

Politics in the Developing World

Edited by

Peter Burnell
and Vicky Randall

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

Detailed contents	x
List of figures and maps	xvi
List of boxes	xvii
List of tables	xix
About the contributors	xx
List of acronyms and abbreviations	xxii

Introduction	1
<i>Peter Burnell and Vicky Randall</i>	

Part One Approaches and global context

1 Analytical approaches to the study of politics in the developing world	11
<i>Vicky Randall</i>	
2 The developing world in the global economy	27
<i>Stephen Hobden</i>	
3 The developing world in international politics	42
<i>Stephen Hobden</i>	

Part Two Society and state

4 Inequality	59
<i>Jenny Pearce</i>	
5 Ethnopolitics and nationalism	74
<i>James R. Scarritt</i>	
6 Religion	90
<i>Jeff Haynes</i>	
7 Women and gender	106
<i>Kathleen Staudt</i>	
8 Civil society	120
<i>Marina Ottaway</i>	

Part Three State and society

- | | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 9 | Theorizing the state | 139 |
| | <i>Adrian Leftwich</i> | |
| 10 | State-building | 155 |
| | <i>Brian Smith</i> | |
| 11 | State collapse and civil conflict | 171 |
| | <i>Martin Doornbos</i> | |
| 12 | Democratization | 185 |
| | <i>Peter Burnell</i> | |

Part Four Policy issues

- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|------------|
| 13 | Development | 205 |
| | <i>Tony Addison</i> | |
| 14 | Environment | 221 |
| | <i>Peter Newell</i> | |
| 15 | Human rights | 237 |
| | <i>Michael Freeman</i> | |

Part Five Case studies

- | | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 16 | Fragmentation or nation-building? | |
| | (a) Indonesia | 255 |
| | <i>Richard Robison</i> | |
| | (b) South Africa | 264 |
| | <i>Robert A. Schrire</i> | |
| 17 | Civil society: active or passive? | |
| | (a) India | 275 |
| | <i>Rob Jenkins</i> | |
| | (b) Saudi Arabia | 286 |
| | <i>David Pool</i> | |

18	Strong state, weak state	
	(a) Chile	297
	<i>Peter Siavelis</i>	
	(b) The Democratic Republic of Congo	308
	<i>Thomas M. Callaghy and Marton T. Markovits</i>	
19	From regional power to microstates	
	(a) Nigeria	319
	<i>Stephen Wright</i>	
	(b) The island states of the Pacific	329
	<i>Mark Otter</i>	
20	Military in politics versus democratic advance	
	(a) Pakistan	340
	<i>David Taylor</i>	
	(b) Mexico	349
	<i>Andreas Schedler</i>	
21	Underdevelopment and development	
	(a) Guatemala	360
	<i>Rachel Sieder</i>	
	(b) South Korea	371
	<i>Peter Ferdinand</i>	
	Appendix 1 Case study countries: basic indicators	383
	Appendix 2 Regional inter-governmental organizations in the developing world	384
	Glossary	386
	References	392
	Index	401

Detailed contents

Introduction	1
From 'Third World' to developing world	2
Politics as independent or dependent variable?	3
Global trends	5
Organization of the book	6
1 Analytical approaches to the study of politics in the developing world	11
Introduction	12
'Politics' and the 'developing world'	12
Dominant approaches	13
Current approaches	21
Conclusion: do we need a distinct analytical approach?	24
2 The developing world in the global economy	27
Introduction: The emergence of a global economy	28
The case for free trade	29
Limits on comparative advantage for developing countries	33
Operation of the global economy	35
Developing world's responses to the world trading system	37
Conclusion	39
3 The developing world in international politics	42
Introduction: international relations and the developing world	43
North–South relations since 1945	44
The developing world in international organizations	46
The debt crisis	52
Conclusion	54
4 Inequality	59
Introduction	60
Charting the conceptual waters	61
The politics of inequality in developing countries	65
Equality questioned	68
Equality and human diversity	69
Conclusion	71
5 Ethnopolitics and nationalism	74
Introduction	75
The construction and politicization of ethnic identities	75

Varieties of nationalism in the developing world	78
Ethnopolitics in multi-ethnic and deeply divided societies	80
The state and nation-building in the developing world	86
Conclusion	87
6 Religion	90
Introduction	91
Religion and politics	92
Religious fundamentalism	93
Religious fundamentalism and politics in the developing world	95
Religion and the state	98
Religion in international politics after 'September 11'	102
Conclusion	103
7 Women and gender	106
Introduction: historical perspectives	107
Women's policy interests	108
Policy injustices	111
Women's political activism: movements, non-governmental organizations, and decision-makers	113
More global dimensions	116
Conclusions	117
8 Civil society	120
Introduction: defining civil society	122
Traditional and modern civil society	125
The modern state and civil society as a specialized entity	127
Civil society and the state in the developing world	130
Civil Society and democratization	131
Conclusions	134
9 Theorizing the state	139
Introduction: institutions, politics, and the state	140
The modern state	141
The state in the developing world: provenance and forms	144
The state in the developing world: characteristics and features	149
The state in the developing world: facing the challenges	152
Conclusion	153
10 State-building	155
Introduction: varieties of state-building	156
Failures in state-building	157
Building political order	159

Building a developmental state	161
Building institutions	163
Building policy capacity	164
Foreign assistance	167
Conclusion: state-building and democracy	168
11 State collapse and civil conflict	171
Introduction	172
Understanding state collapse	173
Dynamics of civil conflict and state collapse	175
State–society linkages under threat	177
Diverse trajectories	178
Statelessness and the international context	181
Conclusions	183
12 Democratization	185
Introduction	186
Regime change, democracy, and democratization	186
Democratization as process	188
Explaining democratization	190
The international politics of democratization	196
Conclusion	200
13 Development	205
Introduction	206
Defining development policy objectives	207
Achieving economic growth	212
Markets and states	212
Trade policy as an instrument for development	215
Capital flows and economic reform	216
Conclusions	218
14 Environment	221
Introduction	222
Global context	222
Environment and development: an uneasy relationship	226
Policy processes	227
New policy instruments for environmental protection	231
Futures	234
15 Human rights	237
Introduction	238
The concept of human rights	240

Human rights regimes	241
‘Human rights begin at breakfast’	242
Universalism and cultural diversity	245
The new political economy of human rights	248
Conclusion	250
16 Fragmentation or nation-building?	
(a) Indonesia	255
The genesis of Indonesia’s centralized state, 1949–1965	257
Deepening centralized state power, 1965–1998	258
Economic crisis and the unravelling of the Soeharto state	259
Will Indonesia survive?	260
Conclusion	262
(b) South Africa	264
The historical legacy	265
Negotiations	267
The new order: from apartheid to the rainbow nation	268
Political transformation and nation-building	269
Leadership, national identities, and the future	272
Conclusion	273
17 Civil society: active or passive?	
(a) India	275
Introduction	276
Size and composition of India’s civil society	278
State fostering of civil society	280
Civil society and the promotion of better governance	281
Conclusion	283
(b) Saudi Arabia	286
Introduction	288
The historical context of state-building	288
Opposition, the rentier state, and Islam	291
Foreign policy and dissent	294
Conclusion	295
18 Strong state, weak state	
(a) Chile	297
Introduction	299
The Latin American state in historical perspective	299
Explaining the origins of the strong Chilean state	300

Development, social welfare, corruption, and success of the Chilean state	301
The crisis of the Chilean state	304
The Pinochet dictatorship and its legacy	305
Conclusion: lessons from the rise and transformation of the Chilean state	306
(b) The Democratic Republic of Congo	308
Introduction	310
Historical context: political, economic, and cultural repression	310
Zaire as a failing state	312
Zaire/DRC in the Central African cauldron: decomposition and reshaping	314
Conclusion	316
19 From regional power to microstates	
(a) Nigeria	319
Introduction	321
The economics of oil	322
Regional influence in foreign policy	323
Social change, democracy, and instability	325
Conclusion	327
(b) The island states of the Pacific	329
Introduction	332
Diversity in the Pacific	332
Issues in Pacific Politics	335
Issues in Pacific development	336
International relations in the Pacific	336
Conclusion	338
20 Military in politics versus democratic advance	
(a) Pakistan	340
Introduction: from independence to state breakup in 1971	341
Unstable government: 1971–1999	345
General Musharraf's rule since 1999	346
Conclusion	347
(b) Mexico	349
From independence to revolution	351
The foundations of electoral authoritarianism	352
The structural bases of regime change	354
Democratization by elections	355
After transition	356
Conclusion	358

21 Underdevelopment and development	
(a) Guatemala	360
Introduction	362
Guatemala: poverty and multiple inequalities	362
Patterns of state formation	364
The peace accords: a turning point?	366
Conclusions	369
(b) South Korea	371
Introduction	373
Historical legacies	373
Institutions of development	374
Development policies	376
The emergence of democracy	378
Conclusion: emerging problems	379
Appendix 1 Case study countries: basic indicators	383
Appendix 2 Regional inter-governmental organizations in the developing world	384
Glossary	386
References	392
Index	401