



Meanings of Development in Development Studies Thought

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1. TWO MEANINGS OF DEVELOPMENT

1. As practice
2. As modern processes of structural transformation (incl. positive and negative aspects)
 - related to our understanding of capitalism – modernity - coloniality

DEVELOPMENT, FISCHER (2013)

Processes of structural transformation that are distinctly modern and that are ongoing and global in character, i.e. all countries are 'developing,' not just those of the 'South,' although those of the 'South' are often lagging in certain dimensions of transformation and are generally subordinated within these processes.

Both lagging and subordination have been the basis of the conventional classification of the world into 'more' and 'less' developed (MDCs and LDCs), North/South, etc.

While lagging has gradually dissipated in many dimensions, subordination has not necessarily; need to understand the transformation of subordination to understand the contemporary challenges of development.

2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF DS

- The idea of development did **NOT** originate from Harry Truman in 1949
- The supporting environment was the post-war UN system in a context of decolonisation
- Many leading thinkers from the 'Third World' or Central/Eastern Europe, not US/UK
- Inspiration also from Lenin/Stalin and experience of Soviet Union
- US/Truman then jumped on the bandwagon; legitimizing discourse for new hegemony

IDEA PREDATES 20TH CENTURY

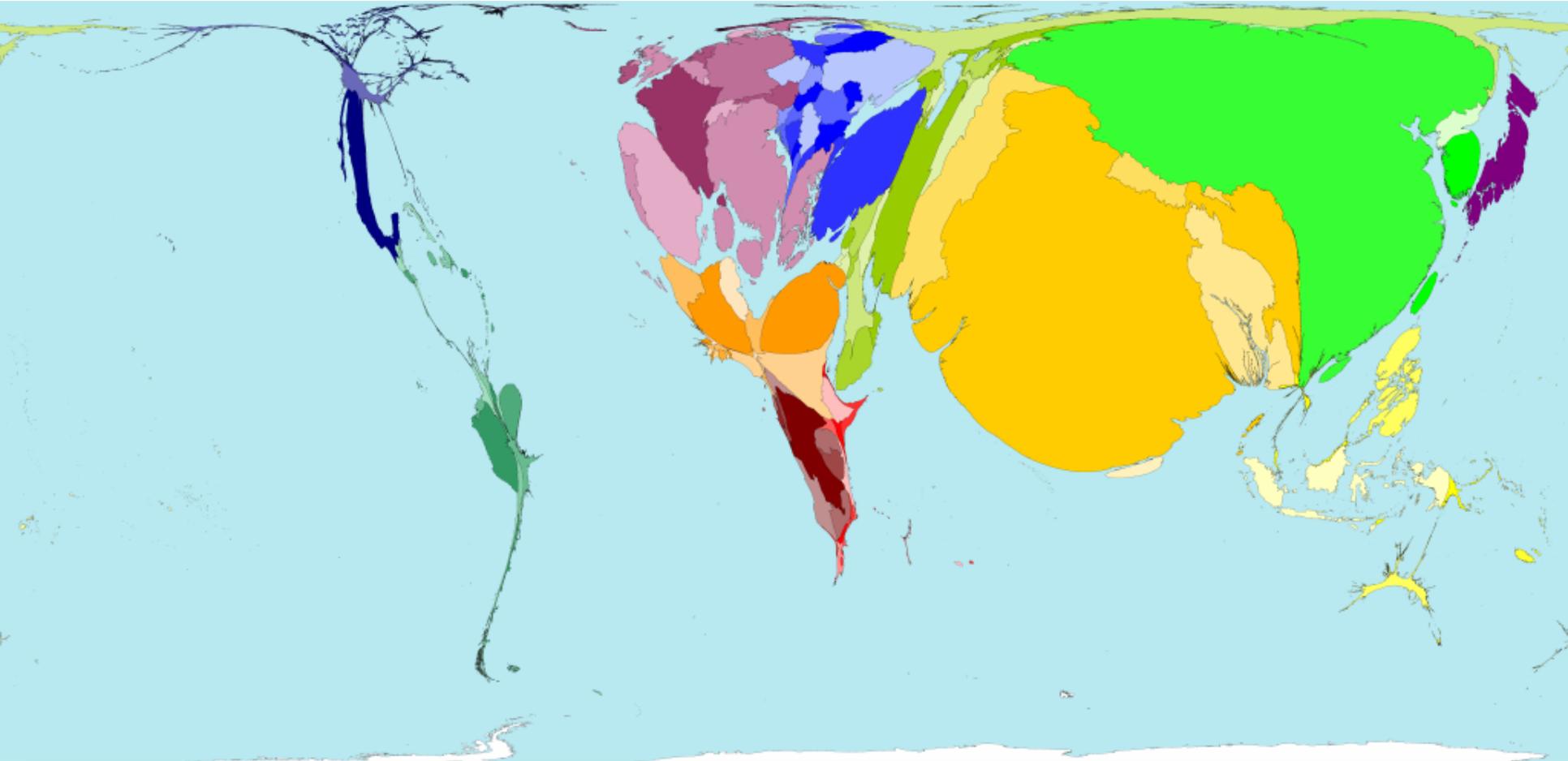
- Implicitly rooted in classical political economy from 16th c onwards in relation to gradual emergence of capitalism and colonial mercantilist state building
- The intentional political project of 'catching up' starts with first 'latecomers' in 19th century (e.g. US, Germany, Japan, Russia)
- Expressed as 'progress' before mid-20th c
- Joseph Schumpeter (1911) was perhaps the first to coin the term 'theory of economic development'

'GOLDEN AGE' FROM 1940S-1970S

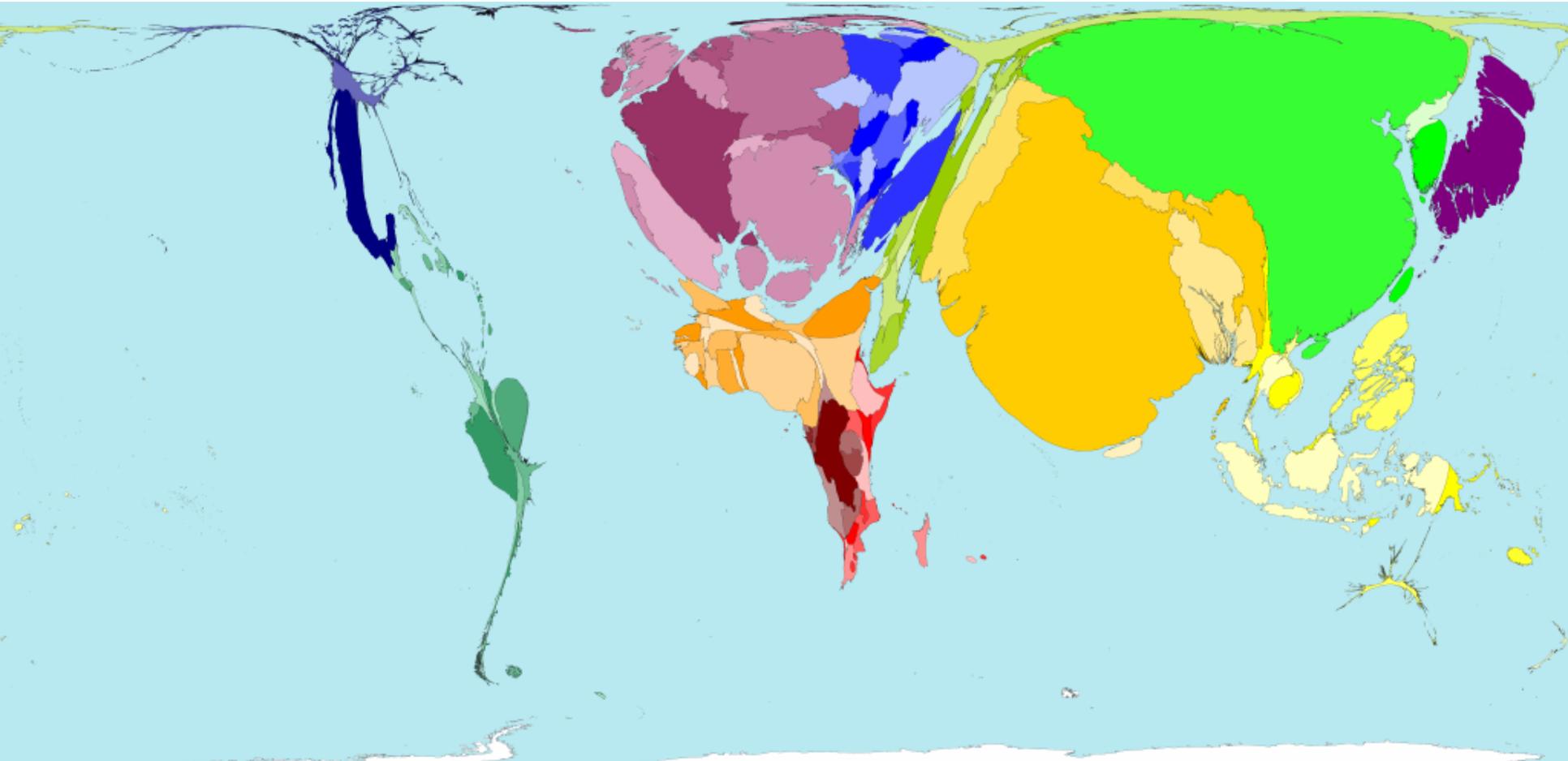
- Big idea: newly independent (non-western) countries could catch up following the example of previous latecomers
- Early DS dominated by (old) development economics - industrialisation
- Joined by idea of political development from political science, subordination
- Sociology: modernisation theory
- Anthropology: started as colonial discipline but then becomes central to DS through ideas of 'cultural development' and/or criticisms

**ECONOMY:
ORIGINS OF CAPITALISM
AND GLOBAL DIVERGENCE**

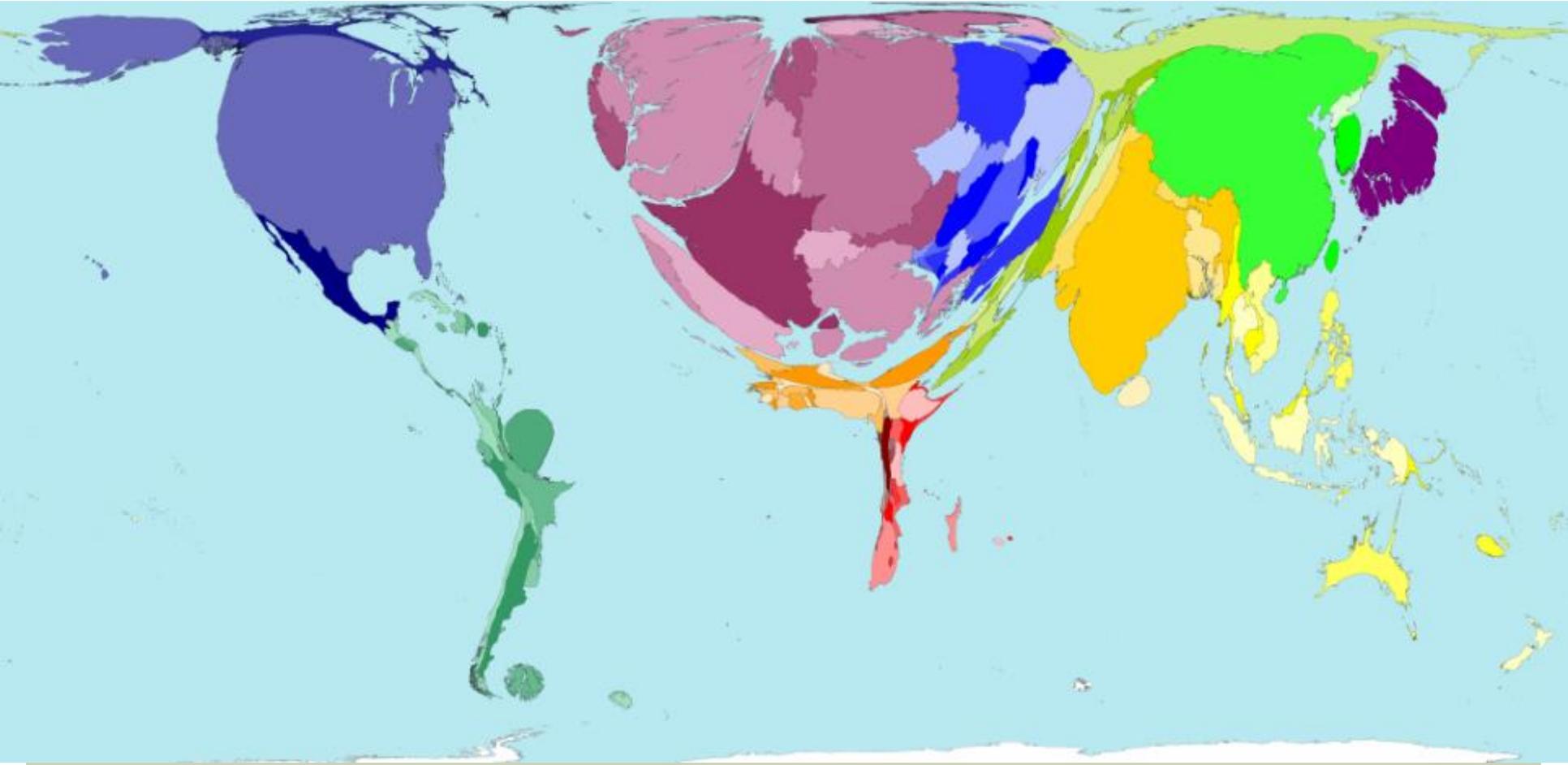
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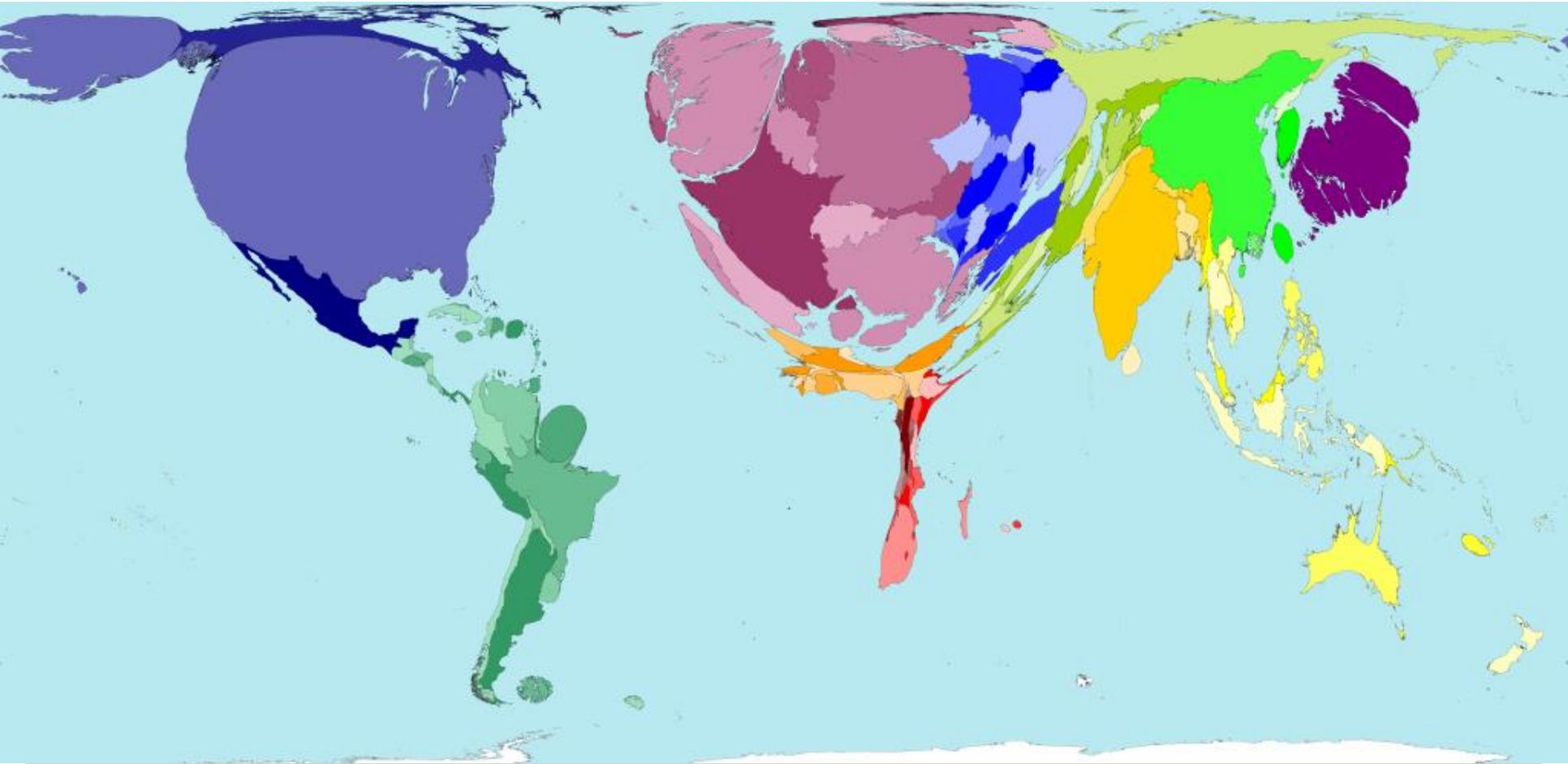
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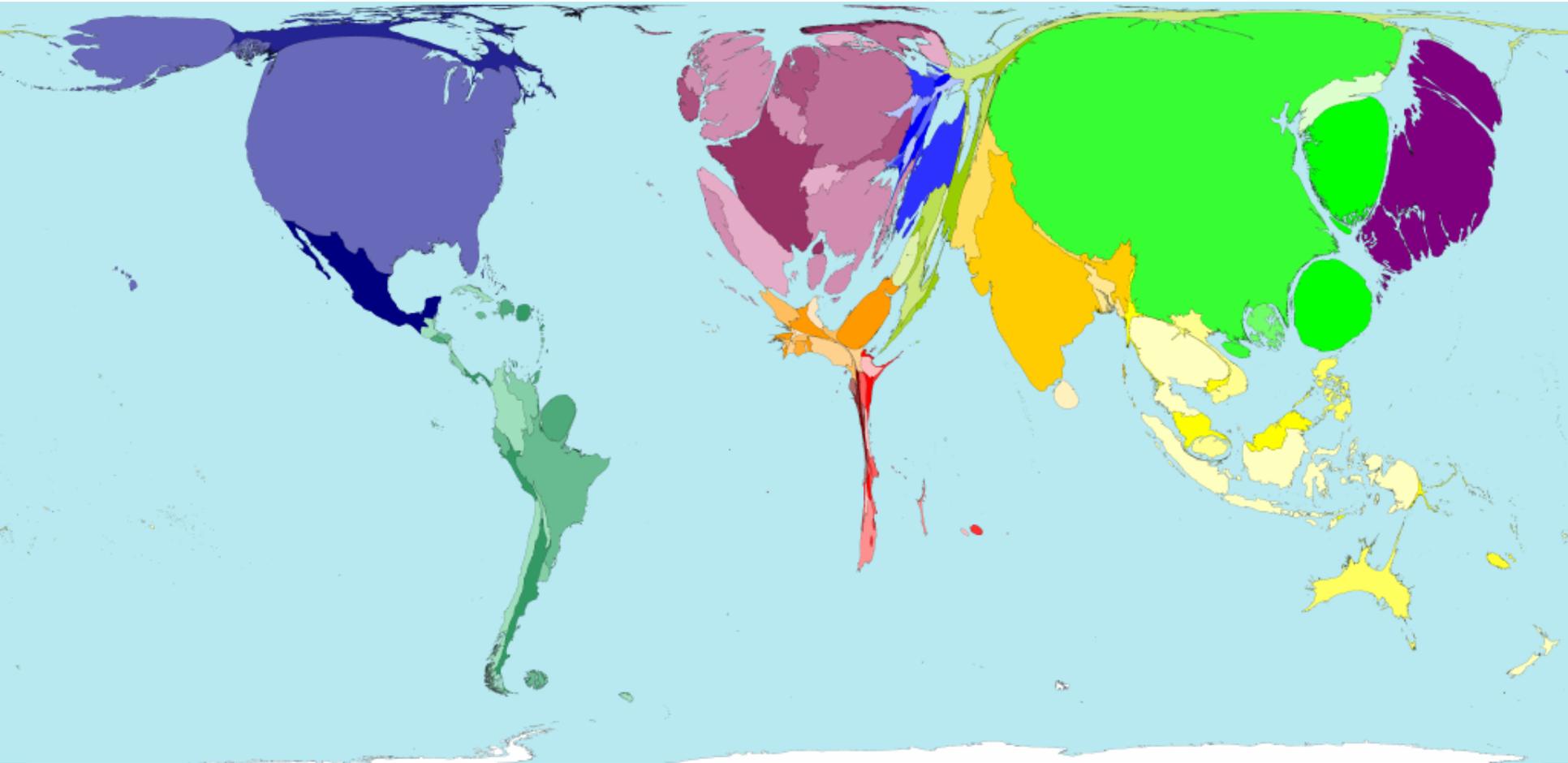
1900

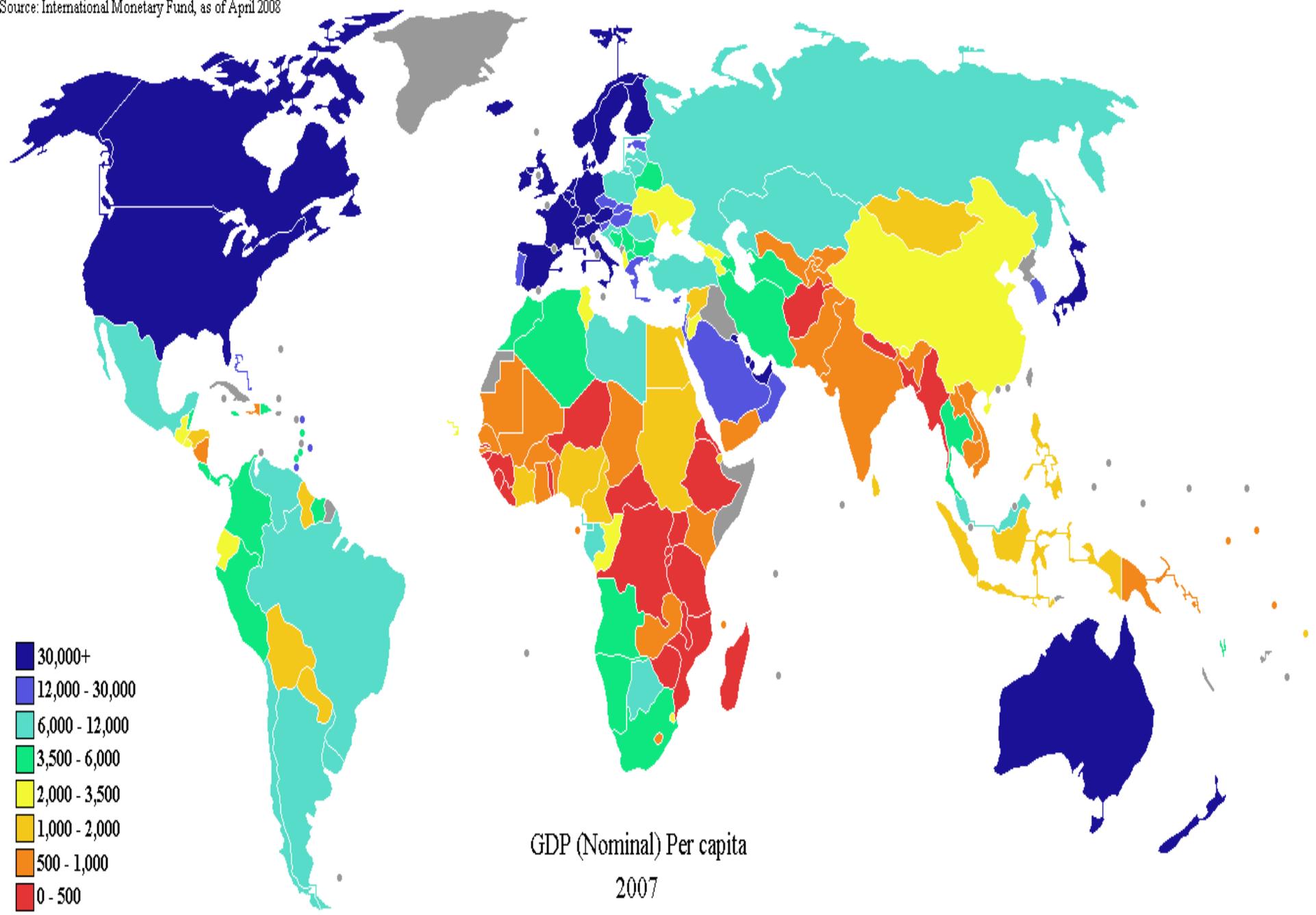


1960



2015

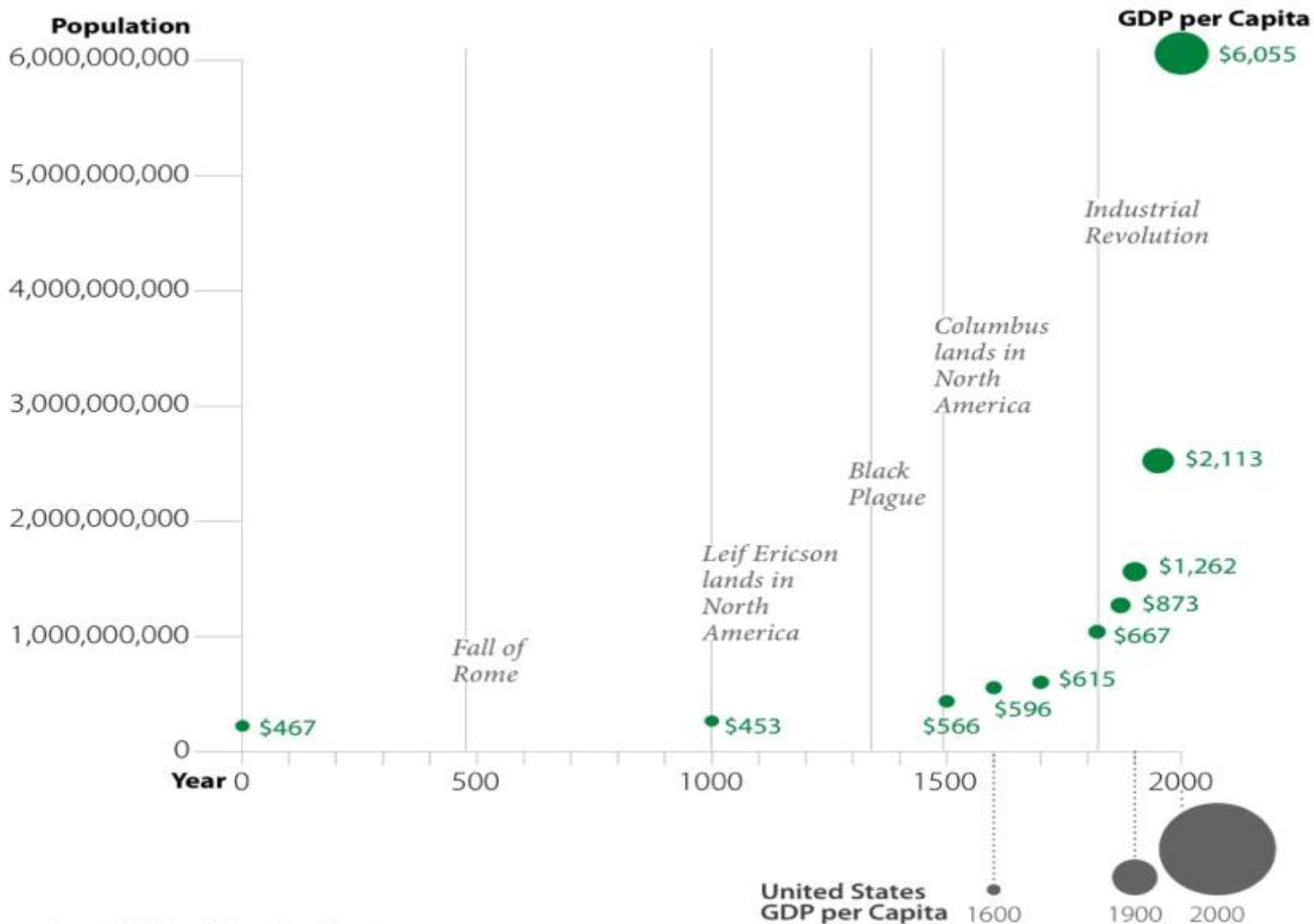




GDP (Nominal) Per capita
2007

World Income and Population for last 2,000 Years

Adjusted for inflation using 1990 International Geary-Khamis dollars



CAPITALISM

- Production for profitable exchange
- Human labour is also a commodity for sale
- All actors are dependent on the market
- Appropriation only through ‘economic’ mechanisms of the market
- Constant competition and profit-maximization
- “...a system uniquely driven to improve the productivity of labour by technical means”
- Most of society’s work done by workers who do not own the means of production
- By selling their labour and producing for the market, workers create profits for capitalists who buy labour power
- “The basic objective of the capitalist system...is the production and self-expansion of capital”

Ellen Meiksins Wood (2002: 2-3)

BIG QUESTION

- How and why did Britain (and later, other European economies) move from a feudal structure to capitalism?

THREE APPROACHES

- Smithian theories (commercialization)
 - Marxist (changing class dynamics)
 - Weberian (culture/institutions)
-
- Smith: ‘...propensity to truck, barter and exchange’
 - Marx: that’s not enough...and these inclinations are a product of capitalism not its cause
 - Weber: these inclinations are a cultural product...

ADAM SMITH & PIN-MAKER



DIVISION OF LABOUR & PRODUCTIVITY

“The trade of the pin-maker; a workman not educated to this business, nor acquainted with the use of the machinery employed in it, could scarce, perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trade. One man draws out wire, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations, to put it on, is a peculiar business, to whiten the pin is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands... I have seen a small manufactory of this kind where ten men only were employed,... Those ten persons could make among them upwards of 48 000 pins in a day. Each person, therefore, ... might be considered as making 4800 pins in a day.” (Smith, 1976, pp. 14 – 15).

SMITHIAN/COMMERCIALIZATION

- What it assumes:
 - Individuals are rationally self-interested
 - They have a 'natural' inclination to 'truck, barter and exchange'
 - Therefore, they 'freely' join the marketplace; they take the 'opportunity'
 - Bourgeois as a key agent of change, progress
 - Technological and demographic shifts have created a moment in history where urbanization made increased specialization possible, creating the association of capitalism with cities
 - Rise of capitalism was essentially a quantitative intensification rather than a social transformation
 - Capitalism always existed in an embryonic form, it just took a long time to emerge...

SMITHIAN/COMMERCIALIZATION

■ Implications:

- Capitalism is a 'natural' way to organize societies
- Rather than its creation or even emergence, it is necessary to explain its absence
- Its emergence can be assured by eliminating various political, social, and cultural impediments
- “Pro-globalization arguments for the extension of market capitalism are fundamentally Smithian in their advocacy of a world-wide division of labour and free trade...” (Ingham 2005: 14)

CRITIQUE OF SMITHIAN APPROACHES

“...neither the expansion of trade leading to the incorporation of greater human and natural material resources, nor the transfer of surplus leading to the build-up of wealth in the core, nor the specialization of labour control systems leading to more effective ruling-class surplus extraction can **determine a process of economic development**. This is because these cannot determine the rise of a system which ‘develops itself spontaneously’; which can and must continually ‘revolutionize out and out the technical processes of labour and composition of society’.” (Brenner 1977: 31)

MARXIST/CLASS DYNAMICS

■ Idea:

- Labour power is increasingly subject to market forces (first in agriculture, later in industry as well)
- “...given that producers were exploited by appropriators in noncapitalist ways for millennia before the advent of capitalism” and given that markets existed for a very long time, “how did it happen that producers and appropriators, and the relations between them, came to be so market dependent?” (Wood 1998: 3)
 - Political centralization → Weakened ability of landlords to use ‘extra-economic’ means to extract surplus
 - Concentrated ownership of land → Plenty of land to be used in a ‘distinctive’ way, i.e. tenancy
 - Market for tenancy → Tenants competed in the market for leases. For both tenants and owners, improvement in production was necessary for survival
- Improvement lead to new forms of (more exclusive) forms of property
- This lead to more ‘enclosures’ → releasing more propertyless peasants looking to earn a living by selling their labour
- This gave rise to urbanization, later to industrialization

MARXIST/CLASS DYNAMICS

■ Assumptions/Arguments:

- Taking part in market is not a choice – neither for buyers or sellers
 - Workers *appear* to be freely selling their labour but in essence they are without choice
- The concept of capital needs to be understood as a *social relation*
- There is nothing *natural* about capitalism – it’s a “late and localized product of very specific historical conditions” (Wood 1998: 14)
- “The expansionary drive of capitalism, to the point of virtual universality today, is not the consequence of its conformity to human nature or to some transhistorical natural laws but the product of its own historically specific internal laws of motion” (ibid.)
- It’s a deeply contradictory force

MARXIST/CLASS DYNAMICS

■ Implications:

- It forces fundamental transformations in human relationships
- It creates seemingly irreconcilable pressures between capitalist expansion and preservation of the planet's ecosystems
- If it was 'made', it can be 'unmade'
- Another set of fundamental transformations in human relationships could help create a new economic system

WEBERIAN/CULTURAL

- Idea:
 - Pursuit of self-interest is universal (i.e. similar to a Smithian position) but not the driving force
 - It's the way in which profit is pursued that matters
- Calvinism:
 - Predestination
 - Calvinists work for the sake of working, creating more than 'necessary'
 - Calvinists behave 'morally' in the public sphere, creating social trust
- 'The Calling'
 - "The elected Christian is in the world only to increase this glory of God by fulfilling His commandments to the best of his ability. ... Brotherly love, ... is expressed in the first place in the fulfillment of the daily tasks given" Weber
 - "the highest form of moral obligation of the individual is to fulfill his duty in worldly affairs. This projects religious behaviour into the day-to-day world, and stands in contrast to the Catholic ideal of the monastic life, whose object is to transcend the demands of mundane existence."
(Giddens 1982: 4)

WEBER

■ Ethical transformations:

- “In virtually all premodern societies there are two sharply divergent sets of ethical beliefs and practices. Within a social group, economic transactions are strictly controlled by rules of fairness, status, and tradition: in tribal societies, by ritualized exchanges with prescribed kin; in India, by rules of caste; in medieval Europe, by required contributions on the manor or to the great church properties” (Collins 1980: 931)
- “The development of the concept of the calling quickly gave to the modern entrepreneur a fabulously clear conscience - and also industrious workers; he gave to his employees as the wages of their ascetic devotion to the calling and of co-operation in his ruthless exploitation of them through capitalism the prospect of eternal salvation, which in an age when ecclesiastical discipline took control of the whole of life to an extent inconceivable to us now, represented a reality quite different from any it has today.” (Weber 1961: 269)
- “‘you think you have escaped from the monastery, but everyone must now be a monk throughout his life’.”

WEBER

- Rationality is key
 - Rational calculation of economic processes (e.g. double entry accounting) require a certain type of society
 - Predictability and ‘calculability’ are essential
 - Protestant work ethic and the type of social system it resulted was essential for capitalism to arise. How?
 - Private property and autonomy of business
 - Removal of arbitrary limitations on market exchanges
 - Technical and technological advancements
 - Rational administration and freedom from arbitrary state interference
 - Free labour
 - Creation of ‘paper instruments’ – early steps towards financialization

WEBERIAN/CULTURAL

■ Implications:

- Culture and Institutions matter: “Institutions are the rules of the game of a society, or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that structure human interaction” (North 1995: 23)
- In order to get economic growth to take place, it is necessary to have the ‘right’ culture, tradition, and historical dynamics
- Attention to both formal and informal institutions
 - Democracy, private property, social trust, individualism, etc.

CULTURAL SUPERIORITY?

“The British were endowed with a natural passion for technical innovation. They possessed inventive skills and preferred to perform even minor routine jobs with the aid of mechanical instruments rather than manually. They had such great passion for the use of technical instruments that they would not perform certain tasks unless the necessary instruments were at their disposal” (cited in Khan, 1998, p. 303 in Landes 2006)

Abu Talib – Indian Muslim visitor to Britain in late 18th century

WHY EUROPE?

- (Autonomous) Cities
 - Feudalism
 - Multi-state structure
 - Religion
 - Natural resources
 - Location
-
- Why not India? China?
 - Does it matter where it started? Where is it going??

**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL:
MODERNITY,
MODERNIZATION AND
DEVELOPMENT**

MODERNITY & MODERNIZATION

- **Modernity:**
 - Category of historical periodization
 - Quality of social experience
 - Project
- Individual vs. society
- Reflexive stance and peculiar relationship with future
 - A destructive force that wipes out ancient cultures, values, nature
 - Emancipatory process with infinite possibilities for everyone
- “To be absolutely modern means to be the ally of one's gravediggers” (Kundera, *Immortality*)

MODERNITY

“Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation, distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier times. All fixed, fast-frozen relationships, with their train of venerable ideas and opinions are swept away, all new-formed ones become obsolete before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and men at last are forced to face with sober senses the real conditions of their lives and their relations with their fellow men”



CAPITALISM, DIVERGENCE AND MODERNITY

- ‘All that is solid melts into air’ – what is going on?
 - Capitalism
 - Enlightenment: Scientific and technological breakthroughs
 - “If capitalism was one of the great institutional elements promoting the acceleration and expansion of modern institutions, the other was the nation-state” - Giddens
- Peace of Westphalia

MODERNITY

- Emergence of a world market
- Scale of communications become 'global', modern communications media emerge
- Capital becomes concentrated in fewer hands
- Birth of 'Fordism', decline (death?) of artisans and peasants
- Rise of nation-states and bureaucracy: increased penetration of regulation into every sphere of life
- Counter movement by workers

MODERNITY AND THE RATIONAL INDIVIDUAL

- Collapse of the extended family
- Blurring of gender roles, gendered division of labour
- New identities – class, nationality, but also transnationalism
- Changing relationship between society and nature
- Rise of modern relationships with institutions: schools, hospitals, etc.
- Birth of the rational individual

REASON, RATIONALITY AND DEVELOPMENT

- Reasoned thinking ==> science and technology ==> material progress + human well being
- Science replaced religion as mode of understanding
- Happiness on earth replaced heavenly salvation
- By examining lessons of experience we can deduce norms, values ourselves without need of religious intervention
- All *men* capable of reason and rationality
- Morality could be accepted as just, right and reasonable by all thoughtful responsible people
- By synthesizing science with morality, a normative science could emancipate humans from nature and want, from superstition, and ignorance

ENLIGHTENMENT IDEALS

“Our hopes for the future condition of the human race can be subsumed under three important heads: the abolition of inequality between nations, the progress of equality within each nation, and the true perfection of mankind. Will all nations one day attain that state of civilization which the most enlightened, the freest, and the least burdened by prejudice, such as the French and the Anglo-Americans, have attained already? Will the vast gulf that separates these peoples from the slavery of nations under the rule of monarchs, from the barbarism of African tribes, from the ignorance of savages, little by little disappear?...These vast lands...need only assistance from us to become civilized [and] wait only to find brothers amongst the European nations to become their friends and pupils”

(de Condorcet, 1795)

MODERNIZATION

- “The essential difference between modern and traditional society . . . lies in the greater control which modern man has over his natural and social environment. This control, in turn, is based on the expansion of scientific and technological knowledge.” (Samuel Huntington 1968)
- “Traditional man is passive and acquiescent; he expects continuity in nature and society and does not believe in the capacity of man to change or to control either. Modern man, in contrast, believes in both the possibility and the desirability of change, and has confidence in the ability of man to control change so as to accomplish his purpose.” (Samuel Huntington 1968)
- “...process whereby the traditional and backward Third World countries developed towards greater similarity with the Western, or rather, North-Western world” (Martinussen, 1997:38)



“[W]e must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas...More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery ... Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people ... I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life ... The old imperialism – exploitation for foreign profit – has no place in our plans...Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge”

Harry S. Truman

Modernization Theory

Basic assumption – The dual sector model

The traditional sector

- Agricultural
- Static, ceiling to production, little surplus creation

The modern sector

- Industria;
- Dynamic, continuous reinvention and expansion of production, creation and investment of surplus

Movement of the 'modern' into the traditional sector & movement of labour from agriculture to industry

This structural transformation needs to be helped by:

Nation-state

Global markets

Intergovernmental organizations

'Benign' outsiders

DUALISM & STAGES

■ Stages:

- Pre-determined path to development
- Colonies in 'natural state of underdevelopment'
- Modernization and better linkages with the developed world key to poor nations' development

■ Why so influential?

- For North: justified continuation of existing policies geared towards domestic growth and foreign aid
- For South: legitimized existing power dynamics, sustained hope for eventual development

W.W. ROSTOW

- Two-fold problem:
 - Provide lessons to decolonizing nations from European history
 - Demonstrate why communism is ‘a kind of disease which can befall a transitional society if it fails to organize effectively those elements within it which are prepared to get on with the job of modernization’ (ibid.)
 - A non-communist manifesto!



STAGES OF GROWTH

- “It is possible to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption”
- Rostow’s vision of development:
 - ‘degree of development’, ‘stages’, ‘maturity’
 - “the essentially biological field of economic growth”
 - Aeronautical metaphor (i.e. take-off)

**THE POLITICS:
COLONIALISM,
IMPERIALISM,
DEPENDENCY &
DEVELOPMENT**

DEFINITIONS

- **Colonization:** a) The settlement of new territory by a group of people; b) the imposition of colonial rule by a foreign state
- **Colonialism:** The political control of peoples and territories by foreign states, whether accompanied by significant permanent settlement ('settler colonies') or not. (Bernstein p. 242)
- **Imperialism:** Whereas *colonialism* means direct rule of a people by a foreign state, *imperialism* refers to a general system of domination by a state (or states) of other states, regions or the whole world. Thus political subjugation through colonialism is only one form this domination might take; imperialism also encompasses different kinds of indirect control.

WHY COLONIALISM?

- Economic
- ‘Nationalism’, inter-state competition, performative power
- ‘Moral’:
 - “Men’s destiny lies in the South...The moment has come to make Europe realize that it has Africa alongside it...In the nineteenth century, the White made a man of the Black; in the twentieth century, Europe will make a world of Africa. To fashion a new Africa, to make the old Africa amenable to civilization – that is the problem. And Europe will solve it.”
 - “Go forward, the nations! Grasp this land! Take it! From whom? From no one. Take this land from God! God gives the earth to men. God offers Africa to Europe. Take it! Where the kings brought war, bring concord! Take it, not for the cannon but for the plough! Not for the sabre but for commerce! Not for battle but for industry! Not for conquest but fraternity! Pour out everything you have in this Africa, and at the same stroke solve your own social questions! Change your proletarians into property-owners! Go on, do it! Make roads, make ports, make towns! Grow, cultivate, colonize, multiply! And on this land, ever clearer of priests and princes, may the divine spirit assert itself through peace and the human spirit through liberty!” (Victor Hugo, quoted in Rist 2002: 51)

COLONIALISM

- 'Discovery' of America – 1493; Spain and Portugal
- Holland, England, and France – 16th and 17th century
- Belgium, Germany, and Italy – 19th century
- US and Japan – late 19th and early 20th century

- Differences:
 - Different phases of capitalism: mercantile vs. industrial
 - Different types of colonial powers: e.g. British vs. Spanish
 - Different 'nature' of colonized lands: 15th century Bolivia vs. 19th century India

- 'Ruling on the cheap'
 - 1908 Congo: Belgians had 1238 officers for 900,000 square miles
 - 1921 India: 156,500 Europeans, 250 million locals (0.06 percent)

- No increase in per capita income in India over 190 years of British rule

WHY EUROPEAN DOMINANCE AS CAPITALISM?

- Crucial advantages in several key areas: naval technology, weaponry, navigation...geography?
- Question: Did European nations become colonial powers because they were economically developed and capitalism? Or vice versa?
- “The immense gap in development that had emerged by the nineteenth century obviously lies behind the phenomenon of imperialism. So too does the fact that Europe was capitalist. Development created new demands, new markets, and thus new opportunities for trade. Transport costs fell drastically, promoting trade but also cutting the cost of exerting military power at a distance. Troops as well as goods could travel on the new steamships. Investment opportunities opened up, along with opportunities to transfer new technologies to areas where they were previously unknown. Indeed, investment and technology transfer, to improve transport or set up new lines of production for export, were often a prerequisite of trade.”
- But why not just trade peacefully?

WHY NOT TRADE PEACEFULLY?

“The world economy was steadily unified, and a massive asymmetry of economic and military power emerged. That is not enough, in itself, to explain why European dominance led to direct colonial rule, but it sets the context. International trade was in the hands of Europeans - they had the knowledge, the ships, the capital - so it was Europeans who penetrated other continents, not the reverse. Disputes inevitably arose. There was almost invariably a clash of economic, social, and legal systems. European traders and investors looked to their home governments for support. Trade had always had a political and military dimension (in medieval Europe and in other parts of the world), but the scale was far larger than ever before”

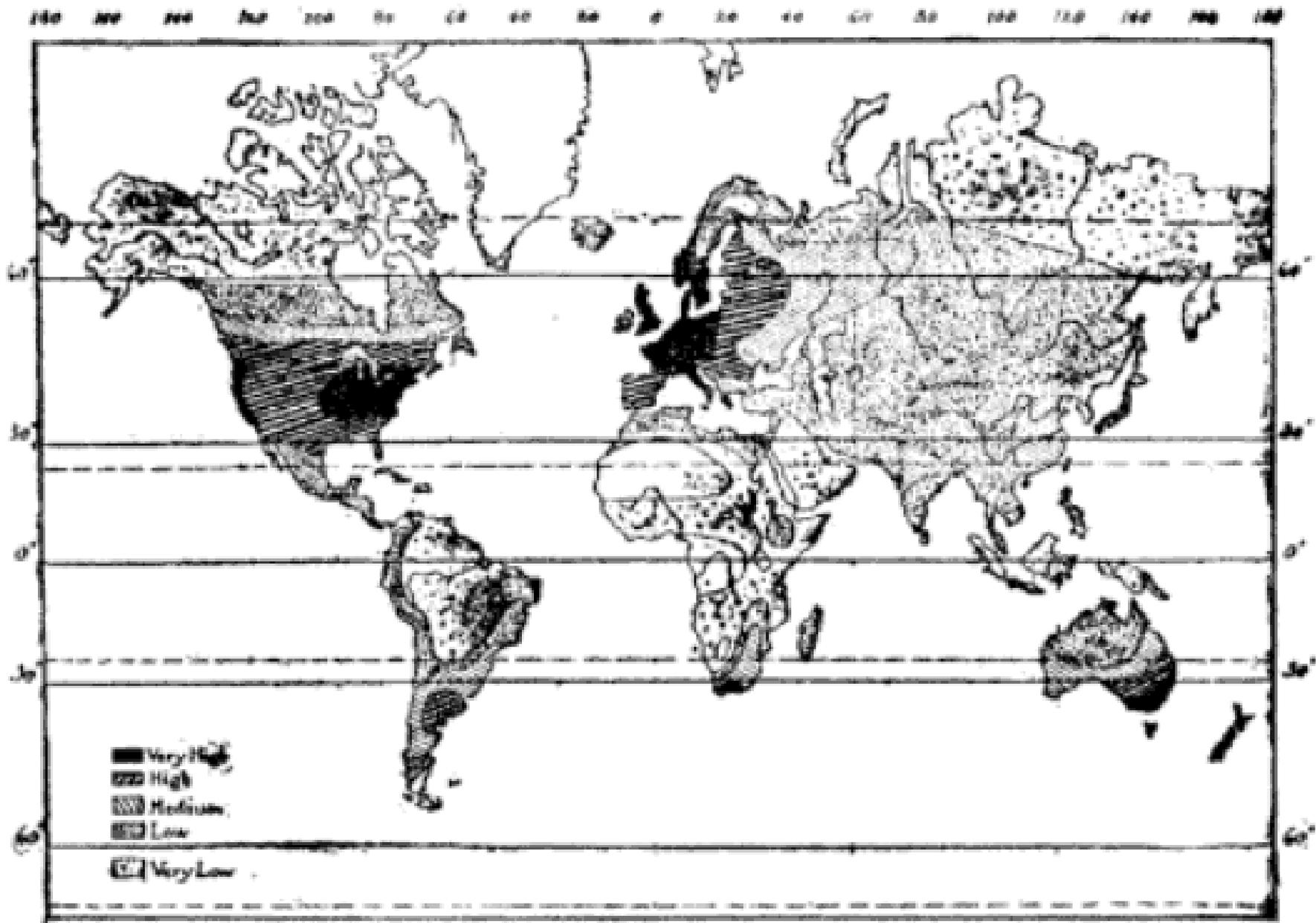


Figure 44. The **Distribution of Civilization**

DEPENDENCY THEORY

[Dependency is]...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected.

Theotonio Dos Santos

DEPENDENCY VS STAGES

- ‘Dependency School’:
 - North American neo-Marxists (Monthly Review; Sweezy, Baran, et al.)
 - Latin Americans (CEPAL; Prebisch, Cardoso, Furtado, Fals Borda)
 - Others: Frank, Amin, Galtung

IMPLICATIONS

- Understand development as relational rather than sequential
 - Core-periphery relationship is universal (spatially and temporally) and defines capitalist growth
- Development cannot be achieved by copying the Western dictates of free trade
- Trickle-down does not work
 - Distinguish between economic growth and economic development - focus on social indicators and national independence
- Import Substituting Industrialization
- De-linking

VARIATIONS OF DEPENDENCY

- Fernando Cardoso:
 - “... the external is also expressed as a particular type of relation between social groups and classes within the underdeveloped nations. For this reason it is worth focusing the analysis of dependence on its internal manifestations”
- Integration of Latin America into global capitalism structures/constrains their development but does not *determine* it
- Different national economies with different social organizations experienced post-World War II capitalism differently
 - Internal dynamics were not completely determined by global forces
 - Nature of internal dynamics could create vastly different outcomes for different peripheral economies
- Dependency does not necessarily prevent/undermine development.
- Associated dependent development is possible

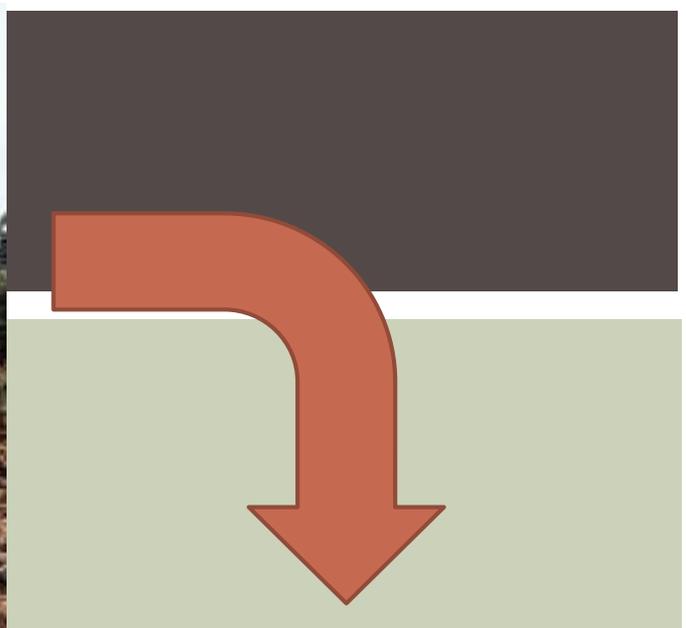
CRITICISMS OF *DEPENDENCISTAS*

- Oversimplification
- Not enough class analysis
- Latin American economic structures not really capitalist
- Degrees of dependence?
 - Europe & USA
 - All countries once dependent?
- Policy implications
- Teleological understanding of development
- Uncritical of development

SO?

- Rise of capitalism is central to our understanding of development/underdevelopment
- Rise of capitalism is transformative
 - Europe
 - Europe's relationship with the rest of the world
 - Rest of the world
- 'Economic' dimensions are central to our understanding of the rise of capitalism and the transformations it engendered
- Capitalism is not simply an economic system it is based on and continuously transforms other spheres of life-world
- Development/underdevelopment are a continuous and dynamic process with certain internal logics





PARADIGM SHIFT IN THE 1980S

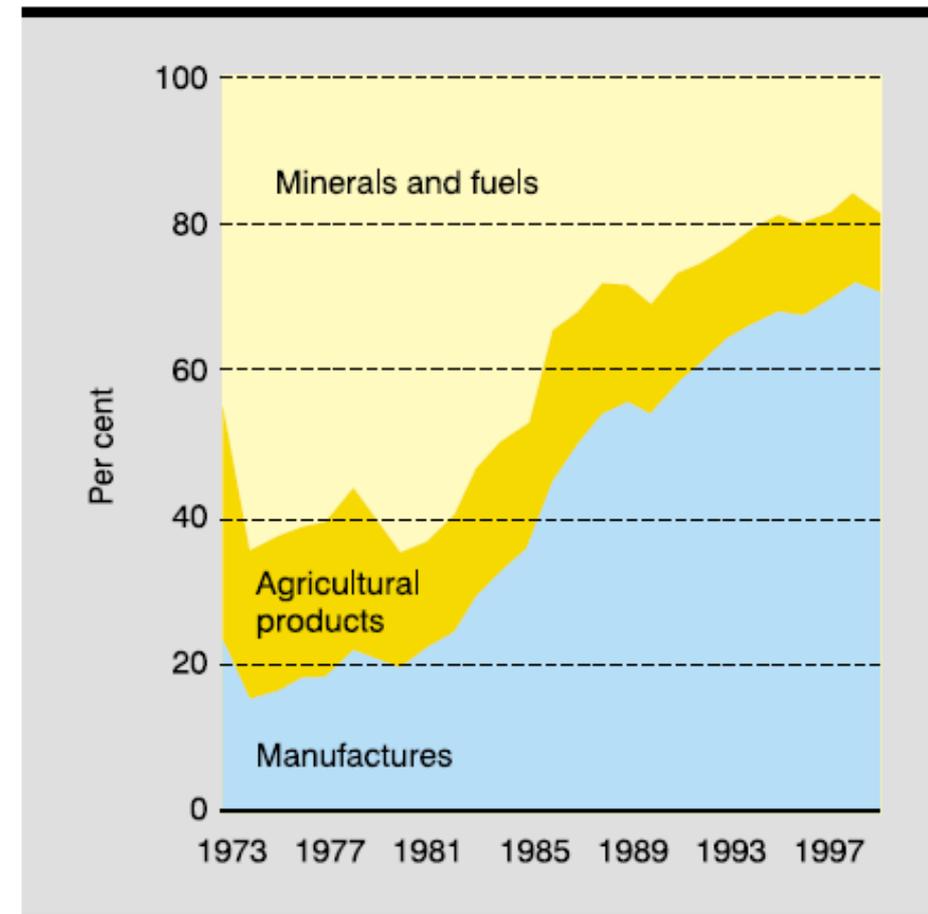
- DS became increasingly contested from both Left and Right in the 1960s and 1970s
- Crisis in early 1980s and political victory of Right in North brought about shift from 'developmentalism' to 'neoliberalism'
- Neoliberal still based on understanding modernisation, but through liberal means
- Human Development Approach needs to be understood as embedded in and reaction to this dominant liberal paradigm (social democracy)

TRADE AND INDUSTRIALISATION TODAY

Majority of LDC exports are now manufactures

- But these exports are concentrated in lower value-added parts of international trade
- Southern manufacturing accrues relatively less value-added than it did in European past

COMPOSITION OF MERCHANDISE EXPORTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, BY MAJOR PRODUCT GROUP, 1973–1999



KEY ISSUES

The Rise of Global Production (and Distribution) Networks (GPNs)

- ‘Post-Fordist’ production fragmented and assembly work off-shored (high-tech and head offices kept ‘on-shore’), led by TNCs
 - Driving force behind rise of trade and manufacturing in Global South (especially East Asia), e.g. laptop

The Rise of China (and India): market or state?
Continuity or break with past?

*Post-Development:
Do no harm?*

DEVELOPMENT: AN IDEA IN RUINS?

- “The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crimes have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work...
- ...Moreover, the historical conditions which catapulted the idea into prominence have vanished: development has become outdated. But above all, the hopes and desires which made the idea fly, are now exhausted: development has grown obsolete” (Sachs, 1992: 1)

TARGET: DEVELOPMENT

- Presumed commonalities in development thought criticized by postdevelopment literature:
 - 1) Linear view of history – West is ahead of Third World
 - 2) Development happens through exercise of rationality
 - 3) Imposition of values like freedom, justice, and equality that are defined along Western norms
 - 4) Assumption that means and ends can be separated (with moral concern applying more to latter)

DEVELOPMENT NOW?

- “Instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression” (Escobar 1995: 4)
- “In Mexico, you must be either numb or very rich if you fail to notice that ‘development’ stinks. The damage to persons, the corruption of politics, and the degradation of nature which until recently were only implicit in ‘development,’ can now be seen, touched, and smelled” (Esteva, 1987: 135)
- “From the unburied corpse of development, every kind of pest has started to spread. The time has come to unveil the secret of development and see it in all its conceptual starkness” (Esteva, 1992: 6)

CONTEXT

- (Beginning of the) End of Cold War
 - Accumulation of evidence regarding growing environmental impact
 - Sexual liberation and freedom for women (in the West)
 - Civil rights movement
- Growing disenchantment and disillusionment with the fruits of modernity in the West:
- “The perception that power to create is also power to destroy; that power over nature is often more imagined than real; that market autonomy is often also an awful desolation, insecurity and simple nullity – numbness in front of the TV, or Lotto, walkman, glue sniffing, or some other virtual reality. What, in human life is truly richness and progress” (Latouche 1993)
- Impatience with development in the South
- Dissatisfaction with structural explanations (left and right)

POST THIS AND POST THAT

- Postmodernism:
 - Questions (interrogates!) reason, rationality
 - Exploring the ‘dark side’ of modernity:
 - Its victims: peasants, female and colonized
 - Its disciplinary institutions: schools, prisons, psychiatric clinics
 - Its sacrifice of spontaneity, emotion, and pleasure
- Reason as a mode of social control
- Progress as the institutionalization of a relationship of domination
- How does it operate? Through claims to ‘universal truths’
 - “The white man takes his own mythology, Indo-European mythology, his own *logos*, that is the *mythos* of his idiom, for the universal form of that he must still wish to call Reason” (Derrida 1971: 213)

FOUCAULT

- Knowledge/Power
- Power – Truth – Knowledge
- Two critiques:
 - ‘modern reason metaphysically grounds its image of universal humanity in traits culturally specific to the Europeans – that is, reason claims to speak for everyone when, in fact, it is really speaking for the European minority in the world’
 - ‘values and emancipatory ideals of the European Enlightenment (autonomy, freedom, human rights, etc.) are the ideological bases for a “normalizing” discipline that imposes an “appropriate identity” on modern people – ideals are powerful ideologies’ (Peet with Hartwick 2005: 204)
- How does modernity ‘normalize’, control, discipline?

TRUTH

- “Truth is not outside of power...Each society has its own regime of truth, its general politics of truth...There is a combat for the truth or at least around the truth, as long as we understand by the truth not those true things which are waiting to be discovered but rather the ensemble of rules according to which we distinguish the true from the false, and attach special effects of power to “the truth” (Foucault 1980: 131)
- Truth needs to be interrogated:
 - Deconstruction (Derrida)
 - Discourse analysis, genealogy, archeology

MODERNITY/(DE)COLONIALITY

- “The conquest of the Americas by Europe and the subsequent racialized colonial practices constituted the modern world-system”
- But Eurocentric modernity obscures the specificities of race and place, and invisibilized other epistemes to masquerade as universal and total.
- The coloniality of power ensures the expansion and continuation of this geopolitics of knowledge production, which dominates disciplinary thinking about politics, economics, society and culture
- For the sake of humans and nature, it is imperative to come up with alternatives of the exploitative and destructive practices of colonial modernity.
- Such decolonial alternatives or “non-Eurocentric” forms of knowing and being in the world can emerge from the different wisdom and experiences of those who have been on the borders of colonial modernity
- Latin America and the past and present experiences of Latin America are a key, though not the only, loci of enunciation for decolonial thinking”

TWO FORMS OF DEVELOPMENT

- **‘Immanent development’**: A broad process of change in human societies driven by a host of factors including advances in science, medicine, the arts, communication, governance etc.
- **‘International (or interventionist) development’**: A focused and directed process whereby government and non-government organizations implement projects and programmes to help develop the under-developed

(Cowen and Shenton 1998)

POSTDEVELOPMENT

'The idea of Development stands today like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Its shadow obscures our vision'
WOLFGANG SACHS

The DEVELOPMENT DICTIONARY

A Guide to Knowledge as Power

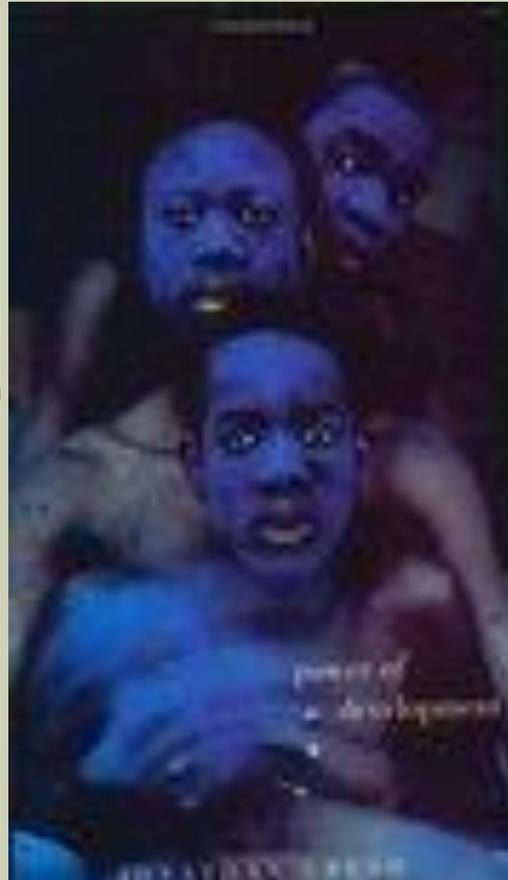
♦
edited by

WOLFGANG SACHS

'A brilliant cluster of unconventional scholars provides a powerful antidote to decades of brainwashing about DEVELOPMENT, AID, PROGRESS, and other mortal dangers of the Twentieth Century'

SUSAN GEORGE

Author of A Fate Worse Than Debt



THE POST-DEVELOPMENT READER

.....

COMPILED AND INTRODUCED BY

MAJID RAHREMA

WITH VICTORIA BAWTREE

PRINCETON STUDIES IN CULTURE/POWER/HISTORY

Encountering Development

THE MAKING
AND UNMAKING
OF THE
THIRD WORLD

ARTURO ESCOBAR

BIRTH OF POSTDEVELOPMENT

- **Resistance and rejection: Development is the problem**
 - Criticisms of reforms, e.g. Participatory Action Research
- **Change of attitudes towards development:**
 - Before: Development is progressive, beneficial, humane
 - After: Development is: Powerful, controlling and detrimental
 - Beneficial for whom? Who determines what 'beneficial' means?

ENCOUNTERING DEVELOPMENT

- Western dream of progress became a hegemonic global imagination
- “They had no cars, no Internet and none of the consumer goods to which modern men and women are now addicted. They had no laws and no social security to protect them, no “free press”, no “opposition party”, no “elected leaders”. But they had no less time for leisure, or paradoxically, were no less economically “productive” for the things they needed. And, contrary to the racist cliches in vogue, they were not always governed by cannibals and tyrants. Effective personal and collective moral obligations often took the place of legal provisions” (Rahnema 1997: 379-81)
- Colonization of reality: Critiques of development articulated using the same concept: another development, participatory development, sustainable development, etc.

DEPLOYING DEVELOPMENT

1. The progressive incorporation of problems thought of as *abnormalities* to be treated clinically – this resulted in a “field of the intervention of power”
 2. The *professionalization* of development, the recasting by experts of what otherwise would be political problems into neutral “scientific” terms, the aim being a regime of truth and norms, or a “field of the control of knowledge”
 3. The *institutionalization* of development, the formation of a network of new sites of power/knowledge that bound people to certain behaviours and rationalities
- Effective because it appealed to the finest ideals of the Enlightenment and to the aspirations of a better life held by poor people
 - ‘Successful’ because it created a type of ‘manageable underdevelopment’

POST DEVELOPMENT

- What to do?
 - Criticisms of the discourse and practice of development could clear the ground for a more radical collective imagining of alternative futures.
- How:
 - (1) an interest not in development alternatives, but in alternatives to development, and thus a rejection of the entire paradigm,
 - (2) an interest in local and indigenous knowledge,
 - (3) a critical stance towards established scientific discourses, and
 - (4) the defense and promotion of localized, pluralistic grassroots movements

CRITICISMS

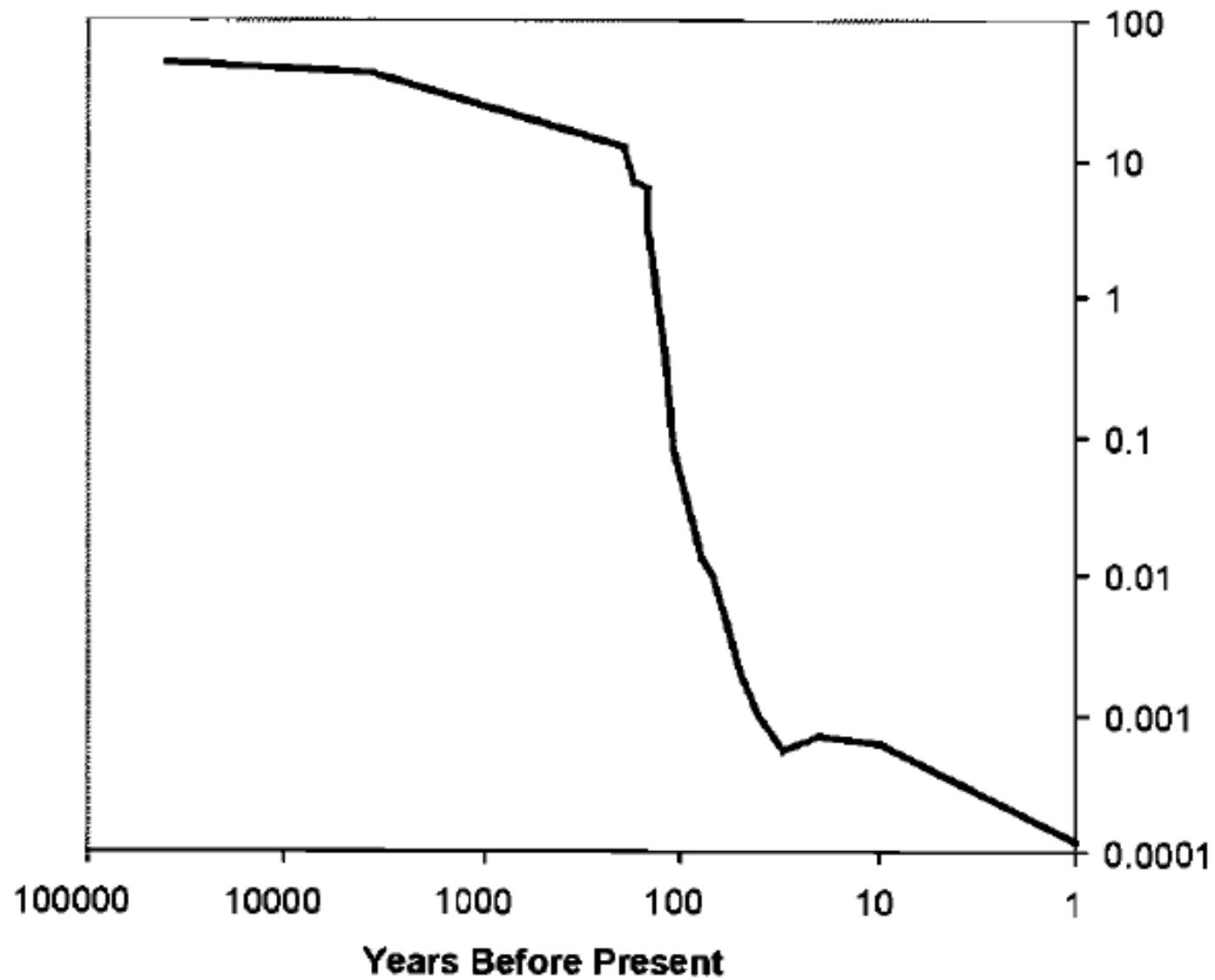
- Uncritical stance towards local communities and tradition
- Over-generalizes development and modernity
- Refusal to acknowledge the positive sides of modernity and development
- Cultural relativism
- Too 'academic'
- It still tells people how to live!
- It doesn't tell us what to do!

MAINSTREAM
DEVELOPMENT TODAY:
GREENING DEVELOPMENT

20TH CENTURY GLOBAL GROWTH

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Factor of Increase</u>
■ Population	4 x
■ Economy	14 x
■ Industrial Output	40 x
■ Energy Use	16 x
■ CO ₂ Emissions	17 x
■ Water Use	9 x
■ Marine Fish Catch	35 x
■ Fertilizer Use	10+ x

The Price of Light: Hours of Work per 1000 Lumen Hours



VICTORIES OVER NATURE

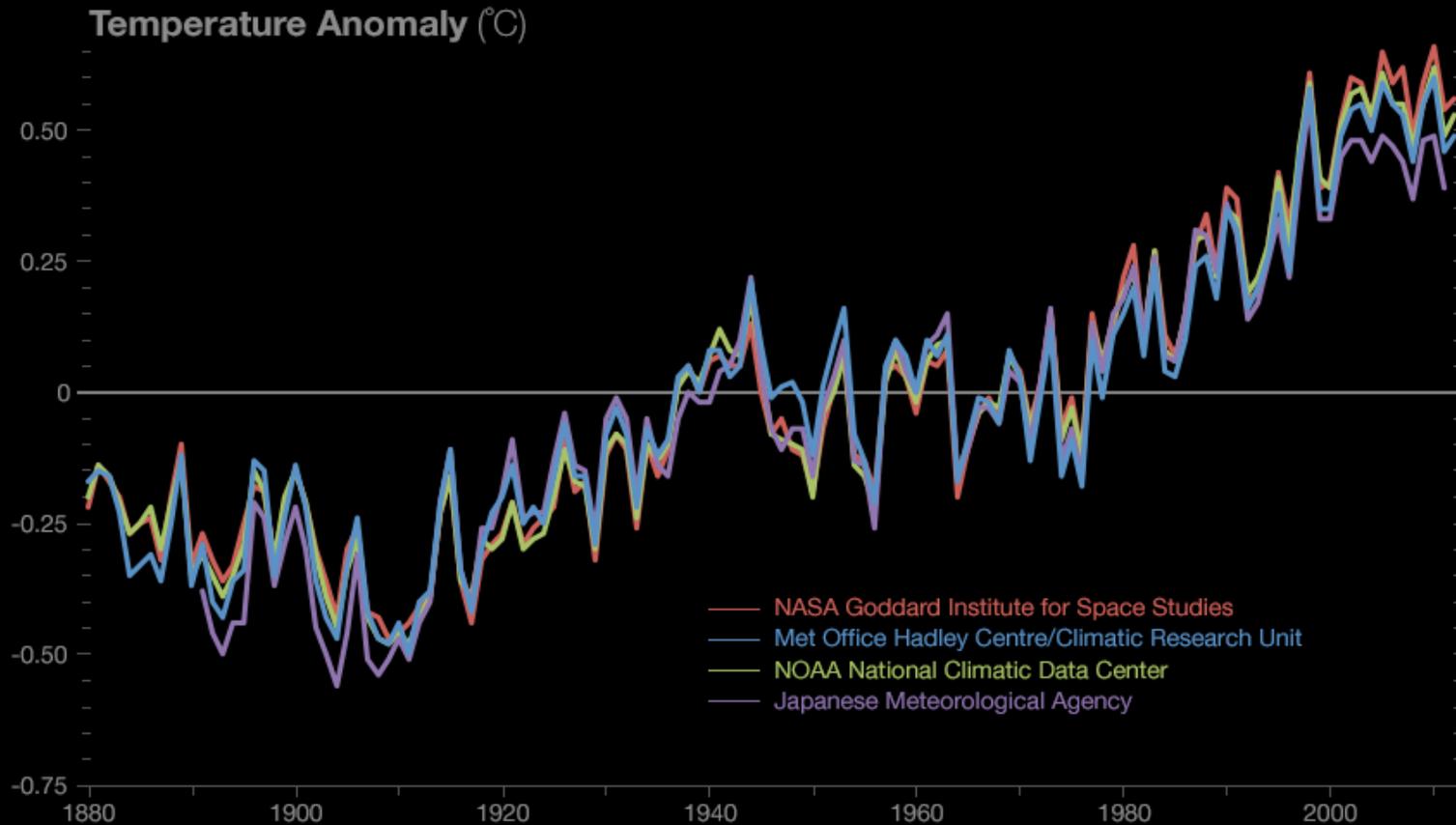
Let us not, however, flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victories over nature. For each such victory nature takes its revenge on us. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first.

—FREDERICK ENGELS

OUTLINE

- Is there a crisis?
- Whose crisis is it? A crisis of wealth or poverty?
 - Who caused it?
 - Who is (and will be) hurt by it?
- How do we understand this crisis?
 - Struggle of great powers
 - Marketization
- Is it possible to live within limits?

Some say scientists can't agree on Earth's temperature changes.



Here's what "disagreement" looks like.



CLIMATE 365

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

- Early Industrial Environmentalism:
 - Green urban planning
 - Colonial conservation
- Birth of modern (western) environmentalism:
 - Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 1962
 - E.F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful*, 1973
 - *A Study of Economics As If People Mattered*
- Environmentalism: Between denial and institutionalization:
 - Stockholm Conference 1972
 - 1987 Brundtland Report
 - 1992 Rio Conference
 - ...
 - Copenhagen 2009
 - Rio 2012



PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION

- “Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland 1987)
- Issues:
 - Are needs static?
 - Can we find a universal definition of ‘needs’?
 - Who decides?
- “...a buzzword largely devoid of content” (Esty, 2001)
- “...if you think about sustainable development long enough, you begin to see how it includes the challenges of the entire world” (Wapner, 2003)

MAINSTREAM SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

- Key features:
 - Developmentalism (industrial and capitalist)
 - Modernisation
 - Nation-states system
- Debate about the *how* not the *if* of continuing along capitalist industrialisation at the global scale
 - Technical solution
 - ...Delivered by markets
- Cause of environmental degradation: wealth or poverty?

BRUNDTLAND REPORT

“Poverty is a major cause and effect of global environmental problems. It is therefore futile to attempt to deal with environmental problems without a broader perspective that encompasses the factors underlying world poverty and international inequality”

BRUNDTLAND REPORT

“If large parts of the developing world are to avert economic, social and environmental catastrophes, it is essential that global economic growth be revitalized. In practical terms, this means more rapid economic growth in both industrial and developing countries, free market access for the products of developing countries, lower interest rates, greater technological transfer, and significantly larger capital flows, both concessional and commercial” (1987:89)

“God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism after the manner of the West... It took Britain half the resources of the planet to achieve this prosperity. How many planets will a country like India require?”

Gandhi

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

- Economic systems:
 - Leave it to the markets
 - Create more equality now
- Political systems:
 - Redirect government function for the purposes of sustainability (not competitive economic growth)
 - Increase inter-national agreements/move beyond nation states
- Socio-cultural systems:
 - Eco-theology
 - Gender equality
 - Rights of nature
 - De-modernize/De-grow
- Technological systems:
 - Intensive adaption of existing technologies
 - Green technologies

NEOLIBERAL ENVIRONMENTALISM

- Naturalness of the market
- State (and regulation for public benefit) is political, distorting
– undesirable
- Leave it to the market
- Establish property rights over nature (and natural processes)
- Commodify nature
- Commercialize it
- Win-Win-Win solution

- Pricing nature...for e.g.
 - Payments for ecosystem services
 - Carbon markets

SUSTAINABLE DEGROWTH

- “An equitable downscaling of production and consumption that increases human well-being and enhances ecological conditions” (Schneider, Kallis and Martinez-Alier, Journal of Cleaner Production, Vol 18 (6), 2010)
- Downscaling and relocalization, not just efficiency improvements.
- “Selective” (geographically and sectorally) degrowth.
- Policies:
- Reduced working hours; Complementary currencies; Impact Caps; Taxing environmental bads; Investment in social services and relational goods; Ecological investments; Leaving resources under the ground (extended sanctuaries); Basic income and salary caps (redistributive taxes); Stronger regulation of commercial media; Facilitate cooperative/communal forms of property and ownership.
- www.degrowth.eu

