TD 638: Development Perspectives

Mainstream Development: *Critiques and Alternatives*

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Development: Post-Colonial Understanding: Mainstream Model

Success of Keynesian Theory in European Recovery after WW 2 (Marshall Plan)

International Political Agenda of USA to Stop Spread of Communism

National Developmentalism in Developing Countries

Adoption of *Growth Theory of Development*: Development = Economic Growth (= Increase in GDP) of a Country

Authoritative Intervention = Giving Prescription, Providing Knowledge, Challenging to change beliefs and behavior

Not **Colonization** but **Development** of "*Underdeveloped Regions*"

Transformation (Modernization) of "*Traditional* societies", into *modern, westernised nations* by helping them in their pursuit and attainment of *technology, values, and (political) systems of the 'modern' western countries*.

Mainstream Development Paradigm/ Model = Economic (GDP) Growth + Industrialization + Modernization

Mainstream Development Paradigm: Recap . . . 1

Mainstream Development Paradigm/ Model = Economic (GDP) Growth + Industrialization + Modernization

Economic Growth = Growth of the economy (of a country) over a prolonged period of time.

= Growth in the value of production of goods and services produced in a national economy.

Measured as Increase in *Gross Domestic Product [Total value of goods and services produced in a country]*.

GDP per Capita = Indicator (or Comparator) of development (= production capacity) in a country

Growth in GDP = Increases in production in agriculture, industries, resource extraction, and other sectors.

Mainstream Development Paradigm: Recap . . . 2

Modernization** = **Transformations:

(i)   Technology: Hand-Tool Based and Using Conventional Fuel <u>to</u> Large-Size, Sophisticated, and Using Fossil Fuels,

(ii)   Economies: Pre-Industrial (Subsistence Agriculture + Artisanal Production) <u>to</u> Industrial Capitalism

(iii) Belief Systems, Education: Spiritual/ Religious/ Metaphysical/ Mystic <u>to</u> Rational, Secular

(iv) Cultural Norms: Collectivist Values Giving Primacy to Community over Individuals <u>to</u> Primacy to Individual Liberty

(v)   Social Systems: Joint Family, Kinship, Caste-based, Communitarian, Mostly Urban

<u>to</u> Nuclear Family, Individualist, Cosmopolitan, Mostly Urban

(i)   Political System: Monarchy, Fiefdoms <u>to</u> Liberal Democracy with Universal Suffrage

(Mainstream) Development: Other Key Points

- **Development = Economic Growth**: Assumption that with greater wealth come other benefits such as improved health, education, and quality of life.

- **Convergence Theory** = The claim that

- With economic growth

    - And acceptance of industrial technology, capitalism, modernization and liberal democracy,

        - income levels *among* different countries and *within* all countries will **converge** soon.

- **Trickle Down Theory** = The argument that once economic growth is achieved in a country,

    - the benefits of this growth will <u>automatically</u> *trickle down* to nooks and corners of society

        - (= automatic increase in income of all of its citizens).

- **Growth Focus** = "our subject matter is growth, and not distribution" Arthur Lewis (Development Economist)

Critique of Mainstream Development . . . 1

- By mid-1960s, it was clear that

  - Economic Growth, Convergence Theory, Trickle Down Theory, and Modernization *are not working*

- Evidence emerged that *income inequality* between and within countries had increased substantially.

- Instead of *Convergence*, different countries experienced different (positive or negative) effects of development efforts focused on economic growth.

- Despite aid programs and development efforts, more wealth continued to flow from the developing countries to developed countries

  - (for example, as debt repayments, payments for technologies, repatriation of profits of transnational corporations, and consultancy fees).

- *Wealth disparity* between developing and developed countries continued to grow between 1990s and 2015.

Critique of Mainstream Development . . . 2

- Mainstream economists dominated development thinking and practice,

  - whereas development is ***not about*** economics alone

- Only specific ***exceptional countries*** who managed to ***maintain*** high rates of economic growth

  - In 1970s East Asian Giants: Japan, Taiwan, South Korea (1st Generation),

  - In 1980s Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia (2nd Generation)

  - In 1990s China and After 2000s India.

Critique of Mainstream Development . . . 3

- **_Eurocentricity_** = European orientation/ European path of development as a standard to follow by other countries.

    - Cultural Arrogance inbuilt in Eurocentricity said to **_have led to_**

        - denigration (= belittling or defamation) of other societies/ cultures/races,

        - insensitivity to cultural variations,

        - stereotyping of other societies, cultures, and places as underdeveloped/ barbaric/ uncultured).

    - Arrogance of universal applicability/ relevance of Grand Theories (Trickle-Down, Modernization)

Critique of Mainstream Development . . . 4

- ***Uni-linearity*** of development idea:

    - that all countries and societies ***will*** and ***should follow*** the same path in the same order

        - in order achieve economic and societal development as the Western Europe and USA.

- Continued dominance of industrialized/ developed/ rich countries,

    - especially of USA in economic affairs and international politics:

- Led to accusation of ***neo-colonialism*** (= political control + economic exploitation)

Critique of Mainstream Development. . . 5

- *"Reductionism"*: *Collapsing* the *broad* and *multidimensional* process of development

    - into a *narrow quantified parameter of GDP*,

        - which essentially was *a parameter of macro-economic wealth generation*,

    - This led to *distortion* of development thinking and practice

- *Over-emphasis* on *economic growth* and on *GDP* led to *neglect of distribution aspect*,

    - leading to increase in not just *income disparity* but *multi-dimensional deprivation*

- *Diverse criticisms* of concept, theories, as well as practice of **Development**

- Increasing calls for *rethinking development* theory and strategies

    - and for diversified and broader interpretation of *development*

Development: Beyond Economic Growth . . . 1

- **Main Assertion: Development** *is not equal to economic growth* or to *reducing income poverty*.

- **Denis Goulet: Development** should *promote*

    a. *life-sustenance* (the **basic requirements** for survival—food, clothing, health, and shelter),

    b. *self-esteem* (or dignity and respect to identity of the individual), and

    c. *freedom* (an expanded range of choices and freedom from "servitudes [= domination]")

Development: Beyond Economic Growth . . . 2

Dudley Seer: **Six conditions** necessary for dealing with **multi-dimensional poverty** & achieving **development**:
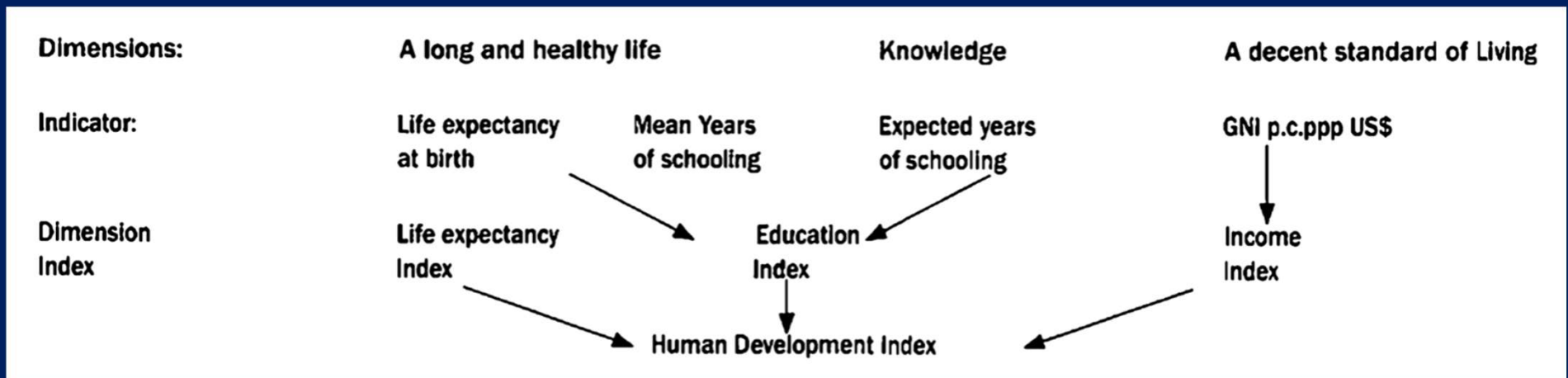
(i)   **adequate income** to cover the needs of basic survival;

(ii) **employment** (including any non-paid social role contributing to self-respect and personality development;

(iii) improvement in the **distribution of income**;

(iv) an **education**, particularly **literacy**;

(v) **political participation**; and

(vi) **national autonomy** (belonging to a politically and economically independent nation).

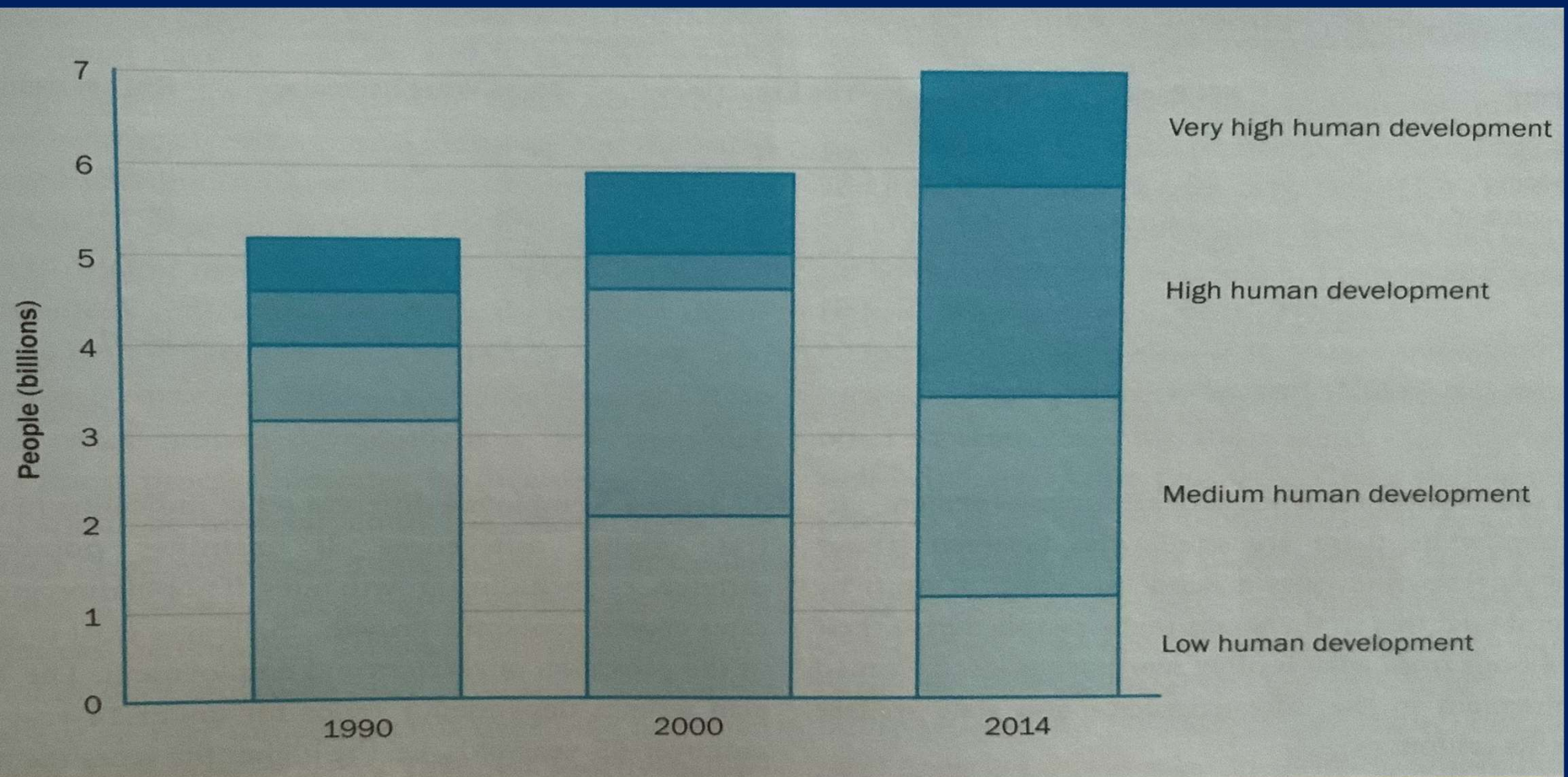# Human Development Index [HDI] . . . 1

- Accepting that **Development** is beyond economic growth makes achieving GDP and GDP/ Capita inadequate

- Efforts to ***bring in*** other socially-relevant criteria in measurement of **Development**.

- Many new social, economic, and other indicators were suggested,

- But, most widely used is *Human Development Index* [HDI] (proposed and used by UN Agencies)

- **HDI** measures the overall achievements in a country

  - in terms of ***three*** basic dimensions of *human development* –

    - longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.

Human Development Index [HDI] . . . 2

- HDI is measured by *life expectancy*,

- *educational attainment* (adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment),

- plus adjusted *income per capita* in purchasing power parity (PPP) US dollars.

Dimensions:	A long and healthy life		Knowledge		A decent standard of Living
Indicator:	Life expectancy at birth	Mean Years of schooling	Expected years of schooling		GNI p.c.ppp US$
Dimension Index	Life expectancy Index		Education Index		Income Index

Human Development Index

Development: Through HDI Lens

Alternative Development . . . 1

- *Alternative Development* Models/ Paradigms = Other than/ Different from **Mainstream Development Model**

- Core ideas *existed before*, but *received boost* after the failure of the **Mainstream Development Model**

- *Initial Key Ideas*: *Gandhian Ideas* from Hind-Swaraj: Local Self-Sufficiency in Economic Sphere, Local Self-Governance, *Centrality* to Moral Values, *Dignity of Manual Labour*, Primacy to Artisanal Production and Village Industries

- *Other Key Models* of *Alternative Development* (Developed as Response to failure of the **Mainstream Development Model**):

  - Human-Focused Development; Development from Below, Bottom-up Development, Participatory Development, Community-Based Development

Alternative Development . . . 2

Key Strategic Elements in *Alternative Development Models*:

- Micro-level Interventions;

- Primacy to Satisfaction of Basic Human Needs;

- Focus on Access to Health, Education, and Water Services;

- Participation of People in Development Decisions,

- Empowerment of Women and Other Socially and Culturally Disadvantaged Groups;

- Less Reliance on State and Private agencies

- Key Role for Community-based, Self-Service, or Non-Governmental Organizations

Alternative Development . . . 3

Critiques of Ideas and Strategies of *Alternative Development Models* :

- Romantic, Impractical ideas;

- NGOs/ CBOs proved ineffective and unaccountable;

- Communities are not homogenous or united but are divided and fractious;

- *Tyranny of Participation* = Cost of Participation Unaffordable to Poor

- *Fallacy of Empowerment* = Delegation of Authority and Powers from State Agencies

  - to Empowered Local Elites and NGOs

    - and not to Women, Poor, and Disadvantaged sections)

Sustainable Development . . . 1

Diagnoses: Concerns over Climate Change Effects are Serious, Immediate, and Could be Addressed

- Environmental destruction, economic growth, and continued deprivation in the South are *inter-linked*

Definition of **Sustainable Development**:

- Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present

    without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs

Requirements of **Sustainable Development**:

a. Satisfaction of Basic Needs of All (Developing Countries)

b. Criteria for Economic Growth: 'Principles of (environmental) Sustainability and Non-Exploitation of Others' (for Developed Countries).

Sustainable Development . . . 2

Strategic Imperatives: Seven strategic imperatives that nations must take into consideration to make changes in policies and strategies to move toward the goal of sustainable development.

These imperatives include:

(i)   Reviving **Growth**,

(ii)   Changing the Quality of Growth,

(iii) Meeting Essential Human Needs,

(iv)   Ensuring a Sustainable Level of Population,

(v)   Conserving and Enhancing Resources ,

(vi)   Reorienting **Technology** and **Managing** Risk,

(vii) Merging Environment and Economics in Decision Making

Critiques of Sustainable Development . . 1

- **Top-priority** 'strategic imperatives' is: *economic growth* (i.e., 'reviving growth') with adjunct suggestions to improve it qualitatively by making it less harmful to nature and human beings.

- This makes it a reformist-tinkering solution,

  - i.e., it does not touch the core of the mainstream development perspective—namely, *economic growth*.

- Focus on reforms and superficial managerial modifications in the current economic and technological systems by bringing in environmental considerations.

- Inclusion in principles and requirements: local communities, people's participation, and basic human needs,

  - but its proposals for actions in its prescription rely on *modification* of the macro-level institutions and legal structures with *naive rhetoric* of international cooperation.

Critiques of Sustainable Development . . 2

- ***Strength***: Wide acceptance because it is flexible and vague

  - allowing a wide range of conventional thinkers and planners

    - to find it comprehensible, acceptable, and 'practical'.

- This flexibility coupled with the conceptual and ideological similarity with the conventional theory and practice,

  - has made the concept vulnerable to diverse interpretations and subsequent appropriation.

  Please refer: Lélé, S. M. (1991). Sustainable development: a critical review. *World development*, *19*(6), 607-621

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). . . 1 [2015]

1. **End *poverty*** in <u>all its forms</u> everywhere.

2. **End *hunger***, achieve food security ... and promote sustainable agriculture.

3. **Ensure *healthy lives*** and promote well-being for all at all ages.

4. **Ensure** inclusive and equitable quality ***education*** ... <u>for all</u>.

5. **Achieve *gender equality*** and ***empower*** <u>all</u> women and girls.

6. **Ensure** availability and sustainable management of ***water*** and ***sanitation*** for <u>all</u>.

7. **Ensure *access to*** affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern ***energy*** for <u>all</u>.

8. **Promote** sustained, inclusive and sustainable ***economic growth***, full and productive ***employment*** and ***decent work*** for <u>all</u>.

9. **Build** resilient ***infrastructure***, ***promote*** inclusive and sustainable ***industrialization***

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). . . 2 [2015]

10. *Reduce inequality* within and among countries.

11. *Make cities* and *human settlements* inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

12. *Ensure* sustainable *consumption* and *production* patterns.

13. Take urgent action to *combat climate change* and its impacts.

14. *Conserve* and sustainably *use* the *oceans, seas*, and *maritime resources* ...

15. *Protect*, *restore* and *promote* sustainable use of *terrestrial ecosystems* ...

16. *Promote* peaceful and inclusive *societies* ... access to *justice* ... accountable and inclusive *institutions.*

17. *Strengthen* the means of implementation and *revitalize* the global partnership for *sustainable development*.

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 1

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is a way of thinking about

the objectives, scope, and priorities for **development activities**.

It is based on thinking about **how the poor** and **vulnerable live** their **lives**

and the **importance o**f **policies** and **institutions.**

It **helps formulate development activities** that are:.

- People-centered

- Responsive and participatory

- Multilevel

- Conducted in partnership with the public and private sectors

- Dynamic

- Sustainable

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 2

- **Livelihood Needs**: Whatever is sought or desired or needed in order to

  - **live/ conduct** life of members of family as per the standard of living decided or sought.

- **Livelihood Needs:** In **tangible** form (food for hunger, water for thirst)

  - or **intangible** form (entertainment, protection from nature, protection from social actors).

- **Livelihood Resources**: All **tangible** (firewood for cooking food) or **intangible** (comforting music) **things** and **items**

  - **needed to satisfy** the **Livelihood Needs**(such as food, shelter, education, entertainment, etc.).

- **Livelihood Resources could be obtained** in diverse manners:

  - directly drawn from surroundings (e.g., firewood from surrounding vegetation)

  - or could be bought by paying money or through barter exchange

  - or through gifts or sharing.

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 3

- **Livelihood Activities**: These are the activities conducted

  - to **obtain and/or process livelihoods resources**

    - in order **to satisfy livelihood needs**.

- **Livelihood Activities** include activities needed for

- **Social and biological reproduction**: These are the activities **needed to perpetuate** the family and society.

  - **Biological reproduction** activities would include: pregnancy, care of baby and mother, care of elderly.

  - **Social reproduction** activities would include: education and in-tangible aspects of social grooming.

- **Livelihoods Stocks**: These are **storages** of **livelihoods resources** (largely in the same form)

  - which can be **directly utilized** to **satisfy livelihood needs**.

- Generally, these **Livelihoods Stocks** are available for at will to the person

  - **to use as Livelihood Resources for satisfying Livelihood Needs**
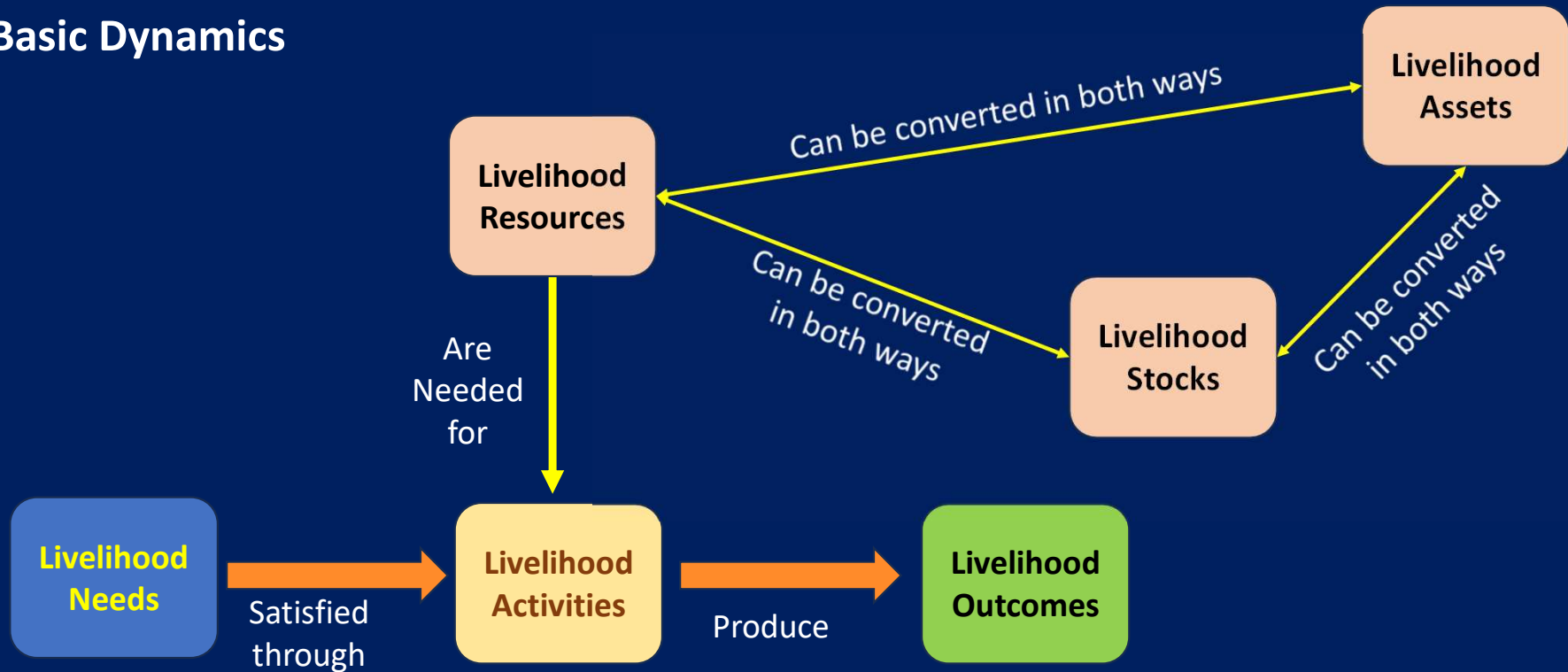
Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 4

- **Livelihood Assets**: These are *things* that *can be converted* into or *used for*

  - obtaining *livelihoods resources* in the case of *need.*

- **Livelihood Assets** are not in the form of *livelihoods resources* and

  - *cannot be directly utilized* for satisfaction of *livelihood needs.*

- **Livelihood Assets** could be *obtained or developed* in diverse manners:

  - *converted from* livelihood resources through some processes

  - *bought* using money or *bartered* against *livelihood resources* or

  - *gifted* or *shared* (not in exchange of anything) by other community members.

- **Livelihood Assets** can be *converted into livelihoods resources* in the same mechanisms in the reverse directions.

- Some **Livelihood Assets** *may provide* a stream of *livelihoods resources* (including money) with or without attrition. (e.g., Bank FD's provide constant stream of income but reduces its value over a period).

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 5

- **_Human assets/ capital_**, e.g., health, nutrition, education, knowledge and skills, capacity to work, capacity to adapt

- **_Social assets/ capital_**, e.g., networks and connections (patronage, neighbourhoods, kinship), relations of trust and mutual understanding and support, formal and informal groups, shared values and behaviors, common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making, leadership

- **_Natural assets/ capital_**, e.g., land and produce, water and aquatic resources, trees and forest products, wildlife, wild foods and fibres, biodiversity, environmental services

- **_Physical assets/ capital,_** e.g., infrastructure (transport, roads, vehicles, secure shelter and buildings, water supply and sanitation, energy, communications), tools and technology (tools and equipment for production, seed, fertilizer, pesticides, traditional technology)

- **_Financial assets/ capital_** e.g., savings, credit and debt (formal, informal), remittances, pensions, wages

  - **_Financial assets/ capital_** tends to be the least available livelihood asset of the poor. Indeed, it is because the poor lack it that the other types of capital are so important to them

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Basic Dynamics

Livelihood Resources — Can be converted in both ways → Livelihood Assets

Livelihood Resources — Can be converted in both ways → Livelihood Stocks

Livelihood Stocks — Can be converted in both ways → Livelihood Assets

Livelihood Resources — Are Needed for → Livelihood Activities

Livelihood Needs — Satisfied through → Livelihood Activities — Produce → Livelihood Outcomes

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 7

- *Livelihood strategies* aim to achieve *livelihood outcomes*.

- *Decisions* on *Livelihood strategies may invoke*

  - natural-resource-based *activities*, nonnatural resource-based and off-farm *activities*, migration and remittances, pensions and grants, intensification versus diversification, and trade-off between short-term versus long-term *livelihood outcomes*,

  - some of which may compete.

- Potential *livelihood outcomes can include*

  - more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, more sustainable use of the natural resource base, and recovered human dignity, between which there may again also be conflict

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 6

- *Vulnerability*: *Insecurity* in *well-being* of individuals, households, and communities

  - *in the face of changes* in their *external environment*.

- *Vulnerability* has *two facets*:

  - an *external side* of shocks, seasonalities, and critical trends; and

  - an *internal side* of defencelessness caused by lack of ability and means to cope with these.

- The *Vulnerability Contexts* includes

  - shocks, e.g., conflict, illnesses, floods, storms, droughts, pests, diseases

  - seasonalities, e.g., prices and employment opportunities

  - critical trends, e.g., demographic, environmental, economic, governance, and

  - technological trends

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 8

- *Livelihood Strategies* and *Livelihood Outcomes* are **dependent on**

  - access to *capital/ assets* or

  - *constrained by* the *vulnerability context*; they

 - *are also transformed* **by** the *environment* of *structures* and *processes*.

Structures

- *Structures* are the *public* and *private sector organizations* that

  - *set* and *implement* policy and legislation;

  - *deliver* services; and

  - *purchase*, *trade*, and *perform* all manner of *other functions*

- *All these Structures affect Livelihood Strategies* and *Livelihood Outcomes* .

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 9

Processes

- *Processes includes* laws, regulations, policies, operational arrangements, agreements, societal norms, and practices

  - that, *determine* the ways in which *structures operate.*

- *Policy-determining structures (public* and *private sector organizations) cannot* be effective

  - in the *absence of*

    - appropriate *institutions* and *processes* through which *policies can be implemented*.

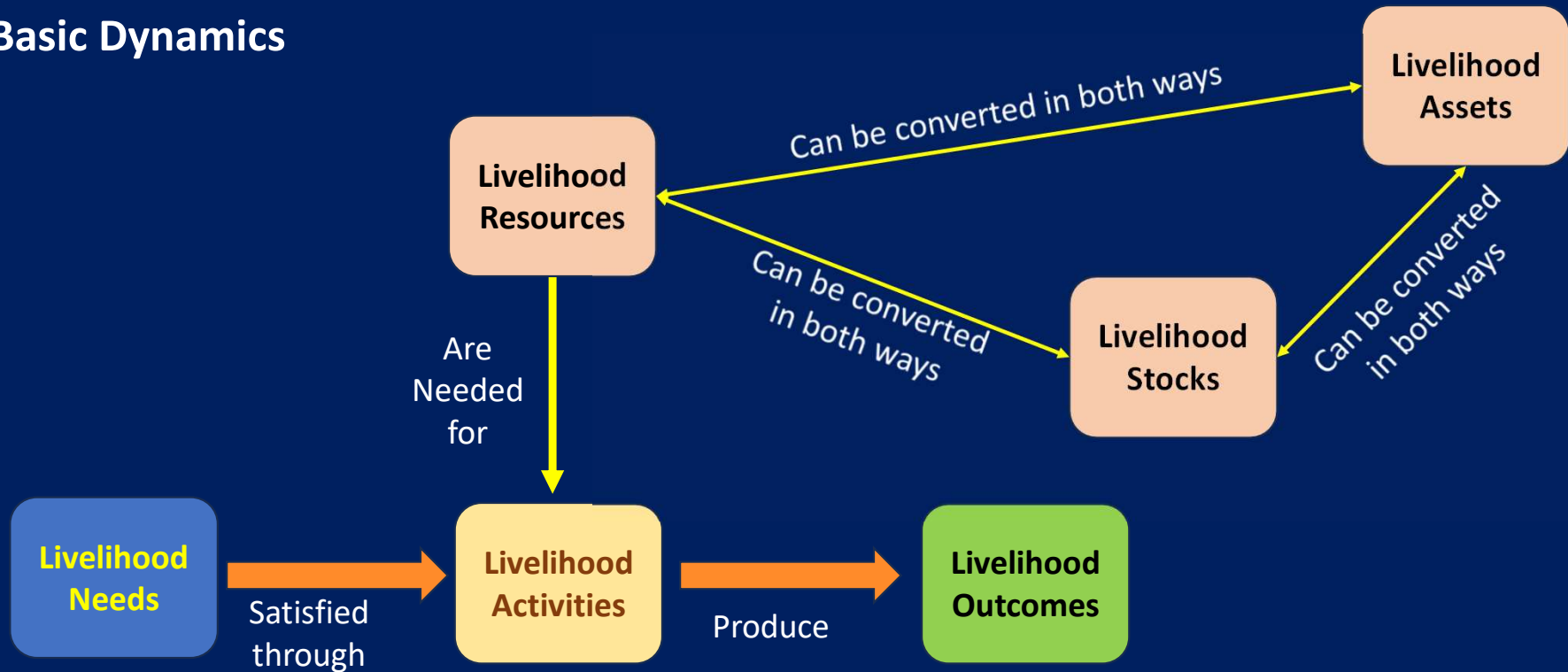- *Processes* are important to every aspect of *livelihoods*.
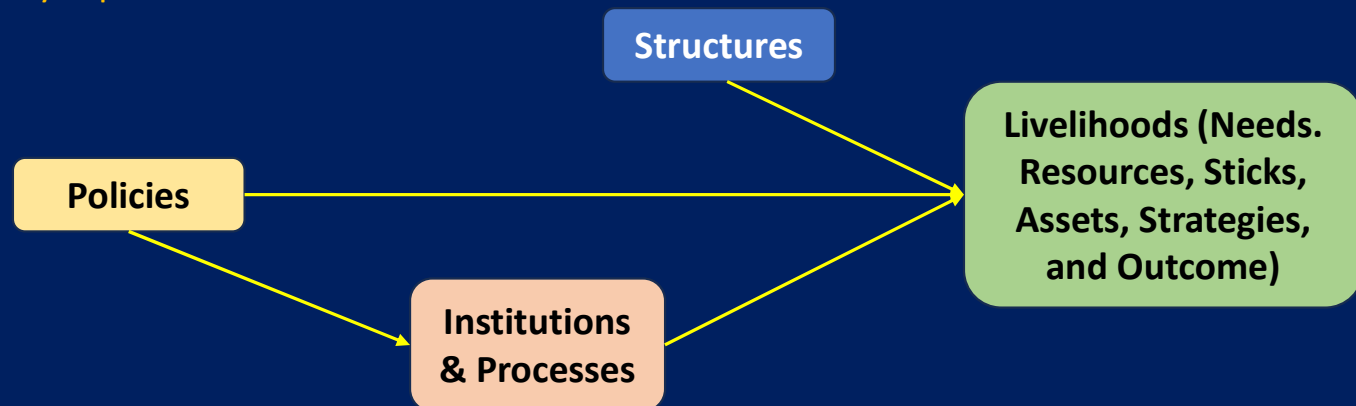
Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 10

Processes (= laws, regulations, policies, operational arrangements, agreements, societal norms, and practices)
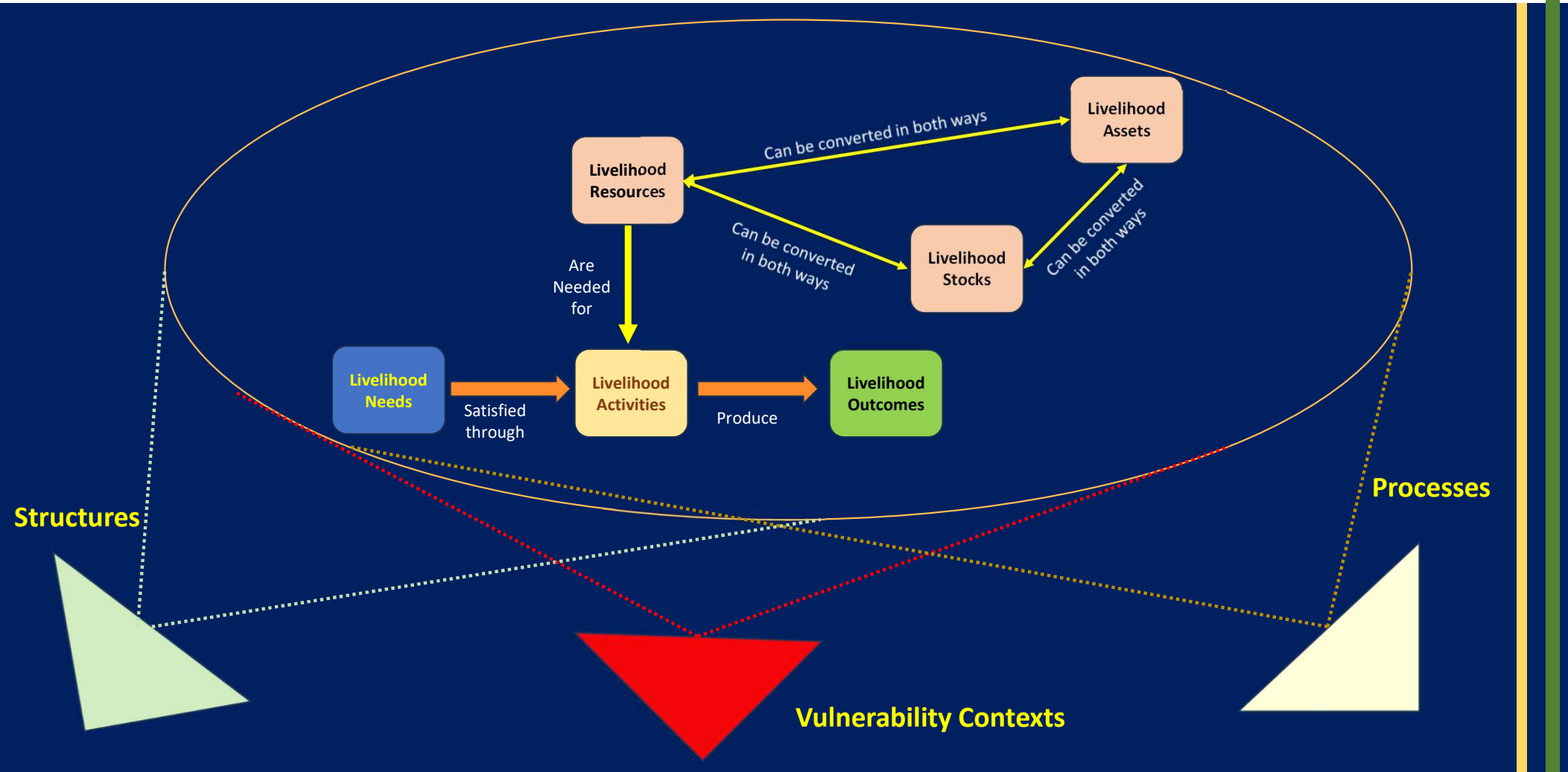
- **Processes** are important to every aspect of **livelihoods**.

- **Processes** provide incentives that stimulate people to make better choices.

- **Processes** grant or deny access to assets.

- **Processes** enable people to transform one type of asset into another through markets.

- **Processes** have a strong influence on interpersonal relations.

- One of the main problems the poor and vulnerable face is that the **Processes**

    - which frame their livelihoods

        - may systematically restrict them

            - unless the government adopts

                - pro-poor policies that, in turn, **filter down to** legislation and even less formal processes.
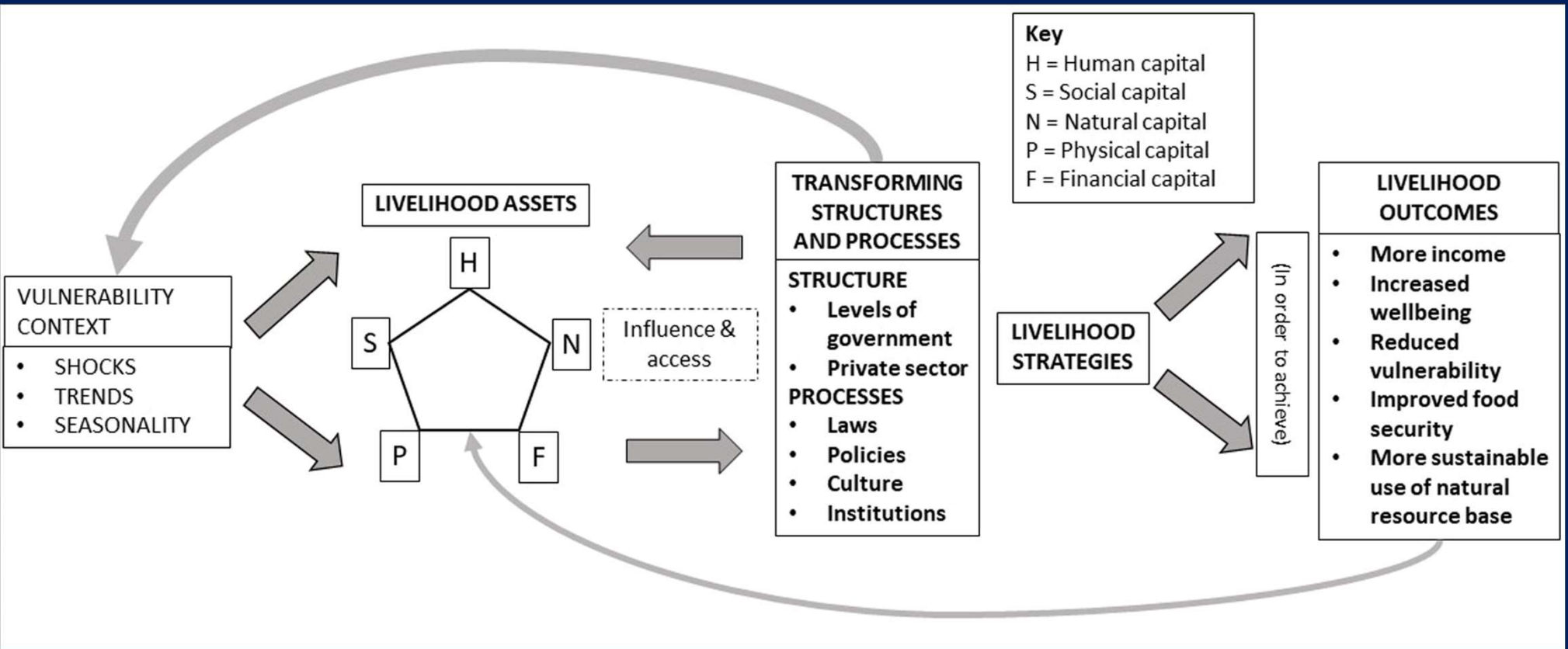
Sustainable Livelihoods Framework


Basic Dynamics

Livelihood Assets

Livelihood Resources

Can be converted in both ways

Can be converted in both ways

Can be converted in both ways

Livelihood Stocks

Are Needed for

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Satisfied through

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Produce

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Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
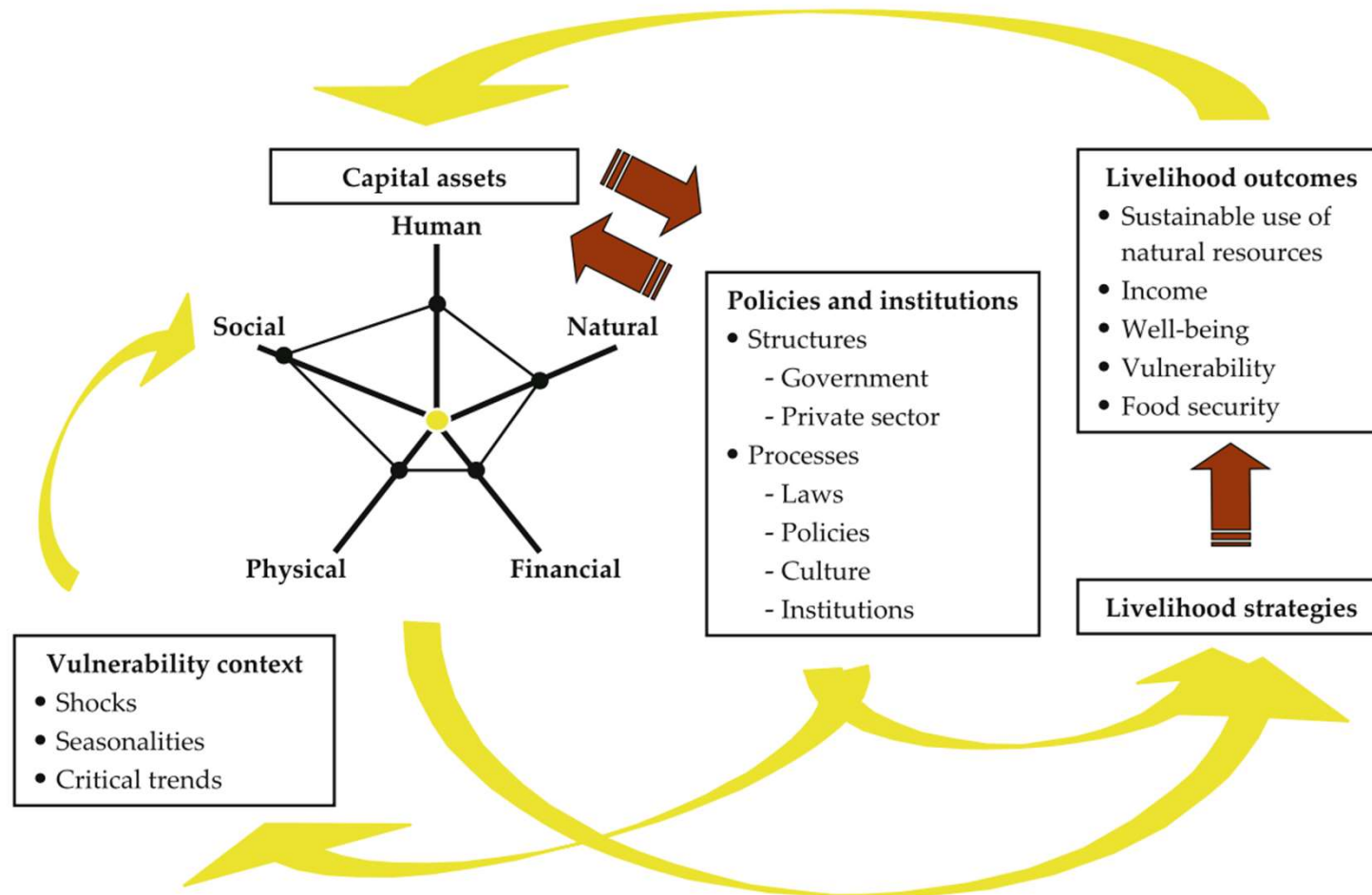
Critiques by Post-/ Anti-/ Beyond Development: . . 1

- *Genesis of Post-Development* : This was a reaction from radicals against utter failure of both:

- Mainstream Development Model (economic growth + industrialization + modernization+ liberal democracy + market)

- AND Marxist model for progress (economic growth + industrialization + modernization+ Party Dictatorship + Planning)

- *Main Criticism* of the *Mainstream Development Model by Post-Development*:

- Apart from the **utter failure** on the **social** and **environmental** **fronts**

- The *idea* and *discourse* on *development*

    - is an unfair and heavily manipulated by the West, the International Institutions (UN, World Bank, IFIs), and national governments

        - which themselves took over the authority to talk about and do *development*.

- In other words, the economic, social, and political parameters of *development* are *set by* the West and are *imposed on other countries* in a neo-colonial mission to *develop* them in the image of the West.

Critiques by Post-/ Anti-/ Beyond Development . . 2

- 'Globalisation Steamroller' (= 'universalism' of contemporary development discourse) is obliterating the local values and potentialities of 'traditional' communities

- *Development* _created_ 'abnormalities' such as poverty, underdevelopment, backwardness, landlessness, and

  - addressed them through a *normalisation programme* denying value or initiative to local cultures.

- The negative role of the *state* in the *South* in *facilitating* the 'Westernisation' of the so-called 'development mission'.

- In the case of the Marxist model for progress (economic growth + industrialization + modernization+ Party Dictatorship + Planning)

- The criticism was the same, here one **philosophy/ ideology/ political party** took over the authority to talk about and do *development*

Post-Development: Solution . . . 1

- The *state* in the *South* played a negative role in *facilitating* the so-called 'development mission'.

- It follows, therefore, that the *restructuring of development* must come from below and **not from** the *State*

- **Post-development** places enormous emphasis not just on *grassroots participation*,

  - but more specifically on *new social movements* as the *medium of change*,

    - which can lay a basis for situationally and community relevant, appropriate "*change*" (**not** *development*).

  - Not 'old', 'class-based' 'social movements' in the nineteenth century (trade unions, political parties, etc.)

    - Reason: These allow the pursuit of mainstream development objectives (chiefly, the economic growth).

Post-Development: Solution . . . 2

- *New Social Movements* *pursue* "anti-development, *promoting* egalitarian, democratic and participatory *politics* within which they *seek* autonomy through the use and pursuit of everyday knowledge".

  - Often, '*transcending* any narrow materialist concerns'

- It *warns against* subversion by the developmentalist mission through compromised projects such as 'women and development', or 'grassroots (alternative) development'

Criticisms of Post-Development . . . 1

- Reductionism: Post-Developmentists painting a picture in which a *monolithic capitalism*,

  - particularly in the guise of the World Bank, *monopolizes development* within a largely complacent *South*.

- Post-Developmentists are Selective in *choosing* evidence.

  - They *ignore* evidence in Asia-Pacific countries and many positive changes brought about by *development* (= improved health, education) though they are uneven.

Criticisms of Post-Development . . . 2

- Their **solutions** are not realistic, **failed to provide** significant and viable alternatives;

  - **new social movements** though **effective in voicing** valid dissatisfaction,

    - **remained at the** micro-level, difficult **to replicate**.

- **Counter-argument** by Post-Developmentists : The national states and Western forces **came together to crush** new social movements that could not **muster**

  - adequate support from the poor, the only natural constituency of **new social movements** .

    - who had to fight daily battles for survival.

- Despite all these weaknesses, the **new social movements** were **successful in forcing** the state and the West to start respecting local people's views.

Post-Modernism in Development Thinking . . . 1

- Two major relevant implications of the broader discourse of *postmodernism* for development thinking

1. *Postmodernism* *denies* a process of progression to 'higher' levels of civilization in human history.

   - It sees **History** as a **contingent** **succession** **of** **events**, so it is *difficult to think* in terms of goals, including development goals (Parfitt, 2002).

   - So, development as 'a process of directed change' is a *myth* (=an idea believed by some people but is **false**).

   - *Postmodernism* rejects the interpretation (by the West) of history

     - as progress or development towards better conditions. (Thus, rejects Promise of Human/ Social Progress)

   - Similarly, *efforts to carve* a 'developmental path' for the South is also a *myth*

Post-Modernism in Development Thinking . . . 2

- Two major relevant implications of *postmodernism* for development thinking

2. Grand *Narratives* or meta (=super-higher level) *theories* (e.g., *modernization, Trickle - down, Workers' Revolution*)

- are also *myths*,

- and Especially their ability to predict the future is a *myth*.

- Hence, *Postmodernism* recommends *Moving to* meso- or micro-level *conceptualizations* (of development/ change),

- which *focus on* specific issues/ dimensions of *development*

- checking their relevance for both the *development process* as a whole and to local situations.

- *Postmodernism focuses attention* on *context* and thus *avoids* meta-narratives independent of *context*.

- *Postmodernism privileges* the knowledge and experience of those in the local situation to which policy was directed.