 50 (3), 2012
- Denise Spitzer & Nicola Piper, "Retrenched and Returned: Filipino Migrant Workers during Times of Crisis", *Sociology* 48 (5), 2014

**Thurs 25<sup>th</sup> Oct: White Dude's Burden**

- Mark Driscoll, "White dude's burden", *Cultural Studies* 23 (1), 2009
- Philip Alston, "The Populist Challenge to Human Rights", *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 9 (1) 2017

**Essay Reading:** Joelle Gamble et al., "What will kill Neoliberalism? A roundtable on its Fate", *The Nation*, May 4th 2017 <https://www.thenation.com/article/what-will-kill-neoliberalism/>

**10: Resource Crises**

How might we argue that land usage is a key issue for global politics?

**Tues 30<sup>th</sup> Oct: Land Grabs**

- Fouad Makki and Charles Geisler, "Development by Dispossession: Land Grabbing as New Enclosures in Contemporary Ethiopia", Paper presented at the *International Conference on Global Land Grabbing*, 6-8 April 2011 \*
- <https://landmatrix.org/en/> - Browse the *Land Matrix Database*, especially all the data under the tab "get the idea"

**Thurs 1<sup>st</sup> Nov: Indigenous Politics**

- La Via Campesina, "Food Sovereignty Now!" (2011) <https://vimeo.com/27473286>

- Maria Bargh, "A Blue Economy for Aotearoa New Zealand?", *Environment, Development and Sustainability* 16 (3), 2014

**Essay reading:** Philip McMichael & Mindi Schneider, "Food Security Politics and the Millennium Development Goals", *Third World Quarterly* 32 (1) 2011

## 11: New Civilizing Missions?

"The civilizing mission is no longer the sole prerogative of straight white Christian men". Discuss.

### Tues 6<sup>th</sup> Nov: *Islam and Aid*

- David Tittensor, Matthew Clarke, Tezcan Gümüş, "Understanding Islamic Aid Flows to Enhance Global Humanitarian Assistance", *Contemporary Islam* 12 (2), 2018
- Hüsrev Tabak, "Manifestations of Islam in Turkey's Foreign Policy" in H. Tabak et al (eds.), *Domestic and Regional Uncertainties in the New Turkey* (Cambridge Scholars, 2017) \*

### Thurs 8<sup>th</sup> Nov: *Homonationalism*

- Rahul Rao, "The Locations of Homophobia", *London Review of International Law* 2 (2), 2014
- Christine M. Klapeer, "LGBTIQ Rights, Development Aid and Queer Resistance" in O. Rutazibwa & R. Shilliam (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Politics* (2018) \*

**Essay reading:** Giorgio Shani, "Civilizing process or civilizing mission?: Toward a post-Western understanding of Human Security", in O. Rutazibwa & R. Shilliam, *Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Politics* (2018) \*

## 12: The World Turned Upside Down?

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, who is developed?

### Tues 13<sup>th</sup> Nov: *Rise of the South*

- Alf Gunvald Nilsen & Karl von Holdt, "Rising Powers, People Rising: Neo-Liberalization and its Discontents in the BRICS Countries", *Globalizations* (Firstview, 2018)
- The Doha Debates, "Dubai is a Bad Idea", 2010  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kORAJlrT3b4>

### Thurs 15<sup>th</sup> Nov: *The "South" in the "North"*

- Teivo Teivainen, "Latin Americanization of Europe: Possibilities for Democratic Cosmopolitanism", Paper prepared for *The Crisis of European Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Austerity* workshop, University of Warwick, 2013 \*
- PBS - America Revealed, "Urban Farming", 2012  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kEPs3Ta-6eg>

**Essay reading:** Ray Kiely, *The Rise and Fall of Emerging Powers*, (Palgrave, 2016) pp.83-92

## 13: THANKSGIVING

## 14: The End of the World?

No essay question this week.

**Tues 27<sup>th</sup> Nov: Sustainability and the Anthropocene**

- David Griggs et al, "Sustainable development goals for people and planet", *Nature* (495) 2013
- Erle Ellis, "Saved! by Ester Boserup" 2011 <http://ecotope.org/blog/saved-by-ester-boserup/>
- Parto Teherani-Krönner, "A Human Ecological Approach to Ester Boserup: Steps Towards Engendering Agriculture and Rural Development", in M. Fischer-Kowalski et al (eds.) *Ester Boserup's Legacy on Sustainability* (Vienna: Springer, 2014) \*

**Thurs 29<sup>th</sup> Nov: Global Warming**

- Sarah Johnstone & Jeffrey Mazo, "Global Warming and the Arab Spring", *Survival* 53 (2), 2011
- Leon Sealey-Huggins, "'1.5°C to stay alive': climate change, imperialism and justice for the Caribbean", *Third World Quarterly* 38 (11) 2017
- 24 Hours of Reality, "Weight of the World (Kiribati)", 2017  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Swv1lOA5zDc>

**15: Presentations and Conclusion**

**Tues 4<sup>th</sup> Dec: Presentations**

**Thurs 6<sup>th</sup> Dec: Recap and Retrospect**