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The coming war is not going to be the first.
It was preceded by wars and wars.
The last war ended by victors and losers. Among the losers ordinary people
starved.
Among the victors ordinary people starved.

—B. Brecht (translated by Suliman, 1999)

War is a typical case of chaos, producing unpredictable patterns, new dynamics
of changes in society and economy, complete disruption of usual linearities, and new
forms of societal organizations and networks. We may mourn the death of old tools
designed to measure both normalities or linearities or, alternatively, look at the new
situation as a paradigm shift and attempt, as was already done in meteorology and
mathematics of uncertainties, to develop a conceptual framework that accommodates
war-produced uncertainties. We may also refer here to sociologists’ attempts to identify
the trans-disciplinary potential embedded in the Complexity Theory as it offers, similar
to the Chaos Theory, a new set of conceptual tools to help explain the diversity of and
changes in contemporary modernities undergoing globalization. Furthermore, if civil
wars and prolonged conflict are triggered by failed modernities, then post-war political,
social, and economic terrains should be the sites where alternate and viable modernities
should be explored.

The first section of this paper attempts at mapping out the theoretical debates
that inform current efforts to theorize both war and post-war situations. It critically
examines the dominant conceptualization of war and post-conflict reconstruction. The
paper asserts that, despite convoluted and diverse scenes of ‘protracted conflicts,’ a
certain level of generalization is both plausible and necessary.

The subsequent analysis emphasizes the limitations and, in most cases, the
irrelevance of the conventional approach to reconstruction. Such an approach is

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An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the International Peace Research Association
Conference, Building Sustainable Futures, Enacting Peace and Development, Leuven, 15-19 July
2008. The paper is by and large based on the author’s recently published Contested Sudan: The
Political Economy of War and Reconstruction (New York: Routledge, 2008).
based on narrowly defined economic-engineering notions of rebuilding devastated areas. It asserts that war and especially prolonged civil strife produces a number of irreversibilities in the socioeconomic structure and triggers new dynamics for societal change. These irreversibilities are a direct result of abrupt and massive flows affecting not only populations but also their institutions, assets, skills, entrepreneurship, and their means of reproduction.

Therefore, this paper questions the validity of the main assumptions underlying the conventional approach to post-conflict reconstruction, which include: the ‘retrievability’ of a pre-war situation, that war is a temporary instance of disequilibria, the localized nature of war effects, and finally, an emphasis on macro variables or negligence of the vital and profound impacts of micro variables. It is not difficult to see that the ‘irreversibility’ and ‘irretrievability’ that undermine the validity of viewing war as an instance of temporary disequilibria apply equally to other political, social, and cultural spheres. It is at this juncture that the inadequacy of the term ‘reconstruction’ becomes glaringly clear. As Lake has noted, “the issues are of construction rather than reconstruction, building rather than rebuilding, politically as well as economically.”

Back in 1935, Pareto noted that, “whenever authority, whether in the form of public authority declines, little states grow up within the state, little societies within society.”

War produces new forms of multilayered and overlapping urbanities, ruralities, and extensive and interactive local, translocal, and transnational networks that are constantly reshaping institutions and unleashing new transformative potential. Understanding such transformative potential and its dynamics is an essential step towards building a sound integrated framework for addressing post-war reconstruction.

Sudan, the host of protracted war that has extended for almost four decades, is no exception. With 2.5 million square kilometers, extreme ethnic and linguistic diversity, neighboring nine countries and sharing with them a number of ethnic groups, Sudan’s history can be characterized either in terms of its diversity, an unviable extensity that cannot be harnessed to accommodate a single cohesive national unit, or as a slow build-up of such a unit. The long history of civil wars in Southern Sudan, the first of which started on the eve of independence (1955-1972), and the second soon after (1983-2005), tends to support this static view of the long history of nation-building in Sudan. Alternatively, the history of Sudan can be seen as a long process, albeit incomplete, of incorporating and integrating diverse groups and cultures, in which riverain Sudan acted as a melting point for over two thousand years. Such processes have been marked by never-ending migratory flows from all geographical and cultural directions dating back to the ancient Nubian Kingdom.

Wars produce new demographic dynamics that transcend the limited notion of counting heads across spatial divides. These new dynamics, this paper argues, are central to understanding and recognizing that war itself is the ultimate expression of failed modernity projects. In addition, the processes at work in economy and society leading to war are shaped and reshaped by war itself. These become new forms of social and economic practices that shape the post-war environment. In other words, war produces essentially new political, social, and economic spaces. Such an alternative reading of the new dynamics unleashed by war itself further shapes and is reshaped by the processes leading to the end of war and peace building, bringing about significant implications.
for ‘post-development’ thinking. Such significant implications may include: a low priority assigned to urban questions in conventional development thinking, a need to understand the informal economy beyond the notion of re-organization/formalization and how to tap the potential of such informality, the primacy of human capital and how to address problems of its war-led deficit including new mechanisms for enhancing reproduction of human resources, and cultivating the potential of the existing translocal and transnational networks.

The primacy of the state is undoubtedly an important issue, but the question is, what type of state? The emergence of non-Weberian states is most prominently reflected in the diversity of centers of monopoly over violence and the multiplicity of actors in the provision of public goods (international NGOs, national NGOs—including faith-based NGOs, community initiatives, and the private sector). The study of the crisis in Sudan that led to the erosion of the feeble basis of the nation state is of direct relevance to current discourses on states’ failure and collapse. State collapse plays a central role in studies dealing with conflict marginalization and reconstruction in Africa.\(^4\) The ‘weak state’ thesis may provide a useful insight and an enabling tool for understanding the workings of the emerging complex economic structures and networks into which the centralized immediate post-colonial state has degenerated. However, the thesis needs to be further broken down to capture the complex diversities involved in the Sub-Saharan African scenery pertaining to the structural foundations of various economies and different historical paths, as well as modes of configuration of political socioeconomic formations. The temptation to generalize is strong. Many students of African politics do not resist such temptation, yet some others keep reminding the reader of an increasingly shrinking African category. For example Chabal and Daloz exclude North Africa, the Horn, and Southern Africa because they have “dissimilar social structures and have had a different political experience.”\(^5\)

Most important, the ‘weak state’ thesis does not situate such weakness in the broader structural foundation of the African state. Before proceeding any further let us recall that the structural foundation of immediate post-colonial states in most of the sub-Saharan countries is characterized by:

- relatively stable subsistence with stable institutions, limited and manageable flows and almost clear boundaries between the small niche of urban space and the vast ocean of rural space, mostly dominated by small scale agriculture;
- extraction and siphoning of surplus equally manageable to the high level visibility of trade and other flows, and stable, relatively efficient forms of taxing largely pre-capitalist formations;
- gradual, manageable, and controllable pace of urbanization with a relatively low level of informality that was functional to and supportive for the emerging formal sector;
- institutionalized, low levels of linkages between rural-urban and local-international spheres with clear boundaries and the state being able to manage and control flows of people, commodities, ideas, patterns of consumption, and organized/localized patterns of intervention by external actors even when such


\(^5\) Chabal and Daloz, xxi.
intervention assumed an extreme form (orchestrated coups or assassination of leaders and rarely direct military intervention), thus boundaries between the local and the external were visible and functioning;

- and, on top of such well-bounded spheres, the state played a central role as the major source of resource allocation and capital accumulation management, albeit with varying degrees of relative autonomy.

With the collapse of the modernization drive, the maintenance of such bounded linkages, exchanges, and flows became increasingly unattainable. Hence, the destruction of the basis of subsistence, failure to transform rural communities, and a rural-urban exodus became inevitable. The ultimate collapse of the modernity project marked by prolonged civil strife brought the process of state collapse to its conclusion, producing many ungovernable flows, and blurring the boundaries between the local, the national, and the international. The collapsing state was neither able to maintain boundaries nor manage flows of people or transactions and oversee the once-visible internal-external linkages.

In the extreme cases, as in Maputo’s Congo, the state was hardly controlling anything beyond the capital. In the case of Somalia, the state degenerated into multiple, autonomous domains of warlord control, and translocal and transnational networks that were made viable because of the minimal role of central government in a largely pastoral economy. Unsustainable, recently-nascent postcolonial states, particularly in Africa, led many analysts to question the existence of such states, terming them ‘quasi’ or ‘pseudo’ states. In Milliken and Krause’s terms, this “pseudo-statehood” was in some cases converted into “real statehood,” notably in Asia. But in many instances, especially in Africa, postcolonial state building resulted in the formation of what Robert Jackson has called “quasi-states.”

The relevance of the state collapse thesis needs to be situated in this broader context of failing structural support for nascent statehood. Despite the obvious commonalities represented in the process of erosion of the weak structural foundations of the immediate post-colonial state, there are multiple forms of state break-up corresponding to different initial conditions and multiplicities of forms of wealth production and surplus extraction. Such multiplicities of the forms of state formation and collapse lend little, indeed no support for the alleged homogenous story of an ‘African’ state collapse a la Chabal and Daloz.

How can civil wars in the ex-Portuguese colonies (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and Cape Verde) be considered anything but an outcome of primitive colonialism (or “shopkeepers’ colonialism,” as coined by FRELIMO, Frente del Liberacaco de Mozambique, or the Mozambique Liberation Front) that did not leave behind any visible, let alone viable, institutions save a tiny population of educated elites? Colonialism suppressed civil wars but laid foundation for their immediate onset. Even when a colonial administration was compelled to develop civil services functional to its extractive, cost-effective, indirect role, as in the case of Northern Sudan, such administration was hardly capable of suppressing civil war. In Sudan, civil war started in 1955, before the last battalion of the British army left the country in 1956. Indeed, it is a gross understatement to suggest that, “While colonial legacy presumably affects the risk of conflict to some degree, the connection appears to be weaker than the influence

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6 Milliken and Krause, 763.
8 See Chabal and Daloz.
of economic performance.” How can we call the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique ‘civil’ wars while their quasi-inter-state features overwhelmingly exceed internal causes? Both countries were part of the South African apartheid regime’s destabilization strategy in the region.

Civil wars in countries endowed with non-renewable, mostly loot-able natural resources (such as Angola, Sierra Leone, Zaire-DRC, and Congo) can hardly be seen as independent of the external role of the powerful interests of multinational corporations. This is not merely a case of corruption or transparency. Not one country is divorced from the historical context of a semi-Portuguese colonialism or, in the case of Congo, Belgian colonialism. In that sense, the civil wars in these countries appear to be very much characterized by the ‘ripple effect’ of the fight between powerful international actors.

The central argument of this paper is that both Nimeiri’s regime (1969-1986), particularly in its post-Infitah (open door policies) period of agrarian strategy, and the post-Islamist ascendancy (1989-2005) were central to an understanding of the process of crisis or the unmaking of post-colonial Sudan. The immediate post-independence period (1956-1969) witnessed a remarkable continuity of the colonial policy, particularly with regard to the agrarian strategy, mechanisms of extraction of surplus, and control over the vast traditional rural subsistence economy. The immediate post-colonial state (in both its parliamentary and military phases) continued the colonial pattern of expansion in irrigated modern agriculture and encouraged expansion in mechanized rain-fed agriculture but without undermining the structural foundation of the vast traditional agricultural sector. The immediate post-colonial state was able to coordinate various flows between small, urban economies, modern agriculture, and vast oceans of traditional agriculture smoothly through the same indirect policies as the colonizer, while still maintaining the extraction of surplus from this vast but relatively stable traditional agricultural system through the manipulation of taxes on external trade. Conflicts and manageable competition over resources were resolved through a well-functioning traditional communal-mediation mechanism.

This is not to suggest a static notion of sustainability and manageability. As long as the traditional subsistence economies and communities are kept in a stagnant situation, additional untapped resources are available to accommodate natural population growth, and no significant transformative potential is triggered via local or external agency, the tranquil sustainability of the colonial mode of indirect rule may still be viable. This is, however, based on a relative notion of sustainability. No colonial or post-colonial administration is capable of preserving such stagnation indefinitely. This is particularly true with regards to the post-colonial authorities, whose legitimacy is most often based on their ability to provide education facilities, primary health care, veterinary services, and additional infrastructure that facilitates people’s movement. Even if these usual ‘initial’ development gains are kept to the minimum or are extremely uneven in their distribution across regional and urban-rural divides, they trigger transformative processes that reduce the manageability and sustainability of the inherited colonial cost-effective indirect rule. Let us recall that the Southern Sudan problem erupted a year before formal independence and was in part a result of hastily introduced programs prolonging decades of the colonial administration strategy of “keeping the South as it is.”

The Nimeiri regime’s ‘Grand Bread Basket’ strategy, and in particular its

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9 Chabal and Daloz, 66.
10 See “Selected Documents on the British Policies on Southern Sudan,” in Elnur, 171-181.
aggressive expansion of mechanized agriculture, created the basis for an ecological crisis that eroded the structural foundation of the traditional rural economy. The mid-1980s Sahelian droughts escalated the crisis, and the policy of politicization of the communal leadership further accentuated it. The ‘Islamist’ regime’s rise to ascendency on the crisis, benefiting from its outcome (specifically, from the influx of rural population in urban spaces), and direct politicization of communal structures and ethnicity brought the crisis to its conclusion. The privatization of the state apparatus hastened the process, leading to virtual state collapse.

The Islamist-dominated regime of 1989-2004 triggered processes that brought the crisis to its ultimate conclusion. The deepening of the crisis during the Islamist regime, however, was further reinforced by the impact of increasing international isolation of the regime. This isolation exacerbated the process of stagnation and shrinkage of the economy and the state, leading to further repression of wages, increased outflows of skills and capital, proliferation of conflict perpetuated by deepening of the crisis in the economy and society, and the National Islamic Front’s (NIF) response policies of divide and rule.11 A lasting peace and transition to a truly democratic system will depend very much on the processes that lead to more comprehensive inclusivity at the national level, but also in the South, Northeast, and in particular, in Darfur.

There are, however, serious threats to the attainment of such inclusiveness. Firstly; there is the possibility that the present power-sharing between various contending forces, the armed groups and NIF—both with narrow bases of representation—will claim, by virtue of their control over violence, a political monopoly. Once armed contestation is over, far more representative actors who were hitherto dormant or less visible will naturally become more active actors (for example, political parties and civil society). Repressing them in the old manner is not an available option. Secondly; both the CPA (Comprehensive Peace Agreement) and the DPA (Darfur Peace Agreement) claim a transition to democracy and have set dates for parliamentary elections. Whether such elections will translate into democracy is an open question.

One of the challenges to the process of democratization, and hence making peace an inclusive process, is the erosion of the structural foundation built from a once-vibrant political and civil society movement, particularly in Northern Sudan. The loss of such vibrancy, which was instrumental in the ascendancy of the NIF, is thoroughly discussed in my earlier work.12 The less vibrant political and social movement in South Sudan was equally destabilized. As Akec rightly observed,

Southern Sudanese-based parties that were founded in the 1960s such as Southern Front (SF) and Sudan African Nationalist Union (SANU) have either shrunk to insignificant size or have completely disappeared from the political scene. The only legacy left behind is old comradeship or labels passed down family lines which can be used by some to favour or discriminate against one politician or another. ‘This is a Front diehard, you know,’ is not an uncommon whisper.13

The NIF, however, through its extreme repression, re-tribalization, and

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11 NIF ascended to power in June 1989 following a successful military coup. In 1999, the current ruling party became known as the NCP (National Congress Party) while the Turabi faction after the 1999 split with the NIF became the PCP (Peoples National Congress).
12 See Elnur.
polarization of ethnic groups, has succeeded in the fragmentation and erosion of the nuclei of political and social movements that transcend narrow loyalties based on clan and ethnic identities in traditional communities. In urban communities, a phenomenal degree of migration among the educated and middle-class has taken place. Such massive migration has led to the reshaping of social classes. Elites’ reproduction trajectories were radically altered and reshaped with the significant loss of inter- and intra-generational transmission of knowledge and traditions, as continuity and the potential for dynamism have also been lost. Beyond the limited notion of the brain drain argument, this massive involuntary migration of educated elites and social actors deprived the political and social arena of what Gramsci calls the “organic intellectual.”14 Years of savage political suppression and purges of state apparatus and trade union movements have led to the emigration of significant numbers of active social organizers (trade unionists, activists, and ‘social entrepreneurs’ with an irreparable loss of inter- and intra-generational transmission of knowledge and experience).

With regard to the changing political terrain resulting from massive emigration and limited but selective return migration, there are some central questions that need to be answered in order to read future trends beyond speculation. Thus, it is important to see these interactions as well: how do networks reshape the political terrain? How are political elites reproduced? How are inter- and intra-generational transmissions of knowledge and traditions maintained or lost? And how are interactive diasporic/local communities compensating for the loss of Gramsci’s ‘organic intellectual’? Additionally, one must address the issue of how diaspora is contributing to the reproduction of an educated elite and how over-diversified educational experiences are marking the processes of social reproduction of educated elites in particular.

Experiences of post-conflict communities do not lend much support for optimism in examining post-conflict elections in Mozambique and Angola. As Karbo and Mutisi note, “Both Angola and Mozambique reflected electoral processes which have been undermined by the monopoly and domination of ruling parties regarding access to and the utilization of state resources. The consequences have been that the party in power ends up winning elections outright.”15 The likelihood of such a scenario is strongly reinforced by the processes through which the ruling party (the NIF) has transferred state resources to the party domain. Weak accountability and a lack of transparency may carry a similar threat in Southern Sudan. The possibility of an independent state in Southern Sudan following the referendum cannot be ruled out. Given, however, the serious challenges to state building, a possible repeat of the post-Addis experience of too many actors crowding out the state building process also cannot be ruled out. The actual integration of Southern Sudanese labor into the Northern economy, and the challenges of transforming Southern Sudan into a viable economy, may reduce such an independent state to a labor-export enclave. Closer integration into the Eastern African regional economy, as envisioned by the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), and reflected in actual priorities revealed in infrastructure plans, is not likely to produce an effective alternative.

Garang’s tragic departure triggered important changes within the SPLM/A and paved the way for a much wider Southern Coalition. On the one hand, this new coalition is an outcome of a relatively successful Disarmament, Demobilization, and

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Reintegration (DDR), incorporating the most significant sections of the conglomerate of armed groups opposed to the movement. On the other hand, the loss of the visionary leadership of Garang meant a serious setback to the ideals of a ‘New Sudan’ advocating some, albeit less precise, notions of radical transformation within a united Sudan. Post-Garang political coalition drives for a separate state are openly expressed, but the enabling conditions for such an option are lacking. Following the first civil war (1955-1973), such an option was almost readily available. The second civil war (1983-2005) resulted in a number of significant transformations for people, their characteristics, institutions, and aspirations, as outlined above, which cannot be reversed or ignored. Neither the same North nor the same South of post-Addis 1972 exists. A different North and South, politically, socially, and economically, emerged after over two decades of war. Neither resembles its earlier form, and boundaries between the two are blurred by years of erosion of the structural foundations of each. The currently popular notion of making unity an attractive option applies equally in the case of a separate state option. By the end of the day, making separation an attractive option is equally challenging, involving the capacity to build a viable state, viable urban and rural economies that can facilitate the voluntary return of roughly two-thirds of Southern Sudan’s population, and a stable political system that can prevent chaos.

In both Darfur and Eastern Sudan, the option of a separate state has neither been negotiated nor does it appear to be feasible. Within those two regions, greater so in the case of Darfur, a more inclusive peace formula that accommodates their diversities is an urgent prerequisite for peace sustenance and for any stable regional autonomy. The unresolved issue of the three regions of Abeyie, South Blue Nile, and the Nuba Mountains represents another extremely complex situation where neither separation nor integration seems to be attainable. Over two decades of mobilization and counter-mobilization, and the polarization of ethnic boundaries and proliferation of small arms, has rendered traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution dysfunctional. The oil discoveries in and around the Abeyie region intensified the struggle over the center of the region, rendering the recommendations of the International Committee of Exports, based on some interpretation of the history of the region, an irrelevant academic exercise. Nothing short of an inclusive peace negotiation that will bring together all contending parties, armed or not armed, seems to be the only viable path to stable peace in the three regions.

One possible scenario, albeit inherently wrought with dangers of instability, lies with the peace accord’s creation of regional symmetry (i.e. giving regional autonomy to the North similar to that of Southern Sudan). According to such a scenario, a loose confederation of states, as Crawford described in 1951 as the “Fung Kingdom of Sennar,” may arise. Alternatively, we might think of a local version of the North American state formation where local state structures have been quite powerful providing the primary source of legitimacy (see, for example, de Tocqueville’s Democracy in America).

The excessive polarization resulting from politicization and ethnicity, and the erosion of the structural foundations of the tranquil coexistence between different modes of production surviving on an ample supply of resources may pose the single most important impediment to such a model for state formation.

If not representing a broad-based consensus at the regional level—a remote possibility in places like Darfur—such a scenario may not lead to stable peace. Worse, it may lead to a process of fragmentation closer to the predictions of some International

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Relations theorists about the emerging “new medievalism” or Kaplan’s dramatic version of the collapse of the Roman Empire where collapse gave way to dark ages. In such a scenario of fragmented power, citizen loyalties are shared by a plethora of new agencies, extending from international NGOs, drug gangs, transnational networks and corporations, and regionalist and ethnic movements, heralding “the beginning of a new age that will more closely resemble medieval Western Europe than the state system to which we have grown accustomed.” This may give credence to Hamad’s notion that, given the dialectic of Sudan’s composition, only a centralized state based on equal rights, citizenship, and equitable balanced development of various regions can survive. The alternative, according to Hamad, is either secession or a much looser confederation within a regional block (e.g. The Horn of Africa).

If the peace building process transcends the enormous challenges of constant breeding of sources of peace fragility and the tendency for fragmentation of power outlined previously, a far more optimistic scenario may arise. In post-war Sudan, a sense of realism or pragmatism prevails, transcending ideological, political, and social debates. This was especially felt in the public debates on the forms of provision of both health and education (that is, fee payment and cost recovery schemes). The misery and social upheaval resulting from the erosion of post-independence gains in health and education left no room for differences. The focus of the debates was, however, on higher levels of provision of such services (curative medicine and higher education). Moreover, the question of provision of educational services goes beyond the sheer size of resources allocated to education or health per se but also to the allocation of resources within the education and/or health pyramids (e.g. between primary, secondary, and higher education and, respectively, between primary health and curative health).

In the difficult terrain of policies such as agriculture and macro policy, the overwhelming nature of the crisis has had a moderating impact. In agriculture for example, there is an increasing awareness that the old model of agricultural development based on horizontal expansion and dichotomies between its three main components (traditional rain-fed, mechanized, and livestock) can no longer be maintained. The debate is, hence, on the alternative paths to growth that are sustainable and more equitable. Resolving the debate in this and other areas, and building a consensus on alternative policy, has important consequences to the direction of resource allocation and the development strategy debate.

In most cases, the debate on macro policy and economic reforms tends to assess the present NIF’s ‘ruthless’ structural adjustment policies that have been in place since 1992. Some viewing these measures have saved the policy debate the embarrassing and socially, if not economically, difficult question of how far the reforms aimed at restoring balances in the economy should go. Or even the more difficult question, at what pace? However, the NIF 1992 surgery was too drastic—perhaps to the extent of killing the patient (pushing millions below the poverty line, escalating inequalities within and between peoples and regions, and wiping out post-independence social gains in terms of education and health)—and because of its failure, created internal and

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external imbalances far greater than the initial ones of 1989.

While the NIF’s structural adjustment policies may have saved economists, planners, and decision-makers the ‘embarrassment’ of making the unpopular decisions (removing subsidies, introducing fees for social services, and repressing wages below the bare minimum for survival), it has left them the even more difficult task of addressing social upheavals resulting from ruthless ‘text paper’ reforms. This leaves little or no room for maneuver in terms of resource allocation, especially at the micro-level which involves allocation between sectors and groups.

With peace, whatever its form, strong pressure for a more equitable resource allocation between regions will be high on the agenda; that will leave very little room for maneuver for policy makers in terms of efficient resource allocation. In other words, a trade-off between efficient growth-maximizing resource allocation and sub-optimal, perhaps excessively inefficient, resource allocation is likely to emerge as a result of strong regional pressures. Therefore, much of the policy formulation effort should be to try to address these possible trade-offs by designing realistic policies that will not ignore the drive for more equitable resource allocation between regions, and at the same time attempt to minimize inefficiencies and link short/medium-term policies to overall development strategy. Furthermore, with rising oil revenues, the Sudan may at last be able to transcend the paucity of infrastructure, which the Economist described as “the primary reason for the country’s inability to form a single cohesive national unit.”

Again, war is over, but the struggle for peace is yet to be concluded.

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Middle East Studies in South Korea: 
ORIENTALISM IN THE ORIENT

My hope is to illustrate the formidable structure of cultural domination and, specifically for formerly colonized peoples, the dangers and temptations of employing this structure upon themselves or upon others.

—Edward Said, Orientalism

In Orientalism, arguably one of the most widely-read works related to Middle East studies both within and beyond the field, Edward Said dissected how the West—mostly Britain, France, and the United States—has produced and reproduced the knowledge of the Orient. Posing themselves as external to and different from the Orient, Said argues, Western scholars constructed what was considered a factual understanding of the Orient as a distinct entity. Heavily influenced by Michel Foucault, Said’s main point in the book was not to show that “the real Orient is different from Orientalist portraits of it,” but to deconstruct the very discourse of Western objectivity, and consequent authority, in their description of the Orient. He warned readers in the so-called Third World—the relatively powerless and presumably non-Western part of the world—about the danger of adopting the same structure of knowledge.

In 2002, more than two decades after Orientalism was first published, a government-funded research consortium named the Middle East and Islamic Civilization in the 21st Century Project was launched in South Korea (henceforth Korea). Seemingly to Said’s relief, the project’s mission statement specifically denounces Orientalism as a biased Western point of view:

Sponsored by the Korea Research Foundation, the Middle East and Islamic Civilization in the 21st Century Project was founded with the purpose of providing accurate facts and objective information about the Middle East and Islamic civilization; facilitating Middle East area studies in Korea through in-depth research, publication, and scholastic exchanges; and promoting cordial political, economic, social, and cultural relationships between Korea and the

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Unless noted otherwise, all Korean sources (including titles) used in this article are originally written in Korean and translated by author.

2 Ibid., 322.
Middle East. … [t]he Middle East and Islamic Civilization in the 21st Century Project rejects researching through the prism of *Western Orientalism* and aims at establishing more balanced, objective approaches to the Middle East and the Islamic civilization. Based on this, we attempt to promote the understanding of the public on the Middle East and the Islamic civilization through various avenues such as education, publications, and academic seminars.  

Said’s influence in Korea is not limited to Middle East studies. Since the first Korean translation of *Orientalism* appeared in 1991, the work has been widely used as an essential text in critical theories, anthropology, international relations, and even Korean studies. In 2004, the Criticism and Theory Society of Korea, a well-established academic organization in critical theory, devoted an annual seminar to Edward Said’s works and published the outcome in a volume titled *Rethinking Edward Said: Beyond Orientalism Towards Reconciliation*. Prominent universities even used Said’s text in their entrance exams—an unstated but highly significant guideline of suggested reading for high school and college students across Korea, dramatically increasing the book’s publicity.

The alternative that Middle East studies in Korea offers, however, is not much different from Said’s description of Orientalism. As the above mission statement demonstrates, Middle East scholars in Korea proudly claim their authority over their field by defining their work as free of Orientalism, and hence an “accurate” and “objective” portrayal of the region and Islam. Yet they embraced the term Middle East, which clearly has a Eurocentric undertone, and Islam is still considered the single element that ties the region together as a single civilization.

How can one account for this discrepancy? Is it necessarily problematic? What are some domestic and international factors that shape Middle East studies as an academic field in Korea? What is the field’s main object of knowledge and how has it been portrayed? In this essay, I will attempt to answer these questions by examining the origins and development of Middle East studies in Korea. Factors inside and outside the field, such as early Middle East scholarship, social science and area studies in Korea, the country’s political and commercial interests, and unexpected events in the U.S., Iraq, and Afghanistan have structured Korea’s Middle East studies. For Said, Orientalism was essentially a Western phenomenon “based on the Orient’s special place in Western European experience.” For the very same reason—Korea’s self-identification and interests vis-à-vis the West and the Orient—Korea developed its own version of Orientalism.

The development of Middle East studies in Korea cannot be separated from the evolution of the Korean modern higher education system. The Japanese colonial administration in Korea discouraged higher education for its imperial subjects and focused on “designing a new educational system and an administrative structure

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6 These schools include Han-yang University (2002), Seoul National University (2005), and Kyung-hee University (2007).
7 Said, 1.
suitable for the execution of their colonial policy” and transforming Koreans into “loyal Japanese citizens.” Under the Educational Ordinance of 1922, only one university, Keijo Imperial University in Seoul, was permitted, containing three departments: law and literature, science and engineering, and medicine. Most private colleges generally focused on educating nationalist leaders to fight against the colonial power. In October 1945, two months after Korea’s emancipation, Keijo University changed its name to Seoul National University (SNU). The U.S. Army Military Government sought to establish a new education system to replace the previous system under the Japanese colonial rule. Against this context, it merged ten colleges in Seoul under the newly named university and appointed Navy Captain Harry Ansted to be the first president of the school.

Ansted’s design of the school largely reflected a unique characteristic of American academia at that time that divided and subdivided academic fields into professional disciplines. With the guidance from Lieutenant Commander Alfred Croft, a former president of one of the colleges merged into SNU, Ansted proposed to expand and subdivide SNU into seven colleges of law, medicine, liberal arts, education, science, engineering, and agriculture and forestry. It was against this background that the College of Arts and Science and the College of Commerce and Business, which later became the College of Social Sciences in 1972, were established. Within these two colleges, there were various departments such as sociology, politics, psychology, law, language and literature, history, and social welfare. The government further strengthened American influence on Korean higher education by sending many graduate students and professors to the U.S. from 1953 onward, most of whom later became professors in Korea.

As the only public university accredited after the emancipation from Japan, and an institution strongly supported by the U.S. military government, the SNU’s compartmentalized academic system, which divided subjects of study along strict disciplinary lines, served as a model for other higher education institutions in Korea. “Synthetic” study of a region through its history, culture, and politics, in the style of Middle East studies in pre-World War II Europe, was simply not available in Korean universities due to their rigid disciplinary nature, as well as their lack of resources in the aftermath of the emancipation and the subsequent Korean War.

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9 Ibid.
16 Mitchell, 4-5.
academic departments that dealt directly with other countries or regions, if at all, were those of language and literature. Objects of interest were limited to countries such as China, Japan, the United States, France, and Germany—countries that Korea has had extensive interaction with throughout its history, and those through which Korea had been integrated into the modern capitalistic and nation-state system of the world since Japan forced it to open its economy in 1876.

Meanwhile, colonial experiences left another lasting impact on Korea’s higher education system. Since the late nineteenth century, many German advisors worked for the government of emerging modern Japan, heavily influencing the latter’s policy on military and legal affairs. Following the German model, which emphasized the creation of a strong central state, imperial Japan concentrated its public investments in a select few national universities whose main purpose was to train elites to build a modern nation state. This preference for public universities had a lasting effect on Korea as well; in the aftermath of the emancipation from Japan, the U.S. military government could not diversify its support to private institutions of higher education due to its lack of resources, despite its belief that the expansion of private education would facilitate the reconstruction of the newborn country. Instead, the U.S. military government granted permission to virtually all private higher education institutions that, as required, had applied for accreditation. As a result, many private colleges that depended completely on tuition revenue illegitimately accepted excessive number of students.

Furthermore, subsequent Korean governments considered education to be a public good and favored public universities, given the state’s needs for personnel to implement government-driven economic development and the unusually high enthusiasm for educational achievement among the Korean people. Private universities in Korea, in contrast, have received little financial support from the government. This is reflected in the ratio of tuition to the cost of education; in 2007, tuition covered only thirty-three percent of the cost at public universities, while it accounted for seventy-eight percent at private institutions. Compounded with a lack of private donations, private universities have been discouraged from establishing and keeping disciplines that are not attractive to students, whose academic decisions are in turn profoundly influenced by their post-graduation marketability in the labor market.

Because area studies programs in institutions of higher education were preoccupied with countries in East Asia, Western Europe, and the United States, Middle East studies in Korea had to wait another decade to come into being. In the 1960s, the Korean government implemented a series of socioeconomic development plans that promoted private enterprises to increase their exports and develop foreign markets. The Korean government also worked towards expanding diplomatic relationships with non-aligned countries, including those in the Arab world, in order to become a UN member state. As a result, demands for individuals trained in foreign languages greatly increased. Given the larger financial constraints private colleges and universities faced

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17 Seoul National University College of Social Sciences, “Hak-kyo-so-ke.”
20 Jin-soon Lee, 137.
compared to public universities, it is probably not a coincidence that the first program specializing in the Middle East was founded in a private institution. In January 1961, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS) established the Department of Arabic Language and Literature. HUFS is a private college established in 1954. Its founding president Heung-bae Kim stated that the school’s mission is to contribute to rebuilding “a prosperous homeland, which had been devastated by the Korean War, through language education.” Although the school claims to specialize in “foreign studies,” its early curricula almost exclusively focused on language training. As stated earlier, however, this was not unusual in light of the fact that area studies in post-emancipation Korea was equated with studying language and literature, and that, as a private institution, HUFS had to meet the needs of the labor market for language expertise.

In 1965, the HUFS Arabic department recruited Joung-Yole Rew, a political scientist who had been educated at SNU and Georgetown University, and had taught at the American University in Cairo from 1961 to 1965. A year later, the department started a master’s program in Arab/Middle East studies. The first six undergraduates completed their studies in 1969.

The number of students and scholars in Middle Eastern studies in Korea started to grow remarkably in the mid-1970s. As the export-oriented industrialization of Korea continued, it became increasingly important to assure a secure supply of oil at low prices. The two oil crises in 1973/74 and 1978/79 only highlighted the significance of a stable oil supply. Ironically, skyrocketing oil prices had a positive impact on the Korean economy; Middle Eastern governments invested their windfall oil revenues in building infrastructure, such as the Jubail port in Saudi Arabia. Many of those construction contracts went to Korean companies. As a result, demands for Middle East specialists, particularly those with knowledge of the Arabic language, dramatically surged.

Against this context, the Center for Middle East Studies at HUFS, the first Korean research center dedicated to the region, was established in 1976 with Rew as the founding president. The same year saw the founding of an Iranian language and literature department at HUFS, and another Arabic language and literature department at Myong-ji University, a private Protestant university founded in 1956. HUFS began an undergraduate degree program in the Arabic language for evening students in 1979 to meet growing demands. In 1983, the College of Oriental Studies at Pusan University of Foreign Studies (PUFS) launched its Arabic Language and Literature Department, and Chosun University followed by opening its Department of Arabic Language and Literature in College of Foreign Studies in 1985.

The apex of this quantitative growth was perhaps the establishment of the Korean Association of Middle East Studies (KAMES) in 1979, the first Korean scholarly organization devoted to the Middle East, which published its first journal the following year. Middle East scholarship had grown enough to start a scholarly organization, but not enough to find a different person to serve as president; Rew headed the KAMES as well. In the inaugural issue of the KAMES Journal, Rew acknowledged that the

24 The Korean name for the center is Joong-dong-moon-je-yon-ku-so, instead of Joong-dong-yon-ku-so. The former literally means a research center for the problems of the Middle East, whereas the meaning of the latter is closer to that of Middle East studies center. However, moon-je may also mean issues in Korean, and a few major newspaper articles translate Middle East studies centers in the United States as Joong-dong-moon-je-yon-ku-so. When further resources on the origin of the center are available, it would be interesting to see whether the center was named in that particular way because the Middle East was considered a problematic area.
development of Middle East studies in Korea was largely attributable to circumstantial changes of the time:

Today, Middle Eastern countries are becoming increasingly important to Korea and our country’s relationship with them is greatly expanding. Correspondingly, Korean scholars are showing growing interests in studies of the Middle East. A few universities have courses on the topic … The number of Middle East experts are also markedly increasing. As a result, the KAMES, a nationwide academic organization consisting of Middle East scholars and specialists, was established on June 15, 1979.25

However, this quantitative growth came with an institutional distortion of Korean Middle East Studies. As explained earlier, due to a lack of resources and interdisciplinary cooperation, it was somewhat natural for nascent area studies programs in Korea to focus on language studies and political science. Despite the expansion of Middle East area studies in Korea, however, Arabic language study and the study of the region itself were presented as virtually equivalent. This is reminiscent of early modern Orientalists, such as Silvestre de Sacy, who considered the Arabic language to be “the language that opened the Orient” to them, focusing on anthology and chrestomathy.26

The fact that Korea’s economic development and commercial interests were the driving force behind the evolution of Middle East studies in Korea only added to the field’s heavy reliance on language studies. This trend is pronounced the most in academic curricula. For instance, the mission statement of the Arabic department at HUFS declares that the department aims to “research various topics related to the Arab/ Islamic world … by studying the language, culture, history, politics, and economics of the Arab world.”27 However, out of forty-eight undergraduate level classes currently offered by the department, twelve are language courses, eleven are on Arabic literature, and seven are philology/linguistics classes, such as Arabic Phonology and Syntax, History of Arabic Language, and Comparative Study of Semitic and Arabic Languages.

Likewise, the Arabic department at PUFS states its goal as “obtaining balanced knowledge of the Arab region and acquiring insights to the past, present, and the future of the region through studying language, culture, society, history, culture, politics, and economics.”28 However, its curriculum is heavily focused on the study of language and literature: out of thirty-four undergraduate courses currently offered, twenty-three are language classes, three are on Arabic literature, and one on Arabic linguistics. It was not until 1996, when HUFS established its Graduate School of International Area Studies, that a university-associated, non-language oriented area studies program devoted to the region came into being.

It is interesting to note that this disproportionate emphasis towards Arabic language is not replicated in academic publications. For example, out of 284 articles published in the KAMES Journal since 1980, philology and linguistics have accounted for thirty-six, and there have been thirty-seven articles on Arabic literature (see Appendix 1). The most popular topic was political science and international relations, about which there were seventy articles published, most of them concerning the contemporary

26 Said, 123, 125.
era. Middle Eastern economic affairs, with a strong focus on OPEC and construction industries, and history were as favored as language related topics, with thirty-three and thirty-five articles, respectively. This is partially due to the fact that a number of scholars pursued academic careers abroad, specializing in non-language fields of study. For instance, Duk-kyu Han, an alumnus of the HUFS Arabic department and a professor of Economies of the Middle East in the same department, holds a doctorate in economics from Cairo University. Hee-Soo Lee, the current head of the Korea Association of Islamic Studies received a doctorate in history from Istanbul University.

More importantly, however, as the expansion of the field did not correspond to the extent of research interest diversification, the field drew upon unqualified scholars with no background in the region or language to produce knowledge of the Middle East. For example, the premier issue of the KAMES Journal in 1980 has an article by Kyung-sook Lee, entitled “Political Violence in the Arab Countries.” The article discusses the political and socioeconomic variables of this phenomenon. Yet Lee is a political scientist with a doctorate in international relations from the University of South Carolina, specializing in East Asian politics. The article discussed the relationship between the level of political violence in Arab countries and factors such as literacy rates, urbanization, and national income. Interestingly, this analysis resembled to a great extent modernization theories of the day, which in turn followed the logic of Orientalism. In The Passing of Traditional Society, for instance, Daniel Lerner enumerates the characteristics of “the Western model or modernization” such as urbanization, literacy, media participation, and electoral participation. By defining the West as an ideal destination, and its characteristics as those of modernity, Lerner defines the Middle East, which lacks those features of the West, as pre-modern, or a departure point. For Lerner, “what the West is … the Middle East seeks to become.”

In addition, the small size of Middle East scholarship in Korea in an absolute sense, as well as compared to other area studies programs in Korea, such as those of China or the United States, may have reinforced a patriarchal culture within the field dominated by HUFS. The fact that HUFS graduates dominate Middle East area studies in Korea, producing and consuming scholarly works, may explain the dearth of critical assessments of the field. This further institutionalizes the unchanging focus of Korean Middle East scholarship on language studies. Relations are tense between HUFS alum and non-HUFS or non-language scholars, especially those who were trained in the American or European education systems, as the latter feel marginalized and criticized as Orientalists following the so-called Western perspective.

Nevertheless, the field of Middle East studies in Korea continued to grow throughout the 1990s. In 1990, the Korea Association of Islamic Studies (KAIS) was established. In 1991, Kon-kook University started an undergraduate program in Jewish and Middle East studies. In 1993, the Korea Institute of Mideast Economies was founded. In 1995, the first institutionalized efforts for international exchange in the

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32 Ibid., 47.
33 Chan-ki Park (professor, Kun-kook University), email interview with author, November 5, 2008 and January 16, 2009. Park received his doctorate in Middle East politics from New York University. This view is also reflected in interviews conducted in November 2008 with 2 Korean graduate students at the American University in Cairo, both of whom are graduates of the HUFS Arabic department.
field began with the creation of the Asia Federation of Middle East Studies Associations (AFMESA). The KAMES, the Japanese Association of Middle East Studies, and the Chinese Association of Middle East Studies, and later the Mongolian Association of Middle East Studies, joined the AFMESA. In 1997, the Korean Institute of the Middle East and Africa (KIMA) was established, with Rew as the head of the board of directors. In 1999, the Department of Arabic Language and Literature at Myong-ji University changed its name to Department of Arab Area Studies.

Arguably the most profound changes to Korea’s Middle East area studies programs came with the terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Given the worldwide impact of the event, as well as its frequent association with the Middle East, since the terrorists were Middle Eastern and justified their acts in the name of Islam, Korea’s increasing interest in the region is understandable. The result of this interest, however, was not merely a quantitative increase in research and publications related to the Middle East. The attacks and the subsequent events fundamentally changed the nature of Korea’s Middle East studies. The general public, and later the government, replaced private enterprises as the field’s main audience. As a result, Islam replaced oil, and to a lesser extent the Arabic language, as the field’s primary object of knowledge.

A good example of surging public attention to Islam is Hee-soo Lee’s *Islam: For An Upright Understanding*. The book came out three days before the attacks. Written primarily for a lay audience, it touches upon a wide range of issues from the religious doctrines of early Islam to contemporary issues in the Muslim world. More than 200,000 copies were sold, an extremely rare success in the dwindling Korean publication market. Moreover, Lee shows that while publications on the Middle East as a region peaked during the 1970s (about sixty per year) and then slowly decreased, those on Islam have markedly risen since 2001 (about 120 per year since 2005). This is partially due to the commercial considerations of publishers, who now show a clear preference to use the word “Islam” in titles even when the books themselves do not have much to do with the religion. This is another proof of the growing public attention Islam receives.

It is important to note that Islam has always been an important subject of interest in Korea’s Middle East and Islamic philosophy studies departments. Of twenty-four articles on religions in the Middle East and Islamic philosophy published in the KAMES journal since its inception, only two were written after the 9/11 attacks (see Appendix 1). Past research on Islam in large part adopted textual approaches, focusing on early religious texts and medieval history. Scholarly articles published in the KAMES journal before the terrorist attacks include “Quran: The Revelation at Mecca and the Birth of Islam (1980);” “The Life of Muhammad and Religious and Social Ideology (1991);” “Political Contexts of the Development of Early Islam (1992);” and “The Origins of Religious Conflicts between Islam and Christianity: Islamic Conquest and the Crusades (1995).” However, as noted

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34 This English title was chosen by the author. Its original Korean title is *Islam: Islam Moon-myung Ol-bah-ro Ih-hae-ha-ki*, whose literal translation would be “Islam: Understanding the Islamic Civilization Correctly.”
36 Ibid.
above, the focal point of Middle East studies until the 1990s was language studies. Islam was a property of the past, while Arabic was regarded as a means to transcend time and space, revealing the essence of the civilization.

What is unique about post-9/11 Middle East studies programs is that Islam replaced oil and the Arabic language, and became what makes the region throughout history a unitary, if not monolithic, object of knowledge, “the Islamic Civilization.” Ironically, this change expanded the object of knowledge of Middle East area studies in Korea beyond the geographical limits of the Middle East. For instance, Hee-soo Lee conducted a research on the identity and social status of Muslims in the United States. He stresses that the topic could be insightful to studying Muslim minorities in the world and the interactions between the Islamic world and the West. His article was first published in the Journal of KAMES, not of KAIS; Korean scholarship somehow found a large part of the American population to belong to the Middle East by virtue of being Muslim.

Scholars have made numerous attempts to explicate contemporary phenomena and events through medieval Islam. In particular, after 9/11, Islamic law has become one of the most frequently discussed topics in Korean society. Three major studies, the results of which were published in academic journals such as the Journal of KAMES and the Journal of Mediterranean Area Studies, have been carried out towards this end: “Islamic Family Law and the Possibilities of Reform from a Women’s Rights Perspective: Changes in Egypt, Tunisia, Iran;” “Islamic Personal Status Law and the Possibilities of Reform from a Women’s Rights Perspective: Changes in, Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt;” and “Islamic Awareness and Marriage Practices in Qatar, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey.”

Yet the qualifications of some scholars and experts who have led this transition of the field’s orientation may not be very impressive. Hee-sun Cho, a professor at Myong-ji University whose bachelor’s and master’s degrees are in Arabic language and literature studies from HUFS, and doctoral degree is in Arabic literature from University of Tunis, participated in the aforementioned research project on Islamic personal status law. In 2006, she also presented a paper on “Women’s Participation in News Media and Its Influences on Social Changes in Gulf Region—focused on Satellite TV” at an international conference. Her only real qualification to address gender and the media


42 Hee-sun Cho, “A Study on Women’s Participation in News Media and Its Influences on Social Changes in Gulf Region—Focused on Satellite TV” (paper presented at the 6th Asian Federation of Middle East Studies Associations Conference: Middle East Perspectives from East Asia: Diversifying the Middle East and Islamic Studies, Tokyo, Japan, May 13, 2006). (Written in English).
Sun young Park

was her knowledge of Arabic.

The issue of incompetent scholarship gets even more problematic when those ‘experts’ apply textual and ahistorical approaches to account for current phenomena. For instance, the Institute of Islamic Studies, a private research organization led by Hee-soo Lee, and the Korea Human Rights Association organized a special lecture series in 2006 to help the public better grasp contemporary human rights issues in the Middle East. The organizations stated that the purpose of event was to “raise awareness” about the role of Islam in human rights situation in the region “without Orientalistic biases.” However, most scholars invited to the event specialized in linguistics or early Islam. Joo-young Sohn, an Arabic literature professor at HUFS, delivered a special lecture on “Decapitation and Stoning: Human Rights in Islam and their Practical Applications.” Byung-ha Hwang, a professor of Arabic literature at Chosun University who specializes in Islamic philosophy, discussed minority protection in Muslim countries based on the Ottoman Empire’s millet system. These approaches are not only hardly applicable to current issues, but are also precisely what they deny to be—“Orientalistic;” they perceive Islam as a static religion with perennial relevance to the Middle East. Unlike their proud claim, Korean scholars resemble to a great extent European and American Orientalists who assumed that that written texts would “yield unique insights into the timeless essence of a civilization.”

Meanwhile, the Korean government’s political interests also encouraged the expansion of Middle East area studies. As a half-century long ally of the United States, Korea was swift to provide military as well as political support for the U.S. in its ‘war on terrorism.’ In 2001, Korea sent around 100 non-combat troops to Afghanistan. Korea was also among the first and largest countries after United Kingdom to send about 4,000 non-combat troops to Iraq from 2003-2004. However, the government’s increasing political involvement in the region highlighted its lack of Middle Eastern expertise. For instance, while Korean troops were stationed in Irbil in northern Iraqi Kurdistan, they did not train a single Kurdish interpreter and a few incompetent Arabic interpreters had to be sent home, for they could not communicate with the local population.

The killing of a South Korean hostage—Sun-il Kim, an alumnus of the HUFS Arabic department—by Iraqi insurgents in 2004 galvanized public controversy over the government’s inept diplomatic skills and the need for regional experts. Another hostage situation in Afghanistan in 2007, in which twenty-three evangelical Christian volunteers were kidnapped and one of them was killed, further incited this debate. Middle East scholars were on the frontline of criticizing government inability, yet carefully disassociated Islam as a whole from the events, arguing that the insurgents hijacked religious principles for the sake of domestic power dynamics and security concerns.

In their critiques of the government, however, Middle East scholars did not differentiate between regional intelligence experts and academic scholars. For instance,

44 The Korean title was “Islam-ui In-kwon-kwa Hyon-sil-jok Chok-yong,” Ibid.
in a forward to the second edition of *Islam* (2004), a book voted for the book of the year by three major newspapers in 2001, Hee-soo Lee criticized Western scholars for their silence on misinformed media, which linked Islam with violence and terror in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, as well as the Korean media for relying completely on information from the former. As such, he stressed the needs for experts who could provide relevant information to the government and businesses. As a result, the Korean Middle East studies community actively urged the government to be the patron of area studies. At an interview after Kim’s death, Sung-min Hong, a research fellow and professor at the Center for Middle East Studies at HUFS, called for the government to “educate and train experts who can continue researching over 10 to 20 years,” and in countries like Iraq. Similarly, the then-President of KAMES Wan-kyung Chun attributed government incompetence to the lack of a “systematic intelligence community” and argued that the government should adopt a long-term vision and invest in educating regional specialists.

That the Middle East studies community shares their views on regional matters with the government is not in itself problematic. However, this relationship becomes knotty when those in academia seek to speak the same language as policy makers, and vice-versa, by actively involving themselves in government intelligence and economic activities. Indeed, the Korea Research Foundation, though its founding objective is the promotion of “academic activities,” stated that the 21st Century Middle East and Islamic Civilization Project would “be of vital importance to establish national policy goals.” Middle East studies departments encourage their students to enter government service, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the National Intelligence Service and the Ministry of National Defense, and proudly advertise graduates who did so.

To an extent, actively pursuing government patronage is an unavoidable choice for Middle East studies programs in Korea, all of which are located in private higher education institutions. Attracting future students and government funding largely depend on the departments’ contacts with the government and market demand for their graduates. An unexpected representation of this is the recent closing of the Jewish and Middle East studies department at Kon-kook University. It is arguably the first and only university-affiliated program in Asia focusing on Israel. Korean scholars have frequently addressed the Arab-Israeli conflict; the number of articles published in the KAMES journal since 1980 specifically on the Arab-Israeli conflict (27) exceeded that of Iran (21), or even Egypt (23), where most scholars went to study and conduct fieldwork. However, in September 2009, the university informed the department without discussion beforehand that “due to budget constraints, the school is neither willing to maintain nor capable of maintaining the program.” This is in stark contrast to other Middle East studies programs, demands for which continue to increase in

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50 Sung-min Hong, interview with CBS Radio, June 24, 2006, available at [http://hopia.net/hong/file/mid04_analysis.htm#2](http://hopia.net/hong/file/mid04_analysis.htm#2).
51 Sun and Chung.
54 These figures are followed by Iraq (9), the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (8), the Ottoman Empire (4), and Sudan (4), based on my research on KAMES journal articles that identify a specific country or organization as their object of interest.
various government branches and private companies.

Korea’s integration into the modern nation-state system and global capitalism was in large part a history of subjugation. The Western imperial powers and the Asian adaptation of imperialism, Japan, exploited Korea for their political and economic benefit. Korea aspired to overcome this history not by developing an alternative, but by becoming one of “them.” The dominant discourse has been that “we” need to learn from Western economies, politics, and societies. Joining the community of “developed” nations has always been the country’s coveted, if not obsessive, goal, even to the extent that the government officially announced as national objective the achievement of a GDP of US$ 20,000 per capita,\(^6^6\) — a “commonly accepted” criteria to becoming a “developed country,”\(^5^7\) along with membership in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon is considered the pride of the country, who will bring a change in Korea’s place in the international community dominated by “developed countries in the West.”\(^5^8\)

On the contrary, the Middle East has always been viewed as the land of opportunity that Korea can take advantage of and impose itself upon. As the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Min-soon Song stated at the 5\(^{th}\) Korea-Middle East Forum held in Seoul in 2007, the world defined the Middle East of the 20\(^{th}\) century only in terms of “oil and conflicts,” although it is the “glorious birth place of the Mesopotamian, the ancient Egyptian, and Islamic civilizations.”\(^5^9\) He announced that the Middle East now shows the signs of a “new leap,” and urged more efforts towards a mutual understanding of the region’s “culture, customs, and religion.”\(^6^0\) Yet by helping the region’s “new leap,” or the pursuit of missing modernity, Korea is in effect declaring itself part of the “developed” world, as distinct from the “developing” Middle East.

The Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) symbolizes this new Korean identity. The KOICA is an international development assistance agency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It has volunteers and official representatives in countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine. Its mission statement says:

Korea has the unique experience of developing from one of the poorest countries in the world to one of the most economically advanced, ‘and know-how gained from this experience’ is an invaluable asset that helps KOICA to efficiently support the sustainable socioeconomic development of its partner countries.\(^6^1\)

Korea, a formerly colonized country in the Orient, successfully became integrated into and rose in the global power structure. In this context, the country developed its own political and economic interests in the Middle East. To Edward Said’s disappointment, Middle East scholarship developed its own structure of Orientalism, in which the region is in large part reduced to Arabic, oil, and Islam. The disproportionate emphasis that

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\(^{5^7}\) Ibid.


\(^{5^9}\) Min-soon Song, Opening remarks at the 5\(^{th}\) Korea-Middle East Forum (Seoul, Korea), December 7, 2007, available at \[http://www.mssong.or.kr/Issue/speech.asp?mode=Content&Idx=116&tname=FreeBoard&page=1&search=&sString=&cate=speech\].

\(^{6^0}\) Ibid.

Korea’s Middle East area studies programs have put on Arabic language study and the oil industry since the construction boom of the 1970s represents this well. As the Korean economy successfully grew, and as its political stake in the region increased due to international events since 2001, Islam drew increasingly more attention and the Middle East studies community actively pursued collaboration with the Korean government. Yet the Western Orientalism that Said conceptualized became a handy scapegoat that enabled scholars to situate themselves as impartial and apolitical.

Indeed, what the field has achieved despite the lack of resources in the aftermath of the Korean War, and Korean academia’s almost exclusive focus on the United States, China, and Japan, deserves credit. Middle East scholars’ and students’ Arabic proficiency is a valuable asset to study of the region through various sources. Still, in order to promote a truly mutual understanding and enhance cordial relationships between the region and Korea, Korea’s Middle East studies needs to start a genuine discussion of the power structure and politics within and outside of the field.
## Appendix 1:
Works Published in Journal of KAMES (By Discipline)

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Political Science/International Relations</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Economy</th>
<th>Terrorism</th>
<th>Religion/Islamic Philosophy</th>
<th>Anthropology/Sociology</th>
<th>Archaeology</th>
<th>Philology/Linguistics</th>
<th>Literature</th>
<th>Gender Studies</th>
<th>Korean Studies</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
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*Works are categorized based on title, abstract, and keywords.*
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#### Work Published in Journal of KAMES (By Period)

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*Works that do not specify, or are not limited to, a certain period are not included.*
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http://www.pressian.com/article/article.asp?articlenum=60080926013043&Section


Cho, Hee-sun, “A Study on Women’s Participation in News Media and Its Influences on Social Changes in Gulf Region—Focused on Satellite TV,” Paper presented at the 6th Asian Federation of Middle East Studies Associations Conference: Middle East Perspectives from East Asia: Diversifying the Middle East and Islamic Studies, Tokyo, Japan, May 13, 2006. (Written in English).


Sook-myong Women’s University. “Yak-rok (President’s CV).” Sook-myong Women’s University. http://www.sookmyung.ac.kr/.


Today cities are centers of the maximum concentration of power, trade, and dense populations, influenced by centrifugal forces creating an orderly chaos. While observing the strong resource and financial flows within the city, one can easily forget the obvious—the city is made up of citizens. Mainly because of their uncontrollable size, cities should be decentralized in order to function according to what they primarily are: a local environment for residents. Political Economy Theory favors this thesis, maintaining that citizens in small jurisdictions hold more favorable attitudes about participation and democracy and that smaller units are more homogeneous and more efficient in the provision of services.¹

Decentralization typology² defines four different categories. All four categories encompass the transfer of power from central (city government) to sub-local and local entities.³ The typology differentiates according to the form of organization to which power is transferred. By the term deconcentration, we mean the delegation of power from central to local administrative units; by the term delegation we mean the delegation of power to non-governmental organizations; devolution encompasses the transfer of power to local and sub-local political bodies, while privatization means the transfer of competencies to private subjects. According to Stren, the decentralization of the city is a jigsaw puzzle of three complementary dimensions.⁴ The first is administrative decentralization, which encompasses deconcentration of city public services to the neighborhood (also district or quarter) level; the second is civil society decentralization, which is based on encouraging direct citizens’ participation in decision-making at the local level; and the third is political decentralization, where powers are delegated to the

³ The term “local” refers to the level of government below the level(s) of central government; the term is used to contrast with offices at the nation-state level, which are referred to as the central government, national government or (where appropriate) federal government. The term “sub-local” refers to the levels of government that are below the level of local government; usually this term describes the different internal divisions of the local government units (e.g. internal division of the municipality).
lowest sub-local levels of representative political bodies. The most important dimension for the purpose of our paper is political decentralization. Because we intuitively understand that participatory democracy will not work as well in a megalopolis as in a small village the main question remains: How should the city be decentralized?

Many argue that, since neighborhoods are the closest to the citizen, policy-making should be brought to their level. “Quite simply, a neighborhood is a geographically circumscribed, built environment that people use practically and symbolically.” For many commentators, the neighborhood is perceived as something that still matters to people. In the context of the rescaling of economy and more complex multilevel governance regimes, urban neighborhoods can be seen as spaces of important political struggle.

What appears to be a consensus is that local governments on their own are rarely likely to affect positive, lasting improvements to the urban environment. It is for this reason that they need to learn to work better with other key actors, not least local community groups and businesses, using a wide variety of policy tools to address the problems their communities face. In order to achieve an active urban local environment, one should promote and develop activities at the neighborhood level, harnessing people’s interest in those activities which affect their daily lives. Urban citizens have specific needs, lifestyles, expectations, and educational backgrounds, and often appear apathetic when it comes to participation via formal channels. Through a more people-based decision-making system, traditionally conflicting interest groups can learn to work together. The stimulation of informal debate and decision-making is fundamental to the decentralization of power. For the most optimistic, the city seems set to become a spawning ground for greater participation and democracy – even pointing to a global trend towards equity.

The main goal of local authorities in the city should be that the citizens are satisfied, that they can express their opinions, and that city management is effective and efficient. In smaller communities like villages, smaller and medium-sized rural municipalities, and small towns we instinctively know that participation is feasible, but the scale of a larger city gives us an impression of absolute chaos. According to Van Assche, an ideal size of a local community as concerns both legitimacy and effectiveness is somewhere between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. There appears to be a U-curve relationship between efficiency and scale; above 200,000 inhabitants and scale economies turn into scale disadvantages. According to Mouritzen, the efficiency of local government increases until it reaches 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants. Yet from 200,000 to 250,000 inhabitants Mouritzen also detects scale disadvantages. De Groot similarly finds that efficiency is low in both the smallest and largest entities.

The relations are even more apparent between scale and political participation. Verba and Nie support the so-called “Decline-of-Community Model” which suggests

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5 For the purposes of our article, neighborhood is a synonym for a district or city quarter.
9 Mouritzen, 675–679.
10 Ibid.
that political participation will decline as one moves from a small village to a large city.\textsuperscript{12} Newton reported similar trends in Great Britain concerning participation in local public services, the initiation of contacts with local authorities, and electoral turnout.\textsuperscript{13} In the Netherlands it appears that every additional 10,000 inhabitants leads to 1.5 percent fewer voters at municipal elections.\textsuperscript{14} In the local elections of 1990, Derksen stated that 77.4 percent of the citizens in municipalities with less than 5,000 inhabitants voted. In cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, in contrast, only 51.9 percent cast their votes.\textsuperscript{15} A similar ratio is apparent in local Slovenian elections. On average, the turnout at local elections is smaller than at national elections, although there are some specifics related to the size of the local communities. As Hacek found in the 2007 local elections, a higher turnout can be expected in municipalities with less than 10,000 inhabitants, especially in those with less than 3,000 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{16}

Researching political participation, one can deduce that a small community is the ideal place for functional democracy. Citizens are more responsive, the opportunities for participation are enhanced, and feelings of efficacy are fostered.\textsuperscript{17} A large city may produce alienation, cynicism, and frustration. Government leaders and bureaucracies cannot be controlled or influenced and people develop feelings of mistrust and inefficacy.\textsuperscript{18}

All over Europe, local democracy used to mean democracy at a communal (or municipal) level (the lowest administrative unit with a democratically elected authority). But today local implies two other levels: the metropolitan and the neighborhood (or community) level.\textsuperscript{19} The Recommendation of the European Union (EU) Committee of Ministers\textsuperscript{20} shows how seriously the problem of enhancing local participation is taken within EU states. Taking into consideration that “local democracy is one of the cornerstones of democracy in European countries and . . . a factor of stability,” and that, “in certain circumstances, the level of trust people have in their elected institutions has declined [such] that there is a need for state institutions to re-engage with and respond to the public in new ways to maintain the legitimacy of decision-making,” the Committee recommended several guidelines for the governments of member states. The main focus is still the uniqueness of each member state and each sovereign state’s socio-economic condition. However, all citizens should be guaranteed the basic right to have access to clear information about local matters that concern them and to co-decide major local questions. Great importance is placed on communication between public authorities and citizens and encouraging local leaders to emphasize citizen participation, which should be approached by enhancing both representative democracy and through forms of direct participation. Rigid solutions should be avoided, giving space to experiments

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{17} Laurence James Sharpe, \textit{Decentralist Trends in Western Democracies} (London: Sage, 1979).
\bibitem{18} Mouritzen, 664.
\bibitem{20} Recommendation of the EU Committee of Ministers to member states on the participation of citizens in local public life was adopted on 6 December 2001 at the 776\textsuperscript{th} meeting of Ministers’ Deputies.
\end{thebibliography}
and ad hoc methods, as well as models that give priority to empowerment, rather than merely laying down rules.

In addition to this recommendation, Article A.7 strongly encourages the development of neighborhood democracy. According to that Article, local governments should give citizens a greater influence over their local environment and municipal activities. They should set up, at the sub-municipal level, bodies with appropriate elected representatives who could be given advisory and informative functions and possibly delegated executive powers. Among other things, local residents should be encouraged to become involved in designing and implementing projects that are important to the local sphere.

Nevertheless, there are some disadvantages to political decentralization in the city, as demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1. (Dis)advantages of implementing quarter councils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVANTAGES</th>
<th>DISADVANTAGES</th>
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<td>quarter councilors are legitimate spokespersons for sub-local interests</td>
<td>representation means there is always a gap in time and space between a problem and its solution</td>
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<tr>
<td>quarter councilors are approachable</td>
<td>limited or small formal authority</td>
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<td>city quarters can coincide with an existing community identity</td>
<td>fragmentation of policy power</td>
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<td>quarter councilors better understand the local situation</td>
<td>quarter councilors most likely do not represent the whole community</td>
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<td>sub-local councils can be a recruitment pool for the city council</td>
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Indirect democracy always produces a time lag between a problem and its solution. Although quarter councilors may be more suitable for detecting local problems because they are closer to the community, they have to pass these findings on to the city council level, as sub-local political bodies do not usually have great formal authority. Besides, it is highly likely that quarter councilors cannot represent the whole community, and may exclude the marginalized and the poor. The disadvantages, however, are few and far between. Many countries in Western Europe have created sub-local political bodies in their urban municipalities, and this may be seen as an attempt to find that sought-after balance between integration and local differentiation.

Our focus is on these sub-local representative bodies, namely urban quarter councils (UQCs). UQCs as mediators of citizens’ demands and wishes are being constructed (as well as deconstructed) throughout Europe, but vary in formal authority, resources, institutionalization, and in the way councilors are elected or appointed. Since the goal of this paper is not to present the variety of UQCs in Europe but to examine how citizens perceive them, we will present analyses of the implementation of UQCs in the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana, and how the citizens accept and value them. We will do this by presenting a longitudinal survey conducted among citizens of Ljubljana in 2003 and 2007. In addition, we will present the deconstruction of similar sub-local bodies in Sweden and the reasons for that. When UQCs were implemented in Copenhagen, the stated goals of the UQC trial included the “strengthening and elaboration of citizens’

21 The Committee made a special remark that the development of neighborhood democracy is equally important in both the most populated urban centers and in rural areas.

influence, increased potential for contact between citizens and politicians, improved participation in local elections, and a greater sense of identification with the urban district.\footnote{23}{While the reasons for their implementation are quite obvious, questions remain as to why these same cities are deconstructing UQCs after decades of their existence. Moreover, why are these bodies being simultaneously implemented in EEC cities as if they are unaware of their destiny in decades to come?}

Slovenian legislation provides some mechanisms for enhancing local democracy in its purest form.\footnote{24}{The Slovenian local self-government system enables citizens to participate in different forms of direct local participatory government. The most direct of these is the municipal assembly. It is an assembly of all inhabitants of a local community. Unlike other forms of direct decision-making, the municipal assembly is an informal convention in which all inhabitants can collaborate, therefore making it an important element of cohesiveness and integration in the local community. Another form of direct democracy in the municipality is a referendum, which has a more recent origin than the municipal assembly and is a more formalized and organizationally and financially demanding form of local democracy. The third form of Slovenian local democracy is called a “popular initiative.” The institute of a popular initiative enables a group of at least 200 local residents to demand the investigation of any local issue by a representative body. The fourth form of direct local democracy is the right to petition, which enables people to send written petitions to a representative body.}

The answer to this question was offered in Article 18 of the Local Self-government Act from 1994, which allowed the restoration of narrower parts of a municipality (village or local communities and city quarter communities). At the end of March 2001, the city council of the City Municipality of Ljubljana (CML) had established seventeen city quarter communities as the lowest organizational form of the CML. The only elected body of the city quarter community is an Urban Quarter Council. Thirteen to seventeen councilors are directly elected to the UQC for a four-year mandate. The exact number of councilors depends on the number of citizens in each city quarter community.\footnote{25}{For early theories see for instance Mouritzen (1989) or Sharpe (1979).}

To test whether the citizens have accepted UQCs as an additional form of local democracy and how they are perceived, we conducted a survey among citizens in 2003 and repeated it in 2007, to determine if there was a shift in opinions.\footnote{26}{In comparison to Sweden, for example, which has on average 29,500 inhabitants per municipality.}

\footnote{27}{Marjan Brezovsek, “Velikost in naloge obcin v Sloveniji” (Size and Tasks of Slovenian Municipalities) in Lokalna demokracija II., edited by Marjan Brezovsek and Miro Hacek (Ljubljana, FSS Publishing House, 2005), 70.}

\footnote{28}{Irena Baclija and Marjan Brezovsek, “City Quarter Communities: A New Quality in Slovenian Local Democracy” in Democratic Governance in the Central and Eastern European Countries: Challenges and Responses for the XXI Century edited by Allan Rosenbaum and Juraj Nemec (Bratislava: NISPAcee, 2006), 215.}

\footnote{29}{The research was conducted at the Centre for Political Science Research, Institute for Social Sciences, Ljubljana.}

\footnote{23}{Ibid., 53.}

\footnote{24}{The Slovenian local self-government system enables citizens to participate in different forms of direct local participatory government. The most direct of these is the municipal assembly. It is an assembly of all inhabitants of a local community. Unlike other forms of direct decision-making, the municipal assembly is an informal convention in which all inhabitants can collaborate, therefore making it an important element of cohesiveness and integration in the local community. Another form of direct democracy in the municipality is a referendum, which has a more recent origin than the municipal assembly and is a more formalized and organizationally and financially demanding form of local democracy. The third form of Slovenian local democracy is called a “popular initiative.” The institute of a popular initiative enables a group of at least 200 local residents to demand the investigation of any local issue by a representative body. The fourth form of direct local democracy is the right to petition, which enables people to send written petitions to a representative body.}

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\footnote{26}{In comparison to Sweden, for example, which has on average 29,500 inhabitants per municipality.}

\footnote{27}{Marjan Brezovsek, “Velikost in naloge obcin v Sloveniji” (Size and Tasks of Slovenian Municipalities) in Lokalna demokracija II., edited by Marjan Brezovsek and Miro Hacek (Ljubljana, FSS Publishing House, 2005), 70.}

\footnote{28}{Irena Baclija and Marjan Brezovsek, “City Quarter Communities: A New Quality in Slovenian Local Democracy” in Democratic Governance in the Central and Eastern European Countries: Challenges and Responses for the XXI Century edited by Allan Rosenbaum and Juraj Nemec (Bratislava: NISPAcee, 2006), 215.}

\footnote{29}{The research was conducted at the Centre for Political Science Research, Institute for Social Sciences, Ljubljana.}
(formal authorities, councilors, etc.), the perception of changes in the local environment after implementation of the UQC, the accessibility of the UQC compared to the city council, and how or if ways of political participation had changed after the UQC was introduced.

First we wanted to know how many citizens knew that the CML is divided into city quarters.30 In 2003, 87 percent of the citizens knew that the CML was divided into city quarters, and this figure rose slightly (to 90 percent) in 2007. Knowledge of which city quarter they live in rose from 76 percent in 2003 to 86 percent in 2007. In four years, the city quarters had become slightly more recognizable. We then asked citizens if they knew what formal authority the UCQ has and, in their opinion, how great they are. In 2003 just 13.1 percent of Ljubljana’s citizens knew what formal authority the UQC had, while in 2007 the number had risen to more than 25 percent.

There was also a shift in opinion as to how much formal authority the UQCs have (see Table 2). In the 2003 survey none of the respondents believed that the UQCs had too much authority and the majority (60 percent) believed that they had too little formal authority. Four years later, the answers had nearly doubled while the number of those who had no opinion dropped. This implies that citizens have more knowledge of the UQC functions but are not in favor of the UQCs acquiring more formal authority.

Table 2. Citizens’ assessment of the UQC’s formal authority (in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(N=)</td>
<td>(170)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much formal authority</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About right</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too little formal authority</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data from survey Participation of the citizens of CMU (Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, 2003 and 2007).

Second, we wanted to measure whether the sub-local authority (quarter councilors) is closer to the residents than the local authority (city councilors). Since this was one of the main arguments in favour of implementing the UQCs, we expected that the citizens would know the quarter councilors better and that familiarity with them had risen in the four-year period.

Table 3. Familiarity with city councilors (in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How many city councilors you name?</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(N=)</td>
<td>(175)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than half</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than half</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or two</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data from survey Participation of the citizens of CMU (Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, 2003 and 2007).

We can see in Table 3 that city councilors were fairly recognizable in 2003 and that citizens are increasingly familiar with them. However, familiarity with quarter councilors

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30 Note that the first elections to the UQC happened in 2001.
is much lower (see Table 4) and this did not change in the four-year period. This firmly implies that the UQCs are lacking the citizens’ attention, probably due to many factors. One could be poor media exposure or a perception of unimportance due to the low level of formal authority.

Table 4. Familiarity with quarter councilors (in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How many UQC councilors can you name?</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(N=)</td>
<td>(175)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than half</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than half</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or two</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data from survey Participation of the citizens of CMU (Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, 2003 and 2007).

To assess the accessibility of local political organs (i.e. city council, the mayor, and UQC), we asked citizens if they believed that they could, if they wanted, contact an individual city councilor and if they had contacted one in the past. In the 2003 survey, 13.2 percent of citizens had already had contact with (at least one) city councilor. Of the remaining 86.8 percent who had not made contact yet, 80 percent believed that they could if they wanted. These figures were somewhat lower in the 2007 survey, where 11.1 percent of the citizens had already contacted city councilor(s) and only 71.5 percent believed that they could if they wanted.

A similar question regarding the approachability of district councilors was proposed. In the 2003 survey only 9.1 percent of citizens had already made contact with a district councilor, while of the remaining 90.9 percent, almost 83 percent believed that they could, if they wished, make contact. This number rose significantly in the 2007 survey, where 20 percent of the citizens interviewed had already made contact with a district councilor and 81.4 percent believed that they could.

Third, we were interested in what has changed since the implementation of UQCs. Table 5 shows the estimated changes in the CML after the UQCs were introduced. Citizens were asked to rank listed changes from 1 to 5, with 1 referring to sharpest decrease and 5 to the sharpest increase. CML residents believe that the introduction of quarter communities failed to bring about any considerable changes. In 2003 citizens believed that the biggest change was the enhancement of political parties’ power and, interestingly, that trust in local government had slightly decreased. We expected that the answers in the 2007 survey would vary to some extent, primarily because the UQCs were functioning for almost two mandates. However, this was not the case. In the citizens’ opinion, the quality of life in the CML even decreased (though this could also be a result of wider socioeconomic reasons) and political parties held on to their powers. We also added a category for the involvement of citizens in decision-making in the 2007 survey. Although the assessment is quite low (2.88; with 3 percent being the average) we cannot compare it to any previous results.

Table 5. Assessments of changes after the UQCs were introduced (in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(N=)</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(170)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The absence of residents in the participation process is noted everywhere. The inclusion of residents in the process is both a cause and a consequence of their social inclusion, relating to the distinction drawn by Rousseau between the subject and the citizen. The subject obeys the law, whereas the citizen takes part in its elaboration. Participation opens the door to active citizenship and is the better antidote to social exclusion. There are several already mentioned forms of local democracy in Slovenia.

Our goal was to reveal how, or if, UQCs have become established as a new form of local democracy. Table 6 reveals a considerable change in the use of all forms of political participation from 2003 to 2007, with talking to the quarter councilor as the most increased option. Note that multiple answers were possible.

### Table 6. Forms of political participation in CML (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voting at local elections</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to a city councilor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to a quarter councilor</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to the Mayor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signing a petition in the CMU</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting at a local referendum</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although citizens use more forms of political participation (see Table 6), other indicators such as knowledge of UQCs, contacting quarter councilors, and the assessment of improvements after implementing the UQCs show us a relatively dim picture. We may conclude that city quarter communities through the UQCs are not fulfilling their primary purpose to boost participation at the local level of government in CML. At the time of establishing the UQCs there were some major criticisms from the opposition ranks within the city council. These criticisms were oriented to the lack of attention to the quality contents of the formal authorities and the inaccurate division of tasks between the UQCs and the CML. The criticisms were somewhat valid. The formal authorities of the city quarter communities are noted in the Statute of the CML, which gives the UQCs an extremely narrow framework of competencies. Especially financially, they are insufficient and totally dependent on the CML. They have no self-dependent tasks; they only deal with local matters that are separately devolved to them by the CML each year. The CML has not been very generous during the last few years. If the city quarter communities are in fact to bring about greater decentralization in the UML, they should then be provided with more formal authority and greater financial independence so they can realize their primary purpose.
The introduction of the institution of the UQC to Swedish local government is clearly coupled with the amalgamation reform of 1952–74, which reduced the number of municipalities from 1,037 to 278. Since then, the number of municipalities has grown slightly due to the partition of some municipalities. On the other hand, mergers increased the population of the average municipality from 1,500 to 29,000. The motive for the reforms was the achievement of an economic foundation for a professionally run organization for service production. The guiding principle was economic efficiency. This gave rise to suspicions that democratic values would suffer. The solution came to be the idea of sub-local political decentralization.

The main reason behind the implementation of the UQC in Sweden was the ongoing discussion in the Local Government Democracy Committee about “various ways of giving people greater influence on communal policy-making,” which finally resulted in the right that was given to the municipalities to create UQCs. The implementation of the UQC started as “the free municipality experiment,” and the total number of UQCs increased from 50 in 1983 to 140 in 1993. From a financial perspective, the UQCs were not independent from the city council. The UQCs got their money ‘in a bag’ from the city council. The amount depended on the population of the neighborhood and the social structure. The surplus or deficit of the UQCs followed them into the next year. Sometimes the city council wrote off the deficit and kept the surplus. One of the main reasons for many of the municipalities in Sweden not implementing UQC initiatives was actually the fear of rising costs. The councilors in UQC were appointed by the city council; that, however, is not in the spirit of enhancing political participation at the lowest level. The direct elections of UQC councilors, in contrast, would likely increase legitimacy.

In the beginning, the purpose behind the implementation of the UQC was both decentralization and deconcentration of power. From early studies, one could conclude that responsibility for heavy tasks was decentralized but the power to decide was centralized:

In the early 1980s there were expectations that the neighbourhood council reform would be a very important instrument to enliven local democracy. However, when evaluation suggested that the reform did not come up to the expected level of participation, and when local economic problems became commonplace, the advocates of the reform redefined the purpose to it, now emphasizing the efficiency aspects.

According to Montin and Persson, the main argument behind the implementation of UQCs is that they should vitalise the political inflow side of the local political system. This strategy puts the stress on the citizen as a political actor. The idea is that if people

31 Half of all the municipalities have less than 15,000 inhabitants. Eleven municipalities in Sweden have more than 100,000 inhabitants. The largest county council (Stockholm) has more than 1,850,000 inhabitants, while Jämtland, which is smallest, has 130,000. Twelve county councils have between 200,000 and 300,000 inhabitants.
32 Bäck et al, 19.
33 This Committee was established by the Local Government Act of 1977.
35 Some facts are taken from an online interview with Dr. Ann-Sofie Lennqvist-Linden from Örebro University.
36 Montin and Persson, 77.
37 Ibid.
can be motivated to engage in local politics within UQCs, the whole municipality will become more vital as a democratic institution. Participation in local matters, it is believed, can enhance the sense of responsibility for handling common affairs at the local level.

Many UQCs, thus, have not had a very long life. The most intense reform period when such systems were installed was the first half of the 1980s. During the following five-year period, five municipalities already abolished their UQCs. In the first half of the 1990s, six UQCs disappeared and one was downgraded. In the 1996–2001 period, another four UQCs disappeared and two were downgraded. According to Montin and Persson,

During the period from 1985 to 1992 eight communes deconstructed their neighbourhood council organization and started to develop other kinds of organization models. The official reasons were that the reform increased bureaucracy and made decision-making more difficult, that there was weak interest among the citizens, that it entailed the risk of declining professional competence at local level, that it constituted a threat to principles of equality and that it did not give the expected efficiency.

A reason given by those who wanted to keep their UQC was, surprisingly, that they were used to the UQC and knew where to address local questions. On the other hand, no research or public opinion survey was conducted about citizens’ perceptions of local political participation through UQCs. This does not allow us to assume that it was (un)successful. When UQCs were deconstructed one would expect a void in political participation space; however, because of the lack of surveys and studies this also cannot be argued. The rapidly fading interest in neighborhood reforms can be given different interpretations. One interpretation is that the reforms did not achieve their goals. The most important explicit objective of the neighborhood reforms was countering centralization and closing the gap between citizens and their representatives. A ‘more profound’ local democracy, increased citizens’ involvement, and participation were the objectives to be achieved. Yet no such effects were observed. Instead, the objectives of the reforms tended to shift back from democracy to economic efficiency.

From urban renewal, crime, and public safety through to education, health, unemployment, and poverty, and on to the environment, spatial planning, service delivery, science, and technology, and even the legalization of prostitution, policy actors in both the public domain (municipal administrations, police organizations, social workers, etc.) and civil society (housing corporations, voluntary organizations, community groups and independent professionals) have come to view the empowerment and democratic participation of citizens at the neighborhood level as an indispensable tool for tackling cross-cutting ‘wicked’ policy issues.

When we compare the two presented case studies it is obvious that local political participation through UQCs is not a magic bullet. This does not mean that UQCs cannot be efficient and successful in some local self-government systems. The success of UQCs, however, is probably closely linked to the wider socioeconomic and traditional

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39 Montin and Persson, 77.

environment as well as important factors such as the extension of the UQCs’ formal authorities, the UQCs’ financial autonomy, and forms of the election/appointment of UQC councilors.

Several important parallels can be drawn when comparing both systems. One is that for the construction of UQCs in Sweden no referendum was held, meaning that the local population was unable to directly decide if this was the form of local democracy they needed and/or would use. On the other hand, the City of Ljubljana held a referendum on this matter. The second relevant question is whether councilors in the UQC should be appointed or directly elected. In Sweden the UQC councilors were indirectly elected by the city council, usually composed of members who reside in the respective neighborhood, but with no attention paid to the party-political composition of the local electorate. The City of Ljubljana has its UQC councilors directly elected and the expense argument was overthrown by organizing UQC elections at the same time as elections to all other local bodies (city council and mayor). However, the citizens are still dissatisfied with the UQCs’ work and actions. The answer to this is also probably very closely linked to the competencies of the UQC and its financial autonomy.

The official reasons behind the deconstruction of the UQCs in Sweden were: the reform increased bureaucracy and made decision-making more difficult; there was little interest among citizens; the existence of the UQCs entailed the risk of declining professional competence at the local level; the UQCs constituted a threat to the principles of equality; and they did not yield the expected efficiency.41 Results of a survey conducted among Ljubljana’s citizens in 2003 and 2007 show that the UQCs are fairly recognizable and that inhabitants perceive them as a local political body. Yet further research showed that, while the citizens to some extent communicate with quarter councilors and are familiar with them, they were more hesitant about enhancing the UQCs’ formal authority and about the fact that the implementation of the UQCs was to bring positive changes into the local self-government system. Since political participation through UQCs is on the rise, we can expect further integration into the local society system; nevertheless, the city government should be cautious when enhancing the UQCs’ formal authority. Increasing the bureaucracy and costs of the UQCs should be avoided; however, the formal authority they have should be gradually increased so that the citizens will see UQCs as an important part of local democracy.

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41 Montin and Persson, 77.


Women in Development and its Discontents:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF WID\(^1\) AND GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

One-half of the world’s population perform two-thirds of the world’s work, receives one-tenth of world income, and owns less than one percent of world property.

—The Copenhagen Programme of Action, 1980\(^2\)

In the world of women there are few “developed” nations.

—Joni Seager and Ann Olson\(^3\)

Introduction

Women in Development (WID) is now a legitimate field of study and practice in its own right. It was founded as a reaction to the patriarchal and arguably discriminatory modernization theories of 1960s, which largely ignored the gendered dimensions of development practices and women’s substantial contributions to national and international economies. Today, WID is a growing field of international scholarship which produces gender-centered research on development, which is then utilized for the creation and implementation of gender-sensitive development projects. WID has become an integral part of the UN system, featuring in UN conventions and resolutions, as well as the organization’s development work in the Third World. Similarly, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank, and other big donor agencies and humanitarian institutions refer to WID before they initiate projects, and incorporate WID demands in their development programmes. Yet despite these significant accomplishments, WID has its discontents, including those who critique the political strategies of WID advocates, contest the theoretical frameworks of WID scholars, and persistently emphasize the limits, contradictions, and failures of the

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\(^1\) WID is an acronym for “women in development.”


This paper has two objectives: first, to celebrate the achievements of WID activism and scholarship in terms of initiating research and discussion about the previously ignored issue of development’s detrimental effects on women and in terms of the concrete changes WID brought about within national governments and international development agencies; and second, to analyze its main limits, shortcomings, and perceived failures according to the various critiques offered by discontent feminist scholars and practitioners both from the North and the South. I begin with a detailed historical account of the genesis of the WID movement and its growth into a legitimate and respected branch of the larger field of Development Studies; this account constitutes an analysis of its central arguments, strategies, and political tools, with an emphasis on its evolutions and transformations since the 1970s due to changes within the international development field itself.

In the second part, I focus on some of the most prominent critiques of the WID discourse. Although WID is far from being a monolithic or coherent field of study and practice—not that any academic field or social movement is—and although WID has its own internal tensions, contradictions, conflicting agendas, and opposing views among its scholars, advocates, and practitioners, given the limited scope of my paper I have decided to focus on WID’s main “rival,” the Gender and Development (GAD) approach. GAD also deals with the complex issues of women, development, and gender justice but from a different perspective. In my conclusion, I argue that conceptualizing the interconnected issues of women, development, gender, social justice, and rights in their complexity requires us to learn from and appreciate the “orthodox” WID discourse while at the same time contesting its assumptions about women and development and challenging its political strategies for achieving gender justice, which is what the GAD approach attempts to do.

In order to understand the political, economic, and social conditions that gave birth to WID in the beginning of the 1970s, we need to trace and examine two different yet intertwined historical trajectories: that of Development Studies on the one hand, and the international feminist movement on the other. In this section I will attempt to pinpoint the historical conjunctions that brought these two seemingly isolated fields of study and practice into contact and conflict, and from which the WID movement as we know it today emerged.

In her analysis of the First UN Development Decade (1960-70) and the economic models of growth which dominated the debates on the field of development during this period, Kate Young comes to the conclusion that neither woman as a distinct category of analysis nor women’s specific contributions and needs were visible in development theories and practices. She attributes the invisibility of women in Development Studies in the 1960s to the fact that “most practitioners considered that women’s needs were taken care of by the ‘family,’ conceived as a corporate unit headed by a (male) household head, who exercised benevolent authority and control over its members and resources.” In other words, development practitioners assumed that helping the father of the family would automatically help the whole household via the trickle-down effect, an economic concept similarly utilized at the national level, and based on the prediction that support for a country’s elite businessmen will eventually augment the general wealth of the whole population, reaching even the poorest. Obviously, such assumptions bypassed

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certain critical issues, which were made visible by feminist scholars in the 1970s, such as the issue of intra-household hierarchies based on gender, and the resulting inequalities and injustices in resource allocations within these patriarchal family structures.

Another problematic aspect of earlier development theories was that the only space in which women became relevant to the discussion of development was strictly within the private sphere of family, where they functioned as mothers and housewives responsible solely for the reproduction of the family. In her illuminating work, *Gender and the Political Economy of Development*, Shirin Rai makes a similar argument, writing, “as far as development strategies were concerned, women appeared most prominently in debates on population control.”5 Women were the targets of population control programs which made women’s education in contraception, health, hygiene, and childcare the only issue with regards to women within development discourse. Since early development thinking focused on economic productivity and growth, men (the fathers) who were assumed to be the ‘producers’ in the family, responsible for the economic sustenance of the household, were the sole targets and beneficiaries of development projects during the 1960s. As Young points out, since “women’s concerns as cultivators, processors of food, traders, wage workers and unpaid laborers did not enter into the planners’ model,” early development practitioners generally engaged with male-only or male-dominated groups in the developing countries they visited.6

According to Devaki Jain, the Second UN Development Decade (1970-1980) redefined the meaning and the main goal of development. Now it entailed “bring[ing] about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow[ing] benefits on all,” thereby breaking away from the simplistic hypothesis that “injections of capital into the economies of developing countries would ‘trickle down’ to those placed low in the economic scale,” which characterized the First Development Decade.7 This shift from a narrow-minded preoccupation with economic growth, modernization models, and strictly quantitative data such as GNP, to a new focus on basic human needs and the re-distribution of resources was crucial in terms of bringing in the novel concepts of human rights and social justice to the economic theories of development promoted in the earlier decade. Furthermore, such a radical diversion from the former theories of development in which women were viewed as irrelevant and invisible, expect as mothers and housewives, in addition to a new focus on the well-being of all individuals, meant that a productive intellectual ground was laid forth, upon which feminist scholars and activists could bring women’s issues into Development Studies. In order to gain a better understanding of the genesis of the WID movement through the moments of intersection between Development Studies and women’s rights/feminist movements, I will now turn my attention to the feminist movement in the 1970s.

The 1970s were a crucial period for the international women’s movement for two reasons: first, significant changes were happening regarding women’s rights at the national level within the United States; and second, there was a resurgence of feminist ideas and agendas at the international level due to changes taking place within the UN system. Within the US domestic political arena, the 1970s were characterized by the increased activism of liberal feminists who were demanding enhanced economic, political, and social rights equal to those enjoyed by their male counterparts. According to the liberal feminist movement, “stereotyped customary expectations held by men

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6 Young, 19.
and internalized by women, and promoted by various ‘agencies of socialization’ were responsible for the persistent inequalities in the status of men and women in society. The key strategy adopted to achieve gender justice involved breaking down these stereotypes by questioning both the pervasive public/private binaries, which dictated that women belonged to the private sphere of the home and the family while men constituted and participated in the public (political) sphere, and the archaic (and inaccurate) gender roles that constricted women’s upward social mobility. In the theory of liberal feminism, such a radical de-stabilization of the patriarchal status quo required better education for women and girls, better jobs for women, and increased participation of women in the economy. The second goal was especially important for liberal feminists because employment and the economic independence resulting from economic production were perceived as essential for redeeming women’s long-held subordinate position in society. In short, ensuring and increasing women’s visibility in educational institutions, at the work place, and in government positions was the central goal of the liberal feminist movement. As a result, American liberal feminists started asking for equal opportunities, antidiscrimination laws, and increased access to government resources.

This brief discussion of the liberal feminist movement of the 1970s, which originated in the United States and spread throughout the North, eventually reaching the South as well within the next two decades via the UN system and global NGO networks, is both illuminating and necessary in order to understand the distinct character and the specific goals and strategies of the WID movement, which has its roots in this strand of feminism. In fact, it was the same group of liberal feminist activists, scholars, and policy makers from the United States who, by the mid-1970s, expanded their political agenda of “increased visibility and participation of women for gender justice” to include the gender-specific problems that their “sisters” in the Third World were facing on a daily basis. This was the exact moment that the feminist agenda for gender equity overlapped with the already shifting development paradigms of the Second UN Development Decade, with its humanitarian, basic needs approach. Inspired by the expanding feminist scholarship and the domestic feminist political agenda they were pursuing, and disturbed by the dismal realities they witnessed during their missions abroad, a group of feminists working in the Carter administration and their colleagues from various UN agencies came together. They established the WID lobby for the purpose of challenging and changing the patriarchal development practices that disadvantaged Third World women, and the national and international institutions that funded and promoted them.

The first remarkable achievement of the WID lobby was the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act adopted by the US Senate in 1973. The amendment required that “the US Agency for International Development (USAID) administer its programs ‘so as to give particular attention to those programmes, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort.” As a result of the Percy Amendment, USAID established a WID office to implement the mandate of the new law. Yet of perhaps even more importance than the Percy Amendment was

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9 Ibid., 2-3.
the interest within academia, both inside and outside of the United States, that was raised by the WID lobby’s political activism. In a short period of time, universities and development agencies started to dedicate funds and personnel to research a range of issues including: women’s productive work, their access to resources, the division of labor between men and women, [and] the impact of development policies and processes whether planned or not.” 11 As Young rightly notes, the WID lobby made it clear to the development planners, national bureaucrats, and academics involved in the development field that there was an embarrassing dearth of knowledge about and accurate data on women’s lives and activities in the developing world. 12 Yet despite working within such an intellectually and materially neglected field, Danish feminist economist Ester Boserup was nevertheless able to document the substantial economic productivity of African women farmers as early as 1970 in her “path breaking” 13 and influential book, Women’s Role in Economic Development.

In her essay “Gender and Justice in Economic Development,” Jane Jaquette writes, “Boserup’s Women’s Role in Economic Development, published in 1970, launched the field of women in development.” 14 Similarly, in “From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse,” Razavi and Miller argue that “Boserup’s work provided the intellectual underpinning for WID arguments and has had a lasting impact on women and development discourse.” 15 Given the centrality of Boserup’s work in the WID movement, in this section I have included a brief discussion of what constituted Boserup’s fieldwork research, the theoretical conclusions that were drawn from the empirical data she provided, and how her findings and theories were utilized by WID advocates to construct, legitimize, and institutionalize their political agenda for gender justice within the field of development.

The subject of Boserup’s study was the traditional “female farming systems” in Sub-Saharan Africa in which “nearly all the tasks connected with food production continue to be left to women.” 16 I am not going to present a detailed account of Boserup’s fieldwork and its methodology. Instead, the implications of the findings resulting from her fieldwork are more relevant to the purposes of my paper, since they have contributed greatly to the formation of the theoretical framework of the WID discourse. According to Razavi and Miller, the main conclusions of Boserup’s work, based on both her observations in the area as well as the data she extracted from official statistics, were:

1. Female farmers in Africa were responsible for producing a substantial amount of food that fed their communities; thus, they were equally productive as their male counterparts.
2. The level of women’s participation in economic/agricultural production played a crucial role in determining the social status of women vis-à-vis men within their communities. 17
3. The so-called “productivity enhancing modernization projects” of colonial and post-colonial bureaucracies in the region, which were based on Western

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11 Young, 25.
12 Ibid.
13 See Jain, 51, and Rai, 60.
15 Razavi and Miller, 5.
17 Razavi and Miller, 4.
conceptions of gendered divisions of labor, focused exclusively on African men and supplied only male farmers with new agricultural technologies, training, and credits for the specialized production of profitable cash crops for the market economy.\textsuperscript{18}

The new male-focused development strategy referred to above in point three, was funded by Western bilateral and multilateral agencies and implemented by the male-dominated national bureaucracy. This strategy worked to:

1. undermine both the efficiency and value of traditional female farming systems in Africa, due to women’s lack of access to new technologies and men’s monopoly over the new resources;
2. cause previously respected female farmers within rural African societies to lose income, status, and power relative to men;
3. create a “new dichotomy in the African countryside, in which men were associated with the ‘modern’ cash-cropping sector and women with ‘traditional’ subsistence agriculture,”\textsuperscript{19} opening up a new gender gap within the agricultural society that hadn’t existed before;
4. damage the very effectiveness and efficiency of the development initiatives themselves due to their neglect of a productive work force that made up half of the rural population.\textsuperscript{20}

Even though Boserup’s work as a whole was fundamental to the formation of the WID political agenda and the formulation of its language of advocacy, the last point (d), also referred to as the efficiency approach, became the central strategy of the WID movement as its advocates brought WID arguments and claims to development agencies, project managers, and national bureaucrats to fight for change. The efficiency approach claimed that despite the existing misconceptions about women’s roles within societies that rendered them as nothing more than mothers and housewives responsible for only the reproduction of families, while completely dismissing their substantial economic contributions as inconsequential and illegitimate, women are in fact producers, laborers, farmers, and wage workers in addition to being mothers and wives, as proven by Boserup’s research. Therefore, the argument went, any development project that failed to take into account women’s economic productivity (both within and outside the home), and neglected to allocate resources for this equally capable portion of society and economy, would naturally end up undermining its own effectiveness to promote growth and wealth for the entire target nation, including its male citizens.

As Jaquette writes, Boserup’s work “linked women’s condition to effective claims for justice.”\textsuperscript{21} This link thereby stressed the need to: channel an equal amount of scarce development resources to women; invest in gender disaggregated research in the Third World; establish women’s offices within national and international development agencies; launch women-focused development programs to erase the adverse effects of previous modernization projects; and, most importantly, recognize, value and appreciate women’s contributions to the national economy during the development process.\textsuperscript{22}

In addition to its legitimization of the efficiency approach, Boserup’s book contributed to the strengthening of the WID movement in other ways. For example,
throughout *Women’s Role in Economic Development*, Boserup consistently rejected the welfare perspective of the development theories of earlier decades, which portrayed women as the weak and needy members of society and passive receivers of aid who feed on the economy of the nation while failing to contribute to production. On the contrary, as Jaquette notes:

> The women [Boserup] portrays are dispossessed and disempowered survivors, but they are not supplicants. Boserup’s women act rationally, although they labor under severe constraints. They are often mothers, but they do not claim special consideration on those grounds. They are realists, responsible for family survival; their decisions reflect economic rather than emotional considerations.\(^{23}\)

It is no coincidence that Boserup’s groundbreaking work documenting the validity of women’s economic production and its immense positive effects on the sustenance of the whole community resonated well with the WID discourse. This discourse had originated from the liberal feminist tradition whose main characteristic was the advocacy of women’s increased visibility in the public sphere, especially within the economic and political arenas. As I mentioned during my brief discussion of liberal feminist thinking in the 1970s, it was crucial for feminist activists of this period to frame women’s issues in economic productivity terms which then enabled them to make arguments for gender justice via legal reform that was long overdue for the neglected, exploited, and undervalued women producers.

As the international feminist movement resurfaced in the 1970s, and the WID lobby started to voice its claims for the recognition of women’s contributions to their communities’ economies and the need for an increased integration of women’s valuable inputs and specific priorities within development projects in the Third World, the UN system was also undergoing changes triggered by these feminist activisms. Kate Young reports that in 1977 women occupied a mere 4.8 percent of the top two levels of the UN positions. This elicited severe criticism of the UN’s internal structures and institutions from the WID lobby, which argued that even within the UN system, women were being excluded from positions of decision making and power.\(^{24}\) As a response to these feminist critiques and the negative publicity they were causing, Finnish lawyer Helvi Sipila was appointed as the first woman Assistant Secretary General of the UN.\(^{25}\)

Moreover, although it was established as early as 1946, already by the 1970s, the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was perceived by feminist activists as a passive, inconsequential, and symbolic entity. Tinker points out that, “since its inception CSW had been proposing a UN women’s Conference without success,”\(^{26}\) until in 1974, when Sipila, with the support she garnered from women’s lobbies both inside and outside the UN system (including WID advocates), managed to receive a promise from the General Assembly that an international women’s conference would be held in Mexico City in July, 1975. The Mexico City Conference also marked the beginning of the UN Decade for Women (1976-85). These transformations within the UN system were historic in terms of legitimizing the political agendas of women’s movements, raising awareness among national bureaucrats and international actors about women’s issues, and institutionalizing the WID movement within international

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24 Young, 24.
25 Tinker, 28.
26 Ibid.
development structures.

It is worth briefly examining the World Conference of the International Women’s Year in Mexico City because of its significance for the development and consolidation of the WID movement. The official conference theme was “Equality, Development and Peace,” an indication of the UN’s new mission to explicitly link the category of woman with the issue of development. More than 130 nations sent delegates to Mexico City for the Conference. Approximately 75 percent of these delegates were women. NGO participation in the conference, which included not only the attendance of the well-established international organizations but also the participation of a significant number of small grassroots NGOs from the South, was significant. With such high participation of scholars, practitioners, activists, and government representatives, the Conference, like the four subsequent international women’s conferences that the UN organized, provided a much needed platform for networking, training, the exchanging of ideas, and sharing of practices for women working in the field of women’s rights and development. Moreover, the preparation of reports and documents before and after the Conference proved to be a learning process about women’s conditions, problems, needs, and priorities for the individual participants and their governments. With regard to the positive outcomes of the international women’s conferences sponsored by the UN, Tinker writes:

The necessary documentation for each conference required member governments to submit sex disaggregated data on a multitude of basic indicators, which forced national planners to confront — often for the first time — the implications of their own development policies as they were differentially affecting women … Utilizing these data and reports, each conference produced a major document: taken together, these [documents] detail women’s roles and status around the globe and recommend a program of action designed to ameliorate women’s present and future condition.

The document that came out of the Mexico City Conference was the World Plan of Action (WPA), which listed fourteen minimum objectives. These included the top WID agenda items, such as: improved educational opportunities for women, better employment prospects, equality in political and social participation, increased welfare services, and most importantly, recognition of women’s unpaid work (such as child rearing and housework) and a rethinking of traditional gender roles that persistently disadvantaged women.

Another significant outcome of the Mexico City Conference was the establishment of what the UN refers to as “national machineries” within individual states. These bodies would be responsible for the actual integration of women’s needs and priorities into the existing gender-blind development programs by providing national bureaucrats and international development agencies with gender disaggregated data, and by monitoring and documenting the integration process. Although the effectiveness of these national institutions has been a constant topic of debate among scholars and practitioners of the WID field as well as a major source of criticism from other feminists over the very validity of the WID agenda and its political strategies — both points I address in the second part of my paper — Jain provides an illuminating example of the changes the Mexico City Conference brought about within individual nation states. She

27 Jain, 68.
28 Tinker, 32.
29 Young, 25.
30 Jain, 69.
quotes Leticia Shahani, the chair of the CSW in 1974, who recalls that “the Philippine delegation had to create a national machinery before it went to Mexico because we wanted to announce to the world that we had a national machinery in accordance with General Assembly resolutions.”31 Then Shahani rightly points to the fact that the UN has the ability to “put pressure on national governments to think and act on global issues which also affect domestic policies.”32 Her last remark is especially significant because it provides us with another example of the kinds of political strategies WID advocates use, in this case the UN system, to promote their causes.

In “Gender Politics in Bureaucracy: Theoretical Issues in Comparative Perspective,” Kathleen Staudt discusses the great resistance that those working with women’s programs in national and international development agencies face.33 Despite the initial hype surrounding the WID projects and its enthusiastic endorsement by the UN agencies, Third World governments, and international development agencies, Staudt argues that “bureaucrats, operating in long-gendered bureaucracies, are reluctant to respond to women’s work in its rich productive and reproductive dimensions.”34 Staudt also points out the symbolic existence of the national machineries established by the UN mandate around the world with the purpose of eliminating discrimination against women and integrating them into the development process. She describes these “women’s desks” in some countries “as literally a desk and a person charged with the responsibility to initiate women’s projects and monitor the whole of government for responsiveness and accountability to women.”35 Moreover, the statistics she gives present us with a rather grim tableau of women’s so-called integration into development practices: only 3.5 percent of UN projects benefit women which make up a mere 0.2 percent of the UN’s budget allocations. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) has a budget of US$5 million; a miniscule amount compared to the US$ 700 million that its host organization the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) possesses. Similarly, since its inception in 1973, according to the mandate of the Percy Amendment that I mentioned in the first part of my paper, the WID office within USAID has an average annual budget of one-third of a million dollars, meaning that no more than 4 percent of development funding has been going to women and development.36

Such disappointing numbers have naturally left WID advocates vulnerable to criticism in terms of the effectiveness of their political strategies. Some of the most common feminist critiques of the WID approach are that WID has been co-opted by development projects and national machineries and therefore has lost its idealism and feminist edge, and that feminist ideals have been sacrificed for the sake of political pragmatism, rendering the WID project very limited in its influence and transformative power.37 Although these concerns are valid as indicated by the problematic statistics Staudt provides, Tinker makes an equally valid point when she brings up the ultimate dilemma of any social activist who tries to reform the system from within. Somewhat in defense of WID advocates and their political strategies, she writes:

The field of WID began as a policy concern focused on changing the priorities

31 Leticia Shahani, quoted in Jain, 69.
32 Leticia Shahani, quoted in Jain, 69.
33 Staudt, 8.
34 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Young, 132.
and practices of the development assistance agencies … WID, like any applied field, not only crosses disciplinary boundaries but establishes goals and priorities consonant with the constraints of those systems within which its practitioners work. Scholars commenting on the field too often confuse this art of the possible with their own more abstract view of the world and so criticize development programs from an idealistic, if not ideological, perspective rather than from the realism of the practitioner.38

To Kate Young, the answer to the crucial question of what has actually been achieved since the 1970s by the WID movement depends on “the terms on which the assessment of improvement is made: is the principal concern the material conditions of women or their position in society?”39 Her answer reflects her preference for the latter. She argues that despite the significant material gains in terms of women’s health, access to education, and political participation due to the persistent advocacy of international feminist groups and the WID lobby, “there is room for doubt that any significant change has come about in the underlying structures that determine women’s relative social standing and their share of social resources.”40 Young’s main point is that improvement in material conditions, such as increased female life expectancy or better enrollment rates for female students, do not automatically lead to the establishment of a just society where women enjoy the same social status as their male counterparts. Although she recognizes the necessity for and the benefits of increased female participation in decision making processes and increased access to resources, especially in terms of education and health services, she argues that the WID approach to gender justice is not sufficient or sustainable unless it is accompanied by a rethinking of the “underlying social structures” that are responsible for the low numbers of women in schools, political parties, and development agencies in the first place. Young’s call for a significant change in “the underlying structures that determine women’s relative social standing”41 resonates with Razavi and Miller’s critique of the WID approach:

Although an analysis of women’s subordination was at the heart of the WID approach, the essentially relational nature of their subordination had been left largely unexplored … WID identified women’s lack of access to resources as the key to their subordination without raising questions about the role of gender relations in restricting women’s access in the first place.42

In short, these feminist scholars concur that increasing the numbers of women and integrating them into the system is a good starting point, but it is not sufficient in the long term for sustainable gender justice, which calls for a transformation of the system that initially created such gender inequalities.

In addition to its neglect of the gender hierarchies within the foundational structures of society—the main reasons behind the gender inequalities in development discourse—WID has also been rather parochial in its critique of mainstream development paradigms. WID has challenged development discourse on the basis of the invisibility of women from development practices and the detrimental effects of this absence of women and their valuable economic contributions on the whole of society. However, WID, which is itself based on the liberal feminist tradition that has been notoriously

38 Tinker, 3, 27.
39 Young, 128.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Razavi and Miller, 12.
uncritical of the broader capitalist system and market economics in general, as well as the class inequalities and wealth disparities they brought about, has failed to criticize the very goals of modernization theory or its foundational principle of the linear notion of development, except in relation to gender issues. Such a narrow vision has naturally led to a preoccupation with the symptoms of the ‘disease’ rather than its actual ‘causes.’ Young argues that:

With economic growth and modernization, it is assumed [by WID advocates] that better living conditions, wages, education, etc. will be within the grasp of all and that the grosser elements of patriarchal traditional belief systems will be dissolved by the more progressive attitudes inculcated by modern education.44

In “Beijing Plus 10: An Ambivalent Record on Gender Justice,” however, feminist researchers Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi present evidence against the assumptions of the WID discourse regarding the effectiveness of economic growth and modern education in combating patriarchal, traditional belief systems. Molyneux and Razavi argue that “unilinear accounts of progress tend to focus on broad trends and therefore fail to capture some of the contradictory effects of development processes [even when such processes have, to some extent, integrated women to their functioning as demanded by WID activists].”45 An example they cite is the decline in fertility rates in the developing world. This is seen as an indicator of success for the WID agenda, since declining fertility helps to improve women’s life chances in their reproductive years, thereby giving them more opportunities to take part in public and economic life outside the house. However, in some developing countries such as India and China, declining fertility rates have caused an increase in the ratios of males to females in the population, due to the emergence of the ‘son preference’ and ‘missing women’ phenomena, which entail practices ranging from the maltreatment, neglect, and abandonment of female children to female infanticide. As a result, Molyneux and Razavi conclude that “the fact that these two countries [China and India] account for nearly 80 per cent of all ‘missing women’ in the world” while also “producing some of the fastest rates of economic growth over the past decade or so only serves to underline the point that there is no guarantee that growth will enhance gender equality.”46

Finally a pertinent critique of the WID project has been its liberal feminist origins in the United States. WID scholarship has constructed women in the developing world as a homogenous group, disregarding the existing divides among women along the lines of class, race, ethnicity, and religion, which result in same-sex hierarchies that stand in the way of a universalist gender-based solidarity as envisioned by the WID project. In addition to challenging the ethnocentric assumptions about Third World women by the WID practitioners, feminist critiques also problematize the relationship of WID advocates to their target women in the developing world. Crucial questions have been raised, such as: Who speaks for the rights of the women in the developing world and represents their needs and claims? More importantly, how accurate can these representations ever be?

43 Young, 129.
44 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
With the emergence of discouraging data on the limited and mostly symbolic achievements of the WID approach, and the increasing feminist/ Marxist criticisms aimed at its strategies for bringing gender justice to economic development, new theories surfaced within the field of women and development studies in the late 1970s and 1980s. The most notable of these alternative theories is the Gender and Development (GAD) approach. GAD came about as a result of the Subordination of Women Workshop, held in 1977 under the auspices of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Essex. The outcome of the workshop was the groundbreaking book *Of Marriage and the Market* (1981), which was a collection of works produced by the feminist scholars who had attended the workshop.

There are fundamental differences between the approaches of WID and GAD in terms of how each conceptualizes the ‘woman problem in development,’ and what each focuses on to bring about change to solve perceived problems. I will now focus on the central propositions of the GAD approach and analyze its theoretical framework. Through this analysis, I hope to highlight the main differences between the former and the latter.

The main idea behind GAD is that focusing on women as an isolated category within development, as WID scholars and practitioners have done, is not an adequate strategy to fight against injustices existing in the development discourse. GAD advocates argue that, while women’s lack of access to resources and a disregard for their productive work are two significant reasons behind the persistent inequalities between men and women in the developing world, problematic gender relationships are of primary importance as they constitute the underlying social, economic, and political conditions responsible for women’s lack of access to resources and the invisibility of women’s contributions in the first place. In short, the intricate hierarchal power dynamics within gender relationships, including those between husband and wife, father and daughter, sister and brother, and male and female co-workers, should be the main focus of development analysis. Razavi and Miller attribute this shift in feminist thinking from ‘women’ to ‘gender’ to the influence of feminist anthropology in the late 1970s and 1980s, which theorized that gender identities, ‘femaleness’ and ‘maleness,’ were historically and socially constructed. Gender identities were thus the outcomes of cultural ideologies rather than inherent biological or physiological differences between women and men. Moreover, according to GAD, gender identities and the complex relationships based on these socially constructed identities are in constant transformation due to changes taking place with social and cultural norms, values, and understandings within each community. Therefore, gender analysis requires not just documenting the material and social inequalities between women and men, but understanding “how men and women are socially constructed, and how those constructions are powerfully reinforced by the social [and economic] activities that both define and are defined by them.”

According to Young, “the difference between WID and GAD is best illustrated by the way [the] sexual/gender division of labor is conceptualized.” In the WID framework, there is a clear separation of gender roles which allocate different tasks and resources to women and men. Therefore, what is relevant for the WID agenda is the examination of the economic system to see what roles women have in society, what they do and produce, and how much control they have over the terms and end products of their economic production. GAD, in contrast, perceives the gendered division of labo
labor not as a form of “social separation” but as a form of “social connection” that binds women and men in a mutually interdependent relationship.\textsuperscript{51} This relationship consists of cooperation and mutual exchange of favors as well as conflicts and contentions. It is by no means a symmetrical relationship in terms of the level of dependency of both parties (men and women) on each other, hence the existence of power hierarchies within gender relationships.\textsuperscript{52}

In other words, power politics is central to the GAD approach, which calls for a \textit{redistribution of power} within developing societies whereby men have to relinquish some of their economic as well as social power.\textsuperscript{53} According to Rai, this ‘empowerment’ aspect of the GAD approach is the reason why the GAD framework has become predominant in feminist development debates yet failed to influence the work of many development agencies. On this point, she quotes Moser:

Because it is a less “threatening” approach, planning for WID is far more popular … Gender planning, with its fundamental goal of emancipation, is by definition a more “confrontational” approach. Based on the premise that the major issue is one of subordination and inequality, its purpose is that women through empowerment achieve equality and equity with men in society.\textsuperscript{54}

First, during my research for this article, I have once more realized that adopting a gender lens to analyze development theories is essential in understanding the inherent contradictions and shortcomings of the available paradigms we, as students, professors, activists, and policy-makers work with to make the world a better place for the majority of human population. Second, as I have argued, the WID project, despite its limitations illuminated by the GAD approach that followed it, has been unprecedented in terms of its feminist claims for gender justice within the patriarchal development discourse as early as 1970s. WID has paved the way for subsequent feminists to build on the groundwork it has established. GAD scholars have stepped up to the plate to improve the WID framework through critique and, in doing so, GAD scholars have created a deeper understanding of the underlying social structures that constitute the unjust gender relationships in Third World nations. Thus, I don’t see WID and GAD as merely two antagonistic frameworks that discredit each other’s work. On the contrary, I see them as two different points of view in a continuing dialogue which aims to create a world where women and men hold equal power in decision making, have equal access to resources, and enjoy the same social status and respect within their communities—including on the issue of how to bring about economic development and prosperity. Although I believe that the GAD approach better represents the reality of gender inequality around the world and is a more sophisticated theoretical tool to bring about development with gender equity, I see WID and GAD as sister projects with the same ultimate goal.

Finally, I want to conclude my article with Jain’s powerful summary of the main goals and struggles of the women’s movement, based in part on Jain’s experiences working in the field of development over the past five decades. Inspired by the passage of Saint Exupery’s \textit{The Little Prince}, in which a fox asks the little prince to tame him,
the fox says, “[taming] is an act too often neglected . . . It means to establish ties.”

Jain writes:

Since the 1950s, women have tried to reconstruct development—to “tame it”—by showing that the linkages between its social, economic, and political elements have been neglected; by establishing ties with the excluded and discriminated against in order to broaden laws and rights to be inclusive; by building alternative indicators that made the invisible visible. Women have brought lived experience to the work of knowledge creation; they have revealed other typologies of progress; they have insisted that localization, tethering the ground as the source, be the main mainspring of action; they have revealed that participation and self-strength and human dignity are minimal conditions for engineering development with justice. In short, they have refused to accept inequality.

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56 Jain, 10.


Young, Kate, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh, eds. *Of Marriage and the Market: Women’s Subordination Internationally and its Lessons*. London:

The contemporary Sudanese regime, under the leadership of Omar al-Bashir, is commonly written-off as isolationist, strident, and Islamist. Many of the categorizations of the regime are drawn from an understanding of its raison d’être as put forward by the country’s key Islamist ideologue, Hassan al-Turabi. Turabi, along with his political party, the National Islamic Front (NIF), have been at the heart of an Islamist revival within the country for decades and are responsible for the impetus behind the National Salvation Revolution military coup of 1989. However, after Bashir won a power struggle between the two men in 1999, it appears that the very nature of the regime has evolved. The power struggle between the two men left an ideological vacuum, one which Bashir quickly filled with concessions towards the West, political openness, and the peace process in southern Sudan while promptly failing to promote the Islamism common to Turabi’s NIF charter. This shift in rhetoric, while itself the product of certain events, enabled the creation of policies which would have been unthinkable during the previous ten years.

The objective of this paper is to explore the construction of state legitimacy and identity through an analysis of political discourse as a means of understanding the features of this shift. Covering a period from 1999 to 2008, the main focus of this paper will be a discussion of the micro-level discursive trends which come about in response to external political stimuli. These will be explored in relation to policy formation. Secondly, the macro-level discursive shifts will be examined so as to highlight not only how the regime legitimizes its rule, but also how it understands itself and the image it wishes to project through this cultivation of identity. At its most basic, political discourse has served the Sudanese regime to justify its position of power and reinforce its cultivation of ideological and eudaemonic legitimacy. Over time, this reliance on differing legitimizing mechanisms points to a substantial shift in the regime’s very identity. Since the regime no longer paints itself as a fundamentalist Islamist one, this has enabled its embrace of a perceived African foundation. However, as the regime’s identity has shifted, it still suffers from a faltering legitimacy at home and abroad. Further, the rebellion in Darfur has stalled this reallocation of political power. These pragmatic tendencies must be understood for any effective analysis of the regime.
Legitimacy is defined as a situation where the ruler and the ruled accept a particular division of power over the state. It involves “the capacity of the system to engender and maintain belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society.”¹ The concept of political legitimacy as a state-centric means of analysis can be traced back to Max Weber, whose social theories sought to explain the basis of legitimacy of political authority.² Weber writes, “the system of authority voluntarily limits itself to the appeal to material or affectual or ideal motives as a basis for guaranteeing its continuance.”³ Thus, certain morals, values, and material goods link the populace to governance. The emphasis of any analysis of legitimacy must be on the process which links the elites to the populace. As such, individual action (from above or below) is only given significance through the process which binds them to regime values and norms.

The use of political language reinforces the mechanisms used to establish legitimacy; this language is the most effective tool for reaching out to the population and accessing them on a level that can be understood by all. Political language refers to the mode of discourse adopted for use in the political process. Clark and Dear suggest that “listening to political language is the closest we can get to hearing the state ‘speak.’”⁴ Political language is the means by which the state constructs its own reality. The way in which it presents this reality is vital to its acceptance by the general population. Murray Edelman describes how the structures and words of political language “reinforce the reassuring principles established through other political symbols, subtly interweaving with action to help shape values, norms, and assumptions about future possibilities.”⁵ Thus, political action gains acceptance and legitimacy through the ability of political language to situate any given action within an acceptable framework that appeals to the population.

The types of legitimacy the elites rely upon reveal how they act to promote their rule, and how this process of legitimization influences the perceptions of their followers. Weber sought to classify legitimacy to explain the modes of exercising power and the types of obedience that they might render.⁶ Here, the validity of claims to authority is based upon rational, traditional, or charismatic grounds. The legal, or legal-rational legitimacy, implies obedience to an impersonal order or system; this can be extended, however, to the level of the individual ruler by virtue of the legality of their rule within the accepted system. Traditional authority derives its legitimacy from the presence of ‘immemorial’ traditions and the ability of the ruler to operate under them. Finally, charismatic authority rests upon a trust in the person based upon his charisma.

Building upon Weber’s analysis, Easton develops three categories of legitimacy that, although similar, provide a broader perspective.⁷ He identifies three main sources of legitimacy: ideology, structure, and personal qualities. Easton relates each source to the objects of legitimacy: the regime and authorities. Ideological legitimacy is

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3 Ibid., 298.
concerned with moral convictions about the validity of the regime and the roles of authority. Structural legitimacy, similar to Weber’s legal-rational argument, examines the independent belief in the validity of the structure and norms and, thus, the roles of the authorities operating in such structures. Finally, personal legitimacy expands upon Weber’s concept of charisma.

Gianfranco Poggi contends that there are new political problems in the post-liberal state which are not accounted for in these traditional conceptualizations of political legitimacy. He writes, “Some institutional premises and expressions of legal rationality become eroded. . . . Second, some developments displacing the state/society line increase the political leverage of social forces.” As such, the state looks for new ways of generating legitimacy. This adds another category of legitimacy to the framework: ‘social eudaemonic.’ Poggi borrows this term from A. Gehlen, and believes that it can help account for the appearance of ‘private’ concerns of the individual consumers in the ‘public’ arena. States seek legitimacy through assisting the economic system, providing goods and services or providing for national security. Accordingly, the impact of the welfare state is explained. Thus, the previous conceptualizations of legitimacy point to five categories which should be considered in any analysis. These include ideological, traditional, personal, eudaemonic, and democratic or structural legitimacy.

The primary methodological investigation utilized is a qualitative analysis of Sudanese government discourse and policy since 1999. The specific means of data analysis consist of a discourse analysis of speeches, statements, and other official government documents, as well as a review of news articles which specifically relate to the implementation of policy. As discourse frames and constrains any given course of political action and is controlled by powerful members of society, it offers a unique analysis of how the political reality is manipulated by elites to protect their own interests. Thus, discourse is a vital instrument used to generate and legitimize political programs. It represents a set of policy ideas and values as well the primary means for the state to connect with its citizens. This investigation of political discourse will be undertaken with two objectives in mind. The first objective is to uncover the discursive strategies of government discourses in the construction of a political and ideological identity. Secondly, the analysis will link the micro-level discursive trends, understood here as legitimizing tools, to the macro-level political context.

During its first decade in power, the Bashir-Turabi relationship led to the creation of a regime reliant as much upon Islam as upon militarism for its consolidation of power. This has led to the construction of a very specific image among the academic community. Ibrahim Karawan describes the government of Bashir as an authoritarian military regime. Other authors include the context of Islamism in their analysis. While Judith Miller sees the regime as “a garden-variety police state,” its Islamic

Methodology

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Background

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vocabulary differentiates it from other authoritarian regimes in the Arab world. The regime’s Islamic orientation gives it a certain flavor. Edgar O’Ballance calls the regime “an Islamic fundamentalist military dictatorship,” while, similarly, Warburg sees it as a “fundamentalist Muslim dictatorship.” De Waal and Abdel Salam describe the leadership as emulating a “neo-fundamentalist logic,” while Peter Woodward maintains that the leadership promotes an “Islamic militarism.” All of these features mean that the regime has followed a particular path during the 1990’s, relying on promoting a very specific brand of Islam and using symbolic gestures and military force to maintain its position in power. The National Salvation Revolution’s (NSR) policy of Islamization was based upon an exclusivist vision of Islam and an elitist rendition of Sudanese identity. In 1993 Bashir defended his regime’s vision, stating: “Our existence is originally linked to the implementation of this shari’a. Therefore, it is a matter of principle for us . . . It is better for us to die in the cause of that principle and we are ready for that.”

Aside from its prominent Islamization program, the Bashir regime during its early years was also characterized by populism and anti-sectarian sentiments, a monopoly of power through the Popular Defense Force, a reframing of the war against the southern region as a jihad against domestic and foreign ‘infidel’ influences, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist discourse, and a promotion of international Islamism. The regime relied on its Arab and Islamist identity to cultivate legitimacy. This legitimacy was not absolute, however, as problems of fragmentation and security as well as a reliance on the Sudanese military left the regime vulnerable both inside and outside of its core of political elites. By 1998, a culmination of domestic and international issues further challenged the legitimacy of the regime. At home, the National Assembly voted to introduce a multinational party and Turabi’s popularity in the assembly reached a new high as the body refused to accept his resignation. As the power struggle between Bashir and Turabi deepened, each gained legitimacy from courting the opposition in the North and South. Abroad, the isolationist policy of the regime was taking its toll. The United States placed Sudan on its blacklist as a supporter of terrorism, which led to economic sanctions. In 1998 the Clinton administration bombed the Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum, claiming that it was producing chemical weapons. While the bombings ended up being a public relations victory for Sudan, they also made it clear that the country was not immune to unilateral military action from the United States.

While the struggle between factions within the government in 1999 damaged the cohesiveness of the government, it enabled Bashir to rethink his government’s policies. This pragmatism aided in recuperating legitimacy abroad, which would be essential as the government was set to begin exportation of crude oil. There was also a significant shift in the regime’s understanding of itself in relation to other political forces within the country as well as abroad. For this reason, previous characterizations of the regime

19 Bashir quote in Lesch, The Sudan: Contested National Identities, 129.
are no longer entirely applicable. The following analysis of regime policy and discourse will examine the shifts this pragmatic regime has taken since 1999 and look to the creation of an alternative framework for understanding Bashir’s government.

**Findings**

Bashir’s political speeches can be categorized into two broad categories: ceremonial speeches and, more commonly, what can be described as ‘garden-variety’ speeches. The first category of speeches is aimed at a specific audience, such as the Sudanese people. Examples of this type of speech include those that commemorate an event such as the 1989 coup or the 1956 independence. These speeches work specifically as a means to connect directly with the citizens and legitimize Bashir’s regime. In these speeches, Bashir’s discourse focuses on reinforcing eudaemonic legitimacy. Other ceremonial speeches found in this category are those delivered at Arab or African regional summits. Here, the focus remains on producing legitimacy for the regime, albeit at the regional or international level. The themes and mechanisms utilized in these speeches are more consistent over time than the second category of speeches. The second type of speeches, those which are a day-to-day part of Bashir’s political activities, are much more varied in their aim. These include speeches delivered at National Assembly or National Congress events, delivered at a mosque, or in front of the Sudanese or international media. Broadly speaking, these speeches can be seen as a direct product of or response to policy or external political stimuli. The themes and tones of these speeches are more fluid, so they reveal the current anxieties or challenges facing the regime. Since they are not ceremonial, they function more to develop a concrete identity for the regime. It should be noted, however, that the themes and mechanisms in both categories do in fact overlap.

The ceremonial speeches are the most common means of creating political language which reinforces the political symbols used to establish legitimacy. Anniversary speeches focus on eudaemonic legitimacy; very rarely does Bashir use a belligerent or Islamist tone. Instead, he creates a strong image of nationalism. These speeches discuss what the Sudanese regime has undertaken or endeavors to accomplish for the people of Sudan. While they focus on government achievements in the areas of welfare, education, and the economy, the greatest amount of focus is on the regime’s efforts in the realm of national security. This is certainly the most vital aspect of legitimacy for any regime in Sudan as internal conflict is endemic to the country. For instance, in one speech Bashir tells his country: “We are determined to achieve peace...so that we can rebuild what the war has destroyed.”

Thus, the government is portrayed as a peacemaker, as the unifier of Sudan, as taking the initiative to reconcile with the opposition parties, and as the protector of the precious homeland.

Regime survival, however, must be cultivated at the international level. A non-elected regime such as Bashir’s faces scrutiny from the outside world. As such, solidifying ties with regional countries and neighbors creates an important safety net. Bashir does this by optimizing the benefits of occasions such as Arab or African summits in order to emphasize Sudan’s respective identities. He tells the group of nations that his country is vital to the regional make-up and should be protected. Specific speeches reveal how Bashir symbolically links Sudan’s identity with the rest of the Arab or Islamic world. Through emphasizing Sudan’s shared historical, cultural and political experiences vis-à-vis his summit addresses, he encourages Arab countries to see his regime as similar to theirs. He legitimizes his regime through this connection.

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The same can be said for African states. While successive northern political elites have continually sought to reinforce their Arab identity, Bashir, throughout the period of focus in this analysis, endeavored to conceptualize Sudan as an African country. He cannot utilize the common religious link in these instances, though he attempts to construct a Sudanese culture that is African rather than Arab. Through his discourse at African Union (AU) summits, he portrays Sudan as a vital link between Africa and the Middle East as well as one of the most important countries in Africa. He insists that he can play the role of a key African leader in a key African state. At an Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) summit in Khartoum, for example, Bashir told the visiting African leaders that Sudan is “your home” and that they are among “your parents.” He also speaks of his “belief in a unified destiny” for Africa. These speeches show how Bashir portrays Sudan as a legitimate African country, thus solidifying African support in institutions such as the UN and AU as well as portraying himself as a vital African leader. Further analysis shows that Bashir, especially from 2005 onwards, relies much more on his country’s African identity than on an Arab or Islamic one.

While the previous analysis of speeches focused on the necessity of cultivating legitimacy, this next section looks at how regime identity, in addition to legitimacy, is constructed through daily forums. While the themes found in these ‘garden-variety’ speeches are similar to ceremonial speeches, it is important to look at them separately. This second grouping of speeches says more about shifts in how the regime constructs its own identity, as anti-colonial, Islamist, democratic, or belligerent, to name a few themes. The specific tones and language employed allude to how the regime seeks to portray itself at that specific point in time: more often than not, these speeches are a direct response to political events which make the regime feel threatened or confident. Either way, these speeches employ themes through which the regime explains its actions.

The main recurring themes here shift depending on the international climate. They are also a direct response to domestic incidents. One of the more common themes found in Bashir’s discourse is the shifting of blame away from his regime and onto domestic groups, international actors, and even predetermined consequences of history. He constructs a perception of the malicious ‘other,’ which serves to demarcate the boundaries of control over internal predicaments. When discussing why the government is not culpable in terms of internal security, Bashir places the blame on conspiracy, a dangerous media, or colonialism. His discourse shows a manipulation of events, effectively saying that his regime has been unwittingly forced into an undesired conflict or that the conflict was inherited. Talk of conspiracy and colonialism are most potent when the regime is under attack from the United States or the UN, especially after the passage of resolutions condemning the regime. When the international community tones down its attacks, however, Bashir reverts to placing blame on domestic forces.

From 2001 to 2003, Bashir shifted the blame squarely on international actors who ‘supported’ the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). In one speech he says that the conflict in the south is due to “war being staged against us by the external forces of aggression and elements of evil and betrayal from inside our country.” This statement came only weeks after the United States extended its sanctions on Sudan. President Bush, feeling pressure from various Christian and Black caucus pressure groups, began

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22 *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, “Sudan has stable and open foreign policy- president,” January 1, 2002.
to take a tougher stance on the regime by appointing a new envoy to the county.\textsuperscript{23} As the peace talks with the SPLA continued, with the help from the United States, Bashir toned down his talk of conspiracy, especially in 2003. As the conflict in the south was resolved in 2004, the one in Darfur intensified. This is when Bashir employed the most aggressive accusations of conspiracy yet. During the following years Bashir turned the controversy in Darfur into an issue of colonialism as he fell back on Sudan’s African identity. By shifting the focus of this issue away from the human rights abuses of the regime and onto a certain conceptualization of the aspirations of the West, Bashir looks to help and support from African countries in the UN.

Bashir’s regime, ever since gaining power in 1989, has been renowned for its bellicose, Islamist, and anti-American tone. However, findings from the speeches studied in this investigation reveal that this tone is considerably weakened and its usage quite isolated. Although references to colonialism and imperialism are not at all uncommon, instances of implicit anti-Americanism are quite rare during the period of analysis. Using the threat of imperialism is certainly self-serving in legitimizing the regime’s right to rule over its sovereign land. Still, Bashir fails to continue to the most obvious conclusion, that the imperialist conspiracy is led by the United States. Instead, Bashir’s attacks on the United States subsided as he consolidated power. This was during a period of overt American military presence in various parts of the Muslim world, and Bashir expressed his desire to normalize his country’s links with the United States. However, his anti-Western and anti-American stance flared once more in 2006 when the Sudanese regime was under continual criticism from the international community for its handling of the crisis in Darfur and US-Sudanese relationships were at their worst since 9/11.

This time period also saw a lessening of Bashir’s Islamist rhetoric. Despite this, however, there were still instances where Bashir fell back on Islamism. Bashir’s Islamist tone is strongest when he is looking to garner support of Islamist political groups in Khartoum or when his negotiation stance is jeopardized by the SPLA. For the most part, however, once Bashir’s position within the government is secure, his Islamist rhetoric lessens greatly. For example, he completely avoided any religious tone in a speech immediately after declaring a state of emergency and dissolving parliament in December 1999.\textsuperscript{24} At a time when his presidency was under the greatest amount of threat, in a speech following what was characterized as a ‘coup,’ he dropped the party line. From this point onwards one can observe a shift from an exclusivist position on the issue of religion, to an avoidance of it, to an outright acceptance of religious tolerance and pluralism. In a speech made two years later, Bashir spoke of the importance of political, cultural, and ethnic pluralism in Sudan. Religion was decidedly omitted.\textsuperscript{25} Only weeks later, however, Bashir called for freedom of worship.\textsuperscript{26} His later speeches, up until the present day, are littered with references to religious tolerance and dialogue between Islam and the West. After the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Bashir traveled to the southern capital of Juba and sang and danced along to Christian tunes. During the first decade of the NSR, it would have been unthinkable for an Islamist leader to celebrate peace, and the subsequent secularization of the south,

\textsuperscript{26} BBC Monitoring International Reports, “Sudan: President Bashir addresses regional summit,” January 10, 2002.
with his former enemies by partaking in these kinds of acts. Bashir’s discourse in this area shows a decisive break from the Islamist rhetoric commonly linked to Turabi.

The decrease in anti-Americanism in Bashir’s tone has allowed him to attempt to improve relations with the United States as well as with neighboring and European countries. In fact, he praised the United States on many occasions, which seems to be a precursor to an improvement in the relationship between the two countries. This shift is visible throughout 1999. At one point the regime indicated that the time was right for dialogue with the United States.27 By the end of the year, Bashir declared that Sudanese relations with the United States “remain at the top of our great concerns and our effort to correct its course is unending . . . through dialogue and understanding.”28 For a country like Sudan to insist upon an improvement in relations with the West, the issue of terrorism must be addressed. The opening up found in official discourse was also accompanied by a lack of support for terrorism. Nowhere in this period, from 1999 up until September 11, 2001, did Bashir praise terrorists or their ideologies. The Bashir regime capitalized on worldwide outrage against the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, to further place themselves on the ‘us’ side of America’s ‘us versus them’ conceptualization of the world. Bashir condemned the attacks in one speech,29 and in another said that his country was “in line with the international community as regards to the terrorist attacks against the United States that have shocked the world.”30 His discourse has also been matched with action as his government shared intelligence information on Bin Laden’s activities in Sudan during the 1990s.

During the following years, Bashir’s discourse followed a discernable pattern of denouncing fanaticism, which in turn somehow ‘proved’ that his regime ought to be embraced by the international community. Here, one observes a resolute shift in how Sudan understands its relations with the United States. The regime comprehends the necessity of improving these relations. This dramatic shift is embodied in a speech which would have been unthinkable only five years earlier. In it, Bashir called the United States the “most effective country in the world” and told his audience, “we salute” and “applaud the position of the US in the peace process and await true bilateral relations.”31

While the regime succeeded in negotiating peace, moreover a peace on US-led terms, 2004 witnessed a subtle return to isolationism. This had much to do with the events in Darfur and the unprecedented international spotlight on the country. The more volatile the media and international community became, the more defensive the regime’s stance. It became less likely to give in to US or UN demands than it was during negotiations with the SPLA. This isolationism, however, was limited to the West. At the same time, Sudan aggressively embraced its fellow AU members. In one speech Bashir revealed his firm stance against international intervention in Darfur, but accepted AU help: “The responsibility of protecting civilians lies with the state and its sovereignty and the activities of the African mission.”32 By now, Sudan’s reliance on its African identity was significant. The regime began to frame the ‘War on Terror’ in

African terms and began to voice its intentions to join regional efforts in establishing a political and economic stance on regional security. The speeches from the past few years are significant for two main reasons. Not only do they show a shift away from embracing the international community, and especially the United States, but they reveal an attempt by the government to embrace an African identity. This is significant considering the fact that all previous Sudanese governments, especially the Turabi-Bashir regime, relied heavily upon their Arab identity to promote legitimacy. Thus, it appears that, as a means of dealing with the Darfur crisis on his own terms, Bashir is adopting an African stance with which he can legitimize his regime among African nations and thereby fend off UN or US intervention.

These themes, already mentioned in the section on ceremonial speeches, are the most prevalent within Bashir’s discourse; they are also the ones which leave the reader skeptical because of their incongruence with policy. In many cases, the themes which highlight the ‘good’ of the regime’s policies are an act of safeguarding legitimacy rather than an actual promise of a shift in policy. More than anything, they detract from the legitimacy of political opposition and insurgency groups. When compared to news reports, they reveal a high degree of hypocrisy.

Bashir’s speeches also focus on the domestic audience, promoting the regime’s credentials in terms of security and welfare. This is meant to enhance the regime’s eudaemonic legitimacy. Since Sudan’s internal security has always been a thorn in the side of any regime, Bashir’s regime has been able to legitimize itself greatly through actively striving for and achieving peace with armed insurgency groups and protecting the ‘homeland.’ It is important for Bashir to portray himself as the peacemaker and emphasize the massive efforts his government has undertaken to bring about peace. When the government signed the CPA, Bashir managed to take credit personally. In an address to a crowd of southerners, he said, “Peace is the gift I bring to you.” In taking credit for the CPA, he effectively stripped away legitimacy from the SPLM. The influx of oil money, which began in 1999, also enabled the regime to promote development, albeit within the center of the country while ignoring the peripheral regions.

While the government relies significantly on achievements in the realm of national security to promote eudaemonic legitimacy, Bashir also refers to accomplishments in other areas, such as development or promoting abstract values associated with ‘democracy’ to legitimize its rule. Bashir talks often of government successes in areas of economic, infrastructure, communications, educational and social development. Areas of key importance, in the eyes of the regime, are oil production and attracting foreign development. More often than not, though, this rhetoric highlights empty promises rather than actual realizations.

The aim of this analysis is not merely to see if regime discourse matches its policies, which would indicate a genuine shift in the nature of the regime, but also to investigate whether discourse facilitates policy shifts or vice-versa. This can help to determine whether external events led to the need to formulate a discourse to justify a change in policy or if shifts in discourse precede those in governmental action. The main events which will be tracked are the power struggle within the NSR, the ‘fallout’ from 9/11, the signing of the CPA with the SPLA/M, and the escalation of conflict in Darfur.

Analysis

When compared to 1998, the discourse of 1999 displays a drastic shift. This discourse accompanied a power struggle within the regime. This period was characterized by Bashir and Turabi trying to out-maneuver each other in the realms of national reconciliation and the creation of an improved foreign policy. The speech Bashir delivered immediately following his palace coup against Turabi dropped the Islamist line. By this time, Bashir has solidified his power and guaranteed his position as the primary ruler of Sudan. Through dropping Turabi, Bashir was able to improve relations with his neighbors who viewed him as preferable. Also, Bashir was able to turn his back to the international Islamism and terrorism preferred by the hard-line Islamists. In other words, turning Turabi into part of the political opposition improved Bashir’s legitimacy abroad. The benefits of this, such as a normalization of relations with Egypt or the dropping of sanctions, were immediately obvious as the country expanded oil export operations.

The discourse during the period from 2001 to 2004 focused on the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the United States and the peace process with the SPLA. These two items, though not immediately connected, do in fact influence each other. The regime’s discourse hinted at a shift in its hard-core and pro-terrorism stance, and this shift accelerated during this period. In the aftermath of 9/11, Bashir found himself on the side of the West in the ‘War on Terror.’ While this was beneficial for the regime (i.e. it did not turn into another Afghanistan), the ultimate sacrifice was the loss of a key negotiation stance in the peace process with the SPLA. The regime’s discourse on the war in the South had never been favorable even as its stance softened in other areas. By the end of this period, though, Bashir was referring to the SPLA leader Garang as a ‘brother’ and was actively embracing the black African section of Sudan.

This shift is quite dramatic since it was followed by the signing of a peace agreement with terms upon which the Bashir-Turabi regime would have never agreed. In many ways, the US-led ‘War on Terror’ facilitated this. A prerequisite to being a US ally was ending the so-called war between Christians and Muslims in southern Sudan. And since the United States was flexing its muscles in Iraq and Afghanistan, Bashir gave into American demands of a peace on southern terms. Thus, immediately before the signing of the CPA, Bashir’s discourse arrived at a point the furthest from the old party line as any time since 1999. The slow progression of Bashir’s rhetoric from 1999 to 2004 enabled him to enact policy that would have been unthinkable in 1998. However, this was the peak of Bashir’s flirtation with the West and political openness, since the escalating war in Darfur put the regime on the defensive.

The past few years have seen the appearance of a more bellicose regime. Its tendencies, however, do not rely on the same tone as in the 1990s. The Bashir regime is a pragmatic one. It takes advantage of gainful situations when it finds itself in a favorable position. Conversely, Bashir isolates his country when on the defensive. No issue discussed during the period of this analysis has put the regime in more of an awkward situation than the conflict in Darfur. The international media quickly made Darfur into a selling point for politicians and celebrities alike and it received more attention during the first year of violence than the 21-year civil war in the South. Unable to deal with this frenzy, Bashir’s discourse was characterized by a retreat from the international community and brazen slanders at any entity looking to resolve the conflict. While talks of conspiracy and imperviousness to the United Nations are constant in his speeches, there is little or no reliance on Islamism and isolationism. Instead of returning to his Islamist roots, Bashir’s discourse shows a pronounced move towards Africa. There is a significant amount of reliance on the African Union in his rhetoric, which increases
under the influence of the international community’s growing intervention as a response to allegations of ‘genocide’ and human rights violations in Darfur. In fact, the speeches from these years are more volatile and can be seen as a direct response to external events. Discourse here does not precede policy, but accompanies policies which are implemented in the light of a growing political crisis. Thus, this period has given rise to a familiar, autocratic regime within the context of the political discourse. It is a decidedly different one, though, through its reliance on its African identity and neighbors.

The period of this analysis witnessed a regime retreat from its core Islamist roots as the result of a power struggle between the country’s two leading politicians. Furthermore, the regime implemented a policy of complete reversal in the international arena, as it brought a minority group into the government and embraced its ‘African roots.’ Thus, the contemporary regime is no longer Islamist or ‘neo-fundamentalist’ as many authors have written about the 1990s. In terms of governmental policy, the regime is no longer able to implement sharia nation-wide and has cast out the main Islamist ideologue, Hassan al-Turabi. Bashir betrayed the Islamization project in favor of a more pragmatic stance. His discourse rejects the exclusivist nature of political Islam in favor of plurality for the sake of improving relations with the non-Muslim states of Africa. Bashir’s rhetoric decidedly omits references to Islam’s glorious past as he looks forward to making Sudan a powerful player which takes part in the international political economy. The jihadist discourse gave way to anti-colonial rhetoric as he justified fighting foreign evils. Finally, there is no talk of exporting the ‘Islamic revolution,’ but rather of unifying Africa under a more shared ideology. Thus, there has been a substantial shift in identity and legitimizing mechanisms.

For the sake of maintaining power over the country’s peripheral areas and keeping the international community at bay, however, many of the positive steps taken since 1999 have been made null and void due to the international backlash over the crisis in Darfur. As such, the regime still maintains certain characteristics seen in its first decade of power, albeit justified by a different logic. The Bashir regime has reverted to its autocratic and defiant manner; its discourse and policies put it more in line with the authoritarian states of Africa. Its identity is African rather than Islamist. Its logic is no longer fundamentalist, but pragmatic. Thus, the findings from regime discourse and policies show that the Bashir regime is an autocratic police state that leans on pragmatism to survive. Yet, this willingness to compromise falters when the regime’s delicate legitimacy is under threat. As such, the international community, if it truly wishes to work constructively with the Sudanese government as it did during the 2002-2005 peace negotiations in southern Sudan, ought to reexamine its methods. Actions such as the International Criminal Court rulings in mid-2008, while arguably morally appropriate, fail to engage the regime in a manner that would truly bring the government to the negotiating table. Thus, over time, the regime becomes more isolationist and less willing to cooperate with international organizations and other actors. If true progress is to be made in Darfur, the international community should learn from past successes and reexamine how it engages the Bashir regime.
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“Huntington’s foundational work on political development,” argues Francis Fukuyama, “was controversial when it first appeared. Thirty years later, the need for order is acute as ever, and the means of achieving it elusive.”\(^1\) Indeed, Huntington’s *Political Order in Changing Societies* was deemed revolutionary, as well as challenging, by many scholars at his time. It was controversial to the extent that it was seen as a “blow to developmentalism.”\(^2\) This influential book, published in 1968, constituted a clear departure from earlier views in the development literature which argued that “economic growth, social modernization and political development went hand in hand and were mutually reinforced,”\(^3\) while convincingly maintaining that “modernity breeds stability, but modernization breeds instability.”\(^4\) A decade after Fukuyama’s comment, it remains clear that ‘forty years later “the need for order is still acute as ever.”’\(^5\) The twin issues of order and stability are still germane to the study of our contemporary world—maybe more so than ever before. Accordingly, a thorough study and a careful examination of the main assumptions and ideas laid down by Huntington are essential. In order to understand Huntington’s influence, it is necessary to first examine the literature on political development published between the aftermath of World War II and the release of his book in 1968. The validity of some critiques of his book will be examined next. An assessment of Huntington’s basic premise of ‘order and stability’ will then be conducted, followed by an examination of his assumptions on political institutions, political parties, and revolution as presented in this work.

Both the theory and the study of politics have undergone some remarkable changes in the period after the Second World War. David Apter notes in *Some Conceptual Approaches to the Study of Modernization*, that “[p]olitical science became a specialized...
He acknowledges that this specialization entailed a move from a more descriptive to a more analytic oriented mode of political analysis. The fact that the study of politics was enmeshed in descriptions that lacked a proper analytical framework was set out by David Easton in his seminal *The Political System*. Easton acknowledges that “[m]ost works on politics do not pass beyond the comprehension of the ordinary well-educated person, untutored in political science.” However, the move from descriptive legal-historical views to analytical political analysis was not a smooth one. Apter identifies two trends that have developed out of the dissatisfaction with the legal-historical approach to the study of politics. One is the neo-institutionalist approach, which acknowledges the significance of the study of sociological factors in political analysis. This school borrows tools from sociology in order to study various groupings in society (e.g. family, religious institutions, the state) as a means to further understand the dynamics of social life and organization. The second trend, which was dissatisfied with the neo-institutionalist approach,9 incorporated several aspects of sociological theory while utilizing them in an attempt to establish quantified, value-free, scientifically driven studies of political phenomena. This behavioral trend pushed political science in a much more scientific direction that resembles the natural sciences.10 However, this positivist tendency within the study of politics was not without its unfortunate consequences. Political scientists spent too much effort and time in the study of total systems and grand theories that risked being not fact-driven.11 Moreover, the body of adopted sociological theories at that time led many political scientists to become involved in vain attempts to establish a value-free, scientifically objective discipline: a goal that is a “myth,” and “unattainable in spite of the best intentions.”12 Furthermore, the influence of certain sociological theories led many political scientists to identify the most developed societies in Western liberal-democratic terms.13 In fact, it was during the post-World War II era that the term ‘political development’ originated. The term ‘political development’ originated during the Cold War, marking a departure from the old view of ‘progress’ which lost its innocence with the rise of dictators and the Holocaust.14 As a discipline, political development was built on Weber and Parson’s binary view of societies and the dichotomy of modernity and tradition. Modernization was the process that enabled the newly-independent, ‘backward’ countries to escape from tradition, overcome underdevelopment, and develop a similar experience to that of the West.15 The process of modernization was thus a process of ‘Westernization,’ succinctly summarized by Hegel: “The world history is moving from

7 Ibid., 2.
9 David Ernest Apter, 12.
12 David Easton, 223.
13 Joseph LaPalombara, 1259.
East to West, and Europe represents the final stage of world history per se.”16 Perhaps Gabriel Almond best describes this view:

The political scientist who wishes to study political modernization in the non-Western areas will have to master the model of the modern, which in turn can only be derived from the most careful empirical and formal analysis of the functions of modern Western polities.17

However, empirical evidence does not prove this view. The economic growth and social change promised by early modernization theorists was never realized, and many scholars began to question the premises of this paradigm. As one scholar said, “the assumption that countries of the Third World, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, were developing was as much a wish as an empirically determined fact.”18 In Breakdowns of Modernization, Eisendtadt explains the crisis of modernization thinking:

This pessimism has been mainly due to the fact that in many new nations, where initially modern frameworks were established in different institutional fields, especially in the political one, the progress towards modernization was not only slow, but also these constitutional regimes faltered, giving way, in their place, to various autocratic and authoritarian or semi-authoritarian regimes.19

Eisendtadt also notices a new phenomenon: “progress towards modernization” created a discrepancy between the demands of various social groups and the ability of the central government to deal with these demands – thus leading to political instability.20 Certainly, these ‘new’ views marked a certain teleological shift in modernization theory, from the model of the modern to political stability. It was during this heated debate between these two views in the late 1960s that Huntington first published his article “Political Development and Political Decay.”21 Three years later, this developed into his seminal Political Order in Changing Societies, in which he addressed the problem of ‘discrepancy’ that leads to political instability. In contrast to many of his contemporaries who equated political development with stability, Huntington differentiated between modernity and modernization, arguing that while “modernity breeds stability, modernization breeds instability.”

The preceding section highlighted the historical circumstances during which Huntington’s book was published. This historical overview emphasized the several dominant views underlying the realm of development at the time of his inquiry. However, some scholars, critical of the modernization school, stress the importance of the various historical circumstances which underlined the formation and molded the objectives of this school. These critics emphasize the importance of the political dynamics of the

16 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel as quoted in Ibid.
20 Ibid., 350.
21 Samuel P. Huntington, “Political Development and Political Decay,” World Politics 17, no. 3 (April, 1965): 386-430.
Cold War as well as the war in Vietnam in shaping modernization theories. For them, it was within this political environment that modernization developed its ethnocentric nature. For these critics, modernization was seen as disguised imperialism.

The most common critique of modernization is that it is not innocent. It is Western, ethnocentric, and, even worse, colonial in nature. As one harsh critic stated, modernization theorists seem to be “more informative about politics in [their countries] of origin than they are about the exotic areas studied.”

Modernization scholars themselves admit that they are concerned with the rest of the world for ‘practical’ reasons. For instance, Gabriel Almond notes:

Even in the absence of this compelling scientific justification for broadening the scope of comparative politics, practical policy motives have forced the modern political scientist to concern himself with the whole range of political systems which exist in the modern world.

It also seems that, other than its ‘practical’ aspect, modernization has another ideological facet. Lucian Pye notes that there is a certain ‘mandate’ that the United States inherited from the European colonizers:

[Now that colonialism is ended, we see the United States and others through various forms of foreign aid and technical assistance continuing the effort to shape numerous loosely-structured societies into reasonable facsimiles of the modern nation-state.]

It also seems that the teleological shift in modernization—from an emphasis on democracy as a goal of all polities to a focus on institutional stability—is derived of practical motives and ideological prejudices. At the core of this shift is the fact that the much of the Third World was dominated by highly unstable polities. O’Brien, in his critique of this shift, notes two other reasons affecting this change. First, US policy shifted from a reformist phase to a more conservative anti-revolutionary one. This change may be related to the counter-insurgency objectives of the United States, especially in Vietnam. Second, American domestic politics experienced instability and violence. The 1960s witnessed a remarkable increase in mass political violence (e.g. the riots of 1967 in Detroit and Newark, and the police riot at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968, et cetera). This political upheaval was met by ‘law and order,’ a slogan that held an implied appreciation for the Soviet system as a working model of political order. The emphasis on ‘law and order’ is seen as the conservative formula to serve American interests in the Cold War context. These two factors shaped the environment in which Huntington produced his book.

These critiques of the modernization school fall into what C.S. Lewis calls “The Historical Point of View” as presented in his fictional work, The Screwtape Letters:

The Historical Point of View, put briefly, means that when a learned man is presented with any statement in an ancient author, the one question he never asks is whether it is true. He asks who influenced the ancient writer, and how

22 Donal Cruise O’Brien, 376.
26 Ibid., 370-1.
far the statement is consistent with what he said in other books, and what phase in the writer’s development, or in the general history of thought, it illustrates, and how it affected later writers, and how often it has been misunderstood. And what the general course of criticism on it has been for the last ten years, and what is the ‘present state of the question.’ To regard the ancient writer as a possible source of knowledge – to anticipate that what he said could possible modify your thoughts or your behaviour – this would be rejected as unutterably simple-minded.27

In this excerpt, Screwtape, a wise demon, is explaining to his young nephew Wormwood an age-old demonic strategy to distract people from old truths. This view holds that old authors and books are usually studied in their historical contexts. Seldom would anyone question the assumptions laid down in old books based on their validity. In fact, this age-old demonic strategy aims at shifting attention away from the essence of the old ideas and views by shedding light on the less important—and less-valued—historical context.

The previous critiques suffer from a major flaw: they lack value judgment. These critiques emphasize the various dynamics that underlined the formation, development, and demise of the modernization school. They explain the different circumstances that preceded Huntington’s book in 1968. They also stress the agenda behind the shift that this book represented in modernization thinking. Certainly, these critiques emphasize the reasons which led the author to reach his arguments and assumptions. However, they do not provide enough ground to judge the book’s validity. In fact, such historical critiques fail to answer a very simple—yet often neglected—question: whether the ideas presented by Huntington in his book were true or false. This obsession with the various historical dynamics obscures, at least in this case, the value of the premises set out by Huntington. In other words, the value of Huntington’s ideas is not necessarily—if ever—linked to the historical circumstances that led to their formation. What is needed in order to assess these ideas and premises is a proper value judgment, not historical explanations. One should question the validity of Huntington’s assumptions based on their own value, not because they are the outcome of their historical context. The critiques adopting the Historical Point of View should therefore be dismissed for their lack of value judgment. This issue of value judgment will be discussed more extensively in the following section.

Order and stability are at the heart of Huntington’s analysis. At the very beginning of his book, he asserts that “[t]he most important political distinction among countries concerns not their form of government but their degree of government.”28 He identifies that “[t]he primary problem of politics is the lag in the development of political institutions behind social and economic change.”29 In that sense, he adds, “[c]ommunist totalitarian states and Western liberal states both belong generally in the category of effective rather than debilitated political systems.”30 In a clear deviation from the ‘classical’ political philosophy question of “what is the right, or the good, political order; and how it may be achieved?”31 Huntington seems to be answering, to quote Mark Kesselman, that, “[o]rder is not considered a prerequisite for achieving

28 Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 1.
29 Ibid., 5.
30 Ibid., 1.
the highest political good, but itself becomes the highest political good.”

A major problem with Huntington’s view is that it lacks proper value judgment. Instead, Huntington resorted to moral obtuseness in his attempt to reach a scientifically fact-driven solution for the surging problems of political instability and decay in many Third World countries.

Huntington tries to dismiss the question, What is the good society?, and posits that a stable society is a good society. However, Leo Strauss identifies a major flaw with similar attempts to evade this essential question in order to reach ‘ethical-neutrality.’ It is simply impossible, in Strauss’s view, to have a value-free political science. In order to be truly scientific, political science has to define the boundaries of what is political—that is, to distinguish between things that are political and those that are non-political. This distinction—what is relevant to the state and what is not—is impossible without defining what constitutes the society or state. But it is impossible to define the society or state “without regard to its purpose.” Huntington seems to be falling into the same trap: he is trying to define the good state and the good government “without regard to its purpose:”

A government with a low level of institutionalization is not just a weak government; it is also a bad government. The function of government is to govern. A weak government, a government which lacks authority, fails to perform its function and is immoral in the same sense in which a corrupt judge, a cowardly soldier, or an ignorant teacher is immoral.

Huntington seems to be telling us that, putting the philosophical jargon aside, a government’s duty is simply to govern just like a judge judges or a teacher teaches. Clearly, this is a partial view of reality. Knowledge alone does not constitute a good teacher; nor does impartiality make a good judge. A good teacher is one who successfully fulfills the vocation’s purpose; the same can be said for judges. Similarly, a government is only considered successful when it fulfills its purpose. In Strauss’s words, “[b]y defining the state . . . with reference to its purpose, one admits a standard in the light of which one must judge political actions and institutions.”

Moreover, Huntington extends his ethically-neutral argument by asserting that “the one thing communist governments can do is to govern; they do provide effective authority.” Again, this recurrent theme of moral obtuseness resulting from the lack of value judgment can lead to disastrous outcomes. Strauss warns particularly against this in Natural Right and History,

The prohibition against value judgments in social sciences would lead to the consequence that we are permitted to give a strictly factual description of the overt acts that can be observed in concentration camps and perhaps an equally factual analysis of the motivation of the actors concerned: we would not be permitted to speak of cruelty.

Indeed, Huntington is providing a factual description of authoritarian systems and

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32 Mark Kesselman, “Review: Order or Movement? The Literature of Political Development as Ideology,” 142.
33 Leo Strauss, “What is Political Philosophy?” 351.
34 Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 28.
35 Leo Strauss, “What is Political Philosophy?” 351.
36 Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 32.
37 Leo Strauss, Natural Right and History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 52.
equating them with liberal-democratic systems simply because both systems do govern. Even during the heyday of communism, the accomplishments of the highly institutionalized USSR seemed to be much less valued than those accomplishments achieved by Scandinavia or Switzerland. In Alexander Groth’s words, “[t]he peace of Zurich is not quite the same as the peace behind the Berlin Wall or the confines of the Gulag Archipelago.”

Certainly, Huntington’s assumption looks odd in retrospect. The institutional development of these communist countries turned out to be no more than a mere façade. It seems quite clear why the former USSR would not have dared to take the risk of testing free elections or plebiscites. It is equally apparent why the former Soviet Empire would not have dared to risk testing an open emigration policy in any of its satellites.

In fact, Huntington fails to see how these authoritarian systems govern. Groth notes that Huntington never mentions the evils of these ‘good’ authoritarian governments: not once does he allude to the concentration camps, prisons, censorship, and political terror. It seems that Huntington has nothing to say about the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. Unsurprisingly, it seems also that Stalin’s main atrocity, in Huntington’s view, was weakening the Party. The literature on terror and repression in communist states as well as Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany is extensive, and is in no need of repetition here. But the fact remains: these totalitarian states, whether communist or fascist, have committed the most heinous of crimes. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt exposes the blatant evil caused by these totalitarian systems,

> Until now the totalitarian belief that everything is possible seems to have proved only that everything can be destroyed. Yet, in their effort to prove that everything is possible, totalitarian regimes have discovered without knowing it that there are crimes which men can neither punish nor forgive. When the impossible was made possible it became the unpunishable, unforgivable absolute evil which could no longer be understood by the evil motives of self-interest, greed, covetousness, resentment, lust for power, and cowardice; and which therefore anger could not revenge, love could not endure, friendship could not forgive.

Huntington’s failure to condemn the evils committed by these ‘good’ governments, as well his dismissal of the question ‘what is the good society?’ seem to be more serious than they may first appear. In Strauss’s words,

> The events of 1933 would rather seem to have proved, if such proof was necessary, that man cannot abandon the question of the good society, and that he cannot free himself from the responsibility for answering it by deferring to history or to any other power different from his own reason.

The concept of stability and order alone, stripped of its moral connotations, ignores the dangers of politically sanctified repression by a strong government—and

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39 Francis Fukuyama, review of *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 216.
41 Ibid., 219.
42 Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 27.
44 Leo Strauss, “What is Political Philosophy?,” 355.
may lead to disastrous outcomes. Huntington’s premise of stability and order can only be beneficial if it is seen as an essential means to achieving the good society.

In addition to the ethical dimension discussed above, it seems that there are other problems with Huntington’s premise of stability and order as the ultimate goal of all polities. For Huntington, the main problem is the creation of a legitimate public order that is a prerequisite for liberty:

The primary problem is not liberty but the creation of a legitimate public order. Men may, of course, have order without liberty, but they cannot have liberty without order. Authority has to exist before it can be limited.

This concept is reaffirmed in the concluding paragraph of this volume:

Organization is the road to political power, but it is also the foundation of political stability and thus the precondition of political liberty . . . In the modernizing world he controls the future who organizes its politics.

Kesselman questions the validity of this argument on both logical and empirical grounds. There is no logical ground for the assumption that order should precede freedom. In fact, Huntington’s explanation that men “cannot have liberty without order” is not sufficient to support his assumption. Indeed, one might ask, Why not create authority while safeguarding freedom simultaneously? Moreover, empirical evidence seems also to diverge from Huntington’s view. To be certain, as Kesselman points out, it is difficult to assert that order must precede liberty. Countries where political order and liberty developed simultaneously (England), or where liberty preceded the formation of strong political authority (the United States) turned out to be more liberal than countries where order preceded liberty (Prussia). Another problem with Huntington’s principles of order and stability stems from the vagueness of the concept. Groth identified three different attempts to conceptualize stability and order: first, they can refer to an absence in visible public violence and disorder; second, they may denote a sense of “social harmony and reconciliation in which people are not only peaceful in their overt behavior, but in which no substantial group of people in the society is figuratively ‘straining the leash’ to inflict violence upon someone or something, including the government”; and third, a stricter definition of order and stability may simply entail the success of the regime to carry out its objectives and operations without being affected by either actual, or inclinations towards, disorder.

The focus on political stability and order “as the highest political good” has its own problems. As Pye notes, this concept does not specify how much order is required and for what purposes change should be directed. Another problem stems from the fact that the notion of political stability presupposes a certain degree of institutional development. Accordingly, it cannot be applied to certain underdeveloped societies.
Moreover, as Apter points out, indicators of instability (e.g. coups or armed revolts) are very rough and hence they might mislead an observer into concentrating on more “epiphenomenal” variables. As Apter points out, indicators of instability (e.g. coups or armed revolts) are very rough and hence they might mislead an observer into concentrating on more “epiphenomenal” variables. In addition, political instability may not be the outcome of modernization or change in a society, as presented by Huntington. According to Roth, instability may be part of pre-colonial native tradition, as in the case of sub-Saharan kingdoms. Finally, on a more complex level, development cannot be confined to a single variable. In fact, stability may not be desirable to all aspects and stages of development. Development can be seen as an interchange between stability and change. Governments in the process of modernization often reach an effective ceiling very quickly. To promote stability is to halt the process of modernization—and possibly reverse it. Certainly, once this ceiling is reached, governments should change their political structure, thus allowing for the development process to resume its course.

In Huntington’s analysis, political institutionalization is essential to establishing stability in any society. Throughout the book, the author continues to assert that stability is the natural outcome of slowly developed political institutions that fail to absorb the growing social mobilization. To this end, Huntington identifies institutions as “stable, valued, recurring patterns of behavior.” Institutionalization is thus “the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability.” In fact, not only does society need strong political institutions to ensure its stability, but the absence of these strong political institutions may prevent the society from defining and realizing its common interests. As Huntington stated, “[t]he capacity to create political institutions is the capacity to create public interests.”

Huntington presents four major aspects to measure the level of institutionalization of any organization: adaptability-rigidity, complexity-simplicity, autonomy-subordination, and coherence-disunity. However, as Groth identifies, Huntington does not further explain how to compare the levels of institutionalization among different organizations. In other words, he does not specify the weight to be assigned to, say, adaptability versus complexity, or autonomy versus coherence. Whether one of the four characteristics can compensate for others and whether all the characteristics are needed concurrently are among the many questions left for the reader to decide. Also, these four aspects may partially diverge. For example, an increase in the complexity and adaptability of a given organization may undermine its coherence. Huntington himself, notes Kesselman, admits the difficulty in applying the measure in his discussion on strong parties in a multiparty system: “In a multiparty system strong parties are normally more coherent, more complexly organized, but less flexible and less autonomous than are strong parties in a two-party system.”

Huntington identifies three types of polities by examining the ratio of...
institutionalization to political participation: *traditional* polities characterized by low levels of political participation as well as institutionalization; *transitional* polities characterized by high levels of political participation outstripping the lower levels of institutionalization; and *developed* polities where the high level of political participation is absorbed by an adequate level of institutionalization. Kesselman contends that a fourth case might be added to the list, characterized by a high level of institutionalization that outstrips political mobilization. This process, dubbed “overinstitutionalization,” is characterized by very strong institutions that integrate participation so successfully that they stifle change, leading to political constraint. Here, political constraint differs from political decay: whereas the former can be seen as the outcome of overinstitutionalization, the latter is the result of inadequate institutionalization. Moreover, political decay can be seen as associated with transitional polities characterized by weak institutions, while political constraint appears to be associated with post-industrial societies where institutions are too strong to adapt. In order to illustrate this point, Kesselman uses France as an example of an overinstitutionalized country. France was chosen because it represents a developed country in which political instability prevails for indigenous political reasons—and not because of the mobilization of the frustrated population. Throughout the study, Kesselman shows that France suffers from a plethora of institutions which are autonomous and at the same time extraordinarily resistant to change.

VI

Pertinent to the issue of political institutionalization is the issue of political parties. Huntington considers these the “principal institutional means for organizing the expansion of political participation.” In conformity with his initial view on the vital link between stability and level of institutionalization in a society, Huntington emphasizes the relationship between political parties and political order:

A strong political party system has the capability, first to expand participation through the system and thus to preempt or to divert atomic or revolutionary political activity, and, second, to moderate and channel the participation of newly mobilized groups in such a manner as not to disrupt the system . . . The development of such party institutions is the prerequisite for political stability in modernizing countries.”

Two aspects of this argument are important to consider: Huntington’s assumption that the institutional interest of the party coincides with public interest, and an assessment of Leninism in order to expose some contradictions in Huntington’s view of institutionalization.

Initially, Huntington asserts that the institutional interest of the party has to

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62 Ibid., 78-80.
64 Ibid., 27.
66 Kesselman, Mark. “Overinstitutionalization and Political Constraint: The Case of France,” 27-9, 42-4. Kesselman shows that the relation between the local governments and the national government is characterized by “administrative collusion and political stalemate” which leads to “the perpetuation of antiquated and fragmented systems in the spheres of local government and political parties,” thus explaining the autonomy of the French political institutions on the expense of their adaptation.
67 Ibid., 398.
coincide with the public interest. For example, he maintains that “[t]he public interest of the Soviet Union is approximated by the institutional interests of the top organs of the Communist Party: ‘What’s good for the Presidium is good for the Soviet Union.’”

However, two striking cases stand in sharp opposition to Huntington’s assertion: Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. In both countries, to use Huntington’s formula, the dominant parties “[expanded] participation through the system . . . and [certainly, they also channeled] the participation of newly mobilized groups.” In fact, the scope of party-state organizations in the Nazi and Fascist regimes exceeded that of even the liberal democracies. In June 1943, membership of the Italian Fascist Party constituted about 12 percent of the population. Membership of the National Socialist German Workers’ (Nazi) Party during World War II constituted a similar portion. Groth adds that the proportion of party membership under the Fascist and Nazi regimes constituted triple the percentage of the Soviet population’s membership in the Communist Party.

The fact that Hitler and Mussolini brought unmatched levels of mass organization to their countries during their leadership is undeniable. But was the Nazi Party—even during its heyday—articulating the public interest of Germany? Was the Fascist Party representing the public interest of Italy? Huntington’s answers to these questions seem rather disturbing:

The public interest is the interest of public institutions . . . In a complex political system, many governmental organizations and procedures represent many different aspects of the public interest.

Also relevant to the discussion on political parties is Huntington’s view of the Leninist party organization. Huntington asserts that “Leninism is a theory of political development [as it] deals with the bases of political mobilization, [and] the methods of political institutionalization, the foundations of public order.” Lenin was successful in formulating a theory that explains “how to organize and institutionalize the expansion of political participation.” For Lenin, the basis for political order rested in the supremacy of the party over all social forces. Huntington then affirms that communist states applying the Leninist model “demonstrate high levels of political stability and institutionalization in comparison to the political systems of most other countries at similar levels of social and economic development.” However, empirical evidence runs against such an assumption. Under communist rule, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Hungary all had party organizations carefully modeled after the Leninist model. However, they all suffered from crises threatening the very existence of the ruling regimes. In addition, despite the fact that the Leninist model in these countries increased the proportion of unionized labor compared to its pre-World War II levels, it surely was not effective in establishing firm popular foundations. Moreover, as Groth points out, one cannot make the case that these countries have experienced

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69 Ibid., 23.
70 Alexander J. Groth, “The Institutional Myth: Huntington’s Order Revisited,” 211.
71 Ibid., 212. Groth notes that the Soviet population’s involvement in the CPSU constituted less than 4 percent in 1955.
72 Ibid., 211.
73 Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 25.
74 Ibid., 342.
75 Ibid., 335.
76 Ibid., 339.
77 Ibid., 336.
78 Alexander J. Groth, 222.
relative improvement compared to their pre-communist era. In fact, it seems that the Leninist model suffers from an inherent anti-institutionalist element: the de facto rule of the party is concentrated in the hands of one or a few individuals who have supra-organizational powers that allow them to “manipulate, purge, shake up and shape up the political party.” The fact that “[t]he interest of all other groups and individuals must be sacrificed, if necessary, to insure the survival and success of the party and its victory” only increases the arbitrary power of the party leadership and thus runs in sheer contradiction to his earlier contention that “[i]nstitutional interests differ from the interests of the individuals who are in the institutions.” Not only does the Leninist political party model have inherent anti-institutionalist elements, but it also tends to incorporate indigenous traditions of government that had existed before the regime-change. Faced by serious changes in the environment, and in spite of apparent institutional models and ideological inclinations, political leaders tend to resort to indigenous pre-revolutionary—and hence non-Leninist—traditions of government that dominate its administrative practices.

Perhaps one of the most insightful discussions in the present volume is the one on revolutions. Revolution is yet another aspect of modernizing or changing societies. It is defined as a “rapid fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership, and government activity and policies.” Moreover, by virtue of being an aspect of modernization,

It will not occur in highly traditional societies with very low levels of social and economic complexity. Nor will it occur in highly modern societies. Like other forms of violence and instability, it is most likely to occur in societies which have experienced some social and economic development and where the processes of political modernization and political development have lagged behind the processes of social and economic change.

Huntington identifies two main prerequisites for revolution: first, inadequate political institutions which are incapable of channeling newly mobilized groups; and second, the desire of these groups to participate in the political sphere. Huntington also distinguishes between two types of revolution, the Western and the Eastern. In the Western model of revolution (e.g. France, Russia, and Mexico) the traditional political institutions of the ancien régime, headed by a monarch or dominated by land-owning elite, collapse due to a crisis. This collapse is followed by the mobilization of new groups into politics, and then by the establishment of new political institutions. Moreover, the collapse of the ancien régime is followed by a struggle between moderates – who hold power briefly after the fall – and radicals, who go on to overthrow the moderates. The revolution originates in urban centers and then gradually expands to the countryside. In contrast, the Eastern revolution (e.g. the latter phases of the Chinese revolution and Vietnam) takes place against modernizing regimes. In this model, the expansion

79 Ibid., 223.
80 Ibid., 226, 229.
81 Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 339.
82 Ibid., 25.
83 Guenther Roth, 203.
84 Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 264.
85 Ibid., 265.
86 Ibid., 275.
of political participation and the creation of new political institutions are carried out simultaneously. The revolutionaries base their activities in rural areas in order get the support of the peasantry. The occupation of the capital, unlike the Western model, comes in the last phase of the revolution. During this process, moderates are forced to take either the side of the government or the more radical revolutionaries—or are eliminated altogether.87

However, Robert Dix, in a study on the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, notes that these two cases do not follow either model.88 For instance, these revolutions happened in semi-modern societies that coexisted with a traditional regime. In contradistinction to the Eastern and Western models, both the Cuban and Nicaraguan societies are characterized by higher living standards for their populations, who are relatively more literate and more urbanized. Moreover, the peasantry was not massively involved during the revolutionary struggle. In Cuba, the number of peasants actively assisting Castro’s guerilla forces was only about half of the total number of these forces. In Nicaragua, the number of involved peasantry was even less as the majority of the forces came from elite families. As Dix points out, neither mass peasant mobilization nor a widespread peasant uprising were requisites for the winning of power. In addition, the revolutionary action took place simultaneously in urban centers as well in the countryside. Finally, despite the vital role the moderates played in the overthrow of the incumbent regimes in both Cuba and Nicaragua, they never played any such role in determining the direction of the new revolutionary order.89 In order to explain this distinct revolutionary model—which he dubs the Latin American pattern of revolution—Dix adds another dimension to Huntington’s classification of pre-revolutionary regime types: the distinction between types of societies. Moreover, Dix admits that other variables may be incorporated as well: for instance the proximity to foreign countries that are involved with the insurrection, the roots of the rebellion (whether it is anti-colonial or against a domestic ruler), and other factors that might be of relevance.

The 1978 revolution in Iran can be also assessed in light of the above discussion. As provided by Dix, there are two important variables that can help to better explain the contemporary revolutionary processes: the type of regime and the type of society. Huntington’s Western model occurs when there is a combination of a traditional regime and a traditional society. The Eastern model happens in cases where there is coexistence between a modernizing (or semi-modern) regime and a traditional society. Dix’s Latin American model takes place when there is coexistence of a semi-modern society and a traditional regime. Presumably, a fourth type occurs when both the society and the regime are semi-modern.90 The Iranian revolution can be seen as belonging to this fourth type. As Arjomand states in his comparative study on the Iranian revolution, the Shah’s regime collapsed despite the fact that the state faced no peasant insurrections or serious financial crisis, and despite the fact that the army was intact.91 Arjomand enumerates two main reasons for this collapse. First, the government structures were internally weak. Second, and most importantly, the government’s rapid modernization policies—often seen in terms of foreign influence—led to the discontent of many Iranian sectors and social groups which later coalesced into clear government opposition.92

87 Ibid., 266-74.
89 Ibid., 283-7.
90 As suggested by Dix, Ibid.
92 Ibid., 382.
The Shiite clerics and religious institutions played a primary role in the revolution by reintegrating large numbers of dislocated individuals and later mobilizing them during the revolution. The revolutionary coalition thus consisted of militant clerics, government employees, school teachers, and white-collar workers in the service sector—mostly belonging to the urban middle class, with the peasantry playing no role in the insurrections. Clearly, in addition to Cuba and Nicaragua, Iran is yet another departure from Huntington’s Eastern and Western models. Nonetheless, Iran’s revolution is a clear example of Huntington’s primary thesis: modernization breeds instability.

Huntington, in *Political Order in Changing Societies*, seems to be offering a policy prescription to the pressing problem of unstable polities in the Third World. Not only do these unstable polities have detrimental effects on their own populations, but they also compromise global security. Somalia in its present state is a case-in-point: instability leads to disastrous outcomes on all levels. In that sense, Huntington’s book has set the tone for development literature largely by the many insights he provides, all adding up to the same prescription for stability: “he controls the future who organizes its politics.” It is precisely the apparent simplicity, conciseness, and clarity of the prescription that is problematic. Huntington’s premise of order and stability and his suggested means to achieve this end are problematic, but the main critique to this assumption is its moral obtuseness. Huntington puts order and stability as the end of all societies, thus superseding liberty. Yet, as pointed out earlier, this assumption clearly neglects a very crucial question: What is the good society? Certainly, liberty is at the core of any good society. A good society cannot be stable without liberty. Justice Robert Jackson eloquently presents this fact in his dissenting opinion in *Terminiello v. Chicago*: “The choice is not between order and liberty. It is between liberty with order and anarchy without either.”

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93 Ibid., 398.
94 Ibid., 392.
95 Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 461.
Bibliography


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