



THE COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT

Africa and South Asia

Edited by Barbara Harriss-White and Judith Heyer

The Comparative Political Economy of Development

Africa and South Asia

**Edited by
Barbara Harriss-White
and Judith Heyer**



 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2010

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada

by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group,
an informa business*

First issued in paperback 2011

© 2010 Selection and editorial matter, Barbara Harriss-White and
Judith Heyer; individual chapters, the contributors

Typeset in Times New Roman by

Florence Production Ltd, Stoodleigh, Devon

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted
or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic,
mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter
invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any
information storage or retrieval system, without permission
in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

The comparative political economy of development Africa and South
Asia/edited by Barbara Harriss-White and Judith Heyer.

p. cm. — (Routledge studies in development economics; v. 77)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Africa — Economic policy. 2. Africa — Social conditions.

3. Asia, South — Economic policy. 4. Asia, South — Social

conditions. I. Harriss-White, Barbara, 1946– II. Heyer, Judith.

HC800.C6533 2010

338.954—dc22

2009028292

ISBN13: 978-0-415-55288-2 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-86133-2 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-80995-5 (pbk)

The Comparative Political Economy of Development

This book illustrates the enduring relevance and vitality of the comparative political economy of development approach promoted among others by a group of social scientists in Oxford in the 1980s and 1990s. Contributors demonstrate the viability of this approach as researchers and academics become more convinced of the inadequacies of orthodox approaches to the understanding of development.

Detailed case material obtained from comparative field research in Africa and South Asia informs analyses of exploitation in agriculture; the dynamics of rural poverty; seasonality; the non farm economy; class formation; labour and unfreedom; the gendering of the labour force; small scale production and contract farming; social networks in industrial clusters; stigma and discrimination in the rural and urban economy and its politics. Reasoned policy suggestions are made and an analysis of the comparative political economy of development approach is applied to the situation of Africa and South Asia.

Aptly presenting the relation between theory and empirical material in a dynamic and interactive way, the book offers meaningful and powerful explanations of what is happening in the continent of Africa and the sub-continent of South Asia today. It will be of interest to researchers in the fields of development studies, rural sociology, political economy, policy and practice of development and Indian and African studies.

Barbara Harriss-White is Director of Oxford University's new Contemporary South Asian Studies programme, and was formerly Director of the Department of International Development at Queen Elizabeth House. She has been studying India ever since driving there in 1969, focussing on the political economy of long term rural development.

Judith Heyer was formerly a Tutorial Fellow of Somerville College, and Lecturer in the Department of Economics, at Oxford University, before which she held posts at Nairobi University's Institute for Development Studies, and Economics Department. She is now an Emeritus Fellow of Somerville College. A specialist in rural development and in micro-economics, she has written and edited a number of books on rural and agricultural development in Kenya and Africa.

Routledge Studies in Development Economics

1 Economic Development in the Middle East

Rodney Wilson

2 Monetary and Financial Policies in Developing Countries

Growth and stabilization

Akhtar Hossain and Anis Chowdhury

3 New Directions in Development Economics

Growth, environmental concerns and government in the 1990s

Edited by Mats Lundahl and Benno J. Ndulu

4 Financial Liberalization and Investment

Kanhaya L. Gupta and Robert Lensink

5 Liberalization in the Developing World

Institutional and economic changes in Latin America, Africa and Asia

Edited by Alex E. Fernández Jilberto and André Mommen

6 Financial Development and Economic Growth

Theory and experiences from developing countries

Edited by Niels Hermes and Robert Lensink

7 The South African Economy

Macroeconomic prospects for the medium term

Finn Tarp and Peter Brixen

8 Public Sector Pay and Adjustment

Lessons from five countries

Edited by Christopher Colclough

9 Europe and Economic Reform in Africa

Structural adjustment and economic diplomacy

Obed O. Mailafia

10 Post-apartheid Southern Africa

Economic challenges and policies for the future

Edited by Lennart Petersson

11 Financial Integration and Development

Liberalization and reform in sub-Saharan Africa

Ernest Aryeetey and Machiko Nissanke

12 Regionalization and Globalization in the Modern World Economy

Perspectives on the Third World and transitional economies

Edited by Alex E. Fernández Jilberto and André Mommen

13 The African Economy

Policy, institutions and the future

Steve Kayizzi-Mugerwa

14 Recovery from Armed Conflict in Developing Countries

Edited by Geoff Harris

15 Small Enterprises and Economic Development

The dynamics of micro and small enterprises

Carl Liedholm and Donald C. Mead

16 The World Bank

New agendas in a changing world

Michelle Miller-Adams

17 Development Policy in the Twenty-First Century

Beyond the post-Washington consensus

Edited by Ben Fine, Costas Lapavistas and Jonathan Pincus

18 State-Owned Enterprises in the Middle East and North Africa

Privatization, performance and reform

Edited by Merih Celasun

19 Finance and Competitiveness in Developing Countries

Edited by José María Fanelli and Rohinton Medhora

20 Contemporary Issues in Development Economics

Edited by B.N. Ghosh

21 Mexico Beyond NAFTA

Edited by Martín Puchet Anyul and Lionello F. Punzo

22 Economies in Transition

A guide to China, Cuba, Mongolia, North Korea and Vietnam at the turn of the twenty-first century

Ian Jeffries

23 Population, Economic Growth and Agriculture in Less Developed Countries

Nadia Cuffaro

24 From Crisis to Growth in Africa?

Edited by Mats Lundal

25 The Macroeconomics of Monetary Union

An analysis of the CFA franc zone

David Fielding

26 Endogenous Development

Networking, innovation, institutions and cities

Antonio Vasquez-Barquero

27 Labour Relations in Development

Edited by Alex E. Fernández Jilberto and Marieke Riethof

28 Globalization, Marginalization and Development

Edited by S. Mansoob Murshed

29 Programme Aid and Development

Beyond conditionality

Howard White and Geske Dijkstra

30 Competitiveness Strategy in Developing Countries

A manual for policy analysis

Edited by Ganeshan Wignaraja

31 The African Manufacturing Firm

An analysis based on firm surveys in sub-Saharan Africa

Dipak Mazumdar and Ata Mazaheri

32 Trade Policy, Growth and Poverty in Asian Developing Countries

Edited by Kishor Sharma

33 International Competitiveness, Investment and Finance

A case study of India

Edited by A. Ganesh Kumar, Kunal Sen and Rajendra R. Vaidya

34 The Pattern of Aid Giving

The impact of good governance on development assistance

Eric Neumayer

35 New International Poverty Reduction Strategies

Edited by Jean-Pierre Cling, Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud

36 Targeting Development

Critical perspectives on the Millennium Development Goals

Edited by Richard Black and Howard White

37 Essays on Balance of Payments Constrained Growth

Theory and evidence

Edited by J.S.L. McCombie and A.P. Thirlwall

38 The Private Sector After Communism

New entrepreneurial firms in transition economies

Jan Winiecki, Vladimir Benacek and Mihaly Laki

39 Information Technology and Development

A new paradigm for delivering the internet to rural areas in developing countries

Jeffrey James

40 The Economics of Palestine

Economic policy and institutional reform for a viable Palestine state

Edited by David Cobham and Nu'man Kanafani

41 Development Dilemmas

The methods and political ethics of growth policy

Melvin Ayogu and Don Ross

42 Rural Livelihoods and Poverty Reduction Policies

Edited by Frank Ellis and H. Ade Freeman

43 Beyond Market-Driven Development

Drawing on the experience of Asia and Latin America

Edited by Makoto Noguchi and Costas Lapavistas

44 The Political Economy of Reform Failure

Edited by Mats Lundahl and Michael L. Wyzan

45 Overcoming Inequality in Latin America

Issues and challenges for the twenty-first century

Edited by Ricardo Gottschalk and Patricia Justino

46 Trade, Growth and Inequality in the Era of Globalization

Edited by Kishor Sharma and Oliver Morrissey

47 Microfinance

Perils and prospects

Edited by Jude L. Fernando

48 The IMF, World Bank and Policy Reform

Edited by Alberto Paloni and Maurizio Zanardi

49 Managing Development

Globalization, economic restructuring and social policy

Edited by Junji Nakagawa

50 Who Gains from Free Trade?

Export-led growth, inequality and poverty in Latin America

Edited by Rob Vos, Enrique Ganuza, Samuel Morley, and Sherman Robinson

51 Evolution of Markets and Institutions

A study of an emerging economy

Murali Patibandla

52 The New Famines

Why famines exist in an era of globalization

Edited by Stephen Devereux

53 Development Ethics at work

Explorations – 1960–2002

Denis Goulet

54 Law Reform in Developing and Transitional States

Edited by Tim Lindsey

55 The Assymetries of Globalization

Edited by Pan A. Yotopoulos and Donato Romano

56 Ideas, Policies and Economic Development in the Americas

Edited by Esteban Pérez-Caldentey and Matias Vernengo

57 European Union Trade Politics and Development

Everything but arms unravelled

Edited by Gerrit Faber and Jan Orbie

58 Membership Based Organizations of the Poor

Edited by Martha Chen, Renana Jhabvala, Ravi Kanbur and Carol Richards

59 The Politics of Aid Selectivity

Good governance criteria in World Bank, US and Dutch development assistance

Wil Hout

60 Economic Development, Education and Transnational Corporations

Mark Hanson

61 Achieving Economic Development in the Era of Globalization

Shalendra Sharma

62 Sustainable Development and Free Trade

Shawkat Alam

63 The Impact of International Debt Relief

Geske Dijkstra

64 Europe's Troubled Region

Economic development, institutional reform and social welfare in the Western Balkans

William Bartlett

65 Work, Female Empowerment and Economic Development

Sara Horrell, Hazel Johnson and

Paul Mosley

66 The Chronically Poor in Rural Bangladesh

Livelihood constraints and capabilities

Pk. Md. Motiur Rahman, Noriatsu Matsui and Yukio Ikemoto

67 Public-Private Partnerships in Health Care in India

Lessons for developing countries

A. Venkat Raman and James Warner Björkman

68 Rural Poverty and Income Dynamics in Asia and Africa

Edited by Keiji Otsuka, Jonna P. Estudillo and Yasuyuki Sawada

69 Microfinance: A Reader

David Hulme and Thankom Arun

70 Aid and International NGOs

Dirk-Jan Koch

71 Development Macroeconomics

Essays in memory of Anita Ghatak

Edited by Subrata Ghatak and

Paul Levine

72 Taxation in a Low Income Economy

The case of Mozambique

Channing Arndt and Finn Tarp

73 Labour Markets and Economic Development

Edited by Ravi Kanbur and Jan Svejnar

74 Economic Transitions to Neoliberalism in Middle-Income Countries

Policy dilemmas, crises, mass resistance

Edited by Alfredo Saad-Filho and

Galip L. Yalman

75 Latecomer Development

Innovation and knowledge for economic growth

Banji Oyelaran-Oyeyinka and

Padmashree Gehl Sampath

76 Trade Relations between the EU and Africa

Development, challenges and options beyond the Cotonou Agreement

Edited by Yenkon Ngangjoh-Hodu and

Francis A. S. T Matambalya

77 The Comparative Political Economy of Development

Africa and South Asia

Edited by Barbara Harriss-White and

Judith Heyer

From Barbara Harriss-White and all the other contributors to Judith Heyer for her decades of inspired teaching and discussion grounded in the open approach to political economy which rests on the fine-grained field research that is her trademark; for her comparativist scholarship, her own dedication and her friendship

Contributors

Lucia da Corta: independent researcher currently working for the Chronic Poverty Research Centre in London, taking a lead intellectual role in the CPRC Comparative Life History Project. Author of numerous publications on unfreedom in Indian agricultural labour markets, focusing on both the feminisation of agricultural labour in South India and the heavy use of unfree child labour, and of a book, *Peasant Household Mobility, Class Differentiation and Gender Transformations: A Study of Agrarian Change in South Indian Villages*, to be published by Frank Cass.

Stephen Devereux: Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Author of many publications on famine, vulnerability and social security in Africa. Known for his book *Theories of Famine* (1993) and for several edited and co-edited books, including *The New Famines: Why Famines Persist in an Era of Globalization*, published by Routledge in 2007.

Frank Ellis: Professor, School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia. Author of many publications on African agricultural development. Known for his books *Peasant Economics, Farm Households and Agrarian Development* (1988) and *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity* (2000). Joint editor of *Rural Livelihoods and Poverty Reduction Policies*, published by Routledge in 2005.

Elizabeth Francis: until recently, Senior Lecturer, Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics. Author of many journal articles and book chapters, focusing first on rural development in Kenya, and subsequently on rural development in South Africa. She has published a book with Routledge, *Making a Living: Changing Livelihoods in Rural Africa* (2000).

Hugo Gorringe: Lecturer in Sociology, University of Edinburgh. Author of many articles in refereed journals on untouchability and caste. Has also published a book based on his doctoral thesis, *Untouchable Citizens* (Sage 2005).

Barbara Harriss-White: Professor of Development Studies, Director of Oxford University's Contemporary South Asian Studies Programme and Fellow of Wolfson College. Committed to a political economy practised through field research, she has published widely. Recent books include: *India Working*

(2003); (with S. Janakarajan and others) *Rural India Facing the 21st Century* (2004); *India's Market Society* (2005); (edited with A. Sinha) *Trade Liberalisation and India's Informal Economy* (2007); (edited with Frances Stewart and Ruhi Saith) *Defining Poverty in Developing Countries* (2007), and *Rural Commercial Capital and the Left Front* (2008), which won the 2009 Edgar Graham Prize for original scholarship in development.

Judith Heyer: for three decades from 1975 Lecturer in Economics, Oxford University, before which she held posts in Nairobi University's Institute for Development Studies, and Economics Department. Now also an Emeritus Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford. A specialist in rural development and in micro-economics, she has written and/or edited the following books: (with D. Ileri and J. Moris) *Rural Development in Kenya* (1971); (edited with J.K. Maitha and W.M. Senga) *Agricultural Development in Kenya: An Economic Assessment* (1976); (edited with P. Roberts and G. Williams) *Rural Development in Tropical Africa* (1981); *Kenya: Monitoring Living Conditions and Consumption Patterns* (1991); and (with F. Stewart and R. Thorp) *2001 Groups, Institutions and Development* (2001).

Karin Kapadia: independent researcher and currently an Associate of Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford. Her publications include her monograph: *Siva and Her Sisters: Gender, Caste and Class in Rural South India* (1995) and three edited books: *The Violence of Development: The Politics of Identity, Gender and Social Inequalities in India* (2002); (edited with T.J. Byres and J. Lerche) *Rural Labour Relations in India* (1999); and (edited with Jonathan Parry and Jan Breman) *The Worlds of Indian Industrial Labour* (1999). She has also published numerous articles in edited books and refereed journals.

Jens Lerche: Senior Lecturer, Department of Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Editor in Chief, *Journal of Agrarian Change* since January 2008. Many publications in edited books and refereed journals on rural labour in India, and on Dalits, and joint editor of two major collections: *Rural Labour in Contemporary India* (1999) and *Social and Political Change in Uttar Pradesh* (2003).

Kate Meagher: British Academy Post-Doctoral Fellow, African Studies Centre, Oxford University, now Lecturer, Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics. Author of a number of articles in refereed journals, and of the book based on her doctoral thesis, *Identity Economics: Social Networks and the Informal Economy in Africa* (forthcoming). She published an earlier book in 2001, *The Bargain Sector: Structural Adjustment and Non-Farm Incomes in the Nigerian Savanna*.

Cosmas Ochieng: formerly at IFPRI (from March 2005 to September 2007) and currently Lecturer, Sustainable Agriculture, Land and Water, Lancaster Environment Centre, Lancaster University. Since getting his doctorate in 2005 he has published several articles in refereed journals on the political economy of agricultural institutions in Africa. He is currently working on contested

landscapes and livelihoods in East Africa, particularly the conflicts involving agriculture, forestry and water eco-systems.

Adam Pain: has combined a career working in the theory and practice of rural development. He is currently a Visiting Professor in Rural Development at SLU (the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences), Uppsala, and co-principal investigator of an ESRC-funded research programme on livelihood trajectories in Afghanistan. He has been writing on Afghanistan since 2001, before which he wrote on natural resource management and rural development, in countries as diverse as Bhutan, Botswana, Nepal and India. He is currently preparing an edited book on rural change in Vietnam.

Aseem Prakash: Fellow of the Institute for Human Development, New Delhi, and a Visiting Fellow, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University in 2007–8. He is the joint editor (with Jan Breman and Isabelle Guerin) of *Bonded Labour in India* (2009), and the editor of *State, Market, Civil Society and Dalits in India*, which is currently with a publisher under review. He has published a number of articles in refereed journals.

Kaushal Vidyarthi: in 2008–9 Vice-President (International) of Oxford University Students' Union having completed his MPhil in Development Studies. A graduate of the Indian national School of Planning and Architecture and expert in GIS mapping, he has collaborated with Barbara Harriss-White on the forthcoming *Atlas of Dalit and Adivasi Discrimination* (Three Essays Press). He now reading for a D.Phil. under her supervision.

Gavin Williams: Fellow of St Peter's College, and a Lecturer in the Department of Politics, Oxford University. He has published extensively on rural development in Africa, with a particular emphasis on Nigeria and South Africa. Influential publications include *Rural Development in Tropical Africa* (co-edited with Judith Heyer and Pepe Roberts), *The Sociology of Developing Societies: Sub-Saharan Africa* (co-edited with Chris Allen) and a seminal article, 'Taking the part of the peasants: rural development in Nigeria and Tanzania'. He continues to write on sociological theory, on democracy, and on the wine industry in South Africa.

Preface

In September 2007 an international workshop, 'Rural development retrospect and prospect', was held for Judith Heyer to celebrate her formal retirement. It drew twenty participants from seven nationalities ranging from Frances Stewart, who has known and worked with Judith Heyer for nearly five decades, all the way to a group of current doctoral students.

Of her work, Judith Heyer has written as follows:

My African work focused on the importance of taking smallholders seriously, of seeing them as 'rational' economic actors similar to anyone else rather than irrational and not amenable to economic analysis as was still often argued at the time; and fighting all the biases in favour of the large-scale farming sector and agri-business interests that were still dominant in the Kenya economy. My work focused on understanding smallholders, understanding the smallholder economy, and the large-scale farming biases undermining it. This ran through my lectures, my teaching, my work on government committees, and my research and writing while I was in Kenya (1963–75). In the latter part of my time in Kenya I began to think about differentiation among smallholders too – and the fact that there was too little recognition of this.

The initial link between my work in Kenya and my work in India was the fact that the government of India appeared to recognise differentiation among smallholders, through its targeting of the poorer among them in programmes such as the SFDA (Small Farmer Development Agency) and the MFDA (Marginal Farmer Development Agency). I was also attracted by the fact that there was much more awareness of class issues in the literature on Indian agriculture than there was in the literature on African agriculture. I started my work in India by looking at the SFDA and the MFDA in 1978–80. I was struck both by the extent to which the programmes were subverted by the local elite, and by the vulnerability of the local elite as well. I felt that I was getting a very misleading view of the economy by looking at short-term cross-sectional data, so I moved into looking at long-term data instead (what my economist colleagues thought of as history, not economics). My concern was still with the poor in agrarian society. In India,

unlike in Kenya, this meant agricultural labourers as much as anything else. I started out intending to concentrate on class and not caste. I thought that the role of caste was over-rated. I gradually changed my mind. I now think that caste is an extremely important aspect of the (village) society I have been studying – an instrument of control over labour, an instrument that is used to differentiate between different categories of labour, subordinating Scheduled Caste labour to other types of labour, putting them in a position that is grossly inferior (and unfair).

I have always been interested in rural urban interactions. These were less central in the villages I was studying in South India in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but very central when I picked the study up again in the mid 1990s and thereafter. What I am now looking at is villages at the centre of an industrialisation and urbanisation process in which Scheduled Caste groups have got left behind.

I have become much more sensitive to gender issues than I was before. But I have not focused on gender. My data are particularly weak where gender is concerned. My current stance is to recognise this, and to try to factor gender into my understanding of the other issues on which I am concentrating, so far as it is possible for me to do so, but not to change my focus.

The workshop was successful in exploring rich comparative themes from Africa and South Asia – linking them with Judith's work on rural development in general and on Dalit labour in South India in particular, including gender. It was immediately clear that its proceedings could be made into a useful book. Rather than produce a *Festschrift*, however, we have done something unusual but entirely appropriate to the spirit of the workshop and the comparative political economy seminar that, along with Gavin Williams and Megan Vaughan, Judith and I convened.

With her long personal and intellectual engagement with all the participants and in the light of her interest and engagement with their workshop papers, Judith agreed to commission further papers and collaborate in the process of creating and editing this book.

Our book is being sent to press when the entire world is reeling from the impacts of a series of burst bubbles caused by a financial system permitted to speculate on future assets and collateralised, poor-quality debts, which collapsed when it was finally realised that the latter's value was unknowable. As yet there is little reliable information about the impact of this crisis.

While most of the developing countries in the Africa and South Asia regions we cover have current account convertibility, their capital accounts remain in various stages of protection for the reason that, were this not the case, it would be possible to speculate in local currencies and to further attack the already fragile balances between the fiscal deficit, interest rates and exchange rates.

Nevertheless, the two major regions we cover are expected to suffer from the seizure in international lending, from outflows from local stock markets and from shrunken flows of remittances. There is no theory of the likely impact on

the unprotected informal economies which are the focus of this book and where reductions in growth rates will be translated into losses of millions of livelihoods. Drops in demand for exports and lack of export credit will certainly hit the relatively labour-intensive sectors, exposed by structural adjustment and liberalisation to the instabilities of international markets. Already political and current affairs reporting, as well as the first state-commissioned reports, testify to job losses across a range of manufacturing and service sectors either linked to exports or to high income domestic demand.

Official responses in developing countries can be of two types: the first involves a coordinated counter-cyclical expansion in state investment and expenditure to sustain the effective demand of victims of the crisis in the real economy, while the second is a fiscal expansion confined to underwriting finance capital. All evidence to date suggests that states are drifting towards the latter rather than the former. Yet, large fractions of these economies consist of citizens whose enterprises or households have never been near a bank, who are 'financially excluded' and for whom such palliative measures will be irrelevant.

Changes in the economy are bound to have far-reaching effects on social and political relations outside it. Reduced returns and incomes will put stresses on household budgets and gendered relations of social reproduction. Women's work is certain to increase, as labour and production for use is substituted for purchased goods. The extent to which this substitution is possible depends on the availability of common property rights to resources to gather and glean. This may be easier in rural sites than urban.

The retreat of the state tracked in this book has also triggered the substitution of private expenditure for former public goods and services, such as education and healthcare. The state will struggle to maintain subsistence guarantees, the costs of which will rise as revenues may shrink. Households will be left with reduced incomes and greater expenditure needs; the impact greatest on the most vulnerable.

The essays in this book trace the dynamics of capital/business under duress of various kinds, and the fortunes of socially differentiated and segmented labour forces. They analyse the pauperising seasonal rhythms of the economy, rural-urban relations, the attempts by states to underwrite and regulate these processes and sustain their victims. They will be highly relevant to the development of a framework through which the impact of the crisis can be understood.

Barbara Harriss-White

Acknowledgements

Specific gratitude streams through the acknowledgements at the foot of many chapters. Here we wish to thank the participants' home institutions for their help towards the travel costs of the workshop. We are grateful to Wolfson College and Somerville College, Oxford and to the Research Support Fund of Oxford University's Department of International Development (Queen Elizabeth House) for resources making the workshop so productive and successful, to Denise Watt and Rachel Crawford for help in organising it, and to Paul Kadetz for very competent assistance in the final phases of preparation of the book. We wish to thank Dorothea Shaefer, Suzanne Richardson and others at Routledge for their interest and support, and Sue Leaper of Florence Production Ltd. BH-W would also like to thank the Institut d'études du développement économique et social (IEDES) of the Université Paris 1 (Panthéon-Sorbonne) for a fellowship which enabled the book to be completed.

Barbara Harriss-White and Judith Heyer

Abbreviations

ACCIMA	Aba Chamber of Commerce
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADMARC	Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation
AIADMK	All-India Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (major Tamil nationalist political party)
AISE	adverse incorporation and social exclusion
AL	agricultural labourer
ANC	African National Congress
APM	Ambedkar People's Movement
BC	Backward Class Caste (lower class caste group)
BIG	basic income grant
BJP	Bharathiya Janata Party
BPO	Business Process Outsourcing
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party (low-caste North Indian party)
CBO	community-based organisations
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
CEPREMAP	Centre pour les recherches économiques et ses applications (Centre for Research in Economics and Applied Economics – in Paris)
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CM	chief minister
CPGTA	Central Province African Grown Tea Association
CPIAL	Consumer Price Index for Agricultural Labour
CPI(M)/CPM	Marxist Communist Party of India
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CSED	Centre for Social and Economic Development
CTGPA	Coffee and Tea Growers Parliamentary Association
CTO	chief technical officer
DARE	Deagrarianization and Rural Employment
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (major Tamil nationalist political party)
DSF	Dalit Student Federation
DTC	District Tea Committee
DTDC	Desk to Desk Courier (India's domestic delivery network company)
DYFI	Democratic Youth Federation of India
FDI	foreign direct investment
FELDA	Federal Land Development Authority
FRA FRA	region and people in north-west Ghana