

# WHEN WHITE ELEPHANTS GIVE MAN A FISH: THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE

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**Office hours:** Book on Stud.IP.

**Administrative details:** Winter term 2019-20, B.A. Political Science, Module 11 "International Politics", course no. 08-26-5-M11-4, 2 SWS.

**Time:** Wednesday, 10-12am (21 Oct - 29 Jan) **Place:** FVG, Celsiusstraße 2, room M2010.

**Substitute session:** Tuesday, 21 January, 10-12am **Place:** Unicom, Mary-Somerville-Str. 7, room 7.2210

**Thematic scope:** The course deals with theories and practices of development as a field of international relations. The class scrutinizes the most influential development theories since World War II, among them modernization theory, dependency theory, neoliberalism and post-development theory. These abstract concepts are linked to particular practices, such as "white elephant" projects that aim to provide a shortcut to progress. It also looks at the recurring repackaging of development interventions as something more effective than "to give man a fish". Contemporary emphasis on minimal welfare provisions for the absolute poor is contrasted with competing neo-modern visions of state-managed progress. Besides establishing an overview over the field, the course aims at a deeper understanding of the theoretical foundations, the history, and the different approaches towards development as an international endeavour.

**Languages:** The course discussion language is English. Student's enthusiasm for reading English literature is a must. Written coursework may be submitted in English, French or German.

**Literature:** Obligatory literature and texts for presentation are electronically available on Stud.IP.

**Online communication:** Register for the class on Stud.IP and make sure you receive, read and respond to emails sent through Stud.IP on a regular basis.

**Assignments** (see additional information on Stud.IP):

## **6 CP:**

*Alternative 1:* 4 excerpts (1 page, non-graded) & research paper (c. 5000 words, 100% of grade).

*Alternative 2:* 2 excerpts (1 page, non-graded) & presentation (15 minutes, including written synopsis, c. 600 words, 50% of grade) & short paper (c. 2000 words, 50% of grade).

## **3 CP:**

2 excerpts (1 page, non-graded) & presentation (15 minutes, including written synopsis, c. 600 words, 100% of grade).

**Non-graded "Scheine":** It is possible to acquire a non-graded "Schein". However, this has to be clearly stated before you present or submit coursework.

## 23 October Introduction: What is Development?

Discussion on the meaning of “development”: What is it? What is it for? What is specific about it as a political idea and practice? Which histories and imaginations are connected to it? Is there a future for development?

Seminar aims and requirements; literature overview; selection of presentations.

### Material:

Truman, Harry S. 1949. Inaugural Address (“Four Points Speech”). January 20.

- Full text: <https://www.bartleby.com/124/pres53.html> (accessed 27 September 2019).
- Video: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=30&v=PXE-u4WanMI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=30&v=PXE-u4WanMI) (accessed 27 September 2019).

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## 30 October Development as Modernization

In this session, we discuss the historical context in which the term “development” was coined. We specifically reflect on ideas of modernization inherent in development as a concept.

### Reading:

Leys, Colin. 2005. “The Rise and Fall of Development Theory.” In *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*, edited by Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, 109-25. Malden: Blackwell.

**Presentation:** Cold warriors’ modernist development conceptions

Rosenstein-Rodan, Paul. 1944. “The International Development of Economically Backward Areas.” *International Affairs* 20 (2): 157–65.

Rostow, Walt Whitman. 1997 (1960). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-16.

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## 6 November Experts to the Rescue: Development as a Scientific Field

The emergence of development as an international challenge coincided with the rise of science in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Reading:

Unger, Corinna R. 2018. *International Development: A Postwar History*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 49-78.

**Presentation:** Science and development in the late colonial period

Cooper, Frederick. 2004. “Development, Modernization, and the Social Sciences in the Era of Decolonization: The Examples of British and French Africa.” *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, 10 (1): 9-38.

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## 13 November Development of Underdevelopment? Dependency Theory

Born in Latin America, but soon popular throughout the global South, Dependency Theory fundamentally challenged liberal beliefs about modernization. Dependency theory argues that underdevelopment, rather than development, is the outcome of uneven modes of exchange in the post-colonial capitalist world.

### Reading:

Sunkel, Osvaldo. 1969. “National Development Policy and External Dependence in Latin America.” *The Journal of Development Studies* 6 (1): 23–48.

**Presentation:** Varieties of Neo-Marxist Theories on Under/Development

Martinussen, John. 1999. "Neo-Marxist Theories of Underdevelopment and Dependency." In *Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development*, edited by John Martinussen, 85-100. London: Zed.

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## **20 November Development in Crisis: The End of Modernity?**

The belief in state-managed progress towards a better future has been increasingly questioned from the 1970s onwards. Are states capable of managing orderly, purposive change?

### **Reading:**

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1-8, 223-61.

**Presentation:** About a book: James Scott's *Seeing Like a State*.

Li, Tania Murray. 2005. "Beyond 'the State' and Failed Schemes." *American Anthropologist* 107 (3): 383-94, and other reviews.

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## **27 November Market-based Development? Neoclassic Economics and Structural Adjustment**

The neoliberal or neoclassic economic perspective spread the belief that states are incapable of steering development. Development, instead, can be achieved only by getting markets right. This view has been implemented through Structural Adjustment Programs.

### **Reading:**

Bates, Robert. 2005 (1981). *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, ix-xiii, 1-8, 81-96, 106-18, 119-32.

**Presentation:** The "Washington Consensus"

Williamson, John. 1990. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform." In *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?*, edited by John Williamson, 7-38. Washington: Institute for International Economics.

**Presentation:** Economic liberalisation and political democratisation

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 1999. "Economic Reform in a Democratizing Africa." *Comparative Politics* 32 (1): 21-41.

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## **4 December Dies Academicus – NO CLASS**

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## **11 December Structural Adjustment and Democracy**

The era of neo-liberal restructuring coincided with the spread of electoral democracy in large parts of the Global South. While liberal economies and democratic institutions may sometimes be fitting partners, what happens when electorates disagree with the liberalization of the economy?

### **Reading:**

Mkandawire, Thandika. 1999. "Crisis Management and the Making of 'Choiceless Democracies' in Africa." In *The State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa*, edited by Richard Joseph, 119-36. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

**Presentation:** Development vs Democracy?

Abrahamsen, Rita. 2000. *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*. London: Zed, ix-xv, 1-24, 138-147.

**Presentation:** Development vs Politics?

Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Cambridge: Univ. of Cambridge Press, 3-21, 251-88.

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## 18 December Post-Development

The failure of just so many development policies, plans and projects led from the 1980s to a new kind of critique. Post-development concepts posit to understand development not as a solution, but a problem.

**Reading:**

Escobar, Arturo. 1988. "Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World." *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (4): 428-43.

---. 2007. "'Post-development' as Concept and Social Practice." In *Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, edited by Aram Ziai, 18-31. Oxon: Routledge.

**Presentation:** Romantic delusion or democratic alternative?

Ziai, Aram. 2004. "The Ambivalence of Post-Development: Between Reactionary Populism and Radical Democracy." *Third World Quarterly* 25 (6): 1045-61.

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## 8 January Development as a Project

"The project", a temporary organization for the management of change, is still the preeminent form of how development is done. We read an ideal-typical depiction of power relations and different agendas in a classic rural development project, and discuss who legitimately decides about a project's course of action.

**Reading:**

Olivier de Sardan, Jean Pierre. 2005. "Development Projects and Social Logic." In *Anthropology and Development. Understanding Contemporary Social Change*, edited by Jean Pierre Olivier de Sardan, 137-52. London & New York: Zed.

**Presentation:** The contradictions of "ownership" and participation

Eyben, Rosaling, and Rosario León. 2005. "Whose Aid? The Case of the Bolivian Elections Project." In *The Aid Effect. Giving and Governing in International Development*, edited by David Mosse and David Lewis, 106-25. London: Pluto.

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## 15 January Developmental States: Back to the Future?

The industrialization of some countries in East Asia seems to prove wrong the criticism of both state-led and market-based development. We discuss aspects of the lively debate about the drivers of change, from dedicated technocrats to geostrategic threats and opportunities.

**Reading:**

Woo-Cumings, Meredith. 1999. "Introduction: Chalmers Johnson and the Politics of Nationalism and Development." In *The Developmental State*, edited by Meredith Woo-Cumings, 1-31. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press.

**Presentation:** Varieties of Developmentalism

Stubbs, Richard. 2009. "What Ever Happened to the East Asian Developmental State? The Unfolding Debate." *The Pacific Review* 22 (1): 1–22.

**Presentation:** Developmental states and anxieties of the Cold War

Yeung, Henry Wai-chung. 2017. "Rethinking the East Asian Developmental State in Its Historical Context: Finance, Geopolitics and Bureaucracy." *Area Development and Policy* 2 (1): 1–23.

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## **21 January, 10-12h (Tuesday!) Development as Welfare: The New Social Assistance Programs**

*Place: InIIS, Unicom, Mary-Somerville-Str. 7, room 7.2210*

*Substitute session for 16 October*

After the structural adjustment era, international development cooperation has been increasingly oriented towards the poorest straddles of society in the global South. Social assistance programs, meant to benefit these groups, have become increasingly popular among some academics, national governments, and international development organizations.

**Reading:**

Hanlon, Joseph, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme. 2010. *Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South*. Sterling: Kumarian Press, 1-14, 125-42.

**Presentation:**

Hickey, Sam, Tom Lavers, Miguel Niño-Zarazúa, and Jeremy Seekings. 2019. "The Negotiated Politics of Social Protection in East and Southern Africa." In *The Politics of Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa*, edited by Sam Hickey, Tom Lavers, Miguel Niño-Zarazúa, and Jeremy Seekings, 1-23. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

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## **22 January Welfare as Development: The Ethics of Social Assistance Programs**

Yet what are these social assistance programs: A platform to turn the absolute Poor into entrepreneurs? A form of global re-distribution? Or alms to soothe moral indignation and looming revolts?

**Reading:**

Ferguson, James. 2015. *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Durham: Duke University Press, 35-62.

**Presentation:**

Devereux, Stephen. 2016. "Is Targeting Ethical?" *Global Social Policy* 16 (2): 166–81.

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## **29 January Now, Do White Elephants Give Man a Fish?**

In the concluding debate, we again discuss our opening questions: What is development (for)? What is specific about it as a political idea and practice? Which histories and imaginations are connected to it? Is there a future for development?

**Reading:**

Monson, Jamie. 2006. "Defending the People's Railway in the Era of Liberalization: Tazara in Southern Tanzania." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 76 (1): 113–30.

**Presentation:**

Monson, Jamie. 2009. *Africa's Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 124-46.