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Re-visioning "the social": towards a citizen-centred social policy for the poor in poor countries

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Summary

This paper begins by reviewing the different meanings given to the concept of "the social" within the development policy discourse over the past half century in order to delineate the domain of "social policy" in the context of developing countries. This review suggests that the "social" dimensions of public policy relate to those aspects which bear on how societies reproduce themselves at different levels: at the micro-level of individuals and their capabilities; at the meso level of institutions and social relations; and at the macro level of the societal structures of production and reproduction. Institutions are critical within this understanding of "social policy" because they mediate the processes by which societies translate the resources at their disposal into the individual and societal outcomes which are of interest to policy-makers.

The paper develops an analytical framework organised around the concepts of institutions and institutional access in order to explore the factors which help to explain the experience of different countries in their attempts to translate economic resources into social outcomes. The paper suggests that, while variations in performance reflect a range of historical, political and economic factors, ideological adherence to either state-centred or market-driven approaches to social need have in the past prevented consideration of policy options more tailored to the pattern of local need, particularly the needs of poor and excluded groups. In practice, social need has been met in diverse ways by diverse groups so that the reality on the ground has been one of welfare pluralism. Managing this pluralism from a citizen-centred perspective offers a promising route to a more inclusive social policy for the future. The paper concludes by considering what some of the elements of such an approach might be.

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Acknowledgements

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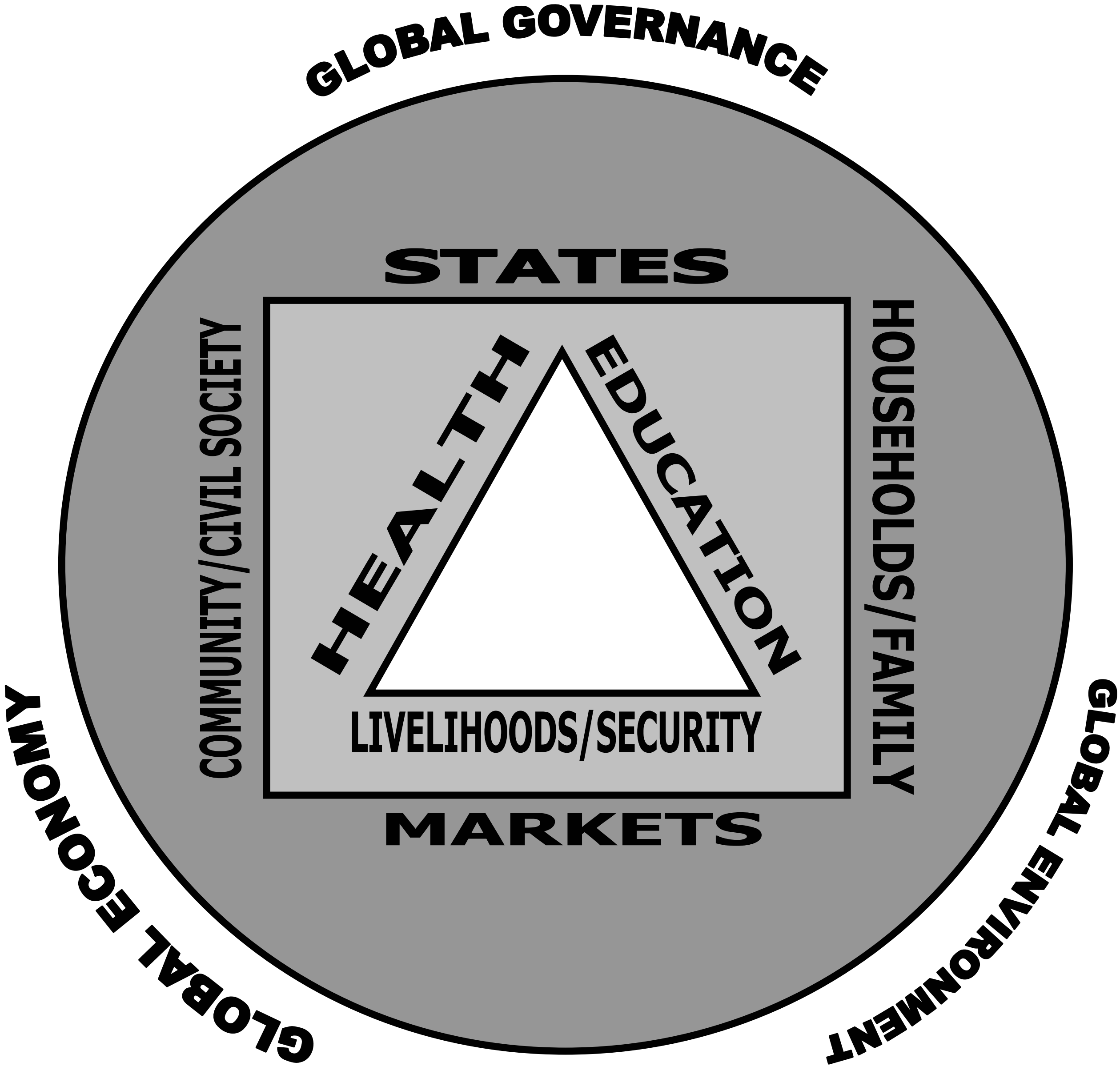
Figure 1.1 Proposed themes for research on social policy for the poor in poor countries



1 Introduction: the problem of boundaries in policy discourse

In 1998, the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex together with partner institutions in Bangladesh and India (from the South Asian region), China (from the East Asian region) and Malawi (from Southern Africa) embarked on a DFID-funded programme of research on social policy issues in the context of development.[1] Figure 1.1 summarises the basic themes of the research that we proposed to carry out. It spelt out our intended focus on basic human capabilities and livelihood security and drew attention to the range of institutional actors, global as well as local, likely to be involved in shaping patterns of social provisioning in different contexts. The idea of "social provisioning", as it will be used in this paper, refers very simply to the sum total of activities by which people take care of themselves and plan for their future (Elson 1998). Our decision to focus on human capabilities and livelihood security as key aspects of social provisioning was intended to reflect our concerns with issues of poverty and social exclusion in low-income countries. However, we started from the premise that such concerns did not exhaust the domain of social policy. The point of departure for the proposed research was to investigate the value-added of a social policy perspective to the current poverty reduction agenda.

This required us to confront very early on in developing our research agenda the question that all researchers on social policy have to address at some stage in their work: what is "social" about social policy and how does it differ from "economic" policy (Kabeer and Cook 2000). As Elson (2000) points out, one of the problems with establishing the boundaries between the two lies in the fact that "the economic" and "the social" are not abstract dualities: people do not live their lives in separate domains, distinct aspects of which can be labelled "economic" and "social" (p1). While her point applies to people's lives across the world, it has particular resonance for those areas of the developing world where economic life continues to be embedded within, and governed in important ways by, non-market relationships. The boundaries between "the economic" and "the social" are far more blurred in these contexts because so many activities that are conventionally described as "economic" in mainstream economics are carried out through relationships that have been conventionally cast as "non-economic". This is in marked contrast to processes of production in advanced capitalist economies where the defining institutional feature has been the emergence of a distinct, and dominant, sphere of market relations, attempts to regulate which by the state on behalf of its citizens have given rise to a distinct set of "social" policies.

This takes us to the second aspect of the problem of boundary definition: the origins of social policy discourse. As Baltodano (1999) has pointed out, the very concept of social policy is intimately linked with a specific historical process – the evolution of modern Western societies along a capitalist trajectory and the perceived need for policy interventions to protect the working population from the vagaries of the market place. Much of the existing literature on social policy in developing countries has drawn on this experience and reproduced its concepts, frameworks and instruments in contexts which are characterised by very different institutional configurations. In some cases, this has led to the conceptualisation of social

1 The partners were the Jawarlahal Nehru University, India, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi and the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China.

policies in extremely narrow terms, dictated by professional concerns with social work or bureaucratic demarcation of sectors. These have failed to take account of the inter-connected nature of people's lives, particularly in the context of subsistence or only partially commodified economies, a problem that will be discussed later in the paper.

On the other hand, attempts to transfer broad conceptual frameworks developed in the context of advanced industrialised economies to the conditions that prevail in the poorer countries of the south are beset with their own problems. Examples of this are illustrated by recent attempts to transfer the "welfare regime" typology developed by Esping-Anderson for the European context to a number of "southern" countries (1990; see, for instance, Gough 2001; Davis 2001; Barrientos 2001). The usefulness of a framework developed to capture the "path-dependent" evolution of social policy in the relatively similar societies of Europe to the extremely different, and highly differentiated, societies which make up the global south is in any case highly questionable It is rendered even more problematic in the context of an increasingly globalised world, where the rapid transfer of ideas and policies across national boundaries, most recently through the imposition of structural adjustment programmes by the international financial institutions, continually disrupts the possibilities of "path-dependence" which characterised the evolution of institutional arrangements in an earlier and more stable era.

Furthermore, concepts and frameworks have a degree of "path-dependence" of their own. They have evolved within specific contexts and the insights they have to offer are likely to be shaped – and limited – by that context. There is consequently a real danger that reliance on concepts and constructs developed in the context of advanced industrialised countries to investigate the problems facing poorer southern countries will produce an account which fails to capture the unique challenges of economic growth, poverty reduction and human development which face them today. Finally, while the gender-blindness of the original formulation of the welfare regimes approach has been rectified in subsequent formulations, it remains an approach in which the "care economy" and unpaid work are "added on" rather than central to the analysis.[2]

For these reasons, we rejected both "social sectors" and "welfare regimes" as appropriate frameworks for our analysis. Instead, we decided to take the "sustainable livelihoods" (SL) framework as our starting point. This was developed precisely to address the conditions prevailing in poorer southern countries (Chambers 1995; Scoones 1998; Carney 1998; Carney *et al.* 1999; Ellis 2000) and appeared better equipped to address the challenges these conditions posed for development policy. However, the framework had to be considerably modified to serve our purpose. First of all, the idea of "sustainability" carries a number of different meanings in the development discourse. Growth-oriented models of development use it to imply the generation of the economic surpluses necessary to sustain some desired level of development effort. Environmentalists have drawn attention to the need to conserve the natural resource basis of the development effort. Our concern, on the other hand, was with "social sustainability",

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2 Sainsbury (1999), for instance, argues that the Nordic welfare state model described by Esping-Andersen is far more internally differentiated if gender differences in social policy are taken into account.

the extent to which the human capabilities that people brought to bear in meeting their needs and securing their livelihoods were renewed and enhanced in the course of development, and across generations. We had to reformulate the SL framework to take this into account.

Secondly, our focus in the research was not on livelihoods per se but on the broader institutional configuration of social provisioning which prevailed in different contexts, and with the extent to which it addressed the needs of the poor. Within this broader framework, we were particularly interested in the interface between institutions of social policy, and the principles of "access" they embodied, and the provisioning efforts of the poor, captured by the idea of livelihood strategies. Consequently, the SL framework was re-organised to focus on "institutions and access", with households and their "livelihood strategies" forming one strand of the research. The reformulated framework is summarised in Figure 1.2 and consists of the following basic components:

Context: The "context" makes up what are referred as "the initial conditions" characterising particular development trajectories. It encompasses those aspects of the environment which help to shape and give meaning to the observed patterns of social provisioning. History, geography, culture, economy and demography all combine to make up the relevant aspects of the environment in which social policies are constructed and livelihood strategies devised.

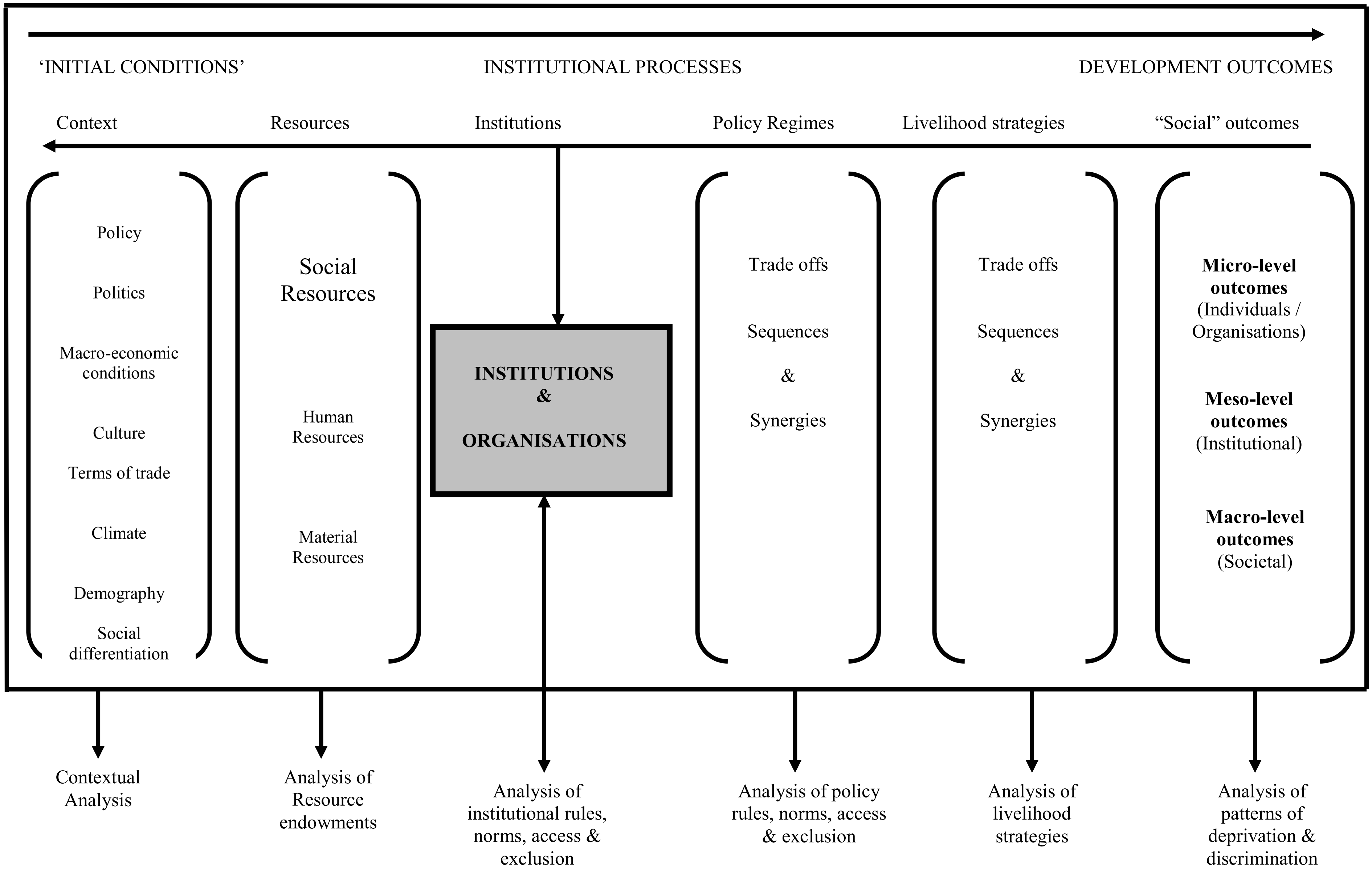
Resources: The resource endowments of a society are a particularly important aspect of the context as far as understanding its efforts at social provisioning are concerned. They represent the overall wealth of the society as well as the composition of this wealth in terms of human, material and social resources, returns to which reflect their relative scarcities in a particular context and access to which would determine its patterns of poverty and inequality.

Institutions and access: Institutions refer to distinct clusters of rules, norms and relationships which make up a society and which embody distinct principles of "access" (claims, favours, entitlements, rights) to valued resources. Institutions mediate the processes by which resources are translated into outcomes. Our interest in this paper is with the institutional configurations of social provision in particular societies i.e. with the range of different institutions through which societies seek to provide for themselves and with the outcomes that they achieve.

Policy regimes: These reflect the collective efforts of a society to intervene in the workings of its institutions through purposive policy interventions and to support or re-direct them in particular ways to achieve particular goals.

Livelihood strategies are organised around the needs and priorities of different groups of households and individuals, and reflect the combination of resources and activities by which these are addressed.

Figure 1.2 Institutions, access and outcomes: an analytical framework



Development outcomes: Interactions between structural forces, institutional processes and livelihood strategies will determine the extent to which different groups of households and individuals are able to meet their needs and priorities. Outcomes at the micro-level interact with institutional processes to form societal outcomes which help to determine whether societies reproduce, or transform, themselves over time.

The rest of the paper considers how this basic framework can be used to address social policy concerns in the kind of contexts in which our research was conducted. Section 2 discusses the different meanings attached to the idea of "the social" within different development discourses over the past half century and uses the discussion to demarcate the domain of "the social" in development policy and the kind of *outcomes* that social policy might be concerned with. Section 3 elaborates on the *institutional* component of the livelihoods framework, taking account of differences in the historical trajectories which have given rise to differing institutional configurations and of their implications for current processes of social provisioning. Section 4 focuses on the *policy regimes* which prevail in developing country contexts and the social outcomes they embody while Section 5 explores the implications of this discussion for the *livelihood strategies* of the poor. Section 6 concludes with some reflections on what social policy for socially-sustainable development might imply.

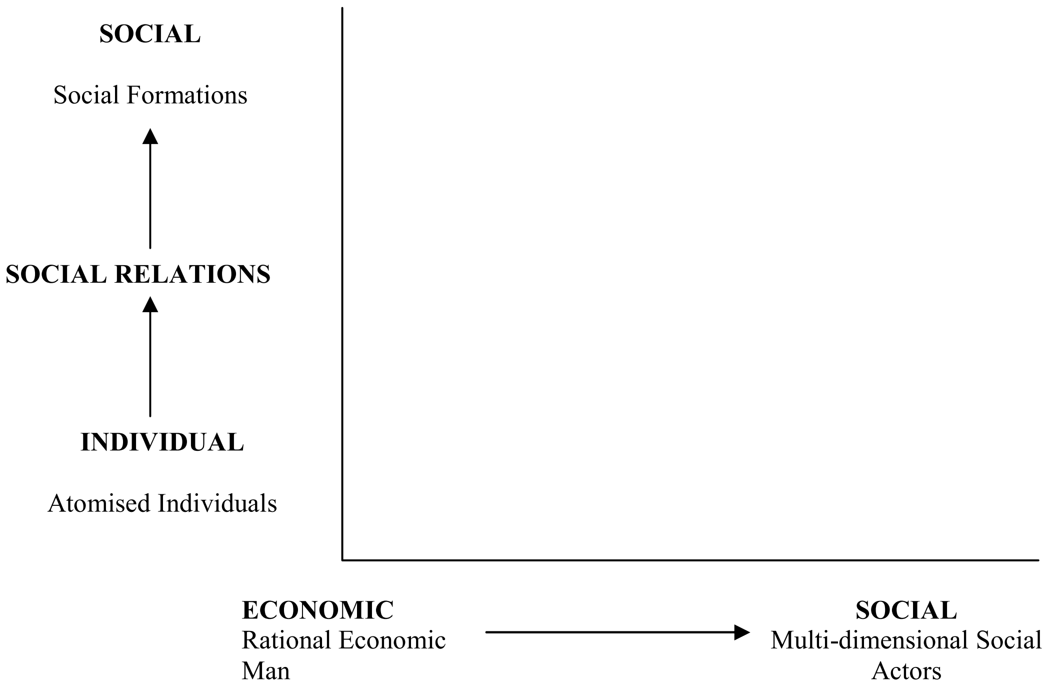
2 Defining the domain of "the social" in development policy

2.1 Shifting meanings of "the social" in the development discourse

In order to obtain a clearer handle on what is meant by the "the social" within the development discourse, a review was undertaken of some of the literature associated with the major development conferences of the past half century (Kabeer 1999). At first reading, this literature served to confuse, rather than clarify. As Thin (1998) points out, the idea of "the social" has been used in a bewildering number of ways in the development discourse. In the negative sense it is used to refer to the "residual" (encompassing everything that cannot be captured by conventional models of the market or formal political analysis) the "pathological" (the product of "unhealthy" processes in society, such as discrimination, exclusion) and the "welfarist" (relief of suffering of those unable to help themselves). It has also been used to describe more positive aspects of collective life though concepts such as social capital and social integration.

However, a closer reading of the literature suggested that these shifts in meaning could be read as attempts by various researchers, practitioners, governments and international agencies to come to terms with the simple basic fact that human beings could not be treated as simply another factor of production, as they had been in the early growth-centred models of development, and that development policy had to take cognisance of this fact. In other words, shifting meanings of the social begin to make more sense if they are seen as contesting views about the nature of development, the place that "people" occupy within it and the role of public policy in addressing their needs. Once this is recognised, differences in meanings of the social can be sorted in terms of two distinct, but not unrelated, traditions of thought within the social sciences, each representing one term in a dichotomous pair (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Meanings of the "social" in development discourse



The *first* meaning of "social" is defined in opposition to "the economic" and used to refer to the "non-economic" aspects of social reality. This is the sense in which economists have tended to use the idea of "the social", essentially as a residual term to encompass the non-market arenas of life (family and community) where the self-seeking and instrumentalist forms of behaviour displayed by "rational economic man" within the market place are suspended in favour of behaviour governed by "irrational" norms, beliefs and traditions. Attempts to challenge the dichotomy inherent in this view, and the secondary status it assigns to "the social", has given rise to a rich body of literature, stressing the complexity and multidimensionality of human behaviour. Cole, for instance, stresses the human capacity for self-reflective agency which is missing in economically deterministic views of the human being:

> Humans have developed a personal universe, self-consciousness, unequalled in the animal kingdom . . . Human sense of self means that we try to understand our past to try to improve the future . . . We are able to have a vision of past experience, and replay it to imply a changed, preferred outcome: we can choose how to behave (1999: 7).

Appadurai (1989) criticizes the narrow notion of human well-being promoted by money-metric approaches to poverty where it is associated with meeting "physiological" basic needs and points to the "critical qualitative dimension" which a more enriched view of the human actor would imply:

> Components of this qualitative dimension include: the perception of security in livelihood, the sense of freedom from harassment and abuse at home and at work, the feeling of dignity in day-to-day transactions, the belief in the reliability of officialdom, the expectation (or lack of it) that life will improve for one's offspring, and so forth (p. 256).

Finally, Sen's concept of "human capability" opens up the possibility of exploring forms of human well-being and agency which cannot be reduced to the pursuit of individual self-interest. The concept of capability – which refers to the ability of individuals to achieve valued ways of being and doing – encompasses goals and activities which tended to be overlooked in conventional economic analysis: those which were important as ends in themselves (of intrinsic value) rather than simply as a means to other ends (of instrumental value) and those motivated by a concern for others rather than simply with the self. Sen (1987) points to the significance of both "sympathy" and "commitment" in human behaviour as evidence of such concerns:

> In helping another person, the reduction of the other's misery may have the effect of making one feel – and indeed be – better off. This is a case of an action that can be promoted on the grounds of "sympathy" . . . and falls within the area of promotion of one's own well-being. In contrast, a case of commitment is observed when a person decides to do a thing (eg. being helpful to others) despite it not being, in the net, beneficial to the agent himself (p. 28).

The influence of this re-working of "the social" on the policy agenda is evident in the growing acceptance that multi-dimensional, as opposed to money-metric, approaches are necessary for understanding the distribution of well-being and deprivation in a society (Booth *et al.* 1998). It is also evident in the construction of the Human Development Index by the UNDP to complement – and critique – economic growth as a measure of development achievements. And finally, it is evident in the gradual displacement of the abstract "factors of production", such as capital and labour, from centre stage in models of development by a heterogeneous array of social actors, differentiated by their identities, interests and endowments, and exercising differing degrees of voice, influence and agency in shaping development outcomes. Men, women and children, adolescents, farmers, casual labour, micro-entrepreneurs, indigenous peoples, the poor, the disabled, the homeless and the socially excluded are some of the members of this emergent constituency.

The second meaning of "the social", the sense in which sociologists have tended to use the concept, is defined in opposition to the idea of the "individual" and refers to the fact that human beings do not exist in isolation from each other but within the ensembles of social relationships which make up the collective life of the community. Ghai and Hewitt de Alcantara (1994) make this point well:

> No one goes through life alone. All of us are created within, and influenced by, networks of social relations which provide us with our identity and establish a framework for our actions. We survive and pursue our goals within a structure of institutions ranging from our families or households, clans

> or neighbourhoods or communities (where we seek primary support and protection), to the schools, associations, street gangs or video parlours (in which we are trained); and the smallholdings, plantations, factories, sweatshops, stores and offices (in which we work). On a more general level, our opportunities or life chances are affected by larger political and economic structures ranging from tribal councils or municipal governments to the nation state, and from non-monetary exchange relations among friends to the international financial system (p1).

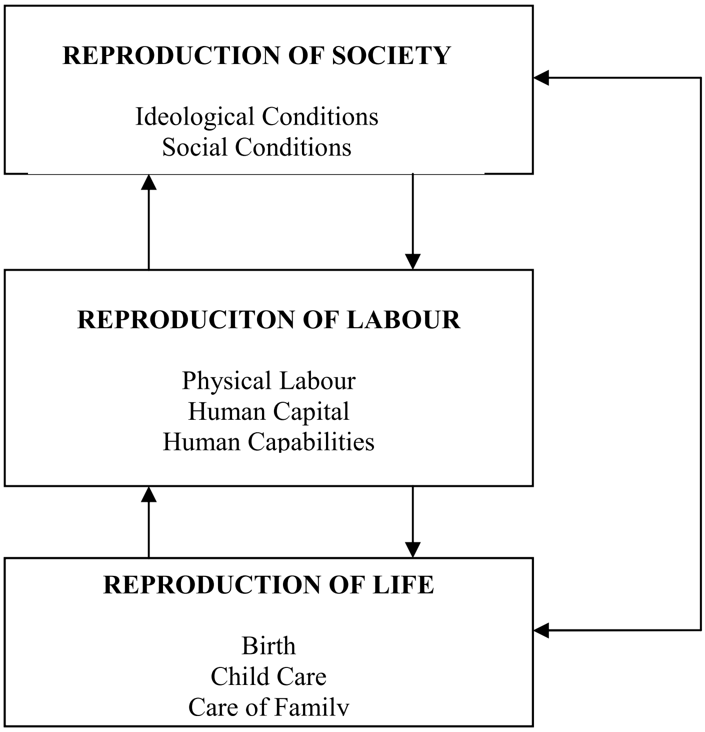
While this idea of the social has long been accepted in sociology and political economy, it has been given fresh life in recent years by various attempts to challenge the growing influence of the methodological individualism associated with neo-liberal paradigms of development and the associated stress on market forces as the most important, indeed, the sole route for achieving human well-being. Some of this challenge has come from within the discipline of economics itself and from economists of both orthodox and heterodox persuasions. Sen's capability approach, for instance, re-inforces this view of "the social" by drawing attention to the fact that human well-being and agency are shaped by a far wider set of factors, some particular to individuals and others related to the social arrangements that govern their lives, than the preoccupation with market forces would suggest. Recent attempts to explore and explain the relationship between a country's GNP and its Human Development Index have helped to draw attention to the role of public policy as one of the factors shaping how effectively countries are able to translate their economic resources into human development.

Other examples of attempts to challenge, or at least moderate, the methodological individualism of orthodox economics can be found in the emergence of "institutions" and "norms" as frameworks for the analysis of individual behaviour (North 1990; Knight 1992) and in various attempts to re-conceptualise institutions in terms of the dynamic interplay between norms, relationships, identities and interests rather than as functionalist solutions to problems of coordination (Bardhan 1989; Hodgson 1988; Folbre 1994; Elson, 1998). It can also be found in the growing attention given to issues of "trust" for the development of markets (Platteau 1992), the role of "social capital" in the effective mobilisation of resources (Das Gupta and Serageldin 1999), the problems generated by social exclusion (IILS 1996) and the importance of social integration as a development goal in its own right (UNRISD 1995, 2000).

2.2 Defining the domain of social policy: reproduction of individuals, capabilities and societal structures

Our re-reading of the development literature thus suggests that different ideas about "the social" can be mapped along two axes of meaning: "the social" as opposed to "the economic" and "the social" as opposed to "the individual". Taken together, they define the social dimensions of development as a concern with human beings as actors rather than simply another "factor" or "means of production" , and moreover, as actors who are embedded in social relationships rather than existing in isolation from each other. These meanings resonate closely with ideas about social reproduction in the social sciences, ideas which also focus attention on human beings, their capacity for agency, and the social relationships through which human lives and human capabilities are realised, but which, in addition, draw attention to processes of continuity and change with which policy is by definition centrally concerned (see, for instance, Edholm *et al.* 1977). A discussion of these different dimensions of social reproduction (summarised in Figure 2.2) will help to clarify the "social" aspects of development policy and its articulation with its "economic" aspects. It will also help to explain why the "boundaries" between the two are not always clear cut.

Figure 2.2 Conceptualising reproduction: the domain of "the social"



The first dimension of social reproduction relates to *the reproduction of human beings*, both the biological aspects of this process – birth, breastfeeding and daily physiological survival – as well as its social aspects – their care and maintenance at socially acceptable levels. While the reproduction of human beings may entail productive activities in the sphere of the market place (the purchase of food, for instance) or reliance on state provision (public health care), the fact that a great deal of the labour involved was, and continues to be, carried out by women as unpaid work within the domestic domain and in response to affective rather than instrumental considerations means that this is an aspect of human activity which is most likely to be excluded from the domain of what is conventionally thought of as "economic".

By extension, policies which deal with these activities, or with the relationships through which they are carried out, are most clearly seen to belong to the domain of "social" policy. These would include public assistance to those who are unable to meet their basic needs through "private" efforts within the family, community or market place; health and family planning services; provision of child care and care of the elderly and so on. They would also include laws and policies which act on intra-familial relationships, such as those relating to marriage, inheritance and adoption, as well as the relationships between the family and the rest of society (eg. employment policies premised on specific assumptions about the nature of breadwinning/caring role within the family).

A second dimension of social reproduction refers to the *reproduction of labour, and of the labour force,* in a society. We are referring here to the activities and processes through which the human capabilities of those who contribute to productive and reproductive activities within a society are replenished and enhanced over time. Capabilities include both the capacity for physical labour as well as cognitive capacity, including the capacity for self-reflective agency, openness to new ideas, creativity, willingness to take risk and so on. The relationship between "economic" and "social" policies is more blurred here because measures to promote human capabilities have both intrinsic value, because they enhance the ability of human beings to realise their full potential, as well as instrumental value, because they enhance the productivity of their labour efforts. Thus public policies which seek to promote health facilities at work to protect workers' rights might be perceived as a form of "social" policy, but as "economic" policy if the goal is to reduce worker absenteeism. The expansion of access to education may be perceived as "social" policy if it is intended to empower socially excluded groups and "economic" policy if the goal is to increase the productivity of labour.

Finally, the third dimension of social reproduction – reproduction of societal relations – refers to continuity and change in the ideological and material conditions which form the basis on which relations of production and reproduction within a society are reproduced over time. Material outcomes include the division of labour between production and reproduction in a society, the rate of growth of national income, its distribution between different sections of the population and sectors of the economy as well as the positive and negative "externalities" which result from the inter-connected nature of people's lives. Ideological outcomes relate to continuities and change in norms, values and beliefs about the nature of social relationships which make up the society, including those relating to equality, justice and rights. This "societal" level of reproduction thus encompasses the various institutional structures and processes through which values, information, labour, goods and services flow through society generating outcomes which set up the dynamics for change or continuity in different parts of the social system. These structures and processes can be seen as constituting the particular regime of social reproduction which characterises particular contexts. Given the significance of reproduction as well as production to processes of social reproduction, and the ideological and material conditions which they embody, regimes of social reproduction are essentially gendered regimes. In particular, the significance attached to reproductive activities, and the recognition given to those who carry it out, will have profound implications for economic growth and human development outcomes of the society as a whole.

Since social reproduction in this sense of the term involves the full range of institutional structures within a society through which individuals and relationships are maintained or transformed through time, it implies a correspondingly broad understanding of "the social" as an aspect of development policy. Social policy from this perspective includes not only specific measures and interventions relating to the institutions, relations and processes through which human life and human capabilities are reproduced, but also the broad thrust of development policy itself: the nature of the vision which informs it, its understanding of the boundaries between "the economic" and "the social" and the range of "imagined possibilities" that it lays out.

Debates about "universal" versus "residual" forms of social provision, workfare versus welfare, global versus local labour standards, redistribution with growth versus redistribution through growth, population control versus reproductive choice, getting "prices right" versus getting "institutions right", women-in-development versus gender-and-development, all of which have featured in the development agenda at various points, are all also debates about different models of social reproduction. They may be couched in economic terms, but they are often more significant in their implications for the trajectories of social reproduction in a particular context than the more explicit forms of social policy in place. From this perspective, "economic" policy is simultaneously "social" policy because it is intended to promote the well-being of people, which is the ultimate goal of development, just as much as "social" policy is also simultaneously economic policy because it deals with human labour and human capabilities, the key factors of production (Kothari 1993; Harriss-White 2000).

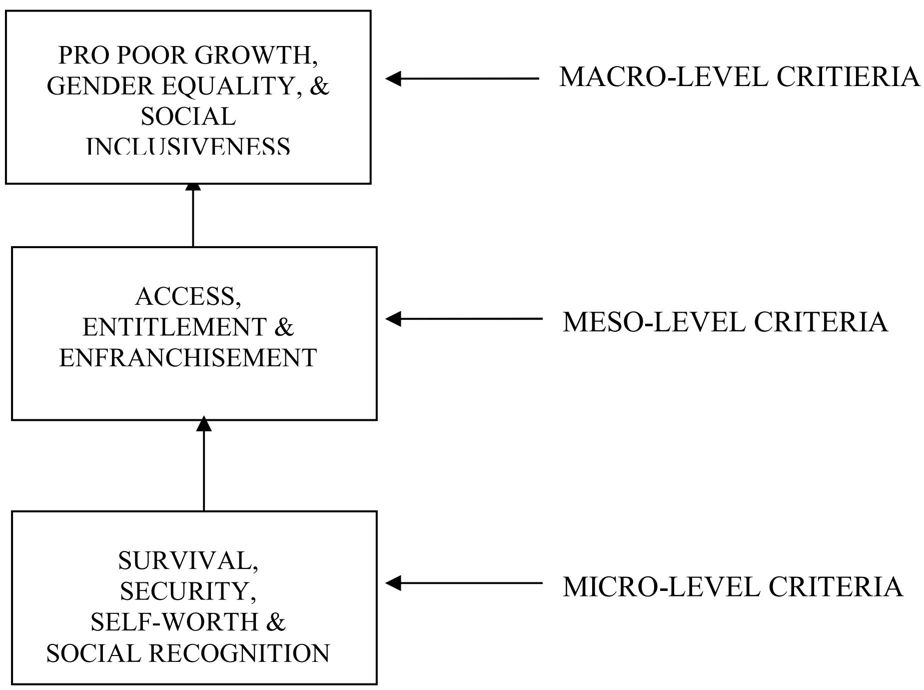
Our approach to "social" policy thus detaches it from its moorings in particular sectors, programmes and projects and widens it to encompass the purposive efforts made by a range of public actors in a society, guided by some vision of "the social", to influence the processes by which life, labour and social relationships are reproduced within that society. However, within this broader definition, there is no a priori reason to expect that the vision of "the social" which informs public policy in particular contexts will incorporate some universally agreed set of values, or even values which are shared by all sections within that particular society. Social policies express the vision of "the social" subscribed to by those who make, or are in a position to influence, policy within a particular society, and it is perfectly possible that their vision of the social seeks to construct or reproduce a blatantly unjust social order: the Taliban's gender policies, for instance, in Afghanistan or the apartheid state in South Africa.

Consequently, while it is relatively simple to *describe* the social vision embodied in a particular set of public policies, it is harder to *evaluate* it, since judgements about its implications for individual and collective well-being will vary according to the standpoint from which these policies are evaluated. Even if the standpoint of those affected by the policies in question is taken, rather than those making it, judgements are likely to vary between different groups: women in Afghanistan are likely to have assessed the Taliban's attempts to restructure gender relations differently, not only from men, but also from each other, depending on their socio-economic class, adherence to orthodox religious beliefs, tribal affiliations and so.

However, while this appears to pose an irresolvable dilemma, it is considerably simplified in the context of our research programme, given our declared intention to focus on the needs, priorities and interests of poor and socially excluded sections of the population in the countries that we studied. From this standpoint, we found a considerable degree of convergence between the vision of "the social good" implied by our focus and that spelt out by the various international conventions that the majority of countries in the world have signed and ratified: the eradication of poverty, the enhancement of human capabilities, the promotion of gender equality and construction of socially inclusive societies (the Millennium Development Goals; CEDAW; the Beijing Platform for Action; the Jomtien Declaration; the Copenhagen Declaration; etc).

These goals, each of which represents the outcome of several decades of struggle by different actors at different times over the meaning of the "the social" and its place in development policy, provide a set of criteria from which we can evaluate the outcomes of development policy efforts in different countries. There are a number of different levels at which this evaluation can be conducted (Figure 2.3). At the micro-level, we are concerned with the extent to which policies and programmes assist poor and socially excluded individuals and groups within particular societies to meet their needs and secure their livelihoods. At the broad societal level, we are concerned with the impact of these policies and programmes on patterns of poverty, insecurity, inequality and inclusiveness within a society.

Figure 2.3 Evaluating policy from a "social" perspective



Mediating these two levels of outcomes are changes at the institutional level. As the channels through which ideas, norms, values and resources are distributed in a society, institutions shape the processes by which changes at the structural level are translated into changes at the level of different groups and individuals. These micro-level outcomes will in turn, through their impact on institutional rules, norms and practices, determine how social relations are reproduced – or transformed – over time. Institutions thus help to explain the patterns of access, exclusion and marginalisation which characterise a particular society. Policies and programmes can be seen as one aspect of these institutional processes, serving to maintain, reinforce or destabilise pre-existing patterns of inequality in a society and hence influence its processes of social reproduction. Institutions, and the principles of access which they embody, are clearly central concepts in our framework and will be the main focus of the next section. In subsequent sections, we will go on to consider how an institutional analysis can be used to evaluate the role of public policy as well as the efforts of individual households in achieving human development goals.

3 Institutions, access and social provision

3.1 "Historicising" institutions: the emergence of social policy in the European context

At their most abstract, institutions have been defined as 'the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, '. . . the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction' (North 1990: 3). Such rules may be formal (eg. written, legally enforceable) or informal (tacit understandings, shared norms) but they serve to reduce uncertainty in the wider environment 'by providing a structure to everyday life' (1990: 3). These abstract rules and norms are translated into the concrete structure of socio-economic life as clusters of organisations and associations, each characterised by distinctive patterns of activities and behaviour. Institutions thus divide a society into distinct domains. They also classify individuals within these domains on the basis of their positioning within specific institutional relationships, a positioning which shapes their identities and interests, defines their roles and responsibilities and determines the terms on which they obtain, or fail to obtain, "access" to institutional resources, values, authority and, of course, power. Indeed a great deal of power in society is exercised by individuals and groups by virtue of the authority associated with the positions held within particular sets of institutional relations: by heads of households, for instance, tribal chiefs, corporate executives, boards of governors and so on.

A reading of the contemporary development studies literature suggests that it is dominated by four key institutions, what Brett (1999) describes as the "master stereotypes" of development studies. The state is seen to embody the logic of regulation, enforcing the rules and procedures which provide the governance structure of a society: access to its resources is consequently embodied in state legislation, policies and regulations. Markets are organised around a commercial logic, the maximisation of profit, and resources distributed on the basis of contract-based entitlements. Civil society and community refers to the range of sub-national associations through which members seek to pursue a variety of interests, but they are organised around somewhat different principles. The concept of community refers to organisational relationships which are based on primordial ties, ascribed membership and allocation of resources based on "moral" claims and obligations (caste, tribe, clan, patron-client relationships). Civil society organisations, on the other hand, are generally based on principles of voluntarism and the distribution of resources according to agreed rules (trade unions, non-governmental organisations, professional associations). Finally, kinship and family, usually organised as "households" based on co-residence and/or shared budgets, are based on ties of blood/marriage/adoption and distribute resources and responsibilities in accordance with the claims and obligations embodied in relationships between members. Households are the site par excellence of the logic of provisioning: 'the activity of supplying people with what they need to thrive, including care and concern as well as material goods. At the heart of provisioning is looking ahead and making preparations' (Elson 1998: 207).

Institutions are, by definition, historical constructs: they give stability to a society because they are made up of rules, norms and practices which have evolved over a considerable period of time. Consequently, differences in institutional configurations in different contexts are the product of the different histories of these contexts. Such differences are a central aspect of the differences between the wealthier and the poorer countries of the world. There are, of course, differences within these groups, but they pale into insignificance compared to the institutional divide which separates the mature capitalist economies of the world, where relations of production have become dis-embedded from those of reproduction through the generalised spread of market relations, and those poorer, agrarian economies, where production is still significantly geared to subsistence needs and governed by relationships of family, kinship and community. Some idea of the differences in social structures across the world can be obtained from the tables in Appendix A.1 which compare the structure of the economy and the distribution of the labour force between different sectors and forms of employment, including family-based production, between different groups of developing countries and those in the OECD.

Polyani's analysis of the "great transformation" which gave rise to social policy in the European context provides a useful historical standpoint from which to consider the nature of this institutional divide and its relevance to social policy in contemporary developing countries. Polyani (1944) points out that social life and productive efforts in most pre-capitalist societies were organised along principles of self-provisioning, redistribution and reciprocity. Claims to resources were generally grounded in variations of the moral economy and served to keep individual self-interest in check. Social relationships were characteristically "quasi-permanent", multi-stranded, non-voluntary and hierarchical arrangements through which the disposition of property and other resources was effected. Ownership tended to be a matter of divided and overlapping claims to various kinds of access and use, rather than of clear-cut individual property rights (Fraser and Gordon 1994). Traditional extended family structures wove a wide range of kin, as well as other members of the community, into face-to-face networks of claims and obligations.

The "great transformation" refers to the structural changes which occurred in the European context as its societies moved from these "socially-embedded" forms of exchange, regulated by the logic of mutual provisioning, to "dis-embedded" market economies, based on impersonal contract-based transactions and governed by the logic of profit. The spread of generalised commodity exchange dismantled feudal privileges and stripped away the institutional layers of kinship and community which had previously guaranteed social reproduction, albeit on asymmetrical terms. It consequently reduced those without property to the status of commodities, dependent on the sale of their labour to secure their survival needs.

These changes were accompanied by an all-embracing process of institutional differentiation. The first important differentiation was that between the "private" domain of family, kin and community and the "public" domain of state, market and civil society. The second was within the public sphere itself: the division of roles and responsibilities between the institutions of state, market and civil society, each organised around its own internal logic. The modern state emerged in the course of this transformation as the ascendant capitalist classes sought to enshrine the political and civil freedoms necessary for the spread of market relations and the viability of contracts, giving rise to a complex and specialised legal machinery, dedicated to enforcing law and order, upholding contractual agreements and administering justice.

However, while the logic of the market reduced all factors needed for production to the status of commodities, treating them as if they had been produced solely for purchase and sale in the market place, this clearly did not apply in the case of three vital components of the economy: land, labour and money (Polyani 1944: 72). Land was a "natural", rather than a "produced", resource while money was a token of purchasing power rather than a value in itself. However, it was Polyani's comments on the "fiction" of labour as commodity that is of particular relevance to the emergence of social policy in the European context.

'Labour' he pointed out 'is only another name for a human activity which goes with life itself, which in its turn is not produced for sale, but for entirely different reasons, nor can that activity actively be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilised' (p.72). It was precisely because labour was not just another commodity, but the embodiment of human agency, that those who relied on selling their labour power for their survival were able to demand recognition of their human status and to pressure the state for some degree of protection from the vagaries of the market place. The "de-commodification" of labour which resulted referred to various forms of social protection provided by the state which served to de-link the survival and well-being of individuals from the price they could command in the market place. It made universal access to a minimum level of real income a matter of right rather than charity or discretion. Social policy thus emerged in the European context to protect the dignity of labour in the course of its transition to a fully capitalist market economy. In some cases, it emerged in response to the demands of a militant labour movement; in others to prevent such a movement from coming into existence. However, it was a long drawn-out process. In England, 'a great crucible in the formation of social security policy', (Guhan 1992: 283) the transition in social relations from "custom to contract" took nearly five centuries to evolve, during which time state responsibility for social welfare grew from small scale to society wide, from permissive to mandatory and from piecemeal to complex and inter-related (Barr 1987, cited in Guhan 1992).

3.2 "Historicising" institutions: the emergence of social policy in developing countries

The emergence of the modern state – and of social policy – in the poorer economies of the world stands in stark contrast to this historical trajectory. There are important variations in the experience of developing countries which result from variations in their local contexts, their experience of colonisation and the cultural and political particularities of the colonial powers. However, there are also important commonalities. The "modern" state came into existence in these countries as an expression of colonial rule rather than of endogenous processes of socio-economic transformation. Its concern with converting and civilising the natives generally took second place to its imperial and commercial interests and there was little interest in broader or re-distributive goals. Not only did it fail to disrupt pre-existing relationships based on custom, kinship and "moral economy", but it set out to strengthen and reify them, using the authoritarian possibilities inherent within the local social order – inventing them where necessary – to promote its control over the local population (Mamdani 1996).

The policies which resulted were thus the product of a particular 'politics of needs interpretation' (Fraser 1989), a particular set of interpretations about which (and whose) needs were legitimate matters for public policy, how these were to be satisfied and the availability of resources for their satisfaction. They were partial in coverage and dualistic in structure, and they embodied the priorities of the rulers rather than the needs of the ruled. Manji (2000) describes the situation in the context of sub-Saharan Africa:

> Colonial government social services for Africans were minimal. Social policy was geared towards ensuring the integrity of the structures of colonial rule and a reasonably efficient exploitation of the colony. The goals of social development (such as they were) were defined in the metropolis . . . Health services were provided during serious epidemics, principally to prevent infections spreading into white society. Limited education was provided when certain basic skills were deemed necessary for the administration or exploitation of the colony . . . Although on the eve of independence there were to be significant changes in the extent to which investments were to be made in the social sectors, for the most part the state's function in these sectors was to provide for only a minority (p12).

This privileged minority was made up of expatriate members of the colonial administration and the settler community together with those native officials and organised sector workers who were most directly associated with colonial rule (Bevan 2001).

Colonised populations consequently achieved national independence as socially-embedded members of kinship, community, lineage and clan rather than as rights-bearing citizens. They embarked on independent nationhood committed to a "modern" social policy, or what has been called 'the post-colonial social contract' (Laakso and Olakushi 1996, cited in Morales-Gomez 1999), largely modelled on those which had prevailed in the colonial "mother" countries, but in contexts where the economic transformations of "Polyanian" magnitude had not occurred, giving rise to institutionally differentiated spheres for the conduct of economic, political and social activities. Instead processes of economic accumulation and social reproduction tend to be institutionalised in these contexts within '*inter-penetrating* arenas of polity, economy, society and kin networks' (Bevan 2001: 11) leading to segmented social formations and states which remain "socially embedded" rather than achieving the degree of autonomy from society necessary to promote developmental goals.

The early decades of development in the newly-independent states of Africa and Asia *did* see some important achievements in relation to social development. Most countries experienced rapid increases in life expectancy, adult literacy, primary enrolment ratios in the years following independence. These gains partly reflected the very low base from which most of these countries started out but it is unlikely that they would have been achieved if policy efforts had been entirely confined to privileged elites. As Leys (1996) observes in relation to the African context between 1960 and 1979: 'Millions of Africans remained in abject poverty, but the poverty of many millions was less abject than it had been twenty years before' (p120).

At least part of the failure to sustain these achievements over the longer run can be traced to various biases built into the models of social provisioning which dominated in these countries. As we noted earlier, such policies had been developed to address the needs of formally employed workers and their families in highly urbanised societies whereas the problem these governments faced was to meet the needs of smallholders, tenant farmers and landless labourers living in the rural areas who made up the bulk of the population in their countries. Cooper (1996) captures this disjuncture well in his description of how the idea of "modern" social policy took hold in African states: '. . . new leaders – before and after independence and in dialogue with "experts" of the "developed world" – came to define social policy around an imported future more than an extension of an observed present, around a package of institutions like labour unions, minimum wage regulations, and industrial wage machinery rather than around the complex, category-crossing social processes that had been going on around them' (p. 5).

It was not surprising that from the outset, this policy model was biased towards formal employment in the urban economy and to that extent privileged a section of the labour force that was already better organised than the rest. The rest of the labour force, the majority, in fact, who lived in the countryside, were often self-employed and very weakly integrated into formal markets, trade union organisation and service delivery systems, were largely excluded. They relied instead on their own efforts, or on the efforts of the communities in which they lived to provide them with some degree of protection in times of crisis. Policy-makers operated with a dualist model of social provisioning: they recognised that "modern" state provision reached a very small minority of the population and that the vast majority relied on "traditional" safety nets within the community, but they had little understanding of how the two sectors might relate to each other. It was assumed that as the state-based provision of modern social services expanded to rural areas, it would gradually replace these traditional forms of community-based provisioning, bringing all sections of the population within uniform framework of provision (Bloom and Standing 2001).

However, this assumption did not factor in the way in which policies take root within institutional structures which then help to shape their future trajectory in particular directions. The "imported" social policy model came, as noted earlier, as a predetermined package of institutional arrangements, which over time became deeply entrenched within the bureaucratic structure. Along with a hierarchical understanding of policy, which privileged "the economic" and gave "the social" the welfarist connotations noted earlier, the model was also associated with the rise of different ministries or agencies, specialising in the vertically-organised delivery of particular services, each operating independently from others, and with little regard to the cross-cutting nature of the livelihood strategies and social needs of the bulk of the population they were supposed to be serving. As Devereux and Cook observe, 'such bureaucratisation of the social sectors established strong vested interests among politicians and civil servants for their continuation along sectoral lines, and set ministries in competition against each other for allocations of scarce public resources' (2000: 66).

One group of beneficiaries of 'this zero-sum game' (Devereux and Cook 2000) were the ministries with the largest political clout – usually those most able to argue their case in terms of contributions to economic growth or political expediency rather than to meeting the needs of less advantaged sections of society. The second group were the sections of the population who worked in the formal economy, particularly those in the public sector: the urban educated middle classes along with the more privileged sections of the organised working class who worked in nationalised industry. High-cost tertiary services in education and health and social benefits for formal sector employees absorbed a disproportionate amount of government and donor resources in the early years of development planning and served to limit the expansion of the primary and less expensive forms of provision which would have benefited the bulk of the populations in question.

The primary losers were the rural poor. Not only did they find difficulty in gaining access to much of state-provided social services, despite their purported universalism, but the approach taken made the recognition and accommodation of their needs within the structure of public provision extremely unlikely. Devereux and Cook explain why: 'a sectoralised approach imposes a false structure and set of choices which conceals the complexity of poor people's livelihoods. Central to our argument is the recognition that people's lives are not compartmentalised in the way that sector-driven policy suggests, and that this lack of compartmentalisation is most evident among low-income rural populations . . .' (2000: 67).

Sector-driven policies have prevented policy-makers from appreciating the intimate inter-relationships between production and reproduction within the household economy and, by extension, within the wider society. As a result, they have tended to view economic growth and social development, and the economic and social policies associated with each, in terms of "trade-offs" rather than "synergies". They failed to recognise, for instance, that investments in human capital and capabilities, the key assets at the disposal of the poor in poor countries, have profound economic as well as social implications. They failed also to recognise that in much of the world those who were primarily responsible for reproduction, usually women, also played an active role in production. Consequently, the increased participation of women in production, whether as a result of deliberate policy to promote growth or as an unintended effect of such policies, could only be achieved if they cut back on their responsibilities in reproduction, to the detriment of those they cared for, or else intensified their labour efforts, to their own detriment.

3.3 Changing configurations of social provisioning: deregulation, privatisation and globalisation

The biases built into the model of social provisioning adopted by many developing countries in the early decades of development, the top-down, urban-oriented and high-cost approaches which they promoted, were important factors in explaining why so many fell so short of the goal of universal provision. Instead, the weakness of the indigenous capitalist class in most of the poorer countries, their limited success with industrialisation, the slow and uneven spread of market relations, the gulf between urban and rural life, the state's lack of autonomy from elite interest groups within society and the limits placed on its field of action by external political and economic forces all meant that life within these societies remained embedded, or at least significantly governed by, the social relationships of kin, community and moral economy, which were largely based on principles of unequal reciprocity. It was within these relationships that the majority of the poor sought to meet their needs and to these relationships that they looked for protection against the risks and uncertainties endemic to the contexts in which they lived.

The economic crises which overtook large parts of the world by the late 1970s brought a new set of problems and challenges. The neo-liberal adjustment policies imposed by the international financial institutions as part of their lending package to countries that found themselves facing unmanageable internal and external deficits began a reversal of the "post-colonial social contract". It was replaced by a new market-centred dualism which entailed a direct attack on the active role assumed by the state in post-colonial era and a restructuring of societies to give freer rein to market forces. This included the deregulation of labour markets to promote their flexibility, the withdrawal of the state from responsibility for social provisioning in favour of private providers, and the imposition of user charges on those forms of state provision which remained intact. This new approach to social provisioning hit poor people hardest with negative implications for equity (Colclough 1997; Simms 2000). For those that could not pay, the downloading of social responsibility by the state placed the full burden of survival onto the shoulders of the poor, with poorer women bearing a disproportionate share of the burden (Elson 1991; Moser 1989).

By the 1990s, trenchant critiques of the neo-liberal view of "the social" and the policy failures associated with it, were giving rise to a growing interest in "welfare pluralism" which was based on the recognition that a wide array of institutional actors, including the state, markets and civil society, could usefully play a role in meeting social needs. The new model was probably closer to the prevailing reality than the old ones ever were. Despite its undoubted successes, the post-colonial social contract had failed to include large sections of sections of the population of poor countries who continued to rely on self-provisioning within the household, informal provision within the community or on various service-oriented missionary organisations and NGOs. This de facto pluralism expanded in later years, when official efforts to privatise social services as a part of the restructuring of the state were accompanied by a process of unofficial privatisation, as public providers sought to supplement their eroding livelihoods by engaging in off-the-record provision of social services.[3] There was also a growing "marketisation" of informal provision as services previously provided as an aspect of the moral economy were increasingly being offered in return for fees (money) or "gifts" (goods and services).[4] The distinction between public and private provision became increasingly more difficult to sustain (Bloom and Standing 2001).

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3 In Uganda, for instance, villagers complained that health workers would ask them if they had come with "their brother" in other words, with money, before giving any treatment (Lucas and Nuwagaba 1999). In India and Bangladesh, an entire "shadow industry" of private tuition has sprung made up largely of teachers teaching the same children in the evenings that they had apparently failed to teach during school hours.

4 White, for instance, noted the spread of medical practice in rural Uganda to a wide range of agents as cleaners, technicians, drivers and storekeepers used knowledge gained in public health facilities to set up their own businesses, treating others for a fee.

The other major factor altering institutional patterns of social provision and social security within national contexts has been globalisation. Globalisation has accelerated the flow of finances, ideas and values across the world, increasing the range of signals transmitted across societies and increasing levels of risk of systemic malfunction or disconnection. Old boundaries between the rural and urban, formal and informal, and national and international are being reconstituted in this new and fluid environment. Older forms of livelihoods have been eroded and new ones have emerged which bring world's working population into greater interdependence with each other: 'the destinies of people from all walks of life – Czech steelworkers, US school teachers, Ghanaian cocoa farmers, Argentine restaurateurs – are increasingly interwoven in a dense web of financial transactions whose speed and volume are difficult to comprehend' (UNRISD 1995: 27). There has been a significant increase in migration flows as people move from rural areas to the cities or across national borders, often illegally, in search of better lives and livelihoods, pushed by the absence of opportunities in their own environments or pulled by images of affluence and a better life.

Globalisation has had important implications for patterns of social provisioning as well. The emergence of globally integrated capital markets, the distinctive feature of the current phase of globalisation, has undermined the capacity and commitment of national governments to secure the livelihoods of their vulnerable population. The need to attract capital has led many governments, in both developed and developing countries, to cut back on taxation and hence on the revenue necessary to finance social expenditure at the same time as competing with each other to provide as flexible a labour force as they can get away with. Labour markets which once had sizeable segments of regular, full-time wage employment have been deregulated to give rise to more diverse, informal and casualised patterns of activity.

Globalisation has also opened up the provision of goods and services, including many vital to the social reproduction of life and livelihoods, to the forces of international competition (Deacon 1999). Trans-national companies see the growing middle classes of the Third World as important new markets for their products. The option of purchasing education, health, social insurance, pensions etc. from these global providers is being taken up by growing sections of national elites in the Third World, undercutting an important incentive for cross-class support for any form of public provision. These processes are likely to be accelerated as the result of the role of the World Trade Organisation in fostering global markets in social services through the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). It may have been possible at the start of the twentieth century to discuss policies for socially sustainable development within the framework of national contexts, but by the end of it, there is increasing awareness of the need for global social policies to complement and strengthen national ones.

The main point to take from the discussion in this section is that when we talk about the institutional configurations of social provisioning in different parts of the world, we are talking about historically differentiated formations characterised by very different relationships between states, markets and communities. There are those which are included in the "welfare regimes" literature, which entered the twentieth century having undergone major structural transformations, which moved them from societies based on pre- or only partially-commodified social to generalised market relations, from principles of access based on custom to principles based on contract. This process of transformation generated both the need for collective responsibility for social security as well as the wealth which could finance it. When social security measures were introduced in Germany and Britain, both countries were well advanced in their industrial revolutions (Barr 1987; Stumpf 1979).

In other parts of the world, where markets still have not penetrated every aspect of the economy, and where customary relationships continue to play an important role in production and exchange, the risks and insecurities faced by individuals and the means by which they sought to meet their needs and secure their future were likely to be very different. How different developing countries have dealt with the problem of meeting social need, given their limited resource base and scale of poverty they had to deal with, and the implications of their efforts for processes of social reproduction in their differing contexts clearly have lessons for thinking about social policies in the coming decades. We turn to examples of the different approaches taken by some of these countries in the next section to draw out some of their basic lessons.

4 Development policy and regimes of social reproduction

4.1 Translating resources into outcomes: the role of public policy

The twin challenges which faced these countries as they embarked on the process of development were to expand the resources at their disposal through economic growth and to utilise them to promote the well-being of their population through social development. Their differing attempts to achieve these goals gave rise to differing regimes of social reproduction, embodying differing institutional relations of production and reproduction, defining differing boundaries between public responsibility and private initiative and generating differing patterns of economic growth and human development. Table A2.1, which reports on the ranking achieved by a selected number of countries in terms of their per capita income and their human development index summarises some of these patterns. It suggests, in the first instance, that there is a broadly positive relationship between a country's resources, as measured by its per capita income, and its social development. Thus the richer OECD countries generally have higher levels of social development than the poorer developing countries. This is to be expected: higher levels of income increase the resources available for investment in social well-being, regardless of whether the investment is undertaken privately or publicly.

However, the table also shows that there is no inevitability about this relationship. Botswana, which had a per capita income of $3240 in 1999 has a much higher income ranking at 87 than China which had a per capita income of $780 and was ranked at 142. However, China is ranked 87 in terms of its human development achievements in the same year while Botswana is ranked much lower at 114. Cross-country regression analyses of the relationship between economic growth and social development confirm both the positive relationship between the two as well as the existence of various deviations from this relationship in both positive and negative directions (see, for instance, Dreze and Sen 1989; Mundle 1994;

Moore *et al.* 2000). Moore *et al.* calculated what they called a RICE index (relative income conversion efficiency) to measure the extent to which countries were able to achieve the levels of human development predicted by their level of per capita income Their estimates of the RICE index for a selected number of countries is presented in Table A2.3. The key variables which proved significant in explaining variations in the RICE index are reported in Table 2.4 and will be discussed in the rest of this section.

Attempts to measure the relationship between the economic resources of a country and its social achievements thus give rise to three broad categories of countries. The first category is made up of countries which conform to the standardised relationship in that their levels of human development are in line with those predicted by their levels of income. Of course, some of these countries are at the lower end of the income scale with lower levels of human development while others are the high end. The second category is made up of the "positive outliers", those countries which deviate in a positive direction from the "standard" relationship, having achieved levels of human development higher than would be expected on the basis of their income. The third category of countries, the "negative outliers", are those which deviate in a negative direction from the standard relationship because their levels of income have not translated into expected levels of human development. Some illustrative examples of countries with equivalent levels of per capita income but very different levels of human development are provided in Table A2.2.

Attempts to explain variations in the relationship between the economic "resources" and social "outcomes" across different samples of developing countries have highlighted a number of important factors. Some of these factors belong to the "context" dimension of the analytical framework outlined in Figure 1.2. For instance, one contextual variable that proved significant in explaining variations in the value of the RICE index was population density: Moore et al found that countries with higher population densities tended to have higher than average levels of human development for their level of national income. This could reflect the fact that higher levels of population density make it simpler and cheaper for public authorities to provide education and health services. It is also easier to mobilise politically to demand such services in contexts where people lived closely to each other.

Contextual differences probably also explain why countries in the West African region appear to be less successful than others at equivalent, or even lower, levels of per capita income in translating their national incomes into human development. The higher incidence of endemic tropical diseases in the region than most other parts of the world has made the cost of increasing life expectancy correspondingly higher than elsewhere (Moore *et al.* 1999). In addition, the initial distribution of income also appears to play a role in explaining subsequent social performance: countries which start out with higher levels of economic equality are better able to translate economic growth into poverty reduction than those starting out from a position of greater inequality (Hanmer and Naschold 2000; White and Anderson 2001).

However, along with these contextual variables, variations in the relationship between economic resources and social outcomes across countries also appears to reflect differences in their policy regimes. These differences can be categorised as those relating to "commitment", the vision of "the social" which guides the development effort, and those which relate to "capacity", the ability of the state to translate this vision into practice. As far as differences in policy "commitments" are concerned, Dreze and Sen (1989) make an important distinction between "support-led" and "growth-mediated" approaches to social development. The former has entailed direct public policy intervention in processes of social reproduction through wide ranging measures of employment provision, income redistribution, health care, education and social assistance in order to address human development goals without necessarily waiting for transformation in the general level of prosperity. As might be expected, countries which have adopted this approach have tended to fall into the category of countries which report higher levels of human development than would be expected on their basis of their per capita incomes. However, this approach is only likely to be economically sustainable if it gives rise to a "virtuous development cycle" in which increasing levels of human development feed into increasing rates of economic growth. Where this does not occur, stagnating levels of income may lead to a decline in human development achievements in the longer run.

Growth-led approaches use the potentialities released by increased national income to improve social well-being, both through increasing private affluence as well as facilitating greater public provision. However, a growth-led approach is different from the indiscriminate pursuit of economic growth. An important feature of states, such as South Korea, which adopted a growth-mediated approach to social development has been the broad-based expansion of employment opportunities as an aspect of the growth strategy, with the state playing a conspicuous role. The fruits of growth were consequently more equitably distributed in contrast to the inegalitarianism associated with countries like Brazil and Oman which pursued a strategy of what Dreze and Sen term "unaimed opulence".

As far as policy capacity is concerned, two inter-related factors emerge as important: the resources at the disposal of the state and the relationship between state and society, particularly its degree of insulation from powerful sectional interests within that society. Discussions about the resources available to the state, the fiscal dimension, have traditionally concentrated on level and pattern of public spending. While this has an obvious role in explaining variations in social development outcomes, recent analysis suggests that public expenditure may, in fact, be an intermediate variable, one of the routes through which the size and, more importantly, the sources of public revenue have served to influence both state capacity and commitment.

For instance, Moore *et al.* (1999) found that states which draw their revenue from mineral wealth reported lower levels of human development relative to their income than those which relied on tax-based revenues. The relationship is less clear-cut for countries which rely heavily on aid to finance development. While countries with high levels of aid dependence performed badly in relation to human development relative to their income levels, countries with low levels did not necessarily perform well. The explanation for this finding, Moore suggests (2001), lies in the very different forms of behaviour associated with different sources of state revenue and their implications for quality of governance, accountability to civil society and administrative infrastructure. States that rely on taxation have to "earn" their income in that they have to put in organisational and political effort in working with their citizens and generate the necessary administrative infrastructure in order to get them to part with their money. Fiscal policies thus contribute to the state "capacity" in the administrative sense as well as in terms of resources.

They also contribute to "commitment": such states are more likely to be responsive to the needs of their citizens and to have a direct stake in promoting their welfare. By contrast, states which are largely reliant on income from concentrated mineral (mainly oil) sources are largely independent of their citizens and have little direct interest in their welfare. High levels of aid dependence also tend to undermine state accountability by disrupting the relationship that exists between states and tax-paying citizens and removing aspects of public expenditure decisions from the need for public or legislative scrutiny.

There has also been some debate about the importance of democratic institutions for both state "capacity" and "commitment". It has been suggested, for instance, that India has been able to avert famine to a much greater degree since its independence than China (Dreze and Sen 1989) or the countries of sub-Saharan Africa (de Waal 1997) because of its greater degree of democratic freedom, including 'a political system of adversarial journalism and opposition' (Dreze and Sen 1989).

However, on the basis of his review of Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Kerala and Sri Lanka, all countries which reported remarkable progress on social development, but had very differing political regimes, Ghai (1997) concluded that, while liberal democracies may provide a more favourable environment for the promotion of pro-poor social policies, regimes which had not taken the electoral route to power have often demonstrated commitment to such policies as a means of gaining social legitimacy or consolidating popular support. Moreover, Kohli (1987) suggests that both revolutionary communist and authoritarian regimes, with their strong, centralised state apparatus, also appear to have had greater capacity to undertake broader developmental goals than nationalist democratic states, such as India, or fragmented states, such as Bangladesh, whose authority structures have failed to gel.

Moore *et al.* (1999) found little evidence of a relationship between degree of electoral democracy and performance in terms of human development in their study. However they suggest that their estimates of the relationship may have been complicated by the existence of "peoples' democracies", such as China and Vietnam, who adopted pro-poor social policies but were not particularly democratic. The virtual disappearance of this category as these societies move towards market-based economies may lead to a closer relationship in future data between democracy and human development.

On the other hand, what Moore et al did find was a significant, but unexpectedly negative association between the "quality of political institutions" in a country and its ability to translate its GNP into human development. This apparently perverse finding is explained by the fact that their measure of the quality of political institutions was based on the score given to countries by the International Country Risk Guide which is intended to assist the international business community in their lending and investment decisions. Although these scores are also widely used by international aid and development agencies as a way of measuring "good governance", Moore *et al.* suggest that what they actually measured was how well a country performed in the eyes of international investors. To that extent, their findings can be taken to suggest that countries that performed well by the criteria of global capital did not generally perform well in relation to their own citizens.

4.2 Policy regimes and resource-outcome variations: some case studies

The discussion in the preceding section suggests that a cluster of variables related to context, capacity and commitment help to explain variations in resource-to-outcome relationships across developing countries, giving rise to a loose typology of "regimes of social reproduction". In this section we describe some of the policy aspects of these regimes, drawing mainly on examples from the African and Asian regions where our research programme was located. The first category in our typology is made up of a number of revolutionary communist regimes, such as those of China, Cuba and Vietnam, which routinely feature in studies concerned with societies whose human development outcomes were considerably higher than others at equivalent levels of income (Dreze and Sen 1987; Ghai 1997; Mehrotra and Jolly 1997) These regimes had a vision of "the social" which was rooted in a strongly egalitarian ideology in which human beings were seen as the ultimate source of value in society. As Acharya *et al.* (2001: 209) put it in the context of pre-reform China:

> The creation of the material prerequisites for building socialism in China was inseparable from the creation of the "new socialist man" . . . It is essential to understand this stress on, and belief, in the limitless capacity of human beings to fully comprehend the various mass campaigns and mass movements that were so crucial a part of the overall development strategies in China.

Governments in these countries generally embarked on the transformation of their societies without making a strong distinction between the "economic" and the "social" in their construction of policy. The provision of basic social services was seen as investments in the country's most important resource, its labour power, a strategy which had the additional advantage of helping to consolidate political support for the party. The centralised command of the economy which characterised these regimes also gave their governments considerable autonomy in carrying out radical forms of redistribution as the basis of their overall development effort. As Ahmad and Hussein (1991: 248) point out in the case of China:

> . . . pervasive State control of industry and fundamental changes in the land tenure have made it possible for measures for preventing and alleviating deprivation to be built into the fabric of the economy to a degree that simply would not be feasible in an evolutionary framework.

The resulting policies, which sought to promote a universal, rather than uniform, access to social provision, reflected an integrated approach to the social and the economic:

> Social security provision was integrated into the economy through an egalitarian approach to income distribution, the collective organisation of production and distribution, combined with an institutional system of relief which acted as a guarantee of minimal economic and social needs for much of the population. Social welfare was thus an integral part of economic policy and planning rather than a separate residual sector (Cook 2001).

Universality was achieved through a social security system premised on two key features: provision of all rural households with access to agricultural land, either individually or collectively, and guaranteeing some form of employment to all urban residents with urban registration (Ahmad and Hussain,1991) . These "two guarantees" provided the Chinese population with a degree of economic security 'rare in developing countries' (p. 299). There were also social security programmes geared to specific contingencies (disaster relief) and to protect particular vulnerable groups (poor regions; the destitute elderly) as well as the extension of health care to the vast majority of the rural population; these are described by Ahmad and Hussain as the other major achievement of the Chinese economy in the field of social security.

While most socialist countries have abandoned centralised planning in favour of market forces, their experiences provide an important reminder of the possibility of alternative regimes of social reproduction, and hence alternative principles of allocation and access, to the free-market models which dominate the development agenda today. However, it is also important to bear in mind that, while their human achievements were considerable, so were their human costs: the largest famine in history occurred in China during its Great Leap Forward. Moreover, China's adoption of a one-child policy in the late 1970s as means of reducing its population growth rate has given rise to extremely unbalanced sex ratios at birth as families use various means to abort females in a society in which strong son preference has not been wiped out.

With the transition to the market, there has been a reduction in overall poverty but new forms of inequality and exclusion have emerged (Cook 2001). The resources at the disposal of the state have also declined leaving it with less capacity to address these emerging problems. For instance, the current percentage of tax revenue to GNP in China is remarkably low at 6.1 per cent (1999 figures), but as Wang (2002) points out in her analysis of the budget process, these provide no indication of the various official and unofficial payments exacted by the government at the local level. If, as Cook argues in her analysis of social policy challenges in China today, social equity arguments require a return to a need-based approach to social provision in place of its current attempts to embrace a demand-based one, fiscal measures will have to be at the heart of the new approach.

Sri Lanka, Costa Rica and the Indian state of Kerala also frequently feature as examples of countries/states whose human development performance achievements outstrip their levels of national income, but who have effected their achievements through a democratic route. Their experiences draw attention to civil society as a critical space for the exercise of public influence on social policy. While differing in their ideologies – Sri Lanka and Kerala have both had left-leaning governments – these are all countries where vibrant social movements succeeded in ensuring some degree of responsiveness on the part of the state to its less powerful citizens and sufficient autonomy from powerful propertied interests within the society to effectively pursue re-distributive strategies.

Ghai, for instance, notes in relation to Costa Rica: 'The consensual political style was facilitated by participatory democracy with a strong role played by trade unions, peasant associations, cooperatives and other segments of civil society' (1997: 15). In addition, as Chant points out, it is also characterised by major achievements with respect to gender-aware legislation and policy. In Sri Lanka, electoral competition between the parties of both left and right spurred each to make commitments on the social development front while pressure from rural and urban unions, social movements and the middle classes ensured that this translated into practice. Finally, Kerala was characterised by powerful radical and social movements, consisting not only of workers' organisations in urban and rural areas, but also students, teachers and women's associations of various kinds as well as by a powerful communist party which was voted into power. Social outcomes in Kerala have been remarkable for their gender egalitarianism in a country which is otherwise characterised by extreme forms of gender inequality.

The countries discussed so far all represent examples of "support-mediated" strategies to human development. They shared a strong political commitment to the provision of health and education services to the entire population, in some cases in response to an egalitarian state ideology, in others in response to the need for political or social legitimacy. In all cases, the state played a central role in extending this core of social services to the entire country, its success a reflection of both its administrative capacity and the existence of infrastructure necessary for universal coverage.

A contrasting route to human development is provided by the "growth-mediated" regimes of social reproduction which characterised the fast-growing economies of East Asia. These were all based on authoritarian capitalist states for much of the post-war period. Civil society remained weak with trade unions subject to draconian measures and NGOs actively discouraged. There was thus weak pressure on the state to address wider social concerns. The result was a development strategy which clearly subordinated social to economic goals.

South Korea for instance, combined an 'authoritarian developmental state' with 'residual competitive form of social policy' (Shin 2000, cited in Gough 2001). The ideological preferences of its ruling coalition of authoritarian political leaders, economic technocrats and chaebols (large family-owned family groups) favoured state investments to support rapid economic growth and adopted extensive credit controls and incentives, the dissemination of information and infra-structural investments towards this end. Apart from this, however, the social ministries were subordinated to the Economic Planning Board, and state spending confined only to those aspects of social policy which were considered conducive to rapid industrialisation. The rest was left to private initiative.

The East Asian model of growth was fiscally conservative (Mundle 1998): the tax shares of these states were around 15 per cent of their GDP (South Korea, Singapore) in contrast to shares which ranged from around 18 per cent (Canada) to 43 per cent (Netherlands) in the OECD countries (1990 figures from WDR 2001). An even more significant contrast between the two groups of countries relates to how state revenue was allocated. While the OECD countries as a group spent around 60 per cent of total public expenditure on social spending, of which two-thirds was on social security (Mundle 1998), there was little direct spending on social welfare in the East Asian states (Dreze and Sen 1989; Yang 2000). The South Korean state made no special effort to promote the health status of its population for nearly three decades following its independence from Japan (Mehrotra *et al.* 1997). Instead, it provided a range of incentives to private providers of social insurance and other welfare services.

South Korea financed its growth through some of the highest rates of private saving in the world. According to the 1991 data cited by Mundle, it was a "negative outlier". Of the countries covered by his study, South Korea and Oman had the highest per capita GNP but lower-than-predicted Human Development Index. However, its relatively poor human development achievements have to be assessed against two foundational aspects of its regime of social reproduction which were the product of public policy. The first was extensive land redistribution undertaken in the early years of its independence from Japan. This provided some degree of social security to the small farmers who made up the bulk of its population at the time as well as the incentive to invest in the productivity of agriculture. It also meant that the country embarked on its growth process from "initial conditions" of relative economic equality[5] in the distribution of assets – unlike the majority of developing countries in other parts of the world.

In addition, the state played a very active role in the promotion of livelihoods. This role included the encouragement of labour-intensive industries, the maintenance of comparative advantage in labour-intensive manufacturing through the ruthless preservation of competitive labour markets (largely through repression of trade unions) and large-scale investment in basic education (primary plus lower secondary) at a very early stage of development because of its perceived implications for economic productivity. These actions also promoted a relatively egalitarian growth strategy in contrast with, for instance, the "unaimed opulence" of Oman and Brazil.

Elsewhere, in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, performance in terms of economic growth as well as human development has varied considerably. South Asian countries generally report even lower ratios of tax to GDP than the East Asian countries, but this is a reflection of weak political commitment rather than fiscal discipline. The Indian experience, and its contrast to the Chinese one, despite the similarities in the conditions under which they embarked on their development strategies in the 1950s, exemplifies the limitations on the re-distributive choices available within a nationalist "democratic-capitalist" framework (Kohli 1987).

The Indian state was committed from independence to the planned establishment of heavy industries as the foundation of its strategy for industrialisation and growth. The central government was given constitutional power over the key levers of economic policy, including public ownership of industry. In marked contrast to this determined effort to transform the relations of production, efforts to transform the relations of reproduction of what was an extremely hierarchical social order, based on entrenched inequalities of caste, class and gender, were at best half-hearted. Instead, in deference to the political clout of the landed upper castes, the most politically regressive group in the country, significant limits were placed on the ability of central government to undertake re-distributive measures, including land reform and direct redistribution thorough agricultural taxation. These powers were left to state governments where they were effectively blocked by the local elites.

[5] Although as Greenhalgh (1985) and Seguino (2000) have noted, this did not extend to gender equality. Indeed, Greenhalgh argues that the East Asian growth model was premised on marked gender inequality in wages and employment opportunities.

The weak commitment to re-distributive goals is reflected and reproduced in its fiscal policy: the tax share of the central government is extremely low: around 6 per cent in 1998 (Mooij and Dev 2002). However, this estimate takes no account of levels of revenue and social expenditure undertaken at state level, variations in which have introduced considerable variations in economic and social performance across India. While various finance ministers in the 1980s and 1990s, the period covered by Mooij and Dev, have sought to broaden the direct tax base and the share of direct to indirect tax revenue has gone up (from 20 per cent in 1990 to 35 per cent in 2000), none have ever proposed to introduce taxes on agricultural income. On the contrary, farmers receive support in the form of cheap credit schemes, price support, subsidies on food and agriculture, loan waivers etc. The absence of any tax on agricultural earnings, despite the importance of agriculture as a component of national income, thus continues to be one of the striking features of the Indian budget (Mooij and Dev 2002).

The Indian state has consequently neither succeeded in breaking the social power of the landlords nor in enlisting the support of the rural masses (Acharya *et al.* 2001: 211). Despite rhetorical commitment, and with some exceptions, its land reforms, especially implementation of "land ceilings" and consequent redistribution, have not been very successful, leaving the majority of its rural population without basic economic security. The "sectoralisation" of the development effort did little to challenge pre-existing dualistic structures of social provision and the hierarchy of interests which they embodied. Those who had been favoured in the colonial era – civil servants and organised sector workers – were able to use their strong position to ensure the perpetuation of their privileges. As Guhan (1992: 288) pointed out, 'It is clear that the coverage of benefits is concentrated to a high degree in the organised public and private sectors of employment which in India constitute no more than 12 per cent of the work-force. Public employees are served best, or rather have ensured that they are best served'. While industrial workers in the organised sector are less well placed than those in white collar jobs, they do in principle have recourse to a structure of legislation which offers them a measure of state-provided social protection.

For the rest of the population, however, the poor and unorganised in both urban and rural economies, a disproportionate percentage of whom are from socially excluded castes and tribal groups, there is a 'ramshackle and leaky raft of anti-poverty policies, targeted development schemes, employment guarantees and food security measures often managed as a by-product of the public distribution of grain . . . They are all that capital allows the state to achieve in this direction' (Harris-White 2000: 6). Furthermore, the incorporation of religion into the country's civil code, thereby positioning women as lesser citizens relative to men, has done little to challenge the extreme forms of gender inequality which characterise the country, aspects of which appear to be getting worse over time.[6]

The power of dominant interest groups is also evident in the fiscal regime prevailing in Bangladesh (Mahmud 2002). Here too the low ratio of tax to GDP of 9 per cent reflects the absence of "commitment" rather than fiscal discipline. Evasion of tax is high, particularly of income tax, so that more progressive direct taxes make up only 15 per cent of the tax revenue. The political costs for ruling parties

[6] See, for instance, Agnihotri (2000) and various contributions to Kapadia (2002).

of attempting to enforce strict tax compliance ("earn" its income) has meant that it is the Annual Development Plan, which is the more pro-poor aspect of government expenditure, rather than the revenue budget, out of which civil service salaries are paid, which bears the burden of any shortfalls in public revenue.

Mahmud's discussion of budgetary processes in the context of Bangladesh points to some of the problematic outcomes associated with the phenomenon of institutional inter-penetration touched on earlier in the paper. The behaviour of policy-makers ensures that they subvert their own policies, in some cases, for personal gain, in others, for political capital:

> Spoils and privileges are parcelled out among different clientele as an essential tool of political management. . . . The control over the delivery of public services is viewed as a means of fostering patron-client relationships and creating vote banks . . . Members of Parliament, instead of being concerned with law-making and national policies, become lobbyists for procuring projects for their respective constituencies – by no means a healthy process of selection of development projects.
>
> Much of the wastage in public resource management at the local level, such as the alleged leakage of resources in the rural works programme, is the result of the above system. It also partly explains many weaknesses in the implementation of local development projects. For example, disproportionately more funds are allocated for constructing new local roads than for the maintenance of existing ones: the former is perceived as a public service rendered by the local Member of Parliament, the latter as only the routine work of the concerned government agencies (p15).

Analysis of highly aid-dependent countries have drawn attention to the way that policy agendas get shaped when competing visions of "the social" have to be negotiated by institutionally-asymmetrical actors. This is evident in the Bangladesh case. While official development assistance has declined from 6.9 per cent of GNP in 1990 to around 2.7 per cent in 1998, Bangladesh remains vulnerable to the shifts and vicissitudes of donor thinking. As Mahmud comments: 'Too many of Bangladesh's development programmes have been donor-driven. The syndrome of "donor-dependence" is manifest in the absence of institutional capacities or their rise and fall with donor-funded project cycles' (p.12).

Others have also commented on the "projectisation" of development associated with aid dependence, a product of the workings of donor agencies, each of which have their own 'agendas, priorities, targets and procedures' (Moore 2001: 31). This may be superseded over time by the shift to direct budget support through sector-wide approaches, but the process has been slow. As Tendler (2002) points out, 'For all the talk of policy reforms, most donors – as funding organisations – organise their work around designing and funding projects. It is their modus operandi, their bread and butter. This "project imperative", in turn, influences the way they define the poverty-reduction agenda, or any other for that matter' (p.2).

This "projectised" approach to social policy is also consistent with the neo-liberal ideologies which have been ascendant within a number of donor agencies, particularly the World Bank, and their belief that state interventions to assist the poor and socially excluded should not interfere in any way with the workings of the market. Devereux's analysis of safety net policies in Malawi offers a case study of the 'politics of needs interpretation' in practice (2002). Malawi had embarked on its independence seeking to combine a pragmatic approach to the economic with an ideological commitment to the principle of "universalism" in state provisioning of health, education and food security, one that distinguished it from the colonial social policy. It allowed the expatiate-owned plantation economy it had inherited from the colonial period to flourish as an export-oriented sector and used the revenue obtained from it to fund its social vision.

However, by the mid-eighties, Malawi faced the same problems of debt and enforced structural adjustment that were occurring elsewhere in Africa. By the mid-nineties it had become a highly aid-dependent country with official development assistance making up 24 per cent of its GNP in 1998. Donor conditionalities led to the dismantling of the previous commitment to universalist social policy and its replacement by a projectised approach. The process by which this occurred in relation to the country's food security policies and their reduction to a residual safety net approach is discussed in detail in Devereux (2002).

Consistent with its ideological preference for reduced state involvement, the World Bank argued for a minimal public works programme to be located within the Malawi Social Action Fund. The government's own preference was for a safety net programme which would provide the poor with some protection against transitory shocks and which would be located in the National Economic Commission (NEC). They saw the Bank's proposal as an attempt to wrest control over what was a fundamental state responsibility, the coordination of the country's safety-net efforts, away from the government and to place it within a Bank-funded quango. While justified on allegedly technical "common-sense" grounds, it had the profoundly political effect of disarticulating social need from the political responsibility to address it: donors were accountable to their own tax-payers back home, not to the citizens of Malawi for whose well-being they bore no meaningful or enforceable responsibility (Devereux 2002).

Sub-Saharan Africa also provides a number of examples of countries whose poor human development performance, relative to their income levels, is associated with the state's reliance on mineral wealth for its revenue and with the concomitant implications for its governance structures and its responsiveness to its citizens. Generalising about this category of countries, Moore *et al.* (op cit) note that they tend to have 'unusually powerful resource base, including military capacity, in comparison with citizens and strong incentives to build up coercive rather than consensual state apparatuses and modes of rule'. Many fit into what Bevan describes as "warlord regimes" which she illustrates with a discussion of Sierra Leone. While colonial rule here had been based, as elsewhere in Africa, on the extraction of primary resources, it had shifted over time from valuable tree crops to minerals so that by the 1960s, the country's exports were dominated by diamonds, iron ore, bauxite and later rutile (Bevan 2001). She describes the dominant role played by outside interests in shaping the country's history, including other governments in the region with a stake in perpetuating conflict through support or opposition to the regimes in power; various private firms, both those dealing with minerals as well as with arms and mercenaries and international organisations, including international financial institutions. And finally, she points to the major human development failures which characterise these warlord regimes including civilian deaths, dismemberment and displacement on a massive scale as a result of ongoing conflicts. As might be expected, Sierra Leone was a "negative outlier" according to both 1991 and 1995 data.: Mundle, for instance, reports that Nepal, with a per capita income of $180 in 1991, had achieved a Human Development Index ranking of 152 compared to the much lower ranking of 172 achieved by Sierra Leone with a per capita income of $210.

4.3 Sustaining social development: some lessons

The particularities of state intervention within the processes of production and reproduction within a society – the extent, direction and responsiveness of the intervention – clearly play an important role in explaining its rate of economic growth, its human development achievements and the relationship between the tow. Our analysis in this section has revolved around three broad categories of countries: those whose human development outcomes were largely commensurate with their income levels; those who performed better than predicted by their income levels and those who performed worse.

However, how a country is classified may vary between different studies for a number of reasons. One reason relates to differences in the reference period. For instance, Bangladesh was classified as a negative outlier according to the 1991 data used by Mundle but appears to have achieved levels of human development in line with its (still low) per capita GNP according to the 1995 data used by Moore *et al.* Pakistan, on the other hand, reported levels of human development in line with its level of per capita income in 1991 according to Mundle's estimates but had slipped into the ranks of the negative outliers by the mid-nineties, according to Moore *et al.*

On the other hand, certain countries recur periodically in studies as examples of 'positive outliers while others recur as examples of "negative outliers", suggesting that their performance has not varied a great deal over time. Clearly, understanding the experience of countries which shifted categories over time as well as those which remained consistent can yield important insights into the sustainability of the different strategies associated with their performances. Some insights are provided by a study by Ranis *et al.* (2000) of the performance of different countries over a period of three decades (the 1960s, 1970s and 1980–92), and aspects of their policy choices which explained their performance.[7] Their findings are summarised in the Table A2.5.

They both reaffirm the relationship between economic growth and human development and suggest that it is mutually reinforcing in both positive and negative directions: thus some of the countries included

7 Using life expectancy shortfalls from a maximum of 85 years as their measure of human development achievement and per capita GDP growth as their measure of economic growth, they analysed cross-sectional data from between 35–76 developing countries (depending on data availability) over 1960s, 1970s and 1980–1993.

in their study reported a "virtuous cycle" over time between human development and economic growth, with each reinforcing the other, while others appeared to started out or fallen into a vicious cycle with low levels of human development and low growth rates feeding into each other In addition, they highlight two other categories of countries: those which prioritised economic growth at the expense of human development, what they called EG-lopsided strategies, and those which prioritised human development, despite low rates of growth, or HD-lopsided strategies. In general, "lopsidedness" of either kind was a temporary condition; most countries with lop-sided strategies moved into vicious or virtuous cycles.

Their findings suggest that very few countries had been able to go directly from vicious to virtuous cycle over the time period in question. However, a third of the countries which had adopted HD-lopsided strategies had moved onto virtuous cycle over time while those with EG-lopsided strategies *all* reverted to vicious cycle. In other words, it did not appear to be possible to move to a virtuous cycle through reliance on an EG-lopsided strategy 'as this proved to be a dead end' (p. 212). Brazil, discussed by Dreze and Sen as an example of the pursuit of a strategy of "unaimed opulence", appears in this study as one of the countries which lapsed from EG-lopsided in the earlier years covered by the study to a vicious cycle in later years. Sierra Leone is another. More broadly, the study supports the conclusion that prioritising human development, regardless of levels of income, can provide the basis of an economically sustainable development strategy over time, but that prioritising economic growth at the expense of human development is less likely to be either socially or economically sustainable in the long run.

Country-level analysis is necessary, of course, to understand in greater detail why different countries fared the way they have done over time. Examples of such analysis are to be found in some of the contributions to Mehrotra and Jolly (1997). The case of Cuba (not included in Ranis *et al.*) illustrates the experiences of a country that has failed to translate its HD-lopsided strategy into a virtuous development trajectory over time for political economy reasons, in particular, the collapse of the Soviet Union, its primary trade partner, and the accompanying tightening of the US trade embargo. Indeed, it faces a growing risk of reversal in its social gains. Sri Lanka appears in Ranis et al as a country that went from low levels of economic growth and social development at the start of the period covered by their study to a virtuous cycle of high rates of human development feeding into higher rates of growth. Alailama and Sanderatne (1997) discuss how it has been able to maintain its social achievements despite political instability, a slowly-growing economy and the diversion of resources to military expenditure.

While South Korea is classified by Mundle as a negative outlier in 1991, Ranis *et al.* suggest that it has been characterised by a virtuous cycle throughout the period they studied. This discrepancy may reflect their narrower definition of human development compared to that used by Mundle. However, their conclusion that South Korea has used the fruits of economic growth to expand public support for investments in human development is supported by an examination of country-level evidence (Mehrotra 1997). As we have noted, public health was virtually ignored in the early decades of its development. However, it began to assume increasing importance in public policy by the late seventies when growing social tensions in the wake of the oil crisis began to lead to 'institutional wear and tear that was socially destabilizing' (Amsden 1987 cited in Mehrotra *et al.* 1997: 280). A government subsidised health system was put in place which help to cover those households which could not pay for medical care. Growing political tensions have also led to shift from the earlier conservative-authoritarian political regime to a democratically elected centre-left one. State commitment and capacity allowed South Korea to respond to the East Asian crisis by expanding social welfare coverage and benefits at a speed unprecedented in history (Yang 2000).

To sum up, the findings in Ranis *et al.* underscore the positive "synergy" between economic growth and human capabilities. They also underscore the importance of public expenditures on health and education (particularly female education) in ensuring the translation of economic growth into human development achievements, while they note that domestic investment rates and income distribution have been significant in explaining the chain of causation from human development to economic growth. In addition, the study supports the importance of the *sequencing* of policy change for social sustainability: 'HD must be strengthened *before* a virtuous cycle can be attained. Policy reforms which focus only on economic growth are unlikely to succeed'. The sequencing principle may also have to apply within human development policy itself: priority may need to be given to primary education and some comprehensive basic health care in early phase of growth. The role of science, technology and institutions of higher education will become more important subsequently to ensure that investments in human development continue to contribute to growth while investments in more expensive forms of curative care, including hospitals, will help to ensure that economic growth continues to contribute to human development.

5 Endemic insecurity and livelihood strategies: access, marginalisation and exclusion

5.1 Livelihood strategies and institutional access

It will be clear from the discussion so far that there are major differences in the socio-economic contexts, institutional configurations and policy regimes within which individuals and groups meet their needs and make provision for the future. Policy regimes are clearly important in this analysis because they represent the extent to which the state makes a purposive effort to ensure that different groups in a society are protected from the risks and insecurities of their environment. This has become evident once again in recent decades in the responses of different countries to the new forms of insecurity which have accompanied economic liberalisation and the intensified pace of globalisation. Many of the OECD countries as well as some in East Asia have sought to defend, and often expand, public responsibility for social protection from the vagaries associated with growing "openness" (UNRISD 2000; Rodrik 1998). By contrast, the poorer countries of the world have been forced, by internal economic constraints, as well as pressure from the international financial institutions, to shed many aspects of state support for livelihood security in favour of various forms of private initiative: markets, non-governmental organisations or, where these have not materialised, to informal community or self-provisioning.

However, what differentiates the nature of insecurity in different parts of the world is not simply the absence or presence of particular social security measures which provide protection from the vicissitudes of global market forces. It is also the presence or absence of a range of functionally specialised institutional mechanisms, resilient in the face of crisis because they have matured over an extended period of time, and able to provide individuals and families with protection against a much wider class of risks and uncertainties than covered by public policies alone. These include highly sophisticated markets in financial services, including credit, savings, insurance, pensions, mortgages and so on which have developed alongside state provision of social security. These are in turn backed up by a range of institutions which provide security in its wider sense of law and order: the courts, the police, regulatory committees, watchdog bodies etc.

The fact that most of these institutions function reasonably well in high and many middle-income countries and the fact that they are underpinned by effective states which regulate their operations, allows members of these societies to plan for the future with some degree of certainty. They enjoy what Giddens refers to as a sense of "ontological security" in their everyday lives, a confidence in the continuity of their self-identity and in the stability of the social and material context of their actions (1990: 92).

The institutional configurations which characterise the poorer countries offer a very different environment for individuals and social groups seeking to meet their needs and secure their futures. Here, as elsewhere, there are episodic risks and external shocks, both of a co-variate (riots, floods, drought, cyclones, economic crises, war) as well as idiosyncratic kind (death of breadwinner, collapse of business and so on). In addition, however, there is a chronic and pervasive insecurity, one that is endemic to these environment in that it is generated by everyday institutional processes of society, including those related to upholding law and order. As Bevan (2001) puts it, 'The unfettered pursuit of interests by powerful actors within the public domain is a major factor in generating insecurity in certain contexts; in others, insecurities may be generated by the actions of state players through the inappropriate construction and pursuit of policy goals'. There is little sense here of individuals exercising any control over the present, let alone anticipating and "provisioning" for the future.

One consequence of this is that the personalised social networks of kin, community and clan continue to play a key role in the livelihood strategies of both rich and poor households. Such networks, which draw their legitimacy and resilience from their ability to provide for members in times of need and to extract the obligations to meet such needs, constitute a key source of security in contexts where institutional alternatives are either absent or unreliable. They have proved extremely effective in promoting the interests of their own members, supporting their business ventures, resolving internal disputes, and providing an "anchor of security" against various forms of risk in contexts where the state failed to guarantee basic forms of social security for all citizens (Platteau 1992).

However, such relationships also reinforce a "limited group morality" in that the loyalty of members is restricted to other members of the same networks rather than extended to all sections of society. And because they embody highly differentiated, and unequal, principles of access, they provide very variable livelihood options for different social groups. Wealthy groups use their social connections to gain privileged access to available resources, including those distributed by the state, on terms which increase private inequalities. As Platteau points out in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, the state itself is structured by rival networks articulated around individuals, families, religious, socio-cultural and economic groups, sub-groups, sects, castes etc. 'all engaged in merciless struggles for access to power and to the wealth and material privileges which automatically reward the power-holders' (p. 18).

The result is that a few people in Africa are very rich and some others are reasonably well-off: 'African political elites who stay in power have achieved livelihoods that generate considerable wealth, often invested overseas (capital flight) and sometimes locally invested . . . There is a small middle class of professionals (doctors, academic, journalists etc), often with international and aid-related links' (Bevan 2001: 37). The majority, however, are poor, have no access to these global resources and must secure their livelihoods through their own efforts. A great deal of time and effort is devoted to the search for a patron or an economic rent or invested in strengthening social networks. As Berry has noted, 'where access to land and other productive resources depends partly on non-market criteria, accumulation of cash and other fungible assets may not be a sufficient condition for securing access to the means of production. If access depends on social identity, producers will use resources to establish or reaffirm advantageous identities and connections for themselves (Berry 1988: 67).

South Asian societies tend to be far more socially differentiated along class and caste lines than those in sub-Saharan Africa and have a much larger class of "free" landless labour. In addition, the state has evolved over a longer period of colonial rule and the bureaucratic apparatus has been more solidly implanted. Nevertheless, here too, family, kin and caste relations take primacy in social relations, even among the urban, educated elite who hold positions of power in modern institutions, including the state bureaucracy. They may agree with official institutional ideologies that access to public resources should be allocated on the grounds of need, merit or some other impersonal rule-based criteria, but as Kakar (1978) points out, they find it difficult to rid themselves of the conviction that their social identities and social relationships should ultimately shape their behaviour:

> This conflict between the rational criteria of specific tasks and institutional goals rooted in western societal values, and his own deeply held belief (however ambivalent) in the importance of honouring family and jati bonds is typical among highly educated and prominently employed Indians. And among the vast majority of tradition-minded countrymen – whether it be a bania bending the law to facilitate the business transaction of a fellow jati member, or a marwari industrialist employing an insufficiently qualified but distantly related job applicant as a manager, or a clerk accepting bribes in order to put an orphaned niece through school – dishonesty, nepotism and corruption as they are understood in the West are merely abstract concepts.
>
> (Kakar 1978: 125)

The distribution of public resources on the basis of these highly personalised relationships has the effect of reproducing in the "public" sphere the socially ascribed inequalities of kin, family and community.

Urban and rural elites – the big farmers, the industrialists, the bureaucrats, the executives and professionals, and the intelligentsia, the majority drawn from the upper castes within society – have used their social networks to gain privileged access to technology, information and services to ensure that their private priorities take precedence over the public good (Kothari, 1993: 146).

In Bangladesh too, family, kinship and community ties determine access to both private and public resources: 'in all regimes in Bangladesh, and East Pakistan before it, the state has not been available for all, and its resources have been allocated intentionally or unintentionally via patronage networks stretching down to the village level' where locally powerful families have successfully monopolise public sector resources through their links with locally influential officials (Wood 1999: 17). Public institutions, in general, and social policy processes in particular, cannot be relied upon in such contexts to produce 'equitable and predictable outcomes' on the basis of transparent and impersonal criteria: 'thus we enter the realm of personal favours and discretionary outcomes' (Wood 1999: 18).

5.2 Livelihood strategies and institutional exclusion

In these circumstances, the struggle for livelihoods is likely to be particularly precarious for those who not only lack productive assets, but are also marginalised from social networks which could connect them, however imperfectly, to mainstream circuits of distribution. Economic disadvantage tends to be compounded in their case by various forms of institutional exclusion which make them vulnerable as well as poor, where vulnerability refers both to the likelihood of suffering from, and the capacity to withstand, shocks, risks, stress and various forms of "harm" (Chambers 1989; Bevan 2001) as well as to the state of mind engendered by this condition, the feelings of defencelessness, inability to cope, a lack of agency: the absence, in other words, of a sense of "ontological security".

For these groups, labour, often in its most literal bodily sense, is a key resource and the basis upon which they gain access to other kinds of resources. They too, like the better off, will seek to utilise their membership of informal or fictive networks of kinship, community and clan as far as possible to protect themselves in an environment characterised by pervasive insecurity. However, their networks tend to be characterised by extreme forms of clientilist dependence and its value to them is likely to be conditioned by the absence of other options. Breman (1996) documents how many of the younger members of low-caste landless households in rural India are now seeking to avoid long-term attachment to higher-caste landowners, despite the security that this offered in the past. Instead, some choose 'the risky but freer life of the day worker' (1996: 238) while others escape to work as casual waged labour in the urban informal economy. They may be treated as "commodities" to be bought and sold in the market place, their conditions of work may entail longer hours of work or more hazardous forms of work, but they are not immediately identified as members of a socially despised group, as persons of lesser worth.

Such choices highlight the point made earlier: that even for those forced to live a hand-to-mouth existence, there are concerns other than those related to immediate survival, concerns with security of livelihood, with dignity at work, with the respect of the community and so on. While these different concerns may, in principle, be equally valued, they tend to assume a hierarchical ordering in conditions of extreme scarcity, in that that some may have to be sacrificed in order that others can be met (Chambers 1988). The evidence suggests that, unlike the trade-offs faced by affluent sections of society, which tend to be between different sources of well-being (the better of two "goods"), the poor generally have to choose between different kinds of deprivation (the lesser of two "bads").

These trade-offs take a number of different forms. They are sometimes inter-temporal in nature: poorer households are forced to discount the future in favour of the present, pulling their children out of school, or failing to send them to school in the first place, because they need every member of the family to contribute to household survival. They can take an inter-personal form: the World Bank's Consultations with the Poor reported the case of a woman in the Ukraine who had to decide which member of the family would eat on a particular day – herself or her son while in Tbilisi in Georgia, there were mothers who had had to decide which of their children to sell in order that to support the ones that remained (Narayan *et al.* 2000: 35, 38).[8]

Yet other trade-offs relate to livelihood strategies themselves and the social relations they embody. How different livelihood options are rewarding or exploitative will vary, not only according to the magnitude of returns to the labour effort, but also according to the terms on which labour is utilised and to the conditions which led to the selection of particular livelihood options. In Botswana, only households who are temporarily (because of drought) or permanently without cattle (often female-headed) will hire out their members in what is called majako, a labour relationship characterised by poor security of payment: 'Being forced into the extreme dependency of a servant relationship with a rich households seems to be associated with shame and is much feared' (Koojman 1978: 243 cited in Smith 1997: 133). There are thus a range of options – bonded labour, prostitution, begging, sale of body organs or of children – which will only be adopted in situations of extreme desperation because of their implications for physical health and emotional well-being. As we noted, livelihood options, such as casual wage labour, offer and migration may offer less security than caste-based labour attachments, but they also offer freedom from devalued identities and personalised forms of exploitation.

However, such freedoms are not always affordable for all. The discussion in Mendelsohn and Vicziany (1998) of the case of "untouchable" bonded labourers who returned to the extremely exploitative conditions which characterised their work in the quarrying industry in Delhi, despite a Supreme Court ruling which gave them their "freedom" from their bondage, testifies to the stark absence of choices that such marginalised groups may face. For those living close to the margins of survival, whose ability to meet their daily basic needs is extremely precarious, freedom may have to be traded against the security provided by such extreme forms of clientilist dependency.

Such relationships give client households access to the resources they need for some minimum level of survival and security in exchange for resources which reinforce their patron's dominant status in a variety of different ways: political or factional loyalty, muscle power in conflict, guaranteed supply of

[8] These are in marked contrast to the kinds of tradeoffs to be found in newspaper reports on the downsizing of London's financial sector in the wake of 11th September which noted that retrenched bankers would have to decide whether to postpone upgrading their cars or the purchase of a weekend retreat in the south of France.

labour in peak periods and so on (Smith 1997). Thus, in the African context, 'in many cases the "small men" draw their livelihoods from participating at the lowest level in the various factions, cliques or groups fighting for power' (Bayart 1989, cited in Platteau 1992: 19). In Bangladesh too, men from poor households make up the lathials in the rural areas and the masthans in the urban that fight battles on behalf of wealthy landlords or politically powerful patrons (Kabeer 2003a; Wood and Salway 2000).

While these relationships can help to minimise threats from the multiple sources of risk that the poor face in their environments, they carry an alternative and major source of risk of their own: the possible withdrawal or foreclosure of patronage (Smith 1997). The possibility that this might happen is likely to have profound implications on the ability of the poor to express voice, exercise agency or claim rights. This is the phenomenon of power by "anticipated reaction" (Smith 1997). Dependent households attempt to adapt their behaviour as much as possible to the anticipated reactions of their patrons in order to pre-empt any threat of withdrawal of support. Similarly, dependent members within households will attempt to mould their behaviour to the anticipated preferences of dominant members, even in the absence of any external pressure, because of the possibility of an adverse reaction to the failure to do so, and the consequences for them of such a reaction.

5.3 Institutional exclusion and the "politics of needs interpretation"

The implications of extreme forms of dependency of this kind for the "politics of needs interpretation" within policy processes represents the other side of the coin to the disproportionate clout exercised by the socially well-connected: the silence or exclusion of the poor within these processes and thus the reproduction of the inequalities which led to their marginal status in the first place. Economic insecurity translates into lack of voice and political action while the absence of voice and political participation contributes to the perpetuation of economic insecurity. The ramifications of these micro-level linkages between governance and development are apparent in some of the ways in which social policies have played out on the ground and the inequalities in access, quality, relevance and "fit" of the services which they have helped to generate (Devereux and Cook 2002).

The uneven physical distribution of services is one route through which inequalities of access to social provision mirror wider social inequalities. Services of various kinds tend to be concentrated in locations which privilege the wealthy and well-connected: in urban rather than rural areas, or, within the rural context, in easily accessible rather than more isolated areas. The poor generally have to travel longer distances in search of services and wait longer hours for them. Data from the World Bank (2004) have estimated that in Bangladesh, for instance, children from the poorest fifth of the population travel an average of 0.2 kilometres to the nearest primary school compared to the 0.1 kilometres travelled by children from the richest fifth of the population and an average of 0.9 kilometres to the nearest health facility compared to the 0.7 kilometres travelled by children from the richest fifth of the population (ratios of 1.6 and 1.3 respectively). In India, the ratio of the distance to the nearest school and health facility travelled by individuals from the poorest fifth to the richest fifth was higher at 2.3 and 3.6. It was even higher in rural Nigeria where children from the poorest fifth of the population need to travel more than five times further than children from the richest fifth to reach the nearest primary school and more than seven times further to reach the nearest health facility.

Inequalities of "access" have a financial dimension. The imposition of user charges in public health provision in an attempt to achieve financial sustainability, for instance led to a decline in the national utilisation of health care services in Ghana from around 4.5 million in outpatient visits to 2.1 million within the year fees were introduced. In Swaziland, outpatient attendance in government health facilities fell by a third in the year following fee increase: according to Yoder (1989) up to a third of the decline was among the poorest patients. In Zambia, the imposition of user charges in government clinics led to those who could afford it to respond by switching to private clinics where they received prompt attention and 'value for their money. For those who could not afford it, however, the only options were to either buy their own remedies from the chemist 'or else they stay at home and die' (Booth *et al.* 1996: 61).

There is also a social dimension to inequalities of access, reflecting the extent to which public service provision discriminates against certain categories of "users". In India, for instance, it has been reported that where there were fewer doctors, nurses and teachers in districts where there were higher proportions of Muslims (a minority religion) and scheduled ("untouchable") castes in the rural population and that health outreach workers were less likely to visit lower caste and poorer households (Betancourt and Gleaton 2000; Koenig *et al.* 2000). Scheduled caste communities were generally far less likely to have a school within their village than the general population: in 1986, only 38 per cent had a primary school within the community compared to 54 per cent of the rest of the community (Nambissan 1996).

Public providers have also been found to often act directly as agents of social exclusion. The PROBE report on educational provision in India (1999) found that there were still villages where higher caste teachers considered children for the untouchable castes as "unfit" for education, making them sit separately from other children and using them to perform menial chores. Studies from sub-Saharan Africa highlight the sexual harassment of girls as a key factor in explaining gender inequalities in educational attainment, with male teacher emerging as the main perpetrators (Leach and Machakanja 2000; Mensch and Lloyd 1997). The studies point out that sexual harassment was treated, along with corporal punishment, verbal abuse and bullying as "inevitable" aspects of school life, a manifestation of unequal gender relationships and of the authoritarian ethos of the educational hierarchy.

In rural Nigeria, uneducated women are often afraid to deliver in hospitals because of the rough treatment they received at the hands of nurses, treatment that was not meted out to better-educated women (Okojie 1993, cited in Jejeebhoy 1995: 110). Focus group members in South Africa commented about primary health care providers: 'Sometimes I feel as if apartheid has never left this place . . . They really have a way of making you feel like you are a piece of rubbish' (Schneider and Palmer 2002). In Bangladesh, a study by Schuler and Hossain (1998) pointed out how interactions between rural women and family planning service providers took on the hierarchical character which was a hallmark of relations of patronage in the wider community.

Unevenness in the quality of services on offer play a role in reproducing wider social inequalities. Studies of high drop out rates among children from poorer or from lower caste households in India point to the "deplorable" conditions of many of their the schools in terms of the adequacy of the buildings, the ratio of teachers to students, the number of toilets, and availability of separate toilets for girls, the availability of seating, the supply of text books and so on. Random samples of school and health clinics in a number of developing countries found absence rates of over 40 per cent among officials, with higher rates in more remote and poorer areas (WDR 2004).

Finally, the "responsiveness" of public services to the needs of those who lack voice will also determine the extent to which public provision serves to counter or reinforce social inequality. Responsiveness includes the relevance of services. Talib's study of educational performance among children of low caste stone quarry workers in Delhi notes that, along with the indifference of teachers, most of whom came from higher castes, to the needs of the students, the irrelevance of the curriculum also contributed to poor outcomes. Children were expected memorize the biographies of reputed but remote figures as Madame Curie, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Thomas Edison, Albert Schwitzer, Gautama Buddha, Confucius, Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci; the underlying ideological message of which served to reinforce the superiority and the efficacy of mind over body and intellectual lover manual labour. 'To those who were born and brought up to do menial tasks, these biographies at best inspired awe and at worst instilled inadequacy in the self'. The failure of most of the children to recall anything that they had been taught in the classroom was hardly surprising.

Responsiveness also includes the "fit" between the services on offer and the livelihood systems, activities and constraints of the poor and vulnerable (Devereux and Cook 2002). The WDR 2004 offers some illustrative examples. It was found that infrequent and inconvenient operating hours of health facilities greater reduced their use: according to focus group respondents, 'Health posts operate only twice a week. Waiting time is three hours on average. Only those who arrive by 8 am get a consultation'. (p. 25). In parts of Africa, schools often begin at 8 am at a time when girls are still fetching water and school holidays are at odds with local market dates.

Behind these various categories of failure in the public provision of social services lies a cross-cutting failure of accountability: the absence or weakness of institutionalised route through which public officials responsible for making and implementing policy could be assessed on their performance by those they are supposed to serve and required to make appropriate changes in their behaviour. The disproportionate effects of this for the poor is documented in the Consultations with the Poor carried out by the World Bank:

> From the perspective of poor people worldwide, there is a deep and widespread crisis in governance. While the range of institutions that play important roles in poor people's lives is vast, poor people are excluded from participation in governance. State institutions, whether represented by central ministries or local governments, are often neither responsive nor accountable to the poor; rather, the reports detail the arrogance and the disdain with which poor people are treated. Poor people see little recourse to injustice, criminality, abuse and corruption in their interaction with institutions.
>
> (Narayan *et al.* 2000: 197)

Such findings clearly point to the need for reform of public sector provision. However, to conclude, as neo-liberal policy-makers within international and national agencies have done, that that public provision should be replaced by the market fails to take account of problems associated with market provision which gave rise to state intervention in the first place. Certainly there is evidence that private provision is often perceived to offer better value for money and greater accountability to customer, but it is also markedly less equitable. In Zambia, as we saw, the deterioration in government services meant that many turned to private clinics. However, this option was open only to those who could afford it: 'the poor stay at home and die'. The problem of markets as a means for meeting social need is summarised by Harriss-White (1999a): 'Markets exclude . . . Markets, even idealised, abstract, efficient ones, respond to demand rather than to human needs and guarantee neither life nor welfare. For these, the state is a necessary – but not a sufficient – guarantor'.

The state remains necessary because it is the only institution that is obliged to respond to claims for welfare entitlements – unlike either markets or non-governmental organisations. However, it is clearly not sufficient because, as the evidence cited in this paper suggests, it has not always proved responsive to these claims. It is therefore important to ask to what extent this lack of responsiveness is *inevitable*. Many of the examples of mis-behaviour by public officials described here can be seen as arrogance on the part of the relatively privileged towards those less powerful than themselves. What is not clear is why the public institutions in which they work appear to condone or even actively promote such behaviour. In other words, the domain of the explanation must encompass the workings of public institutions, and the incentive structures that they embody, as much as the social backgrounds and individual preferences of public officials.

For instance, while the PROBE report on educational provision in India offers a fairly damning indictment of the teachers within government schools it also suggests that their poor performance was at least partly a reflection of the badly-resourced conditions under which they had to teach. Schools were found to be 'under-equipped, under-funded, under-staffed and over-crowded': such are the working conditions . . . that most teachers, of necessity, would find them tough, and even the most committed teacher could find his or her enthusiasm waning' (p. 58). Not only did the educational system succeed in mainly attracting poorly motivated individuals, the report also suggests that its recruitment processes may have actively *deterred* those with a genuine vocation for teaching since anyone with right formal qualifications, the right connections or the ability to pay the necessary bribe could become a teacher. On the other hand, while private schools were considered better value for money, Kingdon (1996) found that they were disproportionately attended by the children from wealthy rather than poor households, from upper rather than lower castes, from majority rather than minority religions and boys rather than girls.

In rural Uganda, Lucas and Nuwagaba (1999) noted the degree of discretion permitted to health staff, and the absence of monitoring mechanisms, gave health staff considerable leeway in deciding on charging practices, credit arrangements and qualification for payment exemption. They were able to use various forms of corruption and illicit practices to top up their earnings. Not surprisingly, they were regarded with suspicion by members of the community who complained that the quality of care at public facilities depended on the amount offered for treatment. At the same time, however, the study points to the extremely low salaries that public providers received as part of the explanation for their behaviour. They had the incentive to seek to supplement their incomes in whatever way they could and the system of district health management gave them the opportunity to do so.

The structure of incentives (implicit as well as explicit) embodied by the institutions of public provision thus plays an important role in explaining why they so often discriminate against those who are already marginalised. Equally, however, it should be possible to restructure public institutions to promote greater responsiveness on the part of public providers to the needs of the excluded. Unfortunately, as Tendler and Freedheim (1994) point out, the neo-liberal critique of the rent-seeking state has led to a policy preoccupation with situations of government failure. There has not been equivalent attention to situations in which governments have managed to win the "trust" of their various constituencies and have achieved creditable results. Such analysis might offer ways of thinking about public sector reform other than the downsizing and privatisation favoured by the neo-liberal agenda.

Their own analysis of a health programme in north-eastern Brazil suggests the use of material as well as non-material incentives to promote responsive behaviour on the part of public service providers in a context long characterised by extreme structural inequality. A combination of central responsibility for certain aspects of the programme (recruitment of the front line providers on merit principles) and decentralisation of others (funding and recruitment of supervisors) helped to counter the patronage dynamic in local politics which had helped to skupper past attempts at community development. Using its knowledge of the local, the state was able to create an unusual sense of "calling" among its workers, give them the incentive to build relationships of trust with their communities and provide the community with the information it needed to hold providers accountable.

Elsewhere, in China, study of local-level health provision points to the importance – and resilience – of internalised "values" in explaining observed behaviour. Here the transition to a "market socialist" economy has been accompanied by devolution of management of the health system to localised health facilities which generate their own revenue. Health workers employ a variety of legal and illicit strategies to augment low basic government salaries: through "gifts" of cash or kind from patients, legal and illegal kickbacks from suppliers of drugs, equipment and services (Bloom *et al.* 2000). All this resembles the picture of local health provision in other parts of the developing world. What is unusual, however, is evidence that many village health workers continue to participate in the preventive health programmes and to see poor patients in spite of changes in the system of payment which made these less remunerative activities. Values internalised in an earlier "service-oriented" era continue to shape their behaviour, despite overall changes. The challenge, as the authors point out, is how to retain this commitment to a "culture of inclusiveness" in service provision: 'it is hard to predict how long attitudes formed in an environment which emphasised social responsibility will persist as marketisation continues and inequalities grow' (p. 14).

Van Damme and Meessen, (2001; cited in Booth and Lucas 2002) provide an example from the Cambodian context of how an appreciation of institutional incentives and constraints was used to improve systems of provision. Here various forms of unruly practices engaged in by health providers were traced to poor staff motivation and the absence of any incentive to monitor their performance. With the agreement of the Ministry of Health, Médecins sans Frontières (MSF) introduced a performance-based salary system covering the hospital, health centres, and the district administration. They asked all staff members how much they would need to be paid in order to do their jobs as specified in their contracts. They then used anonymous voting to negotiate a bonus-for-service-delivery package which would be agreeable to the great majority. Given the low level of government salaries, these bonus payments became the most important component of staff incomes.

A system was also put in placed to monitor compliance with the new contracts. Each component of the district health service – hospital, health centre, administrative office –established an elected committee which took responsibility for monitoring and ensuring contract compliance by the staff within their units. While some bonus payments were based on personal performance, others were based on the collective performance of the unit, including fulfilment of its monitoring, reporting and supervisory duties. Annual audits, spot checks by local consultants and exit surveys of users were used to confirm that this activity was appropriately carried out. The exercise, now in its second year, appears to have achieved a remarkable breakthrough in circumstances where previous reform attempts have made little impression. Its key elements of contracting, collective responsibility and "supervising the supervisors" offer interesting possibilities for reforming public delivery systems that have not featured prominently in the neo-liberal privatisation agenda.

6 Revisioning "the social": citizen-centred social policy for the poor in poor countries

6.1 Re-visioning "the social": clients, customers and citizens

This paper started with the recognition that development policies in the poorer countries of the world have not always served the interests of the poor. Introduced during the colonial era, and retained with some modifications in the post-colonial era, such policies embodied a vision of "the social" which reflected an imported future rather than a response to the problems and possibilities of the present. They expressed a commitment to the principle of universalism but prioritised forms of provision which had been developed for urbanised workers in the formal labour markets of rich industrialised countries. In contexts where the vast majority of people were poor, lived in rural areas and were only weakly linked to the formal sector, the commitment to universality was quickly compromised by gaps between what was needed, what could be afforded and what was provided. Those who benefited from these policies, a privileged enclave of organised sector workers and employees and the ministries that served them, developed a vested interest in maintaining this status quo and resisting attempts at change.

State-centred approaches to social policy gave way in the 1980s to market-centred approaches which sought to privatise social services in the interests of economic efficiency and financial sustainability.

However, while private provision has proved more efficient and financially sustainable in some contexts, and more accountable to its users in others, markets have proved even less effective than the state in reaching the poor in most contexts. Indeed, where inequalities are deeply entrenched in the social structure, both state-centred and market-centred approaches have had the effect of reinforcing, rather than dissolving, pre-existing inequalities; the state because it responded primarily to those with political clout and the market because it serves only those with purchasing power.

In contrast with these dichotomised approaches, the emerging discourse on welfare pluralism allows for the possibility of a division of roles and responsibilities in the financing, planning, delivering, monitoring and regulation of services between different institutional actors. This has to be welcomed on a number of grounds. First, it provides a better approximation of the reality on the ground in most developing country context, the actual ways in which people have sought to provide for themselves. And secondly, it opens up a space for thinking about the "comparative advantages" of different institutional actors and possible "returns to synergy" based on various models of collaboration (Robinson and White 1997). However, the particular vision of "the social" which underpins different policy discourses of welfare pluralism has important ramifications for how it is translated into practice.

There is, as we noted earlier, a neo-liberal vision of "the social" which continues to dominate international development discourse and to exercise a powerful influence on national policies in both wealthy and poor countries. Summarised in Thatcher's famous aphorism 'there is no society, there are only individuals and families', it is based on the belief that individuals and families are motivated by self-interest; that they should be given the freedom to pursue this self-interest through their own private efforts; and that the market is the optimal institutional arrangement to guarantee such freedom. This notion of choice as "negative freedom", the absence of restraints, has always been a leitmotif of mainstream liberal economics but it has been reinforced in recent decades by forms of analysis which attribute a "rent-seeking" character to all forms of collective action (welfare states, labour unions, producer cartels) which interfere with the workings of the market which is seen as the *only* institution compatible with freedom of choice (Olsen 1982).

However, "community participation", including participation by non-governmental organisations, is one category of collective action which is considered to be compatible with the neo-liberal approach to welfare pluralism because it seen to represent principles of voluntarism and "self-help" on the part of the community in question. Community participation is thus permitted, and even welcomed, in a variety of various activities, such as the construction of facilities, contribution of material inputs, co-operative mechanisms to finance drug-purchases and provision of unpaid labour, and provides a "cost-effective" route to services which are intended to benefit the community itself.

This vision of welfare pluralism offers out a "residualist" approach to social policy: it positions individuals and families as consumers and customers who choose between an array of market-based providers with the state assigned the role of provider of last resort for those whose lack of purchasing power prevents them from exercising individual choice. It is not, however, an inclusive vision. Inequalities in access to market-provided services have tended to faithfully mirror inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income in the wider society and appear to be widening further with the opening up of global markets. Declining state provision has "enticed" the middle classes of developing and transitional economies into these global markets for health, education and insurance, undermining the potential for a cross-class (re)construction of a social contract between the state and citizens which could help to underwrite equality of access to the means of basic needs satisfaction (Deacon 2000). The state provision of services specifically targeted to the poor has generally proven to be "poor services" in the absence of such cross-class support (Deacon 2000) while community participation initiatives have raised concerns about issues of equity, both in terms of where the burden of contribution falls as well as their implications for access to services (Cornwall 2000).

There is, however, an alternative vision of "the social" associated with welfare pluralism which positions individuals as citizens rather than consumers, members of wider collectivities, in which "rights", and correlative duties, are the basis on which access is premised. Rights differ fundamentally from other forms of access which may prevail in a society, such as charity, status, discretion or purchasing power: they are universal in that they are enjoyed by virtue of the inherent dignity of the human being and they are mutually reciprocal in that the rights of each individual must be respected by all.

However, while the values of human dignity, and collective responsibility for upholding these values, command considerable consensus in the international arena, the current international framework of rights does not. Civil and political rights continue to command greater support than economic, social and cultural rights at the international level, particularly among the world's richer countries. They are seen to have greater resonance with the idea of negative freedom within mainstream liberal philosophy and greater compatibility with market-led development. Economic, social and cultural rights, on the other hand, which provide the foundations for the exercise of "positive" freedom, the ability to exercise agency free from deprivation and discrimination, are seen to entail a greater claim on collective resources and require a role for the state which is incompatible with the "minimalist state" envisaged in the neo-liberal agenda. The international rights framework, with its implicit hierarchy of rights, is therefore seen by many of the world's poorer countries as a reflection of western values and priorities, unlikely to become truly universal until it embodies values and priorities of the different cultures of the world (Nyamu-Musembi 2002).

This debate is unlikely to be resolved in the foreseeable future. However, "actor orientated approaches" to the question of rights allow us to sidestep the legalistic preoccupation with pre-determined bundles of rights to a different view of citizenship as the engagement in – and product – of collective forms of struggle against injustice (Nyamu-Musembi op. cit). Dagnino (1998), for instance, points to new notions of citizenship that had been thrown up by social movements in Latin America, a region marked by extreme forms of social inequality. These sought to redefine the idea of rights from the viewpoint of the socially excluded so that citizenship was not defined by, and curtailed to the legal provision of rights, to accessing previously defined rights, to the implementation of abstract, formal rights or to various other strategies for inclusion into a predetermined political mainstream. Citizenship started instead with the conception of "the right to have rights" and extended to the fundamental right of people to participate in deciding the kind of society they wanted to live in:

> In this sense, the very determination of the meaning of "right" and the assertion of some value or ideal as a "right" are themselves objects of political struggle . . . The new citizenship requires the constitution of active social subjects, defining what they consider to be their rights, and struggling for their recognition; it is even *thought of* as consisting of this process (p. 51).

Mamdani stresses that it is the struggle for justice by poor and marginalised groups in the face of deprivation and oppression that helps to define rights and gives a universalist meaning within an evolving framework of citizenship:

> Without the experience of sickness, there can be no idea of health. And without the fact of oppression, there can be no practice of resistance and no notion of rights . . . Wherever there was (and is) oppression – and Europe had no monopoly over oppression in history– there must come into being a conception of rights.
>
> (Mamdani 1989: 1–2)

And writing in the very different context of northern Ireland, Lister also emphasises the ability to exercise agency, and to participate in shaping the collective vision of "the social", as the defining feature of rights and citizenship:

> . . . the right of participation in decision-making in social, economic, cultural and political life should be included in the nexus of basic human rights . . . Citizenship as participation can be seen as representing an expression of human agency in the political arena, broadly defined; citizenship as rights enables people to act as agents.
>
> (1998: 228)

Such actor-oriented approaches promote an understanding of rights which resonates with our focus on human capabilities: rights provide the framework in which human capabilities can flourish. Actor-oriented perspectives also promote an understanding of rights which help to reconcile the commitment to universalism with the particularities of context. Rights are universal in that the experience of, and resistance to, poverty and injustice is universal; however, the situated nature of these struggles means that rights will always be instantiated, or given substance, in context-specific ways.

From an actor-oriented perspective, therefore, the emerging focus on welfare pluralism has the advantage of opening up a space to explore the meaning of a citizen-centred social policy that is not hampered by an ideologically-driven adherence to either state-centred or market-centred solutions. It is distinguished instead by a particular vision of "the social" as constituted by principles of mutual reciprocity between the members of a society and by the willingness to consider a range of institutional configurations in implementing this vision. It would take the commitment to universality of access as its starting point but does not conflate it with uniformity of provision. And finally, given the centrality of agency in defining the meaning of rights and giving them substance, a citizen-centred social policy would give this practical expression by actively promoting the ability of all sections of society to participate in deciding the kind of society they want for themselves and for their children, and in delineating the role that public policy should play in bringing it about. This would imply different things at different levels.

6.2 Towards citizen-centred social policy at the local level

At the *local* level, it would imply understanding patterns of exclusion and marginalisation within prevailing institutional configurations of social provisioning and exploring ways of tackling their underlying causes. There is a growing "technical" literature on the different forms taken by welfare pluralism in different contexts and the lessons these offer for new ways of thinking about the planning, financing and delivery of social services. From the point of view of inclusive citizenship, however, there are also other kinds of lessons which need to be learnt from these experiences in terms of the kinds of access they offer poor and marginalised groups, the opportunities they provide for articulating "voice" and what can be done to strengthen the accountability mechanisms through which different providers are made responsive to these groups.

There is considerable consensus in policy circles on the need to reform the public provision of social services but far less consensus on what the nature of this reform should be. This is to be expected, given the existence of competing visions of the social and of the role ascribed to the state within them. The literature on new forms of public management (NPM) has been extremely influential within the neo-liberal agenda for public sector reform because its stress on principles of consumer choice, competitiveness and efficiency provide a neat counterpoint to the neo-liberal critique of the rent-seeking state, its corruption, unwieldiness, inefficiency and red tape. The state's role in this version of welfare pluralism is one of protective regulation and coordination in contexts where 'an increasing array of commercial agents, local or trans-national, become more influential and seductive in their offers to provide private pensions, health insurance, health treatment, education and security' (Moore 2000: 29). In addition, the state is charged with a residual role in providing assistance to those unable to afford privatised social services.

From a citizen-centred perspective, however, there is further important rationale for the role of the state which relates to the fact that it is the only institution which has the capacity, however imperfect, to side-step or bulldoze the disempowering relations of market and custom (Harris-White 1999b). Public sector reform which is concerned with (re)capacitating the state to fulfil this role is clearly likely to vary considerably from an agenda which is merely concerned with curbing its "rent-seeking" tendencies. The analysis of experiences of states that have performed well in terms of social development outcomes has underscored the importance of active public policy in achieving the social sustainability of economic growth. In addition, such analysis has also suggested that state involvement in the provision of basic social services may be the best way to tackle persisting forms of social exclusion (Mwabu *et al.* 2000; Robinson and White 1997; Mehrotra and Jolly 1997; Zuckerman and de Kadt 1997). It points out that the devolution of local government would help to promote state responsiveness by securing the flow of information necessary to match supply and demand. However, such devolution is likely to lead to greater equity of outcomes if it involves individuals and communities as stakeholders As Mackintosh (1998) comments, social provision is most effective in meeting social need when it is reflects a collaboration between those who produce, and those who use, particular services. Community participation in this view of welfare pluralism is thus not merely a mechanism for downloading social responsibilities to the voluntary sector but also a means of securing greater transparency, responsiveness and accountability from service providers. Community participation of this kind would require the construction of long-term relationships of trust and solidarity at the local level between concerned actors.

However, it is important to bear in mind that "the community" can be as much a site of social exclusion as the rent-seeking state (Mackintosh 1998). The hierarchical and exclusionary tendencies of community-based networks would have to be actively struggled against through purposive efforts to build the collective capabilities of excluded groups to exercise "voice" on their own behalf. Goetz and Gaventa (2001) document concrete instances of such actions by civil society organisations from different parts of the world, actions which constitute "citizen-led" movements to democratise the politics of needs interpretation within the policy process. Cornwall (2000) touches on some of the ways in which the new discourse of participation within development has been used in different contexts to lever open "policy spaces" for public involvement in various aspects of decision-making: prescriptions advocated for state reform; consultations over policy directions; direct participation by user groups in the design, implementation and monitoring of local public goods and services. Other studies provide more detailed accounts of strategies used by civil society organisations to empower poor and excluded groups to act on their own behalf (Kabeer 2003b; Jenkins and Goetz 1999).

Grassroots activism of this kind is clearly important in building up the capacity of excluded groups to participate in the policy processes which affect their lives. However, such action does not operate independently of the state that it seeks to influence (Goetz and Gaventa 2001). The political structures which characterise different regimes of social reproduction, the vision of "the social" conveyed through their policy discourse, the political spaces for civic action associated with them and the state's willingness and capacity to respond to its different constituencies all help to shape the forms of collective action that citizens can engage in. The importance of the state in enabling and shaping such activism suggests that the process of public sector reform should be used as far as possible to build commitment to greater accountability and to inclusive citizenship *within* the state itself: 'if the social divisions are not narrower within public institutions than elsewhere, then the state's capacity to promote social inclusion is likely to be small' (Mackintosh 1998: 22).

This would require the institutionalisation of incentive structures which promoted the recognition, reward and development of the capacities of front line staff in the greater responsiveness to the poor. It is, in the final analysis, their interactions with the community which determine the kind of signals that are provided by the public sector to privileged and excluded groups. Such an approach to public sector reform draws on a very different tradition within the literature on organisational management to that drawn on by the NPM. It is a tradition that is organised around values of 'honesty, fairness and mutuality' and seeks to evaluate the performance of providers on the basis of public trust and the ability to exercise citizenship effectively. While the institutional arrangements associated with the promotion of these values may overlap to some extent with those which seek to promote competitiveness and efficiency, there are also likely to be trade-offs. Where trade-off exist, the grounds on which choices are made, and the balance between technical and political considerations, should be the result of transparent and consultative processes.

However, there is more to a citizen-centred social policy than the reform of public services. Rights imply correlative duties and the state is, in the first instance, the repository of these duties. It has an obligation to respect rights (refrain from actions which infringe rights), to protect rights (prevent other from infringing rights) and to fulfil rights (take actions which facilitate and promote the realisation of rights). Such obligations entail resources (Tomasevski 1993). As far as social policy is concerned, where individuals and families are unable to meet their own basic needs through their own efforts, the duty to ensure these needs are met falls to their governments. A state concerned with the promotion of a citizen-centred social policy thus has an obligation to mobilise the resources necessary to ensure its implementation. The fiscal politics of needs interpretation will thus play an important role in defining the nature of state's social contract with its citizens and the vision of "the social" which it promotes. Public revenue is one element of this politics, public expenditure is the other.

On the revenue side, greater state dependence on internal tax payers helps to build the infrastructural relationship between state and citizens, to ensure greater demand for accountability and to "nationalise" efforts to address poverty and exclusion (Moore 2001). It also helps to finance the commitment to universalism which distinguishes the state from other institutional actors in a society. However, taxation has to both be progressive and visible if it is to embody the idea of a social contract. By this criteria, income tax is both more visible than payroll or value-added tax in the sense that citizens are aware of its burden and it can be made progressive (Birdsall 2002). On the expenditure side, the percentage of the public budget that is devoted to social expenditure and the sequencing of this expenditure to reflect local conditions have been identified as critical in operationalising the commitment to universalism.

Finally, the promotion of a citizen-centered social policy rests on the practice of "good governance". As Chen and Desai (1997) point out, good governance in relation to social policy does not necessarily imply multi-party democratic system with universal franchise – although such systems do often perform better than others. Nor, as we noted earlier, does it refer to how well states perform from the standpoint of the international business community; indeed, how well they perform from this standpoint appears to be inversely related to how well they perform from the point of view of their citizens. Rather, "good governance" from the social policy perspective refers to how responsive a political regime is to the needs and wishes of its people, how 'caring about their welfare in a wide sense' (Chen and Desai 1997: 423). The quality of a government's performance – 'its professionalism, pragmatism and intolerance of corruption' – is at least as, if not more, important as its political declarations and progressive stances since it determines how effectively the government is able to deliver on the visions that it espouses. Respect for the rule of law and mechanisms of democratic accountability to their citizens are all essential if governments are to earn the trust and co-operation of citizens (Moore 2001). They need to obey their own laws, monitor their own agencies effectively and provide information to the public about their rights and responsibilities. They need to tax their citizens in clear and transparent ways and to use the revenue to build the cross-group solidarity that is essential component of "the social" envisioned by a rights-based approach.

6.3 Towards citizen-centred social policy at the global level

There is considerable scope for re-visioning "the social" from a rights-based perspective within the context of national policies and for drawing on national resources to do so. However, where national resources do not prove sufficient, the responsibility falls on the international community and must draw on the resources of the wealthier countries of the world, the majority of whose citizens have standards of living well beyond that of meeting basic needs. Development assistance can be seen as an acknowledgement of this obligation.

Development assistance is, in principle, different from other forms of interaction between rich and poor countries (Tomaskevsi 1993). Foreign investment strategies and trade agreements reflect the logic of profit maximisation, even where this may entail the denial, or uneven observation, of human rights. Current discourses about corporate social responsibility, ethical trade agreements and core labour standards reflect various attempts to discourage such behaviour. However, development assistance is fundamentally different in its orientation: it is a branch of *public policy*, not *commercial strategy*, and its declared aim is *development*, not *profit*. In principle, therefore, it should seek to make a difference on issues, and in countries, which have failed to attract private capital flows (Tomasevski 1993). In practice, of course, development assistance is far from adequate. Table A2.6 which reports on per capita GNP of some of the richest and poorest countries in the world, and percentage of GNP by the former which is provided in foreign assistance to the latter, provides a measure of this failure.

However, development assistance is only one element in the increasingly multi-stranded relationships between rich and poor countries in the world. Globalisation has brought with it many other interactions, some intended, such as trade, foreign direct investment, capital transfers and deregulation of markets, and others unintended: the periodic crises generated by volatile flows of financial capital across the global economy; the growing contradiction between the sustainability of the environment and the principles of the market place; and the reduction of labour once again to the status of "commodity" as countries engage in an apparent 'race to the welfare bottom' in their attempts to compete for global capital. The radical nature of these changes have led a number of writers to describe the current phase of globalisation as the 'second great transformation' (Standing 1999; Ghai and Hewitt de Alcantara 1994; Munck 2002; Harriss 2000). Certainly Polyani's analysis of the destructive effects of unregulated markets in labour, capital and natural resources in the early period of industrialisation is uncannily prophetic on the problems faced by the global community today:

> To allow the market mechanism to be sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment, indeed, even of the amount and use of purchasing power would result in the demolition of society. For the alleged commodity "labor power" cannot be shoved about, used indiscriminately or even left unused, without affecting also the human individual who happens to be

> the bearer of this peculiar commodity. In disposing of a man's labour power the system would, incidentally, dispose of the physical, psychological, and moral entity "man" attached to that tag. Robbed of the protective covering of cultural institutions, human beings would perish from the effects of social exposure; they would die as the victims of acute social dislocation through vice, perversion, crime and starvation.
>
> Nature would be reduced to its elements, neighbourhoods and landscapes defiled, rivers polluted, military safety jeopardised, the power to produce food and raw materials destroyed. Finally, the market administration of purchasing power would periodically liquidate business enterprise, for shortages and surfeits of money would prove as disastrous to business as floods and droughts in primitive society (p.73).

It is clear that any attempts to regulate financial markets, to rescue labour from the status of commodity and to promote the stewardship of the environment needs a holistic model of the global economy that encompasses its multiple inter-connections. There is evidence that this is being recognised although progress is slow. There has been increasing attention to the development of a more robust framework of global governance than presently exists. Attempts are being made to draw up the basic principles of a global social policy. Global labour standards, the restructuring of world debt, the possibilities for international taxation, including taxation to control short-term capital speculation, the promotion of universal access to basic social services have all featured in these discussions (Ferguson 1999; Norton and Conlyn 2000; Norton 2000; Deacon 2000). Globalisation has also generated a trans-national activism bringing together sections of civil societies from different countries who share a similar vision of "the social". The anti-globalisation movement is the most visible manifestation of this and it has played an important role in publicizing some of the human and environmental costs associated with unregulated global markets. In addition, there are other less publicised networks seeking to build global coalitions around human rights, labour standards, HIV-AIDS, environmental issues, aid and trade policies, international debt and so on (Edwards and Gaventa 2001).

Whatever form a future global social policy might take, and regardless of whether it comes about as a result of policy activism "from below" or policy design "from above", it has to be premised on an analysis of global processes of social reproduction and the extent to which these challenge or reinforce global social inequalities. We will conclude this paper by noting one recent attempt to provide this more comprehensive picture. The newly created Commitment to Development Index (Foreign Policy 2003; Birdsall and Roodman 2003) ranks 21 of the richer countries of the world according to their contributions to "good" development through various aspects of their policies, not only those directly associated with aid, but also policies related to trade, environment, peacekeeping, migration and investment (see explanation of each of these components in Annex 3).

Like any composite measurement of complex phenomena, the CDI can be challenged. However, it does succeed in drawing attention to some of the different ways in which global inequalities play out in the relationships between rich and poor countries than a focus on aid flows alone can provide. The report on the findings of the first attempt to calculate the CDI points out that while seven nations (the G7), often referred to as the seven leading industrial nations, account for two-thirds of the world's GNP, they do not lead in tackling global inequality. The sheer size of their economies mean that they engage in more trade, give more for aid and peacekeeping and generate more pollution than other nations – but they are also *least* likely to use their enormous potential to promote the interests of poorer countries. Only Germany among the G7 countries is firmly among the top half performers while the USA and Japan, the largest aid givers in absolute terms, rank last in terms of their overall policies.

As the report suggests, there are at least two grounds why this state of affairs needs to be challenged. First of all, such a challenge has intrinsic value: 'helping impoverished people worldwide to build better lives is the right thing to do'. Secondly, however, there are also pragmatic grounds: 'what rich countries do to and for the rest of the world comes back to affect them – poverty and instability do not respect borders'. Now more than ever, the increase in illegal immigration, the trafficking in human beings, the global trade in drugs, the spread of cross-border conflicts and the rising tide of terrorism present a powerful challenge those who enjoy the freedom and affluence of life in the world's richest countries 'to ponder their place and purpose in the larger world'. The richer countries of the world need to assume the obligations commensurate with their size, power and economic might. Amongst other things, this would mean:

> reforming all their policies with an eye toward aiding development – as a matter of both morality and enlightened self-interest. These nations' steady progress on the measures included in the CDI could inspire other rich nations to follow suit. If the richest of the rich do not lead, then no one will. But if these countries do step forward, then they will help to improve the lives of millions of people who deserve better than they have now – while building a more stable world in the process.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Structural differentiation by country

Table A1.1 Value added by economic activity

	Agriculture value added		**Industry value added**		**Manufacturing value added**		**Services value added**	
	% of GDP		**% of GDP**		**% of GDP**		**% of GDP**	
	1990	**1999**	**1990**	**1999**	**1990**	**1999**	**1990**	**1999**
South Asia								
Bangladesh	29	25	21	24	13	15	50	50
India	31	28	28	26	17	16	41	46
Pakistan	26	27	25	23	17	16	49	49
Sri Lanka	26	21	26	27	15	16	48	52
EAST ASIA								
China	27	18	42	49	33	38	31	33
Rep of Korea	9	5	43	44	29	32	48	51
Sourthern Africa								
Botswana	5	4	56	45	5	5	39	51
Malawi	45	38	29	18	19	14	26	45
Mozambique	37	33	18	25	10	13	44	42
Namibia	12	13	38	33	14	15	50	55
South Africa	5	4	40	32	24	19	55	64
Zambia	21	25	49	24	14	12	30	51
Zimbabwe	16	20	33	25	23	17	50	55

OECD Countries								
Australia	3	3	26	25	13	13	70	72
Canada	2		29		16		69	
Denmark	4	2	23	21	16	14	73	76
France	3	3	27	23			70	74
Germany	1	1	33	28	26	21	64	71
Italy	3	3	31	26	22	19	66	71
Norway	3	2	31	31			66	67
Sweden	3		28				69	
United Kingdom	2	1	31	25			67	74
United States								

Source: 2001 World Development Indicators

Table A1.2 Distribution of workforce by sector

	Employment by economic activity											
	Agriculture				Industry				Services			
	Male % of male labour force		Female % of female labour force		Male % of male labour force		Female % of female labour force		Male % of male labour force		Female % of female labour force	
	1980	**1996–98**	**1980**	**1996–98**	**1980**	**1996–98**	**1980**	**1996–98**	**1980**	**1996–98**	**1980**	**1996–98**
South Asia												
Bangladesh	67	54	81	78	5	11	14	8	29	34	5	11
India	63		83		15		9		22		8	
Pakistan		41		66		20		11		39		23
Sri Lanka	44	38	51	49	19	23	18	22	30	37	28	27
EAST ASIA												
China												
Rep of Korea	31	11	39	14	32	34	24	19	37	55	37	67
Southern Africa												
Botswana	6		3		41		8		53		89	
Malawi	78		96		10		1		12		3	
Mozambique	72		97		14		1		14		2	
Namibia	52		42		22		10		27		47	
South Africa	18		16		45		16		37		68	
Zambia	69		85		13		3		19		13	
Zimbabwe	29		50		31		8		40		42	

OECD Countries												
Australia	8	6	4	4	39	31	16	11	53	64	79	86
Canada	7	5	3	2	37	32	16	11	56	63	81	87
Denmark	11	5	4	2	41	37	16	15	48	58	80	83
France	9		7		44		22		47		71	
Germany		3		3		45		19		52		79
Italy	13	7	16	7	42	38	28	22	45	55	56	72
Norway	10	6	6	3	40	35	13	10	50	59	80	87
Sweden	8	4	3	1	45	38	16	12	47	58	81	87
United Kingdom	4	2	1	1	48	38	23	13	49	60	76	86
United States	5	4	2	1	40	33	19	13	55	63	80	86

2001 World Development Indicators

Table A1.3 Distribution of the workforce by employment status

	% distribution of the labour force by status in employment					
	Wage and salaried workers		Self-employed workers		Contributing family workers	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
South Asia						
Bangladesh	9	15	8	43	77	17
Pakistan	25	35	14	47	62	17
Sri Lanka	68	60	16	34	16	6
East Asia						
Rep of Korea	60	65	20	34	20	2
Southern Africa						
Botswana	59	65	8	5	16	18
Namibia	36	60	20	16	28	10
South Africa	70	78	5	8		
OECD Countries						
Australia	88	83	11	17	1	1
Canada	90	88	9	12	1	0
Denmark	95	88	6	12	0	0
Germany	92	87	6	13	2	0
Italy	77	68	17	29	7	3
Norway	95	89	4	11	1	0
Sweden	94	85	5	15	1	0
United Kingdom	92	83	7	17	1	0
United States	93	91	6	10	0	0

Source: The World's Women 2000, UN Statistics Division

Table A1.4 Urbanisation

	Urban population				Population in urban agglomerations of more than one million		
	Millions		% of total population		% of total population		
	1980	1999	1980	1999	1980	2000	2015
South Asia							
Bangladesh	12.5	30.6	14	24	6	13	18
India	158.8	280.1	23	28	8	10	12
Pakistan	23.2	49.1	28	36	15	21	25
Sri Lanka	3.2	4.4	22	23			
East Asia							
China	192.3	396.4	20	32	13	14	17
Rep of Korea	21.7	38.0	57	81	40	47	45
Southern Africa							
Botswana	0.1	0.8	15	50			
Malawi	0.6	2.5	9	24			
Mozambique	1.6	6.7	13	39	6	17	21
Namibia	0.2	0.5	23	30			
South Africa	13.3	21.1	48	50	27	32	36
Zambia	2.3	3.9	40	40	9	16	22
Zimbabwe	1.6	4.1	22	35	9	14	20
OECD Countries							
Australia	12.6	16.1	86	85	61	56	55
Canada	18.6	23.5	76	77	32	37	38
Denmark	4.3	4.5	84	85	27	26	26
France	39.5	44.2	73	75	21	21	20
Germany	64.7	71.7	83	87	39	41	43
Italy	37.6	38.6	67	67	24	19	21
Norway	2.9	3.4	71	75			
Sweden	6.9	7.4	83	83	17	18	19
United Kingdom	50.0	53.2	89	89	25	23	23
United States	167.6	214.2	74	77	38	38	37

Appendix 2 Relationship between economic resources and social outcomes

Table A2.1 Country ranking by per capita GNP and Human Development Index

	Gross national income per capita		Human Development Index	
	$	Rank	Value	Ranking
	1999 (a)	1999	1999	1999
South Asia				
Bangladesh	370	170	0.470	132
India	440	163	0.571	115
Pakistan	470	160	0.498	127
Sri Lanka	820	139	0.735	81
East Asia				
China	780	142	0.718	87
Rep of Korea	8490	54	0.875	27
Southern Africa				
Botswana	3240	87	0.577	114
Malawi	180	201	0.397	151
Mozambique	220	195	0.323	157
Namibia	1890	107	0.601	111
South Africa	3170	88	0.702	94
Zambia	330	175	0.427	143
Zimbabwe	530	154	0.554	117
OECD Countries				
Australia	20,950	27	0.936	2
Canada	20,140	30	0.936	3
Denmark	32,050	6	0.921	15
France	24,170	21	0.924	13
Germany	25,620	13	0.921	17
Italy	20,170	29	0.909	20
Norway	33,470	5	0.939	1
Sweden	26,750	12	0.936	4
United Kingdom	23,590	23	0.923	14
United States	31,910	8	0.934	6

a. Calculated using the World Bank Atlas method.

Source: 2001 World Development Indicators, Human Development Report 2001.

Table A2.2 Countries with similar per capita GNP and diverging HDI ranks

Country	Per Capita GNP (1991 $US)	HDI Rank
Nepal	180	152
Sierra Leone	210	172
Sri Lanka	500	86
Lesotho	580	120
Philippines	730	92
Cameroon	850	133
Ecuador	1000	89
Namibia	1460	135
Costa Rica	1850	42
Botswana	2530	104

Source: World Development Report (1993) and Human Development Report (1993)

Table A2.3 Value of RICE index for selected countries

Country	RICE
Vietnam	0.23062
Ukraine	0.21347
Sri Lanka	0.21339
Philippines	0.13793
Nicaragua	0.1371
Jamaica	0.13471
Honduras	0.12402
Kenya	0.1201
Paraguay	0.10936
China	0.10099
Bulgaria	0.09988
Jordan	0.09616
Poland	0.09268
India	0.08678
Malawi	0.08299
Costa Rica	0.08099
Congo	0.07665
Zambia	0.07628
Trinidad & Tobago	0.07538
Peru	0.07456
El Salvador	0.0741
Dominican Rep	0.07338
Tanzania	0.07225
Ecuador	0.06906
Nigeria	0.06886
Yemen Rep	0.06506
Indonesia	0.05762
Bolivia	0.05755
Syrian Arab Rep	0.05579

Country	RICE
Uruguay	0.05579
Lebanon	0.04241
Madagascar	0.041
Panama	0.04098
Ethiopia	0.02711
Hungary	0.02657
Zimbabwe	0.01768
Lesotho	0.01677
Lao PDR	0.01619
Colombia	0.01376
Argentina	0.01048
Greece	0.00821
Mexico	0.00587
Ghana	0.00475
Bangladesh	0.00453
Thailand	0.00148
Cameroon	-0.00215
Chile	-0.00853
Egypt Arab EM	-0.01026
Venezuela	-0.01351
Tunisia	-0.01441
Brazil	-0.01734
Turkey	-0.019
Nepal	-0.02174
Pakistan	-0.02284
Haiti	-0.02776
Guatemala	-0.03509
Chad	-0.03845
Algeria	-0.03981

Country	RICE
Uganda	-0.04774
Togo	-0.4794
Benin	-0.05196
Burundi	-0.0632
South Africa	-0.06432
Maritius	-0.06525
Guinnea-Bissau	-0.06666
Papua New Guinea	-0.06854
Mali	-0.07478
Morocco	-0.07967
Malaysia	-0.08007
Cent.Africa.Rep	-0.08222
Angola	-0.08361
Sierra Leone	-0.08609
Namibia	-0.09617
Cote d'Ivorie	-0.10457
Gambia	-0.12399
Mauritania	-0.13352
Oman	-0.15268
Senegal	-0.15787
Burkina Faso	-0.16551
Saudi Arabia	-0.17062
Niger	-0.17965
Mozambique	-0.2039
Guinea	-0.2116
Gabon	-0.21681
Botswana	-0.2329

Table A2.4 RICE index and main explanatory variables

Country	RICE	AID	MINERAL	QUALPOL	POP-DENSE
	(Dependent variable)	(Aid as % GDP)	(Mineral exports as % of GDP)	(Quality of government institutions – scale 0–10)	(Population density)
Vietnam	0.23	2.0	0	4.5	545
Sri Lanka	0.21	8.2	2	4.5	733
Philippines	0.14	1.5	2	2.7	550
Jamaica	0.14	7.4	7	4.5	630
Honduras	0.12	6.5	2	3.5	116
Kenya	0.12	8.7	0	6.1	104
Paraguay	0.11	1.5	0	3.6	28
Jordan	0.10	13.6	0	4.5	89
Costa Rica	0.09	4.8	0	6.2	154
India	0.08	0.9	2	5.8	769
Trinidad/ Tobago	0.08	0.1	23	5.2	680
Peru	0.08	1.3	12	3.2	45
Dominican Rep	0.08	2.7	4	4.4	393
Malawi	0.08	16.8	0	4.9	229
El Salvador	0.07	8.3	0	2.7	683
Congo Brazzaville	0.07	4.2	18	3.9	17
Ecuador	0.07	1.1	13	4.9	98
Zambia	0.07	11.0	9	4.0	27
Tanzania	0.07	20.1	0	4.7	74
Nigeria	0.06	0.6	15	3.1	272
Indonesia	0.06	1.2	19	3.1	269
Bolivia	0.06	7.6	14	2.0	16
Uruguay	0.06	0.2	0	5.1	51
Syrian Arab Rep.	0.06	4.9	11	3.6	167
Panama	0.05	1.0	0	3.7	87
Malagasy	0.04	9.1	16	5.1	52
Colombia	0.02	0.2	3	5.3	88
Ethiopia	0.02	8.3	0	3.9	125
Argentina	0.02	0.1	2	4.7	33
Zimbabwe	0.02	4.3	7	4.8	64
Mexico	0.01	0.1	3	4.7	117
Thailand	0.01	1.1	3	5.7	298
Ghana	0.00	6.2	0	3.7	166
Chile	0.00	0.2	8	5.5	48

Cameroon	0.00	3.1	11	5.4	64
Venezuela	-0.01	0.1	16	5.5	58
Egypt	-0.01	5.2	14	4.7	139
Tunisia	-0.01	20.1	10	4.5	139
Brazil	-0.01	0.1	2	6.6	48
Turkey	-0.01	0.5	2	5.2	194
Pakistan	-0.03	2.7	0	4.3	373
Haiti	-0.03	7.6	1	3.0	637
Guatemala	-0.03	1.7	0	2.9	220
Uganda	-0.05	8.9	0	3.1	214
Papua N. Guinea	-0.07	11.7	13	6.7	23
Guinea-Bissau	-0.07	45.9	0	3.1	94
Malaysia	-0.07	0.6	10	7.3	143
Morocco	-0.08	5.2	4	4.7	145
Mali	-0.08	23.4	2	2.7	18
Angola	-0.09	2.7	28	4.3	19
Sierra Leone	-0.09	6.6	8	5.4	150
Cote d'Ivoire	-0.11	2.8	1	6.5	93
Gambia	-0.13	36.9	0	5.6	226
Oman	-0.15	1.4	41	5.4	19
Senegal	-0.16	14.4	0	4.9	99
Saudi Arabia	-0.16	0.0	47	5.5	17
Burkina Faso	-0.17	13.1	0	5.1	86
Niger	-0.18	14.9	9	6.0	15
Gabon	-0.21	2.1	41	5.3	9
Guinea	-0.21	12.1	0	4.7	61
Botswana	-0.23	7.6	48	6.9	6

Source: Moore *et al.*

Table A2.5 Virtuous, vicious and lop-sided performance 1960–92

	1960–70	1970–80	1980–92
Africa			
Benin	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Botswana	Vicious	Virtuous	Virtuous
Burkina Faso	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Burundi	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Cameroon	Vicious	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Central Africa Republic	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Chad	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Congo	Vicious	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Cote d'Ivorie	EG lop-sided	Vicious	Vicious
Gabon	EG lop-sided	Vicious	Vicious
Ghana	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Kenya	Vicious	Virtuous	Vicious
Lesotho	Virtuous	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Madagascar	Vicious	HD lop-sided	Vicious
Malawi	Vicious	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Mali	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Mauritius	HD lop-sided	EG lop-sided	EG lop-sided
Niger	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Nigeria	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Rwanda	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Senegal	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Sierra Leone	EG lop-sided	Vicious	Vicious
South Africa	Virtuous	Vicious	Vicious
Sudan	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Tanzania	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Zaire	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Zimbabwe	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Latin America			
Argentina	Vicious	Vicious	HD lop-sided
Barbados	Virtuous	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided
Bolivia	Vicious	Vicious	HD lop-sided
Brazil	EG lop-sided	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Chile	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided	Virtuous
Colombia	HD lop-sided	Virtuous	HD lop-sided
Costa Rica	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided
Dominican Republic	HD lop-sided	EG lop-sided	Vicious
El Salvador	HD lop-sided	Vicious	HD lop-sided
Guatemala	HD lop-sided	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Haiti	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious

Honduras	Vicious	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided
Jamaica	Virtuous	Vicious	Vicious
Mexico	Virtuous	Virtuous	HD lop-sided
Nicaragua	Virtuous	Vicious	HD lop-sided
Panama	Virtuous	Virtuous	HD lop-sided
Latin America and Caribbean			
Paraguay	Vicious	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Peru	HD lop-sided	Vicious	HD lop-sided
Togo	EG lop-sided	Vicious	Vicious
Trinidad & Tobago	Vicious	EG lop-sided	HD lop-sided
Uruguay	Vicious	Vicious	HD lop-sided
Venezuela	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided	Vicious
South Asia			
India	Vicious	Vicious	EG lop-sided
Nepal	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
Pakistan	EG lop-sided	Vicious	EG lop-sided
Sri Lanka	Vicious	EG lop-sided	Virtuous
Bangladesh	Vicious	Vicious	Vicious
East Asia			
China	HD lop-sided	Virtuous	Virtuous
Hong Kong	Virtuous	Virtuous	Virtuous
Indonesia	HD lop-sided	Virtuous	Virtuous
Korea Republic	Virtuous	Virtuous	Virtuous
Malaysia	Virtuous	Virtuous	Virtuous
Myanmar	HD lop-sided	Vicious	Vicious
Philippines	HD lop-sided	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Singapore	Virtuous	Virtuous	Virtuous
Thailand	Virtuous	Virtuous	Virtuous
Middle East			
Algeria	Vicious	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided
Egypt	EG lop-sided	EG lop-sided	Vicious
Morocco	Vicious	EG lop-sided	HD lop-sided
Turkey	Virtuous	HD lop-sided	HD lop-sided

Source: Ranis, Stewart and Ramirez

Table A2.6 Tax and aid

	Tax revenue (% of GDP) (1999)	Per capita GNI		Per capita GNI (PPP)		Net ODA (% of GNI)			% of ODA to least developed countries (1999)
		$ 1999	Rank 1999	$ 1999	Rank 1999	1994	1999	Average annual % change: 1994–1999	
Canada	19.8	20,140	30	25,440	14	0.43	0.28	-5	18
France	38.9	24,170	21	23,020	23	0.64	0.39	-6.8	16
Germany	26.3	25,620	13	23, 510	21	0.33	0.26	-3.7	20
Italy	38.8	20,170	29	22,000	32	0.27	0.15	-7.9	22
Japan		32,030	7	25,170	15	0.29	0.35	4.2	17
United Kingdom	34.6	23, 590	23	22,220	29	0.31	0.23	-0.8	21
United States	19.5	31,910	8	31,910	4	0.14	0.10	-4	16
Bangladesh	9	370	170	1530	167				
India	9.1	440	163	2230	153				
Cambodia		260	187	1350	174				
Ethiopia		100	207	620	201				
Malawi		180	201	570	203				
Sierra Leone	9.9	130	204	440	207				
Vietnam	14.7	370	170	1860	159				

Source: World Development Indicators (2001) and 2001 Human Development Report.

Appendix 3 Explanation of components making up the Commitment to Development Index

Aid: the index measures not only the percentage of GNP disbursed as foreign assistance but also the extent to which it is "tied" to the purchase of goods and services from donor countries. In 2001 alone, 2/5 of total international aid flows were tied.

Trade: the index measures the extent to which rich countries operate barriers to developing-country exports and income foregone by poor countries due to internal production subsidies in rich countries

Environment: rich countries have special responsibilities for global environment stewardship, not only because they have contributed disproportionately to its degradation and because any effects of climatic change hurts poorer countries disproportionately

Investment: the index prioritises foreign direct investment over short-term capital flows as more likely to bring jobs and growth but penalises rich countries whose corporations have been identified as engaging in corrupt practices overseas to conduct their business.

Migration: while migration flows can hurt in some ways and help in others, on balance, the Index treats the free movement of people as beneficial both in terms of improving wage rates in labour-surplus economies and contributing to remittance flows into poorer countries.

Peacekeeping: the index rewards countries for financial and personnel contributions to multi-lateral peacekeeping operations. The inclusion of peacekeeping reflects the belief that domestic stability and freedom from attack are prerequisites for economic development. There are other ways in which rich countries can contribute to world stability, but recognising that one nation's security enhancement may be another's destabilizing intervention (as illustrated by the debate over Iraq), the Index confines itself to the measurement of peacekeeping contributions (From Birdsall and Roodman 2003)

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