ROBERT H. BATES

The POLITICAL ECONOMY of DEVELOPMENT

A Game Theoretic
Approach

The Political Economy of Development

Those studying development often address the impact of government policies, but rarely the politics that generate these policies. A culmination of several decades of work by Robert Bates, among the most respected comparativists in political science, this compact volume seeks to rectify that omission. Bates addresses the political origins of prosperity and security and uncovers the root causes of underdevelopment. Without the state there can be no development, but those who are endowed with the power of the state often use its power to appropriate the wealth and property of those they rule. When do those with power use it to safeguard rather than to despoil? Bates explores this question by analyzing motivations behind the behavior of governments in the developing world, drawing on historical and anthropological insights, game theory, and his own field research in developing nations.

Robert H. Bates, Eaton Professor Emeritus of the Science of Government at Harvard University, is the author, co-author, or editor of over a dozen books on the developing world. He specializes on the study of conflict and Africa, where he has spent much of his research career. A member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and National Academy of Sciences, he has held professorships at the California Institute of Technology, Duke University and the Toulouse School of Economics.

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

GENERAL EDITORS

KATHLEEN THELEN Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

CATHERINE BOONE London School of Economics THAD DUNNING University of California, Berkeley ANNA GRZYMALA-BUSSE Stanford University TORBEN IVERSEN Harvard University STATHIS KALYVAS University of Oxford MARGARET LEVI Stanford University MELANIE MANION Duke University HELEN MILNER Princeton University FRANCES ROSENBLUTH Yale University SUSAN STOKES Yale University TARIQ THACHIL University of Pennsylvania ERIK WIBBELS Duke University

SERIES FOUNDER

Peter Lange Duke University

OTHER BOOKS IN THE SERIES

Christopher Adolph, Bankers, Bureaucrats, and Central Bank Politics: The Myth of Neutrality

Michael Albertus, Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform Michael Albertus Property Without Rights: Origins and Consequences of the Property Rights Gap

Santiago Anria, When Movements Become Parties: The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective

Ben W. Ansell, From the Ballot to the Blackboard: The Redistributive Political Economy of Education

Ben W. Ansell and Johannes Lindvall, *Inward Conquest: The Political Origins of Modern Public Services*

Ben W. Ansell and David J. Samuels, *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*

Adam Michael Auerbach, Demanding Development: The Politics of Public Goods Provision in India's Urban Slums

Ana Arjona, Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War

Leonardo R. Arriola, Multi-Ethnic Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns

Continued after the index

The Political Economy of Development

A Game Theoretic Approach

ROBERT H. BATES

Harvard University



CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108837507
DOI: 10.1017/9781108946315

© Robert H. Bates 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data NAMES: Bates, Robert H., author.

TITLE: The political economy of development: a game theoretic approach / Robert H. Bates, Harvard University, Massachusetts.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Series: Cambridge studies in comparative politics | Includes index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2020039303 (print) | LCCN 2020039304 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108837507 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108946315 (ebook) SUBJECTS: LCSH: Economic development. | Human services.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC HD75.B379 2021 (print) | LCC HD75 (ebook) | DDC 338.9–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020039303 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020039304

ISBN 978-1-108-83750-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-93093-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

I dedicate this book to those who have inspired and instructed me: the coauthors of the papers woven into this volume.

Jean Paul Azam
Bruno Biais
David Epstein
Avner Greif
Da-Hsiang Donald Lien
William Rogerson
Smita Singh
David Soskice

I dedicate it as well to my students and colleagues at the California Institute of Technology, Duke University, and Harvard.

Contents

L	ist of Figures	page viii
A	Note to the Reader	ix
Ι	Introduction	I
2	Societies without States	6
3	An Impossibility Result?	22
4	From Kinship to the State	32
5	Restraining the Leviathan: Part I	43
6	Restraining the Leviathan: Part II	52
7	The Political Impetus for the Great Transformation	67
8	Shaping the Path of Growth and Development	82
9	Conclusion	103
Ιn	adex	104

Figures

1.1	Data: Percent of labor force in agriculture in OECD	
	countries, over time	page 3
1.2	Cross-sectional data on the contemporary world	3
2.1	Payoffs to families I and II for choice of strategies	9
2.2	Adding payoffs for compensation	II
2.3	Payoffs with retaliation	15
2.4	Payoffs with contingent use of force	15
2.5	When players have other interests	18
2.6	When other interests are of little value	18
2.7	Payoffs when there is restitution	18
3.1	Possible outcomes	30
3.2	Preferences over outcomes	30
5.1	Deputies from one period become leaders in the next	44
5.2	The game tree	46
5.3	End points to the game	49
5.4	Payoffs at the end points to the game	49
8.1	The sequence of play	87
8.2	The equilibrium Markov chain	80

A Note to the Reader

The chapters in this book first appeared as articles. Each was written in response to an issue that arose while thinking about the role of politics in development. When I believed that I had thought things through, I then discussed my ideas with colleagues – many of whom were far more mathematically skilled than I – seeking to see if my arguments were persuasive and their logic valid. These discussions resulted in a series of coauthored papers, each analytic and based on formal arguments, which I have gathered and redrafted for inclusion in this book.

Though the papers are coauthored, I write here in the first person. In effect, I have recrafted and "repurposed" these earlier writings for I have themes I wish to advance and arguments I wish to explore and I draw upon these papers to do so. The arguments advanced in these chapters are therefore "on me" and the coauthors of the original papers are not to be held accountable for their shortcomings.

Introduction

Throughout this book, "development" refers to two things, the one economic and the other political. The first is prosperity, or the level of per capita income. The second is security, or the degree of safety of life and property. Nations that are prosperous have undergone a "great transformation," to adopt Polanyi's phrase. Once based on agriculture, their economies are now industrial and their people live in cities rather than in villages or on farms. In most, people have ceded control over the means of violence from private to public hands. Insofar as the word "development" refers to the rise of prosperity and the attainment of security, then, it refers to the growth and transformation of the economy and to the rise of the state.

Those who study development glean their data from two major sources. The first is history: they gain insight into the process of development by comparing the economies and polities of today's advanced industrial nations with the economies and polities that they possessed in the past.² The second is the contemporary world. By comparing the advanced industrial nations with those whose economies remain agrarian and poor, researchers probe the process

¹ Karl Polanyi, 1957, The Great Transformation. Boston: Beacon Press.

² See, for example, Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, 2019, The Narrow Corridor. New York: The Beacon Press; Carles Boix, 2015, Political Order and Inequality. New York: Cambridge University Press; Frances Fukuyama, 2011, The Origins of Political Order. New York: Farrar, Stevens, and Giroux; and Margaret Levi, 1989, Of Rule and Revenue. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.