

TD 638: Development Perspectives

Early Mainstream Development Theories

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Main Approaches to Development: 1950s Onwards . . . 1

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Main development approaches</i>
1950s	<u>Modernization theories</u> : all countries should follow the European model <u>Structuralist theories</u> : Southern countries needed to limit interaction with the global economy to allow for domestic economic growth
1960s	<u>Modernization theories</u> <u>Dependency theories</u> : Southern countries poor because of exploitation by Northern countries
1970s	Dependency theories <u>Basic needs approaches</u> : focus of government and aid policies should be on providing for the basic needs of the world's poorest people <u>Neo-Malthusian theories</u> : need to control economic growth, resource use and population growth to avoid economic and ecological disaster <u>Women and development</u> : recognition of the ways in which development has differential effects on women and men

Main Approaches to Development: 1950s Onwards . . . 2

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Main development approaches</i>
1980s	<p><u>Neo-liberalism</u>: focus on the market. Governments should retreat from direct involvement in economic activities</p> <p><u>Grassroots approaches</u>: importance of considering local context and indigenous knowledge</p> <p><u>Sustainable development</u>: need to balance needs of current generation against environmental and other concerns of future populations</p> <p><u>Gender and development</u>: greater awareness of the ways in which gender is implicated in development</p>
1990s	<p><u>Neo-liberalism</u></p> <p><u>Post-development</u>: ideas about 'development' represent a form of colonialism and Eurocentrism. Should be challenged from the grassroots</p> <p><u>Sustainable development</u></p> <p><u>Culture and development</u>: increased awareness of how different social and cultural groups affected by development processes</p>
2000s	<p><u>Neo-liberalism</u>: increased engagement with concepts of globalization</p> <p><u>Sustainable development</u></p> <p><u>Post-development</u></p> <p><u>Grassroots approaches</u></p>

Early Thinking about 'Development': Keynes and Rostow

W W. Rostow (1950s):

Addressed concerns of US elites during *Cold War*:

Concern: whether *newly independent countries* in the Global South will side with USSR.

Rostow proposal: *US aid* to *developing countries* could help *newly independent countries*

to move rapidly through the *stages of economic development*

while keeping them in the *capitalist/Western sphere of influence*.

- **Rostow postulated** that economic development as done in Western industrialized countries
 - *could be replicated* in *developing world* by applying a *five-stage model* (Representative of *modernization theory*).

Rostow's theory and advice was *followed by* US and Western European governments in providing *Development Aid*

Early Thinking about 'Development': Rostow's Model . . 1

- **W. W. Rostow** *postulated* that economic development as done in Western industrialized countries
 - *could be replicated* in **developing world** by applying a **five-stage model** (Representative of **modernization theory**).

Rostow's Five-Stage Model of Development

1. **Initial Stage: Traditional State** of **economy, politics,** and **culture**

- **Economic: Developing societies** mostly **agricultural**, *focused on* **subsistence** (no surplus),
and *employing* their **economic surpluses** for **military or religious goals** rather than for **economic improvement**.
- **Political:** Though liberated from colonial masters, native **Feudal interest groups** have strong political control
 - **Feudal interest groups** thriving on **agricultural rent** and not interested in development of industries or markets.
- **Socio-Cultural:** Social norms and cultural practices **restrict** political and economic freedom
 - And **restrict** development of **markets** or **industries**

Early Thinking about 'Development': Rostow's Model . . 2

2. *Second Stage: Transition Stage:*

- *Subversion* of previous stage *through development of internal and external markets*
- *Markets allow the sale of agricultural commodities* and the *import of new goods*, along with *foreign technology*.
- This process *creates interest groups* in favour of *increasing production* and *accumulating wealth*
- for *secular* and *civil purposes* (and not for *military* or *religious* purposes).
- These *changes in economy* force *changes in traditional culture* *shake up* the *pre-existing political order*.
- The increased *economic activity*, presence of *interest groups*, and *loosening of political and cultural constraints*
 - create a *push toward more productive economic specialization in manufacturing*,
and *interest in the diversification* of *economic* and *trading opportunities*
- These *developments*, in turn, *create* the *conditions* for the *third stage*.

Early Thinking about 'Development' : Rostow's Model . . 3

Rostow's *Five-Stage Model of Development* [Continued]

3. *Third Stage: Take-off Stage: Crucial* because this is when *developing countries* start switching to *large-scale agriculture* and *industry*, thus causing *rapid urbanization* and *social change*.

The *pressures of urbanization* and *industrialization* create *demand* for

significant investments in *basic services* such as electrification, roads, and seaports

and *drastic improvements* in *education systems*.

For Rostow, *these* all were *areas* where *Western aid* and *advice* could and *should be employed*.

Early Thinking about 'Development' : Rostow's Model . . 4

Rostow's *Five-Stage Model of Development* [Continued]

4. *Fourth Stage: Drive to Maturity Stage*: Tendencies from the *Third Stage* deepen.

Economic terms: *Developing Countries* *more diversified* and *less reliant on imports* to cover necessities.

As *local firms* *invest to increase* the *volume* and *quality* of their *Industrial* and *agricultural production*,
and *adapt* or *create* their *own technologies*.

Early Thinking about 'Development' : Rostow's Model . . 5

Rostow's *Five-Stage Model of Development* [Continued]

5. *Fifth and Last Stage: Mass Consumption Society Stage*: Stage *already attained* by *industrialized Western economies*.

Economies of *Developing Countries* completely *industrialized*,

with *productive capacity* enough to *satisfy* the *consumption needs* of citizens,

including *financing imports* with *exports* of goods and services

- While Rostow's *stages of growth model* is *rarely invoked* in *development policy analysis* today,
- It has *still remained* as an *influential undercurrent* for *Western policy-making toward the Global South*.

Early Thinking about 'Development' : Rostow's Model . . 6

What are the **Main Drivers** of **Development: Comparing Gerschenkron, Keynes, and Rostow**

Gerschenkron: *premeditated planning* will transform *economy of newly independent countries* in short time

Keynes: The *state* needs to make *efforts* to jump *stages of development* by accelerating *economic growth*

Rostow: *International Aid + State's efforts + International trade + Domestic investments*

will be required for *development* of *newly independent countries*

Core Keynesian idea applied to development

Jumping stages of development by accelerating *economic growth* and *modifying economies*,
using *forces other than the market*, namely, *the state*.

Development Economics: New Disciplines in Development Thinking . 1

Development Economics: New discipline (in the late 1940s and lasted until the early 1960s)

Paul Rosenstein-Rodan: *“Big Push” Theory:*

- Concentrating **development efforts** in specific and large **industrialization** projects (*“Big Push”*)
- Projects with high capability **to create “ripple effects”** in the rest of the economy.
 - **“Ripple Effects”** = (Such projects) **enable technological development** and additional **economic activities**
 - in other **sectors** of **economy** and other **sections** of **society** (leading to **economic growth**).
 - **Measured by** number of jobs and new businesses **created** in primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of economy.
- Example: **Creation of** heavy industries such as steel plants (also seaports, road bridges, and energy generation plants)
 - the output of which would later **be used** in the production of other goods,
 - such as rail cars and train tracks, ships, and heavy trucks.

Development Economics: New Disciplines in Development Thinking . 2

Development Economics: New discipline (in the late 1940s and lasted until the early 1960s)

Paul Rosenstein-Rodan: ***“Big Push” Theory***: [Continued]

Construction and operation of these specific and large ***industrialization*** projects

also ***require transfer of*** significant ***technology*** and ***skills*** to developing countries from developed countries.

(technology and skills building, planning, and project management)

Due to their very high costs and ***requirements*** for technical knowledge,

these projects typically ***needed to be*** funded through ***foreign aid***,

thus establishing another powerful argument and agenda for official ***development assistance /aid*** .

Development Economics: New Disciplines in Development Thinking . 3

Albert Hirschman (economist and Advisor to World Bank): Also *supported* the *idea*:

Big *industrial* projects in *strategic industries* and *large infrastructure investments* *triggering economic modernization*

Hirschman pointed out *another gain* from *injections* of *foreign technology* and *capital*, through *international aid*

Create *linkages* with the rest of the economy

Linkages (Concept) *emphasizes* that a given *strategic industrialization* *can stimulate* the *development* of *other industries*,

including *some local industries* that *provide* inputs (*backward linkages*)

and *other industries* that *process* outputs (*forward linkages*) for these new *strategic industrialization* projects.

Backward and *forward linkages* *could jumpstart* *multiple sectors* of an underdeveloped economy

Condition: Such *linkages* *would develop* only if *state policies* *required*

utilization of *locally made inputs* and *local processing of outputs* *before exporting*.

Development Economics: New Disciplines in Development Thinking . 4

- **Arthur Lewis**: Another *critical link*: *Theory of Surplus Labour*
- **Arthur Lewis**: *Pointed out* that *industrialization* could be promoted in developing countries
 - by *encouraging labour to move from rural areas*, where they worked in *subsistence farming* or *plantations*,
 - to *urban areas to work in industry*, *without raising* wages.
 - which *would generate* significant *surplus*.
- *Theory of Surplus Labour* implied that such *industrialization*
 - *could achieve large profits* in its *early stages*,
 - which *could later be reinvested* in *technology adaptation* or *endogenous innovations*,
 - *making economic development* a *self-sustaining project* (Lewis 1954).

Development Economics: New Disciplines in Development Thinking . 5

Ragnar Nurske: *Theory of Balanced Growth* (of Industries and Agriculture) *through State Investment,*

Export Pessimism: *Observed* that much of the growth of imports in developing countries was wasteful.

consisted of luxury and superfluous consumption

Nurske advocated (instead) for increased taxation of commodity exporters and the wealthy

to finance state-led industrial and agriculture projects that *would diversify* the *economy,*

substitute for *imports of manufactured goods,* and *repress* demand for luxury items.

Such thinking dovetailed with

- Rosenstein- Rodan arguments for “big push” projects, and ripple effect
- Hirschman’s ideas of “linkages,”
- and Rostow’s stage sequencing of growth.

Development Economics: New Disciplines in Development Thinking . 6

Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI):

Premise: By *protecting* or *shielding* them from foreign competition,

local infant industries in developing countries *could grow significantly*

Allowing them to *earn great profits* in local markets

that *would be later invested* in *new industries* and *technologies*,

gradually creating a *more industrialized economy*

with *higher value-added production* than one based on *unprocessed commodities*.

Development Economics: New Disciplines in Development Thinking . 7

Rosenstein-Rodan arguments for “*big push*” projects, Hirschman’s ideas of “*linkages*” and *state intervention*, and Rostow’s *stage sequencing of growth*, Nurske idea of *heavy taxation*.

All involved *departures* in *development economics* from *traditional free-market Economics* (*Liberal Economics*)

This *departures* Quite common in the 1940s to 1960s, since many economists of this period

did not accord international trade a significant role in strategies for development.

Their recent experience had been formed by

the *Great Depression*, with its fall in international trade flows,

the *Second World War*, when *international trade* had pretty much *stopped*,

and the early *post-war period*, when *international trade* remained *heavily regulated*

while *Marshall Plan* worked as *State-State Collaboration* for *Reconstruction of Europe* .

Thank You

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 to Large-Size, Sophisticated, and Using Fossil Fuels,
- (ii) **Economies:** Pre-Industrial (Subsistence Agriculture + Artisanal Production) to Industrial Capitalism
- (iii) **Belief Systems, Education:** Spiritual/ Religious/ Metaphysical/ Mystic to Rational, Secular
- (iv) **Cultural Norms:** Collectivist Values Giving Primacy to Community over Individuals to Primacy to Individual Liberty
- (v) **Social Systems:** Joint Family, Kinship, Caste-based, Communitarian, Mostly Urban
to Nuclear Family, Individualist, Cosmopolitan, Mostly Urban
- (i) **Political System:** Monarchy, Fiefdoms to 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 automatically **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*:

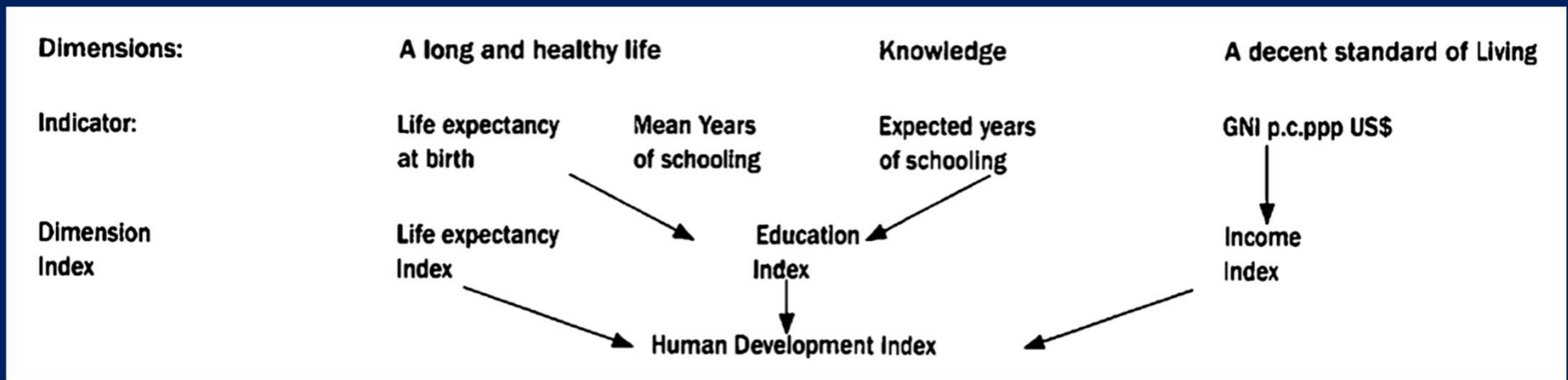
- (i) *adequate income* to cover the needs of basic survival;
- (ii) *employment* (including any non-paid social role contributing to self-respect and personality development;
- (iii) improvement in the *distribution of income*;
- (iv) an *education*, particularly *literacy*;
- (v) *political participation*; and
- (vi) *national autonomy* (belonging to a politically and economically independent nation).

Human Development Index [HDI] . . . 1

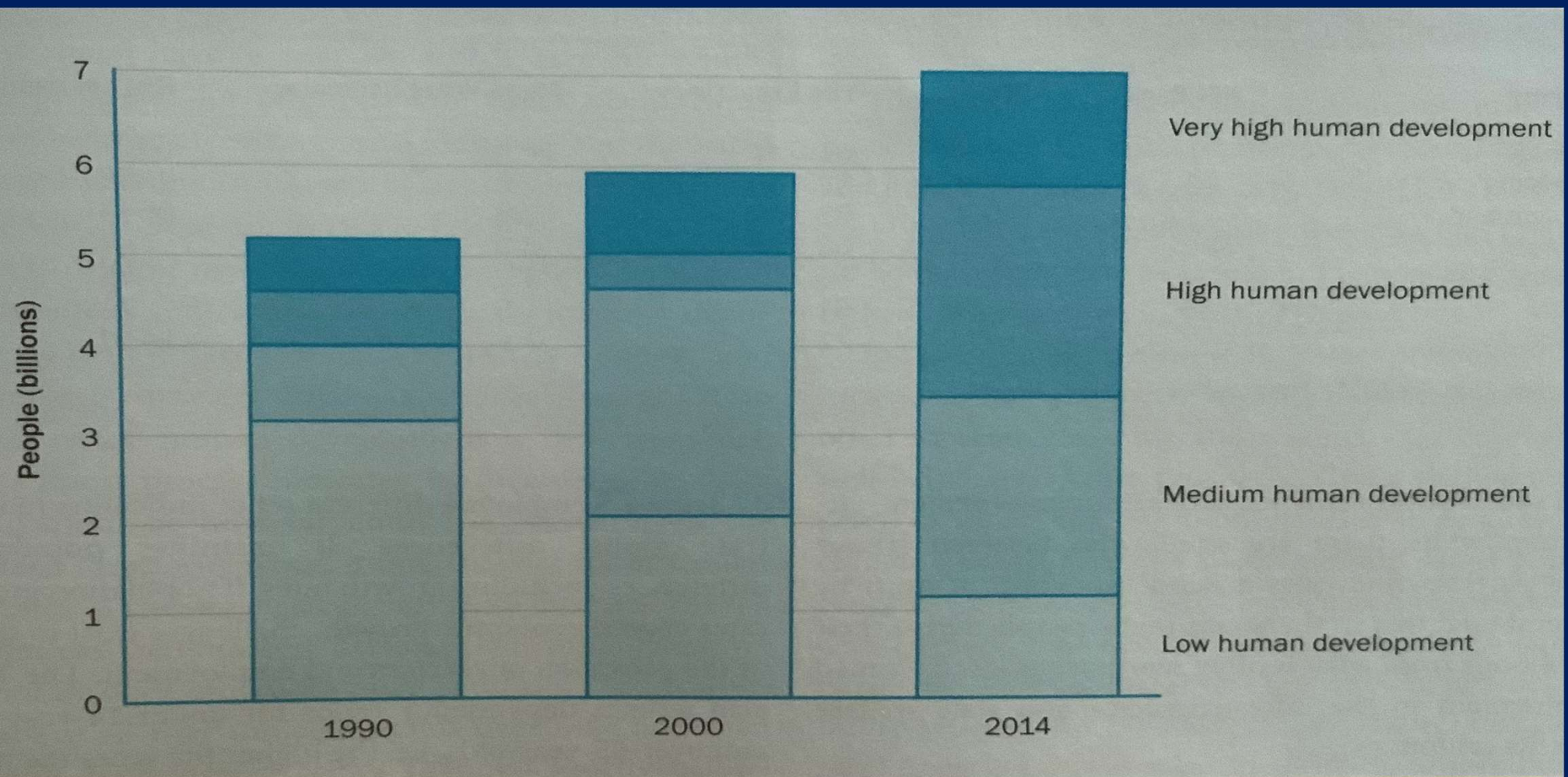
- Accepting that **Development** is beyond economic growth makes achieving GDP and GDP/ Capita inadequate
- Efforts to *bring in* other socially-relevant criteria in measurement of **Development**.
- Many new social, economic, and other indicators were suggested,
- But, most widely used is **Human Development 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.



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 , | (v) Conserving and Enhancing Resources , |
| (ii) Changing the Quality of Growth, | (vi) Reorienting Technology and Managing Risk, |
| (iii) Meeting Essential Human Needs, | (vii) Merging Environment and Economics in |
| (iv) Ensuring a Sustainable Level of
Population, | 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 all its forms 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** ... for all.
5. *Achieve **gender equality*** and **empower** all women and girls.
6. *Ensure* availability and sustainable management of **water** and **sanitation** for all.
7. *Ensure **access to*** affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern **energy** for all.
8. *Promote* sustained, inclusive and sustainable **economic growth**, full and productive **employment** and **decent work** for all.
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 of 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

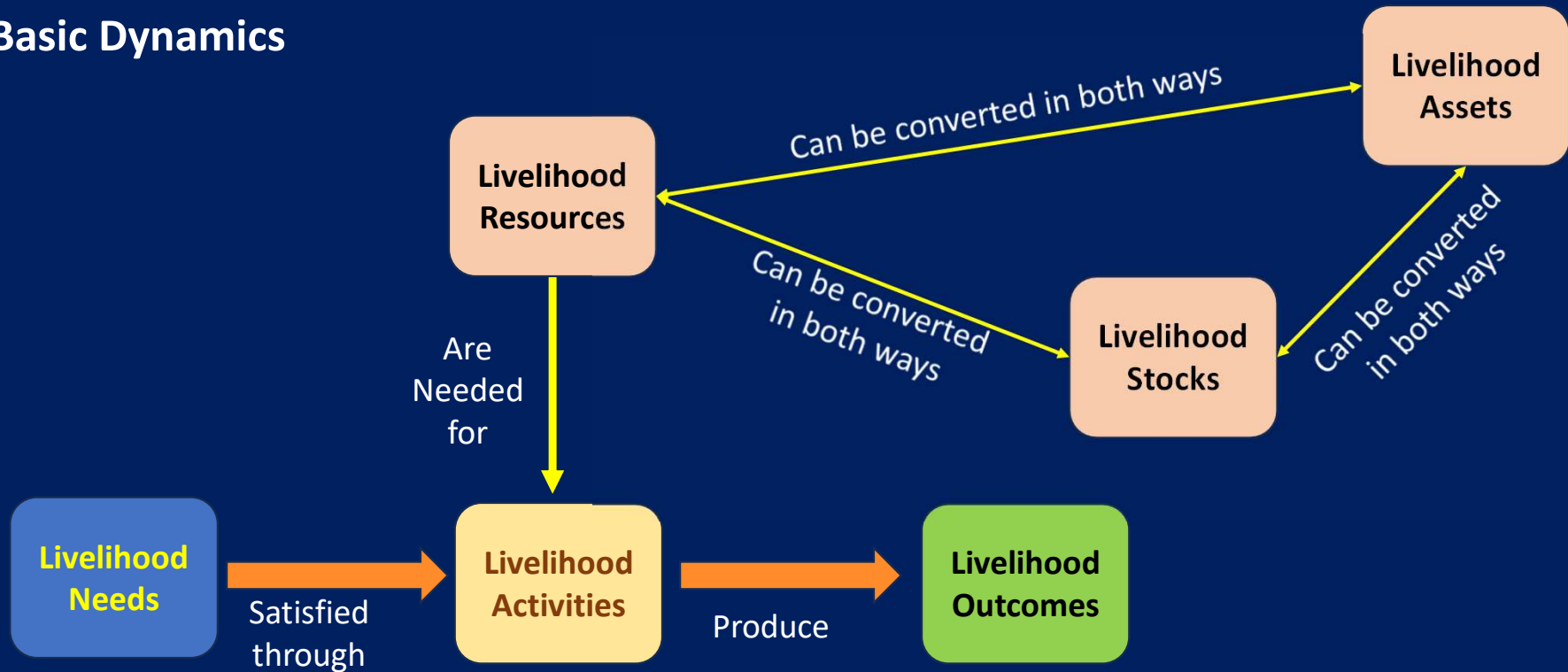
- **Livelihood Assets**: These are *things* that *can be converted* into or *used for*
 - obtaining **livelihoods resources** in the case of *need*.
- **Livelihood Assets** are not in the form of **livelihoods resources** and
 - *cannot be directly utilized* for satisfaction of **livelihood needs**.
- **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



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*.

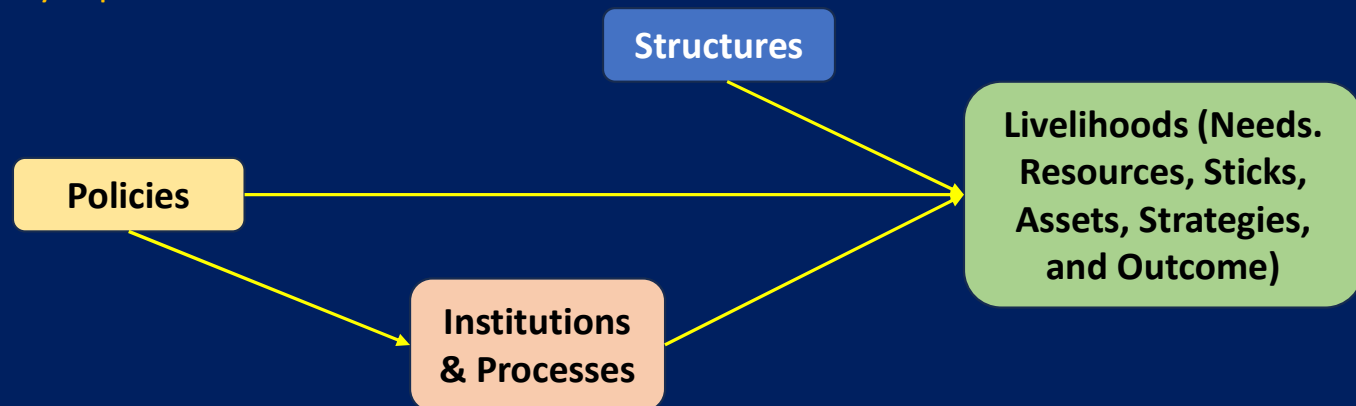
Structures

- *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**.



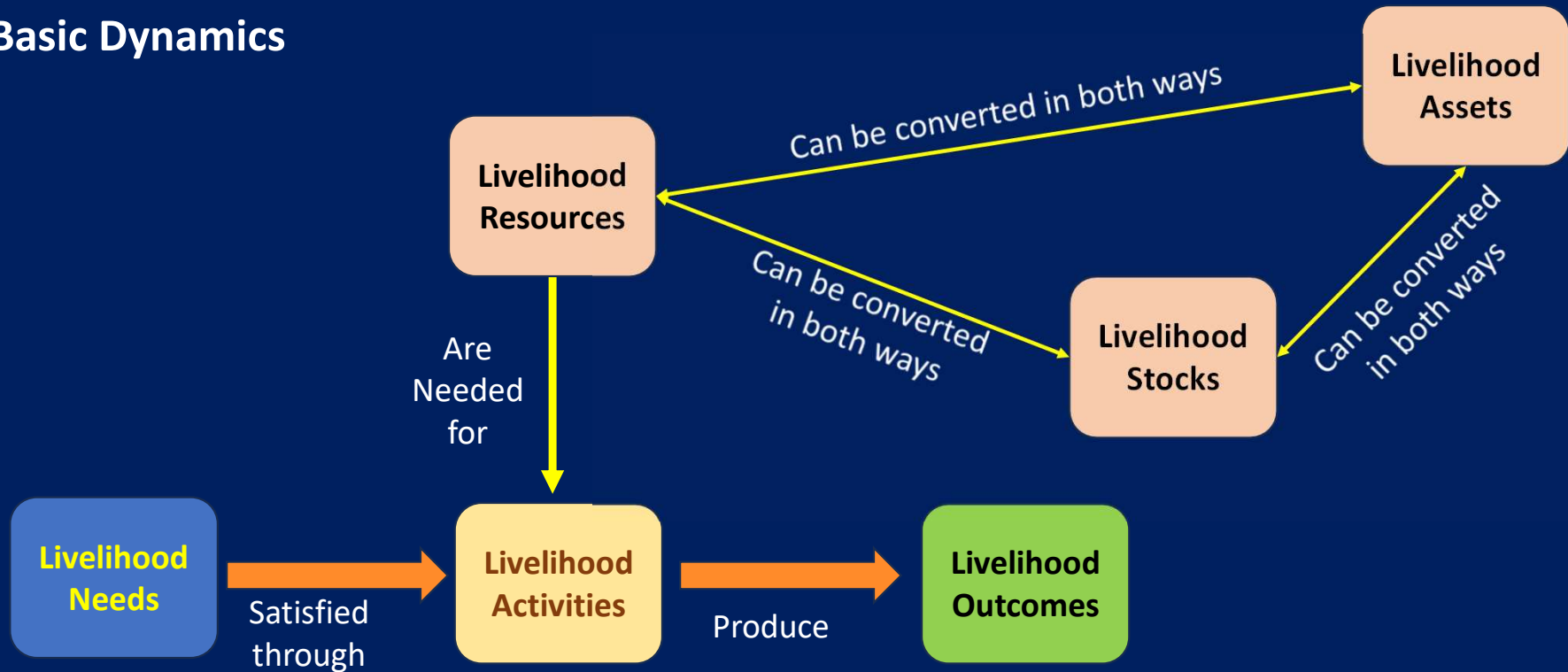
Sustainable Livelihoods Approach . . . 10

Processes (= laws, regulations, policies, operational arrangements, agreements, societal norms, and practices)

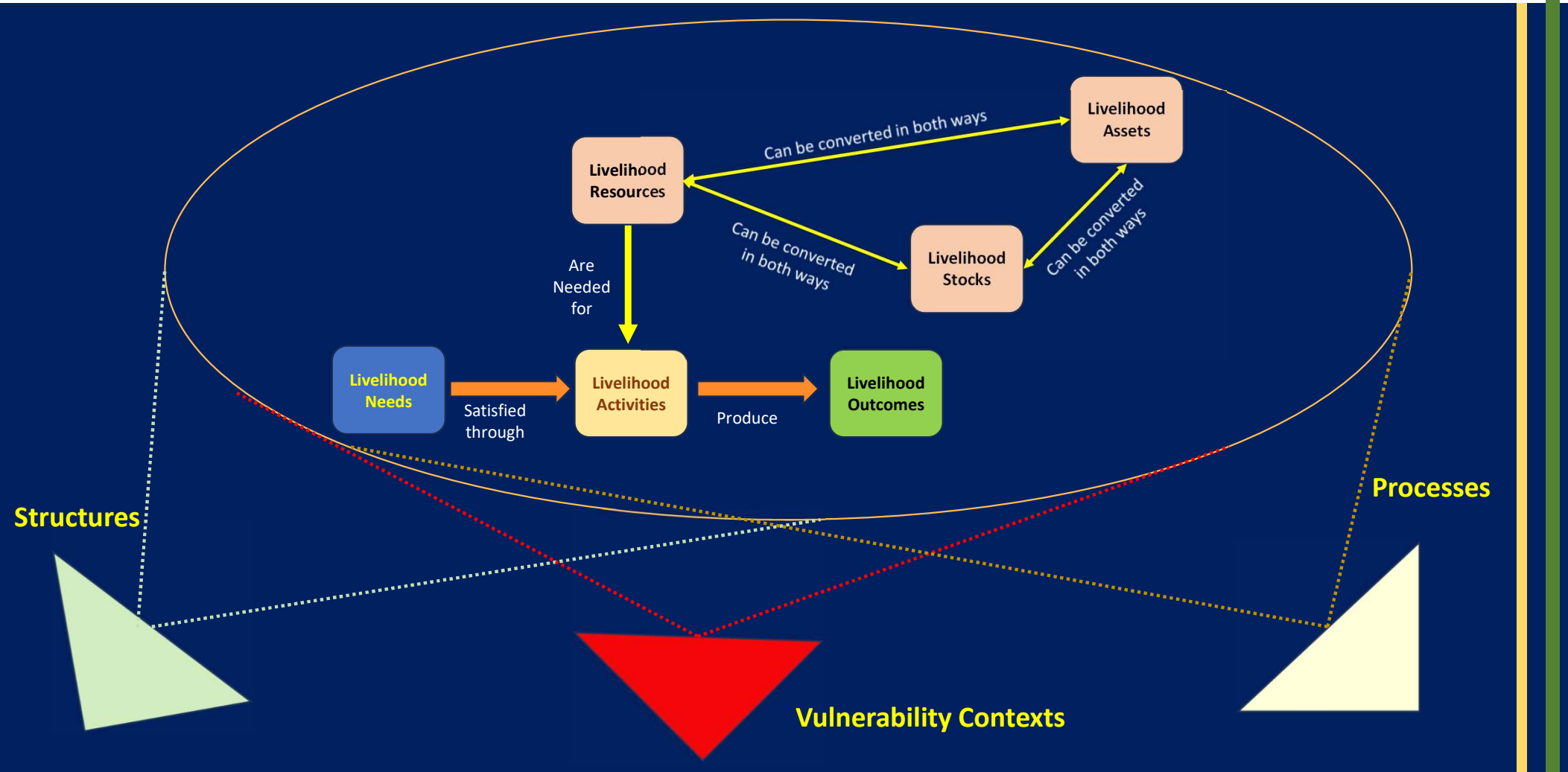
- **Processes** are important to every aspect of **livelihoods**.
- **Processes** provide incentives that stimulate people to make better choices.
- **Processes** grant or deny access to assets.
- **Processes** enable people to transform one type of asset into another through markets.
- **Processes** 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

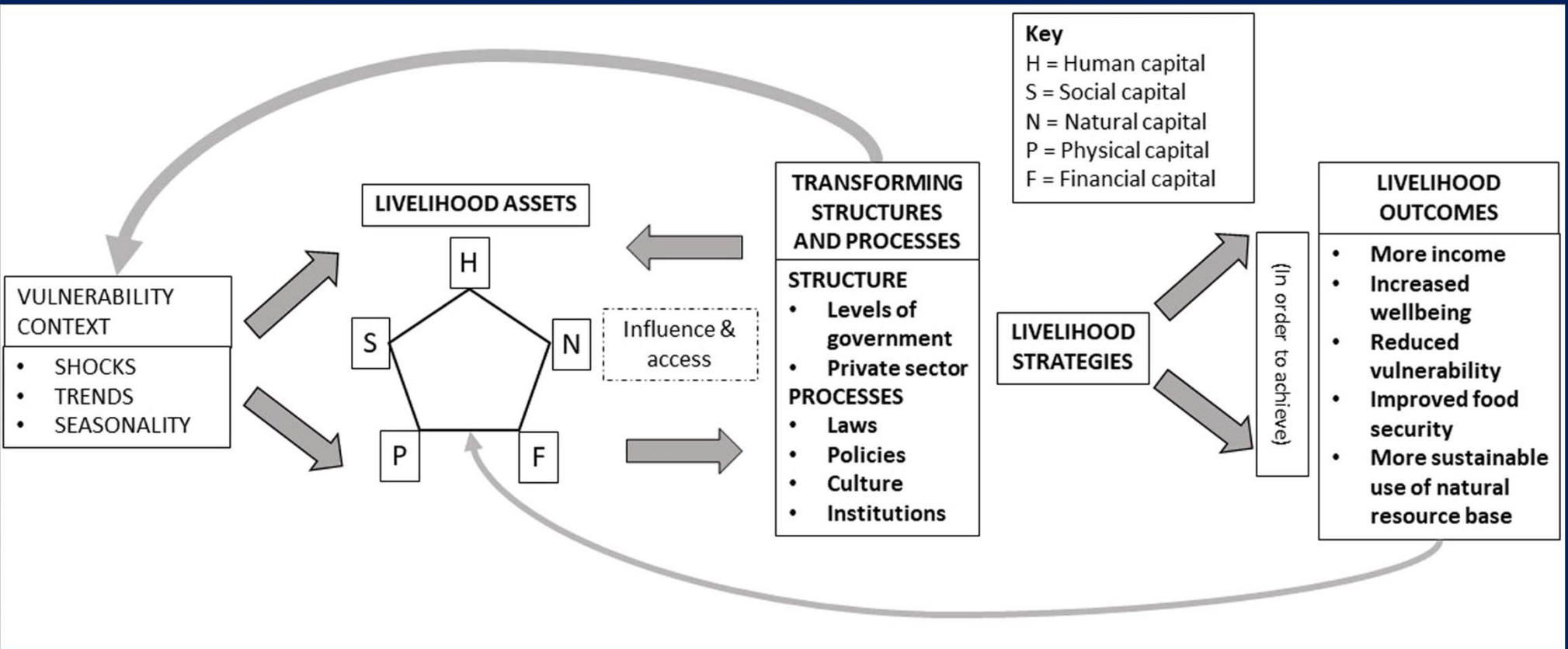
Basic Dynamics



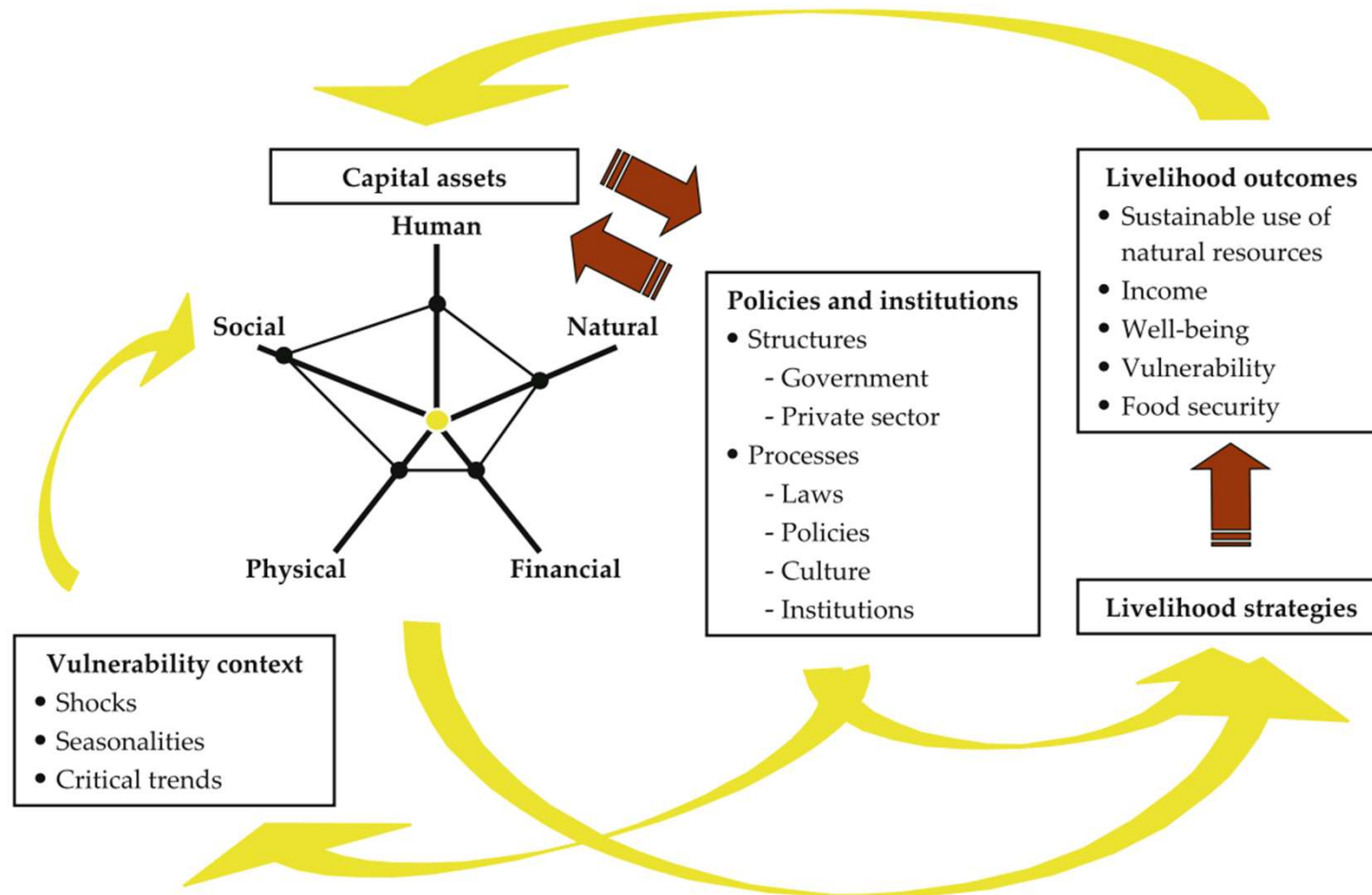
Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



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.

TD 638: Development Perspectives

Development: Looking from a Conceptual Lens

Prof. Subodh Wagle, IIT Bombay



Modern Science and Technology: Position Mainstream Development Model

Modern-Western Science and Technology: Mainstream Position . . 1

- The **Modern-Western Science** (henceforth referred to only as **science**)
 - is *defined as* the (claimed) **knowledge** about the **reality** surrounding (including **nature**) and within *human beings*.
- **Modern-Western Technology** (henceforth referred to only as the **technology**):
 - is *seen as* the *way to utilize* this **knowledge** in order to make life of *human beings*
 - **prosperous** as well as **secure** and **stable** against the **vagaries** of the **nature**.
- In the **mainstream development model**, evolution of the **science** and **technology** *is considered*
 - such an important element that it is *often equated* with **development** by many proponents.

Modern-Western Science and Technology: Mainstream Position . . 2

- The processes of **industrialization** and **modernization**
 - are highly valued as cornerstones of the **development** process—
 - These are possible only because of the advancements in **science** and **technology**.
- As a result, the **science** and **technology**
 - are regarded as universal categories of **progress**,
 - which the non-western world *should also imitate*.

Modern-Western Science and Technology: Mainstream Position . . 3

Some important features of the **science** and **technology** are as follows:

- The **Modern-Western Science** is defined as 'unique' and 'true' as well as universally applicable.
- Both, **science** and **technology** (engendered from **science**) are seen as being independent of **society**
 - both in their **structure** and its **evolution**.
- This means **society** has **no influence** on the **science** and the **technology**.
- In other words, the **course of evolution** of **science** and its **structure** are **self-determined**.

Development & Science and Technology: Important Features . . 1

In the **development** process, **technology** has *multiple roles* to play.

1. It is *expected to facilitate mass production*, which is the key element of *industrialization*.
2. It is expected to result in continuous enhancement in *technical efficiency*, and replacement of *labor*,
allowing reduction of *costs of production*.
3. Technological *innovation* is also expected to reduce the *physical labour, risks*, and *drudgery*
at the *work-places* as well as in *homes*.
4. In addition to this '*economic*' role, the **technology** is *expected to*
facilitate the *socio cultural processes* such as *urbanization* and *modernization*.

Development & Science and Technology: Important Features . . 2

- In fact *socio cultural processes* such as **urbanization** and **modernization**
 - are *predicated upon* (possible only due to) **technological** advancement.
- Thus, it is *believed* that **technological innovations** *will result in*
 - **Improvement** not only in **human wealth** but also in the **human welfare** and **human progress**.
- Because **science** is uniquely true knowledge,
 - it is considered to exist without any blemishes caused by motives or politics among human beings.
- In this sense, **science** is considered as '*pure*' or '*pristine*'.
- Similar is the status of the **technology**, which emerged from the '*pure*' science.

Development & Science and Technology: Important Features . . 3

- Further, because **science** is '**true**', and '**independent**' of '**human**' societies,
 - it is also *considered as beyond* the *scrutiny* of or by
 - the **human**' societies or **human beings** and their *morality*.
- Further, *accepting the* '**modern scientific perspective**' is *also seen*
 - as the way to get rid of traditional (pre-modern) **institutions** and **culture**
 - and the way for '**cultural modernization**' and *emancipation* from the *tyranny* of **pre-modern culture**.



Modern Science and Technology: Critique of Position Mainstream Development Model

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 1

- The **alternative development perspectives** *have developed* a **thorough** and **multi-faceted critique**
 - of **Modern-Western Science** and **Modern-Western Technology**
 - as well as of **their contribution** to the **processes** of **modernisation** and **industrialization**.
- The **monistic assertions** that the **Science** is '**unique**' and '**true**'
 - **are not only challenged** on **epistemological** and **empirical** basis,
 - **but also found to be intellectually arrogant.**

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 2

- The claim that the **Modern-Western Science** and **Modern-Western Technology**
 - are **self-determined** in their **structure** and **evolution** is found to be '**vacuous**' (**empty** or **unintelligent**).
- **Science** and **Technology** are found to be **shaped by** and **serve**
 - the **priorities** and **interests** of whomsoever control **their development**.
- Because the **genesis** (= **creation**) and **application** of the **Science** and **Technology**
 - **are controlled** primarily by **certain sections** in human societies,
 - **there is nothing** '**pure**' or '**pristine**' about **Science** and **Technology**.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 3

- And **because Science and Technology**.
 - are under the control of **certain sections of human societies**,
 - the **genesis** and **application** of the **Science** and **Technology**
 - should be put under **scrutiny** of **human societies**,
 - with a **wider participation** of **different sections** of **human societies**.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 4

According to **alternative development perspectives**,

1. **ecological destructiveness** of **modern technology** is rooted
 - in its **arrogant** and **manipulative** approach toward **nature**.
2. **ecologically** (and **economically**) **inappropriate science** and **technology**
 - **creates new scarcities** through **ecological destruction**
 - (for example, reduction in availability of fertile land, in genetic and crop diversity,
 - and increase in ecological vulnerability (due to monoculture)
3. **modern technology contributes to underdevelopment** through **destruction** of **eco-systems**.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 5

According to **alternative development perspectives**,

4. the **central tenet** of **technological worship**

- that **technological advancement must continue** at all costs
 - is in **direct contradiction** to the **laws of nature**.
- Because, in **natural eco-systems**, **equilibrium prevails**.

5. It is **also maintained** that the **complex technologies**

- **have diverged** from **basic processes** of **life** and **proved** destructive to **nature**.

6. **Industrialization** (based on **modern technology**) is

- **inherently resource-intensive**, **resource wasting**, and **exploitative** of **natural resources**.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 6

- **Modern technology** is *not politically neutral*,
- **Modern technology** is *politically centralizing* and *politically repressive*.
- **Modern technology** renders *communities* and *people politically vulnerable*
 - due to the *dependence* it *breeds on external inputs controlled by* dominant sections in society.
- *Ever-greater* centralization of authority *leads to* a *steady diminution* of *personal freedoms*.
- **Technological processes** create *excessive demands* for *raw materials* and *markets*,
 - and *control over raw materials* and *markets* becomes an *essential part* of the *politics* of technological change.
- In periods of *rapid technological transformation* it is *assumed* that
 - *society* and *people* *must adjust to technical change*
 - instead of *technology* *adjusting to social values*
 - such as social equity, *environmental sustainability* and *political participation*.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 7

The **eco-feminist perspective** *argues* that

- **science, technology, and development** are not the *universal categories* of **human progress**,
 - but *are* the *special projects* of **modern western patriarchy** aimed at subjugation of **women** and **nature**.

According to **alternative development perspectives**,

- there is *absence of criteria for evaluating* **science** and **technological systems**
- in terms of *resource use efficiency* and *capability* for *basic needs satisfaction*.
- **modern technology**, *being capital-intensive* and *labour displacing*,
 - *destroys employment potential* of *economic activities*.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 8

- **Modern technology** creates a *false impression* of *economic efficiency*
- by *externalizing some costs* while *making other invisible*.
- *Chemical* and *nuclear technologies* attack the very *substance of life*.
- The *factories* using **modern technology** are *dangerous places to work* and *industrial accidents* are common.
- **Industrial society** is *suffering from* a *virtual epidemic* of *cancers* and *immune system disorder*.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 9

According to **alternative development perspectives**,

- It is *not* correct to say **modern technology** is *socially progressive* or *socially liberating*
 - because of its *inherent push* for **modernization** of **traditional communities**.
- In fact, **modern technology** is *socially regressive* as
 - it destroys supportive, kinship-based, familial **social relationships**
 - in the **pre-industrial communities** and replaces them with the *rigid* **social hierarchies**.
- It is claimed also that *social stress* and *tensions emerging from* the feeling
 - of *being dispossessed* or *controlled* or *made helpless* by **modern technology**
 - *constitute a breeding ground* for *violence in society*.

Modern Science & Technology: Critique of Mainstream Position. . 10

According to **alternative development perspectives**

- current **economic** and **technological development** *results in shattering of* traditional rural industries.
 - *marginalizes* and *dispossesses* increasing number of **people** from *productive capacity*.
- There is always *unequal access* to **new technology** because
 - *it is associated with high capital* and *energy intensiveness*.
- **Modern technology** *tends to magnify inequalities* between and within **countries**.