Development in Asia

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Interdisciplinary, Post-neoliberal, and Transnational Perspectives

Edited by
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Preface

This book is the product of a conference entitled *Developing Asia: Past, Present and Future* held at Kobe Gakuin University in Kobe, Japan, March 28-29, 2008. Convened by the Asia Association for Global Studies (AAGS), an academic organization based in Osaka, Japan, the conference gathered scholars from across Asia and other world regions to discuss development and its implications for Asia.

The event would not have happened at all were it not for the dedication and hard work of fellow organizers and AAGS board members Anthony Torbert, Hans Peter Liederbach, and Keiji Fujimura. I would like to sincerely thank them for their help in conceiving and carrying out the conference. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Kobe Gakuin University for hosting the event, and, of course, the many presenters who attended and made the conference a success. It was highly gratifying to see scholars come from so many nations, 23 in total, and show such a deep interest in the conference theme.

As for the original inspiration for the conference, I am highly indebted to Bob Shenton, my former Ph.D. thesis supervisor at Queen's University in Canada, who helped hone my knowledge of development issues in tandem with my studies in African history. After graduating from Queen's, I began acquiring an interest in Asia and its development experiences, which I hoped would provide me with useful contrasts for better understanding development in Africa and other world regions. As fate would have it, I ended up teaching and residing in South Korea and Japan for a full decade, providing me with the opportunity to further explore this interest firsthand. When the idea finally came to me to hold a conference in Japan on development in Asia, my colleagues at AAGS fortunately agreed to the idea. That a book with the best papers of the conference be compiled to share with others seemed only natural given the high quality proposals we received.

The papers that form the chapters of this volume were selected for their intellectual rigor, originality and geographic breadth. As readers will note, the authors have training in a wide array of fields and examine development in diverse yet complementary ways. The intention was to dis-

cuss development in Asia from as many angles and perspectives as possible rather than from one discipline or framework. It seems to me that this approach was effective in that it shows development to be a multidimensional and complex phenomenon, rather than something that can be understood through monocausal explanations or overarching theories. Also notable about this volume is that the authors are mostly scholars from Asia or have significant Asian experience. Such insider perspectives from Asia, which are not always easy to find in the English language, are vital if we are to truly understand development in Asian settings. I would like to thank all the authors in this volume for their contributions.

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August 2008

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Introduction: Contextualizing Development in Asia

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D evelopment is one of the most ubiquitous concepts of our age. It is something governments, non-governmental organizations and even corporations claim to be engaged in and is considered desirable by scholars, activists, policymakers, and laypeople alike. Yet it is also a highly contested term. For some, development is synonymous with globalization and export-oriented economic growth (Bhagwati, 2007, pp. 56-57; Wolf, 2004; World Bank, 1981). Others maintain that it must entail improving life expectancy, literacy, education levels, and access to resources (Haq, 1995; Sen, 2001; United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 1996). Others yet, disillusioned by the results of past development initiatives, have rejected development altogether, calling for new approaches and solutions to global problems (Alvares, 1994; Escobar, 1995; Norberg-Hodge, 1995; Sachs, 1992).

Despite various problems associated with development as a theory and practice, this book accepts that development remains a valid organizing principle for understanding societies and promoting positive change. One reason not to abandon development as yet is that, with nothing credible or concrete offered in its place, such an exercise risks promoting an "intellectual disengagement from increasingly brutal inequalities" (Edelman & Haugerud, 2006, p. 50). Another reason is that in cases where "post-development" theorists have actually claimed to offer new concepts to replace development, they have simply reproduced previous notions of rural community development in a different guise (Cowen & Shenton, 1996, p. 476).

If development cannot be wished out of existence it is also clearly not a neutral concept. When development is under discussion or being considered, questions need to be raised such as, What is meant by "de-

velopment"? Who is doing the developing? Whom or what is being developed? Why is development being promoted? and Who gains from development? Development involves varying degrees of both destruction and creation (Cowen & Shenton, 1996, viii-ix) and, if not carefully planned, may result in social upheaval, injustices, and harm to human health and wellbeing (Chang & Grabel, 2004, pp. 19-23). To recommend development policies without considering their impact on the lives of real people is to risk creating new and possibly more serious problems in the process.

This volume explores the meaning and implications of development in Asia in two broad senses. First, it examines what Cowen and Shenton (1996) term "intentional development" (pp. 173-253), or development as thought and practice. Whereas Cowen and Shenton (1996) see intentional development as related to state policies, this book also considers intentional development within civil society. Second, it analyzes what Cowen and Shenton call "immanent development" (pp. 173-253). This form of development refers to the ongoing global expansion of capitalism and occurs in societies beyond the realm of subjective intentions. In this book, this aspect of development is analyzed in terms of how it has occurred or might be expected to occur in particular places or with regard to certain groups or social classes. Where possible, an attempt is also made to understand how intentional and immanent development have interacted and produced positive and/or negative outcomes, depending on the situation in question.

This is not the first book on development in Asia – nor will it be the last (e.g., Brooks & Evenett, 2006; Dowling, 2007; Dowling & Valenzuela, 2004; Roy & Chatterjee, 2006; Tang, 2000). However, it is unique in its interdisciplinary breadth, incorporating insights from sociology, economics, anthropology, cultural studies, history, and other fields. Also significant is the authors' human-centered approach to development. While development is often conceived in terms of national income accounting, the chapters in this volume devote special attention to social, political, as well as economic issues and examine both large scale and small scale contexts in their analyses. By providing studies on a wide array of nations and contexts and devoting attention to transnational processes associated with development, the book also allows readers to make comparisons of development experiences and discern how development takes place across borders or in culturally diverse contexts.

THE NEED FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES

When development became a major concern for nations worldwide following the Second World War, American social scientists mainly con-

cerned themselves with seeking ways to promote economic growth. Walt W. Rostow, the doyen of modernization theorists[1] in the 1960s, envisioned poor nations as progressing through various "stages of growth" until they had consumer-oriented economies like those found in the West. Imbued with a sense of urgency stemming from the exigencies of Cold War politics and lacking confidence that former colonial nations could develop on their own, Rostow suggested that massive flows of American aid could help "modernize" the Third World's "traditional societies" along Western lines, promote rapid economic growth, and cure "diseases of transition" such as communism (Rostow, 1960).[2]

One early critic of such growth-oriented theories of development was the British economist Dudley Seers (1969, 1972, 1977). According to Seers (1972), if such problems as poverty, inequality or unemployment were worsening when an economy was growing "it would be strange to call the result 'development,' even if per capita income had soared" (p. 24). Though an economist, Seers adopted an interdisciplinary outlook, maintaining that additional wealth in a society did not constitute development if people could not satisfy needs related to food and shelter, jobs, education, political participation, and citizenship in an independent nation. For Seers, development should not merely be associated with rising national incomes or increased commoditization. If it was to benefit humanity, development had to possess "the necessary conditions for a universally accepted aim, the realization of the potential of human personality" (p. 22).

In more recent years other authors have echoed and expanded on Seers' holistic and multidimensional viewpoints. While accepting that economic growth remains important for improving living standards, they have also incorporated quality of life indicators into their analyses related to access to healthcare and education, human rights, and political freedom. Among the more influential proponents in the past decade of what has come to be known as "human development" have been the economists Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen. In his book *Reflections on Human Development* (1995), Haq argues that "The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to live long, healthy and creative lives" (p. 14). In *Development as Freedom* (2001), Sen similarly adopts a people-centered viewpoint in place of the traditional commodity-oriented one, suggesting that development should be about enhancing individuals' capabilities so they can lead lives of their own choosing. Both Haq and Sen's ideas have been highly influential, with the UNDP's Human Development Reports (HDRs) adopting many of their concepts and the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDG) also bearing the influence of these two thinkers (Stewart, 2006, p. 18).

The chapters in this volume confirm that development, being complex in nature, is best understood from interdisciplinary perspectives. As should become evident, analytical frameworks that transcend traditional boundaries of knowledge help us better understand the impact of intentional and immanent development in more concrete terms, counteract the formulation of overly simplistic conclusions and theories, and more cautiously design appropriate policies for the future. By including social along with economic dimensions in assessing development, it becomes easier to see how the livelihoods or wellbeing of individuals or groups may be affected by particular development policies or initiatives. It also becomes possible to gather relevant information on the viewpoints, experiences and feelings of those being "developed" or who are "developing," thereby adding a crucial human dimension to development research.

POST-NEOLIBERAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE STATE

Another important issue raised by contributors to this volume concerns the role of the state in development. Following the rise of figures such as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the further ascent of the US as a global hegemon, and the discrediting of socialist models of development linked to these events, neoliberal discourses have dominated discussions on world trade suggesting that a downscaling of the state's role in national economies is the key to global economic prosperity (Rapley, 2004). The so-called Washington Consensus holds that breaking down global trade barriers and promoting greater economic competition is essential to encourage more efficient commercial transactions and technology transfers across borders for the benefit of humanity worldwide. For those holding such opinions, state interventions introduce distortions into markets, involve wasteful social spending, and needlessly curtail corporate economic freedom (Stiglitz, 2003, p. 92).

Many chapters in this volume are also concerned with states and how they undermine freedom in society – but the focus is on people as opposed to corporations. As will become evident, governments throughout Asia have impeded democratization, stifled dissenting voices, caused conflicts and wars, and harmed human development in other ways. Importantly, however, what several authors in the following pages emphasize are threats to the dignity, wellbeing and quality of life of those adversely affected by states privileging certain forms of development while ignoring or undermining others. Such issues are generally overlooked by proponents of neoliberal economic solutions, who obfuscate or fail to discern how unbridled market forces may worsen inequality, lead to political

instability, and prompt states to take away citizens' freedoms in a bid to maintain public order (Chang & Grabel, 2004, pp. 19-23).

This is not to suggest that the state does not have a positive role to play in ameliorating poverty and other social ills. The issue is not that the influence of the state should recede in all respects and that a Smithian "unseen hand" will solve the world's problems. Rather, it is a more a question of what role the state should play and to what degree it should work to promote change and manage the effects of immanent development. The state is not inherently oppressive. It can act in ways that are beneficial for disadvantaged social groups and average citizens. The key is for states to provide "good governance," or "sound development management," which requires "A public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable, and an administration that is accountable to its public" (World Bank, 1992, p. 1). While some critics have dismissed "good governance" as a "vague" concept (Sandbrook, 2001, p. 13) or even portrayed it a "reconfiguration of neoliberalism" (Crawford, 2006, p. 115), they have in the process either wrongly implied that governance quality has no impact on development or that it is only relevant for pursuing neoliberal economic reforms.[3] Additionally, they have failed to acknowledge how new methods and tools are increasingly being developed to evaluate governance from a human-centered perspective that cover not only how well states manage economies but also the degree to which they allow for freedom of expression, respect human rights, promote tolerance, accept cultural diversity, and enable access to healthcare and education for citizens (Ariun-Erdene, this volume; Turner & Hulme, 1997, p. 231).

While good governance and development go hand in hand it is also clear that non-state actors have a crucial role to play in promoting positive social and economic change. Thus, researchers are now exploring ways in which people in civil society can interpret, participate in, and influence development efforts (Howell & Pierce, 2002). For example, researchers have examined ways NGOs in the form of advocacy groups, churches, charities, and social service providers have endeavored to improve individuals' and communities' wellbeing at the local, national and global levels (Bebbington & Hickey, 2006, pp. 417-422). Although NGOs offer no quick fix to development problems and are not immune to criticism (Scrase, 2007)[4], as revealed by successes with microfinance institutions such as the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh (Bornstein, 2005), they nonetheless do have the potential for helping people in ways governments may not. In this book as well the importance of civil society for development is accorded recognition. The perspectives provided on non-state actors and common people are valuable in that they do not portray individuals and communities as mere victims of larger forces beyond

their control, according them a degree of agency and the potential to overcome social injustices or improve the quality of their lives.

TRANSNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

The transnational character of contemporary development in Asia is a third major theme covered in this book. Over the past three decades immanent and intentional development have both been occurring within increasingly globalized contexts. In practical terms this means that the traditional emphasis on the nation-state as a unit of analysis for understanding political, economic and social change cannot capture the full essence of the forces affecting particular peoples and societies in Asia or elsewhere in the world. Human relations have taken on a more transnational and supraterritorial character, with ideas, technologies, and peoples flowing more freely across borders, often irrespective of the desires, knowledge or actions of state authorities (Scholte, 2005, p. 8).

The transnational interchanges associated with globalization are not entirely negative in their implications. For example, communication technologies such as the Internet now allow individuals and groups to publicize social causes to a worldwide audience or connect to others with similar interests in acts of solidarity (Humphries, this volume; Porta, Andretta, & Reiter, 2006, pp. 92-117). To a certain extent, globalization has given rise to a post-national, cosmopolitan consciousness that encourages individuals and groups to empathize with people from other regions of the globe and overcome myopia and parochialism. Some theorists even go as far as to suggest that globalization might be harnessed to establish a "cosmopolitan democracy," or an "extension of democracy to the international level to make up for the perceived failings of the nation-state in the face of globalization" (Hayden, 2005, p. 33).

Yet if the world is becoming "one" in ways that could never have been envisioned in earlier eras, this oneness carries risks along with opportunities. Caldwell and Williams (2006) note that just as charitable organizations such as Doctors without Borders (Médecins Sans Frontières) do great good by providing healthcare to the poor worldwide "malevolence in the form of disease, nihilistic ideologies, drugs, child prostitution, and many other problems spread across the globe with few obstacles" (p. 186). Commenting on contemporary poverty and its worldwide implications, the United Nations Development Program similarly observes: "Poverty is no longer contained within national boundaries. It has become globalized. It travels across borders, without a passport, in the form of drugs, diseases, pollution, migration, terrorism and political instability" (UNDP, 1996, p. 2).

The authors in this volume also recognize that an understanding of development often requires one to look beyond the nation-state and in-

corporate transnational flows and processes into analytical frameworks. On this note, one relevant theme that appears throughout the book is that of diasporic communities. Reasons for individuals migrating abroad, their experiences in foreign nations, and relations between diasporic communities and people from their place of origin are explored by Jun Nagatamo, Ma. Ledda B. Docot, and Richard Humphries. Other transnational themes include changing Japanese perceptions of Asians as "others" (Kinnia Shuk-ting Yau), the impact of globalization on local sport development in South East Asia (Charles Little and John Nauright), and the wider causes and implications of extremism and terrorism in Pakistan (Riaz Ahmed Shaik). As these authors' chapters imply, the nation-state continues to remain important for understanding development, but an exclusive focus on the nation-state can obscure how non-state actors and those occupying liminal social spaces shape or are affected by change in particular places. It can also cause one to overlook how distant forces may influence local developments. In other words, it should not be assumed that the nation-state "is the 'container' of social processes and that the national framework is still the best one suited to measure and analyze major social, economic and political changes" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. xx).

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

This book is organized into four parts. Part I addresses the issue of managing development. While some critics assert that intentional development is little more than a "hoax" (Norberg-Hodge, 1995) and thus deny it can be managed in any way, such viewpoints ignore obvious "success" stories such as South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia. Even if many development-related problems remain to be surmounted in these nations, few researchers will disagree today that state policies have played a role in rapidly transforming their economies and that these nations have attained higher levels of human development than others in Asia. At another level of analysis, the NGOs and government agencies involved in development work worldwide cannot be wished away by claiming they are part of a conspiracy hoisted upon the poor. Rather, managers in such contexts require practical information that allows them to better carry out their tasks. The chapters by Bayarjargal Ariun-Erdene and Agus Eko Nugroho provide such information as well as insights regarding development management at the national and local levels.

At the state level, Ariun-Erdene discusses how quality of governance has impacted upon human development in six Central Asian transition nations – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Mongolia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan – from 1997 to 2004. An important contribution of her

chapter is its synthesis of 19 available governance indicators into three in-dices – the political, economic and civic – to assess their impact on human development. Ariun-Erdene's findings indicate that there exists an overall positive correlation between governance and economic performance dur-ing the period in question. However, Ariun-Erdene also notes declines in non-income-related dimensions of development such as educational enrollments and life expectancy rates during the same period. Foreseeing continuing social strains in the region, she nonetheless concludes that more efforts should be made to build democratic systems and respect human rights in Central Asia. She also calls for further research to assess the ag-gregate indices she provides and other indices of governance.

Nugroho's chapter looks at development management from the perspective of microfinance institutions (MFIs) in rural Javanese villages in Indonesia. He focuses in particular on the link between social capital and access of poor people to microfinance, an area that has not been adequately researched to date. He also examines how social networks can reduce the probability of poor farmers facing credit rationing from for-mal finance. Nugroho provides convincing empirical evidence that mi-crofinance institutions should consider the importance of social capital when dispersing loans. Not only could incorporating social capital into lending decisions lower loan default rates for MFIs, argues Nugroho, but poor borrowers could also use social capital as a form of collateral to access loans. He suggests that experiences in rural Javanese villages reveal the potential of non-market institutions for alleviating rural poverty and offer lessons for other Asian nations where microfinance institutions operate.

Part II of this volume covers the theme of gender and development. Ester Boserup's seminal work *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (1970) was one of the first in-depth studies to show that men and women are affected differently by the development process. Using data from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America, Boserup argued that colonialism and "modernization" generally undermined the position of women with-in the sexual division of labor while men gained access to additional eco-nomic resources and new technologies. As men were drawn away from the realm of family labor to work elsewhere, women's burdens increased while their status in society decreased. Since Boserup's classic study, other researchers have examined additional gender and development issues related to globalization, health and disease, technology, the environment, and other themes (Pearson, 2006, pp. 189-195). Such works have added greatly to our awareness of the importance of gender roles in develop-ment and help us understand challenges faced by average men and wom-en worldwide.

The first chapter on gender and development by Ayami Noritake consists of an interesting account on female street entrepreneurs at Tongdaemun Market in Seoul, Korea. Although South Korea is often seen as an economic model for developing nations, Noritake shows that its national development policies have had a contradictory impact on particular classes of women. Female street entrepreneurs at the market have been marginalized by development processes and often regarded by the state and society in a negative light, with many having had to face forced relocations and other hardships. Making use of oral interviews, Noritake analyzes how the women in multilayered and diverse ways have shaped their social and work spaces and negotiated their life courses under challenging circumstances brought about by economic development. In Noritake's view, a reconceptualization of urban development is needed that better takes into account such women's creativity, resilience and agency.

Ma. Ledda B. Docot's chapter explores the experiences of Filipino women in Japan and their participation in a Filipino-run support organization in Tokyo known as the Center for Japanese Filipino Families (CJFF). She discusses how, thirty years after first arriving, the women are trying to locate themselves as members of Japanese society and transition from jobs as entertainment workers to English teachers through the CJFF. Docot weaves a complex narrative that begins by tracing the Philippines' colonial and post-colonial history, showing how labor policies in the 1970s led to the women's migration to Japan. She then shows how the CJFF has "subverted" an aspect of American colonial education policy and neocolonial relations – the English language – to enable women to resist subordination and achieve upward mobility in new careers. She predicts that Filipino women's participation in such transnational social movements as the CJFF may eventually have wider ramifications for development issues in contexts of international migration.

Part III of this volume consists of two chapters that examine how development and culture are related. The term "culture" is difficult to define and can be interpreted in numerous ways. In this part of the book, however, culture will be taken to mean the general attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions held by members of a particular group, community or nation.

After Max Weber first suggested that the "Protestant work ethic" played a pivotal role in the expansion of capitalism in Europe and North America (Weber, 1930), modernization theorists in the 1960s adopted similar viewpoints in which they proposed that development would only occur in places where societies adopted "modern" in place of "traditional" values (e.g., Hoselitz, 1961). Similarly, in a repackaging of Weber's thesis during the 1990s, "Asian values" were praised by leaders such as former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew for the economic successes of East Asian nations (Berger, 2004, p. 183). More recently, a col-

lection of papers called *Culture Matters* (2000), edited by Samuel Hunting-
ton and Lawrence Harrison, was published to show that "culture…affects the
extent to which and the ways societies achieve or fail to achieve progress
in economic development and political democratization" (Huntington,
2000, p. xv). However, the notion that culture alone can explain a nation's
development is too simplistic in itself. This can be gleaned from Hun-
tington's comment that South Korea was able to develop more rapidly
than Ghana from the 1960s because "South Koreans valued thrift, in-
vestment, hard work, education, organization, and discipline. Ghanaians
had different values. In short, cultures count" (p. xiii). Such a view ig-
nores how historical and a wide array of other factors may shape a given
culture and nation's development.

Kinnia Shuk-ting Yau's chapter on Japanese cinema provides a fascinat-
ing historical perspective in this respect, revealing how immanent devel-
opment can affect cultural perceptions, in this case analyzing how Japanese
have viewed themselves and other Asians in Japanese films. In the 1940s
when Japan's power in Asia was at its peak, such films reflected Japan's
sense of superiority toward other Asian nations and were characterized by
Japanese men "rescuing" poor and helpless Asian women, lending the im-
pression that the Japanese were liberators of "less civilized" Asian nations.
It was not until the Heisei period (1989-), following the rapid development
of Asian Newly Industrializing Economies (ANIEs) and occurrence of
political and economic crises in Japan, that a marked shift occurred in Jap-
anese attitudes, with other Asians now seen as fashionable, dynamic and
resourceful peoples who could become friends and even spouses of Japa-
nese. Although Japanese less frequently portray themselves as superior to
other Asians in their films, Yau notes that Japan's relations with other na-
tions remain strained and that efforts need to be made on all sides to pro-
mote understanding in the region and overcome historical grievances.

Pakistan's development experiences have differed drastically from Ja-
pan's and thus provide many illuminating contrasts from a cultural stand-
point. Riaz Ahmed Shaikh examines how the number of *madrasah*s (Is-
lamic schools) in Pakistan has expanded since the 1980s and the *madrasah*
has been transformed from an institution that used to encourage basic
religious learning to one where extremist ideas are promoted that threat-
en stability in Pakistan, surrounding areas, and the world at large. While
the *madrasah* itself is often singled out for breeding a culture of fanatic-
ism and terror, Shaik demonstrates that historical factors molding the
character of *madrasahs* need to be given more consideration. A crucial
event was the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989), which prompted the Pa-
kistani state to see *madrasahs* as a means to train Afghan refugees and
other recruits for the anti-Soviet war effort. Also of major significance
were Islamization policies under Zia-ul-Haq and foreign funding for *ma-

drasahs from other Muslim nations and the United States. If the culture of the *madrasah* has shaped patterns of development in Pakistan, Shaik's chapter is valuable in that it shows that the *madrasah* in turn has been shaped by a complex array of competing economic and political interests.

Part IV of this volume explores the theme of globalization and development. Globalization, like culture, is open to interpretation and has spawned a voluminous literature (See Scholte, 2005). For reasons of clarity and convenience, however, globalization here will be defined as "a stretching of social, political, and economic activities across frontiers such that events, decisions and activities in one region of the world can come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe" (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, p. 15). As Held et al (1999) further note, globalization is not uniform in its impact but "is best understood as a multifaceted or differentiated phenomenon. It cannot be conceived as a singular condition but instead refers to patterns of growing global interconnectedness within all the key domains of social activity" (p. 27).

The "stretching" Held et al (1999) describe can be clearly seen in the case of sport in recent years, as discussed by Charles Little and John Nauright, who show how globalization has affected local sports development in South East Asia. One key example they cite is the English Premier League, which has gained in popularity in South East Asia and made major profits at the expense of local soccer leagues. Little and Nauright also describe how nations such as Malaysia are increasingly emphasizing "mega-events" in a bid to raise their international profile and attract foreign capital while other nations with fewer resources or less power are marginalized in the process. Although globalization has often been seen as a process that undermines the nation-state, Little and Nauright consider how various South East Asian states have used sport to strengthen national identity and acquire more influence on the world stage. They conclude nonetheless that the impact of globalization on sports development in South East Asia has often been detrimental in that mainly global, national and local elites benefit while "spectators, participants and communities are increasingly removed from the sporting product whether this is in Europe, North America or South East Asia."

Offering an interesting contrast with Little and Nauright's analysis, the next chapter by Jun Nagatomo on tourism development and Japanese residents in Australia is more positive in its assessment of globalization. Following Australian efforts in the 1980s and 1990s to encourage tourism and foreign investment and a boom in the overseas tourist industry in Japan, the numbers of Japanese tourists as well as Japanese choosing to live in Australia have swelled dramatically, with Japanese who have decided to permanently reside in Australia generally retaining

Japanese citizenship rather than "immigrating" in the usual sense. Interestingly, Nagatomo shows how many Japanese have become permanent residents following positive experiences as tourists. Providing evidence from interviews conducted in South East Queensland, he argues that such individuals represent a new type of migrant in our era of globalization – the "lifestyle migrant." Whereas migration is usually seen as resulting from economic pull factors, Nagatomo shows how a desire to escape the strains of urban life in Japan – not gravitation toward higher incomes or improved economic opportunities – has prompted many Japanese to choose Australia as a place to live, work and raise their families.

Differing from the previous two chapters, Richard Humphries' contribution on globalization focuses on the "stretching" of political activities across borders and concerns the development of an exiled Burmese media and its relation to democratization efforts in Burma. Following the brutal suppression of the pro-democracy movement in Burma in 1988, an alternative Burmese media began to form abroad, with its growth assisted greatly by the globalization of new media technologies in the 1990s. Humphries discusses government efforts to stifle freedom of the press from this time onward and how the exile media have worked to circumvent state censorship through using the Internet and other up-to-date technologies. He devotes particular attention to the challenges faced by exiled media groups during and after the Saffron Revolution, a series of monk-led demonstrations in 2007. While the exile media had some successes in disseminating news about events to Burmese citizens and people from other nations, Humphries observes that the military junta remains in power for now and important struggles lie ahead for the media to aid in Burma's transition to a democratic society.

CONCLUSION

The noted post-development thinker Wolfgang Sachs once suggested that "development was a misconceived enterprise from the beginning" that "did not work" and thus its "obituary" should be written as soon as possible (Sachs, 1992, pp. 1, 3). In Sachs' favor, it could be said that examples of development failures can be found throughout history and development policies cannot always be assumed to be benign or effective (Hodge, 2007). Nevertheless, as Rigg (2003) writes, views such as Sachs' are "nihilistic" and within the post-development camp "There is no recognition of difference, or of the possibility there might be a 'good' development and 'bad' development" (p. 326). That development is not merely an oppressive discourse and "good" development is possible, suggests Rigg, can be gathered from marked improvements in

human wellbeing in many South East Asian nations over the past five decades (p. 328).

The discussions in this volume also do not suggest that it is possible or desirable to discard development as a means of understanding or inducing social change. As the following chapters reveal, examples of both "good" and "bad" development can be found throughout Asia. Whether a particular development outcome is construed as "good" or "bad," both immanent and intentional development remain relevant concepts. This is so first of all because immanent development will occur regardless of human intentions and thus cannot be wished out of existence. Second, in the case of intentional development, to imply that inaction is preferable to development ironically risks supporting neoliberal economic agendas by default, or to recommend a post-development intervention of some kind may involve the use of different terminology but it nonetheless replicates the same processes associated with development (Grischow & McKnight, 2003; Hodge, 2007, pp. 275-276). To suggest that intentional development may yield positive results, as is accepted in this book, is also not to support each and every type of intervention in the name of development. It is also not to suggest that development policies cannot fail or have unintended consequences. However, regardless of whether the word "development" is used or not, intentional development will continue to be practiced and individuals, communities, and nations will be affected in some way in the process. While a critical stance toward development is essential, the main issue is to hone development in theory and practice to maximize positive and minimize negative development outcomes. Simply calling for an "end to development" (Escobar, 1995, pp. vi-vii) in this regard is more counterproductive than helpful.

Development clearly is in Asia and elsewhere to stay, despite protestations to the contrary. A question that naturally arises from this, however, is: What vision of intentional development should be promoted? Readers of this book will find no simple answers to this question. The authors herein offer no theories or policies that can be uniformly applied. The following chapters all discuss different contexts, each with their own unique features and development problems and needs. But where the authors do agree is in their human-centered concerns. If this book has succeeded in putting people first in its analysis of development in Asia, then it has achieved its main purpose.

Notes

1   For an excellent summary and critique of modernization theory see Engerman, Gilman, & Haefele (2003)'s *Staging Growth*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.

2   Unlike most of his academic contemporaries, Rostow was able to put his ideas into

practice. He served as a national security advisor to two US Presidents – John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnston – and helped coin the phrases "The Development Decade" and "The New Frontier" for Kennedy's presidential campaign. He also played a key role in conceiving US foreign policy in Vietnam. In a memo he wrote in 1961 on the Decade of Development initiative, Rostow both confidently and naively predicted that: "It should be possible, if we all work hard, for Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, India, the Philippines, Taiwan, Turkey, Greece – and possibly Egypt, Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq – to have self-sustaining growth by 1970" (quoted in Haefele, 2003, p. 94).

3   In fairness to the critics, the notion of good governance was first proposed in a 1989 World Bank document entitled *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*. At that time, the World Bank did link structural adjustment policies to good governance. However, over the past several years a wide range of organizations, groups and scholars have adopted the concept and broadened its definition to include non-neoliberal and non-economic forms of governance (Najem, 2003, pp. 1-28). As noted by Najem (2003), despite some shortcomings associated with it, "[T]here seems to be no workable alternative paradigm that offers better prospects for the people of the developing world" (p. 26).

4   Scrase (2007)'s research raises questions about volunteers, NGOs and the development process in Asia. He argues that "Volunteers, and NGOs, are not neutral and, even if well-meaning, can in fact act as the *de facto* agents of unequal development policies and outcomes" (p. 187). He also suggests that NGOs tend to reinforce neoliberal development policies. While his point that NGOs and their aims cannot be taken at face value is valid, he nevertheless overlooks cases where NGOs can positively influence development patterns and challenge neoliberal power structures and ideologies (See Docot, this volume).

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