1. Introduction

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The overall context for this handbook is the functional relationship between the three terms in our title: *development*, *policy* and *management*. As each of these terms carries with it an extensive baggage of connotation and potential for misunderstanding, we begin by defining the way in which we understand and use these terms.

DEVELOPMENT

It is a major weakness of the English language – and indeed of other languages – that we have just one word to refer to a bewildering range of complex activities.

Those of us who are professionally concerned with economic and social 'development' in poorer countries, as scholars, practitioners, policy makers or other kinds of protagonist, tend to forget that this same word 'development' is applied to many other processes and phenomena than the ones we are directly concerned with. Thus we have, for instance, research and development in many scientific fields, organizational development, and developmental psychology, as well as activities such as property development. To be a 'developer' in this sense may be virtually the antithesis of what we understand by 'development'.

Yet we continue to use the term indiscriminately as though there is one universally understood and accepted meaning. The currently popular term 'international development' helps to narrow the field of understanding a little, and is an improvement on 'overseas development' as used until recently by the British government and still used by some organizations. Yet '*inter*national development' suggests more relevance to globalization and multinational business expansion than improving the standard of living of people in poor countries.

Conventional concepts of development (in the 'international' sense) have been questioned in recent years both by development theorists (for example, Preston 1994; Crush 1995; Cowen and Shenton 1996; Sachs 1992; Esteva 1992; Rahnema and Bawtree 1997)) and by practitioners. As Jenny

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Pearce notes, '[t]here are cogent thinkers in the South today who, along with their Northern intellectual allies, argue for the end to "development" as an idea' (Pearce 2000, p.17). In an address to the Development Studies Association, Raymond Apthorpe suggested that 'development studies' has had its day and should be replaced by 'poverty studies' (Apthorpe 1999). The essence of the argument for abandoning the term is that 'development' has consistently failed to deliver on its promises. However, vested interests in the development industry are well established. Even if none of the international development targets for the fashionable 'vision' years of 2015, 2020 and beyond is achieved, and the gaps between rich and poor, and the numbers living in absolute poverty, have continued inexorably to rise by that time, we can be sure that those involved will still be talking about 'development'. If we are to continue using the term we are at least morally and intellectually obligated to set out as clearly as we can what meanings and connotations we associate with its usage. This is important for us here as we consider how it relates to policy and management.

In setting out a framework for this handbook we suggest – at the risk of oversimplification – that two main sets of approaches to development can be identified, which we may call growth-centred development and people-centred development. We do not refer to them as different paradigms because we do not believe they are. They are two sets of approaches or perceptions with a good deal of overlap and substantial interaction between them (see Figure 1.1).

The two sets of approaches are broadly represented institutionally by the World Bank and its annual World Development Reports, and by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with its Human Development Reports. The first – growth-centred development, as represented by the World Bank – largely pre-dates the people-centred approach represented by UNDP, just as the Human Development Reports were produced as a counterbalance to the longer established World Development Reports. It may be worth noting that, politically, growth-centred and people-centred development tend to equate with right-of-centre and left-of-centre positions.

Growth-centred development is a broadly macro approach which focuses on increases in national wealth represented by broad indicators such as GDP. This is a mainstream economics approach, and supported by many development economists. It favours the liberal market economy, globalization, removal of trade barriers, and reducing the power and influence of governments. This approach argues that economic growth will lead to a reduction in national poverty levels, and a reduction in the development 'gap' between rich and poor nations. It is aware of risks of environmental damage from high rates of growth, and accepts the need for some forms of
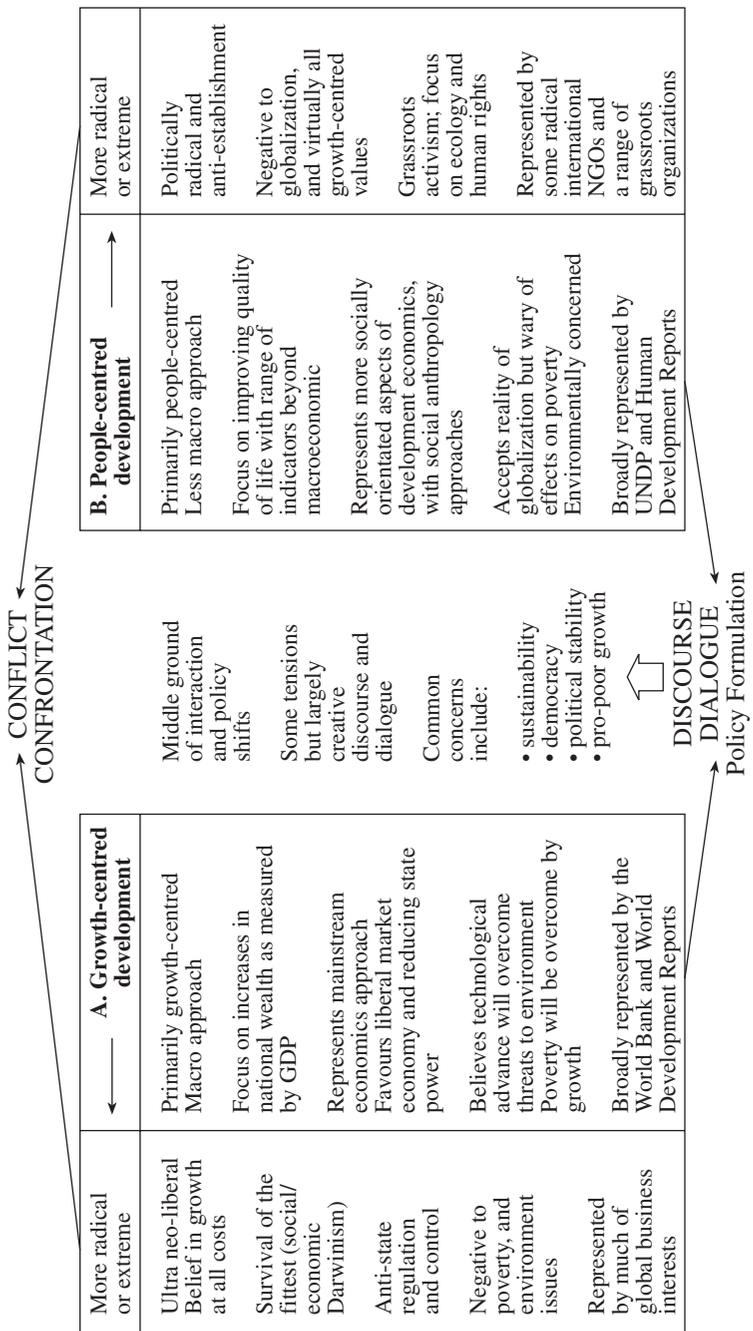
CONFLICT CONFRONTATION →

More radical or extreme	A. Growth-centred development		B. People-centred development	More radical or extreme
Ultra neo-liberal Belief in growth at all costs	Primarily growth-centred Macro approach	Middle ground of interaction and policy shifts	Primarily people-centred Less macro approach	Politically radical and anti-establishment
Survival of the fittest (social/economic Darwinism)	Focus on increases in national wealth as measured by GDP	Some tensions but largely creative discourse and dialogue	Focus on improving quality of life with range of indicators beyond macroeconomic	Negative to globalization, and virtually all growth-centred values
Anti-state regulation and control	Represents mainstream economics approach	Common concerns include:	Represents more socially orientated aspects of development economics, with social anthropology approaches	Grassroots activism; focus on ecology and human rights
Negative to poverty, and environment issues	Favours liberal market economy and reducing state power	• sustainability • democracy • political stability • pro-poor growth	Accepts reality of globalization but wary of effects on poverty Environmentally concerned	Represented by some radical international NGOs and a range of grassroots organizations
Represented by much of global business interests	Believes technological advance will overcome threats to environment		Broadly represented by UNDP and Human Development Reports	
	Poverty will be overcome by growth			
	Broadly represented by the World Bank and World Development Reports			

DISCOURSE DIALOGUE
Policy Formulation

Figure 1.1   Alternative perceptions of development and their interactions

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sustainability, but believes technology and the use of market-based policy instruments will advance sufficiently to keep pace with any potential long-term danger to the global environment and the physical health of the planet.

People-centred development is a less macro approach and more concerned with human development in communities. The focus is on improving the quality of life through economic and social betterment, with a range of indicators beyond economic ones. People-centred development derives partly from development economists who incline more to social concerns and less to dependence on efficiency criteria, and also from various sociological and anthropological analyses. It is wary of the adverse human effects of globalization and neo-liberal market economics, while accepting their reality and the overall need for economic growth. It is also strongly aware of environmental risks and supportive of sustainable development, and less sanguine about the future than advocates of a growth-centred approach.

Between and within these two broad approaches there is a shifting middle ground where there is continuing discourse and dialogue, as well as a good deal of commonality, for instance on the need for sustainability in relation to the environment, the essential benefits of a regulated market economy, and the importance of democratic forms of governance as a precondition for the effective implementation of development policies. The work of Amartya Sen, in his explorations of the relationships between economic and human development, might be taken as representative of this middle ground, though perhaps inclining to the people-centred side (see, for instance, Sen 1999).

Beyond each of these mainstream approaches to development there are 'wings' that represent more extreme and radical sets of approaches and values. Again these are broadly equivalent to right-wing and left-wing values across the political spectrum; they also represent more of a spectrum or continuum than any clear division from the mainstream approaches.

Those at the growth-centred end of the spectrum represent the more extreme neo-liberals, believers in unrestricted growth, with minimal government and control. They represent much of big, transnational business. Concern with poverty, inequality or environmental issues is minimal, the primary concern being maximization of profits and economic growth through unregulated market forces.

At the other end of the spectrum are ranged various radical groups, most of which are mainly concerned with opposing the values and activities of the growth-centred approach, especially those on the more extreme wing. They are represented by some large non-governmental organizations (NGOs), especially those with strong ecological and human rights concerns,

and a host of grass-roots organizations. They are negative to growth, globalization and big business. Much of their activism is at micro levels, but increasingly they operate at the international level to express their opposition to corporate global hegemony.

While it is at this meeting point, between the more extreme forces of growth and anti-growth, that the most aggressive confrontations occur (for instance, in recent years at the World Trade Organization (WTO) meetings in Seattle, Washington, Prague and Genoa), it is in the centre ground between the mainstream approaches to development that most international development policy is formulated. This brings us to the next term in our title.

POLICY

The obvious connection between 'development' and 'policy' is that every kind of development policy is based on some theory of development. This does not have to be a particular theoretical school, or even a carefully formulated and articulated theoretical position. It may be a general belief, or set of beliefs, about what development is, what it should achieve, and how this can be achieved. The sets of approaches we have described above as growth-centred and people-centred development, and the interactions between them, are the bases for the formulation of development policy.

So, what is policy? Although not such a conceptual minefield as 'development', policy may be perceived in different ways. The UK's Open University development studies team, for instance (Wuyts et al. 1992), view policy as action. This helps to confute the common perception of policy as something static, with institutional permanence, such as constitutional law. However, while it is important to stress policy formulation as a process, and thus action, it may be more helpful to focus on policy itself as the statement of intent, or the framework, and on the implementation as the action. Such 'statements of intent' may in fact conceal intentions not to act, or to keep certain issues off the agenda, but this is all part of the formulation process. Thus formulated policy is a declaration of what those who have decision-making powers (or the possibility of such powers in a democratic society) intend to do with it: a framework for action.

Policy is most commonly associated with *public* policy; it is also associated with meso or macro levels – national or international – and with high-level formulation and top-down application. In these contexts, development policy is also closely associated with aid policy. Most of the contributors to this volume are writing from these standpoints.

However, it is important to avoid stereotypes of policy making and

implementation. Obviously policy formulation is closely tied to resource and delivery power, following the old maxim that he who pays the piper calls the tune. This applies to international and other funding agencies, and governments with resources to allocate and distribute. However, all organizations have their own policies of some kind (which may be expressed in mission statements or strategic plans) and this applies equally to all kinds of development organizations. Sometimes these policies (or objectives) will deviate from, or even conflict with, official macro-level policies; or they may focus on particular aspects of development. Some of the more local or specific policies of these smaller organizations and other civil society associations may filter upwards and influence the formulation of higher-level policies, especially in more democratic environments. Ideally this should be part of a continuing upward and downward flow in the process of policy formulation and revision.

We have mentioned that development policies inevitably have some theory of development behind them. At higher, public levels they are also affected by prevailing political ideologies. In fact it is the two major nongovernmental sectors that tend to have the more consistent overall policy focus, for instance profit growth for the corporate business sector and poverty alleviation for the NGO sector. It is in the centre of our model that we find the main areas of public policy fluctuation between growth-centred and people-centred approaches which are affected by the dominant political ideologies of the international donor nations. Thus the neo-liberal tide of the early 1980s, with the US and UK governments in the vanguard, strongly influenced World Bank and at least some bilateral aid policies, and consequent strategies such as structural adjustment and market liberalization. Subsequently these policies were modified, partly through the influence of UNICEF, the UNDP and other agencies which drew attention to the human and social costs of adjustment and market liberalization (see, for instance, Cornia et al. 1987). In the UK the election of a Labour government in the late 1990s led to a revived policy focus on the poverty dimension of development, as represented in the government's second White Paper on International Development (DFID 2000). This policy paper, entitled *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor*, may be taken to represent the middle ground between growth-centred and people-centred approaches.

As a further example of the influence of prevalent national ideologies, the bilateral aid programmes of several European countries have continued to reflect their governments' lack of enthusiasm for aggressive market-over-state policies, and a prevailing concern for human rights. Also, in recent years World Bank policy has modified its predominant anti-statist approach towards a more central position, partly under the influence of

shifting political ideologies, but also on the basis of evidence that markets by themselves cannot be relied on to reduce poverty and, from East Asia in particular, that economies can flourish with a substantial degree of state intervention.

However it would be naive to suppose that policy-making bodies at the highest levels are readily open to ideas or advice coming from outside, especially where the governance of such bodies is dominated by special interests and lacks democratic accountability. Shifts of policy in such circumstances may take years of internal and external argument and pressure. At the same time we should note the reality that in some circumstances movement towards change may be initiated more quickly as a result of confrontation and conflict situations than the normal processes of discourse and dialogue, for instance in the aftermath of the anti-WTO demonstrations[2].

One further point to note about policy is that it is not a clearly definable entity which is easily distinguishable from other, related, entities and processes. We have already noted that lower-level organizations may have their own policies for promoting development, which will have much in common with the organization's aims, objectives, goals and purposes, and with mission and vision statements. Policy is also closely linked to strategy and planning, and of course to implementation and thus to management. Where, for instance, does policy end and strategy begin? Or do they overlap? It is useful, up to a point, to think of policy as the 'what' and strategy for implementation as the 'how'. But only up to a point. Even if it may not be altogether helpful to think of policy itself as action, it is – or certainly should be – closely associated with process and action. Policies are not static works of reference, like a manual of regulations. Equally a strategy may be seen in some circumstances as a 'what' rather than a 'how'. Indeed it is often difficult if not impossible to distinguish a policy from a strategy. For instance, is (or was) structural adjustment a policy or a strategy? We tend to think of it as a major element of World Bank/IMF (International Monetary Fund) lending policy in the 1980s, and we have included it in the 'policy' section of this handbook, but it may also be seen more as a means towards the end of cutting back the size and power of the state, and thus a strategy. What is a policy at one level may be a strategy at another. Thus, for instance, it might be argued that 'downsizing' of a public service may be seen as a *strategy* (among others) to implement the *policy* of structural adjustment.

Perhaps the only thing that is clear is that there is no clearly defined or universally accepted meaning for these terms. Economists, political scientists and organization theorists will have different perceptions of what they mean and how they relate to one another. While it is useful to be aware of this range of usage it is probably safer overall, for our purposes at least, to

focus less on the relationship between policy and strategy, and more on implementation in relation to policy. This brings us to the third term in our title: management.

MANAGEMENT

Is there a difference between 'development policy *and* management' (the title of this book) and 'development policy management'? The latter (as used, for instance, by a number of organizations, such as the European Institute for Development Policy Management in Maastricht) implies an emphasis on how the policy process itself is managed. In this volume we are more concerned with development policy *in relation to* the management of development processes though not necessarily the direct implementation of policy, that is, implying some degree of separation despite close association.

Again we need to recognize the range of activities and processes represented by usage of the term 'management', even when somewhat narrowed by the context of 'development'. Various phrases used in this connection such as 'development management', 'management of development', 'management for development', and 'management in developing countries' may have some differences in connotation but also a good deal of overlap, with no commonly agreed definition for any of them (for a recent discussion, see Oxfam 2000b).

If we go back to the ultimate basic definition of management as 'getting things done' our range extends across an enormous spectrum (Clarke 1996). At one extreme management is simply coping, making ends meet, keeping one's head above water, as in the question: 'how are you managing?' to someone in a distressed situation. For many millions throughout the world this is their direct experience of management: personal survival, continuing somehow to exist from day to day. For many millions more, managing development means the daily struggle to bring up and develop a family, somehow finding the means to feed and clothe their children and send them to school. This is vastly different from the other end of the spectrum where the image (if not always the reality) is of high-powered and highly-paid experts planning and managing international development from their large and well-furnished offices.

Management of and for development takes many forms at many levels. At the international level it is largely tied to the implementation of aid policies. At the level of national government it may be seen broadly as the continuation of development administration (perhaps with some injection of public sector managerial reform), which in most developing countries itself evolved from systems of colonial administration. At 'lower' levels develop-

ment is promoted and managed through specific projects or longer-term programmes both by governments and various non-governmental agencies, with a vast number of local community initiatives by a range of civil society organizations. It is often at these micro, grassroots levels that effective development is most readily achieved.

Approaches to management at both government and organizational levels have been much affected by the managerialism of the last decades of the twentieth century that accompanied the surge of neo-liberal economics. Basic to this approach has been the conviction that management in the private or corporate business sector is always and inherently superior to that of the public sector. This has been a major driving force behind the movement for public sector reform and 'new public management' which has been vigorously promoted in developing countries by consultants and representatives of those governments in which the precepts of public sector reform have been most vigorously applied, such as the USA, the UK, and other 'old Commonwealth' countries.

A managerialist approach is largely mechanistic, with emphasis on quantifiable outputs in relation to inputs, and on monetary value as the overriding criterion of output. Undoubtedly a tightening up of slack management practices and a sharper focus on results has improved performance in some government agencies, as well as some NGOs, although evidence of substantive implementation of key aspects of the reform agenda is sparse. But development management, certainly from the angle of a people-centred approach, is as much about social effectiveness as economic efficiency, and mechanistic approaches may not be the best way of achieving this. An over-emphasis on techniques and reporting mechanisms may in fact increase the kind of bureaucracy that was supposed to be reduced, while the focus on immediate and measurable outputs rather than less quantifiable but more significant outcomes may deflect resources and effort from the possibility of genuine developmental advances.

There is a universal core of good management practice but this is not the same as saying that management should be the same everywhere and at all times. If we go back to the basic 'getting things done', and add something like 'through best use of available resources', we can begin to see how achieving development objectives, or implementing policy, is going to vary enormously in differing situations. Traditionally these resources are finance, people and materials, and represent organizational power exercised through direction, control and coordination. However, for many smaller and less structured organizations this kind of resource power is minimal; for them, influencing other people to get things done may be the most effective use of available resources, and creating the environment for action may be more feasible than directing the action themselves.

   This handbook is not a manual about how to manage development, any more than it is about how to formulate development policy. What is important in using this handbook, however, is to be aware of the breadth of context in which such concepts as 'policy' and 'management' are used in relation to 'development'. Although we tend to associate each of these with macro levels, national or international, they also operate, often more effectively, at micro levels. At times when overall 'development' appears to be stagnating, or even going into reverse, local communities in poor countries around the world still manage to find means of bettering their condition, with or without external help. This possibility of local success may give comfort and encouragement to those who sometimes feel overwhelmed or powerless in the face of the dominance of governments and international agencies. However, this in no way excuses the policy and implementation failures caused by incompetence, intransigence or self-interest at national and international levels which can have devastating effects on whole populations, especially those segments of population in the poorest condition.

CONTENT

Following the logic of the title we have divided the contributions in this handbook into two main parts which broadly represent 'policy' and 'management'.

   Part I, on policy, we have divided into three sections which follow a historical sequence of emphases in development policy: those that are primarily issues of economic development (Section A); those that are primarily issues of social development (Section B); and a short section on environmental issues (Section C). These are introduced by a chapter on the evolution of development policy in its modern forms from its origins in the eighteenth century.

   Part II focuses on various aspects of the management and practice of development policy. Following an overview of public development management, Section A looks at the political and social contexts within which agencies attempt to promote and manage development. Section B focuses on the public sector, and some of the main issues that affect the state's role in development, while Section C looks outside the central state to consider aspects of development undertaken at local level and promoted by agencies in the non-state sectors. Section D then considers some aspects of managing development at the project level.

   It is unfortunate that we are confined by the physical nature of a printed book to a sequence of chapters which appears to end here. Unfortunately also, in real life, the sequence of activities often ends here, with develop-

ment projects completed or incomplete, with varying degrees of success or failure. Ideally this should not be an end but part of an ongoing, cyclical process, where lessons learned from projects and other implementations of policy are fed back into the overall system to influence and refine both policy and management.

The chapters in this book have attempted to bring the reader to the frontiers of knowledge and practice on many important aspects of development policy and management. Probably the greatest development issues at the beginning of the twenty-first century are globalization and poverty and the relationship between them. They are at the centre of interaction between growth-centred and people-centred development in our model. Many of the chapters here reflect the debate as to whether globalization has positive or negative effects on poverty, and there are as yet no clear answers. But the generation of knowledge is a dynamic process, and both theoretical advances and lessons from experience will continue. We hope that this introduction and the chapters that follow will reflect the dynamic, evolutionary, dimension of development policy and management, and will encourage our readers to pursue a similar approach in their own development work.

NOTES

1. I am most grateful to fellow editors Colin Kirkpatrick and Charles Polidano for valuable and substantive comments on earlier drafts of this Introduction.
2. Like all the other contributions to this Handbook, this chapter was written before the events of September 2001.

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