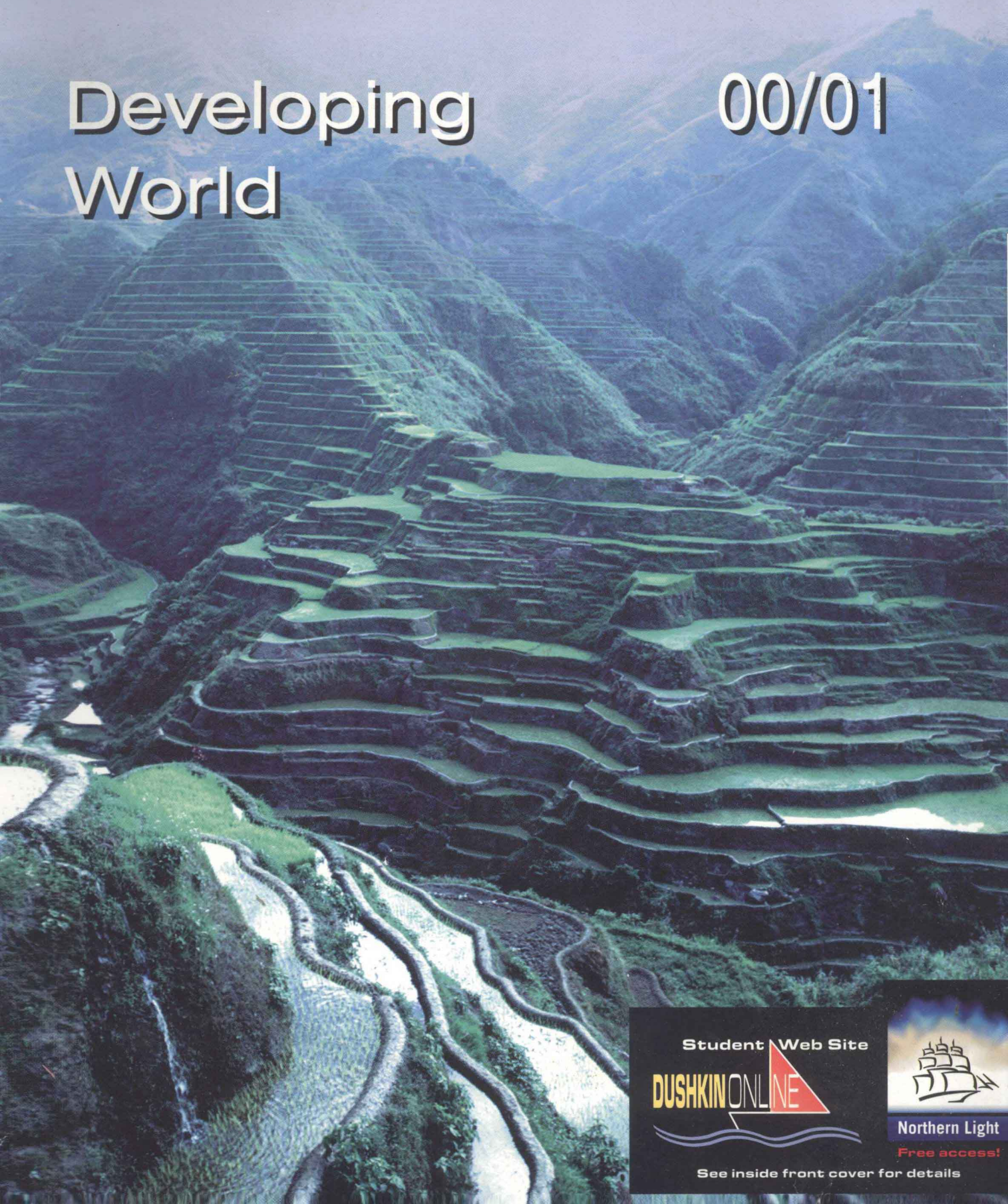


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Developing World

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Tenth Edition



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Robert J. Griffiths

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Robert J. Griffiths is associate professor of political science and director of the International Studies Program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. His teaching and research interests are in the fields of comparative and international politics, and he teaches courses on the politics of development, African politics, international law and organization, and international political economy. His publications include articles on South African civil/military relations, democratic consolidation in South Africa, and developing countries and global commons negotiations.

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New to ANNUAL EDITIONS is the inclusion of related World Wide Web sites. These sites have been selected by our editorial staff to represent some of the best resources found on the World Wide Web today. Through our carefully developed topic guide, we have linked these Web resources to the articles covered in this ANNUAL EDITIONS reader. We think that you will find this volume useful, and we hope that you will take a moment to visit us on the Web at <http://www.dushkin.com> to tell us what you think.

Developing countries continue to struggle with the challenges of modernization and development. Optimism that the post-cold war era would offer an opportunity to focus on seeking solutions to the dilemmas that face the developing world has given way to the realization that globalization and the accompanying world order not only may not bring substantial benefits to the majority of developing countries but may entail considerable risk.

The vast majority of Earth's population lives in the developing world. Developing countries are incredibly diverse and defy easy generalizations. Increasing differentiation among them further complicates our ability to understand these countries and to address their problems. These problems are complex, urgent, and not easily resolved. Peace and security, international trade and finance, debt, and the environment illustrate growing interdependence and the need for a cooperative approach for dealing with these issues. Clearly, however, points of view differ regarding viable solutions to problems of the developing world. Moreover, developing world issues compete for attention on an international agenda that is often dominated by relations between the industrialized nations and the problems of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. Industrial nations' own domestic concerns also often overshadow the concerns of developing countries.

This tenth edition of *Annual Editions: Developing World* seeks to provide students with an understanding of the diversity and complexity of the developing world and to acquaint them with the challenges that these nations confront. I feel very strongly that there is a need for greater awareness

of, and attention to, the problems of the developing world, and I hope that this volume contributes to students' knowledge and understanding.

Approximately 60 percent of the articles in this edition are new. I have chosen articles that I hope are both interesting and informative and that can serve as a basis for further research and discussion. The units deal with what I regard as the major issues facing the developing world. In addition, I have attempted to suggest similarities and differences between developing countries, their relationships with the industrialized nations, and the differences in perspective regarding the causes of and approaches to the issues.

I would again like to thank Ian Nielsen, publisher of *Annual Editions*, for the opportunity to put together a reader on a subject that is the focus of my teaching and research. As always, his comments and suggestions were valuable. I would also like to thank those who have sent in the response forms with their comments and suggestions. I have tried to take these into account in preparing the current volume.

No book on a topic as broad as the developing world can be comprehensive. There are certainly additional and alternative readings that might be included. As always, suggestions for improvement are welcome. Please complete and return the postage-paid article rating form at the end of the book for your comments.



Robert J. Griffiths
Editor

Contents

To the Reader

Topic Guide

Selected World Wide Web Sites

Overview

1. **Life Is Unfair: Inequality in the World**, Nancy Birdsall, *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1998.

Inequality is growing both between and within nations. ***This inequality is the result of history, poor decisions, and bad policy.*** There is a temptation to try quick-fix remedies that may actually exacerbate the problems rather than to invest in long-term solutions to inequality.

2. **A Decade to Eradicate Poverty: United Nations Development Programme**, *Social Education*, October 1997.

The UN Development Programme has developed the ***Human Poverty Index***, a composite of ***statistics on illiteracy, malnutrition, early death, poor health care, and lack of access to safe water***, in order to measure widespread poverty throughout the developing world. The elimination of poverty requires policies that are targeted toward these components.

3. **Empires without Armies**, Edward Goldsmith, *The Ecologist*, May/June 1999.

Edward Goldsmith argues that the goals of colonialism and development are strikingly similar. ***Industrialized countries*** may have relinquished formal control over their former colonial possessions but they ***retain influence in the developing world*** through connections to a westernized ***ruling elite***, who provide arms to prop up governments, and through an ***international economy that is dominated by the Western countries*** who control the international financial institutions.

4. **Some Non-Western Perspectives on International Relations**, Donald J. Puchala, *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 34, Number 2, 1997.

The perspectives of ***non-Western radicals*** emphasize the ***divisions between the West and the non-Western world***, especially the cultural, political, and economic dimensions, which are highly critical of the West. Donald Puchala suggests that ignoring these critical perspectives may have eventual consequences for the West.

5. **Universal Truths: Human Rights and the Westernizing Illusion**, Amartya Sen, *Harvard International Review*, Summer 1998.

The term ***human rights*** implies universality, but this issue ***has become a source of controversy between Western and non-Western peoples***. Traditional perspectives that underline the controversy are not as historically accurate as their adherents believe. There is considerable diversity of human rights experience within both Western and non-Western cultures and there must be greater recognition of this fact.

Overview

6. **Prosper or Perish? Development in the Age of Global Capital**, Blanca Heredia, *Current History*, November 1997.

Globalization is widening the economic gap between and within countries. The ***benefits of globalization*** have accrued to a handful of developing countries, and within those countries only a ***small number of people enjoy the rewards***. The rewards of globalization are tied to the institutional capacities of developing countries to manage the challenges of globalization.

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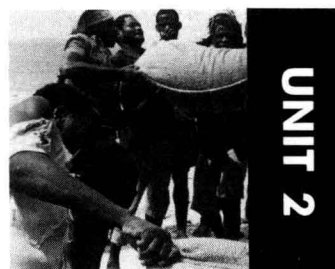
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UNIT 1

Understanding the Developing World

Five selections examine how the developing world's problems are interrelated with world order.



UNIT 2

Political Economy and the Developing World

Eleven articles discuss the impact that debt has on the developing world's politics and economy.

7. **The Final and Optimal Crisis of the Century,** 43
 Rubens Ricupero, *The UNESCO Courier*, March 1999.
Western perspectives regarding globalization and development, which emphasize economic stability, open markets, and market mechanisms, are being **challenged by developing countries** that are seeking to industrialize and **compete in the global marketplace**. However, without access to information, developing countries will have difficulty gaining access to markets, an essential component of efforts to alleviate poverty.
8. **Toward a New International Economic Order,** 47
 Thomas I. Palley, *Dissent*, Spring 1999.
 The Washington consensus, which advocates open trade, export-led growth, deregulation, and more liberalized financial markets, has dominated the response to recent global financial turmoil. Thomas Palley argues in favor of a **new structure for the international economy, a more level playing field between business and labor**, and an **emphasis on expanding domestic demand-led growth**.
9. **Ravaging the Poor: IMF Indicted by Its Own Data,** 52
 Gabriel Kolko, *Multinational Monitor*, June 1998.
 The IMF's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) was created to help developing countries that are willing to accept the IMF's conditions. Countries that participate in this program have not experienced growth and their poor populations have been especially hard hit. Although poor countries that remained outside the ESAF did not do noticeably better, they did not do much worse. According to Gabriel Kolko, the **IMF's policies have not been effective**, even by its own criteria.
10. **The IMF: A Cure or a Curse?** Devesh Kapur, *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1998. 57
 The IMF's role in the global economy has evolved from one of helping to maintain stable exchange rates to one of managing the debt crisis and advocating structural reform in debtor nations. The IMF's analysis of the debt problem and its prescriptions for dealing with the **recent Asian financial crisis emphasize the internal policies of financially troubled countries**. Developing countries must be more aware of the perils of global finance; the IMF must restore some balance to its prescriptions.
11. **Emerging Markets: "We're Fighting to Survive,"** 65
Business Week, February 8, 1999.
The Asian financial crisis undermined investors' confidence in emerging markets, reducing financial flows crucial to recovery and growth. There is considerable debate about how the current international financial system should be restructured to deal with future crises.
12. **Empowerment of the Poor: Eliminating the Apartheid Practiced by Financial Institutions,** Muhammad Yunus, *The Humanist*, July/August 1997. 68
 Muhammad Yunus, founder of Bangladesh's Grameen Bank, argues that **mainstream financial institutions' lending practices discriminate against the poor**. Evidence of Grameen's success indicates that **microcredit lending not only reduces poverty but promotes other development goals**.
13. **Multinational Corporations,** John Stopford, *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1998/99. 73
 Multinationals have had a controversial record, especially in developing countries, but MNCs have altered their operations over the years. John Stopford analyzes **some of the more common perceptions regarding MNCs**. He argues that perceptions may not always coincide with reality.

- 14. The Dictatorship of Debt**, David Ransom, *New Internationalist*, May 1999. **79**
 Debt continues to plague the poorest countries in the developing world. **Poor countries face crushing debt repayment schedules** and stringent conditions required to qualify for the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, designed to relieve debt pressure on the poorest. An alternative, **Jubilee 2000**, involves **debt cancellation for the world's poorest**.
- 15. Cologne Debt Initiative Falls Short**, Peter J. Henriot, *America*, August 14, 1999. **82**
 In June 1999, the **G-7 industrial countries agreed to provide more debt relief to the developing world**. The reaction to this proposal from NGOs and representatives of developing countries has not been favorable. The proposal would rely on the existing Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative and the IMF's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility. Critics charge that the **Cologne Debt Initiative does not take into account the social cost of debt relief**.
- 16. How to Make Aid Work**, *The Economist*, June 26, 1999. **84**
 The recent agreement among industrial countries to provide more debt relief comes as aid flows have stagnated, raising questions about funding for this initiative. **Aid has been disappointing for donors, who may not have had economic growth as their top priority, and recipients, who have not always spent the funds wisely**. In the future, aid flows must be channeled to those countries that have the greatest need and that can effectively manage the aid.

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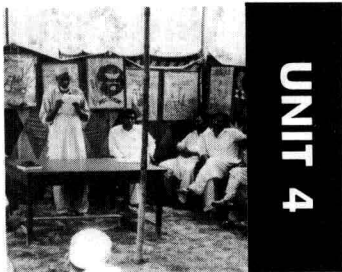
- 17. Ethnic Conflict: Challenging the Myths**, John R. Bowen, *Current*, January 1997. **90**
 John Bowen argues that **our understanding of ethnic conflict is based on faulty assumptions**. These conflicts are often the result of competition for land and resources, the legacy of colonialism, and political leaders' manipulation of ethnic identity. Misperceptions lead to the conclusion that ethnic conflicts are unavoidable, an easy justification for inaction to resolve them.
- 18. Religious Nationalism: A Global Threat?** Mark Juergensmeyer, *Current History*, November 1996. **97**
Religious nationalism has been associated with political violence. This response has been prompted, in part, by the spread of Western culture and values. Mark Juergensmeyer outlines the potential challenges that this phenomenon poses and **suggests the accommodations necessary to avoid a clash between secular and theocratic societies**.
- 19. The Future of Civil Conflict**, Shashi Tharoor, *World Policy Journal*, Spring 1999. **102**
Although many current conflicts in the developing world have an ethnic dimension, this is often not sufficient to explain the cause of the fighting. Colonial boundaries, manipulative political leaders, state fragmentation, and inequitable economic distribution also contribute to conflict. **Enhancing democracy and pluralism would help resolve future civil conflicts**.



UNIT 3

Conflict and Instability

Eight articles discuss the current state of ethnic conflicts throughout the developing world.



UNIT 4

Political Change in the Developing World

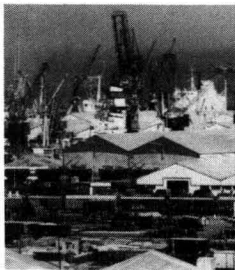
Seven selections examine the innate problems faced by developing countries as they experience political change.

20. **The Kalashnikov Age**, Michael Klare, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January/February 1999. **110**
The bulk of the fighting throughout the developing world involves small arms. The easy availability of these weapons and their use by child soldiers have produced a lethal combination. ***Efforts must be made to reduce the incidence and intensity of civil conflict as well as the production and stockpiling of light weapons.***
21. **Children under Arms: Kalashnikov Kids**, *The Economist*, July 10, 1999. **115**
The widespread use of child soldiers has prompted international efforts to implement a minimum age of 18 for service in the armed forces. It is particularly difficult to dissuade leaders of warring factions in countries gripped by civil war and insurrection to refrain from recruiting young soldiers. These child soldiers are often more compliant, easy to control, fearless, and loyal.
22. **Post-Imperial Africa at War**, Marina Ottaway, *Current History*, May 1999. **119**
Africa continues to be plagued by conflicts, especially those associated with the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Conflict also stems from the end of the old imperial order and the disintegration of some African states, a more common phenomena with the end of externally imposed order. Resolution of these conflicts requires state consolidation and the establishment of effective government.
23. **Call It a Beginning**, Ajay Singh, *Asiaweek*, July 23, 1999. **124**
India and Pakistan recently clashed again over the disputed territory of Kashmir. Pakistan pledged to encourage the withdrawal of guerrillas that it supports and called on India to engage in peace talks under the framework of the February 1999 Lahore Declaration. Although this most recent flare-up appears to have subsided, the conflict has a long history and tensions are likely to remain.
24. **Outsourcing War**, David Shearer, *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1998. **126**
Private security firms have emerged as players in several conflicts in the developing world. They have been criticized as mercenaries that can exacerbate conflicts, drain countries' resources, and violate human rights. ***The emergence of this trend is traceable to the end of the cold war, a large pool of personnel with military expertise, and the reluctance of the major powers to intervene.*** David Shearer argues that these private firms may have a role to play in post-cold war conflicts.

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25. **Democracy without Illusions**, Thomas Carothers, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1997. **134**
The ***global trend toward democracy*** evident for the past two decades ***shows signs of stagnation and backsliding.*** This is most evident in the former Soviet republics, parts of Africa, and the Middle East. While there are no fixed preconditions for democracy's success, evidence suggests that it correlates with certain levels of affluence, experience with pluralism, and Western sociopolitical influence.
26. **The Decline of Illiberal Democracy**, Adrian Karatnycky, *Journal of Democracy*, January 1999. **140**
The 1998/1999 Freedom House survey shows the largest number to date of countries that maintain a high degree of political and economic freedom and that respect basic civil liberties. The number of countries listed as partly free decreased slightly while three fewer countries were listed as not free. The survey also examined ***trends regarding ethnicity, nationalism, religion, and regional variations*** in the impact of these variables.

27. **Tumultuous Transition**, Randolph C. Kent, *The World Today*, March 1999. **148**
Africa is currently experiencing an **uneven transformation** characterized by both **political and economic success** for some and **continued conflict** for others. The continent's future is tied to the perceptions and actions of non-African countries as well as to internal trends such as the diffusion of authority, the role of elites, the emergence of new leaders, and continued violence and its tendency to spread.
28. **South Africa's New President: Mandela's Heir**, *The Economist*, May 29, 1999. **151**
South Africa's new president, Thabo Mbeki, faces formidable challenges in succeeding Nelson Mandela. While the country has made some progress over the last 5 years in providing water, housing, and electricity, crime, educational standards, unemployment, and AIDS remain as huge problems. Mbeki will also have to deal with allegations of cronyism and incompetence within the government.
29. **Khatami's Iran**, Eric Hooglund, *Current History*, February 1999. **154**
Twenty years after the **1979 revolution**, *Iran's politics remain obscure to the rest of the world.* Popular perception is that Iran is a radical, undemocratic theocracy, but Eric Hooglund argues that there is actually a political spectrum that runs from conservative to reformist. **The election of President Sayed Mohammed Khatami in 1997 demonstrated the political strength of moderates.** Although this moderation is challenged by hard-liners, important **political changes have taken place.**
30. **The Chavez Revolution**, Christina Haag, *Time*, August 9, 1999. **159**
Hugo Chavez, who led a coup attempt in 1992, was elected Venezuela's president in December 1998. He has embarked on **an ambitious campaign to sweep aside the old political order.** Chavez has concentrated power and surrounded himself with military men, leading his critics to charge that he is personalizing political power and destroying democracy. His supporters are pleased with his emphasis on helping the poor, but the economy is in deep trouble and it remains to be seen if Chavez can deliver.
31. **Baptism of Fire**, Dan Murphy, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 19, 1999. **161**
Indonesia has recently experienced major economic and political turmoil. The recent elections brought political change and the expectation that the new government will rectify the problems that led to economic crisis. Meeting these expectations will be difficult because greater political freedom has encouraged populist politics and the emergence of parochial interests. Fixing the country's banking system and coping with external debt represent formidable challenges.



UNIT 5

Population, Development, and Environment

Eight articles examine some of the effects the developing world's growth has on Earth's sustainability.

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32. **No Vacancy**, Werner Fornos, *The Humanist*, July/August 1998. **166**
Despite declining fertility rates in some parts of the developing world, ***Earth's population continues to increase***. This growth is fueled by high fertility rates, a young population, and lack of access to family planning and contraception. Both developing countries and the industrialized world must ***work to stabilize population growth***.
33. **Poor Lands' Success in Cutting Birth Rate Upsets Old Theories**, William K. Stevens, *New York Times*, January 2, 1994. **170**
Recent studies indicate that developing countries can significantly ***cut their birth rates by actively promoting contraception***. This represents ***a serious challenge*** to the Western-inspired ***demographic transition theory***.
34. **Life Support Fails**, Lester Brown, *The World Today*, June 1999. **172**
Three factors are contributing to rising death rates in certain developing countries: HIV/AIDS, depletion of the world's water resources, and shrinking per capita cropland. AIDS has already drastically reduced life expectancy in some African countries while falling water tables reduce irrigation, resulting in food shortages and malnutrition. Shrinking per capita cropland threatens food security and necessitates costly imports.
35. **How NOT to Develop an Emerging Nation**, Rashmi Mayur and Bennett Daviss, *The Futurist*, January/February 1998. **174**
Reliance on large-scale industry to enhance development is misguided, argue the authors. Such projects are based on faulty assumptions and do not take into account either local conditions or shifting international trends in industrialization. Instead, developing countries should concentrate on ***expanding microenterprises, which may be more suitable and successful***.
36. **A New Economy for a New Century**, Lester R. Brown and Christopher Flavin, *The Humanist*, May/June 1999. **179**
Growing world population and consumption of natural resources threaten to overwhelm efforts at sustainable development. If the rest of the world emulates the western patterns of energy consumption and exploitation of natural resources, sustaining a global population of perhaps 8 to 10 billion will be impossible. ***Lester Brown and Christopher Flavin argue for a shift toward an environmentally sustainable economy for the new century***.
37. **Dirt Poor**, Daniel Litvin, *The Economist*, March 21, 1998. **185**
Developing countries face huge environmental challenges as their populations grow and become more urbanized and industrialized. Grass-roots environmental groups have organized, but concern about the environment has not been matched by governmental policies.
38. **Mexico's Highway to Hell: Native Peoples Fight for Sustainable Development**, Wendy Call, *Dollars and Sense*, July/August 1998. **187**
The Mexican government is proposing a freight corridor across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as an alternative to the Panama Canal. ***Indigenous peoples of the region fear that their culture, the local economy, and the environment will suffer if this plan is carried out***. They also object to the lack of consultation between local people and the government on development issues.

39. The International Politics of Climate Change, 191

Charlie Kronick, *The Ecologist*, March/April 1999.

Efforts to **protect Earth's climate from damage produced by greenhouse gas emissions** demonstrate a contrast between the interests of northern industrialized and southern developing countries. The North wants reductions that do not cause undue hardship to their interests and they want the developing world to reduce emissions too. The South objects to having to pay for a problem they did not create. The politics of this issue is becoming more complex and difficult.

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40. Women in Poverty: A New Global Underclass, 198

Mayra Buvinic, *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1997.

Although there have been some improvements in women's well-being over the past two decades, they still lag behind men in both income and access to health care, nutrition, and education. This contributes to the **feminization of poverty worldwide** and requires policymakers to target measures toward **increasing women's access to family planning and reproductive health programs, education, agricultural extension, and credit.**

41. Women's Work, Jodi L. Jacobson, *Foreign Service Journal*, 206 January 1993.

Jodi Jacobson describes how **gender bias contributes to poverty among women in the developing world**, especially by undervaluing the work that women perform. She addresses certain myths that reinforce gender biases, explains how development may actually exacerbate the situation, and advocates changes in development programs to enhance the status of women.

42. Women Redrawing the Map: The World after the Beijing and Cairo Conferences, Joan Dunlop, Rachel Kyte, and Mia MacDonald, *SAIS Review*, Winter/Spring 1996. 211

The **Beijing Conference on Women** further advanced the achievements of other recent international conferences, particularly regarding **women's reproductive rights and health**. The conference also provided opportunities to continue development of **leadership and grass-roots activism.**

43. Women in Latin America: Unequal Progress toward Equality, Mala Htun, *Current History*, March 1999. 216

Women have made progress toward equality in much of Latin America but further efforts are needed. Women are better represented politically and have better access to education and economic opportunity, but they still lack adequate reproductive health care, protection against violence, and equal pay scales. Moreover, **discrepancies in education, health care, and legal protection vary both within and between countries in the region.**

44. Lower-Caste Women Turn Village Rule Upside Down, Celia W. Dugger, *New York Times*, May 3, 1999. 221

A 1998 Indian constitutional amendment set aside one-third of village council and chief positions for women and a percentage of those must go to lower-caste women. While some women are merely fronting for their husbands, others are taking their positions seriously. **Despite opposition, these women are gaining political experience and challenging caste and gender norms.**

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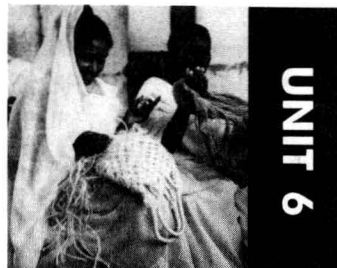
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Women and Development

Five articles discuss the role of women in the developing world.

This topic guide suggests how the selections and World Wide Web sites found in the next section of this book relate to topics of traditional concern to students and professionals involved with the study of the developing world. It is useful for locating interrelated articles and Web sites for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic.

The relevant Web sites, which are numbered and annotated on pages 4 and 5, are easily identified by the Web icon () under the topic articles. By linking the articles and the Web sites by topic, this ANNUAL EDITIONS reader becomes a powerful learning and research tool.

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39. The International Politics of Climate Change, 191

Charlie Kronick, *The Ecologist*, March/April 1999.

Efforts to **protect Earth's climate from damage produced by greenhouse gas emissions** demonstrate a contrast between the interests of northern industrialized and southern developing countries. The North wants reductions that do not cause undue hardship to their interests and they want the developing world to reduce emissions too. The South objects to having to pay for a problem they did not create. The politics of this issue is becoming more complex and difficult.

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40. Women in Poverty: A New Global Underclass, 198

Mayra Buvinic, *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1997.

Although there have been some improvements in women's well-being over the past two decades, they still lag behind men in both income and access to health care, nutrition, and education. This contributes to the **feminization of poverty worldwide** and requires policymakers to target measures toward **increasing women's access to family planning and reproductive health programs, education, agricultural extension, and credit.**

41. Women's Work, Jodi L. Jacobson, *Foreign Service Journal*, 206 January 1993.

Jodi Jacobson describes how **gender bias contributes to poverty among women in the developing world**, especially by undervaluing the work that women perform. She addresses certain myths that reinforce gender biases, explains how development may actually exacerbate the situation, and advocates changes in development programs to enhance the status of women.

42. Women Redrawing the Map: The World after the 211 Beijing and Cairo Conferences, Joan Dunlop, Rachel Kyte, and Mia MacDonald, *SAIS Review*, Winter/Spring 1996.

The **Beijing Conference on Women** further advanced the achievements of other recent international conferences, particularly regarding **women's reproductive rights and health**. The conference also provided opportunities to continue development of **leadership and grass-roots activism.**

43. Women in Latin America: Unequal Progress toward 216 Equality, Mala Htun, *Current History*, March 1999.

Women have made progress toward equality in much of Latin America but further efforts are needed. Women are better represented politically and have better access to education and economic opportunity, but they still lack adequate reproductive health care, protection against violence, and equal pay scales. Moreover, **discrepancies in education, health care, and legal protection vary both within and between countries in the region.**

44. Lower-Caste Women Turn Village Rule Upside 221 Down, Celia W. Dugger, *New York Times*, May 3, 1999.

A 1998 Indian constitutional amendment set aside one-third of village council and chief positions for women and a percentage of those must go to lower-caste women. While some women are merely fronting for their husbands, others are taking their positions seriously. **Despite opposition, these women are gaining political experience and challenging caste and gender norms.**

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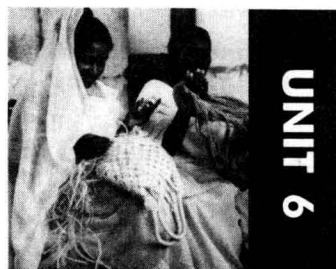
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Women and Development

Five articles discuss the role of women in the developing world.

This topic guide suggests how the selections and World Wide Web sites found in the next section of this book relate to topics of traditional concern to students and professionals involved with the study of the developing world. It is useful for locating interrelated articles and Web sites for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic.

The relevant Web sites, which are numbered and annotated on pages 4 and 5, are easily identified by the Web icon () under the topic articles. By linking the articles and the Web sites by topic, this ANNUAL EDITIONS reader becomes a powerful learning and research tool.

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