



## The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs; The Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution & Post-Conflict Reconstruction

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**Alfred Nhema and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (eds.)**

*The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*

Addis Ababa: OSSREA; Oxford: James Curry; Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press; Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008, ISBN: 978-1-84701-300-2, 244 pp.

**Alfred Nhema and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (eds.)**

*The Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution & Post-Conflict Reconstruction*

Addis Ababa: OSSREA; Oxford: James Curry; Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press; Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008, ISBN: 978-1-84701-302-6, 207 pp.

Alfred Nhema and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza have edited two perceptive companion books which attempt to explain why roughly one-third of African countries have suffered war or other major violence, not including *coups d'état*, and how this challenge can be addressed. The strengths of the books are their candid assessment of other scholarship on conflict in Africa and the unique insights that they offer, largely from an African perspective.

The authors openly express consternation about explanations of conflict in Africa that they consider essentialist, bordering on racist. They also decry what they consider to be excessively pessimistic views of Africa's prospects for political and economic development. One author laments some analysts' use of 'what borders on instant historical anthropology' which concludes that African conflicts result from what essentially amounts to 'culturally encoded genes' (*The Roots of African Conflicts*, 108).

Some chapters offer results of empirical analyses which test other scholars' explanations. One author found no evidence to support the claim that 'semi-democracies' are more prone to violence than both

non-democracies and countries that are fully democratic (*Roots*, 61). Another critiques rational-choice explanations that oversimplify the motivations of perpetrators (*The Roots of African Conflicts*, 109). A third author criticises the explanation that elite groups have something to gain from violence and that they exploit a sense of injustice by a large constituency: the so-called greed-grievance nexus (*Roots*, 127). Such viewpoints, it is argued, are too constraining. For instance, urbanisation, exacerbated by structural-adjustment policies resulting from the demands of international financial institutions, must be taken into account. Such factors produce large groups of unemployed, idle youth who tend to be receptive to the rhetoric of militant elites.

Finally, a chapter on gender offers constructive criticism of the hypothesis that women will gain in stature by engaging in violent conflict alongside men. Rough parity on the battlefield does not, it is argued, yield parity in other realms, whether in a household or in a company. Rather than achieving gender parity in war-zones, it is more often the case that women are treated as subordinates, usually suffering harassment and sexual violence.

These edited volumes offer many reasons why Africa has suffered from substantial conflict, including, among others: financial support for belligerents from diaspora communities; neo-classical economic systems; colonial legacies; differences over vision and religion; population displacement that results in a 'citizen-stranger' dichotomy and the treatment of newcomers as 'not belonging here' (*Roots*, 88); favouritism towards specific constituencies, not only in resource allocation, but also in access to the means of production; the Herculean task of forming a state (i.e. a sovereign political entity) composed of different nations (i.e. groups of people with unique identities and social cohesion), especially in the wake of colonial rule; 'extremely predatory and destructive' roving rebel movements that tend to rape and plunder throughout wide territories (*Roots*, 120); the limited role that a

nation-state can play in the context of regional challenges, especially those arising from globalisation; the psychological, social, and political residues of Cold-War proxy violence; population growth, resulting in pressures over access to land, water, and other resources; and excessive military spending at the cost of other public services.

Conflict-transformation initiatives in Africa face serious challenges, and these two books offer some interesting views about ways in which they can be encouraged, including the development of political elites in refugee camps who, because of their pluralistic experiences, have a capacity to envision and implement inclusive governance; and the development of regional and continental organisations that have the capacity to intervene at times of political instability.

The authors contend that regional and continental organisations in Africa have in the past been a disappointment, due in part to their weak funding base but due also to their seeming inability to intervene in the affairs of member states. However, African organisations are now starting to show promise. They have a firmer funding base, derived from mandatory dues structures, and they have more latitude for taking action when a member state does not comply with agreed standards. The desire to preserve 'sovereignty of responsibility' (*The Resolution of African Conflicts*, 9–10), as compared with sovereignty regardless of government behaviour, among member states means that intervention in certain cases is viewed as acceptable: in circumstances of mass atrocities and human-rights violations, a government's culpability renders its assertion of sovereignty illegitimate.

Throughout the books, an even-handed treatment of religion depicts its role as both a cause of and a potential solution to violent conflict. In some instances, however, there is an unfortunate tendency towards over-generalisation, arguing that political Islam, or more specifically Islamic militancy, is a result of US support for the Mujahidin in

Afghanistan and Pakistan, and for human-rights-violating Arab dictators. One can accept that both of these fuelled, even substantially, the politicisation of Islam, but it is important to acknowledge that other factors (such as rapid social transformation driven by modern technology) have been influential as well.

The second volume offers insights into how viable democratic institutions can be formulated to mitigate the violence that sometimes ensues after 'winner-takes-all' elections. In this area, Africa has already been making progress. According to data compiled by Freedom House, the number of countries classified as 'free' during 1980–1989 was 5.2 per cent, with 32.5 per cent 'partly free' and 62.1 per cent 'not free'. In contrast, in 1990–1999, the number of 'free' countries rose to 15.2 per cent, while 39 per cent were 'partly free', and 45 per cent were 'not free' (*Resolution*, 187).

The authors present a critical analysis of institutional reform in Africa. While they understand democracy to be an ideal form of government, they argue that a 'parliamentary' system, as compared with a 'presidential' one, is more likely to yield power sharing in divided societies (*Resolution*, 91).

An investigation into the potential role of local government concluded that affording more influence to provincial and municipal authorities is no panacea. Evidence did not support the claim that local officials tend to be more responsive and less corrupt than their national counterparts.

The second volume also offers a relatively simple and straightforward criterion of effective governmental reform. It makes a persuasive argument that the goal must be to foster 'constitutionalism', whereby governmental power is limited and mechanisms to enforce those limitations are put into place (*Resolution*, 179–199).

The two books beg for a more thorough treatment of economic development in Africa. References are made to the destructive influence of global capitalism on development in Africa, accompanied by the

regular elevation of democracy, in some form, to an exalted status. This poses a thorny theoretical question: to what extent do capitalism and democracy go hand in hand? If some form of capitalism has to exist for democracy to flourish, what version is likely to work best at different stages of economic and political development? Is there a period during which critical assets of production must be more evenly distributed? Is there a time when a policy of import-substitution industrialisation should be employed? In what ways can regional economic unions provide for greater local control, while still allowing member states to exploit comparative advantages?

Perhaps the editors should convene other scholars to contribute to a third volume on economic development in Africa in an age of globalisation. The two volumes' helpful insights into the role of continental and regional organisations in governance and security would be well complemented by creative proposals for regional economic integration, import and export policies, and collective responses to environmental challenges.

There are chapters in both books which report results of quantitative analyses. To follow the methodology requires a background in statistics, but the chapters' conclusions are readily accessible to researchers and practitioners alike. The academic rigour of some of the methodologies should not deter a wide and varied readership of these two companion volumes.

I recommend both books to scholars of Africa, peace studies, globalisation, and comparative politics. I recommend the second (*The Resolution of African Conflicts*) to government officials, NGO peace and justice practitioners, UN workers, and diplomats working in Africa who seek to support and accompany Africans on their own road towards greater peace.

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**Thomas Turner**

*The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth and Reality*

London and New York: Zed Books, 2007,  
ISBN: 9781842776896, 243 pp.

The recent (and, to some extent, continuing) Congo wars have taken the lives of up to five million people since 1993, which makes them the most devastating wars since World War II. Since 1996, the conflicts in the Congo have been regional, involving the six neighbours of the former Zaïre as well as the numerous, ever re-grouping, rebel groups within the country. Transnational economic interests as well as human life are at stake, and the international community, beginning with the United Nations and including NGOs, has been directly involved. The grave importance of the subject matter, coupled with the dearth of information available from the UK media, made this reader look forward to Turner's timely book, only to be left with a sense of disappointment mixed with frustration.

Thomas Turner is no stranger to the Congo or to the region. He is not a journalist but a recognised scholar who has done significant research on one of the groups within the country and has lived and taught there, and also in Rwanda and Kenya. So why the disappointment? There are several reasons why this reader feels that Turner has not served his subject matter well. First, the blurb promises 'the first in-depth analysis of what happened', yet throughout the book Turner is either summarising the arguments of others, as in the first two chapters, or citing the research of others in most of the rest of the book. He leaves his own analysis for the last chapter, entitled 'After the war', which this reviewer found the most helpful (see below).

Second, the analyses of many authors, such as Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja and Jacques Delpechin, are merely reported, without an examination of alternative views or

scholarship and/or an explanation of why Turner finds them the most authoritative. This makes fruitful reading of the book dependent upon prior knowledge of the subject and the relevant literature – which leads to the third reason for disappointment and touches upon the main source of this reviewer’s frustration: Turner’s style of writing and the book’s organisation are not user-friendly. There is no easy path to the many events and groups involved in the fighting and aftermath. A few examples will illustrate this point. In Chapter 1, the AFDL (Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo–Zaïre) is identified as conducting the war of rebellion against Mobutu. In the second chapter, the spotlight shifts to the RCD (Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie), but the relationship between these two is not explained. For those familiar with the progress of the various rebellions, the shift is obvious, but for the general reader it is not. It is only on p. 171 that the origins of the RCD are mentioned.

This problem of understanding the origins and relationships among the various participating, often rival, groups continues throughout the description of events of the war and the post-war transition in Chapters 4 and 5. For example, Turner writes of the Tutsi refugees of 1959 on p. 86, but the reader has to wait until p. 114 in the following chapter for a description of the events of 1959 that led to the exodus of Tutsis from Rwanda to the Congo and other neighbouring countries.

A particularly confusing passage is found on p. 132, describing a government military operation against the troops of the RCD-Goma faction: ‘The FARDC forces comprised troops from the former DRC government (FAC), the MLC, the RCD-ML (APC) and Mai-Mai.’ This is the first time the reader is confronted with such groups as the MLC (Mouvement de Libération du Congo) and the RCD-ML (APC) (Armée Populaire Congolaise). The RCD-ML (RCD-Mouvement de Liberation) is finally explained on p. 141 as Nande-led, with headquarters in Beni city and in territories border-

ing Uganda. On p. 142 we learn that the RCD-ML had Ugandan connections, while the RCD-Goma had Rwandan links. We learn nothing about the MLC, also with Ugandan connections, until p. 171. Why did the book not include at least a glossary for readers to refer to when trying to work through the maze of groups? The index is not at all helpful, since it does not include references to most of the acronyms; nor is the chronology, which refers to various groupings without explaining them.

Yet it must be said that to summarise and explain the events of an extremely complicated period of the Congo’s history in fewer than 200 pages was a Herculean task. Turner sets about trying to separate myth from reality. Moreover, he wants to contribute to the debate on the Congo’s future. Chapter 1 describes his intentions and methodology. Chapter 2 is a materialist description of the country’s resource base and social structure from colonial times to the present. Chapter 3 refers to what Turner calls the culture and ideological positions of those involved in the wars. As already noted, Chapters 4 and 5 describe the events of the wars in the two Kivus. Chapter 6 focuses largely on the role of the UN, specifically MONUC (Mission des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo) and the NGOs involved in the emergency refugee camps. One of the most telling points in this chapter, particularly for agencies involved in both humanitarian and development assistance, is the importance of recognising and understanding the part played by history in current crises. Turner criticises the UNHCR and some NGOs working in the refugee camps bordering Rwanda for treating all refugees as helpless. Failure to recognise the professionals and skilled personnel among the refugees meant that the agencies were unable to make use of people who could have helped to organise the camps and protect the refugees from intimidation. UNHCR appears to have ignored the fact that former *génocidaires* were taking control of the camps. This, in turn, led to attacks upon the camps by the AFDL and their

Rwandan allies, and massacres of innocent refugees. The UN and MONUC do not escape criticism for their bystander role at certain crucial moments, or for the scandalous sexual behaviour of some of their staff. Nevertheless Turner also recognises that the 'DRC could not have completed the transition from open warfare to the elections of 2006 without substantial international support' (p. 165).

Chapter 7 deals with the election process and the events of 2006. Turner's analysis of the various candidates and party groupings helps the reader to make sense of them in the light of the conflicts that preceded this historic moment. The 33 presidential candidates represented various tendencies, some of which had existed since independence. A few of the candidates were even the sons and daughters of historic figures such as Patrice Lumumba, the first president, Joseph Kasa-Vubu, and Mobutu himself. One of the candidates, Antoine Gizenga, the oldest of all, was Lumumba's deputy prime minister. These were the inheritors of Lumumba's nationalism, although not all represented his brand of nationalism. There were also the Mobutists, people associated with his regime, and the oppositionists, including the UDPS (Union de la Démocracie et le Progrès Social), which opted to boycott the elections, and those who followed Kabila. The final group were those who stood in opposition to the Kabila regime.

Turner reviews the conduct of the elections and the turbulent aftermath, including the conflict between Bemba supporters and the newly elected regime and the continuing scandals revealing the regime's corruption. He warns of the continuing threat to stability posed by these incidents, as well as the nationality question, the issue of ethnicity in relation to the constitution of new provinces, the marginalisation of the Banyamulenge from political recognition and representation, the failure to prosecute those guilty of war crimes, and so on. He hopes, however, that 'this book can contribute in a small way to helping the Congolese and their neighbours to understand

what has happened in the recent past and to heal some wounds' (p. 198).

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**Ricardo Soares de Oliveira**

*Oil and Politics in the Gulf of Guinea*

London: Hurst & Co., 2007, ISBN: 978-1-85065-858-0, 379 pp.

*Oil and Politics in the Gulf of Guinea* bears all the hallmarks of the doctoral dissertation from which it is derived. For those who want to know the history of oil-company involvement in the Guinean Gulf region, the overall social and political impact of that investment, and the interplay between the companies and what Soares calls 'the petro-state', be advised that these subjects are treated only from Chapter 4 onwards: the first three chapters present the author's not entirely original analytical perspective.

Chapter 1 focuses on what Soares deems the paradox of the successful failed state; Chapter 2 on how oil structures the prevalent forms of governance. Chapter 3 describes the political behaviour of petro-elites, while Chapter 4 recounts the historical involvement of oil companies from the colonial era to the 1990s. Chapter 5 gives an overview of the contemporary scramble for the region's resources, highlighting the experiences of Equatorial Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe. Chapter 6 shows how and why the regimes escape the pressures to reform. A conclusion rounds out the argument, which is that, although the 'states' of Gabon, Chad, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Angola, and São Tomé and Príncipe are so-called failed states, they successfully survive through a mutually beneficial relationship with the multinational oil companies, whose investments and oil-sharing arrangements prop them up. By Chapter 6,

Soares has added the major oil-importing states and the international system to this relationship.

For Soares, oil structures everything: in Chapter 1 he speaks of the 'structuring effects of oil wealth' (p. 38). In Chapter 2, we are told about 'the role of oil in structuring the prevalent forms of governance' (p. 63). Despite his use of Weberian concepts and a brief and partially incorrect summary of dependency theory (pp. 308–310), his analytical framework does not go much beyond that of the dependency theorists of the 1960s and 1970s. The petro-elite that he describes in Chapter 3 does not seem all that different from the *comprador* bourgeoisie delineated by such authors as Andre Gunder Frank. In Soares' depiction, the elites make as much use of their international partners as the partners do of them. He explains this as dependency without determinism in Chapter 1, but by Chapter 6 this argument is not all that convincing. Most of this chapter sets out the reasons for the largely unsuccessful attempts by a range of international actors, including the World Bank and NGOs, to bring about progressive reform of the petro-states and their transactions with the oil companies.

On p. 303, Soares asks the question whether 'qualitative change in the web of relationships is possible' and will mean 'a measure of improvement in local lives and human possibilities'. And he responds that he is inclined to answer negatively. Why? Because 'oil overrides governance concerns ... Oil has had a unique grip over the international system of the last century and it will probably continue to have over that of most of this century as well' (p. 305). It is 'in effect, a trump card that counteracts progressive efforts that might succeed, were oil not the issue' (pp. 305–6). By Chapter 6, not merely the petro-states and companies but the entire international system is caught in the nexus of oil. In this reader's view, this is an excessively generalised, reified, tautological, and deterministic perspective.

One might also take issue with the use of such concepts as the 'petro-state' and the 'petro-elite', as well as the use of that other essentialist concept of the 'African postcolonial state'. What Soares is describing are governments, or perhaps more accurately 'regimes'. The Web-based Encarta dictionary defines regime as 'a system or style of government' and also 'any controlling or managing group, or the system of control and management adopted by it', as well as 'an established system or way of doing things'. Soares delineates a pattern of policies and practices common to the Gulf of Guinea governments which are made possible by their access to oil revenues. These include a lack of engagement with the population; the creation of national oil companies in order to improve profit-sharing arrangements with the oil industry; maldistribution of revenues, resulting in weak economies and a poor social infrastructure; the private enrichment of an elite group; little or no attempt to alleviate poverty; abandonment of territories and populations deemed economically useless; massive indebtedness; involvement with international crime syndicates; and so on. In spite of this, favourable relations with multinational oil companies and their allies have guaranteed these regimes access to international banking, direct foreign investment, and a privileged status in the international system.

Once beyond Chapter 3, Soares descends from the heights of generality and narrates the experiences of most of the eight countries after the discovery and exploration of oil. Chapters 4 and 5 are not case studies but provide basic information on most of the countries and insights that allow for a closer look at the region. Soares then does what he sets out to do in this book, which is to give the reader an explanation of why governments that do not conform to the Weberian modern state model continue to exist and are supported by the very international actors, including both states and multilateral organisations, that push this model on the rest of the world. A recent report from the

Institute for Democracy in South Africa, *Oil and Governance* (March 2008), presents slightly more detailed case studies of Angola, Chad, Gabon, and São Tomé and Príncipe and, while echoing the core of Soares' arguments, at least attempts to look at what it might take to turn these oil economies towards benefiting the majority of their populations – and it does all this in 83 pages.

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**Kojo Sebastian Amanor and  
Sam Moyo (eds.)**

*Land and Sustainable Development  
in Africa*

London: Zed Books, 2008, ISBN: 978-1-84277-913-2, 226 pp.

*Land and Sustainable Development in Africa* is a must for African development practitioners, law makers, those engaged in sustainable development, and campaigners for and advocates of environmental and social justice such as the churches and NGOs. Land and sustainable development are really two sides of the same coin. Most world conflicts can be reduced to one bottom line: land and access to its resources. The editors of *Land and Sustainable Development in Africa* must therefore be commended for this timely and incisive volume.

*Land and Sustainable Development in Africa* is a much-needed contribution to the question of land distribution and the inequalities that exist in Africa, where the pre-colonial legacy favours the elite rich, whether black or white, to the utter marginalisation and further immiseration of the majority poor, particularly women.

The book has succeeded in its aim of bringing together a number of essays which underscore the need for sustainable develop-

ment in Africa to be more clearly defined in the context of environmental and social justice *vis-à-vis* the land question. The authors challenge the predominant current neo-liberal approaches to the land question in Africa and their 'willing seller–willing buyer' market principles. These approaches, espoused for example by the IMF and the World Bank, tend to privilege efficiency and technical interventions above social and environmental justice. The chapters in this book place the land question and sustainable development squarely within a political, economic, and structural framework which questions the post-colonial approaches to the question.

My only quibbles are with the title and the treatment of sustainable development. The book analyses the land issue in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Malawi, Kenya, and West Africa – some 20 countries out of 51. Perhaps the scope should have been delimited – even in the title! While the land issue is subjected to copious analyses, I do not think the sustainable-development conjunction has received equal justice, with the notable exception of the final chapter, 'Conclusion: transforming sustainable development'. Elsewhere one has the impression that sustainable development, being the 'flavour of the month', is treated perfunctorily. A quick look at the subject index confirms this impression: the noun 'land' and its various qualifications receive more than 70 entries, while 'sustainable development' receives fewer than 25. The other exception is the fine analysis by Kojo Sebastian Amanor in the chapter entitled 'Sustainable development, corporate accumulation and community expropriation: land and natural resources in West Africa', which traces links between the oil industry in the Niger Delta and the loss of sustainable livelihoods in the area. Amanor dubs sustainable-development efforts in West Africa as 'a tardy advertising banner', proclaiming the good life in the midst of increasing poverty.

The chapter entitled 'Land and sustainable development in South Africa', by Wellington

Didibukhu Thwala and Misabeni Khosa, highlights the impasse over women's land rights and the fact that the lack of proactive initiatives on their behalf has resulted in further marginality and dependency on patriarchy. This chapter is also an indictment of the post-apartheid democratically elected African National Congress government *vis-à-vis* its promises to redistribute land equitably. The authors argue that the post-apartheid government has ushered in neo-liberal policies which perpetuate the unequal economic relations of the past.

Although I found the chapter entitled 'Interrogating sustainable development and resource control in Zimbabwe' by Sam Moyo and Prosper B. Matondi fairly informative and analytical, I was disappointed by it on two fronts. First, it does not mention the important role played by the Zimbabwe Catholic Justice and Peace Commission. And second, the breakdown in the political machinery and the subsequent economic meltdown seem to be underemphasised. Did the authors tone down their criticism of the government for fear of their lives? I can remember coming across the name Robert Mugabe only once in the entire chapter – and that in a neutral light on page 63.

'Law, land and sustainable development in Malawi' by Fidelis Edge Kanyongolo is clear and cogent. For me it was the best chapter.

Apart from the small font used and a few typographical errors, the book is well presented and laid out. The use of the Harvard system for citing sources within the body of the text is pleasant to the eye and does not interrupt the flow with footnotes.

The editors of *Land and Sustainable Development in Africa* have an impressive publishing pedigree between them. Kojo Sebastian Amanor is an Associate Professor at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. His main research interests are in land, forestry, environmental management, and rural livelihoods. Sam Moyo is the Executive Director of the African Institute for Agrarian Studies based in Harare, Zimbabwe. He has more than 25 years of

research experience on rural development issues, with a focus on land and natural-resources management, civil-society organisations, capacity building, and institutional development.

For anyone interested in the land question, development in Africa, and sustainable development, *Land and Sustainable Development in Africa* is required reading. For anyone particularly interested in socio-scientific research on the land question, this book is something of a page-turner.

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**David V. Carruthers (ed.)**

*Environmental Justice in Latin America – Problems, Promise and Practice*

Cambridge, MA/London UK: The MIT Press, 2008, ISBN: 978-0-262-03372-5, 329 pp.

This is a most valuable and essential collection. Focusing on the theory and history of environmental and social struggles in Latin America, with numerous examples, this substantial volume demonstrates that there are many ways to frame ideas of environmental justice. After years of environmental devastation in a region known for its struggles for social justice, it is particularly timely that Carruthers asks the following central questions: to what extent and in what forms have Latin America's popular movements fused environmental dimensions into community struggles for social justice? How do we recognise and analyse local and global forms of environmental-justice consciousness and actions? Do the analytical tools of environmental justice open the doors to useful understanding that we might otherwise not reach?

A most compelling aspect of the book is the bringing together of numerous and

diverse pieces of evidence to demonstrate that environmental justice in a Latin American context is inseparable from broader issues of historical foreign domination and external control of the landscape, including growing resistance to the neo-liberal policy and economic model.

There are contributions by outstanding scholars in Political Science and Geography Departments in North American, European, and Latin and Central American universities. Yet, if you expect to find a straight definition of 'environmental justice', you will be disappointed. And this is perhaps what makes this book special, and able to make a huge contribution to the subject area.

At no point does this book detract from the huge policy and practical importance of the 'traditional' environmental-justice movement as it was born and developed in the USA, with its focus on social inequity in industrial-location decisions and exposure to pollution, socially uneven access to environmental amenities, differential spatial mobility, and race-based privilege. On the contrary, this collection powerfully demonstrates that environmental justice can be a wide movement, able to accommodate different approaches, many of which have never been interpreted as environmental justice before.

The result is an informative, theoretical and pragmatic, insightful account of the policy and environmental processes by means of which those with power have sought to develop and impose hegemonic discourse regarding nature, local communities, and ancestral uses of land and water. An essential aspect of environmental justice in Latin America is the struggle of *campesinos*, and particularly the poorest and most politically disenfranchised groups, i.e. indigenous communities, struggling to remain engaged in traditional productive activities and who have been disproportionately affected by neo-liberalism and the expropriation of resources by more powerful groups. They also typically face the most immediate threats associated with unsustainable management of water and other resources.

Every chapter in this collection makes exhilarating reading. As a collection, it indicates and proves the unimaginable and unparalleled extent of environmental injustices in this Third World region. The book begins with a comprehensive and competent introduction to the prevailing political and economic forces from a geopolitical perspective, offering the reader a sense of the critical literature that is to come.

In Chapter One, Sundberg, through a theoretical focus on race, traces environmental configurations in environmental-justice research in Latin America. Newell in Chapter Two focuses on the politics of trade policy to address the politics of environmental justice, and Acselrad's comprehensive Chapter Three focuses on the emergence of environmental grassroots movements in Brazil.

In Chapter Four, Reboratti's snappy opening statement that the population of Argentina is only somewhat interested in environmental matters leads to a thorough account of the social and political aspects of three outstanding environmental conflicts, including the Uruguay River pulp mills. Moore in Chapter Five provides an original perspective and documented account of the garbage crises as protests in urban areas of Mexico. Chapter Six is captivating: Caruthers presents the US–Mexican border as a telling microcosm of North–South relations and struggles for justice, as well as an enigmatic place where the local and the global collide. In Chapter Seven, Díez and Rodríguez perceptively explore how institutional and legal obstacles in the case of lead-poisoned children in Peñoles, Mexico prevented mobilisation to advocate for environmental justice.

In Chapter Eight, Zebich-Knos methodically analyses how policy making can take a top–down approach to the creation of a parks system that is devoid of grassroots input in Costa Rica, Mexico, Honduras, Belize, and Panama. Wolford in Chapter Nine exhaustively looks into the various political-economic processes that, over time, have reshaped existing ecosystems to

accommodate practices from outside the region in the case of agricultural development of the Brazilian *cerrado*. In a masterly tenth chapter, Perreault addresses the question of resource governance in circumstances where protestors articulated a vision of social justice at odds with the state's neo-liberal policies in the water and gas wars in Bolivia. McCaffrey, in Chapter Eleven, makes a particular and original contribution by focusing on the struggle for inclusion and sustainable development by the residents of the Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, who have fought against the twin forces of privatisation and state usurpation which now challenge the victory of the eviction of the US military. In Chapter Twelve, Wickstrom presents a powerful analysis of three cases of water wars in Chile, Bolivia, and Mexico which show political and economic elites using state and market power to manage water for utilitarian and profit-making purposes – against the best interests of communities and natural systems.

I have a few criticisms. A number of chapters try so hard to present an exhaustive analysis of the theme itself that little attention is given to making links with environmental justice. Even if this may seem obvious, it would have given more unity to the book, something that sometimes is lost. Chapter One does not contribute to clarity by being written in the first person. Also, and surprisingly, there is no epilogue or conclusion to the book, which could have had the effect of amalgamating different perspectives and summarising the overall contribution to environmental justice of the environmental struggle across Latin America and the Caribbean. Lastly, a glossary would have been extremely helpful.

The environmental-justice movement is one of the most important social movements in the United States. The discursive and analytical tools of environmental justice have been productive in both highlighting the complex connections between race, class, and environmental pollution and providing a social-movement frame. By examining the

scope and limitations for environmental-justice struggles in Latin America and the Caribbean, Carruthers makes a valuable conceptual and geographical addition to the debate – essential from now on for everyone committed to the subject.

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**Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings (eds.)**

*Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations*

*Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, ISBN: 978-0-230-02001-6, 279 pp.*

A rise in religious nationalism, fundamentalism, and the de-privatisation of religion has been a focus of academic debate for well over a decade. However, an analysis of the growing role of religious organisations – faith-based organisations (FBOs), as they are now described in the development field – and their relationship to key themes of development has, until fairly recently, received minimal detailed examination. Given this dearth of research, Clarke and Jennings' volume is a welcome addition to the current academic debate, with its examination of FBOs as a driver of both international and domestic political and social change.

The volume presents a series of case studies, located predominantly in Africa, Europe, and South and South-East Asia. From the outset the editors state clearly that the volume is primarily concerned with three major religions – Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism – but they add that 'where possible it encompasses the activities of more informal and spontaneous movements of social and political significance' (p. 6).

The collection, the editors state, has three essential aims (p. 18). The first section is concerned with factors underlining the 'growing

salience of faith-based organisations', pointing to the enormous role that they play in service provision: they cite examples such as Tanzania, where, according to a recent World Bank study, FBOs are purported to provide nearly 50 per cent of education and health services. Second, the book examines a number of FBOs that have had specific international importance, focusing on the tension between their position as civil organisations and their varying levels of relationships with the state. Third, the book describes the role that faith plays in a number of FBOs, as they are caught between degrees of 'active, passive, and exclusive uses of faith' (pp. 32–33) to rationalise and motivate their daily work. The book concludes by outlining some of the future problems for both civil-society actors and donors in their engagement with religion.

All the chapters in the volume have their merits. However, key to the first section and to the overall collection are two which highlight two of the most important ideological dilemmas for any prospective interaction between religion and development practice: namely, religious exchange with gender, and with secularism. The first is a chapter by Pearson and Tomalin which sounds some warning notes about the frequency with which religion has suppressed women's voices, and considers cases where religious authority has not been in accord with gender equality. They point particularly to the use of Shari'a law in northern Nigeria and Pakistan, indicating how women's groups oscillate between the use of 'insider methodologies' – using their own interpretations of Islamic teachings to foster women's rights – and more overtly secular and political stances. In northern Nigeria these struggles have come to the fore in relation to the punishment of adultery by stoning. In Pakistan, campaigns have opposed 'honour' killings and advocated reform of the Hudood Ordinances. Both instances reveal the complexity of women's stances regarding Islam, religious authority, and the state.

The tension between religion and secularism is explored through Linden's excellent chapter on secular development discourses and their relation to an upsurge in 'God talk'; this theme is a dialectic, as you might expect, that runs throughout the book. Taking on the secular language of the developmentalists, Linden asserts that the secular ideology of development is still viewed as the normative language – 'how things ought to be' – with still scant recognition that secular development is itself 'instrumentally specialized' (p. 90). For Linden, an increasingly globalised economy continues to ignore the real gap between popular religion and the secular premises of development, although many scholars examining the rise of Christian, Islamic, or Hindu fundamentalism are bound to disagree with him.

The remaining two sections present detailed discussions of religion and development in contexts as diverse as Norway, the Philippines, Jordan, Somalia, and India. However, it is in the last four chapters that the uses of faith are considered in detail. They include an admirable discussion of Hezbollah and post-war reconstruction in Lebanon by Harb, and a contribution by Jaffrelot on Hinduism and the social-welfare strategies of the Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the cultural wing of the Bharatiya Janata Party, currently the main Indian opposition party. Both chapters explore how key concepts of 'authentic' piety (*iltizam*) and 'commitment to the Islamic sphere' (*multazimin*) (p. 222) in the Lebanon case, and 'good discipline' (*samskar*) (p. 245) in the Hindu case, shape and underpin organisational values and beliefs along a continuum of persuasive and exclusive stances.

Indeed, it is difficult to know where to criticise this timely volume, which should be required reading for academics and practitioners alike. Any criticism depends, I believe, on how much any reader adheres to the volume's central conclusion. While I would agree with the authors that 'the question of whether faith-based organisations should have a role in development is redundant'

(p. 269), the degree to which they play a part is still hotly contested and confused, as illustrated by the controversy arising from recent comments of the Archbishop of Canterbury about the role of Shari'a law in the UK. At the time of writing, the highly problematic nature of the Bush Administration's championing of the faith sector is equally worrying, given its conservatism, which the authors acknowledge. Ultimately, the future of religion and development will lie in the manner in which discourses and practices of culture, religious, and state authority are negotiated in a rapidly changing global political economy. We eagerly await more research on these themes in the future.

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**Bhikhu Parekh**

*A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles in an Interdependent World*  
Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008,  
ISBN: 978-1:4039-0647-2, 317 pp.

Parekh's theme is simple: politics is about people ... people are diverse ... people are forever changing. His exploration of this theme draws partly on individual psychology which owes much to psychoanalysis, and partly on social, cultural, and political analysis which informs an urgent and practical discussion about 'development in practice'. Parekh has an acute historical sense of what created the contemporary economic and political problems in our increasingly integrated yet conflict-ridden world.

This well-written book explores 'the changing nature of different kinds of identity and analytical principles that should govern human relations within and between societies' (p. 2). Its treatment of the notion of 'political' is dynamic and realistic, in that it shows how individual and collective emotional preoccupations influence those

who make political decisions and are involved in controversies. Political advocacy is too often irrational, intensely saturated with historical fantasy. Parekh's book is richly illustrated with examples from history: internal power struggles in the Arab world, Ireland, Eastern Europe, and the former USSR, conflicts among the competing colonial or imperial powers, and resistance to domination in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where the persistence of ethnic and regional violence is often exacerbated by economic rivalries.

Parekh frankly admits his ethical convictions. His prescriptions are based on political ethics and not merely on political expediency, because (he argues), what is morally right is often politically right. Parekh is practical, realistic, and persuasively humanist in his support of social democratic values and recommendations. He is concerned that the 'dangerously simplistic and Manichean view of the world' (p. 168) which prevails in both Western and Islamic societies increases the rage and hatred of militants on both sides, and steadily erodes the influence of those who pay rational attention to the real and difficult problems of the world: poverty, inequality, repression, and the fatal readiness to resort to collective violence.

The 13 chapters of *A New Politics* can be grouped into broad issues. Chapters 1 to 5 and chapter 7 together examine the concept of identity. Parekh distinguishes three interacting elements: personal, social, and human. Individuals are unique, although they belong to groups and also to the 'universal human community'. During the twentieth century, and so far in the twenty-first, national identity (in which I would include 'ethnic' identity) is the most dominant collective identity. However, its stability is threatened by the large-scale movements of populations that are generating misunderstandings and conflicts of cultures, allegiances, and identities. In chapter 5, 'Multicultural society and the convergences of identities', Parekh compares the tensions

of assimilation with those of integration; he is concerned about a deeply alienated, small but significant section of 'Muslim youth' (p. 4) who are typical of those groups who turn to religion to help them to create and sustain a sense of collective stability. He also considers the emergence of Russian Orthodox religion in the former USSR. In chapter 7, on the pathology of religious identity, he argues against the assumption that fundamentalism is central and common to all religions. On the contrary: religions, despite their disputatious natures, have always taken ideas from one another, and even myths and rituals, and modified them. Fundamentalism is a distinct kind of distortion of religious identity that has become in modern times a sort of quasi-secular ideology which aims to fill a political vacuum by transforming society. Chapter 8 argues that cultural or religious diversity necessarily stimulates or justifies social and political conflict. Parekh lucidly and powerfully pleads for the possibility, indeed the necessity, of dialogue between religious and political ideologies.

In chapter 9 the impact of globalisation on culture is introduced, and although Parekh welcomes the richness and interaction of cultural contact that is facilitated by globalisation and modern communications, he deplores the power of globalisation to undermine the ability of a culture to sustain a cultural life of its own. The USA, for example, is economically and militarily so assertive that it exerts an almost irresistible influence on less powerful cultures.

The final chapters, 10 to 13, deal with the 'moral and political questions that are raised by global interdependence'. Parekh's cautious, rational optimism shines through. He refutes those critics who have attacked his moderation as impossible and unnecessary, or possible but dangerous, or, bizarrely, as useful justification for imperialist projects. Parekh is critical of the quality of much international leadership, and he stresses the need for sensitivity to those local interests that might be involved in encouraging democracy. Chapter 13 deals directly with

the problems of encouraging democracy – its possibilities and its limits – and he argues that democratic principles are 'prudential' because all power corrupts – not only in the material sense, but also in the deeper sense of generating the illusion that the powerful, influential, and those with an ideology know what is best for other people. The implication is that if those with authority know what is best for us, our views need not be listened to. For Parekh, societies have a duty to promote the principles of democratic government, because all people have equal worth; and because it is important to encourage diversity of views; and because democracy has the capacity to encourage intercultural dialogue – one world, many cultures, many peoples.

*A New Politics* is a refreshing antidote to the frequently narcissistic, paranoid, and irrelevant debates about the impact of globalisation. It is so convincingly argued that Parekh's rational approach to making sense of a disturbing world dilemma should not be dismissed lightly. The book is unusually sensitive to issues of diversity, without glibly denying the difficulties of dealing with these matters. The book could profitably be read by practitioners, students of socio-economic development, and indeed activists and those people who are troubled by the parlous condition of our unstable world. It ought to be studied by policy makers; but I doubt if many, if any, would be converted to its humane, practical, and politically incorrect approach.

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**Andrea Cornwall, Sonia Corrêa, and Susie Jolly (eds.)**

*Development with a Body: Sexuality, Human Rights and Development*

London and New York: Zed Books, 2008, ISBN 978-1-84277891-3 (pb), 257 pp.

No-one who has attended a United Nations conference on health, population, or women

can have failed to notice the swarms of men in black, scurrying from one delegate to another, engaging them in fervent discussion before dashing to the next session. They have the drive and persistence of the foot-in-the-door salesman whose income depends on gulling his customers. In a way, this is also what the men in black are up to; except that what they are selling is not a vacuum cleaner or other gadget, but their particular brand of religious fundamentalism. Their goal is to hold the line on traditional, even divinely ordained, moral prescriptions concerning human sexuality; and to defy any interpretation of human rights that might challenge this order. Their zeal is not limited to obvious issues such as women's right to choose whether, when, with whom, and in what conditions to have sex, marry, or bear children. It includes basic rights to found a family, to freedom of opinion and expression, to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and the right not to be subject to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment. All these universal and indivisible rights are potentially subversive, because they could be invoked – heaven forefend – to justify families based on same-sex unions, a girl's refusal to be married off to a man old enough to be her grandfather, a woman's right to leave an abusive relationship, a child's right to sex education – that is, to be properly informed about the facts of life and not to be filled up with doctrines preaching that non-reproductive sex is sinful. It is rather difficult to reconcile the right to freedom of religion, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration, with an actual or *de facto* theocracy or with a legal system based on the tenets of one or other organised faith.

*Development with a Body: Sexuality, Human Rights and Development* addresses issues that are seldom discussed in polite development company: 'For mainstream development sex is treated as a health issue, to be dealt with by experts in disease prevention and health promotion. The reasons why many people choose to have

sex in the first place – for pleasure, as well as for the many other affective dimensions of intimate relationships – barely make it into the frame' (Cornwall *et al.*, Chapter 1, p. 5).

Following two substantive introductory chapters, the book is divided into three parts: Sexual rights/human rights; Gender and sex orders; and Changing mindsets. Two thirds of the contributors are from the Global South, belying the view that sexual rights and identities are simply Western obsessions, evidence of moral decadence. As the editors note, 'Adding sexuality to the equation takes us further, to reframe development itself as fundamentally concerned with the promotion of the well-being of people as *whole people* – not just in relation to their utility or capacities, their economic or social needs or their civil and political rights, but in terms of all that makes us fully human' (p. 18, original emphasis). Many of the following chapters explore what it is to be denied one's full humanity: for workers in Latin America to fear being fired not only for being lesbian but for being assumed to be so because of their unconventional 'gender expression' (Sardá, Chapter 9); for *travestis* in Peru who suffer 'the worst of both gender roles' and for whom sex work is often the only labour option (Campuzano, Chapter 11); gay men in India ensnared by the police and falsely charged with having sex in public (Baudh, Chapter 8); the multiple forms of state-sanctioned violence experienced by street sex workers in Serbia (Djordjevic, Chapter 13); the emotional damage caused by ignorance about basic bodily functions, as in the case of a Turkish woman who was so frightened when she started menstruating that she was literally stunned into silence, having lost the power of speech (Ilkcaracan and Ronge, Chapter 18). Attention is also usefully drawn to violence and sexual coercion experienced by men, and to the pressures on men to conform to expectations of assertive heterosexual masculinity (Greig, Chapter 7); and to the way in which beliefs

about what constitutes ‘normal’ sexual behaviour actually undermine reproductive health (Ratele, Chapter 10; Lewis and Gordon, Chapter 16).

Although many chapters describe terrible situations of victimisation simply on the grounds of one’s sex, sexual identity and behaviour, dress code, or means of earning a living, the collection is not a guilt-provoking catalogue of misery memoirs, whose subjects are competing for victim status. Nor do the authors hector the reader, for instance on what to think about gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) rights or children’s sexuality. Rather, the focus is on *how* to think about such issues in the context of pressures to conform to heteronormativity, often backed up by physical and mental violence and/or leading to self-harm, again both physical and emotional. Likewise, eschewing simplistic prescriptions concerning sex work – such as that it is invariably degrading, always damaging, never freely chosen, and that sex workers need to be ‘saved’ – the authors come at it from a different angle: ‘The key question is not: Did sex workers choose this work and on what basis was that choice made? But rather: What do they want now and how can they be supported?’ (Corrêa and Jolly, Chapter 2, p. 36) – encapsulated in the Cambodian sex workers’ slogan, ‘Don’t talk to me about sewing machines, talk to me about workers’ rights’ (quoted in Ditmore, Chapter 4, p. 64). Other contributors question how far the logic of human rights helps us to think critically about how to unpack societal norms, given that rights language cannot deal with how ‘gender, sexuality, class and so on intersect’ (Sharma, Chapter 5, p. 73).

Aid agencies are uncomfortable with the messiness of real lives, and so tend to fit their target groups into project cycles that will generate narratives with a (bad) beginning, a (better) middle, and ideally a happy ending. All well and good, but as stated by Paul Hunt, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health, in his Foreword: ‘Listening to some

states, you would think that sex does not generally precede reproduction. Some states try to bury or disguise sexual health and sexual rights within reproductive health and reproductive rights’; he adds that this is both ‘absurd’ and ‘dangerous’ as ‘[m]ake-believe is never a good foundation for sound policy-making’ (p. xi). Most development agencies are equally prudish about ‘the plasticity of people’s sexualities’ and about sex as ‘a good thing, a source of well-being and joy, not just of violence, disease, discrimination and poverty’ (Corrêa and Jolly, Chapter 2, pp. 39, 40). Engaged in its David and Goliath struggle to Banish Poverty from the Face of the Earth or whatever, it is all too easy for the development industry to ignore human sexuality completely and to treat sexual rights at best as a somewhat trivial pursuit. *Development with a Body* gives a wealth of insights into what this heroic vision leaves out, and offers a glimpse of how much richer development would be if it were truly based on the celebration of human diversity and the right of everyone to be fully human.

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**Matthew J. Hirschland**

*Corporate Social Responsibility and the Shaping of Global Public Policy*

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006,  
ISBN: 9778-1-4039-7453-2, 201 pp.

In the world of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), a proliferation of literature on the subject presents different models, perspectives, and recommendations on the role of companies and their social and environmental responsibilities. While proponents of CSR build their case on moral obligation, sustainability, licence to operate, and reputation, critics claim that CSR provides nothing more than public relations services

to companies. They continue to question the interdependence between ‘profit’ and ‘society’. It is therefore refreshing to read about this subject from the perspective of the role of governments, and the impact of CSR on this role.

In his book, Matthew Hirschland adopts a global public policy network (GPPN) lens developed by Reinicke and Deng<sup>1</sup> and examines the institutions that support CSR, rather than the concept of CSR itself. GPPN refers to groups (networks) of inter-linked non-state actors engaged in political action, policy discussion, and sometimes with government. Within this context, CSR networks have increased in number and size, filling a vacuum created in the post-Washington Consensus world of globalised markets. The question this book seeks to address is that of the quality of these CSR networks: in other words, who engages in what? What is the legitimacy of their participation and decision making? And ultimately how efficient, transparent, and accountable are they?

There are plenty of reasons for NGOs and governments to embrace the principles of ‘CSR networks’, which include partnerships, various forms of dialogue, and collaboration. For the state, there is the convenience of enlisting resource-rich companies in delivering goods and services that cash-strapped government departments no longer seem able to afford. At the same time, governments have shown little appetite for regulating the private sector, employing little more than ‘soft laws’ (p. 71), supporting mainly business-led voluntary initiatives. In this way they simply add to the profusion of confusing standards, certification schemes, and self-regulating mechanisms. NGOs, frustrated by the lack of responsiveness by governments, turned to direct confrontation and then dialogue with companies, eventually joining in the ‘CSR networks’ which have been legitimised and promoted through global institutions such as the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The jury is still out about the ‘business case’ for CSR: in a survey of 95 studies into the effects of CSR on financial bottom-lines, the author shows no positive correlation between CSR and profit (pp. 63–67). However, what is evident is that business leaders are acutely aware of the fine balance that they must strike in managing a wide mix of stakeholders and societal demands, providing an incentive for them to engage in CSR networks.

So the world has seen an emergence of CSR networks delivering goods, services, and, increasingly, policy, often without formal sanction or lines of accountability. Through the detailed examination of three case studies – The Global Compact, Levi Strauss Partnership and the Asia Foundation in China, and the Social Accountability Initiative (SAI) – the author draws out a picture of constraints and issues posed by CSR networks, including the following:

- They possess no authority to set or enforce rules.
- They are inadequately funded to support development of these rules with all stakeholders (for example, those in the South).
- They have to gain acceptance ‘by the very markets they seek to police’.
- Because of this, CSR networks are themselves subject to the same ‘rigidities and vagaries of the market as the firms it (SAI/or a CSR Network) certifies’.

In the extreme cases, the author argues that these networks and partnerships, driven by self-interest and lacking transparency and accountability themselves, lead to the emergence of an ‘NGO–Industrial Complex’, embracing not only the provision of what were once public goods and services, but encroaching into the policy decision-making arena. In the worst cases, they become self-serving and run the risk of usurping government power and legitimacy for getting things done. Hirschland acknowledges, however, that in some cases less transparency is better: too much transparency ‘can actually impede the progress of these projects (such as Levi

Strauss–Asia Foundation in China) by calling too much attention to them, which can prove to be counterproductive when it serves to embarrass governments and alienate those excluded from partnership decision making’ (p. 106).

CSR networks, such as the Global Compact, ‘offer at least temporary cover to both private and governmental sectors until it is determined who is ultimately responsible for the delivery of environmental and humanitarian goods today’ (p. 96). So where are CSR networks going? According to Hirschland, the future will see governments/states coming back in as more central players in the delivery of public goods (p. 113). Failure to bring the state back in threatens ‘the role of government itself as an effective counterweight to global markets and legitimate providers of those most basic rights and protections that people demand and are entitled to’ (p. 143). ‘Ultimately, it is responsive government that, western experience has shown, is critical for leading efforts to regulate and channel the positive impacts of business on society’ (p. 56).

The question that the author leaves open is that of citizens and their roles in CSR networks. Relying predominantly on Anglo-centric evidence, the author misses the fundamental issue of unaccountable states as a major obstacle to developing responsible corporations. This is a pity, because the arguments could be substantiated with further evidence from the ‘South’ – and indeed should be, as this is the area of corporate growth and investment. ‘The poor performance of Southern TNCs regarding social and environmental responsibility is a cause for concern, and may be due to the absence of strong government or civil society scrutiny at home’.<sup>2</sup>

Even if one does not agree with the analysis, the book provides interesting reading about the history of the development of approaches to addressing social issues through corporate–social initiatives. It is an important and informed source of insights for today’s development practitioners, who

will inevitably be confronted with CSR networks as key institutions in development.

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## Notes

1. Wolfgang Reinicke and Francis Deng, *Critical Choices: The United Nations, Networks, and the Future of Global Governance*, Ottawa, IDRC 2000.
2. D. Green, *From Poverty to Power*, Oxford: Oxfam, 2008), p. 174.

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**Sadhvi Dar and Bill Cooke (eds.)**

*The New Development Management*

London and New York: Zed Press, 2008, ISBN: 978-1-842779224, 238 pp.

The ever-more pressing challenges in the field of international development are innumerable, and it is no wonder that across the spectrum of actors there is an increasing search for shared understanding and common effort. This publication is one such expression. The editors have brought together a compilation of perspectives which span diverse academic disciplines, but which share a strong ‘critical’ voice. This is based on a belief that ‘there is something intrinsically wrong with the very idea of management and its applications in international development’ (p. 1). A tapestry is woven, in which a recurring theme is the inter-relation between two academic fields – Critical Management Studies (CMS) and Critical Development Studies (CDS). The title *New Development Management* mirrors the terminology used to describe post-Washington Consensus economics, aiming to express the idea of a continuing, underlying commitment to a neo-liberal agenda. In addition, the subtitle refers to ‘dual modernization’, whereby instrumental rationality is the cornerstone of

development and organisational management models.

The field of CMS informs much of the writing, with its basic premise being that the ‘structural features of contemporary society... often turn organizations into instruments of domination and exploitation’ (p. 1, quoted from the CMS study-group statement). Some writers stress the dimension of *control* within approaches termed as ‘managerialist’ (cited on p. 74 as being ‘a generalized ideology of management’). Others explore in some depth different expressions of ‘technicization’ within such approaches. This refers to the reliance on toolkits, forms, procedures etc. to ‘formalize the process of development interventions’ (N. Srinivas, p. 87) or to facilitate the control function of management. Chapter 6 (by Ron Kerr) provides an excellent historical analysis of the use of project management and logframes as examples of just such ‘technologies of governance’.

Even the ‘softer’ approaches, often associated with more progressive development management, come under scrutiny. There are some illuminating reflections on practices such as Action Research, participatory planning methodologies, and commitment to ‘ownership’ (see pp. 115–120 for an excellent critique of participation). For example, Kenney in Chapter 4 takes a close look at the discourses of one small INGO and presents a critique of the use of Participatory Rural Appraisal as exemplifying the ‘notion that through the careful use of the correct methodology, in particular its emphasis on “cultural sensitivity”, the Other would be rendered knowable’ (p. 62).

The reader is introduced in Chapter 2 (J. Murphy) to concepts of Global Elites and Global Managerial Theory – whereby a globalised, managerial elite, which includes co-opted leaders from all sectors (including civil society), holds social power and control and is ‘nurtured within networked, globalizing institutions’ including global issues networks. Murphy writes that the preferred style of control is ‘managerial’ in nature,

illustrated by several concepts developed within the CMS field, such as ‘concertive control’, ‘cultural shaping’, ‘corporate culturism’, and ‘identity management’ (p. 23).

INGOs are not exempt from these critiques by any means, and particularly come under Lewis’ microscope in Chapter 3. Here the writer locates the historical trends of ‘non-governmentalism’. He particularly emphasises the connection between INGO growth and the shift away from concepts of state-led development and ‘ascendency of a neoliberal ideology that favoured policies of privatization, good governance’ (p. 41). It is within this context, argues Lewis, that the ‘*private* character of NGOs was privileged, and from this a distinctive set of managerialist pressures for increased performance and efficiency’ (p. 45). Lewis questions where this has led, and calls for a ‘search for alternative forms of organization and action in the third sector’ (p. 54).

There are links between Lewis’ chapter on NGOs and the neo-liberal-inspired New Public Management reforms highlighted by Kerr in Chapter 6. In today’s context the key buzzword that has become the mantra of INGOs is that of ‘accountability’. In Kerr’s writings we may locate some of the underpinning dynamics for this in these NPM reforms. Of particular relevance might be the separation of functions between conception (policy) and execution (operations), expressed in a separation between funding agencies and contracting agencies. Thus, according to Kerr, accountability for operations (decisions about means) is devolved/contracted out, whereas accountability for policy/strategy (decisions about ends) is centralised. The key question for government then becomes ‘how to manage the accountability relationship between such functionally separated agencies’ (p. 99).

Much in this publication relates to the lived experiences of development practitioners, albeit the presentation is in a very academic style. Issues debated by practitioners are located in an academic/scholarly context, and there are useful references to relevant

bodies of literature spanning different disciplines and fields of study (in Chapter 9, for example). The chapters stimulate reflection and help the reader to look afresh at the 'familiar'. There is a questioning of apparently 'neutral' or 'benign' ideas and approaches, which are placed in historical contexts that may be unfamiliar to many development practitioners. Even the mundane report comes under detailed scrutiny (Chapter 10). Essentially, the book does pose a radical critique of development management and raises concerns about power and ethics.

However, there is one surprising omission: there is no mention of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (with its related targets). This major donor initiative, signed in 2005, was described as 'the international community's consensus on the direction for reforming aid delivery and management to achieve improved effectiveness and results' (OECD Accra website). This is an important omission, because the Declaration could be seen as the most recent, all-encompassing expression of New Development Management. It is important because it is increasingly shaping the work of diverse actors throughout the 'aid industry'. For example, it has generated a 'mirror' process within the non-government community of a 'CSO effectiveness initiative'.

In addition, there may be some debate about whether there is a danger of throwing a baby out with the bathwater. To what extent does the critique of the 'bathwater' of management actually throw out all notions of what the 'baby' of 'organisation'

can mean within the context of international development? Associational forms are critical change-agents within society and they come in all shapes and sizes. There are alternative ways of conceiving and practising 'management' which are not 'managerialist' in nature, or which do not take place within the confines of the 'aid' world. Some cases or one chapter which specifically explored the alternatives would have been useful.

It would appear that the principal audience for this publication is the academic community or postgraduate students of development and management. Unfortunately, accessibility for time-pressured development practitioners may be limited – many of the contributors adopt very dense prose, littered with academic references and qualifications.

However, as Escobar says in the Afterword, the 'spirit of this collection is unique and exemplary' (p. 198). It brings together different perspectives in a desire to construct 'an international solidarity of scholars in the face of pernicious managerialized forms of development' (p. 198). It is a clarion call from within academia – for itself and also for the world of development. The call to the authors from a practitioner's perspective is not to do this alone. Open the dialogue with development practitioners. Build on this publication – make it accessible and challenge us all, in a way in which we can all engage.

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