Exploring the Links Between African Underdevelopment in Colonial and Post-colonial Times: The Role of Structural Adjustment Programs

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Abstract

Colonial legacy has long been presented as a leading cause of contemporary African underdevelopment. The relationship between underdevelopment during the colonial period and underdevelopment under international structural adjustment programs in the 1980s and 1990s has been highlighted by several scholars. One argument forwarded is that structural adjustment programs were merely a neo-colonial continuation of extractive colonial development strategies in Sub-Saharan Africa, resulting in overreliance on cash crop agriculture and natural resource extraction rather than development of industry and diversification of the economy. However, there has been little systematic analysis exploring measurable similarities between colonial development strategies and the development strategies pursued by international financial institutions (IFIs) under structural adjustment. In order to fill this gap, this paper utilizes primary data sources to analyze the similarities between sectoral development strategies in the colonial and structural adjustment periods in nine former British colonies in Sub-Saharan Africa. First, I construct measures of the degree of focus on development of the agricultural, extractive, and industrial sectors in both time periods. I construct two types of measures: (1) a measure of the absolute focus on each of the sectors and (2) a measure of the proportion of focus on each of the sectors relative to the other sectors. I then use these measures to determine whether sectoral development strategies are similar across the two periods and what the nature of those similarities is. I find considerable similarities between the degree of focus on agriculture during the colonial period and structural adjustment period. There do not appear to be similarities between the two periods for the extractive sector or the industrial sector when either set of variables are used.

I. Introduction

Underdevelopment and economic crises have been persistent features of development processes in Sub-Saharan Africa since decolonization began in the early 1960s. Development, or lack of development, of the region has increasingly become a focus of policy makers at the international level, including policy makers at international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Beginning in the early 1980s, the IMF and World Bank began a series of structural adjustment lending programs (SAPs) that were designed to promote economic stability and growth in the region. IMF and World Bank programs during this period were structured as conditional lending programs through which struggling economies in Sub-Saharan Africa received large development loans in return for following particular economic prescriptions outlined by the IMF and World Bank. The approaches outlined in structural adjustment programs typically included liberal macroeconomic (fiscal, monetary, and exchange rate) reform, as well as more general structural reforms and sector-specific policies to promote growth in particular areas of the economy.

Despite the reforms undertaken under structural adjustment throughout the 1980s and 1990s, many economies in Sub-Saharan Africa continued to struggle, in some cases experiencing more acute economic crises, instability, and higher levels of poverty than before the introduction of the programs. The persistent underdevelopment of Sub-Saharan Africa and the failure of IFI-led structural adjustment to correct it have been the topics of a significant body of research that explores the causes of African underdevelopment and the impact of contextual factors, such as historical experiences, on development processes. Colonialism is one of the contextual factors that has received the most attention, with scholars arguing that there are a variety of ways through which colonial experiences have had long-term implications for development in Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Acemoglu et al., 2001, 2009; North, 1995; Van de Walle, 2009).

With regard to development lending specifically, a number of scholars have argued that the programs represent a continuation or re-emergence of colonial economic models and relationships between post-colonial countries and the global North (e.g. Osabu-Kle, 2000; Chossudovsky, 2003; Langan, 2018; Wong, 2012). These arguments have typically been made using qualitative and/or case study methods, and there has been little systematic exploration of measurable similarities between development approaches in different sectors of the economy in the two time periods. I contribute to filling the above gap with this paper by measuring and comparing strategies for sectoral development across the two periods for a number of countries and examining whether and how those strategies were similar.

II. Related Research and Theory

There is a diverse body of literature on the relationships between colonialism and post-colonial development[1]. With regard to the role of development lending, scholars have suggested that the economic and political development of the colonial period made possible the types of intervention that occurred through IFI lending in the post-colonial period.[2] One argument made is that structural adjustment programs represented a form of neo-colonialism through which the needs and interests of external actors were promoted in developing post-colonial countries. Proponents of this claim suggest that the unequal and exploitative economic relationships that characterize development lending programs through IFIs are not substantively different from those between colonies and colonizers during the colonial period, making the lending programs neo-colonial in nature.

Choussudovsky (2003) terms this contemporary version of colonialism "market colonialism" and defines it as a "new form of economic and political domination… [that] subordinates people and governments through the seemingly 'neutral' interplay of market forces" (p. 20). Other scholars are explicit in claiming that structural adjustment programs are concerted and/or deliberate attempts by Western, former colonial powers to maintain or re-claim control of post-colonial Africa vis-à-vis international financial institutions (Langan, 2018; Osabue-Kle, 2000). This control is made possible by an uneven distribution of economic and political power that leaves developing states dependent on developed states for trade, aid, and political support (Choussudovsky, 2003).

Of particular importance in a number of accounts of these processes are local elites in post-colonial states. Several scholars have suggested that continued economic and political dominance by Western powers is made possible by particular patterns of interaction between local elites and corporate and state actors in the global North. They argue that post-colonial

[1] For this paper, I am not focused on development in the broad sense. I am focused solely on the practical structuring of economic activity between and within sectors during the colonial period and the structural adjustment period. Given this fact, I do not address the issue of how development and underdevelopment should be understood in relation to the broader development studies literature, nor do I address ideological debates about what is and is not development and how these understandings have changed over time.

[2] The literature included in this theory section is only a subset of the literature on the relationship between colonialism and post-colonial development, as it is the literature that is most relevant for this paper. However, there are other literatures that approach the relationship between colonial and post-colonial development differently using lenses such as institutionalism and post-colonial theory. Of particular relevance in these literatures are the works on path dependence and colonial legacy in determining economic development in post-colonial Sub-Saharan African states.

African rules are typically engaged in a "politics of survival" in which the economic support of external actors becomes vital in maintaining political power and stability. This prompts rulers to concede domestic control over economic policy in exchange for funds from international financial institutions that will ensure their political survival, at least in the short to medium-term (Wong, 2012; Langan, 2018).

Neo-colonial theories regarding elite ties between the global North and post-colonial African countries are linked to the neo-patrimonialism literature, and particularly Bayart's (2010) work on elite extraversion. Bayart (2010) suggests that local elites in the form of African 'Big Men' operate as active agents in the international system, making strategic appeals to foreign aid donors to obtain funds to maintain domestic patronage networks and pacify domestic constituencies. Langan (2018) agrees with the assertion that local elites do in fact play a role in facilitating neo-colonial interactions between the core and periphery, but argues that neo-patrimonialist 'Big Men' theories assume that all African elites will behave in a predatory manner and fail to account for the ways in which asymmetric North-South ties make such power plays by elites possible and/or necessary.

In addition to outlining how Western powers are able to maintain control of post-colonial African states through development lending, scholars have used the neo-colonial lens to argue that the pursuit of Western economic interests through lending programs often follows particular patterns with particular economic implications for the countries involved. Specifically, scholars have suggested that Western interests lie in the continuation and/or re-establishment of colonial patterns of exchange focused on the extraction of valuable primary commodities from the global South and the creation of import markets for manufactured goods and services from the global North to the global South. This is characterized by an increased focus on production of cash crops and extraction of natural resources and a bias against industrialization in development lending programs put forward by Western donors and international financial institutions (Osabu-kle, 2000; Langan, 2018, Choussudovsky, 2003). Importantly, this approach is argued to have been made possible by the fact that these economies have already been structured under principles of Western economic interests in the colonial period, leaving them underdeveloped industrially and dependent on primary sector production for development in the immediate post-colonial period (Osabu-Kle, 2000; Langan, 2018).

The above claims about the continuation or re-establishment of colonial patterns of political and economic interaction through development lending programs have primarily been made using qualitative case study methods. In addition, despite the fact that the claims in the literature relate directly to the structuring of structural adjustment lending programs for the interests of Western powers, there are no studies in which the strategies used by Western powers in the two periods are actually measured and compared. In this paper, I test the claim that colonial and structural adjustment development processes resemble one another by focusing specifically on sectoral development strategies.

I derive my theory from the above literature on neo-colonialism and assume that the strategies pursued by colonial governments and IFIs (in this case, the IMF and the World Bank) will be similar across the two periods with regard to the approaches and strategies used in the different economic sectors (agricultural, extractive, and industrial). If, as the literature claims, structural adjustment programs are in fact designed to maximize the economic benefits of the Western world and allow for further extraction of valuable commodities from the region, I expect the data to show a similar degree of focus on sectors that have the potential to provide large economic benefit through world markets, such as cash crop agriculture and extraction of natural resources, in both time periods. I also expect a similar, and lower, degree of focus on the industrial sector across the two periods, as this sector is likely of less immediate value to both the colonial government and IFIs and may in fact be a sector that Western powers have an interest in keeping underdeveloped.[3]

III. Case selection, data, and method

3.1 Case Selection

I include nine countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, all of which are former British colonies.[4] I have limited this study to former British colonies due to a lack of easily accessible and comparable data for the colonial period for French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies. I have also only

[3] There is an underlying debate about the role of international financial institutions in these processes and whether they should be understood as autonomous institutions representing interests of their own or as proxies for Western states pursuing their economic and political interests in the international arena. The cited literature on neo-colonialism and development lending has tended to treat international financial institutions as proxies or representatives of individual Western powers. For this paper, I focus exclusively on determining whether or not approaches during the two periods appear to be similar; I do not make any attempt to identify causation or mechanisms. Given this, I do not make any assumptions regarding the IMF and the World Bank as autonomous versus proxy actors.

[4] Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, The Gambia, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe

included former British colonies for which online archival data is available for the colonial period. The nine countries included in the study represent the bulk of countries that were both colonized by the British and underwent IMF structural adjustment during the 1980s and 1990s. The choice to focus exclusively on British colonies has obvious limitations, the most important of which is that I am only able to say something about similarities between British sectoral development strategies and structural adjustment sectoral development strategies. However, given that Britain was one of two major colonizers in the region, this remains an important first step for understanding the relationship between colonial and post-colonial development.

The time period selected for the colonial data collection is 1920-1940. There are several reasons, practical and methodological, for this choice. Practically, this is the period for which data is consistently available for all nine colonies. Theoretically speaking, this period in some sense represents the height of British colonial activity and development in the region. Prior to World War I, most British colonies in the region were relatively undeveloped and the British government was only moderately active in the territories it held, both economically and politically (Constantine, 1984). World War I and the decades of economic instability that followed it prompted an increased interest in development of colonies in Sub-Saharan Africa as a source of wealth and employment generation in Britain. This interest was accompanied by a gradual shift toward more intensive and intentional development of the colonies that persisted until the second World War (Constantine, 1984). The post-World War Two period saw a winding down of British authority in the colonies in a gradual move towards independence. Though the period during which decolonization was taking place was arguably still one in which the British colonial government played a significant role in determining economic and political policy in the colonies, it was also a period in which local actors were increasingly brought into decision-making processes (Pearce, 1982). Given this, the period of colonial administration and involvement between 1920 and 1940 is the period during which we would expect clearly discernable *colonial* strategies to emerge with respect to development of economic sectors.

The time period selected for the structural adjustment data is 1986-1999. This period was chosen to start with the establishment of the IMF Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF) in 1986 and to end with the replacement of structural adjustment programs with a Poverty Reduction Strategy approach in 1999. I include only countries that underwent official structural adjustment lending through the Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF) or the Enhanced Structural

Adjustment Facility (ESAF)[7] in collaboration with the World Bank for reasons of consistency. There are two things to note with regard to this choice. First, while lending programs with the official title of "structural adjustment programs" did not begin until the establishment of the SAF in 1986, the IMF disbursed a number of conditional loans to Sub-Saharan African countries in the late 1970s under the umbrella of the Trust Fund. These loans often required similar structural and macroeconomic reforms as those included in structural adjustment loan programs. However, I have not included these loans in my analysis because the creation of the SAF arguably represented a shift in approach to development on the part of the IMF and the World Bank, and I am interested in capturing the strategies used under that particular approach. The second thing to note is that there are some countries that underwent structural adjustment programs in collaboration with the World Bank and/or IMF but obtained loans from facilities other than the SAF or ESAF. Nigeria, which underwent its first structural adjustment program in 1986 under a stand-by arrangement negotiated with the IMF and the World Bank, is a notable example.[8] At present, these countries are not included in my analysis.

3.2 Variables and sources

I construct two sets of variables for each of the two time periods to measure the degree of focus on the agricultural, extractive, and industrial sectors of the economy during the colonial and structural adjustment periods.

The first set of variables measure:
(1a) absolute degree of focus on the agricultural sector
(2a) absolute degree of focus on the extractive sector
(3a) absolute degree of focus on the industrial sector

The second set of variables measure:
(1b) degree of focus on the agricultural sector as a proportion of the total focus on all sectors
(2b) degree of focus on the extractive sector as a proportion of the total focus on all sectors
(3b) degree of focus on the industrial sector as a proportion of the total focus on all sectors

[7] The ESAF was created in 1987 and operated alongside the SAF until 1995, when the SAF ceased operations.
[8] I will likely add Nigeria to this study later, as the program undergone was termed structural adjustment by both the IMF and the World Bank and appears to differ only with regard to where the funds came from.

I include the second set of variables measuring the degree of focus on each of the sectors as a proportion of total economic focus because it is possible that this relative focus on a given sector matters more than the absolute focus on a given sector. For example, it may be that structural adjustment programs generally focus more on industrial development than colonial governments, but that the focus on industry relative to agriculture and extraction changes very little between the two periods.

By "degree of focus" I refer to the degree to which described development and/or strategies outlined in the sectors appear to be focused on growth, expansion, or maintenance of the sector as a driver of economic recovery, stability, or growth. These degree of focus variables are ordinal variables ranging from 0 to 4 (0= no focus, 1= very little focus, 2= some focus, 3= significant focus, 4= large degree of focus). The agricultural sector variable includes cultivation of crops, fishing, and livestock production. The extractive sector variable includes mining, forestry, and oil extraction. The industrial sector variable includes manufacturing and construction.

To determine the degree of focus on a given sector during the colonial period, I rely primarily on data from the annual *Colonial Blue Books*[10], which were typically published on an annual basis by the British colonial administration. These reports include data on trade, production, and the status of important national industries. Within the *Colonial Blue Books,* I rely primarily on the *Natural Resources and Production Section*, which typically outlines recent development in each of the sectors. For example, this section might include information about the extent of land and/or crop cultivation, increases in mining licenses, or increases in the number of industrial enterprises being opened in a country.

In addition to the *Colonial Blue Books,* I use archived data from the *Annual Departmental Reports of the Colonies* when available.[11] These reports include more qualitative data about development of the sectors, as well as explicitly outlined plans and strategies for future development of the sectors. To code the degree of focus variables for the colonial period, I consider (1) the stated level of development of a given sector; (2) stated interest in and/or stated

[10] I accessed this material through the "Colonial Africa in Official Statistics, 1821-1953" collection (see reference list)

[11] These annual reports are not available at all for Tanzania and Zambia, and they are only available for some sectors (typically agriculture and/or mining) for the other countries. I accessed these reports through the "Governing Africa: British records for African countries under colonial rule" collection (see reference list).

importance of a sector; (3) stated plans for further development of a sector; and (4) the proportion of exports of a given sector/commodity in cases in which missing data makes explicit strategies difficult to determine.

Some coding examples are perhaps helpful for illustrative purposes. I will provide examples for the industrial sector, as this was the sector with the most variation between and within countries for the colonial period. The most straightforward coding choice was when to code a country as 0 (no focus) for the industrial sector. A country received a zero coding in cases in which the industrial sector/industrial activity was not mentioned at all in the *Colonial Blue Books* or *Annual Departmental Reports of the Colonies* or in cases in which one or both of the above sources stated that there was no development or planned development in a given sector. The latter scenario was most common across the nine countries, for which there was typically a page in the *Colonial Blue Book* that stated that there was no current and/or planned industrial manufacturing development in the colony. One country for which this was the case for almost the entire colonial period was the Gambia.

Where a *Colonial Blue Book* stated that a given country has some small/fledgling domestic manufacturing industries, the score was raised from 0 (no focus) to 1 (very little focus). One example of this is Ghana, which had a brewing factory, some small mineral-water and ice-making plants, and one electric bakery in the capital of Accra beginning in 1934. In the case of Ghana, the *Colonial Blue Book* also explicitly stated that there were no real industrial manufacturing establishments in the colonies before listing the above activities, which factored into the decision to code the year as very little focus and not higher. This low degree of focus on the industrial sector in Ghana can be contrasted with Tanzania, which was coded as a 4 (large degree of focus) for the industrial sector in 1935, and which had a diverse array of industrial establishments numbering in the hundreds in that year. Kenya in 1938 is an example of a country that fell somewhere in between and was coded as a 3 (significant focus) with a number of somewhat diverse industrial establishments/manufacturers including aluminum manufacturing, beer breweries, tea and tobacco factories, and soap works. Malawi was coded as a 2 (some focus) beginning in 1935 with two soap factories and five tobacco manufacturing factories. In the case of Malawi, the *Colonial Blue Book* states that these establishments are considered ‘real’ industrial/manufacturing establishments.

For the structural adjustment period, the material used for coding are archived IMF *Policy Framework Papers (PFPs)* authored by borrowing governments in collaboration with the IMF and the World Bank.[12] These papers outline medium-term (typically three-year) strategies for economic recovery, growth, and expansion for the economy as a whole and for individual economic sectors. To code these variables, I consider: (1) the stated interest in and/or stated importance of a sector in the PFP; (2) the degree of specificity of approaches to the sector (i.e. detailed, comprehensive plans vs. vague plans); and (3) the types of strategies used, particularly whether they outline sector-specific strategies or rely mostly on more general macroeconomic reforms that will impact several sectors of the economy at once.

I will provide some coding examples from the industrial sector for the structural adjustment period for the sake of clarity. I coded a country as 0 (no focus) in cases in which there was no stated interest or importance of the sector in the PFP, no mention of it or attention paid to it in outlined policies, and no stated reforms targeting that sector specifically. An example of this is Sierra Leone in the last set of structural adjustment PFPs (1997-1999). I coded a country as 1 (very little focus) in cases in which the industrial sector was mentioned but not paid specific attention in outlining policy. This was the case in Sierra Leone from 1994-1996 where the PFP mentioned addressing further privatization, liquidation, or restructuring of manufacturing enterprises at one point in the document, but did not otherwise address the industrial sector. I coded countries as 2 (some focus) in cases in which there was more than a passing mention of the industrial sector and mention of at least a small number of concrete strategies/actions associated with the sector. This was the case in Sierra Leone between 1990 and 1993, where the PFPs stated expected benefits of development of the sector and plans to review and reassess approaches in the sector. These actions/strategies were vaguely formulated and discussion of the sector generally suggested that development of the industrial sector was expected to happen largely as a side effect of more general reforms in other sectors, which is one motivation for not assigning a higher code to the sector for this period. I coded Ghana as a 3 (significant focus) from 1991 to 1994 because the PFP clearly states that the sector is important for overall economic growth and there are several concrete strategies outlined for the sector (e.g. resource

[12] While these programs are officially run through the IMF, the PFPs and programs in general are designed in collaboration with both the IMF and the World Bank. Because of this, I consider these programs to be representative of both IMF and World Bank approaches to structural adjustment. However, in addition to their participation in IMF structural adjustment programs, the World Bank sometimes disbursed additional concessional loans to countries for particular development projects. I do not include those project loans in my analysis.

allocation for rehabilitation of manufacturing facilities and plans for longer-term restructuring of the sector). Finally, I coded countries as a 4 (large degree of focus) for the industrial sector when there was explicitly stated interest or importance of the sector and a set of comprehensive and concrete plans for development of the sector. This is the case for Kenya from 1988 to 1990, where the PFPs stated that a significant proportion of total growth was expected to come from this sector as a result of a set of comprehensive and concrete reforms including the establishment of export processing zones (EPZs), investment-friendly legislation for the sector, and a range of other structural and macroeconomic reforms.

It is worth noting here that, although it was my goal to have similar degree of focus variables for both of the time periods, the type and structure of the data available for the two time periods impose some limitations. For example, while the structural adjustment PFPs explicitly outline strategies for development, the colonial documents are often less explicit about plans for future development of a sector. Given this, I have had to rely more heavily on output of a given sector in the colonial period. I have tried to offset this limitation whenever possible by supplementing with the *Annual Departmental Reports*, which do tend to outline explicit plans for future sectoral development. It is also worth noting that I am not interested in implementation, theoretically or methodologically. In other words, my coding does not necessarily capture whether or not the approaches outlined in either period are implemented, as what I am interested in is the intended approach of the colonial government and the IFIs.

IV. Results and analysis

I use two averaging approaches before comparing the variables across the two periods. The first averages are complete period average variables, for which I take country averages for each of the degree of focus variables for the entire colonial dataset and the entire structural adjustment dataset. This approach makes full use of the available data but masks significant variation over both periods. In the case of the colonial period in particular, early lack of focus on all sectors and the fact that natural resources had not yet been discovered in a number of countries resulted in low scores for early years masking a large degree of focus on extraction in the latter part of the colonial period.

For the five-year average variables, I take averages for only the last five years of the colonial data period (1935-1940) and the first five years of structural adjustment for each of the countries. This allowed me to more accurately capture more intensive focus on particular sectors in the late colonial period. There is also a theoretical justification for this approach. If the theory is that there is a relationship between the two periods, that relationship is likely to be strongest in the years closest to the transition. However, this approach means "throwing away" a large number of observations for both the colonial and structural adjustment periods.

4.1 Agricultural Sector

The degree absolute of focus on the agricultural sector is similar across the two periods when complete averages are used (Figure 1.1). When five-year averages are used, the degree of absolute focus on agriculture is even more similar across the two periods (Figure 1.3). The two outliers are Zambia and Tanzania. However, this may be due in part to issues with the data rather than actual focus on the sector, as these are the only two countries for which I was not able to supplement the data in the *Colonial Blue Books* with data from the *Annual Reports for the Departments of Agriculture*. Proportional focus on the agricultural sector is also similar across the two periods when both complete and five-year averages are used, though it is less similar than absolute focus on agriculture (Figure 1.2, Figure 1.4). The similarities in focus on the agricultural sector in both periods are consistent with the literature's assertion that colonial governments and IFIs actively promote the production of primary commodities such as agricultural goods in colonial and post-colonial African states.

Figure 1.1 Average Absolute Focus on Agricultural Sector, Complete Period Averages

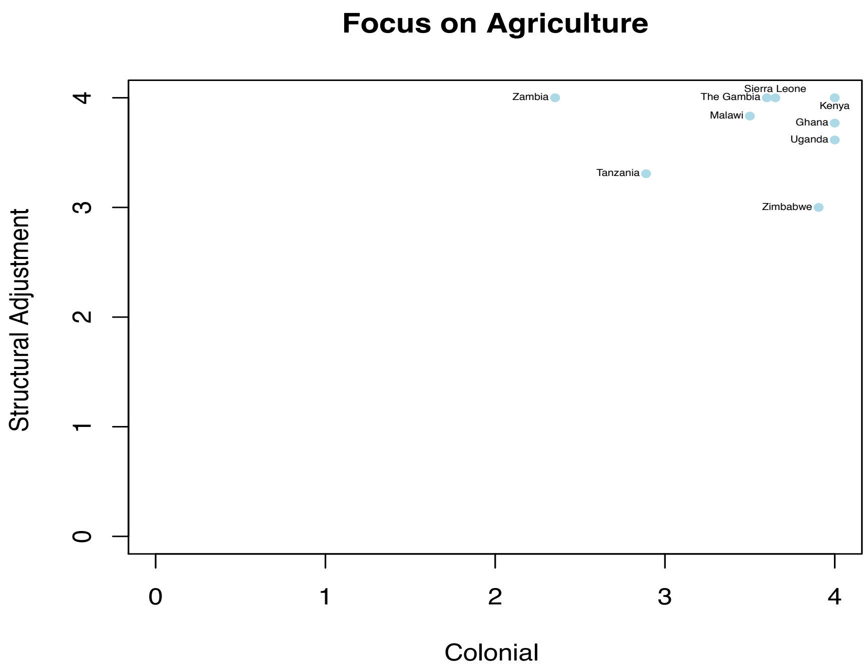


Figure 1.2 Average Proportional Focus on Agricultural Sector, Complete Period Averages

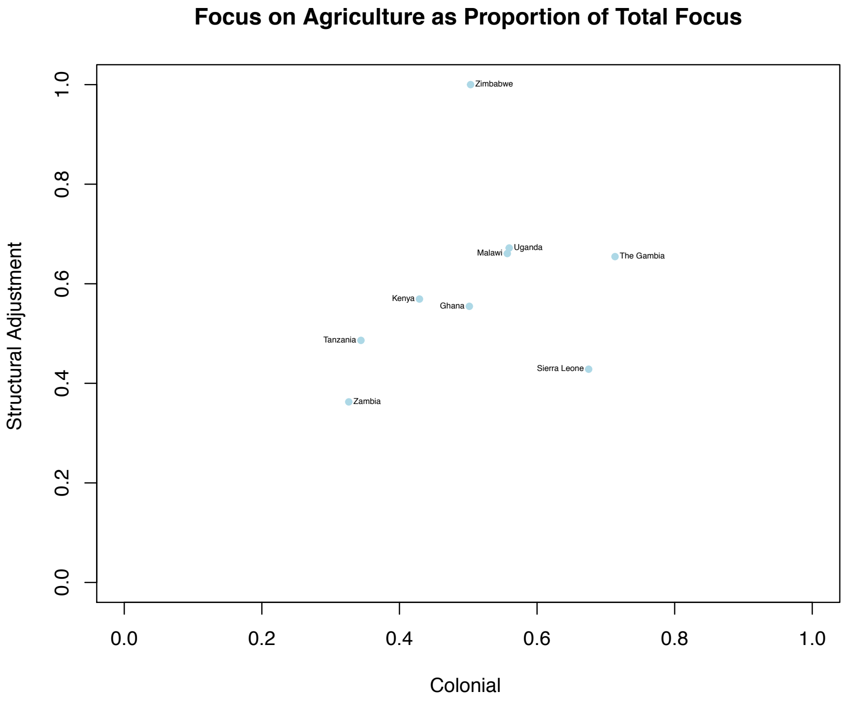


Figure 1.3 Average Absolute Focus on Agricultural Sector, Five-Year Averages

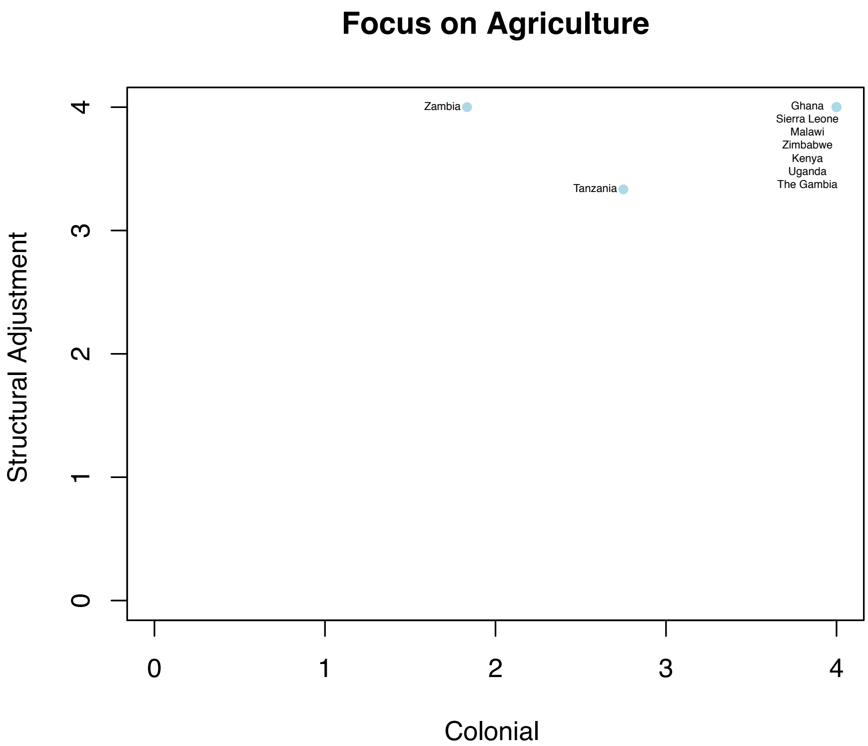
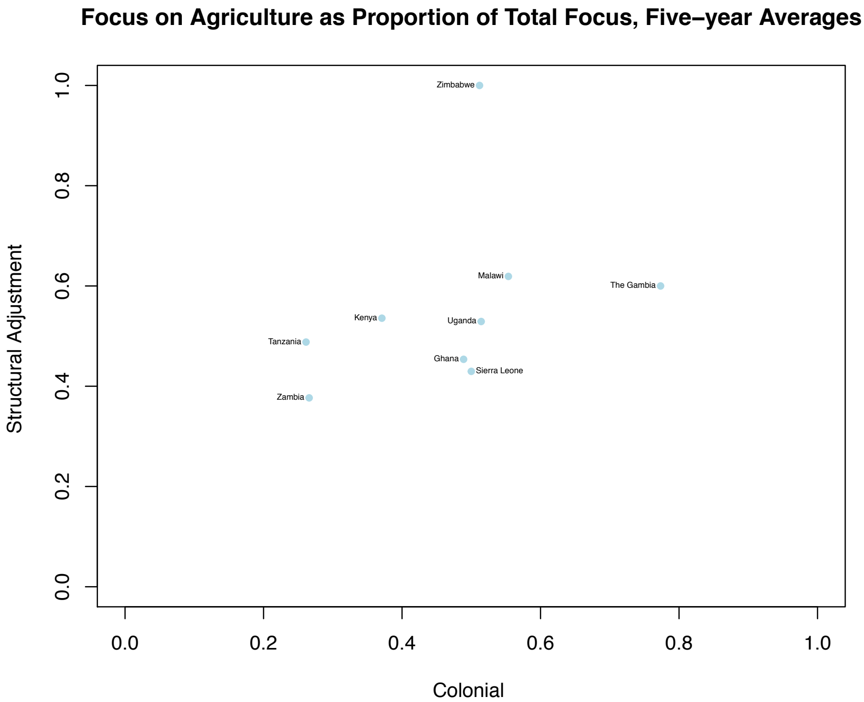


Figure 1.4 Average Proportional Focus on Agricultural Sector, Five-Year Averages



4.2 Extractive Sector

Neither the absolute nor the proportional degree of focus on the extractive sector appear to be similar across the two periods with either of the averaging approaches (Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2, Figure 2.3, Figure 2.4). While the literature suggests a close relationship between colonial extraction and structural adjustment extraction, there is perhaps an intuitive explanation for the lack of similarities between the two periods in this sector because of the finite nature of natural resources. Metals, minerals, oil, and other natural resources cannot be replenished once they are exhausted. It therefore makes some sense that countries that engaged heavily in natural resource extraction early in their development (i.e. during the colonial period) might have exhausted their resources by the time of structural adjustment, making it infeasible for the programs to focus on growth in the sector. There is some evidence of this pattern in the colonial data, where depletion/exhaustion of mineral, metal, and oil deposits is mentioned in several countries. There is also evidence of this pattern in the structural adjustment data, where depletion of natural resource bases is stated as a key challenge to economic growth in a number of countries.

Figure 2.1 Average Absolute Focus on Extractive Sector, Complete Period Averages

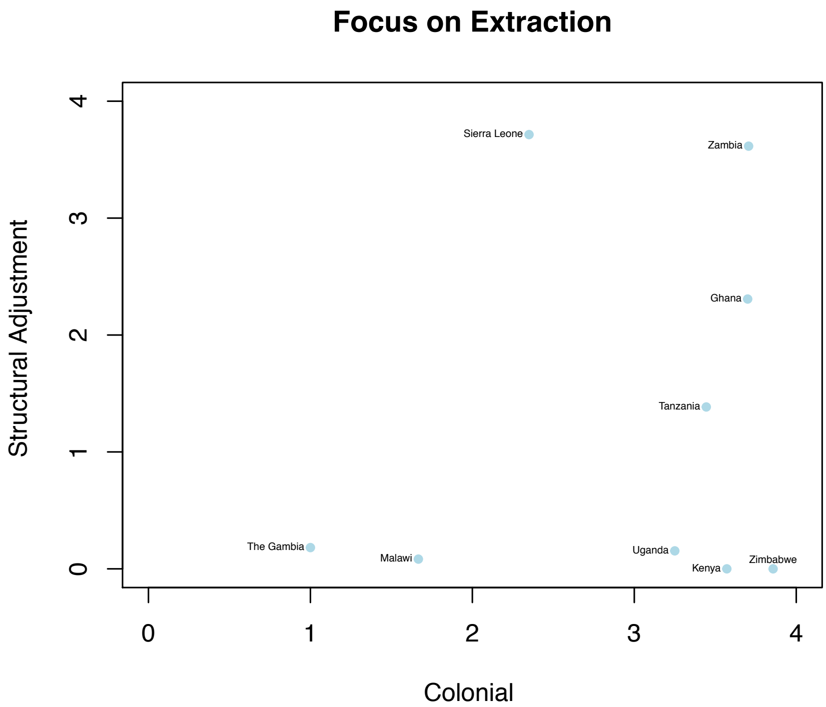


Figure 2.2 Average Proportional Focus on Extractive Sector, Complete Period Averages

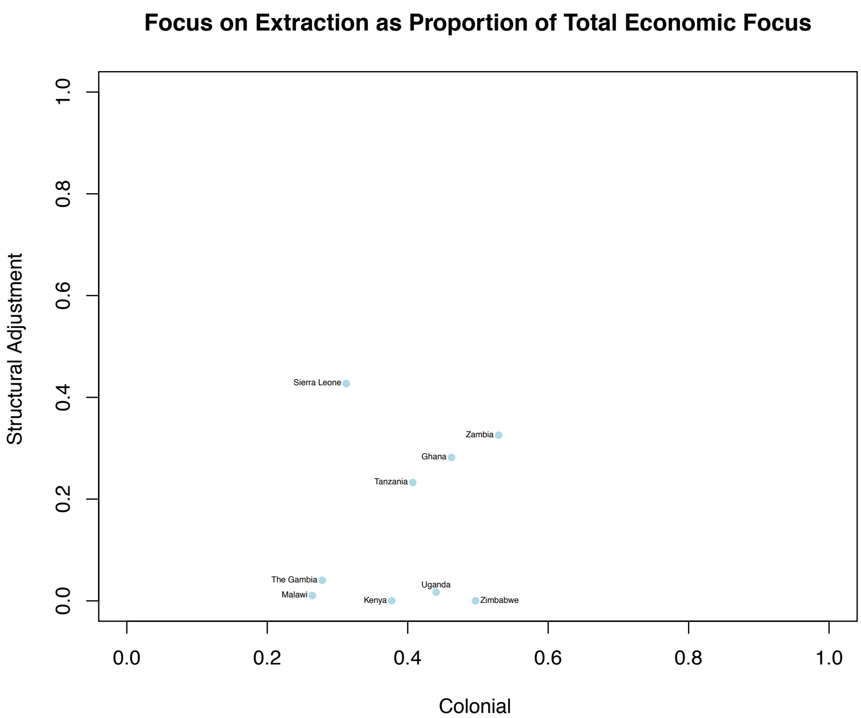


Figure 2.3 Average Absolute Focus on Extractive Sector, Five-Year Averages

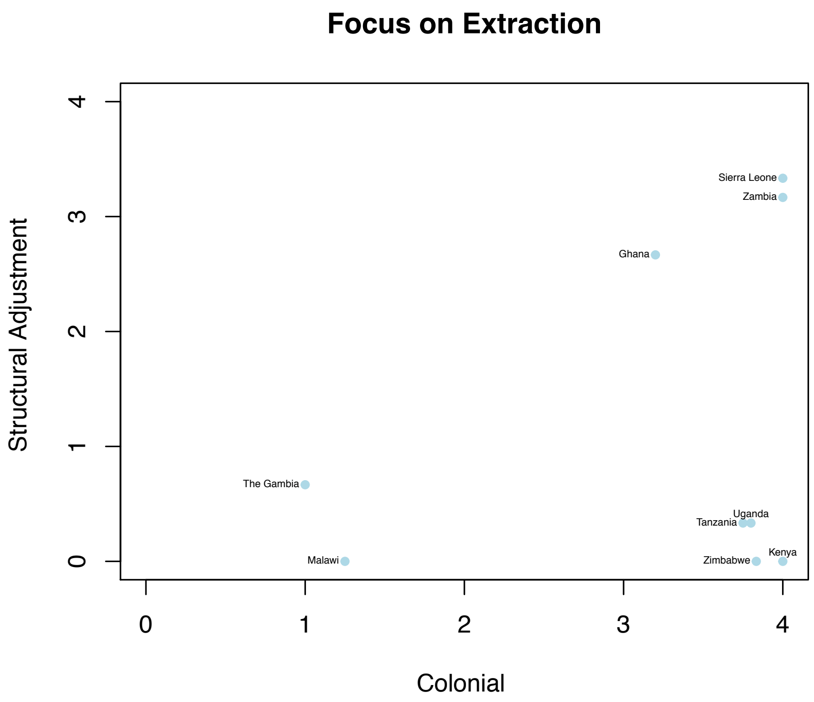
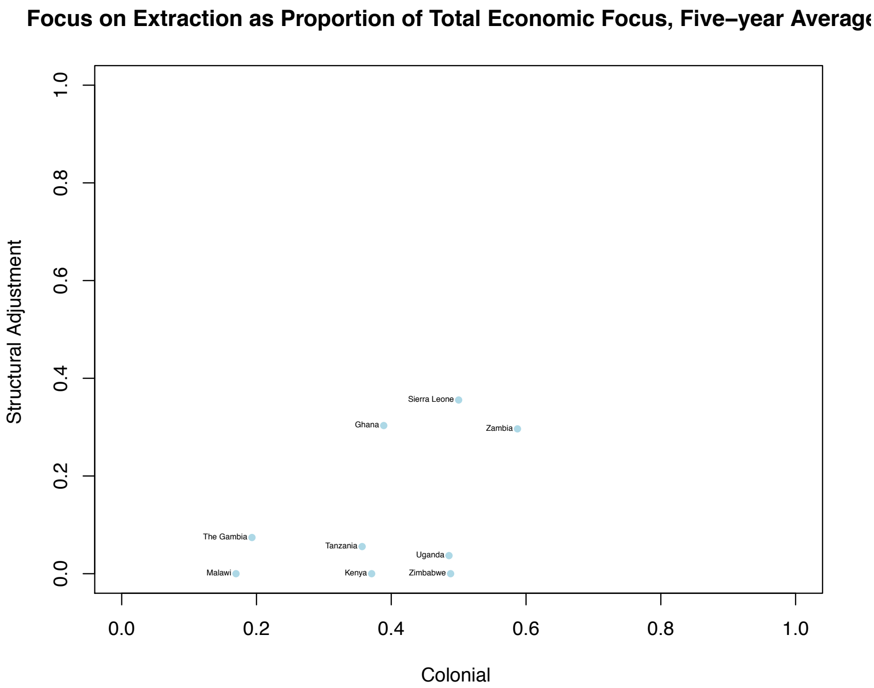


Figure 2.4 Average Proportional Focus on Extractive Sector, Five-Year Averages



4.3 Industrial Sector

Neither the absolute nor the proportional degree of focus on the industrial sector are similar across the two periods with either averaging approach (Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2, Figure 3.3, Figure 3.4). Instead, there appears to be a general increase in focus on the industrial sector in terms of absolute sector focus and focus on industry relative to agriculture and extraction between the colonial and structural adjustment periods for most countries. A possible explanation for this is that the industrial sector is likely less comparable across the two time periods than agriculture and extraction because of the global impact of increased industrialization in the post-colonial period. This development made industrialization a more important component to development for all countries, making it more likely that industrialization would be at least a peripheral focus of structural adjustment than a focus of the colonial period.

Figure 3.1 Average Individual Focus on Industrial Sector, Complete Period Averages

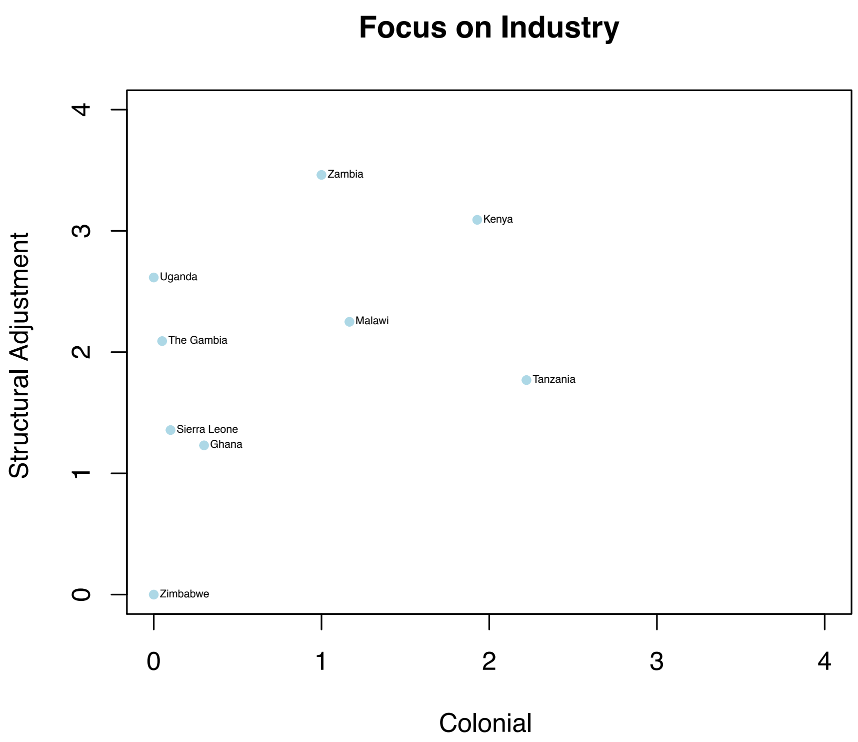


Figure 3.2 Average Proportional Focus on Industrial Sector, Complete Period Averages

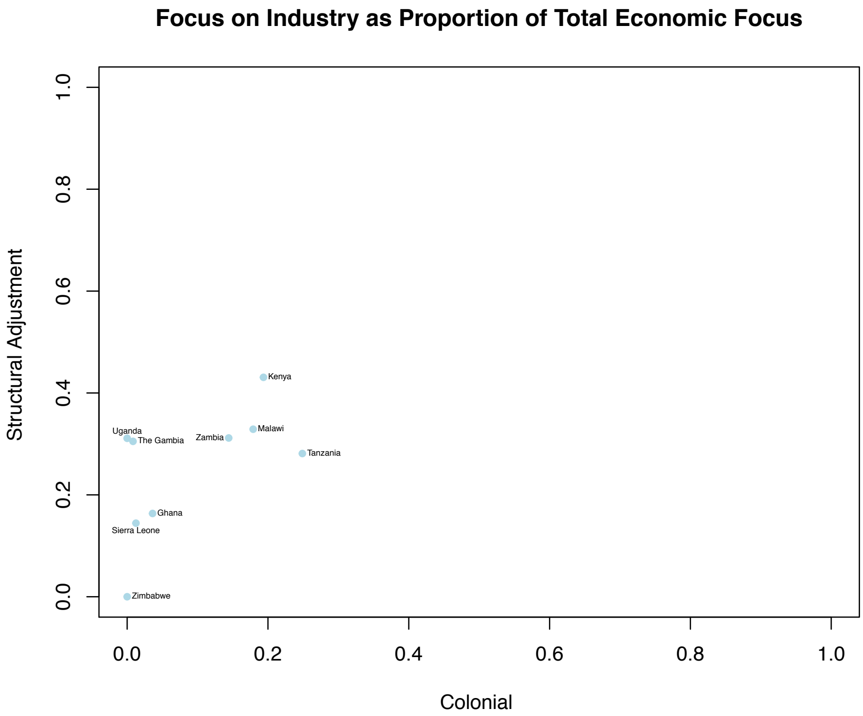


Figure 3.3 Average Individual Focus on Industrial Sector, Five-Year Averages

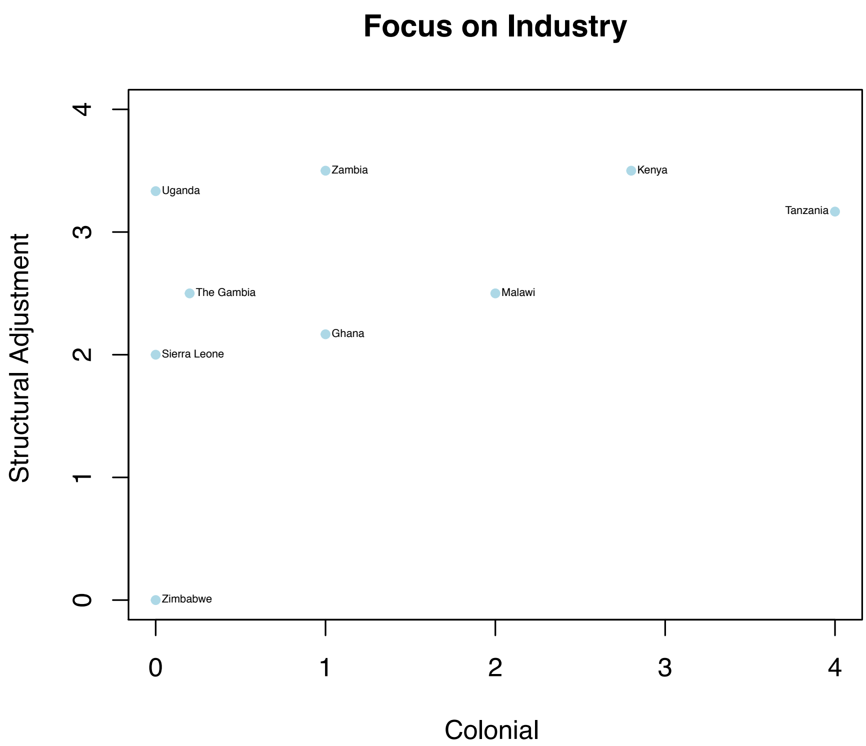
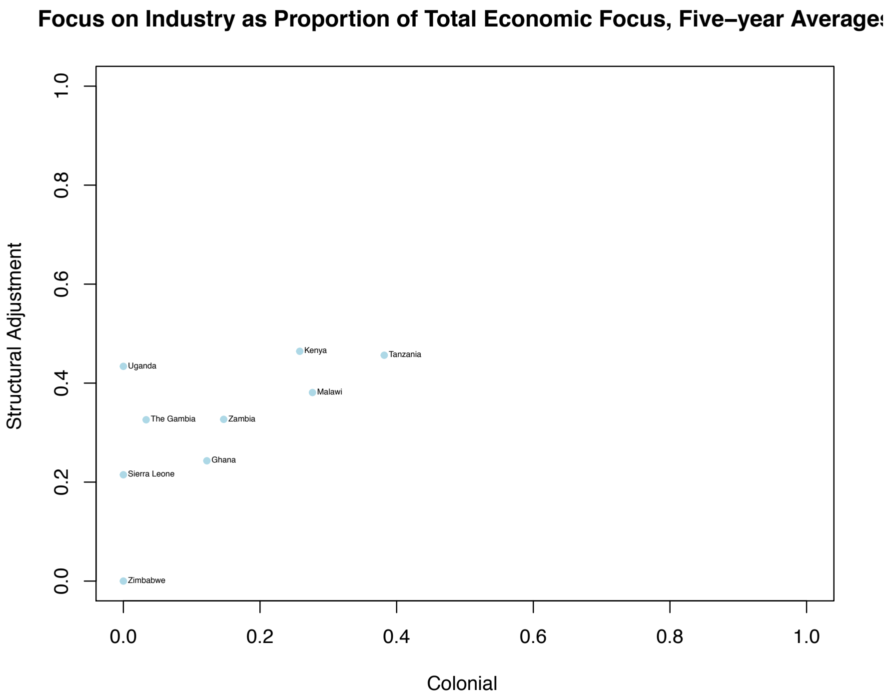


Figure 3.4 Average Proportional Focus on Industrial Sector, Five-Year Averages



V. Conclusion

The initial analysis of the data presented above suggests that there may be some relationship between colonial sectoral development strategies and structural adjustment sectoral development strategies, particularly with regard to agriculture. However, the claim in the neo-colonialism literature that development lending strategies resembled and/or were indistinguishable from colonial strategies does not seem to be borne out in this data. Instead, the data suggests that there are varying relationships between sectoral development strategies in the two periods for each of the sectors. A possible next step is to further explore these relationships using case studies and more in-depth analysis of the types of strategies used in each of the three sectors in the two periods.

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