



The Review of Regional Studies

The Official Journal of the Southern Regional Science Association



BOOK REVIEWS

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Augustin K. Fosu, ed. 2013. *Achieving Development Success: Strategies and Lessons from the Developing World*. Oxford University Press, Oxford United Kingdom. ISBN: 978-0-19-967155-7 526 pp. \$160 (hardcover).

Reviewed by *Leslie Dunn*, Washington & Jefferson College

There is not a single recipe for success when trying to create a development strategy that will work for each and every country. This is demonstrated in Fosu's edited volume *Achieving Development Success: Strategies and Lessons from the Developing World*. There are seventeen different country specific case studies that explore each country's performance in terms of growth and development, the cause of success, limitations on future development, and adoptability of successful strategies by other countries. Many of the countries sampled are common success stories such as Botswana and Korea. The countries sampled are located throughout the world ranging from China, which has more than a billion in population, to Bahrain, with a less than one million in population giving the reader a true global look at development strategies and constraints facing the developing world. The book is organized based on geography: Part I: East Asia and the Pacific; Part II: "The Emerging Asian Giants"; Part III: Sub-Saharan Africa; Part IV: Latin America and the Caribbean; and Part V: the Middle East and North Africa. At the conclusion of each geographical section a summary chapter is included reviewing the country case studies and comparing the experiences of those countries.

The case studies begin with Korea, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam. *Keun Lee* (Chapter 2) gives a "capability-based view" as the cause of Korea's success. An emphasis on higher education and research and development, initially as a public venture but with increasing involvement of the private sector, laid the groundwork and allowed for the stages of capability building that were exhibited. Although Lee does think the Korean model is transferable to other developing countries he, as well as *Arvind Subramanian* (Chapter 11) who discussed Mauritius, highlight the changing global trade environment and the WTO as possible limitations of these policies and institutions. *K.S. Jomo and Chong Hui Wee* (Chapter 3) analyzed five different development policy periods since Malaysia's independence. These variations resulted from political changes and commonly were a response to problems generated by earlier policies. Jomo and Wee argue that government involvement was key in creating the growth and development record exhibited by Malaysia since independence. *Peter Warr* (Chapter 4) shows that the

increase in physical capital stock in Thailand was the primary cause of the growth experienced from 1981 to 2002 accounting for 70 percent of this growth. He argues that this growth in physical capital was generated by domestic private savings not external inflows. *John Thoburn* (Chapter 5) describes the policies and experiences of Vietnam and provides lessons for other countries. For example, state owned enterprises can be transformed to increase productivity, attracting global buyers is essential, and geographic location can be advantageous, among others.

China and India are the focus of the second portion of the text. *Nirvikar Singh* (Chapter 7) identifies the 1990s and on as the period of development success in India and the changes in policies that generated this achievement. India is different than other countries with similar per capita incomes in that skill and capital intensive, as opposed to labor intensive, activities have been pursued in both the manufacturing and service sectors. Singh believes that the political institutions are the key lesson from India's experience. "Democracy in India...has provided an important institutional backdrop for the recent economic success...[and] one can credibly assert that the design of robust, sustainable democratic institutions is the greatest achievement of India's strategy of development" (p. 133). *Yang Yao* (Chapter 8) analyzes China's experience and argues that China followed many of the Washington Consensus recommendations, although in its own way. Yao also believes that the "disinterested government" was a key to China's success.

Case studies from Sub-Saharan Africa include Botswana, Mauritius, South Africa and Ghana. Botswana has been able to avoid the resource curse and has experienced strong economic growth. *James Robinson* (Chapter 10) believes this results from good governance that is a consequence of the historical traditions and structure of the Tswana states and the fact that these eight Tswana states formed the independent country of Botswana. The territory was neglected when it was a colony allowing pre-colonial institutions to continue and strengthen, and, after independence, the ruling elite promoted the ranching industry and property rights helping to generate the initial post-independence growth. *Arvind Subramanian* (Chapter 11) also believes that good governance was a key reason why the creation of an export-processing zone was a success in Mauritius but a failure in many other countries. During the post-apartheid period in South Africa, evidence of good governance can also be found. A common theme of the multiple development strategies implemented was a willingness to learn from past mistakes and make necessary changes moving forward. The culmination of these efforts began being realized in terms of growth and poverty reduction, but not in reductions of income inequality, after 2002. *Mats Lundahl and Lennart Petersson* (Chapter 12) argue that the "...main characteristic of the South African development policy has been its pragmatism: the scrapping of old and obsolete ideological stances that have proved to run contrary to the overriding goal: the improvement of the lot of the many poor"(p. 258). Ghana has also seen a move towards good governance recently achieving political stability and a multiparty democracy. Although the country does not have the growth record of Botswana or Mauritius there have been improvements in growth and development since the 1980s. The book editor, *Augustin K Fosu*, (Chapter 13) describes the change in Ghana's development strategy in 1983 to one following the ideas of the Washington Consensus and the necessary conditions both internally and externally that have enabled Ghana to experience growth as a result.

Part IV of the text focuses on Latin America and the Caribbean (Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic). A common theme, as explained by *Eliana Cardoso* (Chapter 19), within Latin American and the four economies studied here is a shift in policy towards

macroeconomic stabilization. Each author in Part IV discusses the steps that their respective country took towards this goal. *Luiz de Mello* (Chapter 15) discusses the inconsistent growth performance of Brazil that was initially driven not by an increase in productivity but primarily by an increase in inputs. This changed in the 1990s with an increase in total factor productivity that *de Mello* believes was generated by macroeconomic reforms and efforts to liberalize the economy. Cardoso feels that Chile is the largest success story of the four economies studied. *Andrés Solimano* (Chapter 16) discusses the policies implemented by Chile that led to its success and includes a thorough analysis of the consequences of these choices. *Alberto Trejos* (Chapter 17) and *Susan Pozo*, *José Sanchez-Fung*, and *Amelia Santos-Paulino* (Chapter 18) stress that there were a multitude of policies implemented together creating the success seen in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. Pozo, Sanchez-Fung, and Santos-Paulino makes the point that other countries have implemented the policies used by the Dominican Republic (diversification, developing special economic zones, opening to the rest of the world) but, what makes the experience of the Dominican Republic unique and successful is the simultaneous implementation of these policies allowing the policies to complement one another. These authors also make interesting points on the connections between the positive spillovers of labor migration and growth. Trejos highlights reforms that Costa Rica implemented which are commonly perceived as a luxury and not seen in a country at Costa Rica's level of development such as significant efforts to protect the environment and infrastructure improvements even in the most rural places, among others.

The final portion of the text focuses on the Middle East and North Africa including case studies on Oman, Bahrain, Tunisia, and the United Arab Emirates. In light of the uprisings that have been so prominent in this region in recent years, this section made for an interesting read. Many of the elements that would lead to the demonstrations and protests can be seen in the discussions by the authors as the challenges and the vulnerabilities facing these countries moving forward. Political stability was a common theme between the authors as a reason for success. In addition, diversification and good management of oil revenues were also commonalities. When discussing Oman and Bahrain, *Robert E. Looney* (Chapter 20) points out that both countries had limited oil reserves and, as a result, realized that they needed to diversify their economies away from oil in preparation for its eventual end. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is in the opposite situation possessing a significant portion of known world oil reserves. *Yaw Nyarko* (Chapter 22) compares the experiences and development policies implemented by Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Abu Dhabi is the major oil producer in the UAE and has used much of this revenue to create sovereign wealth funds that invest both internationally and domestically, although the attention to the domestic economy has been a recent development in an attempt to diversify the economy. Dubai, on the other hand, has always targeted domestic projects and has created a much more diversified economy with a large service sector. The strategy employed by Tunisia that stands out is the effort to empower women through women's rights, access to education, and family planning policies as explained by *Mina Balamoune-Lutz* (Chapter 21).

Overall, *Achieving Development Success: Strategies and Lessons from the Developing World* is an interesting and informative read with something for everyone. Whichever development strategy or geographic area you are interested in, it is likely covered in some form in this text. My primary criticism would be its lack of discussion of development strategies across geographies. Fosu does include a discussion of this type in Chapter 1 that is quite interesting, but more is warranted to help the reader synthesize and digest the wide array of strategies being employed and how the implementation and results differ between countries. The

concluding chapter in each geographical section compares the strategies employed within the region that, at some points, include this type of analysis. This text shows how complex the success and failures in the developing world are and how there could never be one correct recipe for success. The authors give an in-depth description of the circumstances surrounding the success and failures in each country and it is not possible to do justice to the key details and nuances of the discussion in this summary. This text is a unique resource for anyone needing a detailed analysis of the historical context of these countries development experiences.

Charlie Karlsson and Robert G. Picard, eds. 2011. *Media Clusters: Spatial Agglomeration and Content Capabilities*. Edward Elgar Publishing: Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA. ISBN: 978-0-85793-268-6. 416 pp. \$160.

Reviewed by *Robert Dunn*, Washington & Jefferson College

This book provides a unique contribution to the regional science literature by focusing specifically on the growing trend of media clusters. It is the result of three years of research work and multiple professional gatherings spearheaded by the Media Management and Transformation Centre at Jönköping International Business School in Sweden. While industry clusters in general have received considerable attention in the literature the editors, *Charlie Karlsson* and *Robert G. Picard*, make a compelling case in the first chapter that media clusters possess unique attributes that have not garnered sufficient analysis. Three major aspects that differentiate media clusters are a complex connection between economic, cultural, and political objectives, substantial government involvement in media industries based on freedom and diversity of expression goals in many countries, and heavy reliance on outside connections. In addition, media products are often short-term, one-off type products (e.g. movie production) that result in firms relying on a flexible and specialized labor force. This typically leads to locating in or near a major metropolitan area that possesses necessary creative and cultural amenities and human capital.

In Chapter 2 *Sören Eriksson* provides a basic overview of the foundations of agglomeration research and appropriately considers the various definitions of industry clusters. Chapter 3 by *Leona Achtenhagen* and *Robert G. Picard* examines industry cluster characteristics in general and those specific to media clusters and identifies important work and results in this area of research. They also identify three development paths that coincide with the three main sections of the book in Part II. *Charles H. Davis* uses the concluding chapter in Part I to discuss the role of policy in industry clusters, the importance of capabilities not configuration, and the role of policy with regard to media.

Part II of the book consists of three sections of media cluster case studies. In Section A, Chapters 5 through 7 examine established clusters that are simply maintaining their economic position or are in need of revitalization. *Erik Hitters* describes the unique situation in the Netherlands where broadcasting and media activity has traditionally been clustered in the relatively small, suburban city of Hilversum approximately 20 kilometers outside of Amsterdam. Hilversum is fighting to keep its place as the media center of the country, primarily through a major public/private real estate development, while firms and employees increasingly feel pulled to the cultural and creative offerings of Amsterdam as the technology advantages of Hilversum become outdated. The situation in London described by *Andy C. Pratt* is a bit different as four microclusters within the city have experienced change over time but are stable as they rely heavily on the human capital within London. These microclusters have small geographic

footprints and considerable interconnectivity. Pratt makes clear the importance of consistent definitions and argues that traditional methodologies don't work well for media clusters as their major benefits are often not measured in standard economic models. *Harold Bathelt* examines the growth of the television and film industries in Munich following World War II and their more recent decline starting in the early 2000s. This cluster is the result of organic growth and government planning but it has been negatively impacted by a steep decline in advertising activity and the failure of a major German media firm that operated primarily within the cluster.

Section B focuses on media clusters that are seeing increased economic activity and contains Chapters 8 through 11. While broadcast and film activity had been in decline in the North West region of England, *Gary Cook* and *Jennifer Johns* describe how national policies concerning programming diversity and independent production outside London have led to four cluster initiatives with the largest being anchored by five BBC departments. *Tom O'Regan*, *Ben Goldsmith*, and *Susan Ward* examine the dominant role that Sydney has played in the Australian media market. While media clusters within the city have transitioned over time they have generally located in the suburbs based on telecommunication and automobile access. Likewise, *Charles H. Davis* focuses on the dominant role of Toronto and the Ontario Entertainment and Creative Cluster in Canada. This is another situation where national and provincial policy related to domestic content along with lucrative tax incentives have resulted in media industry growth although local film production has lagged. Staying in Canada *Trevor Barnes* and *Neil M. Coe* consider the local growth of the video game industry in Vancouver and the role of the city as a satellite location for Hollywood. While this media cluster has struggled to expand beyond its role in Hollywood production service it is starting to benefit from considerable overlap between television/film production and video game development with regard to visual effects and animation.

Section C consists of Chapters 12 through 15 and is concerned with newly formed media clusters. This begins with *Robert G. Picard* and *Leon Barkho* examining the unusual goal of the Dubai Media City cluster to attract foreign firms with little regard for local production or employment. The cluster is fully government formed and provides real estate and business services, lucrative tax incentives, and allows for retention of foreign ownership. In contrast, media clusters in Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa have developed with no coherent national strategy. *Harry Dugmore* and *Johanna Mavhungu* note that media activity in these two cities has diverged recently based on their reactions to the 2010 FIFA World Cup with Cape Town attempting to leverage the event to grow the industry. *Sören Eriksson* explains the extensive involvement of the government in Singapore's attempt to develop a media cluster. Singapore possesses the necessary financial and human capital assets however limits on social and media freedom and limitations on creativity could be impediments to growth. In western Sweden a national policy to encourage regional film production has led to a cluster of film production in Trollhättan. The city was active in developing the necessary human capital and all stages of production now take place there. *Leona Achtenhagen* notes that the cluster is heavily dependent on public subsidy and growth will be based on the ability to attract outside money.

Part III contains Chapter 16 and concludes the book. The editors provide a useful discussion of policy implications based on the wide variety of case studies presented. They also address four main challenges for media cluster research going forward: establishing a consistent definition of the media industry, evaluating evolving technology and urban creativity,

considering the impacts of globalization, and identifying value beyond traditional economic measures.

This work provides an interesting contribution by providing the reader a comprehensive look at the phenomenon of media clusters while introducing many such clusters. The case studies included are examined systematically and each provides unique insights into the various characteristics that can lead to successful clustering of media firms. This book will be particularly useful for readers interested in gaining a better understanding of the media industry. It can be of some use to those interested in clusters in general as it provides background on cluster research and different cluster forms while describing several associated economic benefits. However it would benefit from a more rigorous examination of the economic factors that lead firms and economic activity to agglomerate. In addition, the importance of non-economic benefits arising from media clusters is mentioned in multiple places but a more thorough discussion of these benefits is needed. My final concern is the lack of new media and technology coverage, namely internet and mobile content, as this is increasingly a main vehicle of media consumption. The vast majority of the case studies focus on film and television production and distribution and they note in several cases that these clusters are struggling due to the growth of newer media forms. Given these concerns, the book is recommended for anyone interested in the media industry and it should be accessible to a wide and diverse audience.

Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Laura T. Hamilton. 2013. *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequality*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA. ISBN 978-0-67404-957-4. 344 pp. \$35 (hardback and e-book).

Reviewed by Alexander Olson, Western Kentucky University

In recent years an entire genre of dissent has emerged accusing public universities in the United States of failing to live up to their democratic potential. One strand of this literature has drawn attention to the rise of a corporate managerial ethos in university governance.¹ Others, including Arum and Roksa (2011), bemoan the purported decline of standards in the college classroom and the perverse incentives guiding administrative decisions to scale back academic rigor. Many of these texts are written in defense of the liberal arts, taking for granted that Greek life, high-profile athletic success, and other factors prized by various “party school” rankings are distractions from the core educational mission of higher education.² Few authors have bothered to ask students why (or why not) they choose to party through college and what they hope to achieve, particularly while remaining sensitive to the economic and social vulnerabilities lurking beneath these decisions.³ These questions (and more) are what makes *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequality* one of the most important new books on higher education in recent memory.

¹ See, for example, Newfield (2003) and Kirp (2003). A much earlier example of this line of argument is provided by Veblen (1918).

² Party school rankings are aggressively promoted by news outlets despite modest pushback from administrators (*Huffington Post*, 2013; Strauss and Stanglin, 2013). See, for example, that Indiana University, where Armstrong and Hamilton completed their study, was atop the *Princeton Review*’s party school rankings for the 2003-2004 academic year (Neal, 2002). For the past decade, the *Princeton Review*’s party school rankings have been dominated by some of the Midwest’s flagship state universities, with the University of Iowa placing first in the latest set.

³ An exception is Mullen (2010), who focuses on the contrasting stories of students at Yale University and Southern Connecticut State University rather than the different pathways within a single institution.

Based on an ethnographic and longitudinal study of a cohort of women at a flagship public research university in the Midwest, *Paying for the Party* argues that the pressure to attract out-of-state tuition dollars drives the dominance of party life on many university campuses. The book's co-authors, sociologists Elizabeth Armstrong and Laura Hamilton, spent a year living in a room on the women's floor of a "party dorm" at what they call Midwest University, or MU. The data set for the study includes 202 interviews conducted over a five year period with women who lived on the floor during their first year as undergraduates in 2004-2005. Originally envisioning the project as a study of sexuality in college, the authors shifted course as their evidence led them to the discovery that MU systematically disadvantaged all but the most affluent students. These barriers to economic security were embedded in the three most common "pathways," or infrastructural arrangements, available to the women in the study as they moved through college: the mobility pathway, the professional pathway, and the party pathway.

The dominant route at MU was the party pathway. As the authors explain, "the party pathway is a main artery through the university, much like a well-paved, eight-lane highway directing traffic into a major city: on-ramps are numerous and well-marked, and avoiding it completely requires intent, effort, and intricate knowledge of alternative routes" (p. 21). The reason for the university's investment in this infrastructure is simple: it attracted wealthy, out-of-state students who could afford to pay full tuition without financial aid. Not surprisingly, only the most affluent were able to parlay this pathway into economic security after college. The costs of the party pathway included not only visible expenses such as clothing, grooming, Spring Break trips, alcohol, and sorority fees, but also the hidden opportunity cost of ignoring schoolwork. The most affluent students could count on continued parental financial support as well as the network connections required to secure unpaid internships in fashionable fields despite poor grades. By contrast, the party pathway was harmful to the career prospects of all other students, particularly those who were already juggling classes and jobs.

The other main avenue for affluent students in the study was the professional pathway. Students who succeeded in this pathway ("achievers") arrived at MU with a strong orientation toward lucrative careers. Although they attended parties, the achievers were able to avoid the excesses of the party scene. The university's hands-off approach to advising—designed to give latitude to students on the party pathway—made little difference to the more affluent achievers, who could count on advice from their parents at every stage of their college careers. By contrast, students who struggled on the professional pathway ("underachievers") had trouble avoiding the party pathway and lacked guidance on how to secure admission to selective academic programs at MU and beyond. The underachievers came from a range of class backgrounds but, for a variety of reasons, lacked effective advising. As the authors note (p. 219)

The outsourcing of guidance to families leaves those without college-educated parents at a disadvantage. However, the professional pathway tends not to consider how or why students land at the top of the pile, but simply rewards those who do. Class disparities become invisible, embedded—at every stage of achievement—in the credentials themselves.

If the party pathway was an eight-lane highway through college, the "achievers" could count on their parents to help them navigate the side streets and secure the credentials required for career advancement.

These infrastructural circumstances proved forbidding for students who arrived at MU without class advantages. These students were generally pursuing what the authors call the mobility pathway. After graduating in the top tier of struggling, rural, in-state high schools, these

students were seeking class mobility through attendance at the state flagship university. However, they arrived with little parental advising or financial support and found themselves overwhelmed by the size of the university. Almost every student on this pathway had to work long hours during the school year at jobs unrelated to their career aspirations. Lacking social connections at MU, these students had difficulty extricating themselves from relationships with boyfriends from their home towns who were not attending college. Most disturbingly, their social isolation left them at higher risk of sexual assault when they did attempt to venture onto the party pathway. Other risks were more subtle but nevertheless damaging. Originally oriented toward practical careers like accounting or nursing, students on the mobility pathway were often steered into “easy” majors like interior design or sport communication (which catered to affluent students on the party pathway) without being informed about the class-based hurdles to entry in these fields. Indeed, the infrastructure of MU made class advancement nearly impossible for these students, and those who achieved their goals did so by participating in a special advising program for first-generation college students, or by transferring to a smaller public university or community college.

Rather than focusing on providing quality education for in-state students from a range of class backgrounds, MU has shifted resources to competing with other Midwestern flagships for out-of-state tuition dollars. This competition has led these schools to “reinforce each other’s investments in the party pathway” and become “largely interchangeable” (p. 237). From a regional studies perspective, this shift breaks down differences between states and accelerates the economic and cultural consolidation of an affluent national elite. Armstrong and Hamilton call on the reader to consider whether the savings produced by disinvestment in higher education at the state level are worth the costs of this structural transformation. Despite popular perceptions of higher education as a vehicle for class mobility, *Paying for the Party* demonstrates that today’s Midwestern public flagship universities are organized to support class reproduction and social closure for the affluent—at the expense of everyone else. This incisive glimpse of undergraduate life at a large public university is strongly recommended for all faculty at “party” institutions who seek to better understand their students, and any other readers interested in the structural changes facing higher education.

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