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Theories and Practices of Development

Katie Willis

Routledge Perspectives on Development

Contents

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- **Definitions of development**
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In September 2000 the United Nations agreed to adopt a number of 'Millennium Development Goals' (see Box 1.1). Such clearly stated goals could suggest that defining 'development' is easy and that what is important is the end point to which a society gets, not how those goals are achieved.

Box 1.1

Millennium Development Goals

While these goals were adopted by the UN in 2000, they were the outcome of international conferences throughout the 1990s. There are eight goals, but for each goal there are a number of targets and indicators. The eight goals are:

1 eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
2 achieve universal primary education;
3 promote gender equality and empower women;
4 reduce child mortality;
5 improve maternal health;
6 combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases;
7 ensure environmental sustainability;
8 develop a global partnership for development.

The targets are much more specific and include:

1 between 1990 and 2015, halve the proportion of people whose income is less than US$1 a day;
2 reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality rate;
3 have, by 2015, begun to reduce the incidence of malaria and other major diseases;
4 halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.

Source: adapted from Development Goals (2003)

In this book we will be considering theories about development and how these theories inform policy formulation and practices to achieve development goals. However, before we embark on this journey, we need to consider what 'development' means. Despite the very bold statement about 'development targets', this chapter will highlight the contested nature of the term 'development'. In particular, we will look at *how* 'development' has been defined, *who* has defined 'development' and at *what scale* 'development' has been examined.

Modernity

For many people, ideas of development are linked to concepts of modernity. 'Modernity' in its broadest sense means the condition of being modern, new or up-to-date, so 'the idea of "modernity" situates people in time' (Ogborn 1999: 153). Because of social, economic, political and cultural dynamism, what is 'modern' will change over time and also spatially. What is 'modern' in one place may be 'old-fashioned' elsewhere.

However, more specifically, 'modernity' has been used as a term to describe particular forms of economy and society based on the experiences of Western Europe. In economic terms, 'modernity' encompasses industrialization, urbanization and the increased use of technology within all sectors of the economy. This application of technology and scientific principles is also reflected within social and cultural spheres. What has been termed the 'Enlightenment' period in Western Europe in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, involved the growing importance of

rational and scientific approaches to understanding the world and progress. This was contrasted with previous understandings that were often rooted in religious explanations (Power 2003: 72–6). Approaches to medicine, the legal and political systems and economic development were all affected by this shift in perspective.

The spatial and temporal context of these ideas about modernity is important in this understanding of what 'modern' was, but as we shall see throughout the book, these ideas were taken out of their context and spread throughout the world (Larrain 1999). For some, this diffusion of modernity is interpreted as 'development' and 'progress', while for others it is associated with the eradication of cultural practices, the destruction of natural environments and a decline in the quality of life. All these themes, and others, will be considered in the following chapters.

Development as an economic process

People defining development as 'modernity', look at development largely in economic terms. This conception of development underpins much of the work of international organizations such as the World Bank, and also many national governments in both the Global North and Global South. The World Bank, for example, uses Gross National Product per capita (GNP p.c.) to divide the countries of the world into development categories. Low-income countries are defined as those with a GNP p.c. figure in 2001 of US$745 or less, lower-middle-income countries have US$746–2,975, upper-middle-income countries US$2,976–9,205 and high-income countries are those with GNP p.c. of US$9,206 or more (World Bank 2003b: 243) (Figure 1.1). GNP is a purely economically-based measure (Box 1.2). Because countries vary so greatly in population, the total GNP figure is divided by the number of people in the country, giving a per capita (p.c.) figure to indicate economic wealth. The use of a wealth measure to represent development is regarded as appropriate because it is assumed that with greater wealth comes other benefits such as improved health, education and quality of life.

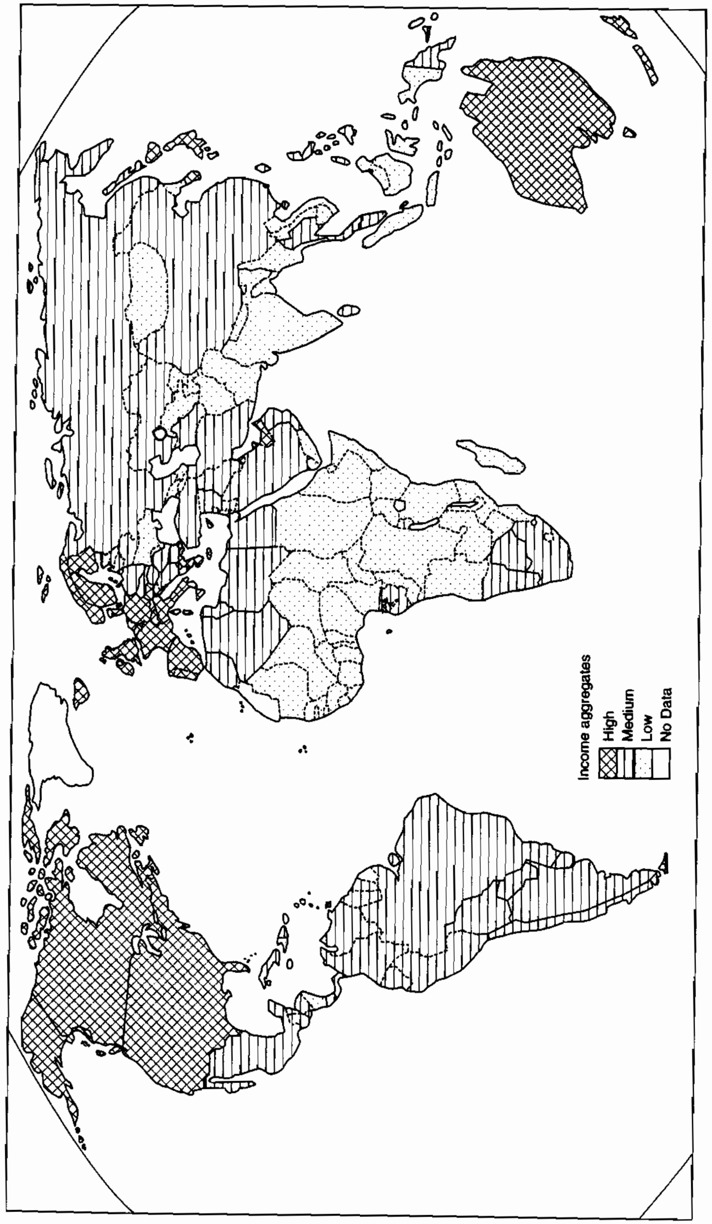


Figure 1.1 World Bank income classifications, 2002.
Source: based on data from UNDP (2003)

> **Box 1.2**
>
> ### *Calculations of GDP and GNP*
>
> **Gross Domestic Product (GDP)** This measures the value of all goods and services produced within a particular country. It does not matter whether the individuals or companies profiting from this production are national or foreign.
>
> **Gross National Product (GNP)** This measures the value of all goods and services claimed by residents of a particular country regardless of where the production took place. It is, therefore, GDP plus the income accruing from abroad (such as repatriation of profits) minus the income claimed by people overseas.
>
> **Gross National Income (GNI)** This is an alternative name for GNP. The World Bank now refers to GNI rather than GNP in its annual *World Development Report*.

Human development

The GNP p.c. indicator is still widely used, but this has increasingly been in conjunction with other broader indicators of 'development' which have highlighted non-economic dimensions of the concept. The most frequently used of these is the Human Development Index (HDI) which was devised by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in late 1980s. While the measure still has an economic aspect, there are other indicators of development relating to well-being (Box 1.3). Since 1990, the UNDP has published the *Human Development Report* every year. The HDI is used to divide the world's countries into those with high, middle and low human development (Figure 1.2).

If you compare Figures 1.1 and 1.2 you can see that there are great similarities in the patterns. The countries of Western Europe, the USA and Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand all rank highly on both GNP p.c. and HDI figures. Similarly, most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa are categorized as having low incomes and low HDI. Does this mean that there is no real reason to use the more complex HDI measure if GNP p.c. seems to present us with the same results? There are a number of reasons why this may not be appropriate. First, there is not complete overlap. For example,

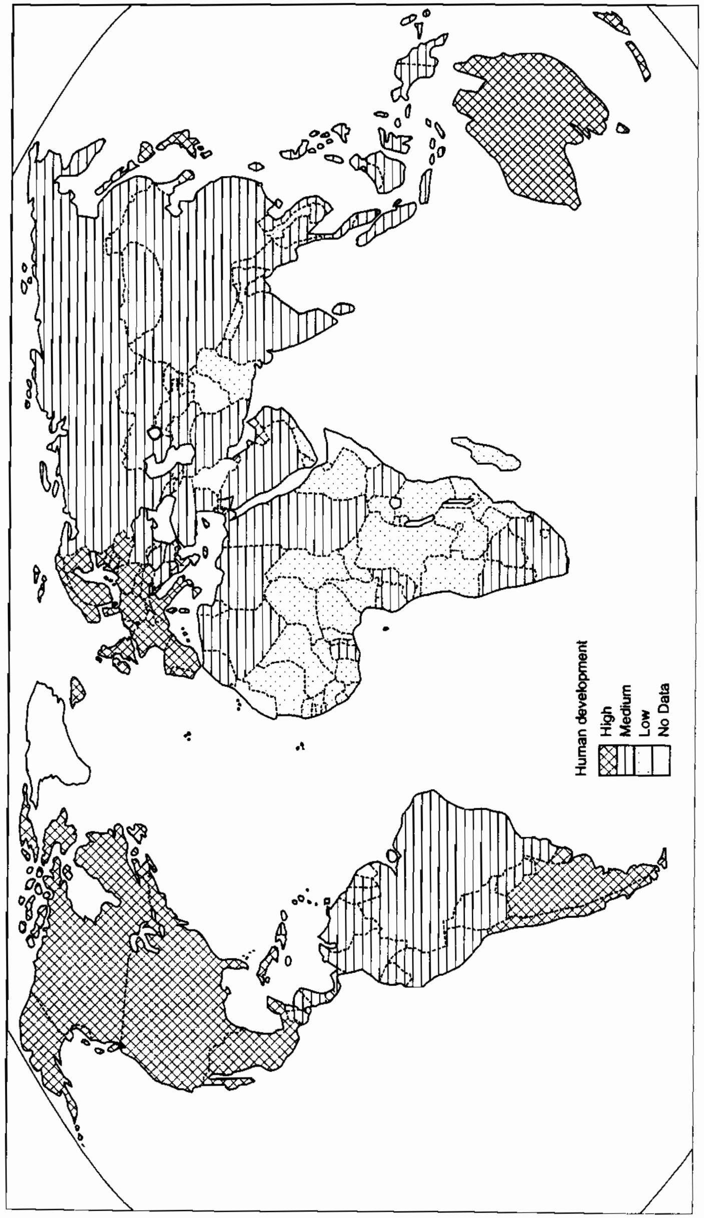
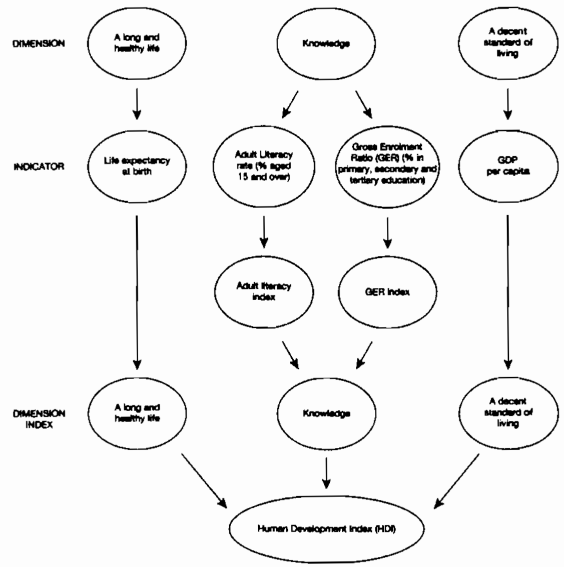


Figure 1.2 Human Development Indicators, 2002.
Source: based on data from UNDP (2003)

Box 1.3

Human Development Index

In the late 1980s increased awareness that the commonly-used economic measures of development were far too limited, led the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to devise the Human Development Index (HDI). This measure incorporates three dimensions of development in relation to human well-being: a long and healthy life, education and knowledge, and a decent standard of living. The UNDP selected four quantitative indicators to measure these dimensions.



Calculation of the HDI

The indicators then have to be converted to an index from 0 to 1 to allow for equal weighting between each of the three dimensions. Once an index value has been calculated for each dimension, they are averaged and the final figure is the HDI. The higher the value the higher the level of human development.

Source: adapted from UNDP (2002: 252–3)

while Chile and Argentina are classified as 'medium-income countries', their HDI scores put them in the category of 'high human development'. Using World Bank income figures, India is a 'low-income country', but UNDP figures place India in the 'medium human development' grouping. In addition to the lack of complete overlap, by using the HDI you are asserting that 'development' is more than just economic progress measured at a national scale.

For some, however, this discussion of appropriate measures of national status are unimportant, because they feel that such measures do not consider inequalities in either spatial terms (see below) or in social terms. It also does not encompass what the vast majority of the people feel development is, or how they would like their lives to change (if at all) (Friedmann 1992b).

The importance of scale

Development can be considered at a number of scales. These go from the individual, the local community, the regional, the national and the global (among others). How development is defined may differ by scale and, in addition, the approaches to development may be similarly scale dependent as we shall see in the next section.

Inequalities can be revealed if you look at particular spatial scales. For example, if we consider national level development figures we get no idea of whether there are differences between regions within the country. As we shall see throughout the book, spatial inequalities are a key factor in any discussion of development. Some forms of development may lead to increasing inequalities between places, while other development approaches may explicitly attempt to reduce spatial inequalities.

At the sub-national scale, it is also important to recognize distributional issues. The Gini Coefficient is a measure of inequality (see Box 1.4). At a national level, while income per capita levels and HDI may be 'satisfactory' according to international norms, it is important to recognise that not everyone in the country will have access to that level of income or standard of living (see Table 1.1). As this table shows, these issues of inequality are as important in the Global North as in the Global South – high levels of economic development do not necessarily mean great equality (see Box 1.5). In addition, experiences of marginalization, poverty and disadvantage are not restricted to certain parts of the world (Jones 2000).

A key sub-national pattern of spatial inequality is between rural and urban areas. If we consider indicators of economic and social well-being, there seems to be a clear trend of rural–urban inequality with rural populations generally being worse off than their urban counterparts (Table 1.2). However, such distinctions must be treated with caution (Wratten 1995). First, poverty

Box 1.4

Gini coefficient and Gini index

Both of these are measures of inequality and are named after the Italian statistician who formulated the coefficient in 1912. They measure either income inequality or inequalities in consumption between individuals, households or groups.

Gini coefficient This measure varies from 0, which means perfect equality, to 1 which represents perfect inequality. Thus, the nearer the coefficient is to 0 the more equal the income distribution. Countries with a Gini coefficient of between 0.50 and 0.70 could be described as having highly unequal income distributions, while those with Gini coefficients of 0.20 to 0.35 have relatively equitable distributions.

Gini Index This measure, used by the UNDP ranges from 0 to 100. A figure of 0 means perfect equality and 100 means perfect inequality.

Source: adapted from Todaro (2000); UNDP (2002)

Box 1.5

Inequality in the USA

With a GNP p.c. figure of US$34,870 in 2001, the USA is among the five richest nations in the world. However, these average national figures hide massive inequalities in income and very different life experiences. With a Gini index of 40.8, it is clear that not all Americans have an equal share of the nation's riches. According to the US Census Bureau, in 1973 the top 20 per cent of earners in the US had 44 per cent of the total income. By 2000 this had increased to 50 per cent. Figures for all wealth, not just income, show a similar pattern of inequality, with the wealthiest 1 per cent of households controlling 38 per cent of the national wealth, while the bottom 80 per cent of households only controlled 17 per cent.

This economic inequality is also apparent in social indicators. Amartya Sen in his book *Development as Freedom* (1999), argues that comparing some groups within the US to societies in the Global South demonstrates that Americans can be in a worse position than their counterparts in poorer countries. While African-Americans in the USA earn far more than people born in China or Kerala (SW India), they have a lower chance of reaching advanced ages. Sen also uses the results of medical research by McCord and Freeman (1990) to state 'Bangladeshi men have a better chance of living to ages beyond forty years than African-American men from the Harlem district of the prosperous city of New York' (1999: 23).

Sources: adapted from *The Economist* (2003b); Sen (1999); UNDP (2002); World Bank (2003b)

Table 1.1 ***Measures of income inequality***

	HDI ranking 2003	*Survey year*	*Richest 10% to poorest 10%*	*Gini index*
United States	7	1997	16.6	40.8
Japan	9	1993	4.5	24.8
United Kingdom	13	1995	12.3	36.8
Poland	35	1998	7.8	31.6
Brazil	65	1998	65.8	60.7
Philippines	85	2000	16.5	46.1
China	104	1998	12.7	40.3
India	127	1997	9.5	37.8
Pakistan	144	1998–9	7.6	33.0
Nigeria	152	1996–7	24.9	50.6
Tanzania	160	1993	10.8	38.2
Ethiopia	169	2000	59.7	57.2

Source: adapted from UNDP (2003: Table 13, pp. 194–7)

indicators are notoriously problematic. For example, in a rural area, monetary income may be lower than in the towns and cities, but the cost of living is lower and the availability of food from subsistence farming may help save on food costs. Second, the distinctions between rural and urban areas are never as distinct as

Table 1.2 ***Rural–urban differences in access to safe drinking water, 2000***

	Population with access to safe drinking water (%)	
	Rural	*Urban*
Developing Countries	69	92
Least developed Countries	55	82
Arab States	76	94
E. Asia and Pacific	67	93
L. America and Caribbean	65	94
S. Asia	81	95
Sub-Saharan Africa	44	83
Central and Eastern Europe and CIS	82	99
Middle income	70	95
Low income	69	90
World	**71**	**95**

Source: adapted from UNDP (2003: 227, 253)

statistics may imply. In most parts of the world, the linkages between rural and urban areas are multiple, with significant seasonal migration flows between the countryside and the city, for example (Parnwell 1993). As cities have grown, the role of the peri-urban area has also become more important. Finally, it must be remembered, that in some regions of the Global South, particularly Latin America, the population is predominantly urban (Figure 1.3). Thus, while poverty levels may be higher in rural areas, poverty is increasingly an urban phenomenon because the majority of the population is urban.

As will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 5, inequalities are not just experienced in spatial terms, social inequalities are also very important. Throughout the world women as a group have tended to be excluded from many of the benefits which development of certain forms brings (Momsen 2004). Particular ethnic groups in regional or national contexts may also be deprived of opportunities, or may be denied decision-making power in the framing of development projects. This can lead to destructions of cultural practices and institutions, as well as a decline in self-respect and self-esteem. How to deal with social diversity is a key theme in development thought; not only in trying

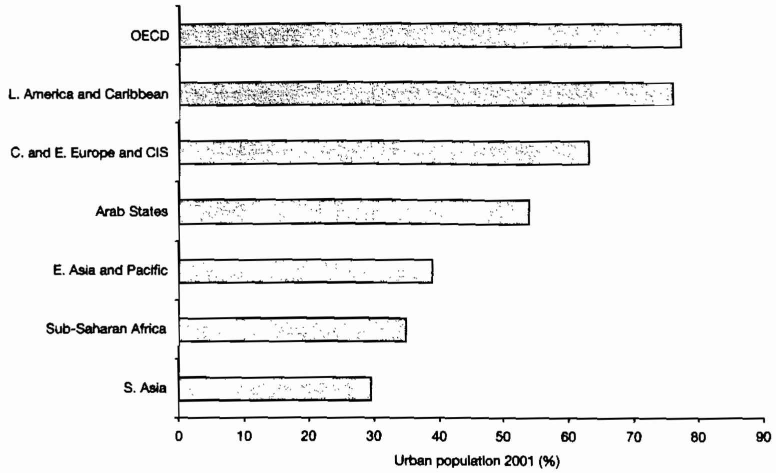


Figure 1.3 Urbanization levels by region, 2001.
Source: based on data from UNDP (2003: 253)

to implement development practice, but in actually defining what is meant by 'development'.

Measuring 'development'

It is not only defining 'development' which is contested, the way that development, regardless of definition is measured is also problematic. Of course, this assumes that 'development' is something which needs to be measured or assessed. For various actors in development (see pp. 24–6) measuring development could be important. For example, policy-makers may want to find out what the social development position (as defined by the policy-makers) of a population is in order to inform policy formulation. Governments or international agencies may want to assess the impact of a particular development initiative and therefore want to have measurements from both before and after the project. Finally, campaigning organizations seeking to improve living conditions for marginalized groups, may want information about the nature of marginalization.

Measuring 'development' requires proxy measures to be agreed. For example, in the case of the World Bank focus on economic development, the indicator used is GNP per capita. This has now been widely adopted as an appropriate measure of economic development, but other indicators or proxies could be used, such as the contribution of non-agricultural activities to GDP. In the case of the HDI, the UNDP decided that its understanding of human development including three main features: health, education and economic status. To measure each of these the UNDP needed to choose indicators (Box 1.3). This choice of indicators is certainly not straightforward. For example, Hicks and Streeten (1979) discuss the issues around trying to find proxy measures for 'basic needs' (see Chapter 4). While there may be agreement on what 'basic needs' are, including adequate shelter, food, clothing and employment, it is much more difficult to work out how these elements are to be measured.

Another problem with measuring development is comparability. This can be over time, or between different countries. Collecting large amounts of information, for example through national censuses, requires significant resources in terms of trained personnel and technology for analysing the results. These are clearly not equally available to all national governments (Bulmer and Warwick 1993). In addition, data collection can be disrupted by political unrest or war, and some communities or groups may be excluded from surveys and other studies because they are socially, economically or geographically marginal (Chambers 1997).

Finally, development measures are nearly always quantitative, i.e. they can be expressed in numerical form. This focus is understandable given the need to make comparisons across time and space, and also to deal with large amounts of information. However, by focusing on quantitative measurement, the subjective qualitative dimensions of development are excluded. This means excluding the feelings, experiences and opinions of individuals and groups. This approach also tends to reinforce outsiders' ideas about 'development', rather than what local people think 'development' is, or should be (Chapter 4).

A good example of this debate is the definition of 'poverty' (McIlwaine 2002; White 2002). The Millennium Development Goals have poverty reduction at their core. The definition of poverty used in these targets is an economic one and the measurement used is a poverty line. People living on less than one US$1 per day are defined as being in 'extreme poverty' and less than US$2 per day are in 'poverty'. It is against these targets that progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goals is assessed. However, this economic view of poverty is very limited and assumes a clear relationship between income poverty and other measures of disadvantage. Because of this, the UNDP has devised the Human Poverty Index (HPI). There are two slightly different measures; HPI-2 for 17 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries (Northern countries) and HPI-1 for 88 developing countries, but both encompass indicators of health, education and standard of living (Table 1.3). These measures of poverty tend to be applied at a national scale.

These indices of poverty still exclude any qualitative examination of experiences of poverty. McIlwaine (2002: 82) uses quotations to exemplify how poverty can be experienced and understood in different ways:

> 'For me, being poor is having to wear trousers that are too big for me.' (José, 8 years old, Guatemala City)
>
> 'Poverty makes my children get sick and they get worse because we're too poor to buy medicines.' (Antonia, 30 years old, Guatemala)
>
> 'It's poverty that makes me drink until I fall over, and drinking until I fall over makes me poor.' (Eduardo, 35 years old, Guatemala)

Table 1.3 ***Human Poverty Index***

Dimension	*Measure*
HPI-1 (for developing countries)	
Long and healthy life	Probability at birth of not surviving to age 40
Knowledge	Adult literacy rate
Decent standard of living	% population without access to treated water supplies
	% children under five who are underweight
HPI-2 (for OECD countries)	
Long and healthy life	Probability at birth of not surviving to age 60
Knowledge	% adults (aged 16–65) lacking functional literacy skills
Decent standard of living	% people living below half the median disposable household income
Social exclusion	Rate of long-term (over 12 months) unemployment

Source: adapted from UNDP (2002: 254)

The qualitative examination of poverty puts the experiences of the people directly affected at the heart of the study. For some approaches to development this people-centred approach is key (see Chapter 4) and represents a move away from national-level considerations. Although the World Bank usually uses quantitative measures of development, in preparation for the 2000/2001 *World Development Report* which was on 'Attacking Poverty', it commissioned a large study entitled 'Voices of Poor' which attempted to examine the experiences of poverty throughout the world (Parnwell 2003). While the information gathered in this study was incorporated into the 2000/2001 *World Development Report*, there seems to have been retreat back to quantitative measures since then (Williams and McIlwaine 2003). This discussion of poverty measurements shows how even the most 'basic' of 'development' measures is difficult to assess.

Terminology

The UNDP categorization of countries as having 'high', 'middle' or 'low' levels of human development based on HDI and the World Bank use of GNP per capita to place countries into one of four classes, are two examples of how the world can be divided up according to levels of 'development'. There are, however, many other forms of classification and a range of terms to describe groups of countries. Rather than merely being a debate about terminology which has no bearing on real life issues, it is important to realize that the way that different parts of the world are described can tell us a great deal about who has the power to decide what should be valued and what denigrated.

In this book I will generally use the terms 'Global North' or 'North' to describe the countries of Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, USA and Canada, and the 'Global South' or 'South' to describe the remaining countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific. While there are clearly problems with using these terms, not least the fact that not all 'Northern' countries are north of the equator and not all 'Southern' ones south of the equator, I prefer to use these terms rather than other common distinctions discussed below. In addition, the North/South distinction was used by the Brandt Commission in its report on the nature of global interdependence (Brandt Commission 1980). The Commission, also known as the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, was set up in 1977 to consider issues of global inequality and poverty. It was chaired by the ex-Chancellor of West Germany, Willy Brandt.

The term 'Third World' has often been used to refer to the nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. It was originally used to describe those countries which were part of the non-aligned movement, i.e. they did not officially support either the capitalist USA or the communist USSR during the cold war, instead preferring a 'third way'. Under this interpretation the 'First World' consisted of the industrialized capitalist nations of Western Europe, the USA, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and Australia, while the 'Second World' was the communist bloc of the USSR and Eastern Europe. However, despite not originally having a sense of hierarchy, the idea of 'First', 'Second' and 'Third' was often interpreted as meaning the countries in the 'Third World' were in third place. The collapse of the 'Second World' in the late 1980s/early 1990s, with the transition from state-socialism, has meant that the basis for the distinction has been removed (see Chapter 3) (Friedmann 1992b).

Another popular form of constructing categories is the 'developed'/'developing' binary. This was felt to be better than distinguishing between 'developed' and 'undeveloped', as the latter phase implied being unable to escape from the condition of lack of development, rather than the more positive sentiment which 'developing' suggests. However, for some theorists (such as Frank 1967) the concept of being 'fixed' or unable to escape from a position of disadvantage because of global inequalities means that the term 'undeveloped' or 'underdeveloped' is crucial (see Chapter 3). In both 'developed'/'developing' and 'developed'/'undeveloped' the first term remains the same and seems to imply that 'development' is an end point, i.e. once you reach a certain standard of living or economic position then you are 'developed'. Again, such notions are important in some theorizing (such as modernization approaches discussed in Chapter 2). However, this fails to recognize the dynamism of all societies and the continued desire by populations for improvements (not necessarily in material goods). It also fails to consider the experiences of social exclusion that are found within supposedly 'developed' countries or regions (Jones 2000).

The terms 'More Economically Developed Countries' (MEDCs) and 'Less Economically Developed Countries' (LEDCs) have also gained in popularity. The explicit reference to *economic* development does not assume that development is automatically economic, or that economic development is necessarily associated with other forms of development. While this specificity is welcome, the emphasis on the economic, rather than other possible dimensions of development, could be regarded as implying that economic factors are the most important aspects of 'development'. As with all the categories used, where the boundary between groupings is placed is highly contentious.

Finally, some political activists working for greater global justice, refer to Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean as the 'Majority World' and the rest of the world as the 'Minority World'. The *New Internationalist* magazine uses this terminology, for example, to stress the fact that in population terms, the majority of the world's population (just over 79 per cent in 2001 according to UNDP 2003: 253) lives in the nations of what I have termed the 'South'. This is an important point to make, as it stresses the Eurocentric assumptions which underlie many terms used.

The concept of 'Eurocentrism' will be important throughout the discussions of development theories. It refers to the assumption that European or Western ideas are the only ideas or approaches that are important. In some cases, this is because the theorist does not see that their approach is very context specific and that in fact there could be other interpretations, but in many other cases the Eurocentrism is based on ideas of Western/Northern superiority. Of course the concept of 'Eurocentrism' is also based on the assumption that the 'North' is homogenous. This is clearly not true given the range of nations making up the 'North', but also because of distinctions based on gender, ethnicity, class and many other social characteristics. Eurocentrism implies having power over knowledge, and because of this is regarded as reflecting existing class, gender and ethnic power relations such that the opinions of 'White', middle-class or elite men in the North are privileged.

It is not only terminology which can reveal biases and assumptions, maps are also important bearers of ideas because they are representations of the world. Because we all have different views of the world, how we choose to present our world in a map can reveal a great deal about our own particular biases (Woods 1994). A map projection is a way of portraying a three-dimensional globe on a flat piece of paper. Eurocentric maps, such as those drawn using the Mercator projection, place Europe at the centre of the map and represent the continents in the same shapes as they are in reality (Figure 1.4). However, because the Earth is a sphere this leads to the land masses nearer the poles appearing much larger relative to other continents nearer the equator. The Peters projection is an attempt to challenge this Eurocentric image. The Peters projection is an equal area projection, meaning that the land area represented on the map is correct in relation to other land areas. This means that Africa, Asia and Latin America are much more significant in the Peters projection, reflecting their importance in area terms in reality (Figure 1.5). Because of this, the Peters projection has often been used in development education schemes to try and counter Eurocentric bias (Vujakovic 1989). The Peters projection has, however, been criticized for making the continents appear long and thin, very unlike their shapes on the globe. In this book the world maps are drawn using the Eckert IV projection. This is an equal area projection which tries to minimize distortions to the shapes of the continents.

Colonialism

At the start of the twenty-first century there are very few colonies left in the world following widespread decolonization processes after the Second World War. Despite this, any consideration of development theories and practices needs to include a discussion of the importance and nature of colonialism. Before elaborating on these reasons, a definition of 'colonialism' is needed. Bernstein (2000: 242) defines colonialism as 'the political control of peoples and territories by foreign states, whether accompanied by significant permanent settlement . . . or not'. This political control represents global power differentials and is associated with dominance in other spheres such as the economy and cultural practices.

Three main reasons for discussing colonialism in the context of development theory can be identified. First, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, European colonialism created more and more linkages between different parts of the world. As we shall see throughout the remainder of the book, interactions at a global scale and the bonds between different regions and countries are referred to in a range of ways in a number of development theories. While the linkages between different parts of the world cannot be solely attributed to the operation of colonialism, it was a key element in

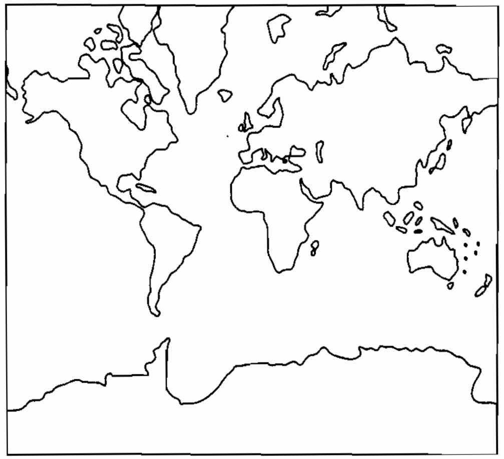


Figure 1.4 Mercator projection.

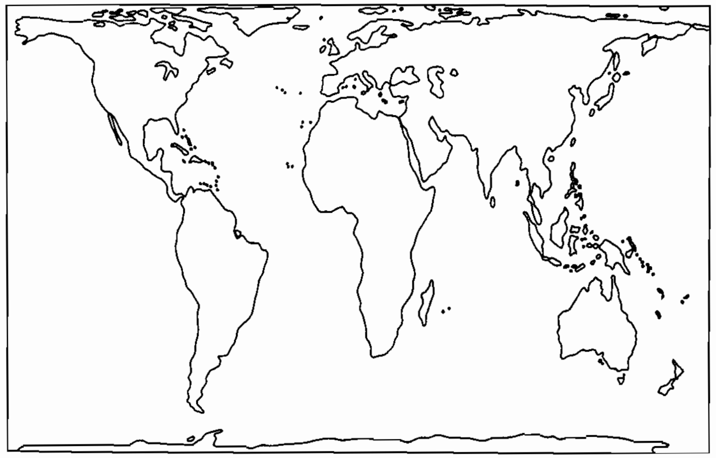


Figure 1.5 Peters projection.

developing the basis for what we now call 'globalization' (see Chapter 7).

A second important reason for considering colonialism in a book on development theories is the nature of power relations embedded in colonial processes. The expansion of European political, economic and social control over other parts of the world represented the

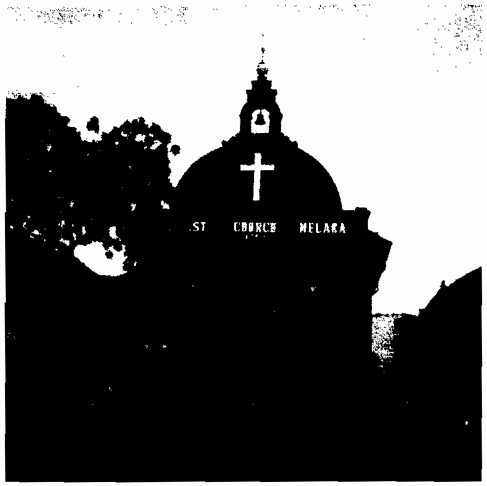


Plate 1.1 The Dutch Church, Melaka, Malaysia.

greater power held by these nations (see pp. 21–3). In some development theories, these power inequalities between North and South help explain differential development experiences, and also continue to limit the autonomy of Southern countries and peoples to determine their own futures through processes of what has been termed 'neo-colonialism'. This term is used to describe global relationships which reflect the dominance of the North over the South, despite legal independence. It is used, for example, in relation to the influence of transnational corporations (TNCs) over the economies of the South, or the ability of Northern governments to intervene in Southern governments' decision-making through the workings of multilateral organizations such as the World Bank (see Chapter 2).

Finally, the colonial experience varied across the world, depending on the colonial power, pre-existing social, economic and political structures in the colony, and the timing of the colonial encounter (Bernstein 2000). Whatever the experience, it is clear that colonialism changed the social structures, political and economic systems, and cultural norms in many places. The legacy of these changes continued into independence.

While colonialism is usually considered to be a European-led phenomenon, the dominance of some societies over others dates from before European excursions into Asia, Africa, Latin America

and the Caribbean. For example, the Aztec and Inca empires in Latin America were able to dominate other groups and territories and use them for resources. Similarly the Mogul empire (1526–1761) in what is now north-west India was built on the gathering of tribute and taxes from peasants (Bujra 2000). Throughout Africa there were significant empires, such as the empire of the Kush in the Nile Valley and a number of Islamic empires in West Africa (Stock 1995). The expansion of Western European influence had, however, much more widespread and long-standing effects.

The first main period of European colonial expansion was led by the Spanish and Portuguese in Latin America and the Caribbean following Columbus' arrival in the Americas in 1492. In the eighteenth century, Spanish influence also extended northwards to what are now the southern states of the USA. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish and Portuguese used what they called the 'New World' as a source of raw materials, silver in particular. There was some settlement, but overall the colonial project of both these nations was focused on mercantile activities (trade).

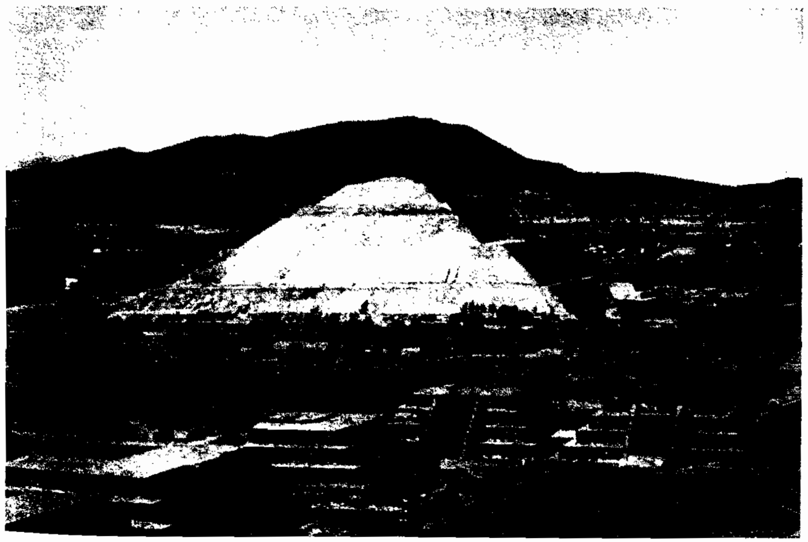


Plate 1.2 Teotihuacán, Mexico.

Plate 1.3 Spanish mission church, San Juan Bautista, California.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Dutch and British came to the fore. While they did have some activities in Latin America and the Caribbean, much of their activity was focused in North America and South and East Asia. While the importance of trade for these colonial endeavours was still high, in particular tobacco from North America and spices and silks from Asia, as manufacturing became more important in Britain, the provision of raw materials for these industries took on more significance. Imports of cotton from North America were transported to the burgeoning textile factories of Northern England, and tobacco and sugar were also processed. The slave trade was key in the expansion of cotton, tobacco and sugar production as slaves were the mainstay of the plantation workforce. Within Sub-Saharan Africa, European enclaves were found along the western coast where slave trading took place. For example, the British had bases in Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the French in Senegal. Europeans (British, Dutch, French and Germans) settled in South Africa in 1652 in what is now Cape Town (Stock 1995). This period of colonialism also differed from the earlier

Spanish and Portuguese phase because there was greater settlement by Europeans and the colonies became important markets for European manufactured goods (Bernstein 2000).

As industrial expansion took hold in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, colonies became increasingly important as sources of raw materials and markets (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of Marxist interpretations of colonialism at this time). Spain and Portugal were losing their positions as key colonial powers and at the start of the nineteenth century wars of independence broke out in much of Latin America, leading to independence for many of the Latin American nations in the 1820s. Meanwhile, British and French colonies in South and East Asia continued to thrive. Within what became South Africa, the Cape was annexed by the British in 1795. This prompted what was known as the 'Great Trek' in the 1830s and 1840s when thousands of Boers (Dutch White settlers and descendents) moved north and established the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State (Stock 1995). European colonization of most of the African continent only really took place in the latter parts of the nineteenth century during what became known as the 'scramble for Africa'. At the Berlin Conference 1884–5, the European powers divided up the continent, agreeing that if countries could demonstrate 'effective control', then they could legally claim that territory (Stock 1995). Britain and France were again the key players, but Belgium, Portugal and Germany also gained territories.

Following the Second World War, the pressure for decolonization in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean increased for a number of reasons. The war had caused major economic problems in Western Europe. The two main colonial powers, France and Britain, had to turn to the USA for assistance (see Chapter 2). In addition, the new global super-powers the USA and Soviet Union (USSR) both advocated decolonization, not least because it would provide new opportunities for the spread of their own influences. These factors external to the colonies were complemented by the increasing calls for independence from the populations of the colonies themselves. Changing economic processes and the growing power of multi-national corporations (MNCs) also helped. Direct political control was no longer necessary for goods to be traded between countries (Potter *et al.* 2004). The combination of these factors led to a gradual process of decolonization.

Despite the achievement of political independence, the autonomy of the newly-independent states was certainly not achieved. Economic linkages, in particular, continued to keep the ex-colonies in a subservient or dependent position (see Chapter 3). It can also be argued that this process of neo-colonialism also extends to the continued representation of 'Western' or 'Northern' ways of doing things as 'better'. This is a key concern of many development theories outlined in the book and also the concept of 'post-development', which is discussed at the end of this chapter.

The drawing together of different parts of the world through the political and economic processes associated with colonialism was just the start of the flows of ideas, commodities and people across the globe. This increasing interconnectedness is now referred to as 'globalization' (Chapter 7). However, just as during the colonial period certain countries and peoples were able to dominate others, so globalization reflects continuing power inequalities. Globalization is not experienced the same way by all the world's peoples. For example, certain parts of the world are more 'connected' to other regions than others. Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, is markedly less connected to other regions through trade, investment flows and telecommunications (Dicken 2003). This, some have argued (see Chapter 7), leaves the region unable to benefit from foreign investment and industrialization which are associated with economic globalization. The relative lack of connectedness in this sense, does not mean that the governments of Sub-Saharan Africa are necessarily able to adopt the development policies they feel are appropriate for their peoples. The importance of global institutions such as the World Bank (Chapter 2) and Northern governments, especially the United States, influences decisions at a national level. The colonial period may be over in formal political terms, but the inequalities in power and influence remain.

Actors in development

A key theme of this book is to understand how different definitions of, and approaches to, 'development' are linked to particular policy approaches. While the academic debates about 'development' are fascinating, it is particularly important to consider how these debates link to actual policies 'on the ground' which affect millions of people throughout the world.

The variety of approaches involves a range of actors, with shifting emphases being placed on these actors depending on the approach adopted. The degree of agency which these actors are perceived to have will also be affected by a particular interpretation of power distributions. Having agency implies that an individual or group is able to make decisions and do things based on their own choices. The other extreme, having no agency, means that there is no free will and individual behaviour is controlled by other actors.

There are a range of actors involved in development (Table 1.4). They vary from individuals to large-scale global organizations such

Table 1.4 ***Actors in development***

Actor	*Activities*
Individual	Depending on income, class, gender, ethnicity, age and other social variables can have a great deal of choice and influence, or be left with very little agency
Household	Group of people who live together and share expenses; not always members of the same family; can operate as a unit to ensure that all household members have their basic needs met
Community	Group of people with shared interests in some senses; usually based on shared residential location, e.g. a village or urban district, but can also refer to a community based on shared social identity
Government	Operates at a range of scales from local and municipal government to national government; important in setting economic framework; can be interventionist, or can play a regulatory role in development
Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)	Organizations which are neither run by the state nor are they profit-making companies; can help local communities set up projects to provide services, create income-generating opportunities, or improve social relations; can be very small-scale organizations, or very large global organizations such as Oxfam or Médecins Sans Frontières
Private companies	Representatives of the market; can be very small businesses or global corporations
Multilateral organizations	Can set global agenda for economic policies; promote global peace; important sources of aid and technical assistance. Examples: International Monetary Fund, United Nations, World Bank

as the United Nations. The scale differences are apparent, but it is important not to assume that there is an increase in influence as the scale increases. For example, individuals can be incredibly influential on a large scale because of their political or economic position, but individuals can also have very little influence even within their own households. The President of the United States of America and a woman farmer on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania are both individuals, but their ability to influence events and their life choices are very different in scope.

Approaches to development

While one of the aims of this book is to highlight the complexities of the debates about 'development', as a starting point it is useful to have some basic framework within which to locate our discussions. Table 1.5 provides a chronology of 'development' approaches and understandings. The point of this table is not to suggest that theories of development have evolved in a unilinear way with no contestation or conflict. Instead, as the following chapters will demonstrate, numerous ideas about 'development' can co-exist, although some theories will be adopted more widely, partly because they are advocated or supported by more powerful actors.

The table only covers development theories in the period after the Second World War. This is not because there were no ideas about social and economic development before then, but because in the 1940s and 1950s there was increasing international discussion about how 'development', particularly in the Global South, was to take place. International organizations were set up to try and achieve 'development' and a number of strategies were adopted. As you will see, many of the ideas about development in the second half of the twentieth century and the start of the twenty-first had their roots in theorizing in the nineteenth century and earlier.

One feature of the chronological approach which should be highlighted is the concept of an 'impasse' in development theory (Schuurman 1993). In the 1980s, this idea of an impasse became increasingly common. In the 1960s and 1970s the contrasting approaches of modernization theories and dependency theories represented differing perspectives on development. However, the global economic problems of the 1980s and the awareness that in many senses existing 'development' theories had not been translated

Table 1.5 *Main approaches to development, 1950s onwards*

Decade	*Main development approaches*
1950s	Modernization theories: all countries should follow the European model
	Structuralist theories: Southern countries needed to limit interaction with the global economy to allow for domestic economic growth
1960s	Modernization theories
	Dependency theories: Southern countries poor because of exploitation by Northern countries
1970s	Dependency theories
	Basic needs approaches: focus of government and aid policies should be on providing for the basic needs of the world's poorest people
	Neo-Malthusian theories: need to control economic growth, resource use and population growth to avoid economic and ecological disaster
	Women and development: recognition of the ways in which development has differential effects on women and men
1980s	Neo-liberalism: focus on the market. Governments should retreat from direct involvement in economic activities
	Grassroots approaches: importance of considering local context and indigenous knowledge
	Sustainable development: need to balance needs of current generation against environmental and other concerns of future populations
	Gender and development: greater awareness of the ways in which gender is implicated in development
1990s	Neo-liberalism
	Post-development: ideas about 'development' represent a form of colonialism and Eurocentrism. Should be challenged from the grassroots
	Sustainable development
	Culture and development: increased awareness of how different social and cultural groups affected by development processes
2000s	Neo-liberalism: increased engagement with concepts of globalization
	Sustainable development
	Post-development
	Grassroots approaches