

Historical embeddedness of inequalities

Project of colonization, modernity and Modernization school

Structure of presentation

- 1) colonialism and its repercussions (impact) on contemporary development
- 2) modernity as European period and culture
- 3) main aspects of European project
- 4) post war development
- 5) economic theories of development - 'old' theories of development vs. New theories of growth
- 6) modernization school

Colonialism – definition

- - subjugation **by physical** and **psychological force** of one culture by another –
- **by a colonizing power** – through military conquest of territory .

Colonialism – WHAT IT MEANT

- ⊙ Direct political control and administration of an overseas territory by a foreign state
- ⊙ Colonial mission to develop colonial peoples
 - concept of *trusteeship*
- ⊙ Cowen, Shenton (1996)- Doctrines of Development

Expansion of the European colonial system - impact

- Colonialism – institutions and structures of colonialism had profound effect on the colonized societies (Preston)
- Key factor – relations between local elites and the center power, nationalism – Benedict Anderson

Reorganization of colonial labour

- Non-European societies were **fundamentally transformed** by the loss of their resources and craft tradition as their people became colonial subject
- (labouring in mines, fields, plantations under regime of explorative production)

Africa and colonialism - nation states, nationalism

- Africa - table-drawn boundaries,
- *Scramble for Africa* at the Berlin conference (1884–1885),
- cut across many indigenous communities and created superficial divisions that further aggravated the already complicated situation.

Two types of colonies

- A) **colonies of settlement** – which other eliminated indigenous people (Spanish destruction of the Aztec and Inca civilizations)
- B) **colonies of rule** – colonial administrators reorganize existing cultures to facilitate their exploitation (British use of local zamindars to rule the Indian subcontinent)

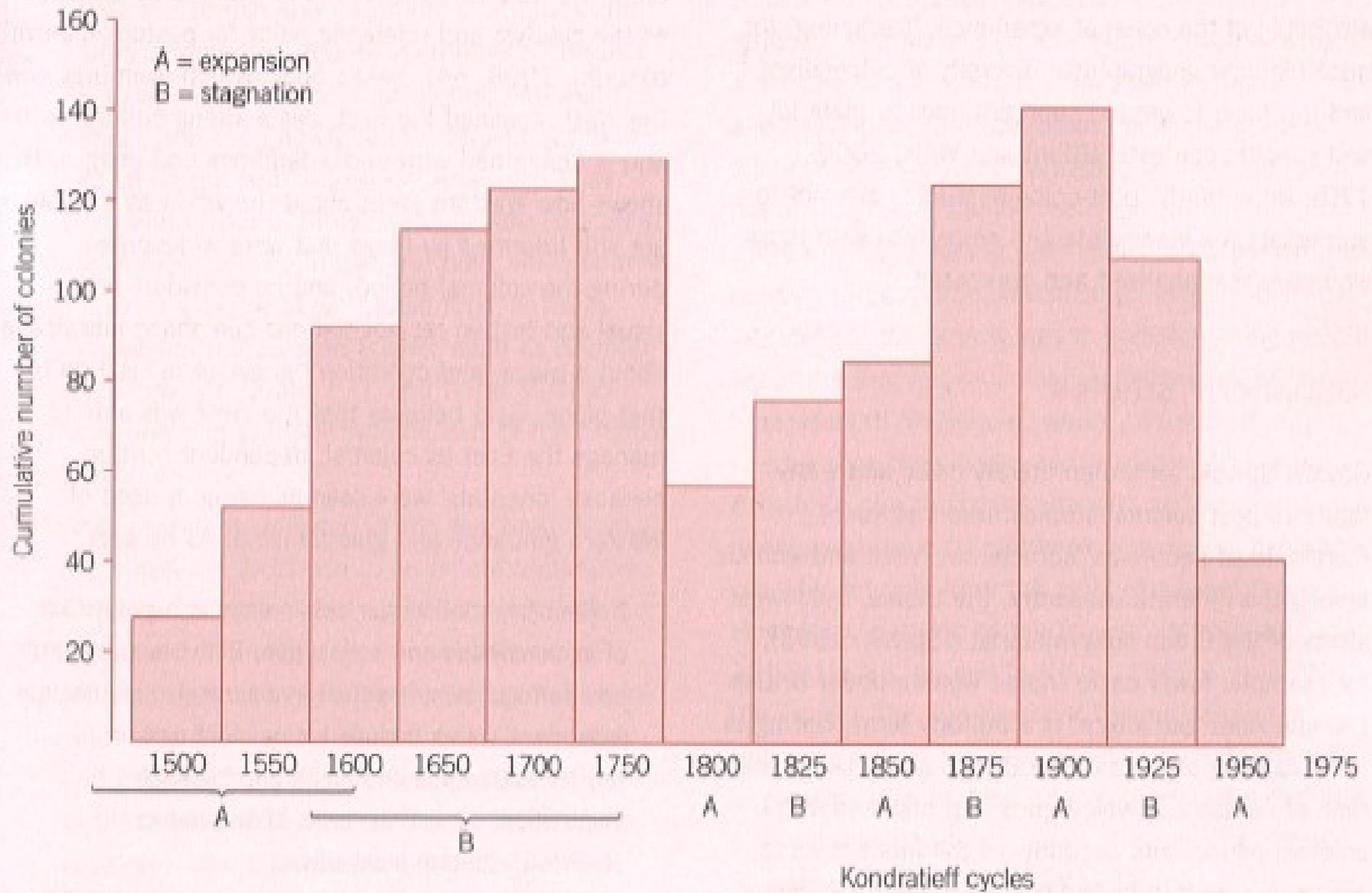


Figure 2.2 Long and short waves of colonialism

Source: Adapted from *Political Geography*, Taylor, P., Pearson Education Ltd © 1985

Types of colonial rule

- **Spanish, portugese patterns of colonization** – did not bring about economic growth for **the colonizing powers;**
- **Netherlands and United Kingdom profited**

Types of colonial rule

- **British empire** – administrators from England – to colonies
- Incorporation of indigenous people into administrative machinery
- **French** – tried to win over the domestic elite, assimilation via education system.

Enlightenment and indigenous communities

- ⊙ Enlightenment interpretation of primitive societies – ideal of innocence
- ⊙ Who inspired the approach?
- ⊙ MEHMET, O. (1999): *Westernizing the Third World, The Eurocentricity of economic development theories*, Routledge, London.

Bodley: Victims of Progress – cultural dimension of colonialism

“When the white man came he had the Bible and we had the land. When the white man left we had the Bible and he had the land.” Under colonialism, non-Europeans lost control of many of their material resources, a condition that led to considerable social disorganization.

The non-European world appeared backward to the colonizers, who

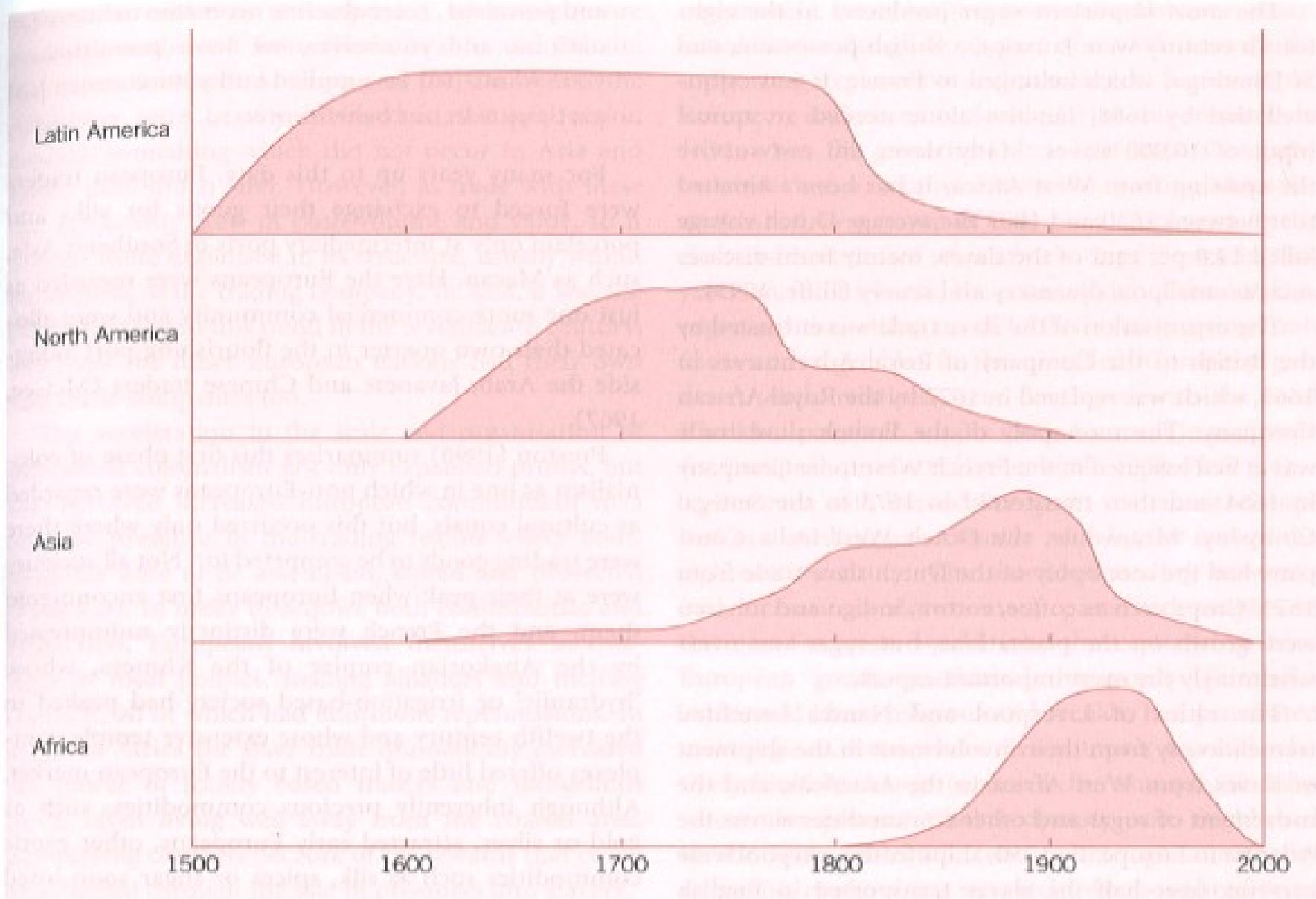


Figure 2.4 Regional colonialism: a chronology of the rise and fall in the numbers of colonies

Source: Adapted from Lowder (1986)

Reorganization of colonial labour

- A great deal of colonial labor was **channeled away from reproducing local, non European culture** and into sustaintin distant European urban and industrial needs.

Political changes in colonies

- 19th century colonialism became more **bureaucratic and centrally organized**
- Late 19th century – colonial administrations in Asia and Africa were self-financing system,

Political changes in colonies

- Putting to use the loaylty of local princes and chiefs, bought with titles, land and tax-farming privileges.
- Colonial subjects were forces into cash cropping to pay the taxes that finances the whole colonial enterprise

Changed role division

- **Incorporation of male colonial subjects into cash cropping**
- Disruption of formely complementary gender roles of men and women in traditional cultures

Changed role division

- Women's traditional land-user rights were often displaced by new system of private property
- Increasing pressure on good production, normally the responsibility of women

Changed role division

- Kenya – the **former interdependence between men and women** in Kikuyu culture was fragmented – peasants' land confiscated –
- men migrated to work on European farms,
- reduction of women's control over the resources and lowering their status, wealth and authority.

Process of global expansion

Process of absorption and reconstruction of other peoples

Establishment of material base of global system

Construction of machineries of control and order

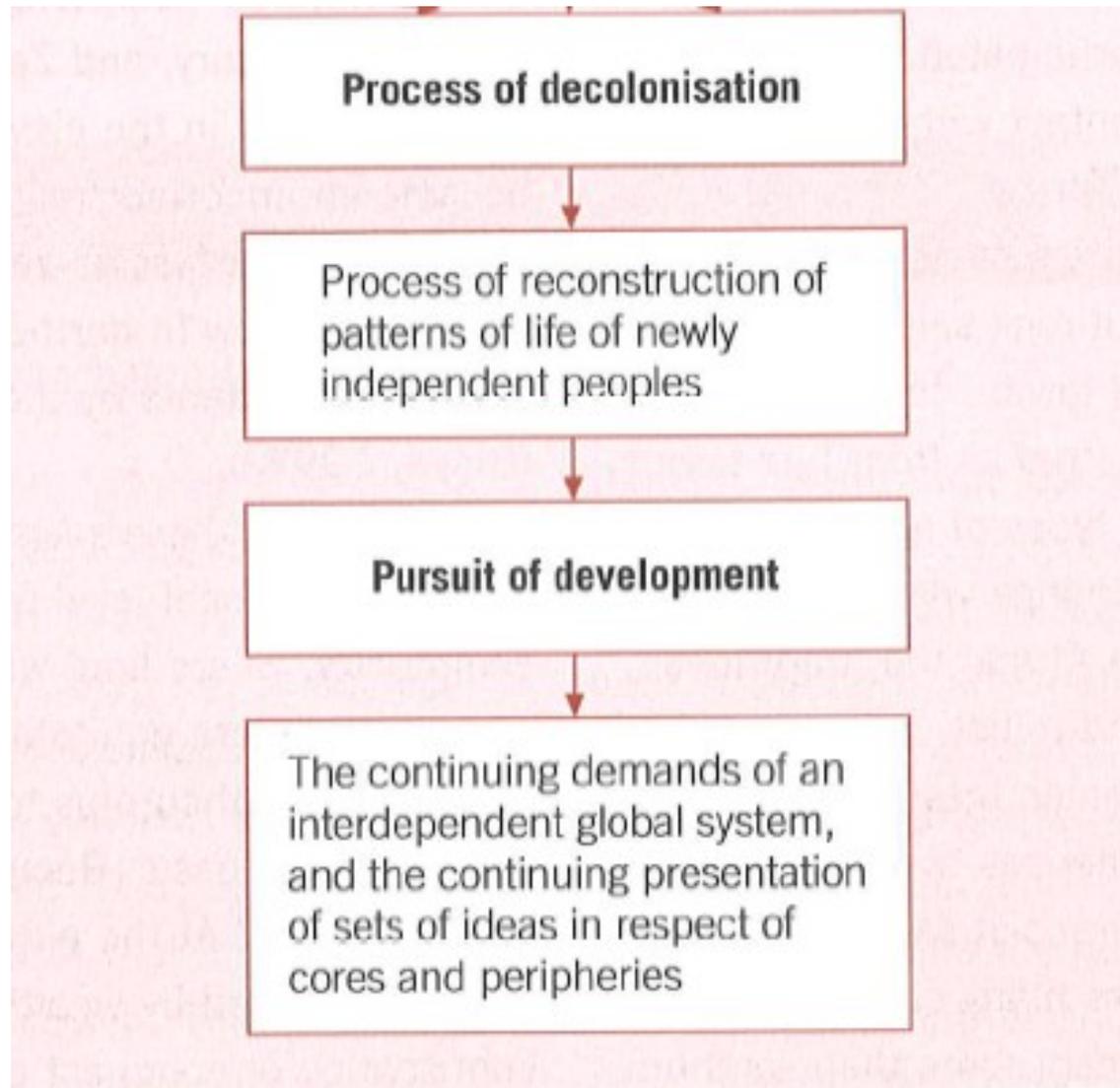
Elaboration of legitimating ideologies

Industry
Trade
Finance

Colonial state
Colonial city
Colonial society

From exotic
to ideal to savage
to underdeveloped

Processes of decolonisation



Nation states, nationalism

- Africa - table-drawn boundaries,
- *Scramble for Africa* at the Berlin conference (1884–1885),
- cut across many indigenous communities and created superficial divisions that further aggravated the already complicated situation.

What is the relevance of colonialism?

- conclusions

- Is colonialism relevant?
- How ?
- Consider – political, economic, cultural dimension
- Political – nation states, impact on stratification of society
- Economic – patterns of trade
- Cultural – Rahmena
- Other dimensions?

Modernity and uneven development

Development as spread of Modernity

European project of modernity

- Hall and Gieben
- (1) *The Reason* and its derivative notion of rationality:
- “the primacy of reason and rationality as ways of organizing knowledge, tempered by experience and experiment” (Hall, Gieben, 2000: 21).
- .

Development as spread of Modernity

- (2) Empiricism represents a fundamental shift from believing into sensing :
- “the idea that all thought and knowledge about natural and social world is **based upon empirical facts**, things that all human beings can apprehend through their sense organs” (*ibid.*).

Development as spread of Modernity

- (3) Science as the driving force fuelling the modernization
- “Scientific knowledge, based upon the experimental method as developed in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, was the key to expanding *all* human knowledge (*ibid*)

Development as spread of Modernity

Relevance of science –
science at the onset of the modernization
project
was believed to provide us with
**unequivocal and indisputable
knowledge**

Feminist perspective on science

- Braidotti et al. (1994) write of Western science as of the motor of the crisis.
- Braidotti (1994:10)
- role of science that assumes 'totalizing control over reality'.

Feminist perspective on science

- “Science with its *claims to objective truth* plays an important role in the way we think and act, in the way the modern societies function”
(Braidotti et al, 1994: 9, emphasis added).
- Vandana Shiva (Post-development Reader, Rahmena,

Development as spread of Modernity

- (4) Universalism, “The concept that reason and science could be applied to any and every situation and that their principles were the same in every situation.
- Science, in particular, produces *general laws which govern the entire universe, without exception*” (Hall, 2001: 21; emphasis added)

Development as spread of Modernity

- *(5) Progress* - idea that the natural and social conditions of human beings could be improved, and would result in an ever-increasing level of happiness and well-being” (Hall, 2000: 21).
- The founding concepts of social science - intimately bound up with the Enlightenment’s **concept of science that offers the possibilities of control.**

The concept of progress

- During much of the development era the concept of progress was narrowly viewed **as economic growth**, which in turn was summarized **by the growth of the GDP**.
- Cf measurements of uneven development
- progress understood as economic growth is either ancient or universal
- Deboraj Ray in her Development economics (2007)
- economic growth is the *modern invention* and there is nothing universal or necessary about it.

Economic progress – universal phenomenon?

- “Economic growth (cf Kuznets 1996) is a relatively modern phenomenon. Throughout most of human history, appreciable growth in per capita gross domestic product (GDP) was **the exception rather than rule**.
- In fact it is not far from the truth to say that *modern economic growth was born after the Industrial*
- *Revolution in Britain*” (Ray, 2007: 48; emphasis added).

- Rostow identifies: “The value system of these societies was generally geared to what might be called a long-run fatalism” (Rostow, 1962: 5). Which entailed also undesirable *ascriptive allocation of status* within the traditional societies:
- “Generally speaking, these societies (...) had to devote a very high proportion of their resources to agriculture; and flowing from the agricultural system there was a hierarchical social structure, with relatively narrow scope – but some scope of vertical mobility” (Rostow, 1962: 5).

Progress

- as Hall explains further: “The founding
- concepts of social science were intimately bound up with the Enlightenment’s concept of progress, the idea that through the application of reasoned and
- empirically based knowledge, social institutions could be created that would make men happier and free from cruelty, injustice and despotism” (Hall, 2000: 37). The concept of progress is intrinsically connected with science as science offers the possibilities of control.

individualism

- *(6) Individualism* is the concept that the
- “individual is the starting point for all knowledge and action, and that *individual*
- *reason cannot be subjected to a higher authority*” (Hall, 2000: 22; emphasis added).
- Out of this characteristic stems the *methodological individualism* that prevailed
- in economics throughout the 20th century

toleration

- *(7) Toleration* is the notion
- that all human beings are essentially the same, despite their religious or moral convictions,
- and that the beliefs of other races or civilizations are not inherently
- inferior to those of European Christianity” (Hall, 2001: 21).

freedom

- ***(8) Freedom***
- can be defined “an opposition to feudal and traditional constraints on beliefs, trade, communication, social interaction, sexuality, and ownership of property” (*ibid.*).

Uniformity of human nature

Uniformity of human nature means “the belief that the principal characteristics of human nature were always and everywhere the same” (Hall, 2000: 22).

liberation from tradition and other constraints and the pursuit of individualistic aspiration

it is in sharp contrast with the existence of colonialism.

Cf . large part of the project of modernity occurred during the colonial times.

secularism

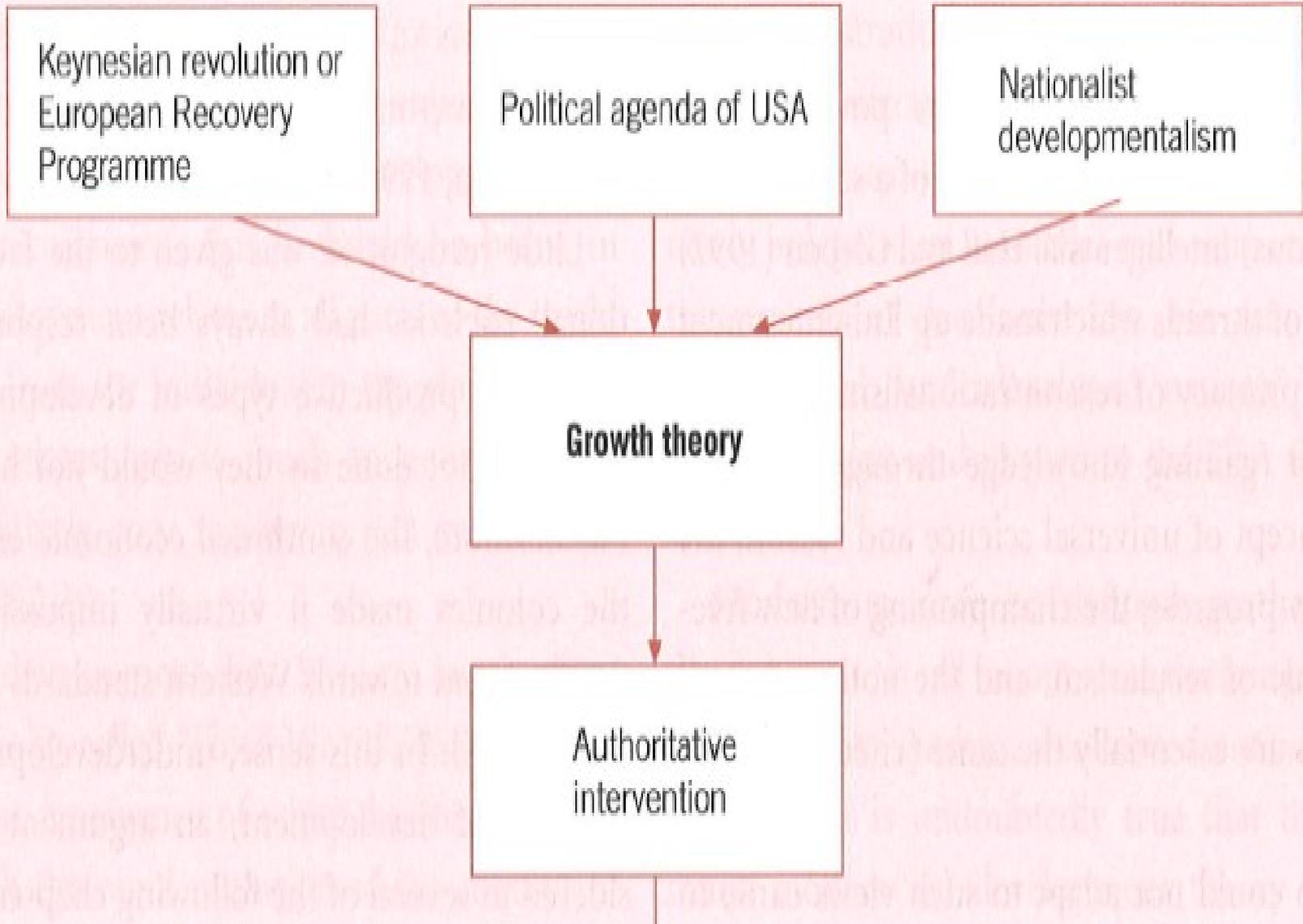
- *10) Secularism*
- Existence of religion-free PUBLIC SPHERE
- virulent *anti-clericalism*.
- The *philosopher's* opposition to traditional religious authority stressed the need for **secular knowledge free of religious orthodoxies**" (Hall, 2000: 22).

Nation states, nationalism

- multiplied the already existing cleavages in the torn societies, but beside the existing tribal, regional and religious cleavages another one was created and imposed upon the former colonial subjects – the national one.
- the case in Africa, where the table-drawn boundaries, conceived during the *Scramble for Africa* at the Berlin conference (1884–1885), cut across many indigenous communities and created superficial divisions that
- further aggravated the already complicated situation.

CONDITIONS OF POST WAR DEVELOPMENT

POST WAR DEVELOPMENT PERIOD



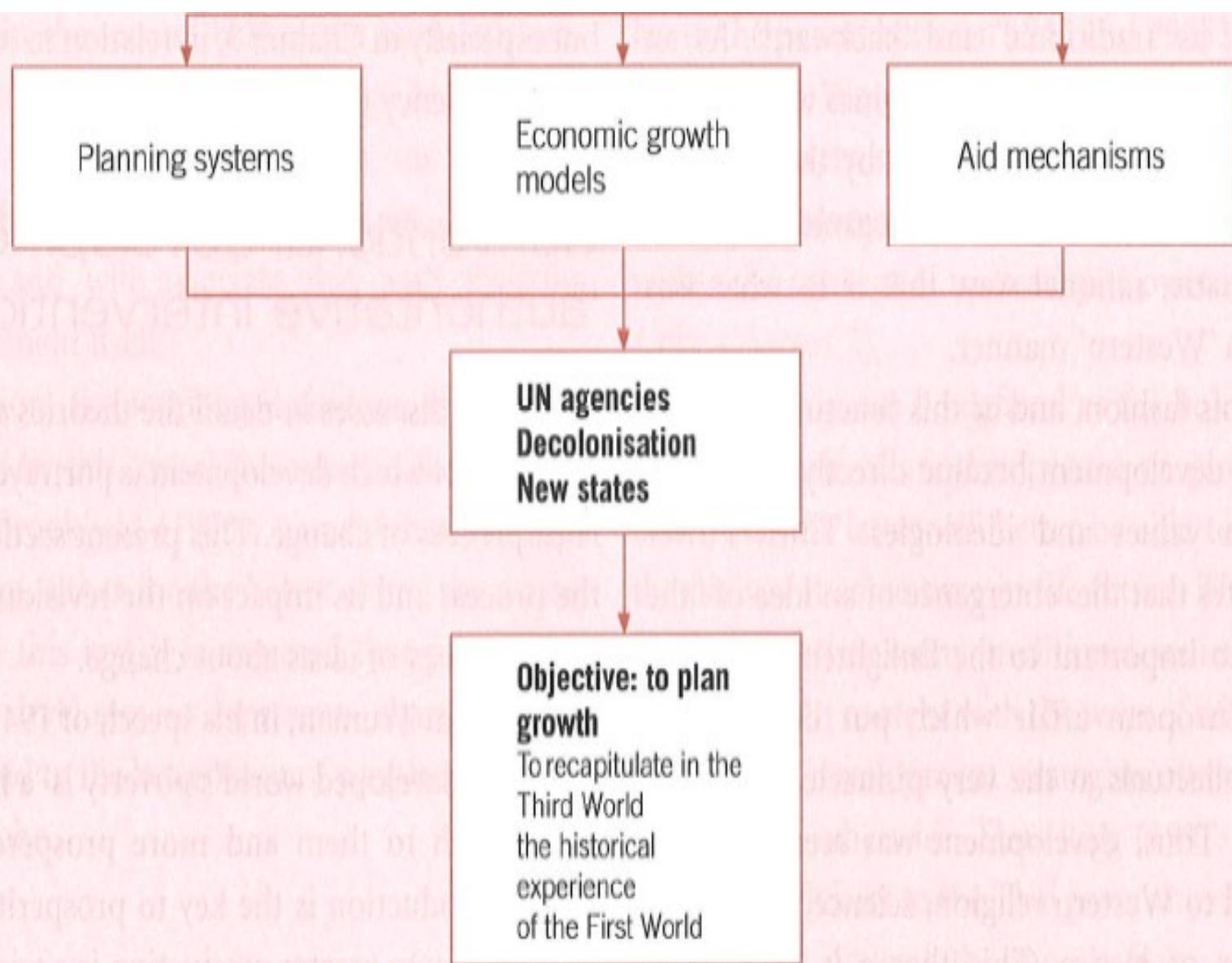


Figure 1.1 Post-colonial growth theory

Source: Adapted from Preston (1996)

Project of development

WORLD FRAMEWORK	Developmentalism (1940s–1970s)
POLITICAL ECONOMY	State-Regulated Markets Keynesian Public Spending
SOCIAL GOALS	Social Entitlement and Welfare Uniform Citizenship
DEVELOPMENT [MODEL]	Industrial Replication National Economic Management [Brazil, Mexico, India]
MOBILIZING TOOL	Nationalism (Post-Colonialism)

Project of development

MECHANISMS

Import-Substitution Industrialization (ISI)

Public Investment (Infrastructure and Energy)

Education

Land Reform

VARIANTS

First World (Freedom of Enterprise)

Second World (Central Planning)

Third World (Modernization via Developmental Alliance)

'Old' Theories of Growth

- development process = process of **capital formation**;
- Capital formation is largely determined by **levels of savings and investment**
- **Growth = function of savings and investments (S,I)**

'Old' Theories of Growth

- ⦿ Focus on **high-growth** sectors such as manufacturing (to the detriment of agriculture)
- ⦿ In instances where market imperfections prevent this process from reaching a successful conclusion,
- ⦿ **intervention may be required form the state and/ or external sources**

Neo-classical approach

- Marshall – *Principles of economics (1890)*
- General equilibrium
- Self-clearing markets
- Laissez faire- laissez passer
- PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION (BY STATES)

Neo-classical approach

- Neoclassical models neglect structural rigidities common to developing countries
- Prevent market from responding to price changes in 'NORMAL' E.G. THEORIZED MANNER

'Old' Theories of Growth

As income levels increase with development

MARGINAL PROPENSITY TO SAVE (MPS)

Growth – self-sustained character

Growth – market driven; however breaking free

from **the inertia of long term stagnation**

might **require extensive state intervention.**

Growth theory

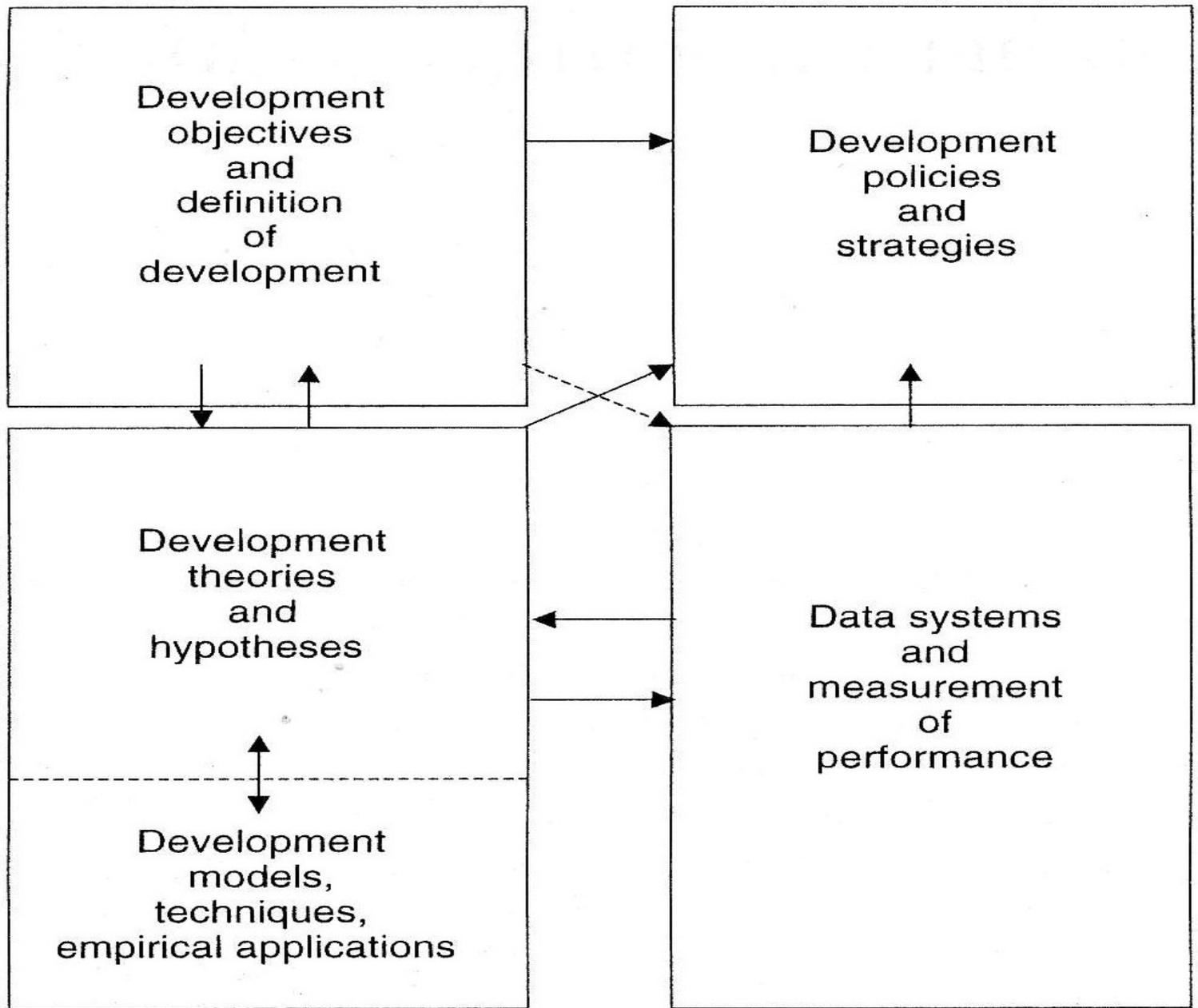
- Growth theory – development process of capital formation;
- Capital formation is largely determined by levels of savings and investment
- Focus on high-growth sectors such as manufacturing
- In instances where market imperfections prevent this process from reaching a successful conclusion, intervention may be required from the state and/ or external sources

Growth theory II

As income levels increase with development
MARGINAL PROPENSITY TO SAVE (MPS)

Growth – self-sustained character

Growth – market driven; however breaking free
from the inertia of long term stagnation might
require extensive state intervention.



Development doctrine: key interrelationships

Criticism of neoclassical approach

- Neoclassical models neglect structural rigidities common to developing countries
- Prevent market from responding to price changes in 'NORMAL' E.G. THEORIZED MANNER

Growth theory

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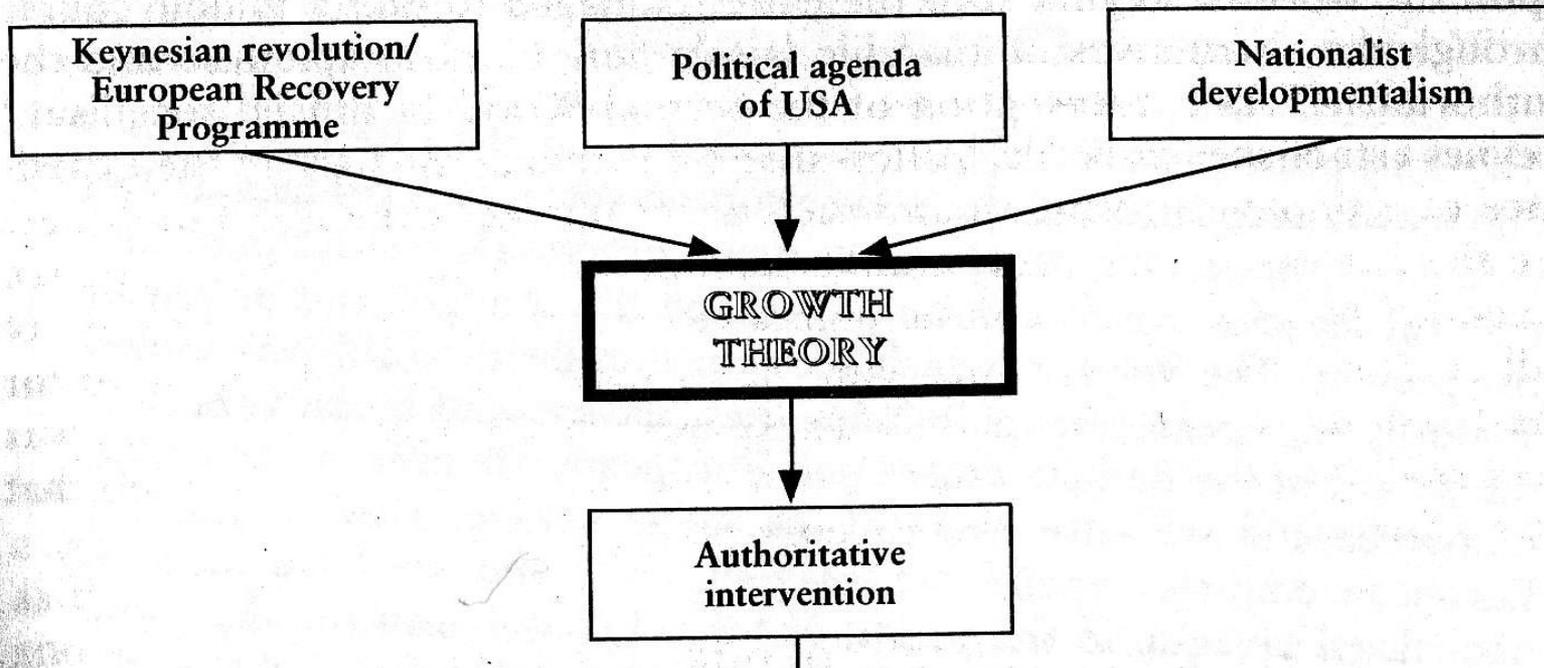
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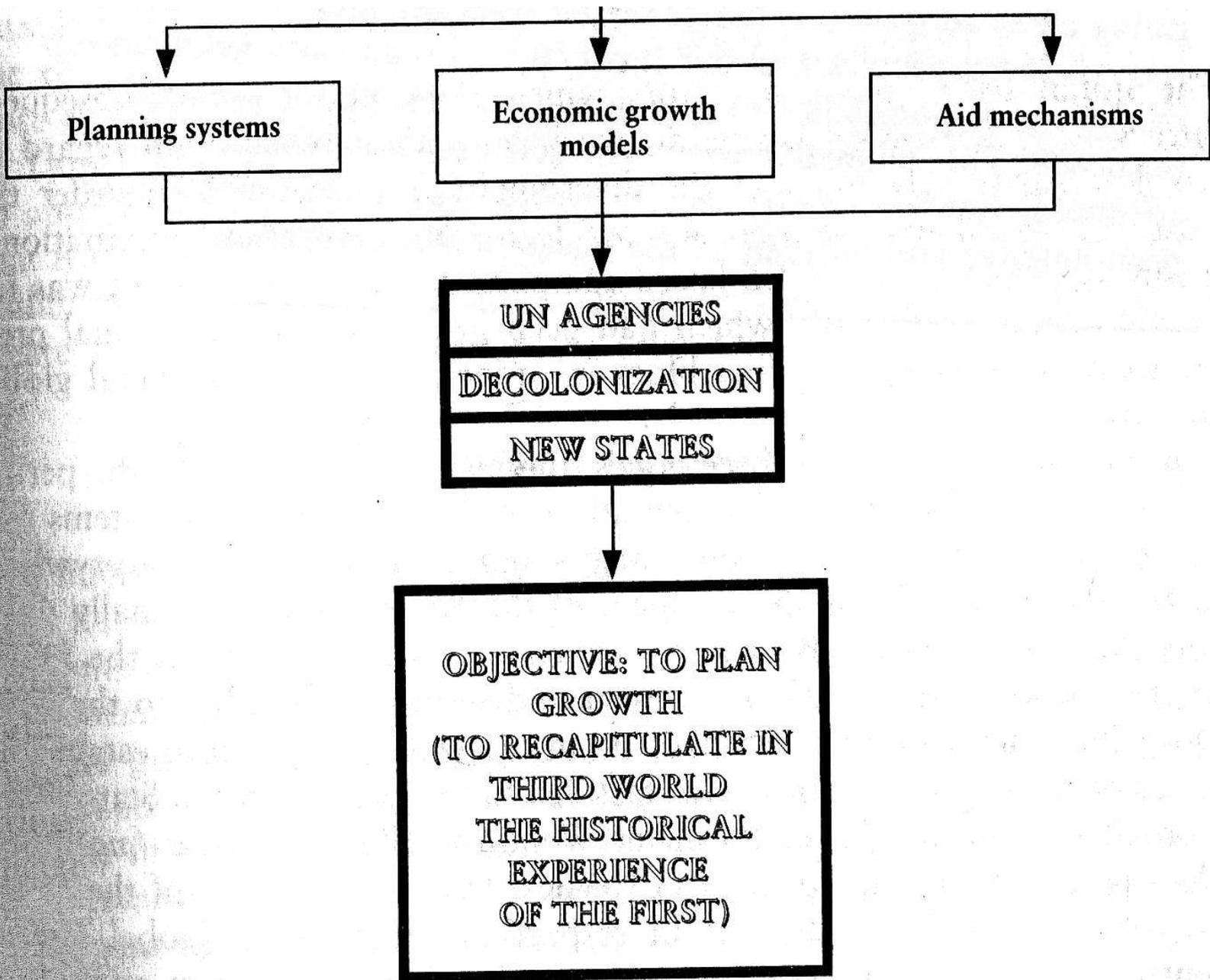
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require extensive state intervention.

Preston: teorie růstu

Figure 10 Growth theory





Planning systems

Economic growth models

Aid mechanisms

UN AGENCIES

DECOLONIZATION

NEW STATES

OBJECTIVE: TO PLAN GROWTH
(TO RECAPITULATE IN THIRD WORLD THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE FIRST)

The development matrix

- In search on a mono-causal explanations
- the divine recipe to induce development
- The dangerous idea of self-sustained growth – automatic process
- Cypher, J.M.; Dietz, J.L.: *The Process of Economic Development*, Routledge, 1997.

Characteristics of modernization theory

- Growth is regarded as unilinear process
- Self-sustained once the big-push is introduced
- Possibilities of decline or underdevelopment are not taken into account

Lewis – self sustained growth

1950:39

- Once the snowball starts to move downhill, it will move of its own momentum
- You have, as it were, to begin by trolling your snowball up the mountain.
- Once it get there, the rest is easy, but you cannot get it there without the first making and initial effort.

Paradigm shift

- The rise of growth theory - rift in mainstream development studies
- Older orthodox neoclassical theory replaced by Keynesian interventionist school
- However continued stress on the importance of a 'pure' market and export-led growth
- Principle of comparative advantage

Criticism of neoclassical approach

- Neoclassical theory is static and focused on allocation of given resources
- Development problems – dynamic; focus on increasing investable resources through stimulation of savings and investment
- Big push needed to initiate the process
- Neoclassical theory offers only marginal adjustment and piecemeal improvements

Criticism of neoclassical approach

- Neoclassical models neglect structural rigidities common to developing countries
- Prevent market from responding to price changes in 'NORMAL' E.G. THEORIZED MANNER

Criticism of neoclassical III

- The neoclassical emphasis on development – comparative advantage + free trade = inappropriate to the late industrializes of the South
- Direct static losses from state intervention to support industrialization – more that offset by dynamic gains
- Dynamic gains = technological change, improved skills, long-term benefits from infant industries

Eurocentric vision

- Growth theory – structured by Eurocentric vision of development based in Keynesian interpretation of the unique albeit historically important experience of core industrial capitalism
- ‘New nations’ - were to follow the Western model
- ‘Modernization imperative’ Nayar 1972
- Based on a stylized version of Western economic history
- Sequence of states on a unilinear path toward higher Western-style development

The theory of the big push

- Rosenstein-Rodan – hidden potential for economic development
- Taking advantage of increasing returns from large scale planned industrialization
- Several sector simultaneously

Brohman

- Modernization –mixture of development factors – technological change capital accumulation changing values and attitudes
- Inducing social change (values, norms, beliefs, customs)
- Theorization of such social change – principally via conceptual apparatus of classical sociology

Path dependence

- “The term **path dependence** has been used to describe the important role which historical events and historically formed institutions have in determining the future range of possibilities for a nation. Once institutions have been formed, they tend to lock-in certain evolutionary path for the nation [Fieldhouse, quoted by Cypher, Dietz, 1997:72]