

JEFFREY HAYNES

Development Studies

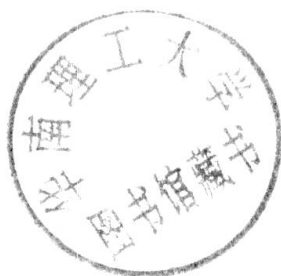
SHORT INTRODUCTIONS

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Jeffrey Haynes



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Development Studies

Preface

‘Development’ first emerged as a subject area in the second half of the twentieth century. After the Second World War, scholars and practitioners sought to study the causes of poverty and ‘underdevelopment’ in a more systematic and sustained way than it had been before. Now, the substance of development studies – especially in relation to the ‘developing world’ or ‘the South’ – focuses mainly on poverty reduction and improving ‘human development’. It is a dynamic field whose importance cannot be understated as the gap between rich and poor grows seemingly ever wider.

The aim of this short overview is to present a chronological and conceptual approach to development in order to introduce students to central themes and theoretical perspectives. The emphasis is on the emergence and consolidation of development theory and exploration of internal and external factors which influence development in poorer regions of the world. The book also looks at key issues which impact upon the success of development, including: globalization, religion, conflict, the environment, gender and human rights. In sum, the book seeks to appeal not only to students of development studies, but also to those interested in the politics, economics and sociology of the developing world.

The book adopts a quasi-disciplinary approach, examining the breadth, nature, range and complementarity of the most pressing and topical issues now affecting developing countries. Covering both theoretical and conceptual issues of development, chapters cover various topics, including: what is globalization?; history of development thinking after the Second World War; development and globalization; political

economy of development; politics of development; religion and development; the natural environment; human rights and gender; and development in the twenty-first century: new issues and approaches.

Chapter 1 sets the scene, identifying and examining issues of central importance to the topic and concept of development. Chapter 2 traces the history of development by reference to influential theories and policies after the Second World War. For comparative purposes, the chapter also examines how early capitalist developers, including Britain and the USA, managed to achieve their development successes. Policies advocated by Western governments in relation to the South since the 1980s were not actually the kinds of policies that they themselves adopted and put into effect during their own historical periods of development take-off, laying them open to charges of hypocrisy. The chapter is divided into three sections, broadly reflecting periods of changing perceptions of development: the 1950s/1960s; the 1970s/1980s; and 1990s/early 2000s.

In chapter 3, we turn to the topic of development and globalization. The issue of globalization has increased in importance since the end of the Cold War in 1989. Initially, there were widespread hopes for: (1) enhanced international cooperation between peoples and countries and (2) fresh commitment to strengthen the role of international organizations, especially the United Nations and its dedicated agencies, in pursuit of peace and development. This would lead, it was hoped, to renewed efforts to address and deal with a range of perennial global problems, including: economic, social and political injustices; war; human rights abuses; and environmental degradation and destruction. To see how things have turned out in relation to the developing world, the chapter has the following structure. First, there is an examination of 'positive' and 'negative' characterizations of globalization. Second, there is a focus on globalization in relation to technological, economic, political and cultural aspects. Third, we investigate how globalization affects the ability of developing countries to organize at the international level. Fourth, we examine how globalization impacts upon and interacts with internal processes and factors to produce particular outcomes related to development.

Chapter 4 examines the political economy of development. First, we see how both economic growth and poverty alleviation are central to the achievement of human development goals. Second, we examine the economic position of developing regions from the 1980s to ascertain how and why some were more successful than others. We see that economic development 'success stories' typically exhibit several key characteristics

– especially impressive economic growth over time that helps draw most of their citizens from poverty – while development ‘failures’ do not. Third, we trace the shift in focus in the development literature from a belief that economic growth was, in itself, sufficient to reduce poverty to the current situation characterized by the importance of human development for attainment of development outcomes.

In chapter 5, the focus turns to the politics of development. We note the influence of the ‘third wave of democracy’ in changing – sometimes fundamentally – political arrangements in many, but by no means all, developing countries. The starting point is that, until recently, there were few democratically elected governments in the countries of the developing world. Instead, various kinds of unelected regimes – including, military, one-party, no-party and personalist dictatorships – were the norm. During the 1980s and 1990s, democratization widely occurred, a result, many observers agree, of the interaction of various domestic and external factors, with the former normally most important. At the domestic level, a shift to democracy – that is, ‘democratization’ – was typically linked to expressions of popular dissatisfaction with the often-abysmal development and political records of unelected governments. In addition, Western-derived ‘political conditionality’ was an important external factor in the shift to elected regimes in many developing countries. Aid-donating governments, such as those of the USA and Britain, sought to promote democracy by linking moves in that direction to the granting of foreign aid. In short, this chapter traces recent processes of democratization in the developing world.

The sixth chapter focuses on religion and development and advances three main arguments. First, developments associated with modernization – including significant socio-economic and political change linked to urbanization, industrialization and government centralization – are of crucial importance in understanding the developmental role of religion in the developing world. Second, far from fading from political relevance, as secularization theory posited, religion plays an important developmental role in many developing countries. Third, religion is often linked both to conflicts *and* attempts at reconciliation and peace-building, while also often playing an important developmental role in relation to various material goals, including: health, welfare and protection of the natural environment.

Chapter 7 focuses on the relationship between the natural environment and development. Is sustainable development possible? To what extent can environmental issues be divorced from political questions,

such as: who has power and what will they do with it? This chapter examines changing perceptions of the links between development and the natural environment. We examine key environmental problems that affect all parts of the developing world: climate change; desertification and deforestation; skewed land use patterns that typically lead to poverty among already poor people; and economic development policies that are antipathetic to environmental protection and sustainability.

The topic of chapter 8 is development, human rights and gender, organized as follows. First, we examine various ways that 'human rights' are perceived among analysts, noting attendant controversies. Second, we look at the question of the universality of human rights, noting in particular the debate between individualistic and collective conceptions. The third section focuses on gender and human rights, including a discussion of 'Islamic feminism'.

Chapter 9 examines issues that will impact significantly on development outcomes in the future, including: the rise of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), following the ascendancy of the Newly Industrializing Countries (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore), a quarter of a century ago; renewed emphasis on 'human development'; domestic and regional impacts of numerous fragile/failed states; new security issues often linked to conflict; and how transnational campaigns can affect various issues of crucial importance to development, including: landmines, 'conflict'/'blood' diamonds, the International Criminal Court, and child soldiers.

There is a comprehensive bibliography at the end of the book. In addition, I would also like to point interested readers to a small number of important **websites**; each is a gateway to a large quantity of relevant material devoted to development issues:

www.bond.org.uk (British Overseas NGOs for Development; BOND) BOND is the UK's broadest network of voluntary organizations working in international development. Founded in June 1993, BOND aims to improve the UK's contribution to international development by promoting the exchange of experience, ideas and information.

www.devstud.org.uk/ Development Studies Association (DSA) works to connect and promote the development research community in UK and Ireland. The USA seeks to improve links and information exchange between DSA members, represent members in important consultations and bring their work to a wide audience of prospective students, partners

and donors. DSA has three aims: (1) promote the advancement of knowledge on international development; (2) disseminate information on development research and training; and (3) encourage interdisciplinary exchange and cooperation.

www.eldis.org Eldis aims to share the best in development, policy, practice and research. You can browse more than 22,000 summarized documents from over 4,500 development organizations – all available free to download.

www.globalwitness.org Global Witness exposes the corrupt exploitation of natural resources and international trade systems, to drive campaigns that end impunity, resource-linked conflict, and human rights and environmental abuses.

www.imf.org/ (The International Monetary Fund) The IMF monitors economic and financial developments, and provides policy advice, aimed especially at crisis-prevention. The Fund lends to countries with balance of payments difficulties, to provide temporary financing and to support policies aimed at correcting the underlying problems; loans to low-income countries are also aimed especially at poverty reduction. Third, the IMF provides countries with technical assistance and training in its areas of expertise.

www.smallarmssurvey.org The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. It serves as the principal international source of public information on all aspects of small arms and as a resource for governments, policy-makers, researchers, and activists. The project has an international staff with expertise in security studies, political science, international public policy, law, economics, development studies, conflict resolution, and sociology. The staff works closely with a worldwide network of researchers and partners.

www.un.org/millenniumgoals/ The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest.

www.unrisd.org/ (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development; UNRISD) UNRISD is an autonomous UN agency engaging in multidisciplinary research on the social dimensions of contemporary problems affecting development. Through its research, UNRISD stimulates dialogue and contributes to policy debates on key issues of social development within and outside the United Nations system.

www.wider.unu.edu/ (United Nations University – World Institute for Development Economics Research) The aim is (1) to undertake multidisciplinary research and policy analysis on structural changes affecting the living conditions of the world's poorest people; (2) to provide a forum for professional interaction and the advocacy of policies leading to robust, equitable and environmentally sustainable growth; (3) to promote capacity strengthening and training for scholars and government officials in the field of economic and social policy making.

<http://web.worldbank.org/> The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. Yet it is not a bank in the common sense. The World Bank comprises two unique development institutions owned by 185 member countries – the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association.

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	vi
1 What is Development?	1
2 History of Development	19
3 Globalization	41
4 Political Economy of Development	65
5 Politics of Development	86
6 Religion and Development	110
7 The Natural Environment	136
8 Human Rights and Gender	159
9 Development in the Twenty-First Century: New Issues and Approaches	186
<i>References</i>	203
<i>Index</i>	229

What is Development?

Development is a key dimension of personal life, social relations, politics, economics and culture in the countries and regions that provide the subject matter of this book: Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. For analytical convenience, I divide up the countries of the 'developing world' or 'the South' into regions. 'Sub-Saharan Africa' – sometimes shortened to 'Africa' in the book – refers to all African countries south of the Sahara desert. Under the heading 'Asia' come the following: 'South Asia' is the Indian sub-continent plus Pakistan. 'East Asia and the Pacific' includes Asian countries – apart from Japan – geographically located between the Indian sub-continent and the United States in the Pacific Ocean. In addition, 'the Middle East and North Africa' region covers the predominantly Muslim countries of West Asia and Africa north of the Sahara. Finally, 'Latin America and the Caribbean' denotes the countries of South America plus the islands of the West Indies.

The book has several aims: to provide a lively introduction to the topic of development, to enthuse readers about the subject of development and to encourage them to delve further into this complex and fascinating topic. It is aimed especially – but not exclusively – at higher education students, including those approaching the subject matter for the first time. The book invites readers to consider key dilemmas and challenges in relation to development; it ranges over both substantive empirical and theoretical material. It adopts a comparative approach, with examples drawn from a range of different national and cultural settings.

A starting point is to note that more than 90 per cent of today's developing countries were, at one time or another, colonial possessions of a handful of Western powers, including: Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the USA. Decolonization came in two main waves, separated by more than a century. The first occurred in the early nineteenth century, resulting in the independence of eighteen Latin American and Caribbean countries. The second occurred in the decades after the Second World War, following the weakening of European powers and growing demands for national recognition in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. Over the next thirty years, around ninety colonies achieved freedom from foreign rule. Decolonization was virtually complete by 1990, marked by the independence of Namibia (see Hadjor 1993: 73–8, for a complete list of former colonies in the developing world).

Despite the optimism attending decolonization, over time it became clear that independence from colonial rule was rarely if ever a panacea to deal with many former colonies' economic, political, institutional, cultural and social problems. Despite the huge achievement of throwing off colonial rule, most former colonies in the developing world found themselves with two basic, pressing problems:

- *Relative economic impoverishment and weakness.* Often harnessed to the international economy on a detrimental basis, many former colonies, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, soon became highly dependent on Western financial aid.
- *Failure to develop workable political systems and associated political instability.* Most postcolonial developing countries had democratically elected governments at or shortly after independence. Many were, however, soon deposed by military rule or became one-party states, changes that many observers argued were detrimental to both economic and political development.

In addition, the aftermath of colonial rule brought two further problems for many post-colonial governments. First, in order to achieve political and social stability, it was necessary to construct nation-states from often disparate groups of people, typically separated by ethnic, linguistic and/or religious divisions. In many cases, this was very difficult or impossible to achieve. Second, most postcolonial governments in the developing world had great difficulty building up their country's productive capacities so as to deliver sustained economic growth to ensure rising living standards for all their country's people.

Before turning to how post-colonial countries sought to deal with these issues, we need to resolve a basic issue of nomenclature.

What's in a name? 'the Third World', 'the South', 'the developing world/countries'

Before going further it is necessary to deal with a controversial issue: what to call the collectivity of African, Middle Eastern, Asian, and Latin American and Caribbean countries on which we focus in this book? Rather than constantly – and clumsily – referring to 'the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean', we need to find an acceptable shorthand term. The problem, however, is that in the development literature there is no agreement on this issue of classification (Dodds 2002). You will see several terms used, and three are common: 'The Third World', 'The South' and the 'Developing world/countries'. Let us look at the pros and cons of using each.

'The Third World'

'Western political scientists found themselves increasingly challenged to develop frameworks for understanding and predicting the[ir] politics' (Randall and Theobald 1998: vii) when dozens of African, Asian, Middle Eastern and Caribbean countries decolonized in the 1950s and 1960s. Alfred Sauvy, a French economist and demographer, is usually credited as the first person to use the term 'Third World', in an article published in 1952. Its use caught on, and by the late 1950s was in widespread use. For Sauvy and others, the 'Third World' referred not only to the then decolonizing countries but also to the economically weak countries of Latin America, most of which had gained independence more than a century earlier.

Apart from its use in political science, the term 'Third World' also had a meaning in international relations. Its use reflected the fact that, following the onset of the Cold War in the late 1940s, the world was conventionally divided into three ideologically defined blocs:

- 'First World', that is, the industrialized democracies of Europe and North America (plus Australia, New Zealand and Japan)

- ‘Second World’, that is, the communist countries of Eastern Europe. Some analysts also included their ideological allies in Asia (North Korea, China) and Latin America (Cuba).
- ‘Third World’, comprising a large number of countries organized in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). All claimed to be neutral in the Cold War.

Thus the label ‘Third World’ had two, separate, yet linked, senses during the Cold War. It was used to refer to certain countries’: (1) poor economic development position and (2) relatively unimportant place in international politics. Developmentally, the term sought to capture the notion of a certain type of country: postcolonial and, compared to the rich countries of the First World, economically weak and underdeveloped. Regarding international relations, a bloc of postcolonial countries emerged and formed an alliance: the NAM, whose member countries claimed, sometimes with good reason, to be followers of neither the USA nor the USSR. While, individually, most developing countries played relatively minor roles in international relations during the Cold War, their collective voice focused in the NAM was relatively loud, at irregular intervals, influential (Acharya 1999).

In sum, the term ‘Third World’ has had a dual meaning. On the one hand, it referred to a large group of economically underdeveloped, developmentally weak African, Asian, Middle Eastern, and Latin American and Caribbean countries. On the other hand, it connoted the proclaimed international neutrality of a large bloc of often small and weak, mainly post-colonial developing countries, organized in the NAM.

The ideological division manifested in the Cold War between the superpowers was crucial in defining the concept of the ‘Third World’. Consequently, it is hardly surprising that the end of the Cold War in 1989 produced highly significant international changes; not least, a key justification for continued use of the term ‘Third World’ disappeared (Fawcett and Sayigh 1999). The contemporaneous demise of the Second World and the growing economic and political diversity of the developing countries led Bayart (1991) to argue that logically the term ‘Third World’ could no longer be analytically useful. Two events were of particular importance. The first was the political collapse and eventual dissolution of the communist Second World, as the dramatic collapse of the Eastern European communist bloc removed at a stroke the chief ideological challenge to the West. The second was the contemporaneous wave of democratization and economic liberalization that swept across Africa, Asia and Latin America (but not

the Middle East) in the 1980s and 1990s. Dozens of new democracies emerged in Latin America, Asia and Africa at this time, yet overall there was still a great deal of political – not to mention developmental – diversity among ‘Third World’ countries. By the end of the 1990s, the result was a variety of political systems: large numbers of democracies and numerous non-democracies, including: communist one-party rule (Cuba, Laos, Vietnam, North Korea), military dictatorship (Pakistan) and theocracies (Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sudan). In addition, economic and developmental diversity were reflected in strikingly different per capita gross national products (GNPs): in 1999, that of Singapore was \$29,610, South Korea’s was \$8490, and Ethiopia’s a mere \$100, one third of one per cent of Singapore’s (World Bank 2001: 274–5, Table 1).

For Bayart (1991), the consequence of these developments was that the very notion of a single ‘Third World’ was now a ‘fantasy’, without analytical or conceptual utility. It was a convenient but now inappropriate label, unwarrantedly conjoining diverse nations with often very different cultures, societies, political systems and economies. Other critics of use of the term, such as Berger (1994), agreed that the very concept of a ‘Third World’ was developmentally meaningless – but for a different reason. He argued that even the richest Western countries had often substantial impoverished ‘underclasses’ – that is, groups of people who lived in what were essentially ‘Third World’ conditions. Moreover, in the developing countries groups of political and economic elites (often the same people) were integrated into a global class structure, enjoying very good living standards, comparable with those enjoyed by rich people in the West. The overall point was that by the 1990s there were no longer clear divisions between the rich countries of the First World and the poor countries of the erstwhile ‘Third World’. In part, this was because there were large numbers of impoverished people living in the West and much smaller, although still significant, numbers of wealthy elite people in virtually all developing countries.

In sum, by the early 1990s, the old, familiar simplicities reflected in the term ‘Third World’ no longer had much analytical utility. Three developments were important: (1) the ideological collapse of the communist Second World; (2) the ‘third wave of democracy’ (Huntington 1991) and contemporaneous widespread economic liberalization in many ‘Third World’ countries (Thirlwall 2002); and (3) a partial blurring of the division between rich ‘First World’ and poor ‘Third World’ countries, as some people in the latter achieved higher living standards than most people in the former (Berger 1994).

The 'South'

If the term 'Third World' was no longer analytically useful, what of a possible alternative: the 'South' (Dodds 2002)? Apart from the problems identified above, for many people the term 'Third World' has a further problem. It is regarded as unacceptably pejorative, implying: poverty, lack of development, and low status – in short, 'third rate'. Reflecting such concerns, a 1980 report compiled by a team led by a former West German chancellor, Willy Brandt, suggested an alternative: the 'South'. A key advantage was that the term lacked the pejorative connotations of 'Third World' ('Brandt Report' 1980). There was also a further justification for its use: the term served to highlight the unjust global economic order. It did this by dichotomizing developmental distinctions between the rich 'North' – the developed countries of North America and West Europe (plus Japan, Australia and New Zealand, also collectively – and confusingly – known as 'the West') – and the poor 'South' (Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa). However, just as the blanket term 'Third World' obscured considerable cultural, economic and political differences among individual countries, so too the 'South' was an unsatisfactory analytical term, for two main reasons. On the one hand, the 'South' was an essentially geographic expression that ignored the fact that two 'Northern' countries, Australia and New Zealand, were actually located in the geographical south. In addition, the term failed to differentiate between individual countries – whether politically, culturally, developmentally or economically.

'Developing world/countries'

The 'developing world' and 'developing countries' are also shorthand terms employed to designate the aggregation of Middle Eastern, African, Asian, and Latin American and Caribbean countries. I shall use both terms synonymously in this book. While acknowledging that these countries' economic, cultural, developmental and political positions vary widely, I justify their use not least by the fact that these are favoured by most governments of the countries themselves, as well as by global institutions, such as the United Nations and the World Bank (www.un.org/english/; www.worldbank.org/).

But this is not to imply that the term is uncontroversial. As Thomas points out, while 'modernization, industrialization and development often appear effectively to be synonyms, the concept of "development" actually embodies considerable ambiguity' (Thomas 1999: 46). For critics, the use of the adjective 'developing' has a big drawback: it may