Changing Paths

Changing Paths

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND
THE NEW POLITICS OF INCLUSION

Edited by Peter P. Houtzager and Mick Moore

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
Ann Arbor

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2003
All rights reserved
Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
♾ Printed on acid-free paper

2006 2005 2004 2003 4 3 2 1

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Changing paths : international development and the new politics of inclusion / edited by Peter P. Houtzager and Mick Moore.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 0-472-11322-4 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Economic development—Political aspects. 2. Poverty—Government policy. 3. Distributive justice. I. Houtzager, Peter P. II. Moore, Mick.
HD87 .C418 2003
320'.6—dc21 2002156535

Contents

List of Tables vii
Acknowledgments ix

1 *Introduction*
FROM POLYCENTRISM TO THE POLITY
Peter P. Houtzager 1

2 *Political Capabilities over the Long Run*
Laurence Whitehead and George Gray-Molina 32

3 *Beyond the Political Impossibility Theorem of Agrarian Reform*
Ronald J. Herring 58

4 *Coalition Building from Below*
Peter P. Houtzager (with Jonathan Pattenden) 88

5 *Grounds for Alliance?*
OVERLAPPING INTERESTS OF POOR AND NOT SO POOR
Joan M. Nelson 119

6 *The Boundaries of Antipoverty Policy*
ECONOMIC IDEAS, POLITICAL COALITIONS, AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL PROVISION IN CHILE AND MEXICO
Marcus J. Kurtz 139

7 *Polity Qualities*
HOW GOVERNANCE AFFECTS POVERTY
Mick Moore (with Jennifer Leavy and Howard White) 167

8 *Do Political Regimes Matter?*
POVERTY REDUCTION AND REGIME DIFFERENCES ACROSS INDIA
John Harriss 204

9 *Does Decentralization Contribute to Poverty Reduction?*
SURVEYING THE EVIDENCE
Richard C. Crook and Alan S. Sverrisson 233

10 *Arguing the Politics of Inclusion*
Mick Moore 260

Contributors 285
Subject Index i 289
Author Index 297

Tables

Chapter 4

1 *Factors Contributing to Coalition Building and Influence in the Philippines and Peru* 96

Chapter 6

1 *Patterns of Social Welfare Policy in Chile and Mexico* 140

2 *The Transformation and Retransformation of Social Welfare in Chile* 147

3 *Decentralized Social and Infrastructural Investment in Chile* 148

4 *Public Subsidies as a Percentage of Cash Income, by Income Quintile, Chile* 151

5 *Production and Consumption-Oriented Spending in Mexico's PRONASOL Program, 1989–94* 155

6 *Antipoverty Spending in Mexico under President Zedillo, 1995–98* 156

Chapter 7

A.1 *The Sample Countries and Values of the Dependent and Main Independent Variables* 192

A.2 *Country Classification for Location/Africa Dummy Variables* 194

A.3 *Regression Results* 195

Chapter 8

1 *Two Rankings of Major Indian States by Extent of Rural Poverty Reduction* 207

2 *Development Expenditure per Capita at the State Level* 209

3 *Rate of Growth of Crop Yields* 210

4 *A Typology of Indian State Regimes* 215

5 *Proportion of Developmental Expenditure on Education in Eight States, 1980–81 to 1997–98* 222

6 *Expenditure per Capita on Education in Eight States, 1980–81 and 1990–91* 223

7 *"Desired Distribution" and "Actual Distribution" of Food in Major States under the Public Distribution System, Late 1980s* 224

Chapter 9

1 *The Outcomes of Decentralization, by Country* 253

Acknowledgments

Encounters between scholars and policymakers do not always have happy outcomes. This book is the product of an encounter that—for a series of reasons related to personalities, professional positions, and historical timing (notably, the end of a long period of ascent of neoliberal ideas)—was unusually fruitful. The book began to take shape during two meetings in 1999 that assembled scholars from Brazil, Bangladesh, India, Nigeria, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and policymakers from the UK Department for International Development and World Bank. The intellectual backdrop to our discussions in the splendid surroundings of Eynsham Hall and Castle Donnington in the UK was a shared concern about the depoliticization of debates on international development policy and an awareness of a growing interest in empowerment of the poor, pro-poor policy-making, and good governance. Our immediate concern was the politics of poverty reduction and the longer term distributional and political consequences of different bundles of pro-poor public policies.

The policy actors with whom we had contact prior to the meetings complained that much public policy in low- and middle-income countries failed to bear the expected fruit because of political dynamics. Yet these dynamics were invisible in policy analysis and pronouncements and in many recent academic analyses. A number of scholar-colleagues made similar observations and commented that scholars in the international development debate have played an important role in legitimizing and reproducing the technification of development discourse. We hope that the chapters assembled here are an antidote.

All the authors assembled here have earned special appreciation for their patience with the persnickety editors. Particular thanks are due to the one author who finally did complain about the successive rounds of revisions, but nonetheless met all the deadlines and proved a model and stimulating collaborator. Carol Spencer cheerfully bore the burden of seeing the manuscript to the publisher and then to the press. We are very grateful to Ron Herring for providing the valuable and much needed support that ensured the manuscript found its way into the hands of such a competent publisher. For providing valuable discussion that helped

shape the direction the volume ultimately took, and for feedback on the specific essays assembled here, we want to thank the participants of the two workshops. In addition to the contributors, they include Michael Anderson, Catherine Boone, Teddy Brett, Kathryn Clarke, Monica Dasgupta, Garth Glentworth, Merilee Grindle, Naomi Hossain, Ravi Kanbur, Jennifer Leavy, David Lehman, Fernando Limongi, Kimberly Niles, Dele Olowu, James Putzel, Rehman Sobhan, Richard Thomas, Ashutosh Varshney, Roger Wilson, David Wood, and Geof Wood. Finally, individual ideas only materialize into collective products when the requisite material conditions are present. For ensuring these conditions, as well as for playing a central role in instigating this endeavor, we thank our gracious colleague Roger Wilson, Chief Governance Advisor to the UK Department for International Development.