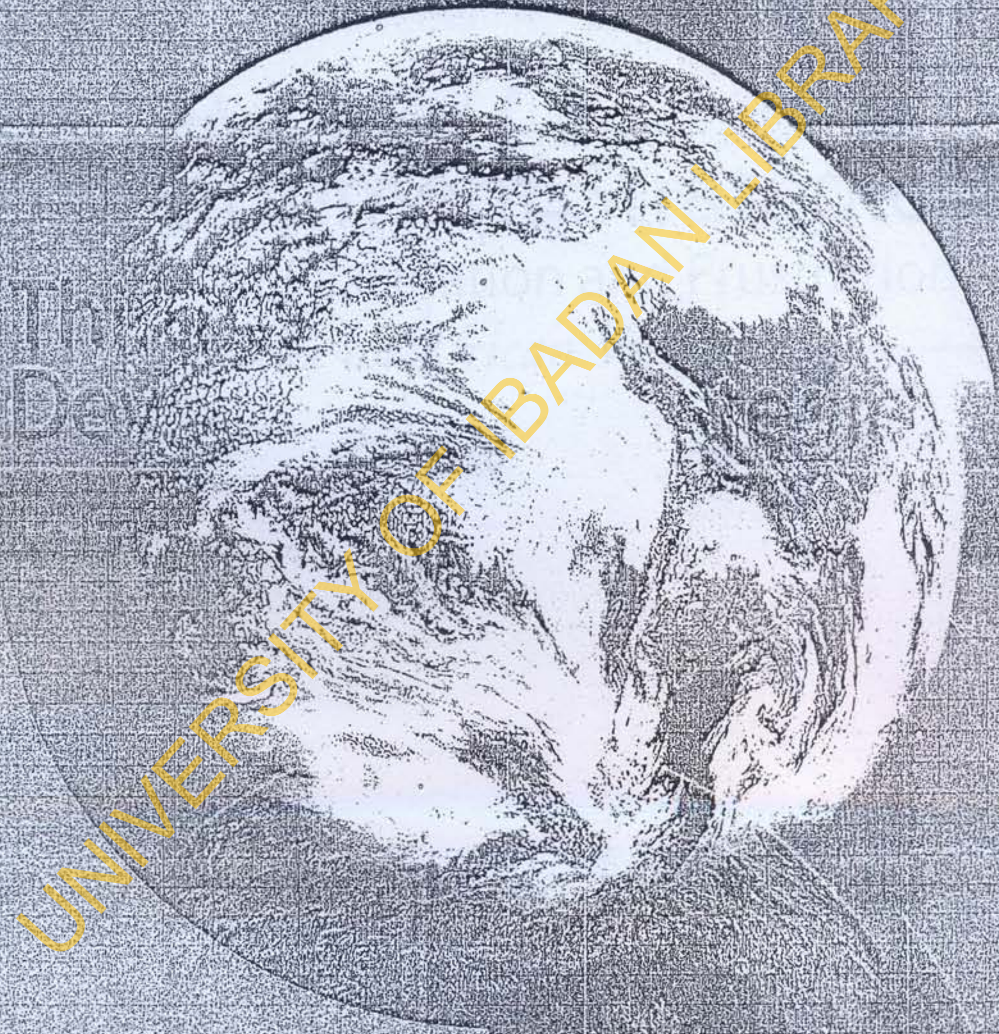
Third World Development Strategies:

Decades of Fascination and Frustrations

A Reader on African Vistas



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Prof Edwin Ijeoma
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Dedication

This book is dedicated to all the Third World Development Scholars

Editors

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Prof Edwin Ijeoma is the Chair and Head of Department of Public Administration at the University of Fort Hare. He is a Professor of Policy and Public Sector Economics and is a recognised scholar in Public Sector Monitoring and Evaluation. He was a pioneer Research Specialist at the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Secretariat in Johannesburg and serves as Policy Adviser to several public sector and development institutions in South Africa and abroad. Professor Ijeoma is the editor of Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review (APSDPR), a public sector Monitoring and Evaluation Journal.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CPA	Cotonou Partnership Agreement
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
EDF	European Development Fund
EU	European Union (formerly, EEC- European Economic Community
FAAC	Federation Accounts Allocation Committee
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GON	Government of Nigeria
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation Agency (now GIZ Deutshe Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITO	International Trade Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
MMU	Micro Project Management Unit
MNCs	Multi-National Corporations

MPP6	Micro Projects Programme in Six Oil Producing States (Abia, Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Edo, Imo and Ondo)
NCS	Nigeria Custom Service
NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy
NEEP	Nigerian Expanded Export Program
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PETS	Public Expenditure Tracking Survey
PFA	Pension Fund Administrator
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SEEDS	State Economic Empowerment Development Strategy
SOEs	State Owned Enterprises
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter

3

Theories and Approaches of Development

Dr B.E. Owumi | Florence U. Masajuwa

By the 1950s, the crack dividing the world into two distinct groups of countries – the poor and the wealthy – had become too glaring to be ignored. The wealthy group consists of most of the Western European countries, Canada and United States whose inhabitants live in ostentatious affluence, consuming a large chunk of the world's resources. The other group – Latin America, Asia and Africa – has about 75 percent of the world's population but merely accessing about 25 percent of its resources. The search for reasons to explain this disparity and for ways to eliminate the disproportionate inequality gave rise to many versions development theories.

Nature and Classifications of Development Theories

In simple terms, development theories or theories of development are postulations on how governments and policy makers in the developing world could salvage their countries out of poverty and underdevelopment. There are varieties of theories about how desirable change in society could best be achieved. They draw on a variety of social science discipline and schools of thoughts. Development economics identify different schools of thought to development to include:

- The structuralist school,
- The linear – stages of growth model – modernization

- The neo - Marxist or depending theory,
- The world system theory, and
- The neo – classical revival of the 1980s; (the structural adjustment policies).

The Structuralist School

This school of economic development which emerged in Latin America in the 1940's simply defines modern economy (its target) as one in which most of the population is urban and the bulk of the country's output is in the form of manufactured products or services. The structuralists focus on the mechanism by which underdeveloped economies transform their domestic economies from a traditional subsistence agricultural based into a modern economy (Richardo Contreras, 2011). These theorists try to explain how structural aspects of the domestic and international economy impede the growth of developing countries. Their policy prescriptions call for major government intervention in the economy in order to promote industrialisation. In his general assessment of the structuralist school, Richardo (2011) underscores this school as holding as follows:

- **That economic development may only be achieved through internal expansion of the local economy.** This simply implies that the object of development according to this school is the structural transformation of underdeveloped economies so as to permit a process of sustained economic growth. These theorists hold that this may be achieved by eliminating the underdeveloped country's reliance on foreign demand for its primary exports (raw material) as the backbone fuelling economic growth. He concludes that economic growth must be fuelled through an expansion of the internal industrial sector.
- **That economic development meant improving the technological level of lagging sectors of the economy.** In this light the structuralists note that development must include the expansion of new technology and method of production in order to eliminate the gap between the most advanced sectors of the economy and those that lag. They however, warn that focusing on overall economic growth numbers is necessary but not sufficient step in pursuing economic development. They therefore measure development by the number of economic sectors using the most advanced level of technology. Since the goal is to have an economy in which the total output

would be divided equally among all the country's economic sectors. They reject the situation where the bulk of the economy's output is derived from the primary product sector.

- **That the structure of underdeveloped economies could be explained by the process through which developing economies have historically been incorporated into the international economy.** In their explanation to the cause of underdevelopment, the structuralists focused on the evolution of economic relationships between developed countries and the rest of the world. They assert that developing countries were brought into the international economy to serve two purposes of supplying cheap raw material and purchasing finished manufactured goods from industrialised economies. This led to dual economic structure in the developing countries where a modern economy (the export sector) coexisted with a backward and underdeveloped one. The drawback is that the modern sector is maintained not through internal innovations and advancement but by purchasing new technology from the developed countries. Rejecting this state of affairs, these scholars argue that economic growth must stem from internal demands for the targeted development to be attained.

- **That structural transformation of the economy could only be achieved through government intervention.** Their position here is that the structural changes needed to bring about development could only be achieved by state intervention.

Many countries in Latin America and elsewhere adopted structuralist policies, also known as import substitution policies, which at the early stage promoted growth, but this state-led development ultimately suffered serious inefficiencies that led to market reforms in the 1980s and 1990s in Latin America and a few other places. It should be noted that in the 1970s, Asian economies abandoned import substitution in favour of export-led growth. The proponents of this theory assert that to stimulate growth, the government should remove those inefficient barriers that restrict free market. It should however be noted that this type of analysis failed to yield development, hence the continued search for an alternative development theory.

The linear - stages of growth model – Modernisation Theory

This is a development theory which holds that real development can simply be achieved through following the processes of development that several developed countries have previously followed. It is a functionalist approach to development which is based on "Spencer's model of societal evolution as a systematic and nonlinear process of change from simple to heterogeneous structures in societies. This is achieved within the economic sphere through the advancement of science and technology, which facilitates ever-more efficient harnessing energy sources." It views traditional attitudes as obstacles to development and therefore advocates the introduction of modern attitudes and institutions as facilitators of development.

Rowtow, a principal proponent of this theory in the famous and main work of this school, *The Stages of Economic Growth,* (Rostow, 1960) designates the following stages must be passed by developing countries:

- the traditional society,
- the precondition to takeoff,
- the takeoff,
- the drive to maturity, and
- the age of high mass consumption.

He argues that it is necessary to triple savings for the so-called take-off at economic growth and thus countries need to attract the means of financing this takeoff. "Takeoff" represents the start of the economic growth which is necessary to move from the phase of traditional to "modern" society. One key factor in Modernisation Theory which properly locates into development cooperation is the belief that development requires the developed countries to aid developing countries to learn their own progress.

He observes that foreign funds played an important role in the establishment of economic growth in the USA, Canada, Sweden and Russia and should also play such a role for developing countries. In that manner therefore, all societies could be taken out of their traditional conditions and be modernized or be developed following the example of the West. The so-called underdeveloped countries, according to this approach, can develop to the level the theory emphasizes – industrializations and the provision of infrastructure and institutions as a strategy or vehicle for development.

Following this functional approach still, Sevensson (1991) posits that the Third World countries were regarded as underdeveloped. They still remain at a lack – lack of capital, knowledge, initiative, entrepreneurship, and lack of all those assets that had generated economic growth in the Western World. Development of Third World countries according to him was that, to *generate development, it was necessary to transfer the prerequisites for progress from the western world – capital, values, knowledge institutions* (Sevensson, 1991:10).

Advocates of modernization theory hold the view that all societies could be modernized by following the examples of American and Western Europe and possibly by-pass some of the pitfalls that these two regions previously fell into during their process of industrialization. Through a guided industrialization policy, proponents of modernization theory believe that Third World countries could swiftly move away from underdevelopment. The development strategies of modernization theory emphasize industrialization and economic growth with the provision of infrastructure and institutions to manage this progression according to American and Western European models.

Modernization theory is also predicated on the classical evolutionary theory which assumes that social change is uni-directional – from primitive to an advanced state movement towards civilization – which is defined by Western Europe and American values or standards, and it is slow and evolutionary (Samater in Wiki, 2006). It is the view of modernization theorists that since for example the United State of American is modern and advanced and the Third World is traditional and backward, the later should take the former as its model, and seek guidance and advice. "More generally, modernization theory (Archer, 1990) which was a popular social theory for a time was related to laud Western, especially American developments and urge the rest of the world to move in that direction." (Ritzer, 2000:434).

As stated earlier, because development was conceptualized as economic growth, industrialization became the strategy of the emergent countries of the Third World to catch up with Europe and become development for the Third World countries since the end of World War II and the rapid spread of Communism in Russia, China, and Cuba with industrialization as the key to achieving this development (Joshi in Wiki, 2006). Modernization theory as a dominant theory in the social science in the Western World since the 1950s presents the advanced economies of Europe and America as the models that the Third World countries must follow in order to become developed. The theory featured the deficiencies in the poor countries of the Third World and "speculated about ways to overcome these deficiencies. It viewed traditional society as a series of negatives; stagnant and unchanging, not innovative, not profit-making, not progressing, not growing" (Joshi in Wiki, 2006: 38).

However, this early approach has been criticized as being too elitist and ethnocentric, in other words it had no direct touch with the cultural realities and had to fail in its bid to attain development in the Third World countries.

Dependency Theory

As a critical response to the modernization theory, which had failed to transform the economies of Latin American, African and Asian countries that experimented with it for decades, the dependency theory emerged. The proponents of the various variants of this theory including the Liberal reformer (Prebisch), the Marxists (Andre Gunder Frank) among others, describe the main tenets of the theory to include the following:

i. there is a financial and technological penetration of the periphery countries by the developed capitalist core countries;

ii. this produces an unbalanced economic structure within the peripheral societies and among them and the centres;

iii. this leads to limitations upon self-sustained growth in the periphery;

iv. this favours the appearance of specific patterns of class relations;

v. these require modification in the role of the state to guarantee the functioning of the economy and political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance (Cardoso, 1979).

While modernisation theory underscores development and underdevelopment as resulting from internal conditions that differ between economies, dependency theory underscores development and underdevelopment as relational. As already emphasized, the dependency theory sees world's nations as divided into a core of wealthy nations which dominate a periphery of poor nations, which become progressively richer and more developed, while the poor nations, continually having their surpluses drained away to the core, do not advance. Developed in the 1950s, dependency theory shares many points with the earlier theories of Marxism and Imperialism as well as that of Neo-Marxism.

According to some Latin American scholars Sunkel, Faletto, Santos, Quijano, Cardoso, Frank, Rojas among others, *Dependency* generally conceive the Western orchestrated development cooperation as a form of neo-colonialism. This theory therefore came to stand out as Third World radical explanation of their underdevelopment debacle. Migdal captures the above phenomenon thus: the contemporary relationships of dependency, like the old ones, works to the political economic advantage of the developed West, and to the disadvantage of the underdeveloped Third World. Ruiz (1997) remarks that perhaps the strongest argumentative claim offered by the dependency theory was to point out the degree of workers' dependence with regard to their productive activity.

Dependency Theory therefore explains the various sorts of north-south cooperation's platforms as rather tools said to be a reinterpretation of the colonial legacy. The theories define the colonial legacy as responsible for most African States economic stagnation. Its central premises portrayed the African States as the historical victims of economic materialism. The theory professed that the bounce of trade between the two parties was unfair, leading to consistent inequalities between two different words and two systems with different historical background (Migdal, in Ruize op. Cit). Even though this theory supposedly did not give adequate explanation and interpretation of such economic realities as the notion of class and power and their attendant effect, but it clearly portrays the West in that factual light of being exploitative imperialists – as predatory monsters on the African resources – motivating and encouraging economic groupings, unions and different forms of cooperation in such structural designs and operations that still leaves the continent, the African continent with peripheral development benefits.

In summary, the basic points of view of the Third World radical scholars under the shade of Dependency Theory are:

- That the assumption that international trade could take a fairer shape within conditions of capitalist monopolistic capital was incorrect.
- That there is no possibility of becoming independent, free developed nation-state in a world dominated by the capitalist economic political empires, and
- That the only possibility of becoming independent is creating an alternative system of production, a non-capitalist system of production.

World system Theory

This theory emerged out of the vigorous rejection of the claim by the modernization theorists that persistent poverty of the poorer countries was because of their late coming to solid economic practices, and that as soon as they learn the techniques of modern economies then poverty would begin to subside (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979). While the Marxist theorists viewed the persistent poverty as a consequence of capitalist exploitation, the world system approach argue that poverty was a direct consequence of the evolution of the international political economy into a fairly rigid division of labour which favoured the rich and penalized the poor (Sunkel, 1966). Its variance from the dependency theory is its insistence that instead of the world's division into only the core and periphery that there exist a third division, the semi-periphery. According to this theory, the semi-periphery lies between the core and the periphery and is exploited by the core and exploits the periphery.

The theory further asserts that the core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Nonetheless, the system is dynamic, and individual states can gain or lose the core (semi-periphery, periphery) status over time. One distinguishing feature of this theory is distrust for the state and a view in which the state is seen as a group of elites and that industrialisation cannot equate with development.

Immanuel Wallerstein is acknowledged as imitating the world systems theory. According to Wallerstein (1974: 1):

> A world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, and rules of legitimating and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remould it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others... Life within it is largely self-constrained, and the dynamics of its development are largely internal (in Dunn and Grimes, cited in Martinez Vela, Wiki 2007).

A major factor that determines the place of a country or a region in the core or periphery or semi-periphery is technology. The cores are the advanced or developed countries of the West, while the less developed countries of the Third World constitute the periphery. Peripheral countries are structurally constrained to experience a kind of development that reproduces their subordinate status (Dunn and Grimes, cited in Martinez Vela, Wiki 2007). Wallerstein sees power struggle among core states trying to establish hegemony over others. This power struggle or class struggle leads to temporary hegemony of states arising from some vital technical advantages a state may temporarily have over others.

The Neo–Classical Revival of the 1980s

This is the orthodox theory that calls for limited government intervention in the economy, privatisation, the demise of welfare state and monetary and fiscal discipline. Fronted by the IMF and IBRD this theory emerged out of its proponent's rejection of the Neo-Marxist theories (dependency and world system) propositions as flawed. It also rejected the structuralists' claims that developing countries' problems are due to structural impediments in the international economy and the domestic structural flaws required significant state intervention in the economy.

To the host of neo-classical development theorists the challenge of underdevelopment in the Third World is the by-product of poorly designed economic policies and excessive state interference in the economy. Led by the aforementioned international financial institutions, these theorists argue that in order to stimulate the domestic economy and promote creation of efficient market, developing countries must eliminate market restrictions and limit government interventions. This is to be accomplished through the privatisation of state-owned enterprises, promotion of free trade, reduction or elimination of government regulations affecting market. This became the bane of the Bretton Woods (the World Bank and the IMF) Structural Adjustment Policy (Programme).

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

This is a development strategy developed by the international financial institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the 1980s in response to the developing world overhanging debt crisis during the period. This strategy was evolved in the face of the failure of numerous classical development approaches; hence it is being referred to as neo-classical development strategy. According to World Bank Report (1989), SAP in the context of developing countries refer to a programme of comprehensive measures designed to achieve wide range of macro-economic goals such as increase in the growth on National Output of goods and services (GDP), a sustained improvement in the balance of payment and reduction of domestic inflation.

Emerging out of the aforementioned Bretton Woods policy, Structural Adjustment Programme refers to the process by which many developing countries reshape their economies to conform to World Bank/IMF driven free market economic system in the globe. Indeed, it was the postulations of these global financial institutions that the developing economies would reap a lot of economic benefits necessary for their development should they take the economic pill called SAP. As Ering (2009) puts it, the premise of SAP was that market forces would automatically bring about an efficient, healthy and productive economy in the long run. That is to say that the less of government intervention in the economy, the better for the developing nations. It should be underscored that this financial recipe of global financial institutions was partly traceable to David Richardo's theory of Comparative Cost Advantage.

The strategy is built on a kind of cooperation between the multi-lateral financial institutions (the World Bank and the IMF) and the developing nations whose economies (it is believed) would boom if the strategy is carefully applied. In other words, the basis for the survival of the recipient economies is the establishment of the kind of link prescribed by the strategy.

A look at the strategy's experimentation in Nigeria would shed light on our general understanding of it. While presenting the Nigeria's 1986 annual budget on 31st December 1985, the then military Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida stated the major objectives of SAP to include:

- To restructure and diversify the productive base of the nation's economy in order to reduce dependence on the oil sector and imports.
- To achieve a fiscal and balance of payment over the medium term and,
- To lay the basis for a suitable non-inflationary growth over the medium and long term (Essien, 1990:118).

In addition to the above, Oyavbaire and Oguntunji (2002) emphasise that the objectives of SAP include:

- to stimulate domestic production, diversify the export structure by encouraging production of non-oil exports, reduce the external dependence of the economy especially of the manufacturing through the local sourcing of raw material;
- to restructure and broaden the production base of the economy and reduce its dependence on the oil sector;
- to eliminate administrative controls, especially the notorious import licensing and allowing market forces of demand and supply to play a much greater role in the allocation of resources;
- to achieve appropriate pricing policies of goods and services by removal of subsidies, especially those for petroleum products and certain social services;
- to rationalise public enterprises through divestment, commercialisation and privatisation of such enterprises;
- to reduce drastically the external debt rescheduling and strategies of debt equity swap, as well as,
- to encourage capital inflow, to correct gross over-valuation of the naira exchange through setting up of the Foreign Exchange Market (FEM), to rationalise and restructure the tariff system in order to assist and promote industrial growth and diversification (Oyavbaira & Oguntunji, 2002:35-36).

In the overall, the primary goal of the Structural Adjustment Strategy for development and development cooperation is to attain self-reliance for the developing economies that adopt it. Even though the adoption and implementation of the policy in Nigeria was more political than administrative, its impact in the economy since 1986 could be seen in the present and on-going policy of privatisation and commercialisation which has not only cut across various regimes but also across many sectors of the Nigeria's economy.

However, the general assessment is that after two decades of implementation of this policy in Latin America and Africa, *etc,* it has failed to yield the expected development dividend to the areas. It has rather left them more marginalised than ever.

The Basic Needs Theory

The Basic Needs theory principally states that the aim of development policies in individual countries should be to meet the basic needs of the entire population including the rural dwellers (Thrirlwall, 1994). This theory was initiated by the World Bank in the 1970s and it holds that certain basic consumption goods such as food, clothing and shelter are to be met by everyone as entitlement. It further stipulates that such basic services as education, health services and clean water are necessarily to be made available, and that there is the right for people to participate in making and implementing decisions that affect their development.

Inherent in the Basic Needs approach to development are the attractions of equity and social justice because the basic needs which must be met have to affect the entire population concerned equally. This means that both the poor and the minority groups will be impacted on processing plants, market stalls, culverts among others are directed positively to bring about an egalitarian society.

Most international development agencies' predicate their development intervention programmes on this theory, as a result they ensure into their programmes, the provision of such basic needs as shelter, safe-water, sanitation, health, education, and income generation, among others.

Democratic Participatory Theory

This theory emphasises the broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. It strives to create opportunities for all members of a political group to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities (Wikipedia, extracted on 13/05/2011).

The proponents of the theory of democratic participation which include (Laski, 1941; Madick, 1963; and Wison, 1948) further presume that local government functions to promote democracy and to provide opportunities for community participation of the grassroots. As such, it fosters political education and socialisation aimed at enlightening the people and articulating their efforts towards effective contribution to rural development than the other levels of government, since it is the only level of government closest to the people. The local government propagates democratic ethos at local level. The theory sees local government as an indispensible instrument of political education of the local populace, hence a means of civilising men in all spheres of governance and development.

This theory has far-reaching implications in international development cooperation today. This is because most international development agencies now adopt democratic participation of the local communities at initiation, implementation and management of their community projects and programmes. For example, UNDP, the World Bank, the EU, USAID, IFAD, *etc,* today involve the communities at all stages of their projects.

The proponents of the theory hold also that government's participation in community development is a constitutional role. That for meaningful development to occur at the local level, the local government must be functionally involved in promoting development initiatives through its participation in such efforts. It must engender community mobilisation through its socialisation agencies. Thus, the theory sees local government as an agent for community development through the conscious strategies of information dissemination.

Conclusion

Development theories are concerned with charting the course of improving living standards of people to embrace the expansion of people's opportunities, choices and capabilities to live in freedom and dignity. The theories x-rayed above have in varying dimensions attemted to do these. They have approached development from political, economic, sociological dimensions amongs others.

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