

Understanding the link between Development Planning and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa



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Preface

To continue facilitating policy dialogue and research, the Regional Project commissioned this concept paper on development planning and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. This is the second concept paper in a series that are going to be produced over time, examining the various aspects of development and its linkage to HIV in the region. There are two reasons why we felt that the typology of development planning and its link to HIV/AIDS should be explored. Firstly, it is our understanding that the current patterns of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa may actually be a reflection of development practice gone wrong. If we start from that particular premise, we need to arrive at an understanding of how development planning, over time, has facilitated or inhibited national responses to HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. Secondly, our current understanding of the impact of AIDS on society is systemic in nature. This being the case, the most appropriate response is to bring HIV/AIDS issues to the centre of the development agenda. For this to happen we need to understand how the various development planning systems have evolved over time, and therefore what would be required to be changed at conceptual and operational level for us to bring HIV/AIDS related issues to the centre of the development agenda in sub-Saharan Africa. From an operational perspective we are hoping that this concept paper and the case studies that are currently underway will provide us with answers to the following questions:

Firstly, what aspects of development planning have facilitated the spread of HIV in the region? And therefore what policies, strategies and actions should we put in place to minimize the effects?

Secondly, what aspects of development planning have inhibited the spread of HIV in the region? And therefore what policies, strategies and actions should we put in place to encourage these effects?

Thirdly, what is the impact of AIDS-related illnesses on development planning? And therefore what policies, strategies and actions should we put in place to minimize these impacts?

Fourthly, what is the impact of AIDS related deaths on

development planning? And therefore what policies, strategies and actions should we put in place to minimize these impacts? Responding to these questions will provide an operational framework to translate the recommendations from the studies carried out. It will also facilitate the development of methods and tools of mainstreaming HIV/AIDS into development planning systems.

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARVs	Anti-Retroviral Drugs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFIs	International Financing Institutions
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Planning
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
PHC	Primary Health Care
PLWHAs	People Living With HIV/AIDS
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SP	Sector Programme
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
UNAIDS	United Nations Joint Programme on AIDS
UNCTAD	United Nations Commission on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

1. Introduction

Sub-Saharan Africa is characteristically represented as a symbol of tragedy, despair and failure. Images of war and political disorder, environmental disasters and famine, economic crisis and mass impoverishment tend to pervade the media as well as the development literature. Its highly disproportionate share of the global HIV/AIDS epidemic seems to further entrench this



notion of a lost continent. Whereas these images convey some of the harsh realities on the subcontinent, they are also distorted and one-sided. Positive trends, successes and advancements seldom receive the same amount of attention. Also, responsibility for the subcontinent's woes is often put squarely at the feet of its political leaders and its people, without recognising the complex interplay between internal and external factors, the global and the local, the past and the present.

This paper seeks to present a more balanced view of the nature of development challenges facing sub-Saharan Africa, of progress achieved and problems encountered, and of how both policy and institutional flaws and exogenous barriers are contributing to disappointing development, at least in some respects. It is particularly concerned with exploring the links between development planning and HIV/AIDS to ascertain whether current development planning frameworks are responding adequately to the multiple challenges associated with the epidemic.

In attempting to depict the status of development and the nature and impact of development planning for the whole subcontinent, this paper has set out on quite an ambitious endeavour. It is clear that within its scope and space constraints, this paper cannot do justice to the rich variety in historical trajectories, socio-economic realities, political and organisational systems or institutional frameworks that exist

on the subcontinent, nor does it explore in detail the nature and manifestation of HIV/AIDS in particular societies. It also cannot adequately reflect the abundance and depth of perspectives on development and development planning, let alone on how specific development planning frameworks are made relevant to local realities. These are issues for further exploration, some of which will be taken up during the next stage of the study when selected case studies are conducted.



What this paper seeks to do is to set out a tentative conceptual framework for analysis of the possible linkages between certain types of development planning (as reflected in key development planning frameworks) and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa.

Overview of this paper

In order to contextualise current development planning practices and dilemmas, Section 2 presents a brief historical overview of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa, starting from the period of decolonisation. It highlights how the first generation of independent African states, faced with some fundamental challenges, were able to make significant strides in the first two decades after the Second World War. Yet, the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s exposed some structural weaknesses of African economies and their management. It further allowed neoliberalism to become the most dominant ideological framework, with far-reaching implications for the development project and development planning in sub-Saharan Africa.

With the declining and discredited role of the state in development, the concept of development planning fell into disuse – even though state control and planning have continued to play a role on the subcontinent. Section 3 argues for a reintroduction of the notion of development planning as 'planning for development' and emphasises the vital role of the



state in this process. It defines development planning as a complex, participatory and inherently conflictual process of decision-making concerning appropriate priorities, strategies and resource allocations in the interest of the common good and of the implementation of these decisions. It includes a variety of activities at different functional, operational and spatial levels, including economic development planning, sectoral planning (e.g. health and education planning), multi-sectoral planning and integrated area planning (i.e. rural/urban development planning).

Picking up where Section 2 left off, Section 4 presents a typology of development planning and associated planning frameworks. The main types of development planning identified are economic development planning, sectoral planning, multi-sectoral planning and integrated area planning. The section briefly elaborates on those development planning frameworks that are, or are increasingly becoming, most influential in guiding the development process in sub-Saharan Africa. The frameworks under discussion are: the National Development Plan, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), the National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS, Sector Plans (particularly the Sector Wide Approaches – SWAps) and the Rural and Urban Development Frameworks. From the discussion, it emerges that a critical issue concerns the alignment and synchronisation of various planning frameworks. The section concludes by presenting an ideal type image of the linkages between the different development planning frameworks.

The next section maps out a tentative conceptual framework that can be used to review the various development planning frameworks from the perspective of HIV/AIDS. A distinction is made between ‘development planning for HIV/AIDS’ and development planning aimed at realising other development objectives. ‘Development planning for HIV/AIDS’ refers to development planning in direct response to specific determinants or consequences of the HIV/AIDS epidemic or a more comprehensive response to HIV/AIDS. The National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS is a clear example of this type of planning. The paper argues that other types of development planning, for which addressing HIV/AIDS is no exclusive – and possibly no explicit – objective, also have relevance for the spread of HIV and impact on the capabilities of individuals, households and organisations to cope with the consequences of HIV and AIDS.

From there, Section 5 continues to identify a set of core determinants, which have particular relevance from the perspective of prevention of HIV transmission, and key consequences, which are critical from the perspective of impact

mitigation (including treatment and care). These core determinants and key consequences are themselves complex development challenges; HIV/AIDS makes the resolution of these challenges more acute, and possibly more complex.

Section 6 links the proposed conceptual framework to the main development planning frameworks identified in Section 4. The reflection on possible links between particular development planning frameworks and HIV/AIDS is obviously not comprehensive or conclusive. The specific nature of such linkages will have to be analysed with reference to particular contexts. Instead, the examples presented in this section are meant to be illustrative and point to a way of analysing specific development planning frameworks through the lens of the proposed conceptual framework. The section concludes that few, if any, development planning frameworks address all core determinants and key consequences of HIV/AIDS. Whilst this may in part be due to the functional and operational scope of particular types of development planning, it also points to a flawed conception of HIV/AIDS and to a lack of alignment between the various planning paradigms.

In concluding this paper, Section 7 reiterates the importance of analysing the possible links between HIV/AIDS and specific types of development planning and associated frameworks with reference to particular settings and realities. It expresses the hope that the conceptual framework presented in this paper will allow for such an assessment and as such will inform a better understanding of, and subsequent response to, the developmental challenges of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa.

Concluding comments

By way of concluding this introduction, two issues are worth noting. Firstly, there is a paucity of consistent and reliable data on the status of development in sub-Saharan Africa. Some information is hard to come by. In other instances, different sources use different figures for the same period. At other times, the same organisation uses different statistics. For example, the World Development Reports produced by the World Bank do not always reflect the same data for similar periods. This makes it particularly difficult to give an accurate reflection of development progress made in sub-Saharan Africa over time.

Secondly, one of the difficulties in focusing on development planning is that it is difficult to separate it from these other activities and from its institutional context. It is beyond the scope of this paper to focus on the organisational dimensions or implications of development planning. This theme will have to be explored at a different time.

2. Development planning in sub-Saharan Africa: A Brief Overview

Although the notion of development predates the post-colonial era in sub-Saharan Africa, it gained particular resonance for African people and African leaders in the post-independence period. This applied equally to the first generation of independent African states – the former British, French and Belgian colonies that gained independence after the Second World War – as to the late decolonisations of former Portuguese colonies and to countries that gained political liberation in the 1980s and 1990s. This section will reflect on the history of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa, the legacy of colonialism that newly independent states sought to address, the successes achieved, and the factors that eventually influenced the poor track record of development planning on the sub-continent. Although the emphasis here is mainly on the first generation of independent African states, thereby referring to a particular moment in history, these observations seem equally pertinent to states that have become independent or gained political liberation more recently. Clearly, applying such a broad brush to the subcontinent ultimately serves to obscure the variety, depth and complexity, not only of the specific development challenges facing particular countries, but also of their responses to these challenges. It lies beyond the scope of this paper to explore such specificities.

Four fundamental challenges

At the time of independence, African states were faced with four fundamental challenges. How newly independent states responded to these challenges varied, depending on, amongst others, ideological orientation, the relationship with the former colonial power and with the two superpowers of the time, and an assessment of local realities – all of which informed what was perceived as ‘the art of the desirable and the possible’.

Firstly, newly independent states needed to instil a national identity and a sense of national unity among the people living in their territories. These territories, following colonial boundaries, tended to host various ethnic groups. In many cases, the imposed boundaries separated people of similar kinship and ethnic background. The challenge for the new African leadership was to promote national unity so that diverse – possibly divided – populations would identify themselves as Ghanaians, Malians, Burkinabé, Malawians, Zambians, or whatever the nationality may have been, and accept the new political leadership as legitimate.¹

Secondly, the new political leadership was faced with the challenge of addressing the colonial legacy of ‘under-

development’ and embedded inequalities in education, health, employment and other aspects of social development. Although in the 1940s and 1950s former colonial powers had become increasingly development-minded, the colonial systems for service provision were inherently unequal, often of inferior quality and premised on western notions of development. Education systems, for example, were based on racial segregation and informed by European content. In the late 1950s, less than half of all African children of school going age went to primary school (43%), compared to a secondary school enrolment rate of only three percent. At the time of independence, university enrolment of African students was practically nil (Court and Kinyanjui, 1986). This had significant implications for the number of qualified nationals who could manage the affairs of African states and propel these countries onto a sustainable path of development. For example, in 1964, one year after independence, Kenya counted 36 doctors, 20 electrical engineers, 17 university professors and seven economists among its citizens (Cheru, 2002a: 72). Other African states were faced with a similar lack of qualified nationals.

The third challenge for newly independent states was to take control of the economy and improve national economic performance. Under colonial rule, African economies became chiefly customised to the industrial and consumption needs of the ‘metropolitan centre’, rather than the needs of the local population. Thus, the institutional structure of the economy that post-colonial states inherited was characterised by low-income agriculture, external dependence and a marginal position in world markets (Lewis, 1998). In contrast, former colonial powers and other ‘developed’ countries were seen as representing the state of development to which African states should aspire.

Finally, newly independent states were faced with the challenge of ‘state building’ and the need to establish legitimate, viable and effective organisations of governance and development. African states inherited colonial structures of administration, which had been designed to suit the interests of colonial powers. As such, these political and administrative apparatuses were ill equipped for the tasks of nation-building and national development in newly independent states. Thus, the transformation of political and administrative systems so that these could fulfil the tasks of modernisation became a key focus for the first generation of African leaders.²

Responses to development challenges and progress achieved, 1950s-1999

Given the vastness and the complexity of these challenges, it is hardly surprising that African states opted for the centralisation



of decision-making and resources and favoured state intervention in the economy and in the development process in general. This happened regardless of the ideological orientation of respective states, whether these were socialist-oriented or Keynesian-oriented.³ Also, conventional wisdom at the time endorsed significant state intervention in the development process, partly because of the commonly accepted notion of 'market failure' in economic theory, particularly in relation to 'latecomer' economies (Ghosh, 2001). In light of the dominant perspective of development as economic growth, development planning was associated with a deliberate government attempt to pursue economic progress

Saharan Africa of 3.9% in the 1960s - an average that was only to be attained again in the latter part of the 1990s (Ghai, 2000: 17). Clearly, these average ratios hide great variations in economic performance among African countries and for specific countries over time. The fact that 10 African states realised a sustained growth rate of 6% over more than a decade in the period between 1967 and 1980 is an indication of how successful these states were in achieving economic progress (Mkandawire, 2001: 303).

African states also made major improvements in relation to social and physical infrastructure by doubling, at times even



and respond to the basic needs of citizens. In accordance with modernisation theory, which identified various stages of development, development planning became a tool to enable 'underdeveloped' countries to follow the appropriate stages of modernisation. For some African states, which associated capitalism with foreign control, this meant pursuing a socialist path of development characterised by state control and state ownership of industries. These included Tanzania, Guinea and, for a while, Mali. Other African states, like Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, adopted a capitalist path of development. In some

tripling, public expenditures on education, health and water (Seidman, 1974). Strong public investment in newly established national health care systems contributed to a significant decrease in infant mortality and maternal mortality, resulting in higher population growth rates and an increase in life expectancy of about four years per decade, rising from 40 years in 1960 to 48 years in 1980 and reaching nearly 52 years in 1990 (Cooper, 2002: 107; World Bank, 2002a). Transforming the colonial racial education system to ensure access to education for all nationals became a key priority for newly independent

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