Asian Tigers

Testing Theories of Development



What did Asia do right?



Growing share of World GDP



Asia-US GDP Growth



Decline in poverty rate



The number of poor rose in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa from 1993 to 2002 (\$1-a-day poverty line)





(Percentage)

Southern Asia

Sub-Saharan Africa



Asia leads the decline in global poverty

Proportion of people living on less than \$1 a day, 1990 and 2002

44.6 44.0

Source: Ravallion, Chen, and Sangraula 2007.



Attracting foreign investment, accumulating capital



The Product cycle?

Asian Countries building their R&D Investments





Taiwan: A case study



Single-payer health care







Taiwan has ridden the crest of the product cycle.....







How did Taiwan do it?

- Colonial legacy
- Japan was a different colonial power than Britain, France, and Belgium
- Japan contributed to Taiwan's economic development



Role of the State

- KMT conviscated Japanese assets after WW II
- No middle class—the state did not emerge from within Taiwanese society
- An authoritarian, non-democratic state....
-That guided the growth of the economy
 - To attract foreign investment
 - Only resource was disciplined labor force
 - Investment in R&D



U.S. Aid and Hegemony

- US need to build up strong capitalist countries to counter communism
- USAID allied with the small business elite
- US forced switch from ISI to Export orientation We should never underestimate USAID the role of U.S. aid in the development of the Asian Tigers





Land Reform



Export orientation





FDI

Year	Electronics and electrical		Chemicals		Services		Trade		Banking and insurance		Others	
	Amount (US\$ millions)	Case (n)	Amount (US\$ millions)	Case (n)	Amount (US\$ millions)	Case (n)	Arrount (US\$ millions)	Case (.n)	Amount (US\$ millions)	Case (n)	Amount (US\$ millions)	Case (n)
1952-85	1 520.8	547	773.3	324	595.8	229	24.4	175	231.7	57	2 013.8	2139
1986	231.7	69	139.9	27	45.5	51	4.8	28	80.3	3	268.2	108
1987	377.4	85	171.6	44	310.8	98	40.7	73	15.1	3	503.2	177
1988	237.3	37	104.2	25	177.1	121	109.7	207	52.1	2	502.3	135
1989	391.0	31	520.0	22	312.1	93	222.1	222	150.1	33	823.0	146
1990	377.0	41	506.7	21	167.7	82	284.1	195	315.2	19	651.2	103
1991	570.1	43	201.0	18	136.3	85	231.8	174	122.1	7	517.1	62
1992	323.3	46	106.5	7	250.9	81	221.5	181	196.4	26	362.8	70
1993	226.7	34	107.7	6	105.0	55	139.7	90	100.9	8	533.5	130
1994	296.1	38	189.6	13	112.2	58	134.2	96	168.6	16	730.0	168
1995/96	191.3	22	212.5	8	93.1	27	86.4	55	99.1	8	373.8	57
198695/96	3 221.9	446	2 259.7	191	1 710.7	751	1 475.0	1321	1 299.9	125	5 214.9	1156

Investment in High Technology





Labor Repression





Results: Weathering the Asian Fiancial Crisis





The other "Tigers" have gone through a similar process



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Singapore





Late Developers as a test of theory

 Development in these countries challenge most of our existing theories about development, and they demonstrate the power of some "parts" of the theories, and diminish the power of other "parts" of the theories

.....as a test of dependency theory

- Troublesome because
 - Dependent on the world economy (terms of trade worked in their favor
 - Developed with massive amounts of Cold War aid
 - Aid was used wisely
 - Military burden carried by American taxpayers



Why Wallerstein would not like the "tigers"

- Their theories are static and the "Tigers" developed dynamically
- They developed with very little income inequality
- Their colonial legacies helped development



But why Gerschenkron would like them.....

- They conform most to his theory of state-led development and managed markets
- (They also conform to Keynes' embedded liberalism—Gerschenkron didn't really care about income inequality)
- They show that timing and technology are everything



These countries developed in a "dependent" relationship with the "core"

- They showed that foreign investment can contribute to development
- Foreign Investment worked because...It was not in extractive industries
- It did not come in until the economies were strong enough to use their technologies
- Foreign investment was restricted



What will all of this economic development do to repressive governments?

 Can new information technologies lead to more freedom?

But what about liberal theory?

- Undermines generalizations of liberal theory
- These countries had strong, repressive, developmental states



What about the role of culture? "Asian values?"

- Did Asian "culture" make a difference?
- Does Asian culture undermine the Western laissez-faire approach to economic policy
- Willingness to sacrifice?
- Commitment to community instead of the individual
- Authoritarian culture?



What is true is.....