

Globalisation Religion & Development

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**GLOBALISATION,
RELIGION & DEVELOPMENT**

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Preface and Acknowledgement

This project began in 2009, when Social Science staff and students from the University of Westminster visited Istanbul and Kocaeli University, Turkey. All the guest speakers from Westminster University not only presented papers at the 'Conference on Political Economy', organised by Kocaeli University, but also engaged in debates, discussions and meetings with colleagues from different Turkish universities and other parts of the world. This dialogue continued at the conference on 'Globalisation, Religion and Development', organised by Development Studies and Sociology staff and students at the University of Westminster in June 2010. We would like to give thanks to Umit Cetin, Celia Jenkins, Ruth Swirsky, Derrick Wright, Maggie Sumner, Lydia Lorna Charles and Gill Webster for helping us to organise the conference in London. Also, we would like to acknowledge Kay Norman, Arzu Culhaci and Mike O'Donnell for their constructive comments. Our thanks are equally offered to both universities for their generosity in providing us with the facilities necessary for a successful conference. Just as significant and influential were the many undergraduate and post-graduate students who helped us organise the conferences in both London and Kocaeli. Sharing their vision in scholarly activities, we are constantly inspired by their desire to learn how the world works in both developed and developing countries and how it may be changed.



Forward

This collection of papers is the product of a conference sponsored by Westminster and Koeceli Universities. The topic of globalisation, religion and development sparked much interest and debate prompting the conference organisers to make a selection of the conference papers available in printed form. On behalf of those who attended the conference I would like to thank Dr. Farhang Morady and Dr. Ismail Siriner for their hard work in setting up the conference and in bringing this collection to fruition. The papers have been arranged in three sections: Globalisation, Religion and Development; Gender and Development; and Case Studies in Development.

The first section opens with a paper by Farhang Morady and Ismail Siriner that draws together the key themes of globalisation, religion and development. They refute simplistic notions of linear development, particularly neo-liberalism, and reject any assumption that religion is incompatible with development. They introduce a picture of a pluralistic Islam that is sustained throughout this collection. The second paper in this section by Professor Mike O'Donnell continues the theme of the relationship of religion, particularly Islam, to liberalism and modernity demonstrating how this relationship has developed differently in the United States, Britain and Turkey. Whereas the previous two papers are wide-ranging, the final paper in this section by Hoshang Noraie has a narrower focus whilst still retaining the theme of the relationship between religion and development/modernity. Noraie shows that religious leaders, notably Ayatollah Khomeini were well able to accommodate key aspects of modernisation.

The second section in this collection, Gender and Development reflects the strong interest in gender issues at the conference. Dorrie Chetty's paper on "The Exotic 'Orient' in Gender and Tourism" is an imaginative application of Edward Said's concept of 'orientalism' to the way women are often presented in Turkish tourist literature as alluringly 'exotic'. Elizabeth Water's paper traces an interesting effect of modernisation, the increasing consumption of alcohol among women in Kazakhstan. Samane Salimi-Tari's paper on women's access to higher education in post-revolutionary Iran provides an convincing illustration of an argument made in several contributions to this volume – that a religious society is not necessarily precluded from the advantages associated with modernity. On a more sombre note Sevet Alper and Hakki Cenk explore the spectrum of self-interested motives that prompt some men to domestic violence and additionally devise an exercise to illustrate the differing conditions and motivations that lead to different degrees of violence.

Sermin Sarica's paper illustrates how the AKP in Turkey achieved and has so far retained power by harnessing Islamic culture and sentiment whilst adopting broadly neo-liberal economic policies thus frustrating more socialist and secular visions of the country's future. Farhang Morady's paper focuses on the regional

rather than domestic sphere convincingly arguing that the single super-power (the United States) thesis requires serious modification in the light of the competition for regional supremacy between the increasingly powerful states of Iran and Turkey. Alexandra Kelbert argues that the resource of oil in Sudan has so far been a 'curse' in that the wealth from it has largely been siphoned off by national and international elites. She argues for genuinely grassroots action aimed at achieving a fair and democratic distribution of the oil wealth. Horacio Gago Priale's paper maintains the theme of popular grassroots action arguing that the custom and practises generated by the self-help communities of the poor in Lima provide a basis of law distinct from the more top-down national legal system. Arzu Culhaci's paper focuses on the impact of remittances on development using Senegal as a case study. Finally, Sibel Fettahoglu focusing on the case of Turkey analyses how businesses benefit from having connections with politicians.

It is the intention of those who have led the collaboration between the universities of Westminster and Koeceli to establish a journal partly reflecting the research presented at future joint-conferences of the universities. The papers collected here are a step towards that aim which merits every success.

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1

Globalisation, Religion and Development

Farhang Morady

&

Ismail Siriner

Abstract

Modernization and secularization theories in the post war period have been key to the marginalisation of religion in the context of globalisation. This has changed with the domination of globalisation and religion in the area of social science since the 1980s. This article recognises the economic and political impact of Islamism, both domestically and globally. It draws together the key themes of globalisation, religion and development. It refutes simplistic notions of linear development, particularly neo-liberalism, and rejects any assumption that religion is incompatible with development. The article thus seeks to determine a course of action that encourages the social significance of religion to be recognized and handled in a constructive manner.

Introduction

The term ‘globalisation’ generally refers to increasing global connectivity, that is, integration in the economic, social, technological, cultural, political, and ecological spheres. While globalisation is not new, the processes that constitute it as a phenomenon are intensifying and being experienced in different and new ways. The processes of globalisation at work today are generally assessed by looking back to the old international economy. This includes capitalism, development, market, free trade between regions, the growth of finance and changing patterns of work, trends which have all been around for over a century.

The emergence of the study of globalisation also coincided with the resurgence of Islam, which is now the religion of about a quarter of the world’s population amongst both the poorest and richest countries in the world – including Sudan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Nigeria, Mali, Tanzania, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Bahrain, Iran and Turkey. This growth is also noticeable in Europe and North America as a result of global migration. Such revival in the era of globalisation and cultural homogenisation has caused much debate

and discussion, with the Islamist revival often depicted as fundamentalist, backward, nationalist, inward-looking, radical and anti-imperialist, therefore posing a threat to secularisation and democratisation. The Iranian revolution of 1979, the end of the Cold War (1947-1992) with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the invasion of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) and the rise of Islamists in Turkey are some of the reasons for this resurgence.

This article will consider debates and discussions around globalisation, religion and development in the Third World. Its main focus is on developing countries, in particular Turkey and Iran. It looks at some of the debates and arguments around globalisation, transformation, state and society, resources, gender as well as tourism, and considers the role of religion –whether it facilitates, hinders development or is a barrier to globalisation. It will consider how development is seen and promoted in countries such as Turkey, Iran, Kazakhstan, Peru and Sudan. Particular emphasis will be on how religion has been able to adapt to capitalism, neo-liberalism and state or international organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB).

Defining Globalisation

The term ‘globalisation’ has been subject of controversy since its emergence in the 1980s and 1990s. The study of globalisation has encouraged ‘social scientists, scholars in the humanities, and even natural scientists, to leave their mark on an intellectual *terra incognita*’ (Steger 2002; 19). These debates and discussions around globalisation have often been challenged by the need to distinguish whether it is a new process or one that has existed throughout history. It is important, therefore, to determine a common definition of the process among social scientists, economists and scholars in the field to accurately analyse both the positive and negative effects of the phenomenon. Globalisation has been identified broadly by three different main schools of thought: the globalists, the skeptics and the transformationalists. The globalists point to a new historical conjuncture; the skeptics dismiss this as a myth; while the transformationalists try to develop the middle ground between the other two (Dicken, 2007).

For globalists, the emergence of trade liberalization, free movement of capital and the development of information technology have facilitated the relocation of businesses across the world depending on the availability of resources and markets (Ohmae, 1995). Friedman defines globalization as the inevitable ‘integration of markets, nation-states and technologies ... enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before’ (Friedman,1999). Supporters of globalism claim that global practices, values, and technologies are the key factors in changing people’s lives (Albrow, 1997). Ohmae (1995) goes as far as

pointing to the end of the nation-state, an era of borderless society. Globalists hence emphasize the dissolution of state power, whereas the skeptics do not believe the corporations to have more power than the state.

Globalisation does not exclude the government's role in implementing liberalisation, de-regulation and privatisation as well as the ideology and politics of 'laissez faire'. In other words, this cannot just be reduced to the North-South divide or Third World countries as it embraces the whole world. Indeed, the followers of neo-liberal theory affirm that the process of globalisation cannot be resisted and is, in fact, inevitable. Friedman (1999) suggests a country must promote the private sector as the primary engine of its economic growth by shrinking the size of its state bureaucracy; increasing exports; privatising state-owned industries and utilities, and deregulating capital markets. This, would inevitably lead to wealth creation and progressive change for all. Francis Fukuyama (1992) suggests the new era as 'the end of history' through which the 'liberal idea' triumphed, leading to a new global hegemony. Fukuyama's 'End of History' (1992) declares that the only route to modernity is the neo-liberal democratic path under global capitalism which,

... remains the only coherent political aspiration that spans different regions and cultures around the globe. In addition, liberal principles in economics - the "free market" - have spread, and have succeeded in producing unprecedented levels of material prosperity, both in industrially developed countries and in countries that had been, at the close of World War II, part of the impoverished Third World. A liberal revolution in economic thinking has sometimes preceded, sometimes followed, the move toward political freedom around the globe (Fukuyama, 1992: 14).

The skeptics, on the other hand, look at the comparison of international trade in the early 20th century and identify similarities to today's integration (Harman, 2009). The international character of capitalism: searching for markets around the world as well as transferring funds across state boundaries is not something new (Harman, 2010). Indeed, as early as 1848 Marx and Engels anticipated this when they pointed out, that:

the need for a constantly expanding market chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, and establish connections everywhere. The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. All old established national industries have been destroyed or daily are being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries ...that no longer work up indigenous raw materials, but raw materials drawn from the remotest zones, industries whose products are consumed not at home, but in every quarter in the globe ... In place of the old local and national seclusion we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations (Marx and Engels, 2010:16).

Hirst and Thompson believed that the project is about economic liberalisation that forces states and individuals to more intensive engagement with market forces (Hirst and Thompson, 1996).

The skeptics also challenge the globalists' stand on the end of nation state, believing that 'globalization is a myth suitable for a world without illusions, but it is also one that robs us of hope' (Glenn, 2007; 46). Many academics explain the perception of globalisation according to ideological belongings. Scholte (2003) stresses the importance of nation-states. For him, deterritorialization does not necessarily mean minimization of state power. He suggests that state regulation and political decision-making is crucial to a solid economic prosperity. David Held emphasises the challenges brought by political globalisation: neither the Westphalian System of Sovereignty nor the United Nations' form of global governance would be satisfactory to the needs of a globalised world. He proposes multilateral democratic governance based on Western cosmopolitan ideals (Steger 2002).

The transformationalists deny that we are currently living in a globalised world, but do acknowledge changes as the world adapts to the current conditions in which the national and international are intertwined (Glenn, 2007). According to Pieterse, globalisation is shaped by technological change, it entails the reconfiguration of states, it is uneven and associated with regionalisation. He states that 'globalization is an objective, empirical process of increasing economic and political connectivity, a subjective process unfolding in consciousness as the collective awareness of growing global interconnectedness, and a host of specific globalizing projects that seek to shape global conditions' (Pieterse,2004;16).

One of the consequences of globalisation has been the poor growth and polarisation of wealth: what Collier terms the 'Bottom one Billion' (2008). As a result, there has been major criticism of the WB and the IMF in the second half of the 1990s, especially with the Asian financial and economic crises. The reply from these institutions has been very robust, as they still believe that liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation represent the best way forward for developing countries.

The free-market ideology that has dominated the public discourse puts emphasis on the dominant criterion of maximising profits through the private sector. However, the question is whether the market will be able to provide all the social, economic and political needs of the world's people. Will a globalised market provide humanity with the principles that will form a solid future: genuine democracy, equality, freedom, participation, human diversity? What if the market is unable to deliver the basic necessities? Globalisation, as experienced in the expansion of world trade, investment and production, has not led to an expansion of everybody's wealth. Indeed, the key respects of globalisation have reinforced the unequal and uneven character of global

economic development, both between regions and countries and within countries, that is, between social classes. The intensive pressure of global competition has forced different governments, whether conservative or reformist, to adopt measures to reduce public spending on education, health and social welfare. Collier asserts that, “for the people who are living in the bottom billion, life is worse rather than better”. Globalisation has transformed some areas, “the countries at the bottom coexist with the 21st century, but their reality is the 14th century: civil war, plague, ignorance” (Collier, 2007: 3).

There is considerable opposition to the view that globalisation has reshaped the world and is a malign force that represents a return to a new form of imperialism. Advocates of Dependency and the World System theory believe that globalisation represents the interests of the powerful in the world, especially the West. Globalisation, just like capitalism, has winners and losers: increasing international trade, investment and financial liberalisation does not automatically lead to global convergence. Rather, the process creates divergence, intensifying the gap between poor and rich, between the powerless and the powerful in the world order.

The Marxist view on globalisation suggests that what we are witnessing an increasing hegemonic global role of powerful states such as the USA. In this view, capitalism and economic rivalry force competing capitalist states to increase their military spending, which consequently leads to war (Callincos, 2009). While the end of the Cold War (1991) has brought an end to state capitalism of the USSR and its satellites, the US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq represented the continuing role of imperialism and rivalries, as Washington strived to remove any potential challenge to its hegemony in the region. It follows that the US role and presence in the Middle East and Afghanistan is about outmaneuvering China, and, above all, controlling the oil supply. Kiely points to hierarchy and inequality as clear factors in globalisation that could very well lead to imperialism. According to Kiely, the Marxist school of thought on imperialism does not just consist of territorial occupation, but economic, military and political occupation as well (Kiely, 2007).

Globalisation, even if it intended to meet basic economic and political needs, has failed to deliver in these countries. One reason for the resurgence of Islam in the region is the failure of globalisation and neo-liberal policy (Morady, 1994). This religious revival has led some scholars to view Islam as a major challenge to contemporary globalisation as well as to US interests. This was forcefully pointed out in the 1990s by Samuel Huntington when he argued that the old ideology of the Cold War had given a way to new cultural clashes, a phenomenon he coined the ‘clash of civilization’. While the resurgence of religion, especially Islam, is undeniable, as we have witnessed in Iran, Turkey and elsewhere in the world, this is not a return to medieval Islam.

Religion

The obscurity of religion in general, and Islam in particular, has made it difficult to define. The religious beliefs of any society have evolved under specific socio-economic and political conditions. Such beliefs in a supernatural power - maybe a god, gods, spirits of the dead or nature - occur because it is believed that these powers in some way govern our lives. Religion is a social phenomenon and, as such, did not emerge or exist independently of the outside world: it has evolved, changed and managed to relate to the transformation in social conditions that have occurred in every society. The positions that religious individuals or leaders have had to adopt are not laid down by the religion as such, but by social forces that condition the impact of religion at any particular time. For example, in the development of Islam one can identify certain aspects of pre-Islamic philosophy and spiritual ideas apparent in the continuity of language and cultural heritage. These internal cultural identities continued to exist even after Islam was introduced. Religion can dominate the whole social being of individuals in a society; it contains not only daily ritual practices that have to be obeyed by the believers, but,

it also defines a community, which reacts as a community. For the believer, the dogma and the faith may be the only things that count, along with their external manifestations, the rites. But from the standpoint of the role in social life, it is the religious community that is paramount (Rodinson, 1981: 12).

This community acts collectively in that it has leaders, and it defines and changes its internal structures as well as its external relations. The unifying aspect of religion is that it can bring together individuals from different classes, who do not know each other and practice different customs and tribes, into one community. Such a religious community unites them, giving them a sense of brotherhood, which is very similar to national feeling. Anderson describes this as an 'imagined political community' (Anderson, 1986: 15). It is imagined because the individual members of even the smallest tribes and clans will never meet all their fellow members, yet they are sure that a unity between them exists. The feeling of belonging that this promotes is similar to that experienced by nationalism and can lead to the same kind of self-sacrifice and devotion. The religious community may coincide with a culture or aspects of a culture, but just as it is created, this community changes and evolves; the original ideology may be re-interpreted and revised but the core survives, often in a written form as a sacred text.

Religion takes many dimensions: it gives hope to those whose real situation is hopeless and may serve to reinforce the conditions which generate it. It can also become a weapon for the ruling establishment to sanctify their laws as God's laws (Marx, 1981). It preaches to the community of believers to sub-

mit to divine authority and, by extension, worldly power. However, religion is not simply the ally of the rulers: it can only sustain the class society on which it rests if it can maintain its hold on the minds of the people. Historically then, religion has not only acted as a bulwark of the social order, but under some circumstances can act as a revolutionary force, motivating and organising a community against the ruling authorities.

The changes in the community and the re-interpretation of the ideology are not only determined by internal social factors, for social and economic change has not occurred in isolation from the rest of the world. Religious leaders have been involved in the broader interactions of modern global history. Just as the community does not act independently, so too do the religious leaders have to concern themselves with the changes that occur in the community. Their responses will vary; sometimes expressed as being against the growth of capitalism, the emergence of industrial society itself presented as the creation of the west; at other times, religion may be used as a way to legitimize or challenge the political authority in conditions caused by modernisation. This is noticeable with the development of nationalism, anti-imperialism and capitalism. Even though they all refer to the holy book, traditions or both, these views, consensus or conflicts have to be seen in the context of society as whole and in relation to other social forces in a historical period. The common theme in all these approaches is the capacity of religious leaders to combine religious tradition with the institutions of a modern community. In concentrating on the issue of the impact of modernisation and religion, analysts sometimes attempt to superimpose the religious experience onto the western model of society.

With the resurgence of Islam, especially since the 1979 Iranian revolution, there has been much confusion amongst both Islamists and secular writers. Islamists seek to emphasise the current rise of Islam as an attempt to restore the rightful role of religion in the world by rejecting Western secular culture, and to reclaim a vision of Islamic purity (Algar, 1983). Indeed, after the Iranian revolution, Khomeini stated that 'the recent religious movement was one hundred percent Islamic and was founded by clerics alone.' (Khomeini, 1979: 33). The resurgence of Islam, as we have witnessed in Iran and Turkey, is not an attempt to return to the 7th medieval period, nor a rejection of capitalism. The rise of Islam is rather a product of the contradictions caused by the system - poverty, inequality, exclusion and marginalisation, both locally and globally. The regimes in Iran and Turkey, despite their religion, have not in any shape or form broken away from capitalist development. As such, the concept of 'modern' or 'tradition' is problematic if it does not allow any flexibility. Zubaida contextualises the state in Islamic countries when he points out,

Current Islamic movements and ideas are not the product of some essential continuity with the past, but are basically 'modern'. Even when

they explicitly reject all modern political models as alien imports from a hostile West, their various political ideas, organisations and aspirations are implicitly premised upon the models and assumptions of modern nation-state politics (Zubaida, 1989:ix).

Iran, Turkey and other Moslem countries have often reacted to the West via anti-imperialism and a struggle for independence, but this does not mean a return to a pre-modern existence, rather it is an 'Islamising modernity' or another way of putting it - reconciling Islam to a modern world (Roy, 2004:19). Arguably, the process of secularization has been able to incorporate Islam; for example, in Turkey, Ataturk called for national unity and Islam in the attempt to widen his support and defeat both local separatists and the outside forces of 'infidels'.

In fact, Islam remained the state religion in the Constitution of the Turkish Republic. Contrary to the view that the post-1924 modernisation in Turkey was a break in the role of religion in Turkey, (Lewis, 1961) rather as Simon Bromley points out, Islam did not disestablish from the state (Bromley, 1994).

This is more complicated as traditional classes, the rich and even the poorest groups in society, support religion. Indeed, the support Islam receives from the poor has led to the belief that this revival is progressive and liberating. As such, the Islamic Republic or AKP (Development and Justice Party) are seen as 'progressive', anti imperialist forces in the world. Whether this is true or false, it becomes important to locate the class character of modern Islamism and assess its relationship to capital and the state (Moaddel, 1993).

The desire to recreate an imaginary past involves a reshaping of existing society but this does not mean a return to 7th century Islam. Therefore, it is wrong to assume that Islam is a homogenous set of beliefs. In fact, Islam has been incorporated into different societies of peoples who managed to fit aspects of Islam into their old religious practices, even if these contradicted some of Islam's original tenets. As Abrahamian correctly suggests, it is wrong to use the term 'fundamentalism' because this implies rejection of the modern world. ' . . . ideological adaptability and intellectual flexibility, with political protests against the established order, and with socio-economic issues that fuel mass opposition to the status quo' (Abrahamian, 1993: 2).

The different interpretations naturally appeal to those from different social classes. Islamism has grown within societies feeling the impact of imperialism and capitalism, a transformation of social relations, the rise of a local capitalist class and the formation of an independent capitalist state. This is in a region, the Middle East, which now has a relatively young population. Roy (2004) points out that globalised Islam is a project aimed at conquering power in the modern state. Its supporters were going back to what they saw as the values of early Islam, but it is corrupted by its involvement with earthly

empires, and the need to push through far-reaching changes. This includes dealing with poverty, oppression and atomisation of the Third World Moslem societies. States in the region attempt to demonise different groups and parties such as in Algeria where the electoral victory of the Islamic Salvation Front in 1992 resulted in a military coup and a long civil war. In Egypt the state destroyed the militant wing of the Islamist movement with executions and mass imprisonment. In Iran, where the Islamists had taken control of the state, their rule has been characterised by factional disputes, the latest one in the wake of the June 2009 election.

According to Roy, 11 September 2001 was an attack on the symbols of corruption, it was a show of outrage against the domination of the Western powers and a reaction to the failure of the original Islamist project. Other reactions have in contrast involved reconciliation with the existing international system, for example, by a country such as Turkey. Adaptation to globalisation has taken different forms: Islamic beliefs have historically been rooted in particular societies and integrated within their distinct cultures. Globalisation has increasingly undermined traditional cultures within and outside the countries where the Moslems reside. For emigrants to the West it is important to try to maintain their old beliefs and practices, separating out the cultural particularities of the past from what they see as the true Islam. Their search for a new, universal, Islamic identity is reinforced by the demonisation of Islam. The notion of identity created by the young generation of Moslems in the West is different to the values of the societies of their parents. The young women who choose to wear the headscarf in the West do not have a desire to go back to the country of their parents. Instead they are asserting the legitimacy of their place in modern Western society.

As Roy rightly highlights, there is not one single entity determining Islamic adherents, or their behaviour regardless of the social context. Indeed the differences between the Islamic groups and organisations are apparent in all aspects: economics, politics and social values (Roy, 2004).

It is also important to recognise the class character of the Islamists. The class base of Islamism is mainly middle class with its supporters built around the traditional commercial and professional petty bourgeoisie. In general, they are hostile to the left, secularism, and in some ways similar to some Third World nationalism. Abrahamian compares Islamism with Peronism and similar forms of 'populism' (Abrahamian, 1993:3) suggesting Khomeini's radical adaptation during the 1979 revolution made him appear more radical than the Marxists. Abrahamian describes 'populism' as a movement of the propertied middle class that mobilises the lower classes, especially the urban poor, with radical rhetoric directed against imperialism, foreign capitalism, and the political establishment. For example, in countries such as Turkey and Iran with similar populations of about 75 million and increasing urbanisation reaching

69 percent and 65 percent respectively. Increasing population, urbanisation, and modernisation presents huge pressure for both the state and the opposition forces, secular or Islamists, who have to respond to these changes.

Depending on the socio-economic and political conditions, these states have responded differently to such development. In the case of Turkey, the interpretation of Islam is one that embraces the West, collaborating with the USA and the European Union. In contrast, the Islamic Republic, due to the anti-imperialist character of the revolution and the USA's unwillingness to negotiate with Iran, has adopted an anti-US stance. Essentially, both the Iranian and the Turkish states operate within the system, reconciling themselves to capitalism and development.

Development

As with 'globalisation' and 'religion', the term 'development' has caused much debate since 1945. The term is used to understand the nature of the world political economy and its accompanying processes, usually referring to transformation, and generally progressive changes, in the 'Third World', especially since 1945. The term development is also used to describe the transformation of capitalism, changes in the economy and society under the capitalist mode of production as compared to pre-capitalism. Capitalism began in the West and later influenced the rest of the world, including the Third World. Under capitalism, urban life dominates, the majority of the population live in this sector and work in industry or services. The development of capitalism leads to the growth of modern classes of the bourgeoisie and working class (Hilton, 1976).

Capitalist development brings with it social, political and cultural changes: the modern nation state is an important part of both society and economy and, above all, everyone is born into a nation and speaks a language shared by millions of other people. The modern state involves the growth of a bureaucracy which deals with national economic planning and provides services and an army. It may also include universal education, greater technological communication networks to reach the population, and the rise of national goals as opposed to regional or local cultural orientation. Development may also include political institutions such as parliament based on some form of representation, under the framework of a bourgeois democracy.

From different perspectives, notably the opinion of most governments and multilateral agencies, development is 'synonymous with economic growth within the context of a free market international economy'. Economic growth is identified as necessary for combating poverty, 'the ability of people to meet their basic material needs through cash transactions' (Baylis and Smith, 2006: 649). The assumption is made that development refers to the social and political conditions and the 'institutions' allow endogenous self-sustained growth.

This is measured by an increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which takes place in a country, usually compared to different periods or years or to other countries. It is also assumed that development leads to growth, hoping to improve economic, social and political conditions, with a decent standard of living and appropriate levels of sanitations for the population. However, there is much debate and discussion over whether GDP per se is a proper indicator of economic growth. Or whether other indicators should be used, for instance, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which includes an ‘indicator of human development’ (IHD) as well. As a result the term development,

now often includes attention to basic needs such as decent health care, education, income for all, and environmental sustainability. For instance, the Human Development Index (HDI) measures development according to life expectancy, educational attainment and real GDP per capita (Kiely, 1998: 3).

Cowen and Shenton (1996) suggest that, although the term was not explicitly used before 1945, the notion of development and its roots maybe found in the discourse of modernity and progress which goes back as far as the 18th century. In their analysis they differentiate between immanent, spontaneous development of capitalism and intentional development, planned action. Essentially, intentional development is an attempt to control or manage the contradictions caused by the development of capitalism. Different agencies including states and civil society may be involved in supervising immanent development. Take for example the intentional development action such as the Millennium Development Goals, and an immanent and unintentional process such as the development of capitalism. Considering Indian development in the last decade, D’Costa (2000) asserts that market-led growth and development is laden with contradictions as inequalities persist, thus benefiting elites in the Third World. Dreze and Sen (1995) emphasize human well-being and social opportunities as being as important as the GDP. In fact, they argue that free market liberalism has removed the basic responsibility that states have to maintain social welfare in the developing countries.

Whatever the merits of distinguishing intentional from immanent development, there are some problems as it is often assumed that the state and the market can be separated. Arguing against this, radical Marxists challenge the views put forward by neoliberals, arguing instead that it is very difficult to separate ‘natural’ markets from ‘political’ states (Dale, 2010). This can also be applied to religion: should it be treated separately from the political economy and development process? The experience of Turkey and Iran shows how religion is embedded in the development of capitalism at the present time. Both countries have been going through major transformation, Turkey’s emergence as a fast-growing developing country, in the last 10 years. In the case of Iran

the state has played a pivotal role in the process of development since the 1960s. The Iranian revolution did not break the link between the oil industry and the state. On the contrary, Iran's economy has relied heavily on oil income and the industry is owned and controlled by the state (Morady, 2010).

Indeed both Iran and Turkey alongside other Third World countries have followed similar patterns of capitalist development since 1945. In the era of the Cold War (1945-92), Rostow, challenging the pro-soviet model of state capitalism, suggested his five-stage model of development, promoting capitalist development as he believed that,

it is possible to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of mass consumption (Rostow, 1990:4).

This was partially rejected by Third World countries (Kiely, 2007). Instead, developing countries looked to reduce their subordinated positions and dependency in the international economy by adopting ISI (Import Substitution Industrialisation), which combined state intervention along capitalist lines. This strategy was more associated with the structuralist economic work of Raoul Prebisch and Hans Singer (1950), than rooted in modernization theory (Kiely, 2007).

However, by the 1980s ISI had matured; the world recession and the need for readjustment forced Third World countries to abandon this model. After experiencing rapid growth from the 1950s to the 1970s, Third World countries, having borrowed from the WB and the IMF, accumulated a huge external debt. Most of this came from the petro-dollar in the wake of the oil price increases of 1973-1974.

The oil producing countries found themselves overwhelmed with large flows of money that they invested in international banks (Kiely, 2007). Countries like Iran, courtesy of the oil income, went through major economic development, growth of industries and huge modernisation (Morady, 1994). Turkey and Latin American countries had to borrow heavily in international financial markets to try and fulfill their ambitious growth targets. In Argentina and Chile, external debt almost tripled between 1978 and 1981 (Harman, 2009).

The crisis of capitalism and huge debt of developing countries caused major difficulties for the Third world. In Latin America as a whole, there was a 10% fall in the GNP per capita (Harman, 2009), the product of economic policy change in the USA from 1979 onwards. After the recession of 1974-5, the unsuccessful attempt of expansionary policies and the resulting crisis of confidence in the dollar (Kiely, 2007), the USA under Reagan shifted economic policy in favour of controlled inflation, implemented through higher interest rates. During the 1970s banks committed large sums of money to particu-

lar Latin American countries and by 1982 the 9 largest banks in the USA had committed over twice their combined capital basis to a handful of developing countries. With the change in US economic policy, interest rates shot up and the time allowed for a debtor country to repay their debts generally became shorter. In 1982 Mexico's announcement that it could no longer service its foreign debt marked the beginning of the debt crisis (Laurell, 2000).

The heavily indebted governments had little choice but to seek help from the Bretton Woods institutions, initiating a new phase in economic development, focused on conditionality-based lending (Jomo, 2007). At a conference in 1989, organised in Washington to consider the progress achieved by Third World Countries in promoting policy reforms since the debt crisis of the 1980s, John Williamson, an economist holding posts at the WB and the IMF, was encouraged by the transformation of some of the Third World. The Washington Consensus included various measures and policies such as fiscal discipline, reform in public expenditures, financial liberalisation, tax reform, trade liberalisation and encouragement of foreign investment and privatisation. The reforms varied from country to country and became accepted norm around the world, especially as the IMF and the World Bank began to enforce their policy on Third World Countries. IMF conditionality meant that governments had to reduce public spending; reverse land reforms, interrupt social programs, close regional development schemes and privatise national industries (Chase, 2002).

The IMF and World Bank represent the form of 'disciplinary neo-liberalism': the increased power of capital to discipline the state and labour through the implementation of policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP). These are neo-liberal policy reforms that focus on diminishing government spending and increased competition, dominated by the interests of large multinational corporations (MNCs) and financial groups, extensively deteriorating the social conditions of the poorest people in the region. By the turn of the century, the idea of neo-liberalism had gained momentum claiming that it could provide the best way forward for the development of the Third World. Bhagwati (2004) hails the success of neo-liberalism and globalisation when he asserts the positive impact of free trade, integration of the Third World into the world economy and elimination of poverty.

China and India were the core evidence for neo-liberals as they pointed out that, 'China opened itself up to increased foreign trade and foreign direct investment in 1987.' (Khambhampati, 2004:168). Kiely challenges this and suggests that the arguments and evidence of neo-liberal globalisation are greatly overstated and that they do not reflect the experience of many underdeveloped countries (Kiely, 1995: 121).

Globalisation and Uneven Development: Winners and Losers

While globalists such as Bhagwati point to the success of globalisation and its contribution to development, dependency theorists, as outlined above, have viewed globalisation as winners and losers, one region against the other. Another way of putting it is that the winners are the North and the losers are the South. Others, such as Rosenberg, Harvey, Harman and Callinicos, adopt a new position by emphasising the unevenness in the global political economy. The development of societies has been in coexistence with others rather than in isolation. Marx provides a useful summary of the process of uneven development as a key character of capitalism. In his writing, he states that the contradiction of capitalism is about the way in which concentrations of wealth and capital occur on the one hand, alongside poverty, on the other. In general, uneven development can relate to differential growth of sectors, geographical processes, classes and regions at the global, regional, national, sub-national and local level. Leon Trotsky, in the early part of the 20th century, analysed the possibilities of development in Russia. He rejected the idea that a human society inevitably develops through a uni-linear format, a series of 'stages'. By looking at the history of Russia he concluded that technological and scientific developments co-existed with less developed, primitive cultural forms as described:

A backward country assimilates the material and intellectual conquests of the advanced countries. But this does not mean that it follows them slavishly, reproduces all the stages of their past... Capitalism...prepares and in a certain sense realizes the universality and permanence of man's development. By this, a repetition of the forms of development by different nations is ruled out... The privilege of historic backwardness - and such a privilege exists - permits, or rather compels, the adoption of whatever is ready in advance of any specified date, skipping a whole series of intermediate stages. Savages throw away their bows and arrows for rifles all at once, without travelling the road which lay between these two weapons in the past. . . Under the whip of external necessity [a] backward culture is compelled to make leaps. From the universal law of unevenness thus derives another law which, for the lack of a better name, we may call the law of combined development - by which we mean a drawing together of the different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms (Trotsky, 2008: 5).

In the most advanced country there is a combination of contemporary forms – capitalist productive relations with a relatively autonomous liberal state. In less developed countries – (a less compatible combination, in some cases) there may be archaic social forms; capitalist social relations with a state form

legitimise feudal hierarchies, rather than class forces associated with capitalism. While economic development is advanced, the political superstructure has yet to be transformed.

The dynamic of capitalist relations and political forms creates a world economy that incorporates some states and regions. The relatively advanced areas impose pressure on the relatively backward through both the international division of labour and the international system of states. While Capital has a historically unique drive to expand, this is inherently uneven. It does not simply destroy all before it, but reshapes what it finds to a much greater degree than any other mode of production.

In contrast to globalists or neoliberals, there is not a 'level playing field' for all in capitalism as the global accumulation process does not lead to the evening up of economic differences. Rather, investment, concentration of markets and skilled labour is concentrated in certain regions. Capital is in a competitive environment striving to maintain its position in the market, economies of scale, investment in research and development in new technology. The market leaders and their states have competitive advantage over their competitors. Therefore, the developing countries' involvement in this process does not necessarily mean straightforward gain. The regions which have been able to benefit most from the success are likely to continue to develop further and generate even more profits. This would give them the ability to maintain a good lead in the world economy.

The emergence of developing countries such as Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, China, India and Turkey has reflected the fact that capitalism has become transnational, with the rise of manufacturing in what is known as the Third World. The transport costs and increasing role of communications, combined with various policy implementations such as investment from abroad has enhanced this process. However, this has been within different regions rather than a general pattern. It is difficult to perceive the development of China would be repeated elsewhere in the Third World.

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Globalisation Religion & Development

Globalisation, religion and development have sparked much interest and debates in the last two decades. The analysis of religion and especially Islam has been presented in a simplistic notion of linear development, and the supposed inability to adapt to modernity and capitalism. This journal will consider such views and assess their validity by focusing on:

Part 1: introducing the theoretical issues and debates surrounding globalisation, religion and development, illustrating the often-contested nature of the concepts, and considering the implications for modernity and development.

Part 2: continuing with the same theme but focusing on gender and development, representation of women, the effect of modernization on the increasing consumption of alcohol in Kazakhstan, women's access to higher education in post-revolutionary Iran and finally women and domestic violence.

Part 3: focusing on case studies to explore the implications of globalisation, regionalisation and development in Iran, Turkey, Sudan, Peru and Senegal.



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