The Changing Politics of Global Development Architectures?

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Perspectives on Global Growth and Development After the Crisis

SPERI Annual Conference: The Global Contours of Growth and Development: Beyond the Crisis
The global development architecture

• Hudson and Dasandi (2014): three core ideological beliefs
  1. domestication of poverty
  2. missing money
  3. technocratic focus on governance


• What – if any – indications are there that this might change? Is changing? And where?

  – ‘Prediction is very difficult, especially if it’s about the future’ (Niels Bohr)
Political drivers of change?

- Public in donor countries
- IFIs and IOs
- International development targets
- Donor aid agencies
- Migration and remittances
- NGOs
- Civil society in developing countries
- Emerging donors
- Business and private sector
- Global philanthropy
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Political drivers of change?

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The big structural change

• New geography of poverty
  – Andy Sumner’s new bottom billion
    • 1990: ~90% of the world’s poor people lived in low income countries
    • 2008: 70-80% of the world’s poor people lived in middle income countries

• Implications
  – Shift from ‘traditional aid’ to national political economy
    • Importance of the emerging middle classes
      – Tax
      – Preferences?

Andy Sumner (2013) ‘Poverty, Politics and Aid: is a reframing of global poverty approaching?’, Third World Quarterly

• Inside out story, from the perspective of a donor
Somaliland: the politics of relative peace and stability


- Relative success, peace and prosperity of Somaliland versus Somalia
- Domestically-funded peace process that motivated cooperation among elites
- Somalilanders' conscious desire for an enclave of peace within the surrounding turmoil
- Less is more and open access orders are not necessarily the answer
Philippines: the politics of property rights reforms

• Traditional aid and good governance reforms
  – World Bank, AusAID, Philippine government Land Administration and Management Project (LAMP)
  – Comprehensive, first-best reforms = dead letter

• Politically informed programming
  – Reform as a learning process, building reform coalition, locally-led, guerilla operation
  – Remove the sensitive threats to civil service jobs and agrarian relationships from the draft
  – Worked with the banks most likely to benefit from reforms
  – Arms length aid – through the Asia Foundation

References:
And!? Didn’t we know all this?

- Yes, but now donors not only get it, trying to do something about it
- Implications
  - Working politically, politically informed programming = new modality
    - Both more and less engaged
    - More political (sensitive)
    - More risky
    - More (explicitly) normative
    - Cheaper
  - What’s the political economy faced by donors?
Political economy of donor agencies

- Financial and political pressures
  - Greece, Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Netherlands
  - Canada (CIDA), Australia (AusAID)
  - UK (DFID)
- Institutions, incentives, interests, and ideas within donor agencies
  - Anti-politics machine
  - Staff capacity, skills and appetite
  - Evidence, results, VfM (value for money)
  - Attitudes towards risk
- What do the public think / care?
UK public concern for global poverty

• ‘The key obstacle to reforming aid is public opinion ... Aid agencies are not run by fools, they are full of intelligent people, severely constrained by what public opinion permits’ (Collier, 2008: 184)

• What has been the impact of the financial crisis, austerity on support for development?
  – Probably down: charity begins at home
  – But, could remain stable: solidarity / values
UK public concern for global poverty

Levels of concern for global poverty in 1999-2013

- Very concerned
- Concerned
- No strong feelings
- Not very concerned
- Not at all concerned
What kind of issue is global poverty and development?

- Low salience
- Media and elite led issue
- Low knowledge
- But strongly held opinions
  - Waste / governance / corruption always comes out top in terms of barrier to development / aid
UK public estimates of what UK *currently* & *should* spend on aid

Q4 What per cent of the national budget do you think the UK Government currently spends each year on overseas aid?

Q5 What per cent of the national budget do you think the UK Government should spend each year on overseas aid, if any?
Corruption message experiment

• Kenya is a country in East Africa. More than 40% of people in Kenya live below the poverty line and 10,000 children die every year from diarrhoea caused by unsafe water and poor sanitation.

• Some people say we should stop giving aid to Kenya. Do you…
  – Strongly agree
  – Agree
  – Neither agree nor disagree
  – Disagree
  – Strongly disagree
  – Don't know

• Nationally representative, N=1931
3 different treatments

• … Corruption tends to hit poor people the hardest. Widespread corruption makes life difficult for ordinary citizens because they have to pay to access basic services in places like hospitals, schools, and the police. More than 44% of Kenyans reported having to pay a bribe in the past year.

• … Corruption tends to hit poor people the hardest. A recent government audit found that more than £30 million pounds went missing from Kenya’s Free Primary Education programme. Sam Ongeri, the Minister for Education, is alleged to have been involved in stealing funds. He was pressured to resign, but didn’t, and was never prosecuted.

• … Corruption tends to hit poor people the hardest. The UK government works to reduce corruption through its aid programme in Kenya; for example, through supporting citizens to report concerns and demand action, increasing accountability and transparency, and improving public financial management.
Do you agree we should stop giving aid to Kenya?
What’s the link between public support and ODA?