CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. The Context of post-Development's[1] emergence

Since the end of World War Two, two-thirds of humanity has been referred to as underdeveloped and in need of Development. The meaning of the concept of Development has changed over the decades and it can be said that at no point in time it had a universally accepted and agreed upon meaning. The very theoretical understanding of the concept has been a source of countless debates generating in turn multiple implementations of what different actors understood by Development. According to Dieter Nohlen and Franz Nuscheler, the reason for this is that Development is a normative concept, "depending on personal and collective moral values in different times and places". They emphasise the personal aspirations of different peoples in the determination of the content and the multidisciplinary aspect of it. This provides for a diversity and plurality of "science approaches", even competition – or rivalry - between them, which makes it very difficult to arrive at a common concept. They believe, nevertheless, that "common sense" plays a role towards understanding the concept, inasfar as Development must imply the overcoming of hunger and sicknesses. And because human beings cannot just be satisfied with an "animal minimal existence", "development means simply the improvement of human life conditions". The fact that "human life conditions" can mean different things in different cultures makes

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[1] Throughout this thesis, I chose to write post-Development. The choice has to do with the fact that for this current of thought the prefix post refers to the concept of Development –with capital D- as mentioned by Wolfgang Sachs in an interview conducted by me in Porto Alegre in February 2002 and included in Chapter 3. (See Annex 1).

it extremely difficult to arrive at a common and universal understanding of Development.[2]

While Nohlen and Nuscheler discuss it from a "scientific" point of view, others, like Arturo Escobar, believe that Development is mainly a political concept. Analysing the formation of the "development discourse", Escobar argues that Development is a historical construction, a historically produced discourse. The historical context from which it emerged is the "consolidation of U.S. hegemony in the world capitalist system" in the period of 1945-1967, when "the need to expand and deepen the market for U.S. products abroad, as well as the need to find new sites for the investment of U.S. surplus capital became pressing". "Poverty" also acquired a political meaning in those years according to Escobar, inasfar as "something had to be done else the levels of instability in the world as whole would become intolerable". And furthermore, this instability could lead to the strengthening of communism. "The fear of communism became one of the most compelling arguments for development. It was commonly accepted in the early 1950s that, were not they rescued from their poverty, the poor countries would succumb to communism". "In this way, the confrontation between the United Stated and the Soviet Union lent legitimacy to the enterprise of modernisation and development. To extend the sphere of political and cultural influence became in many ways and end in its own right".[3]

While for the authors cited above Development is necessarily a dynamic concept susceptible to permanent changes due to being dependent on the moral values of heterogeneous people in different times and places, Escobar argues that "although the discourse has gone through a series of structural changes, the architecture of the discursive formation laid down in

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[2] Nohlen, Dieter and Nuscheler, Franz: "Handbuch der Dritten Welt, 1: Grundprobleme, Theorien, Strategien", Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., Bonn, 1993, pp. 56-57.
[3] Escobar Arturo: "Power and Visibility: The Invention and Management of Development in the Third World", University of California, Berkeley, 1987, pp. 68-74.

the period 1945-55 has remained unchanged".[4] This architecture or organisation, permanent in time, has had, according to Wolfgang Sachs, a clear objective: "the Westernisation of the world".[5]

Escobar and Sachs belong to a group of authors for which "the idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape,…development has become outdated,…it has grown obsolete".[6] Their writings are usually referred to as "post-Development" which reflects a move towards alternatives *to* and not within the Development discourse.

Other authors and Development practitioners are still committed to the idea of Development even if emphasising their differences with what can be characterised as mainstream Development. This concept, very much associated with modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation, agricultural technification and economic growth, has been the basis for most Development programmes implemented around the world since the 1950s. It has also been in reaction to this concept that alternative approaches have developed "by introducing alternative practices and redefining the goals of development".[7] Some of these elements refer to, for example, a concern for the environment, the need to put people at the centre of the Development discourse, and emphasis on participation, etc.

The fact that the Development debate is still so much alive with so many theories and counter theories fighting for their place in the academic world as well as in public practice is due, with certainty, much more to its failures than to its successes. If taking the "common sense" definition of Nohlen and Nuscheler, the majority of mankind still needs to "improve their human life conditions". In 1949 U.S. President Harry Truman stated in his

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[4] Cited by Gasper, Des: "Essentialism In and About Development Discourse" in the "European Journal of Development Research", Volume 8, Number 1, June 1996, p. 169.

[5] Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1992, p. 4.

[6] Ibid. p. 1.

[7] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development", in "Development and Change", Volume 29, Number 2, April 1998, p. 344.

inaugural address the imperative of "making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas".[8] The two-thirds that was then proclaimed was in need of Development is still considered to be facing that need, even if the understanding of the way to satisfy it has changed over the decades.

It seems therefore necessary to review theories and practices of Development to understand why the results of so many decades of implementation are far from the original enthusiasm and optimism of the 50s.

Development, though, cannot be isolated from other phenomena that impact on the lives of people for whom Development programmes are implemented. In fact, Development is but one of the components within a framework of policies that include, among many others, the integration of a particular economy into a globalised world, the service of the foreign debt by various countries, their trade, all of which impact directly on the lives of ordinary people.

Development became popular at a time when industrialisation was still seen as "the" answer for most structural problems of different societies. This was based on the "success" of the industrialised countries which moved from a feudal mode of organisation into societies of free individuals, urbanised, working in factories, making the production of new goods ever faster for demands that increased equally quickly, as the industrialised model became more and more settled. The industrial revolution unfolded in a period of over 150 years (from the beginning of the 19th Century) during which the human consequences were dramatically felt by men and women in the countries where these changes were taking place. As Jeremy Seabrook put it: "That the reshaping of humanity for the benefit of the factory system was not an easy undertaking was widely conceded. It was a violent and tormented enterprise in a driven and dislocated time". He argues that comparable suffering is resulting from the move from a productive to a service industry, and that "the same arguments have been deployed in our time to demonstrate to the workers the

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[8] Cited by Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang, Ibid. p. 6.

wisdom of a system that has been evicting large numbers of them from settled employment in manufacturing, and urging upon them the advantage of future service industry".[9]

A similar argument is presented by Alcira Argumedo, for whom the long period of the industrial revolution allowed certain mechanisms to counteract the consequences, one of them being the massive emigration to the "new world". She argues that in our days, the scientific and technological revolution is taking place at such a high speed, that the consequences can be felt almost immediately. One of the major impacts is the drastic decrease in the need for human labour. Therefore, the direct effect that the current re-structuring of the labour force within the framework of a free and globalised market economy, is to make large numbers of it redundant, what the author calls "*poblacion excedente absoluta*"[10].

Another major impact of a globalised economy is the de-linking of the centres of economic power with respect to those directly affected by them. This is what Zygmunt Bauman, referring to the free mobility of capital, describes as "new, indeed unprecedented in its radical unconditionality, disconnection of power from obligations: duties towards employees, but also towards the younger and weaker, towards yet unborn generations and towards the self-reproduction of the living conditions of all; in short, freedom of the duty to contribute to daily life and the perpetuation of the community. There is a new asymmetry between exterritorial nature of power and the continuing territoriality of the 'whole life' –which the now unanchored power, able to move at short notice or without warning, is free to exploit and abandon to the consequences of that exploitation".[11] In the new world order, capital determines policies, although indirectly, taking into account that an "investment friendly environment" is an aim of most governments. If policies

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[9] Seabrook, Jeremy: "Landscapes of Poverty", Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p. 9.
[10] "Absolute surplus population". Argumedo, Alcira: "Los Silencios y las Voces en America Latina. Notas sobre el pensamiento nacional y popular, Ediciones del Pensamiento Nacional, Buenos Aires, 1993, pp. 272-274.

are to facilitate the free movement of capital, they cannot at the same time protect the population from the consequences of that free movement, leaving the labour force with the only power of its negotiating capacity, which is extremely limited as a result of the principles of flexibility and externalisation.

Those changes, from agriculture to manufacturing, from manufacturing to service, from labour intensive methods of production to automatization, from state control to capital led policies, among others, have had a great impact in the lives of ordinary people, and have run parallel to Development programmes, sometimes ignoring each other. Their effects can even be greater in the life conditions of millions of human beings than those of Development. While the first ones are a result of policies affecting all spheres of life for populations in so called "developed" as well as "underdeveloped" countries, Development, at least considered from the aspect of Development aid, is limited to a minimum contribution from the former to the latter. In 1970, twenty-two Western Industrial countries committed themselves at a United Nations General Assembly to increase their contribution for Development aid to al least 0.7% of their GNP. As little as it seems, almost thirty years later only France, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden had reached the set goal.[12] A breakdown of Development aid would even show a smaller contribution, taking into account that aid is often attached to conditionalities, such as buying industrial equipment from the donor country and receiving technical experts (who in no few cases will otherwise be unemployed in their country of origin). Serge Latouche cites the case of Switzerland where "an official government report estimated that 95% of the amount dedicated to international aid either remained in Switzerland or

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[11] Bauman, Zygmunt: "Globalisation. The Human Consequences", Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K., 1998, p. 9.
[12] Nuscheler, Franz: "Lern- und Arbeitsbuch Entwicklungspolitik", Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., Bonn, 1996, p. 44.

returned there".[13] This small percentage dedicated to Development aid is indicative of the limited possibilities of Development, even if many governments around the world insist on presenting it as the solution for all their problems and in many cases force it on their populations. Claude Alvares quotes Abel Alier, Sudan's Southern Regional President, during a discussion on a controversial canal: "If we have to drive our people to paradise with sticks, we will do so for their good and the good of those who come after us". Alvares adds that "the modern state does not understand, much less accept, the right of people not to be developed".[14] This relates to two linked facts: the universal pretension of the Development discourse although so limited in its reach, and the ideological penetration of the "values" of Development even if the achieved results are far from those promised. It seems therefore necessary to understand the components of Development as an ideology as well as the associated phenomena that keep it alive. Both relate to the promises of the capitalist system, which come with no few social and other effects to ordinary people.

While Development still generates hopes and expectations for many people all over the world, many others, particularly those exposed to failed Development projects have become very critical of the Development establishment, whether state or NGO based. Groups and organisations in many parts of the Third World have decided to continue fighting for their dreams trying to put into practice alternatives which they believe respond accurately to their problems, unlike the official Development policies and programmes. To know the effectiveness of these practices and their societal significance they need to be scientifically researched.

2. Aim and scope of the study

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[13] Latouche, Serge: "In the Wake of the Affluent Society: An Exploration of Post-Development", Zed Books, London, 1993, p. 115.
[14] Alvares, Claude: "Science", in Sachs, Wofgang, Ibid. p. 226.

This work is concerned with failures of Development and alternatives to it. The theoretical framework for this dissertation is provided by post-Development authors. Two background themes give life to this effort:

1. "Development" as it has been practised (theoretically formulated and practically implemented), even if achieving some macro results which can be expressed through macro indicators, has failed in the bread and butter issue of making daily life for ordinary people a more pleasant experience, which is worth living.

2. There are practices in different parts of the so called Third World which are concerned precisely with making life that type of experience and which are doing so independently from Development programmes.

From these themes, the aims of the study were formulated as:

- To explore the ideas put forward by post-Development.
- To see whether there is evidence on the ground that these ideas inform or are reflected in existing practices;
- To explore to what extent these ideas can have a growing influence on those disenchanted by Development and in search of alternatives.

To meet these aims efforts were dedicated to understand post-Development, the reasons for its emergence, its basic criticism of Development and its formulation of an alternative, if any. At the same time relationship with these ideas was looked for in existing practices of groups which, even if seeing themselves as critical of the Development discourse, have not yet identified themselves as supporters of post-Development.

2.1. Understanding Development and post-Development

Development is not a straightforward concept and multiple definitions exist around it. Therefore, a first theoretical effort had to do with unfolding the meaning of the term. This implied looking at a conceptual history of Development, the establishment and consolidation of different theories around it and the alternative theories that were born in response to what became known as mainstream Development. Changes in the Development discourse have been dialectic, in the sense that new theories were formulated in response to the mainstream one, and this one changed by incorporating some of the critics and alternatives presented by the former. Even if some authors argue that the boundaries between mainstream and alternative Development are not so clear any more, as far as "forms of alternative development have become institutionalised as part of mainstream development",[15] a historical view of mainstream Development seems unavoidable if one is to understand the current debate.

The historical unfolding was not independent from an ideology, which supported the different theories. One of the main ideas of Development is that of scarcity, and therefore the need to use scarce resources to satisfy infinite needs. According the Jeremy Seabrook, these infinite needs are a creation of Western societies for which "the maintenance of a felt experience of insufficiency is essential to any capitalist version of development."[16] Marshall Sahlins also questions the idea of scarcity by confronting it with the "affluence" of hunters and gatherers societies, even if these are considered underdeveloped by Western standards.[17] Economic processes at the centre of human life are another core idea of Development. According to Escobar, "the economic view has undoubtedly been the most pervasive influence on development thinking, and has tended to 'economise' not only development but life itself".[18] This has a direct impact in how societies, for which non-

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[15] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: Ibid. p. 350.

[16] Seabrook, Jeremy: Ibid. p. 4.

[17] Sahlins, Marshall: "The Original Affluent Society", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: "The post-Development Reader", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1997, pp. 4-5.

[18] Escobar, Arturo: Ibid. p. 115.

economic activities are at the centre of their lives, are seen by the Development discourse. Looking at the ideology of Development, therefore, was an integral part of the analysis undertaken. This was important in order to understand not just the Development theories but their interaction with the people they refer to. And as stated earlier, this could not be done in isolation from other crucial social, economic and political events that shaped Development but above all, had a direct impact on the lives of those who were supposed to benefit from it.

A chapter, therefore, is dedicated to the analysis of Development: to the theoretical understanding of its history, its ideology, the several theories around it and associated phenomena, as well as what has been achieved after several decades of implementation. A second part of this chapter includes an analysis of theories that were developed in response to the lack of results, or with the intention of improving Development. These are known as alternative theories of Development.

If the first background theme of the study is correct, the various years of implementation of Development projects have not fulfilled the made promises, bringing about the need for original alternatives. A theoretical framework for this topic is provided by the authors of post-Development. For them[19] Development has always had the agenda of westernising the world. It has denied the diversity of the various people inhabiting the planet and has tried to homogenize all societies under Western values. Instead of searching for alternatives within Development, they believe that the real demand is to find alternatives _to_ Development and that they are to be found in the practices of grass roots. Their works have been criticised by other scholars. Des Gasper, for example, questioned the simplification of the Development discourse by giving "to an ideal type of one part of development discourse (often a different ideal type per author) the status of a real description of the whole".[20] For Jan Nederveen Pieterse the post-Development perspective ignores "the

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[19] The authors to look at are Ivan Illich, Gustavo Esteva, Wolfgang Sachs, Gilbert Rist, Serge Latouche, Arturo Escobar, Jeremy Seabrook, among others.

way in which mainstream and alternatives shape and influence one another"
and underestimated "the appeal of mainstream to various constituencies".[21]
Even if these critiques are relevant and might show some weaknesses of the
post-Development approach, this one has the advantage of bringing a radical
position to the debate, not just in terms of what can be done different but
questioning the need for intervention which stands at the centre of
Development. But, do the post-Development authors spell out an alternative?
Do they suggest concrete approaches that can replace those proposed by
mainstream as well as alternative Development? Nederveen Pieterse argues
that post-Development is "directionless in the end, as a consequence of the
refusal to, or lack of interest in translating critique into construction".[22]

A whole chapter is dedicated to thoroughly present and analyse post-
Development. Efforts have been made to find answers to the criticisms made
by the above mentioned and other authors. I also include a list and analysis of
what seem to be some of the central positions of post-Development and relate
this current of thought to other theories. I have also tried to establish what are
the aspects that clearly differentiate Post from Alternative Development. The
chapter aims at presenting a clear picture of what post-Development stands for
and of its concrete proposals, whether they are or not formulated as such.

2.2. Field study

While post-Development theoreticians can provide a framework for this
research, it is necessary to explore in practice whether these ideas have found
ground. It is important to test to what extent they are contributing to the
overcoming of the current dominant model of Development or if they just
constitute marginal efforts with a testimonial value but destined to disappear.
With this in mind, the field study was implemented with the aim of finding
whether there is evidence on the ground that these ideas inform, reflect or are

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[20] Gasper, Des: Ibid. p. 169.
[21] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: Ibid. p. 347.

a result of existing practices. According to Esteva, several local initiatives happening around the world "will not be able to survive the siege organised around us, unless an institutional inversion soon materialises. Such change will only be possible if the myriad of local or even personal initiatives, now flourishing at the grassroots, get not only momentum but public visibility, articulating an alternative to the dominant discourse".[23] Esteva's statement seems to emphasise simultaneously the importance of the localised practices as well as their articulation. It is within this context that practices from individual groups and networks operating in localised territories as well as movements of global character have been analysed and systematised. As stated above, the main aim that guided this study was to explore to what extent these practices relate to ideas put forward by post-Development.

Two types of initiatives have been researched for the purpose of this dissertation, one of territorial character and another one as part of a global movement. The first one is the Global Barter Network in Uruguay and in Argentina and the second one is the World Social Forum as part of the anti-globalisation movement.

2.2.1. The Global Barter Network

This is a network that promotes the bartering of goods and services among its members with the aim of mutual and reciprocal support. The initiative originated in Argentina in May 1995. The first "Barter Club" resulted from efforts of civil society to achieve its survival, within the worst unemployment conditions of Argentina's history in the second half of the twentieth century.[24] As part of an ecological movement active since the eighties in the state of

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[22] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: Ibid. p. 361.
[23] Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 27.
[24] Primavera, Heloisa: "La moneda social de la red global de trueque en Argentina: barajar y dar de nuevo en el juego social?" Paper presented at the international seminar: "Globalisation of Financial Markets and its Effects on the Emerging Countries", organised by the Insitute Jacques Maritain, CEPAL and the government of Chile in Santiago, Chile, March 1999.

Buenos Aires, members of P.A.R. (Programa de Autosuficiencia Regional - Regional Self-sufficiency Programme) decided to get involved in the issue of unemployment and growing urban poverty. They created the first Barter Club with a group of twenty neighbours. Within three years it had grown to more than 150 Clubs in different regions of the country, involving about 80 000 – 100 000 persons in global barter transactions of food, clothes, arts and crafts, healthcare, therapies, tourism and formal and informal education and training in many different fields. The initiative soon expanded to other Latin American countries such as Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia.

The Network, although having the concrete aim of allowing "prosumers" (producers and consumers) to provide and access goods and services, has as its final aim the promotion of a quality of life characterised by conviviality and relationships of solidarity. Some traditional concepts are redefined within the context of the network: "Solidarity is equivalent to producing the same we consume, not to spare 'credits' as if they were money. Entrepreneurship is equivalent to increasing every month the quantity and quality of what we take from/give to the Network, and political leadership is understood and gradually practised in the Nodes by participating permanently in different specific roles".[25]

The network and its members have opted for a "non-traditional" path in their insertion in society and in the building of relationships within it. The impact of this option, for themselves and for their environments, is of relevance for this study as it can cast light with respect to alternatives. As stated before, this can only be done by systematising these practices, the individual ones as well as their articulation, and making an effort to elaborate theory about them. Therefore, the network as such, its proposals and practices have been analysed, as well as those from some of the members. An essential part of the study was to check in these initiatives to what extent they are

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[25] Primavera, Heloisa: "Unicorn: Between Utopia and Social Responsibility. The Experience of the Global Barter Network in Argentina", (Text of a Video presented at the Second National Meeting of Multireciprocal Barter in Buenos Aires, August 9, 1998).

guided by the key concepts of post-Development, if they know them, if they have chosen to follow them, or if without knowing them they have come to similar conclusions.

2.2.2. The World Social Forum

The World Social Forum is a space for international co-ordination and articulation of social groups and movements that, around the world, oppose globalisation and capitalist Development. The first Forum took place in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in January 2001, and it attracted 12 000 people. That first encounter was to be followed by a series of national, continental and world events, which converted the WSF in a process rather than a once-off activity. This process seems to resemble some of the central criticisms put forward by post-Development in relation to Capitalism and Development as one of its instruments. It is on the basis of these similarities that the second part of the field research concentrates on the WSF. This is done in an effort to confirm the existence or not of these coincidences, analyse the particularities of the WSF and to what extent it relates to post-Development and draw conclusions with respect to alternatives emerging from both.

3. Methodology

The methodology consists of two broad thrusts of research: a theoretical approach to the concept of post-Development and a field study to explore whether there is evidence on the ground that these ideas inform existing practices. Each area requires different methodological steps.

1. *Theoretical approach to the concept of post-Development*
   - Review of literature
   - Systematisation of ideas

Taking into account that post-Development is a relatively new current of thought, these two steps were undertaken with the aim of understanding not only the concepts put forward by it, but to find answers to the following questions:

- Where do these ideas come from?
- What is the socio-economic and political reality that gave birth to them?
- Are they at the level of ideological struggle or tested in institutional practices?
- What is the level of standardisation of its discourse, if any?

2. Field study

The studies of the Global Barter Network and of the World Social Forum required different research techniques due to their different character. What follows is a list of various methodological steps that were implemented without distinguishing which one was utilised in what case. This will be done in detail in the Field Study chapter.

- Design of field study.
- Selection of groups.
- Design of in-depth, informal and unstructured qualitative interviews.
- Design of structured questionnaires.
- Case studies.
- Direct observation.
- Review of documentation.
- Qualitative analysis of collected information.
- Theorising.

Because of the exploratory character of this research, a participant observation methodology seemed pertinent to the field study. This methodology "aims to generate practical and theoretical truths about human

life grounded in the realities of daily existence". Participant observation operates under a "logic of discovery" opposite to a logic of testing theories assumed as correct and in need of verification.[26]

Case studies are relevant for this methodology because they allow for the study of a phenomenon in its broad context with an emphasis on the insider point of view. The participation of the researcher is implicit in the method. This does not necessarily mean to become a member of the group, but to share activities for some time, to have a positive relationship with members and to gain and sustain access to the setting of the research. Direct observation is the key tool as a result of participation.

Theorising should be the last step of the field study. This implies to relate some of the conceptual categories resulting from the research into a common interpretative framework.

The results of the field study provide information about the relevancy of the selected initiatives for those involved and allow to elaborate conclusions with respect to the relevancy for others in search of alternatives. Above all, they cast light on the relationship between these particular initiatives and the ideas put forward by post-Development. In the final chapter, the study findings are utilised to conclude whether some of these practices are being informed by concrete spaces that characterise post-Development such as anti-growth, anti-official Development, conviviality, autonomy from Western discourses, etc.

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[26] Jorgensen, Danny L.: "Participant Observation. A methodology for Human Studies", Sage Publications, Newbury Park, 1989, pp. 14-18.

Chapter 2: Development

1. Mainstream Development

1.1. Conceptual history of the term Development

In 1986 the United Nations General Assembly declared the "Right to Development" (resolution 41/128)[27]. Giving Development the status of a human right, that means a right to which the whole of humanity is entitled, but also towards which it holds a responsibility, presupposes the fact that humanity as a whole has a clear understanding of what Development means and wishes to achieve it. But is this the case? Is there a universally agreed upon concept that entails the aspirations and hopes of the various and multiple cultures inhabiting the planet? The fact that so many and at times contradictory theories of Development co-exist shows that there is no such universally agreed upon concept. Therefore a first problem that arises when discussing Development is that of a definition. According to Gilbert Rist[28], "for a definition to be operational…it must first of all eliminate all 'preconceptions', 'the fallacious ideas that dominate the mind of the layman', and then base itself upon certain 'external characteristics' common to all phenomena within the group in question. Or − to put it bluntly - we must define 'development' in such a way that a Martian could not only understand what is being talked about, but also identify the places where 'development'

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[27] Article 1: 1. The Right to Development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political Development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realised.

[28] The discussion on this section owes much to Gilbert Rist's "The History of Development. From Western Origins to Global Faith", Zed Books, London and New York, 1997, as well as to Gustavo Esteva's "Development", in Wolfgang Sachs's "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1992. In the pages that follow I perform a close reading of selected post-Development texts in order to get to the key issues of the thesis.

does or does not exist".[29] Rist refers here to a concept put forward by Emile Durkheim in "The Rules of Sociological Method" where he also wrote that this rule is seldom observed in sociology because it deals with everyday things for which we do not think precise definitions are necessary as they form part of our daily words and concepts. The case of Development is a clear example of this situation. It is broadly used as if having a clear meaning, but in reality its meaning depends very much on who is using it, and what other set of ideas and values inform his or her particular concept of Development. Even if an operational definition that leaves no doubts and has universal acceptance is not at hand, Development has become an imperative, even a "human right" for the whole of humanity. It was not its clear definition that made it attractive, but the promise it carried with it of a "better life" already experienced by those who proclaimed the need for the rest of humanity to be "developed". In the minds of many ordinary people who claim their "right" to Development this means having a permanent job, driving a family car, living in an industrialised city, having access to all marketable commodities as well as to education, health, and other services. In the words of Eduardo Galeano, Development means "to be like them"[30], that is the industrialised Western societies.

But how did a concept whose origins can be found in biological theories become an imperative of how the lives of millions of human beings ought to be lived? And why did the term Development become the one to summarise the several goals and practices needed for the betterment of human life? According to Gilbert Rist the term Development offered several advantages with respect to other possible words such as civilisation, modernisation, etc. inasfar as it enjoyed respectability within scientific discourse. Its clear meaning within biology, used as a metaphor to refer to change, could easily help grasp the meaning of Development. The Development of a living organism refers to its growth until reaching its

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[29] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. pp. 9-10.

natural and complete form. It has direction and purpose, following clearly identified stages. The organism always remains the same, changing in appearance, not in nature. Each stage depends upon the proceeding one and when one is reached it is not possible to go back. This lineal concept of Development was transferred to the social sphere from the late 18th Century when political and social transformations were described as natural processes. Gustavo Esteva mentions Herder, who in 1774 "used the image of the germ to describe the Development of organisational forms… Historical Development was the continuation of natural Development, according to him".[31] This early meaning of the word Development when used to refer to social processes has remained entrenched in the modern understanding of the word, particularly its association with growth, evolution and maturation, even if the analogy, as Rist points out, overlooks the many differences between history and nature. "For there is no proof that each village is 'destined' to become a big town. External factors operating on a society (migration, political alliances, wars) often radically change the course of history".[32] The metaphor, nevertheless, was very useful to promote a particular way of social and economic organisation, that of the Western society. The lineal concept of Development derived from biology could only lead to the model of those already "developed". But if taking the analogy literally, the only end to "Development" (growth, evolution and maturation in a living organism as well as in a particular society) is death. Therefore, countries considered "developed" will "naturally" continue their Development to their full potential while the others embark on an impossible journey: be like them. Because there is no end to Development, the gap will never be closed, on the contrary, it can just increase. "And this is what is happening: the disparity was one to two around the year 1700, one to five at the end of the nineteenth century, one to fifteen in 1960, and one to forty-five

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[30] Galeano, Eduardo: "Ser como ellos", in Brecha No 306, p. VII, 11 October 1991, Montevideo, Uruguay.
[31] Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 8.
[32] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. pp. 27-28.

in 1980".[33] This contradiction in terms has not inhibited the expansion of a particular concept of Development inasfar as its discourse is built into relationships of power.

Arturo Escobar argues that Development is precisely an historically produced discourse consisting of a field of control of knowledge, a sphere of intervention of power and forms of subjectivity which mould individuals and societies.[34] The consolidation of the United States hegemony in the world capitalist system allowed for the expansion of that very same model to other areas of the world, under the proclamation that the whole of humanity was entitled to the progress and happiness that that model could bring. In reality it was a strategy for its consolidation within the United States and other industrialised countries. There were several reasons for this endeavour. At the end of the Second World War, the world was divided in two ideological blocs, a division that lasted until the end of the Cold War in the late eighties-early nineties. In this confrontation, promising those considered as underdeveloped the benefits of capitalism through Development was a strategy to consolidate and expand its sphere of influence. This expansion at the same time offered new markets for the products of the capitalist countries, as well as financial markets for the investment of U.S. surplus capital. Other reasons were poverty (defined in term of identifiable nutritional disease) combined with rapid population growth and the threat it was assumed they will pose to the stability of the world as a whole. Another element was the belief in science and technology to overcome underdevelopment, for which technology and technical assistance could be provided by the developed countries.[35] In this way they could promote further their "Weltanschaung" and increase the profits of some of their industries.

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[33] Ibid. p. 45.
[34] Escobar, Arturo: "Power and Visibility. The Invention and Management of Development in the Third World", University of California, Berkeley, 1987, pp. 13-14.
[35] Ibid. pp. 67-81.

This "Weltanschaung" implied the idealisation of a particular society vis-à-vis the negative consideration or degradation of others. Former President of the United States, Harry Truman, in his inaugural address, Point Four, in January 1949, said: "We 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 food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas".[36] This statement, which many authors cite as the starting point for the era of Development in the sense of "Westernisation", draws a clear line between those "developed" and those "underdeveloped". The latter lack scientific and industrial progress, are poor, miserable, eat inadequate food, are primitive, and their "underdevelopment" is a threat to the whole of humanity. The former, on the contrary, are healthy, rich, industrialised, in possession of the most advanced scientific knowledge and equipment; they are therefore entitled to develop the others "in order to help them realise their aspirations for a better life…Our aim should be to help to free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more material for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens".[37]

This vision, which was going to become dominant in the Development discourse, arrogates to itself the power to declare whose lives are primitive and whose lives are advanced, what food is inadequate and what food is adequate, who are poor and who are rich. Furthermore, it believes that there is an obligation to make everybody else considered to be in the primitive and stagnant side to access the advances and wellbeing of Western society. This should be done by producing more consumption goods of all sorts with the support of external private investment and technical assistance, for aspirations

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[36] Quoted by Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. Appendix I, p. 249.
[37] Ibid. p. 249.

for a better life, according to this vision, can only be reached through material wellbeing.

Point Four of President Truman's speech also introduced new meaning to the word Development, by presenting it as the opposite of underdevelopment, which was used here for the first time as a synonym for economically backward areas. "The appearance of the term 'underdevelopment' evoked not only the idea of change in the direction of a final stage but, above all, the possibility of bringing about such change. No longer was it just a question of things 'developing'; now it was possible to 'develop' a region".[38] This had two clear consequences. One, the belief that underdevelopment could be overcome if it were to follow certain stages; and second, that intervention from those already developed was justifiable and necessary. These two aspects reinforced the U.S. hegemony by giving legitimacy to its intervention in "backward areas" supposedly in order to assist them in their effort to reach Development as it had already been reached by the United States itself. For Gilbert Rist, a further element of this speech is that it gave Development almost a religious character inasfar as it was presented as the salvation for more than half of the population of the world "living in conditions approaching misery". No one sensitive to the suffering of others could question the need for Development. Debate was open about possible ways of implementing it, "but the transitive character of Development – that is, the intervention it represented into the internal affairs of a nation - was not to be challenged. That would have been to attack the underlying belief of a programme designed for universal happiness".[39]

This new meaning of Development and underdevelopment introduced by Truman's speech had a profound impact on how peoples all over the world saw themselves and the others. Now the world was clearly divided between those already "developed" and those "underdeveloped". Two billion people were considered, from that moment on, underdeveloped. Their diversity,

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[38] Ibid. p. 73.
[39] Ibid. p. 77.

multiple identities, cultures, ways of living, did not count any more. What mattered was that they fell short of achieving the post-war lifestyle in capitalist countries, whose citizens became models for the rest of humanity. The major challenge that more than half of the population of the world faced in order to overcome their underdevelopment was to repudiate their own values. It was, in fact, to cease being who they were in order to be like their models.[40]

Representatives of countries from Africa and Asia considered as underdeveloped made their first collective claim for Development in a meeting in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955.[41] Development was seen by the participants as an economic matter which should allow their integration into the world economy. Many of these countries had gained their political independence recently and saw in the Development promise the path to join the former colonial powers in their economic prosperity. Development aid, which was to come in the form of private investment, technical expertise and know-how, was seen as the means for reaching that aim. While the meeting opened up a space for voices of the South which was to become institutionalised in 1961 with the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement, it did not question the model of Development being promoted by the United States and its Western allies. According to Rist, "Bandung's main contribution to 'Development' was *to hasten the advent of new international institutions (or to inflect the policy of existing ones) charged with promoting the 'Development' model of the industrial countries, and especially the United States*".[42] The model had gained legitimacy by the approval of those countries called to benefit from it.

Several international institutions for the promotion of Development were created after Truman's speech, and others came after the Bandung

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[40] See Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 79 and Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 7.

[41] This meeting marked the initiation of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was formally established in a meeting in Belgrade in 1961.

[42] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 88. Italics in the original.

meeting or existing ones opened up regional programmes. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was formed in 1965 as a result of the merging of two UN institutions: a Special Fund established by the General Assembly in 1958 to collect voluntary contributions for the financing of projects in impoverished areas and the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance. The aims of these two institutions, technical (know-how and machinery) and capital transfers, have remained key to the idea of Development.

These institutions, particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), were to become central forces in determining the direction Development was going to take. Together with the United States and other Western governments these institutions promoted what can be called the capitalist project of Development which included, besides the economic aspects, a value system associated with modern society.

The 60s saw the launching of the first UN Development Decade by the then Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, following a speech by President Kennedy to the United States Congress and also to the UN General Assembly in September 1961. The main themes that have been at the centre of the Development discourse ever since were already present in Thant's "Proposals for Action". Economic growth was – and still is - at the centre of Development, even if it has always been accompanied by other concepts such as change, environmental protection or human Development. Assistance from those "already developed" has also been central, even if the goals set, at least in financial terms, have decreased with time. Several decades ago the UN had expected that public Development assistance would be 1% of income of giving countries, while today that goal is set at 0,7% and almost no country meets it. The reason for such assistance has also been a constant feature of the Development discourse. Rist quotes from "Proposals for Action": "The acceptance of the principle of capital assistance to developing countries is one of the most striking expressions of international solidarity as well as enlightened self-interest". He comments: "This yoking together of solidarity

and self-interest became one of the basic elements in 'Development' discourse, as a way of convincing both those who emphasised the 'humanitarian imperative' and those who focused on national interests. On the one hand, it asserted that solidarity was disinterested, and on the other that it was a matter of self-interest – which was obviously contradictory".[43] This dual discourse of Development of doing something for someone who is in need, which actually results in many more benefits for the giving than for the receiving end, has been constant over the decades.[44] The case of the foreign debts of most Third World countries is a paradigmatic example of this. From 1975, as a consequence of the excess of capital lying in mainly US banks as a result of the high petrol price – petrodollars -, the financial institutions moved into an irresponsible credit policy, supposedly oriented for the benefit of Third World countries, but in reality for the self-benefit of these institutions. No assessment was made of the need of these funds, and not even of the risks involved in the lending. Most of the governments receiving these loans were illegitimate as in the case of the majority of the Latin American countries under military dictatorships whose governments used them for massive infrastructure Development programmes with no or little impact on the lives of the majority of their citizens. The rise in interest rates made it impossible for the borrowers to pay back the loans and the problem of the foreign debt continues into the 21st Century. "According to the UN, developing countries paid US$ 1.622 trillion between 1980 and 1992, three times as much as they owed in 1980, and still owed a staggering US$ 1.3 trillion in 1992….Today the total Third World debt is more than US$ 2 trillion, with annual payments

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[43] Ibid. p. 91.

[44] Several authors have argued for an end to Development aid, on the basis that it does not benefit the so-called developing countries, but it pursues the interests of those giving aid. See for example "Aid as Obstacle. Twenty Questions about our Foreign Aid and the Hungry", by Frances Moore Lappe, Joseph Collins and David Kinley, Institute for Food And Development Policy, 1980, in relation to aid from the United States and "Toedliche Hilfe: Bericht von meiner letzten Dienstreise in Sachen Entwicklungshilfe", by Brigitte Erler, Dreisam-Verlag Koeln, 1990 with respect to aid from Germany.

estimated at US$ 200 billion".[45] What appears as a failure of a lending policy brought in fact great benefits to the lending institutions. The enormous amount of accumulated capital and the lack of investment opportunities in the "real economy" resulted in a new form of profit through financial speculation. The losers in real terms were the countries that received the loans for Development projects and ended up compromising their sovereignty in order to pay the interest. Although this crisis started in the 70s, its real consequences were felt much later.

According to Rist, by the early sixties the general framework for Development was already in place, with a clear doctrine, the international organisations established and with legitimacy and the rulers of the Third World countries willing to benefit from international aid.[46] What followed were several decades when the Development discourse experienced some transformations without essentially changing that original doctrine. Changes were a result of power relations between states and interest groups, of the success or failure of the different strategies and the concerns that such failures brought, of the political landscape of the world and the various economic interests within changing realities. The theoretical debate promoted basically by those disenchanted by mainstream Development also had an influence on the reformulation of the discourse. Alternative theories and practices started to feed mainstream Development, which incorporated a whole new vocabulary, new methods, it even added new goals and aims, but it remained essentially what it had always been.

In the following sections I will analyse the changes in mainstream Development from the point of view of its determining forces, that is to say, the institutions and governments mentioned before as central in the shaping of Development discourse and practices.

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[45] Jubilee 2000 South Africa: "Strategic Orientation for Jubilee South Africa Beyond 2001", February 2001.
[46] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 92.

1.2. Growth and Needs: a continuum

The dominant concept during the fifties was that of Development as a synonym of economic growth, promoted by authors such as W. Arthur Lewis, Paul Baran and Walt W. Rostow. "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto", written by Rostow and published in 1960, was to become a central piece in the Development discourse within the modernisation/industrialisation approach dominant at the beginning of the second half of the 20th Century. The simultaneous independence of several countries considered by the West as backward (in their economies, as well as in their social and political structures) and the confrontation of the Cold War, the West had to assure a convincing approach for those "underdeveloped" nations to be able to access the standards of living of the already developed nations so as to assure that they will remain under its influence. Rostow's book provided the right answer: reaching Development through economic growth and moving away from communism. According to his theory no country could fail because there were five predetermined stages which all countries would follow: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption. These stages would basically lead from tradition to modernity. This first and highly influential theory of Development set the scene for what it was going to become a central feature of Development: interventionism. For, it was believed by Rostow, that colonialism was necessary. He justified it by saying "There is no doubt that without the affront to human and national dignity caused by the intrusion of more advanced powers, the rate of modernisation of traditional societies would have been much slower". And "Colonies were often established initially….to organise a traditional society incapable of self-organisation (or unwilling to organise itself) for modern import and export activity, including production for export".[47] The view of a lack of capacity or

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[47] Quoted from Walt W. Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth" by Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. pp. 96-97.

of will in the side of the former colonies – now called underdeveloped nations - to be able to organise themselves and determine their own lives has not abandoned the Development discourse.

Ulrich Menzel, professor at the Universities of Duisberg and Frankfurt am Mainz in Germany, wrote in 1991 that Development aid policies have failed because of the inability of those who receive the aid to transfer it to the sectors of society who really need it. He mentioned the corruption of the elites of the Third World and the incapacity of the population to organise and search for solutions. Menzel presented an alternative for discussion: to make a list of countries which could be classified as "crisis regions" due to armed conflicts, extreme poverty, medical needs, environmental threats. The criteria, according to Menzel, ought to be established by the countries of the North. These ones not only can, but should intervene in those regions, not just for providing technical and material support, but also the logistics, the personnel in charge of the distribution, the control, and if they deem it necessary, also military intervention is legitimate if it guarantees the good implementation of the aid process. Menzel referred to his proposal as "Treuhandschaft", the German model implemented by the West Germans to privatise the state enterprises in the former East Germany to introduce them to the market economy after German Unity in 1990.[48] The idea, following on a contribution by Michael Cowen and Robert Shenton, is not new. They talk about "trusteeship", understood as the intervention of the knowing and the moral on behalf of the ignorant and corrupt, a concept that according to these authors can be traced down to the Saint-Simonians writing in 1820. "For the Saint-Simonians, the remedy for disorder lay with those who had the capacity to utilise land, labour and capital in the interest of society as a whole". These were called trustees, "chosen on the basis of their ability to decide where and how society's resources should be invested".[49] Cowen and Shenton refer to these writings of

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[48] Menzel, Ulrich: "Die Hilfe hilf nicht. Treuhandschaft waere ein Weg", in Frankfurter Rundschau, p. 9, June 3, 1991, Frankfurt, Germany.
[49] Cowen, Michael and Shenton, Robert: "The Invention of Development", in Crush, Jonathan: "Power of Development", Routledge, London, 1995, pp. 32-43.

the Saint-Simonians as the early beginnings of Development in the 19th Century. The concept of interventionism and of those who know imposing their values and organisational modes on those considered ignorant and in need of mentorship was already present.

The modernisation/industrialisation phase clearly presented the world divided into those developed/industrialised nations and those whose only possible destiny was to modernise and industrialise through economic growth. In an article analysing forty years of Development Menzel refers to Development strategy as a synonym with growth strategy. For him, the differences between the multiple approaches reduce themselves to whether this growth was neo-classical, Keynesian, neo-mercantilist or socialist, whether it was state or market driven. He says that Development are the processes of economic growth, industrialisation, social differentiation and mobilisation, mental change, democratisation and redistribution present in Western Europe, North America and East Asia. And that the rest of the world, where these processes are absent, incomplete or just a caricature, can be called backward or underdeveloped.[50]

The 60s were dominated by the euphoria arising from the belief that underdevelopment could be reached if those already developed channelled large amounts of financial aid and technical assistance, and if this was accompanied by solid national planning with the support of intergovernmental agencies, usually under the supervision of the UNDP. Large-scale industrial projects were implemented during those years, to promote rapid economic growth.[51] The Alliance for Progress launched by President Kennedy in 1959 constituted an example of that Development euphoria and set the scene for the first United Nations Development Decade, which was proclaimed precisely under the inspiration of Kennedy. The Cuban Revolution is, though, a central

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[50] Menzel, Ulrich: "40 Jahre Entwicklungsstrategie = 40 Jahre Wachstumsstrategie", in Nohlen, Dieter, Nuscheler, Franz: "Handbuch der Dritten Welt", Verlag J. H. Dietz Nachf., 1993, pp. 131-132.

[51] See Harcourt, Wendy: "The Search for Social Justice" in The Society for International Development (SID) "Development" Volume 40, Number 1, 1997, p. 6.

piece for understanding the launching of such huge and costly endeavour, inasfar as – it was believed - Development and progress was going to stop the spread of communism in Latin America. The means for that were diversification of the economies, rapid industrialisation, the establishment of highly productive agricultural sectors and agrarian reform programmes.[52]

According to Ivan Illich, "the Alliance has been a major step in modernising the consumption patterns of the middle classes in South America by integrating them with the dominant culture of the North American metropolis. At the same time, the Alliance has modernised the aspirations of the majority of citizens and fixed their demands on unavailable products".[53] Similar results could be seen in other parts of the world at the end of the decade combined with the continuation of poverty, unemployment and inequality, plus the widespread perception in the then called developing nations, that they were lagging behind, and that their chances for overcoming their backwardness lied on the knowledge, capacities and capital from the North.

The Development discourse has kept over all these decades the initial view of a model to be reached, of the legitimacy of those who have already reached it intervening and of economic growth as the engine for reaching it. Nevertheless, already in the sixties, a concern arose with respect to a differentiation between what could be considered economic Development and social Development, although the later was not clearly defined and was seen as a counterpart for the former. In 1962 the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations recommended the integration of both aspects of Development and the Proposals for Action of the First UN Development Decade (1960-1970) also from 1962 said: "The problem of the underdeveloped countries is not just growth, but Development…Development

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[52] See de Senarclens, Pierre: "How the United Nations Promotes Development Through Technical Assistance", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: "The post-Development Reader", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1997, p. 197.
[53] Illich, Ivan: "Development as Planned Poverty", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 96.

is growth plus change. Change, in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative".[54] The emphasis of the decade was therefore to integrate both aspects recognising their interdependence. By the end of the decade it was clear, nevertheless, that economic growth could be reached without impacting on the social conditions of people's life, and even worsening them. In 1970, when the second Development Decade was proclaimed, policy makers knew they had to move away from pure economic ways of "measuring" Development and tried to implement broader strategies. The first problem was to replace the GDP as the recognised instrument to measure quality of life, though no international consensus was found around any other definition. But the United Nations moved ahead with the proclamation of the International Development Strategy calling for a global approach. This one soon moved into the opposite direction, by looking at reality on the basis of "Major Problems", for example environment, population, hunger and women. In search of a unifying principle, several declarations contributed towards a concept of Development that would refer to the Development of human beings, rather than the Development of things. Concepts such as "another Development" (Dag Hammarskjold Foundation), "people centred Development" (Johan Galtung), and "integrated Development" (UNESCO), made contributions towards this search. In 1976 the "Basic Needs Approach" was presented by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress. The basic idea of this approach was that, rather than hoping that human beings will be able to satisfy their needs as a result of Development, efforts should be oriented towards the satisfaction of basic needs, which in turn will result in Development. It was Robert McNamara, World Bank President at the time, who first use the expression in 1972 in an effort to reconcile the growth imperative with social justice. According to McNamara, the dramatic conditions of people in the South – the Bank estimated at the time that 40% of people in the South lived in absolute

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[54] Cited by Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 13.

poverty were a result of their inability to satisfy their most essential needs, such as nutrition, health, housing, employment. Therefore, Development priorities should be set in accordance to these needs. Rist comments that the President of the World Bank was no humanist, and although in his Address to the Board of Governors in Nairobi, Kenya in 1973 he said that "the fundamental case for Development assistance is the moral one", the ultimate goal was to "raise the productivity of the poorest so that they could be brought into the economic system".[55] The basic needs approach spelled by McNamara had the extra attraction of giving back to Development the compassionate element of help, reinforcing in the process the old interventionist character of Development. And it remained consistent with the growth paradigm of mainstream Development based on the assumption that resources are scarce and needs of human beings are unlimited. The only possible way to respond to these two contradicting realities, the argument follows, is the constant and unlimited production.

Although the basic needs approach did not seem to bring any real changes to the life conditions of those who were supposed to benefit from it, it became very popular and UNESCO declared that Development was going to be centred on human beings and the satisfaction of their basic needs. This success of the theory, independent of its practical achievements, provides, according to Rist, "a textbook example of how *the ideological field of 'Development' is structured outside any transformative influence on the living conditions of the most exploited layers*".[56]

1.3. The New International Economic Order

The seventies also saw the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) issued by the UN General Assembly on May 1, 1974. A move promoted by the then called developing countries in

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[55] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 163.
[56] Ibid. p. 162. Italics in the original.

order to overcome what was perceived as inequalities and injustices of an existing order through the establishment of a new one, ended up reinforcing the one system and the centrality of economic Development. According to the Declaration, the NIEO "shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, making it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social Development".[57] For that purpose it was believed that technological progress should be made accessible to all UN members, equal participation should be guaranteed for taking decisions that affect the international community, interdependence of the world community should be recognised.

By making a call to eliminate the "gap" between developed and developing countries, the Declaration continued to reinforce the view that there is a need to catch-up with those who have already reached an ideal stage. The injustices and inequalities that must be overcome are not, therefore, a result of a system intrinsically bad, that exhausts resources, promotes dependency on tradable products, destroys local cultures and so forth, but due to the fact that the fruits of the system are not equally shared. Those who felt were at the losing end of the model wanted to share the same benefits as those who were perceived as being on the winning end. There was no questioning of how these benefits were acquired, what were the human and natural costs, what were the implications for humanity as a whole. The call was for "more of the same" so more countries could step in and participate in the benefits of Development. Development was in fact the goal to be achieved through economic growth, expansion of world trade and more aid from the industrialised countries. Although the declaration did make reference to a different type of Development – self-sustaining economic Development - and of participation in decision making by countries of the South, it continued to follow the agenda set by the North. The only novelty of the NIEO was a clear

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[57] Ibid. p. 145.

and unequivocal call by governments of the South to a more equal participation in world capitalism.[58]

1.4. The "lost decade"

The 1980s was called the "lost decade for Development" inasfar as the internationally accepted indicators showed the worsening of living conditions for several regions of the world, particularly Latin America and Africa. Although no new Development theory or concept emerged in this period, its inclusion responds to the fact that measures promoted in response to the worsening indicators are significant for the understanding of how the dominant institutions interpret – and promote - Development.

The decade was characterised by the implementation of structural adjustment programmes coming from the International Financial Institutions from the North and being applied in the countries of the South. These were not Development programmes but measures to restore the harmony of the international economic system, seen as a pre-condition for the achievement of Development. Just like in the original days of the Development discourse the trickle-down approach was very popular (the cake must grow in order to distribute later), in the 80s the ideas of fiscal discipline, balance of payments, small size of the state, were all seen as preconditions for reaching an environment conducive to Development. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) had in this decade much more influence in the lives of the peoples of the South than any other programme drawn either by national governments or international Development institutions. The IMF was established by the United States and the major Western European nations at the end of World War II with the purpose of helping in the reconstruction of Europe, devastated by the war. Its aim changed with the decades and its official purpose today is to promote international monetary co-operation, the expansion of international

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[58] See Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. pp. 143-150; Harcourt, Wendy: Ibid. p. 6; Lummis, C. Douglas: "Equality", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. pp. 44-45.

trade and monetary convertibility and stability. The IMF has little power over the economies of the industrialised countries while it does exert considerable power over Third World economies, the major recipients of the Fund loans. Implementing the structural adjustment programmes often constitutes a condition for receiving these loans, particularly when certain quotas have been reached. Most countries have asked for loans beyond these quotas mainly due to the high interest rates that demand new input of money into the economy in order to service the debt, that is, to keep paying the interests of the original loan. Some of the conditions of the Structural Adjustment Programmes are: devaluation of the local currency, cuts in government spending – health, housing and education programmes for the poor - as well as in subsidies, introduction of wage controls, raise of interest rates, removal of barriers to foreign investment and free trade.[59] The social consequences of the application of these measures were felt immediately by most borrowing countries. The same institutions responsible for the Structural Adjustment Programmes, in order to make the conditions more acceptable - in alliance with some NGOs - came up with the concept of "adjustment with a human face". According to Rist, a "human face" qualifies "adjustment programmes" in the same way that "dark" qualifies "brightness", making it an oxymoron, that is a rhetorical figure whereby contradictory terms are brought into conjunction. Therefore, he believes, "*with this new invention, the ideology of 'Development' entered the realm of the oxymoron*".[60]

This example is illustrative of the licences the Development discourse has: contradictions are accepted, non-fulfilled promises are repeated ad-infinitum, old paradigms are given new names and hopes arise as if something really new had been discovered. All these things can only be explained if transcending the socio-economic character of Development and this one is understood as an ideology. This aspect will be discussed in this same chapter.

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[59] Lappe, Frances Moore; Collins, Joseph and Kinley, David: Ibid. pp. 124-126.
[60] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 174. Italics in the original.

1.5. Sustainable Development

As it will be argued later in the section, concerns for the burden on the environment by the promotion of constant growth as part of the capitalist model of Development have been raised already in the early 70s. But it was not until the 90s that the environmental debate reached central stage in Development discourse. In 1983, the UN Secretary-General had called for the creation of an independent World Commission on Environment and Development as a result of rising ecological concerns. The first UN Conference dealing with the environment had been held in Stockholm in 1972 (UN Conference on the Human Environment). The major result of this conference was the introduction into the Development debate of the concept of "global issues", of which the environment was a clear example inasfar as there are no geographical, political or other borders to such issues. Several conferences followed that led to the creation of the Commission that would have to move forward from an already accepted concept, that of an inter-related world.

The Commission, headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, had the following objectives:

1. to re-examine the critical environment and Development issues and to formulate realistic proposals for dealing with them;
2. to propose new forms of international co-operation on these issues that will influence policies and events in the direction of needed changes;
3. to raise the levels of understanding and commitment to action of individuals, voluntary organisations, business, institutes and governments.[61]

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[61] The World Commission on Environment and Development: "Our Common Future", Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York, 1987, pp. 356-357.

In order to achieve these aims, the Commission examined a series of issues from the perspective of the year 2000 and beyond. These issues had to do with population and human resources, food, species and ecosystems, energy, industry, the urban challenge, the question of Development and sustainable Development. The result of the Commission's work was a report entitled "Our Common Future" from 1987. The report includes the following definition of sustainable Development: "Sustainable Development is a Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". It contains two key concepts: the concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organisation on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities.[62]

The Report goes on to say that widespread poverty is no longer inevitable and that limitations imposed by the environment can be overcome, provided policy changes are implemented in all countries. It enumerates the "critical objectives for environment and Development policies that follow from the concept of sustainable Development". Some of them are: reviving growth; changing the quality of growth; ensuring a sustainable level of population".[63]

The justification for a renewed call for growth lies, according to the Brundtland Report, on the fact that the poor constitute a major group responsible for environmental problems, inasfar as a world in which poverty is endemic will always face ecological and other catastrophes. Following the report, poverty reduces people's capacity to use resources in a sustainable manner and it intensifies pressure on the environment. It suggests then that "a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the elimination of absolute poverty is a relatively rapid rise in per capita incomes in the Third World. It is

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[62] Ibid. p. 43.
[63] Ibid. p. 49.

therefore essential that the stagnant or declining growth of this decade be reversed".[64]

It can be argued though, that the environmental degradation is mainly a result of what some authors have called the "over-Development" of the North, its high levels of production and consumption, its many decades of constant growth with total disregard for the environment. When serious concerns were raised about this path of Development, mainstream theoreticians and practitioners discovered a way to give new legitimacy to an old paradigm by calling for the continuation of growth but emphasising their concern for the environment. It must be said that the Report does give an exhaustive list of threats to the planet's ecological equilibrium, for example deforestation, greenhouse effect, soil erosion, demography, urbanisation and the massive stockpiling of weapons for which the North governments share responsibilities, precisely as a result of their economic growth paths. The report expresses in this respect a "hope" that tomorrow's growth will be different, more "environmentally friendly". But the fact that the Brundtland Commission had to consider environment and Development together set the scene for the possible conclusions, which a priori had to reconcile both. Rather than denouncing Development as being responsible for environmental degradation, that growth had to be stopped and that the consumption patterns of the rich (whether in the North or in the South) were not sustainable and had to be changed, the Commission had to find ways in which Development and environment could coexist happily and without end. The response was sustainable Development. "Now we have 'sustainable Development', whose fatal ambiguity rests on what exactly needs to be sustained. Development itself, of course, say the cynics".[65]

During the 90s sustainable Development *became* Development, and soon, the talk was about *sustainable growth*.

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[64] Ibid. p. 50.
[65] Schwarz, Walter: "Beware the rich bearing gifts", in The Guardian (Frankfurt), July 11, 1992, p. 12.

The last World Development Report of the 20th Century from the World Bank summarised the lessons, which would become the foundation for the Development policies in the 21st century: "Fifty years of Development experience have yielded four critical lessons. First, macroeconomic stability is an essential prerequisite for achieving the growth needed for Development. Second, growth does not trickle down; Development must address human needs directly. Third, no one policy will trigger Development; a comprehensive approach is needed. Fourth, institutions matter; sustained Development should be rooted in processes that are socially inclusive and responsive to changing circumstances".[66] "Sustained" Development *is* Development as understood by the report and it incorporates the very same ideas that characterised mainstream Development in the last decades. As Richard Douthwaite concludes in "The Growth Illusion", "sustainable Development is economic growth that has somehow been made more equitable and environmentally careful. However, since growth itself is not sustainable, the concept is a dangerous contradiction in terms".[67]

But Sustainable Development as spelled out by the Brundtland Report and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) - known as the Earth Summit - that followed in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in June 1992, had the advantage of putting environmental issues at the centre of the Development discussion. The fact that mainstream Development co-opted the idea did not exclude other Development practitioners from continuing an analysis in relation to the original concern of environmental degradation and from searching for alternative ways of implementing Development projects, which would be truly environmentally friendly.

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[66] The World Bank: "Entering the 21st Century. World Development Report 1999/2000", Oxford University Press, New York, 2000, p. 1.
[67] Douthwaite, Richard: "The Growth Illusion. How economic growth has enriched the few, impoverished the many, and endangered the planet", Green Books, Dublin, Ireland, 1992, p. 286.

Marco Raul Mejia[68] looks at historical changes that led to the concept of sustainability and presents multiple possible models of sustainability. A first reference has to do with The Club of Rome, which in 1972 presented its report on "The Limits to Growth". One of the objectives of this report was "to gain insights into limits of our world system and the constraints it puts on human numbers and activity. Nowadays, more than ever before, man tends toward continual, often accelerated, growth - of population, land occupancy, production, consumption, waste, etc. - blindly assuming that his environment will permit such expansion, that other groups will yield, or that science and technology will remove the obstacles. We wanted to explore the degree to which this attitude toward growth is compatible with the dimensions of our finite planet and with the fundamental needs of our emerging world society".[69] With the advice of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology the team made a computer projection of where the planet was going and found that the exponential growth was leading it close to the exhaustion of its resources. The alternative presented by the report was called State of Global Equilibrium consisting of a series of norms for economic and ecological stability that implied a "nongrowing" state for human society. Some of the conclusions of the Report are very relevant for what was later known as sustainable Development: "We affirm that the global issue of Development is…so closely interlinked with other global issues that an overall strategy must be evolved to attack all major problems, including in particular those of man's relationship with the environment". And "The achievement of a harmonious state of global economic, social, and ecological equilibrium must be a joint venture based on joint conviction, with benefits for all. The greatest leadership will be demanded from the economically developed countries, for the first step

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[68] Mejía J., Marco Raúl: "Lo sustentable: campo conflictivo y polisémico", paper presented at the XXX International Congress of Fe y Alegría: "Educación y tecnología para un desarrollo sustentable y demandas del mundo del trabajo", Yaruqui, Ecuador, 30 October to 3 November, 1999, pp. 9-19.
[69] Meadows, Donella H., Meadows, Dennis L., Randers Jorgen, Behrens William W.: "The Limits to Growth. A report for The Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament

toward such a goal would be for them to encourage a deceleration in the growth of their own material output while, at the same time, assisting the developing nations in their efforts to advance their economies more rapidly".[70] These two conclusions are key, because already at the beginning of the 70s a call of alert was made to establish an absolute link between Development and the environment at a time when some of the major ecological concerns of the 80s were not yet openly discussed but had already been foreseen. And because a clear call for stopping growth was formulated coming from a team that had followed procedures recognised by mainstream thinkers and had developed a scientific model to prove their point. This call assigned clear responsibilities to the countries of the North in terms of deceleration of their growth, something that was not going to happen in the 70s, in the 80s or in the 90s, even after multiple international agreements were signed. International organisations and the Development establishment decided to concentrate rather on another conclusion of the Report dealing with population growth and the conviction that "demographic pressure in the world has already attained such a high level, and is moreover so unequally distributed, that this alone must compel mankind to seek a state of equilibrium on our planet".[71] This last conclusion was clearly seen as describing the high rates of population growth in the developing countries. As it was going to happen fifteen years later with the Brundtland Report, the poor were found responsible for forcing the environment out of its limits, even if objective evidence presented quite a different picture.

In 1973 E. F. Schumacher published "Small is Beautiful. Economics as if People Mattered", where he pointed out the need of "evolving a new life-style, with new methods of production and new patterns of consumption: a life-style designed for permanence".[72] He believed that new ways of

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of Mankind", Potomac Associate Book, Pan Books London and Sydney, 1974, p. 185.
[70] Ibid. pp. 192-195.
[71] Ibid. pp. 190-191.
[72] Schumacher, E. F.: "Small is Beautiful. Economics as if People Mattered", Harper and Row, New York, 1973, p. 19.

practising agriculture and industry had to be implemented so that human beings could live peacefully not just among each other, but also with nature. He also questioned the idea of unlimited economic growth on the basis of "the availability of basic resources and, alternatively or additionally, the capacity of the environment to cope with the degree of interference implied".[73]

These two precedents are very relevant because they clearly questioned the ability of nature to cope with further growth. They did not relativise the effects of growth in terms of calling for a certain type that could be managed and therefore made environmentally sound as it was going to happen with the Brundtland Report. Schumacher's proposal draws, rather, on the concept of wisdom from which the idea of economics of permanence is derived. Wisdom is opposed to the values predominant in capitalist society such as the call for the accumulation of wealth and prosperity. This accumulation can only take place on the basis of increasing demands on environmental resources for the satisfaction of human needs which are perceived – and promoted to be - endless. But, Schumacher wrote, "the cultivation and expansion of needs is the antithesis of wisdom", which pursues goodness and virtue. "From an economic point of view, the central concept of wisdom is permanence", which implies a reorientation of science and technology "towards the organic, the gentle, the non-violent, the elegant and beautiful".[74] By this he questioned a technology of massive industrial projects which resulted in displacements, destruction of subsistence economies, indebtedness, dependency, destruction of natural resources and of human creativity.

Faith in technology, though, was to see an increase in that same decade. The Report of The Club of Rome and other voices critical of growth were criticised in turn for ignoring the effects that technology could have in counteracting the problems presented by the limitations in the resources. Optimism was the result of the Green Revolution, which announced an

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[73] Ibid. p. 28.
[74] Ibid. pp. 30-31.

increase in food production through genetic technology and the use of pesticides. Those in defence of the Green Revolution believed that hunger and underdevelopment were a result of the traditional agrarian systems and their inefficiency. They suggested therefore that their technical base be substituted by modern systems based on the use of industrial agriculture.

The Green Revolution, as it was going to happen with the genetically modified seeds almost thirty years later, worked from the assumption that food was not enough to feed the peoples of the world and that production had to be increased by finding ways which would not deplete existing resources. It is the very same assumption of the capitalist system of unlimited demand in relation to scarce resources. But the problem was not then, and it is still not now, a lack of resources but patterns of consumption, combined with pursuit for economic profit. Governments of the North have a policy of disposing of entire harvests of certain crops to ensure that the prices remain high, therefore not jeopardising the economic prospects of their farmers. This practice does not only keep prices artificially high, but shows the transformation operated in essential commodities by capitalist production. It can be argued that those crops thrown into the ocean were never planted with the aim in sight of becoming an essential food source. They did not have any nutritional, cultural, satisfactory value for human beings who were going to gather and feel warm, fed, satisfied, connected, through food. They were just planted as market products in order to obtain financial gains.[75]

The models and proposals aimed at increasing production and consumption have historically been more successful in gaining broad acceptability than those calling for what is perceived as restrictions or

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[75] Gustavo Esteva, in "Beyond Progress and Development" (Unpublished manuscript from 1993), refers to the difference between "comida", for which he argues there is no English translation, and food (alimento). While "comida" stands at the centre of human interaction, it can be generated, cooked, ate, it can be found only in certain places, it is different in each culture, it is always home made, food (alimento) is the industrial response by which human beings are fed and "remain dependent on private or public institutional apparatuses that create life long addictions to food services…Industrial eaters' wants are no longer associated with the skills of autonomously creating *comida*". (p. 17)

limitations, even if the real message behind is a call for a new way of satisfaction that is less dependent on goods. The industrialisation of agriculture was not an exception and was widely promoted and implemented. The application of the modern systems, though, had various negative consequences such as "waterlogged or salinized wastelands, and pest and disease infested crops",[76] destruction of native products, dependency of the rural peasants on the multinationals selling fertilisers and pesticides, in addition to diseases and death.

According to Mejia the alternative developed in reply to these consequences is known as ecological agriculture, based on the production of natural nutrients and fertilisers respecting the bio-diversity and the eco-systems of the planet. He adds that the principles of organic agriculture could be summarised as: ecologically sustainable, economically viable, socially just, culturally adapted and technically appropriate. The UN Conference on Human Environment in 1972 was for Mejia a turning point in the search for alternative environment policies. He says that, although the aim of the conference, in the light of the ecological concerns presented above, ought to have been how to put limits to growth, several other positions emerged. They included eco-Development, viable Development and that Development could not be stopped.[77] All these positions eventually came together years later in the concept of sustainable Development, which proposed the continuation of Development to which protection of the environment was added as one more element. Hope was then postponed until the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

From the conference's title it was clear again that Development was not to be questioned, but a reconciliation had to be found between Development and the environment. Several documents emerged from UNCED signed by as many as 153 states. They dealt with climate change, biodiversity, the forests, and concrete recommendations to be implemented in

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[76] Shiva, Vandana: "Resources", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 213.
[77] Mejía J., Marco Raúl: Ibid. p. 10.

the 21st century to be monitored by the UN Commission on Sustainable Development created at the conference. Most of these recommendations were not binding and most of the agreements had no deadlines for their implementation. A clear example had to do with the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions for which no date was established. Almost ten years later, in the United States presidential campaign of the year 2000, George W. Bush promised to reduce these emissions. Less than two months after taking office, in March 2001, he declared that his administration was not going to reduce them because that would increase the price of petrol excessively. The United States, with four per cent of the world's population, produces 25 per cent of Greenhouse gases believed responsible for global warming.[78] Just like this "agreement", many others remain good words in paper. This has not stopped non-complying governments from presenting themselves as strong defenders of sustainable Development.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was organised by the United Nations in Johannesburg in 2002 with the aim, precisely, of having governments agree on a Plan of Implementation, so that recommendations would cease to be mere formulations and become concrete practices. The Summit, though, only managed to agree on deadlines and targets for the area of water and sanitation (reduction of 50% by the year 2015 of the number of people who currently do not have access to these services). Targets and deadlines for other major issues such as the use of renewable sources of energy ended up with blurred formulations such as "acting with sense of urgency in order to substantially increase the percentage of sources of renewable energy".[79]

An interpretation of this attitude sees the discourse on sustainability as a strategy of the defenders of mainstream Development to continue with the old model but making it acceptable to its critics and opponents by the

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[78] La Guardia, Anton and Harnden, Toby: "Bush sparks outrage over pollution", in The Weekly Telegraph, Issue No. 506, p. 16.
[79] See the WSSD website: www.johannesburgsummit.org (Checked on 5 October 2002).

introduction of a language that has gained world-wide recognition. Real ecologists could be satisfied with some changes that showed a concern for the protection of the environment, and Development could continue with "business as usual". This is possible due to several interpretations of sustainability. On the one end, an eco-holistic view for which nature constitutes a systemic unit and each process is part of a chain that must be respected and protected; human beings must be seen as part of this chain and not as a disturbing system, only aiming at exploiting resources and turning nature into a commodity. For this view growth must be stopped. They do not believe that growth can ever be sustainable, because the costs of all economic activities are always greater than the resulting products, particularly in terms of resources used. On the other end sustainability is understood as a synonym of durability, that is, the continuity of the Development process seen – as by Rostow in the 50s - as natural. For this view Development must go on with the support of technology so that resources can be spared while growth continues. It is not the sustainability of the eco-system what counts for this view, but of the socio-economic system of which Development is an integral part.[80]

A concrete result of the Rio conference was the emergence of an international bureaucracy. Because environment is seen as a global issue, it demands global solutions co-ordinated and monitored at the global level. Global actions ought to be the financed and the institution chosen in Rio for this purpose was the World Bank, although most of the Development projects (such as dams) which are considered today to have had negative effects on the environment had been funded precisely by the World Bank. At the end of the 20th Century the environment and other global issues took centre stage in the Development field. A great deal of the discussion around Development moved precisely into the sphere of globalisation, which will be discussed in this same chapter.

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[80] See Mejía J., Marco Raúl: Ibid. p. 13 and Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 193.

1.6. Human Development

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published the first Human Development Report in 1990 and defined it as "a process of enlarging people's choices"[81]. To live a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living are seen as essential for such enlargement. According to Gilbert Rist the efforts for a new definition around human-centred Development were in order "to rehabilitate a largely discredited concept by giving it spiritual boost that it would be in bad taste to refuse".[82] This spiritual boost had to do with moving away from a pure economic view and taking into account other aspects of human life. The UNDP, in fact, introduced with the first and following human Development reports a new language in the Development discourse critical of what had been the traditional United Nations discourse on Development. The 1992 report, for example, stated that "the objective of Development is that people can enjoy long, healthy and productive lives – a simple truth but one often forgotten in the rush to accumulate more possessions and greater wealth".[83] The 2000 South Africa report even refers to this new approach as a "paradigm shift in the Development dialogue". For it to take place a major change had to do with moving away from the GDP as the key indicator for measuring Development. GDP only measures the volume of trade taking place in a country without any direct implication for quality of life. The repair of cars after accidents, the removal of industrial waste, the cutting of trees, all transactions in the economy market taken indiscriminately would add to the GDP independently of their positive or negative effects on human life. On the other hand, all goods and services exchanged without monetary transactions, family assistance, house work, solidarity relationships, clear air and water, and

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[81] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "South Africa: Transformation for Human Development 2000", UNDP, Pretoria, 2000, p. 215.
[82] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 205.
[83] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "South Africa: Transformation for Human Development 2000", Ibid. p. 215.

so many other non-tradable goods and services that make life more pleasant, find no reflection in the GDP. In order to overcome the inadequacies and misleading results of this indicator UNDP created a new instrument to measure Development, known as "human Development index" (HDI). The index combines three variables for each country: longevity (health), knowledge (education) and acceptable living standards (income) and then compares how far from the most successful national case are the other countries. Longevity is measured by life expectancy, knowledge by educational attainment (adult literacy and combined primary, secondary, and tertiary enrolment) and standard of living by adjusted income per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP US Dollars).[84]

Critics of this approach say that, although two new variables were added, GDP, though refined, remained the basis for calculation.[85] The introduction of new variables in the HDI had not, according to them, managed to overcome the limitations of an instrument that continues to be the key one in the measurement of the quality of life for human beings all over the world. UNDP recognises that "a precise measurement of HD is impossible" and it remains "committed to the systematic improvement of the concept and its measurement".[86]

The efforts made by the UNDP to refine the concept of Development have not moved away from mainstream discourse with respect to the belief in a developmental path to be followed and in an already existing model to be reached. This one is represented by the countries on top of the list referred to by the report as the richest countries or the most well educated populations, which have been given the best value.[87] To give values of performances indicative of levels of Development, that is of populations enjoying long, healthy and productive lives, requires to compare countries on the basis of

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[84] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "Human Development Report 2001", New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001

[85] See for example Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 17 and Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 206.

[86] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "South Africa: Transformation for Human Development 2000", Ibid. pp. 219-220.

[87] Ibid. p. 219.

criteria supposed to be universal. This universality is also applied to values, beliefs and expectations, which populations from various different backgrounds supposedly share with respect to their understanding of a happy life.

The UNDP presents Human Development as a new paradigm arising at the beginning of the 90s that has evolved from earlier UN approaches to Development. These approaches are summarised as Economic Growth, Redistribution with Growth and Basic Needs. According to the South Africa 2000 report, HD distinguishes itself from the Economic Growth approach in the fact that it believes that "the well-being of a society depends not on the level of income but on the uses to which it is put" and that "there is no automatic link between income, growth and human progress". The Redistribution approach "saw human beings as the beneficiaries of an external process of Development rather than as the main participants in and initiators of the process", being this last aspect the one that HD emphasises. Its difference with the Basic Needs approach is that this one "emphasised people as consumers, but it focused on the provision of goods and services rather than the issue of human choices".[88] The key new element in HD is that it breaks away with a pure economic view. "Development must, therefore, be more than just the expansion of income and wealth. Its focus must be on people".[89]

This last assertion raises some concerns with respect to the Development discourse. If the UNDP makes a call to focus on people, what was Development doing then all these last decades? Even if approaches might have differed, their final aim was supposed to be the well-being of the populations of those countries considered to be underdeveloped. A call to focus on people could be understood as the recognition that the main purpose of Development had been to reproduce itself for the benefit of those already in control of income and wealth.

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[88] Ibid. pp. 215-217.
[89] Cited by Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 208.

As radical as the new discourse of HD might look, it nevertheless still relies on the very same element it criticises: economic growth, even if the concept is combined with equity, elimination of poverty and sustainability. For the South African case, for example, the report says that if the country is to "address income inequalities and deprivation, the need for sustainable livelihoods, asset Development and redistribution and the building of human capabilities", then "there must be a shared commitment to the twin strategy of growth and human Development".[90]

HD emphasises people first, and makes a call for the economy not to be de-socialise. But it does not move away from the traditional developmental view which states that for all set targets to be met, in this case enlarging people's choices, growth remains a sine qua non condition.

It can further be argued that HD remains strongly within the modernisation tradition promoting solutions to various problems through science and technology. The HD Report 2001 makes a call precisely to expand choices in people's lives through technology.[91] In fact, the report assumes that those countries that do not bridge the technological divide will not be able to join the modern world.[92] In the Development discourse this means to remain backward, poor, disadvantaged and lagging behind those who are example for the rest of humanity. The reason for this is that it is assumed that science and technology have a direct correlation with quality of life, therefore the lack of those necessarily imply a poorer quality of life. Robert Sinsheimer argues that one can believe that the highest purpose for humanity is the acquisition of knowledge, particularly scientific knowledge, or one can believe that there are higher values such as general human welfare, in which case science and other modes of knowledge should subserve those

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[90] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "South Africa: Transformation for Human Development 2000", Ibid. p. 178.
[91] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "Human Development Report 2001", Ibid, p. iii.
[92] Ibid. p. iv.

higher values.[93] In Sinsheimer's view science and technology are not always necessary favourable for improvements in human life. While the HD Report argues that "Technology is not inherently good or bad –the outcome depends on how it is used"[94], Sinsheimer believes that such view, "however ideal, overlooks the difficulty inherent in the restriction of application of new knowledge, once that knowledge has become available in a free society".[95]

The Report, nevertheless, presents technology as a tool for, and as a reward of, growth and Development. While the potential that technology has for the improvement of human life conditions must be acknowledged, it is important to emphasise that research is usually guided not by humanitarian aims but by profit. Consequently its utilisation for the purpose of enhancing human capabilities and overcoming poverty as suggested in the report, requires conscious efforts which sometimes come in contradiction with the market principle that also dominates science and technology. It can therefore be argued that it is not the tool (technology) but the scenario (the market economy) which sets limits to the impact that various technologies could have in the lives of human beings in the so called developing countries.

According to the HD Report "technology has been at the heart of human progress since earliest times".[96] However, technological growth by no means leads to human welfare in the absence of social intervention. The technological changes of the last decades can be seen as determining a new mode of Development, understood – according to Manuel Castells - as "the technological arrangements through which labour acts upon matter to generate the product, ultimately determining the level of surplus".[97] While during the

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[93] Sinsheimer, Robert L.: "The Presumptions of Science", in Daly, Herman E. (editor): "Economics, Ecology, Ethics. Essays Toward a Steady-State Economy", W. H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1980, p. 146-147.

[94] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "Human Development Report 2001", Ibid, p. 27.

[95] Sinsheimer, Robert L.: Ibid. p. 158.

[96] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "Human Development Report 2001", Ibid, p. 27.

[97] Castells, Manuel: "The Informational City", Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, U.K., 1989, p. 10.

agrarian mode of production the central factors were labour and land and during the industrial mode were the introduction of new sources of energy and their better use, in the current post industrial society –what Castells calls the informational mode of Development- knowledge, acting upon knowledge to produce new knowledge, is the key element to generate higher productivity. It cannot a-priori be argued that the market forces would be the only ones determining the direction of research for technological Development. Castells cites the example of Japan where its leadership in the field came as a result of state intervention.[98] But it is precisely some form of intervention that is required for orienting technology towards benefiting societies at large and not be exclusively guided by profit motives.

1.7. Globalisation

A new innovation of elites to position Development is to place it within globalisation. The "global village" took centre stage at the end of the 20th Century and the Brundtland's Report proposal of "Our Common Future" transmogrified into an imposed and only possible future. No options seemed to be left outside the globalised world, at least in mainstream thinking. The political events that gave rise to globalisation discourse were the changes that took place in the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the late 80s, early 90s. With the demise of communism in that part of the world, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, the world moved into a system that many predicted at the time would be peaceful, prosperous and centred around the ideology of the triumphant end of the Cold War: the West and its economic and political liberalism. No other document summarised the euphoria and self-indulgence of the United States and its political allies better than Francis Fukuyama's "The End of History?" which was to become a classic for the new order resulting from the above mentioned events. It was also the clearest example of what some authors considered as an

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[98] Ibid. p. 16.

ideology of intolerance and the beginning of what was later known as "*pensamiento unico*".[99] In his famous essay Fukuyama wrote that the 20th Century was coming to a close with "an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism. The triumph of the West, of the Western *idea*, is evident first of all in the total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to Western liberalism…What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government".[100]

According to this discourse, the Western model was destined to become the only and possible model for the whole of humanity. Even if particularities relating to culture would persist, the economic organisation of societies - the sphere that determines the rest of human expressions within capitalism - would be the same all over the world. In fact, it is the economic, or more precisely the financial aspects of the new world order that gave rise to the globalisation discourse, for the internationalisation of values, patterns of consumption, etc. had been part and parcel of the history of conquest and domination of some peoples by others, with less or more violence. According to Matthias Finger, "the current economic, financial and ecological globalisation is just the latest stage in a long-term historical process, namely the process which has given us the benefits of Christianity, science, colonisation, the modern nation-state, industrial Development, and the various hot and cold wars…globalisation is the fulfilment of a long-term promise of western rationality and its corresponding management ideal".[101]

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[99] *Pensamiento unico* means that there is only one way of thinking, one way of interpreting reality.

[100] Fukuyama, Francis: "The End of History?", The National Interest, Summer 1989, pp. 3-4.

[101] Finger, Matthias: "People's Perspectives on Globalisation", in The Society for International Development (SID): "Development", Volume 40 number 2, Sage Publications, London, 1997, p. 15.

Finger distinguishes several historical stages that led to the current globalisation. First he mentions "Global God", that is Christianity or the Judeo-Christian Religions at large, and their belief in one and only God removed from nature. Second comes "Global Rationality", by which he refers to the Scientific Revolution that brought the unified God back to Earth and with it the belief that science and technology could create paradise on Earth. "Global Civilisation" is the third one. Through colonisation, the European civilizatory model was imposed on the New World. "In it, evangelisation, scientific exploration, economic exploitation, and military conquest are linked together", in what can clearly be seen as a precedent to current globalisation. The fourth stage is "Global Society". As a result of the French Revolution the modern nation-state emerged and the model was adopted (voluntarily or imposed) throughout the world. "Global Development" follows, a concept associated with the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution of the 19th Century. "Building on the rational organisation of the nation-state, the industrial revolution becomes the (only) means for the Development of a modern and rational society, namely through rational planning of infrastructure and other Development projects". The sixth stage is that of "Global war". Through the First, Second and Cold Wars the dimensions present in the previous stages were accelerated by boosting scientific progress, extending colonisation (taking into account that almost every country was forced under one side during the Cold War) and intensifying industrial Development, for example through armamentism resulting from the confrontational logic. The central elements of these six stages are summarised as follows: rationalisation; homogenisation; conquest and expansion; bio-physical degradation; individualisation. According to Finger, "all these dimensions can be summarised by the term 'Development', which expands and accelerates through each of these stages. In my view, what is currently called globalisation is just the latest or seventh stage of this very process of Development". He goes on to mention the two new elements that characterise the current globalisation. These are financial and ecological globalisation. The

first one refers to the deregulation of the financial markets and the free movement of capitals within the framework of the free market economy (and ideology). The second one refers to the output problems of industrial Development such as climate change and ozone depletion.[102] Ecological globalisation, though, is not new. What is new is the realisation that these problems exist and a growing consciousness with respect to the need to act accordingly. Financial globalisation can then be seen as the determinant factor in the current discourse.

Samir Amin also argues that globalisation began five centuries ago with the European conquest of the Americas, though in the last decades it "has assumed particular characteristics that sharply distinguish it from its earlier manifestations", being one of them the "interpenetration of capital". While in the past capital had always been national, in this new phase of globalisation international capital has taken central stage. The possibilities for international capital to move freely around the world have been favoured by another characteristic of this phase, a "revolution in technology". As a result a change has operated leaving behind an "international economy" and moving into a "world economy", characterised by a "much deeper degree of integration".[103] The particularities of this economic integration that Amin mentions as a tri-polar constellation of the United States, Japan and the European Union make the current globalisation different from former stages.

The concept of globalisation - just as that of Development - is understood in different ways by different people. As it can be read in the United Kingdom Government White Paper on International Development from December 2000, "for some, globalisation is inextricably linked with the neo-liberal policies of the 1980s and early 1990s. For them, globalisation is synonymous with unleashing market forces, minimising the role of the State and letting inequality rip. They denounce the increasingly open and integrated global economy as an additional more potent source of global exploitation,

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[102] Ibid. pp. 15-17.

poverty and inequality". For others, on the other hand – and this is the position of the British government - "globalisation means the growing interdependence and interconnectedness of the modern world. This trend has been accelerated since the end of the Cold War. The increased ease of movement of goods, services, capital, people and information across national borders is rapidly creating a single global economy. The process is driven by technological advance and reductions in the costs of international transactions, which spread technology and ideas, raise the share of trade in world production and increase the mobility of capital".[104]

The different views on globalisation do not always follow ideological lines. As argued by David Held et al.,[105] three broad schools of thought can be distinguished, though none of them directly relates to any traditional ideological position or worldview. The authors mention the hyperglobalisers, the sceptics and the transformationalists. For the hyperglobalisers globalisation defines a new epoch of human history characterised by the emergence of a single global market, resulting in the "denationalisation" of economies and thus in the lack of meaning of the nation-states. An economic logic prevails in this view shared by neo-liberals "who welcome the triumph of individual autonomy and the market principle over state power" and by radicals or neo-marxists "for whom contemporary globalisation represents the triumph of an oppresive global capitalism".[106] The sceptics, in turn, argue that contemporary economic interdependence is by no means greater than in previous times, if comparing flows of trade, investment and labour from the nineteenth century. They construct an ideal type of economic integration concluding that the current one is far from reaching it. As a consequence they

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[103] Amin, Samir: "Empire of Chaos", Monthly Review Press, New York, 1992, p. 7-10.

[104] United Kingdom Government, White Paper on International Development: "Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor", December 2000, p. 15.

[105] Held, David, McGrew, Anthony, Goldblatt, David and Perraton, Jonathan: "Global Transformations. Politics, Economics and Culture", Polity Press, Cambridge, 1999.

[106] Ibid. pp. 3-4.

conclude that the thesis of the hyperglobalists is "fundamentally flawed and also politically naïve since it underestimates the enduring power of national governments to regulate international economic activity". For them, rather than globalisation, the world economy is "undergoing a significant regionalisation" as it evolves "in the direction of three major financial and trading blocs, that is, Europe, Asia-Pacific and North America". The sceptics further believe that no significant transformation of global economic relations is taking place, thus perpetuating "deeply rooted patterns of inequality and hierarchy in the world economy" and increasing the economic marginalisation of many Third World countries. This contributes, according to their point of view, "to the advance of both fundamentalism and aggressive nationalism such that rather than the emergence of a global civilisation, as the hyperglobalisers predict, the world is fragmenting into civilisational blocs and cultural and ethnic enclaves". For them global governance and economic internationalisation can only be Western projects, "the main object of which is to sustain the primacy of the West in world affairs". Some even argue that globalisation "reflects a politically convenient rationale for implementing unpopular orthodox neo-liberal economic strategies".[107] Finally, for the transformationalist, "globalisation is conceived as a powerful transformative force which is responsible for a massive shake-out of societies, economies, institutions of government and world order". The direction of this shake-out, though, remains uncertain taking into account that globalisation is a long-term historical process full of contradicitons and subject to conjunctural factors. What the transformationalists are convinced of is of the unprecedented levels of global flows in numerous areas (economic, military, technological, cultural and political). The participation of states, societies and communities in this new global system is very unequal configuring global power relations that move away from the traditional North-South divide. For this thesis, "globalisation has recast traditional patterns of inclusion and exclusion between countries by forging new hierarchies which cut across and penetrate

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[107] Ibid. pp. 5-7.

all societies and regions of the world". Central to this thesis is the idea that globalisation is transforming "the relationship between sovereignity, territoriality and state power". It does not argue that state power has dissapeared, but that it is being restructured in response to the growing complexity of governance in a more interconnected world.[108] These various positions show the intense debate around the conceptualisation and evaluation of the globalisation process.

Authors at the critical end of the debate on globalisation refute the arguments of the optimistic ones who emphasise its benefits. The critics argue that the global economy excludes a great part of humanity rather than opening new opportunities for everyone. According to Ignacio Ramonet, Director of Le Monde Diplomatique, while world exports have more than duplicated in recent years, the level of trade participation of countries considered as underdeveloped has further decreased from already insignificant levels: it was 0,6% in 1980, 0,5% in 1990 and it reached only 0.4% in 1997. The movement of capitals has taken central stage in world economy without any positive impact on the lives of ordinary citizens. In fact, he continues, the speculative financial movements of capital are fifty times higher than the real economy and those who dominate the financial markets move greater capitals than the GDP of many countries. Ramonet says that General Motors does business for sums superior to Denmark's GDP, Exxon-Mobil for sums superior to that of Austria's. Each of the 100 biggest multinationals sells more than the exports of each of the 120 countries considered to be the least developed of the world. And 23 of the most powerful multinationals sell more than the exports of some of the most important economies of the South such as India, Brazil, Indonesia and Mexico. The 200 biggest private enterprises of the world, which are supranational and therefore not directly linked to any government,

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[108] Ibid. pp. 7-9.

represent more than one quarter of the world economy, but only employ 0,75% of the labour force of the planet.[109]

Ramonet agrees that globalisation is the interdependence and interconnectedness of the economies of several countries, but disagrees with the idea that this new economy can be seen as offering equal opportunities for everyone. For him, it resembles colonisation inasfar as it has to do with conquering, though targets are not countries any more, but markets, it does not intend to physically control bodies and territories but wealth. In the process globalisation destroys the collective, it appropriates the public and social spheres which are taken over by the market and private interests.[110]

Ramonet further agrees with what the U.K. Government White Paper says is the view of those critical of globalisation with respect to the destruction of the nation-state and the taking over by financial markets. This critical view has been strongly argued. According to Zygmut Bauman, "in the world of global finances, state governments are allotted the role of little else than oversized police precincts".[111] The sovereignty of nation-states has faded under globalisation and the real decision-making power of the economy – with all the consequences those decisions will have on people's lives in terms of employment generation, social policies, resource-allocation, etc. - has been taken over by global financial forces for which the nation-states have become mere executors, or "subcontractors", to use Ramonet's expression. The state is therefore left with whatever remains under the political sphere, but the economy has clearly become non-political. As Ramonet puts it "globalisation is economism taken to its extremes". [112] Economics has become so dominant that it is seen as self-evident that one of the few remaining functions of those in control of the State apparatus should be "to create conditions favourable to

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[109] Ramonet, Ignacio: "Impacto de la Globalización en los Países en Desarrollo", Paper presented at Ramonet's Conference in the Argentine YMCA, Buenos Aires, 11 July 2000 (ALAI-amlatina on line service: alai.ecuanex.net.ec).

[110] Ibid.

[111] Bauman, Zygmunt: "Globalisation. The Human Consequences", Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K., 1998, p. 120.

[112] See Ramonet, Ignacio: Ibid, and Bauman, Zygmunt: Ibid, pp. 65-66.

the confidence of investors". The sentence belongs to the president of the German Federal Bank, Hans Tietmeyer, and it was quoted by Bauman referring to the fading role of the state and the growing control by the markets. Bauman adds that these conditions are "lowering of the level of taxation, reforming the system of social protection and dismantling the rigidities of the labour market".[113] Conditions are set for the benefit of capitals, which are a-national, cannot be identified with any particular name, or company, or face, they move according to their own interest, at the speed of pressing a computer key. On the other hand, human beings remain locally attached, their jobs are the ones that are lost together with their negotiation capacity under the name of flexibility. Bauman talks about a contradiction between the "exterritorial nature of power and the continuing territoriality of the whole life".[114] Globalisation has brought a complete separation between those in the decision making end and those affected by those decisions. If the market could be seen as "the institutionalisation of individualism and non-responsibility" as mentioned by Schumacher,[115] globalisation has brought this non-responsibility to its extremes.

According to Pablo Dávalos this new scenario is a result of a redefinition of State sovereignty within the framework of globalisation. He argues that transnational corporations acquire new roles forcing national states to adapt their policies and legislation to the agreements of, for example, the World Trade Organisation (WTO). International financial institutions, such as the WTO, the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, play a political role inasfar as their policies and conditions force national governments to reformulate their national policies. From this point of view, globalisation brings about a new notion of territoriality, in which the concept of political sovereignty of Nation States would not be linked any longer to the concept of territoriality historically related to the definition of the classical state. As a

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[113] Bauman, Zygmunt: Ibid. pp. 103-104.
[114] Ibid. p. 9.
[115] Schumacher, E.F.: "Small is Beautiful. Economics as if People Mattered", Harper and Row, New York, 1973, p. 42.

consequence, Dávalos believes that the Nation States will tend to disappear and be replaced by a society integrated at a planet level and functioning in networks. Transnational corporations would be in charge of assigning resources and the states would just control that the new order is implemented efficiently and effectively. The world would then become a huge shopping mall and the defining character of human beings that of consumers.[116] Zygmunt Bauman agrees with this perspective and says that "our society is a consumer society". But not just in the sense that people in this society consume, but that it is the element of consumption that defines our current, postmodern society, just like modern society was defined as being a producers' society. "The way present-day society shapes its members is dictated first and foremost by the duty to play the role of the consumer. The norm our society holds up to its members is that of the ability and willingness to play it". Consumption has become so central that the question arises of whether "we are still able, and feel the need to, tell apart the living from the consuming".[117]

The present stage of globalisation can therefore be considered as the consolidation of a global village for those who consume as a mode of life. Those out of the patterns of consumption of the capitalist society are excluded from the global scenario. Even the UNDP is critical of the current globalisation process arguing that "the subjection of humanity to narrow market-driven considerations constitutes one of the biggest threats to the realisation of full human potential".[118]

Marcos Arruda argues that globalisation need not be like this. He believes the problem lies with what he calls competitive globalisation, "that which is occurring from the top down and is being shaped by the corporate interests of the transnational companies, and by the geopolitical interests of

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[116] Dávalos, Pablo: "La Globalización: génesis de un discurso", ALAI-amlatina on line service: alai.ecuanex.net.ec., July 24, 2001.
[117] Bauman, Zygmunt: Ibid. pp. 79-81.
[118] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "South Africa: Transformation for Human Development 2000", Ibid. p. 137.

the rich and powerful countries of the Northern Hemisphere". He believes this model of globalisation is in line with mainstream Development "only seen from the angle of the economy and finances".[119] According to Arruda, competitive globalisation reinforces this view and that of Development as a lineal process leading inevitably to the socio-economic organisation of those considered to be already developed. This is so inasfar as it takes "as its parameters the dominant cultural elements of the highly industrialised economies (values, attitudes, behaviours, aspirations and ways of relating), and as hegemonic actors the transnational economic and financial groups, which are predominantly from the rich countries.[120] He proposes a contrary model, one of co-operative globalisation linked to a culture of self-Development, of self-help and complementary solidarity.[121]

The possibility of globalisation happening in different ways proposed by Arruda relates to David C. Korten's question on "Which Globalisation?". He believes that there are many faces to it and enumerates them as follows: globalisation of civil society; global consciousness of our mutual dependence on life support systems of the planet; globalisation of communications; globalisation of consumer culture; and economic globalisation defined by Korten as "the erasing of economic borders to allow the free flow of goods and money".[122] Unlike Finger who saw economic, financial and ecological globalisation as a final stage in a historical process, Korten sees the different faces of globalisation as happening simultaneously, though, he adds, the debate has centred almost exclusively on the economic aspects of it. Within this debate he summarises the positions of those in favour and those opposing globalisation. The former claim that "it will end armed conflicts among nations, open new trade and investment possibilities for low income nations,

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[119] Arruda, Marcos: "Globalisation and Civil Society: Rethinking Cooperativism in the Context of Active Citizenship", PACS, Rio de Janeiro, 1996, p. 3. See www.alternex.com.br/-pacs Downloaded 2000.01.10.
[120] Ibid. p. 11.
[121] Ibid. p. 4.

universalise human freedom and democracy, sustain economic growth, and bring universal material prosperity". (It can be noted that the expected end results coincide with those of mainstream Development). Critics, on the other hand, argue that "economic globalisation has shifted power from people and democratic governments to financial speculators…that operate beyond public accountability and de-links them from the broader human interest…that while corporations consolidate their power and limit competition among one another through acquisitions, mergers, and strategic alliances, global competition presses people and communities into a race to the bottom as they seek to outbid one another for corporate favour by offering lower wages, less restrictive environmental and workplace regulations, and larger tax breaks and subsidies than their neighbours…Democracy is rendered meaningless as currency speculators and footloose corporations hold governments hostage to their demands on threat of job and capital flight".[123] Korten does not take sides, but proposes a debate around the future of globalisation, its inevitability or not, its compatibility with localised economies, the possibility for alternatives.

Such a debate is extremely ideologically charged and positions seem to be far from reconcilable. While Raff Carmen, for example, believes that "globalisation means, for 80% of the world the 'Capitalism of Poverty'"[124], Tony Blair, United Kingdom's Prime Minister, in the Foreword to the White Paper on International Development affirms that "if the poorest countries can be drawn into the global economy and get increasing access to modern knowledge and technology, it could lead to a rapid reduction in global poverty".[125] Jose Luis Rebellato, in turn, says that the different analytical categories that some authors such as Ulrich Beck have introduced to analyse

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[122] Korten, David C.: "Which Globalisation? Dialogue on David C. Korten's 'Which Globalisation?", in The Society for International Development (SID):
"Development", Volume 40 number 2, Sage Publications, London, 1997, p. 56.
[123] Ibid. p. 56.
[124] Carmen Raff: "Responses. Dialogue on David C. Korten's 'Which Globalisation?", Ibid. p. 57.

globalisation, "could move us away from the need to unmask globalisation as shaped by the neoliberal hegemony".[126]

According to Rebellato, the globalisation discourse has had the effect of making people believe that those who do not join, remain outside history.[127] Or, if following Fukuyama's analysis, remain trapped in history while the others have already become "post historical".[128] This conviction that there is no opportunity outside the global financial economy has impacted on the so-called developing world convincing most governments to join even if the benefits are not clear vis-à-vis the already perceived costs. The defenders of globalisation also believe that it has to be made work for the poor, that is to say, it will not benefit them automatically as it does for those leading the process. "The UK Government believes that, if well managed, the benefits of globalisation for poor countries and people can substantially outweigh the costs, especially in the long term".[129] The argument seems to be that globalisation, just like Development, requires hope, sacrifices and patience. The benefits will eventually come. And if they do not come, reasons would be found on time to explain why. But the power of coercion of those in control of globalisation through various mechanisms (credits, loans, foreign investments, promises to job creation, cultural colonisation, etc.) results in the conviction that no options are left outside of it. A similar process happened with Development. For many ordinary people Development "demanded greater sacrifices, more work, and more boring work, in return for a less secure livelihood. It required the surrender of subsistence (and its related autonomy) in exchange for the dependence and insecurity of wage slavery…. Every

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[125] United Kingdom Government, White Paper on International Development: Ibid. p. 6.

[126] Rebellato, José Luis: "Globalización Educativa y Cultural. Desafíos para la Educación Popular", paper presented at "Encuentro sobre Formación de Adultos. Area de Extensión de las Facultades de Veterinaria y Agronomía", Paysandú, Uruguay, October 1999, p. 1.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Fukuyama, Francis: Ibid. p. 17.

[129] United Kingdom Government, White Paper on International Development: Ibid. p. 19.

nation-state stepped in voluntarily to force Development. If their citizens were so ignorant that they were unable on their own to recognise the 'benefits of Development', the new states would have no option but to 'force them to be free'".[130]

The benefits of globalisation, which are essentially the same promised by Development, that is reaching the standard of living of the rich countries, can be obtained if governments follow a model of "deregulated, highly competitive form of market capitalism, guaranteeing maximum 'worker flexibility', wholesale privatisation of public services, and a drastic reduction of the role of the State".[131] Some of the costs are massive loses of jobs, reduction of social programmes, organised crime, insecurity, ethnic and religious fanaticism, among others. The loss of trust in political action and in the possibility of implementing alternatives can also be counted among the costs, together with a strengthening of individualism and a move away from community solutions.[132]

According to the globalisation discourse, though, poor people do not need to lose hope because they will also be able to access wealth. "To escape their plight they have only to accept the common law that exemplary traders are proposing to them, then they alone will achieve the miracles once promised by the "developers'". From this point of view Gilbert Rist argues that Development is no longer the road to follow but the result one is to achieve if following the globalisation path.[133] In that way Development gives legitimacy to globalisation. It can be argued that the difference between the two concepts, though both promise the same end result, is that fifty years of

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[130] Alvares, Claude: "Science", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 226.

[131] Carmen, Raff: "LETS (Local Exchange Trading Systems) A contemporary model of globalization counterpractice?", Manchester University, p. 1. See www.geocities.com/Rainsforest/Canopy/5413/index.html Downloaded 1999.11.24.

[132] See Ramonet, Ignacio: Ibid. pp. 3-4; Rebellato, José Luis: Ibid. pp. 2-4; Frei Betto: "Los desafíos del movimiento social frente al neoliberalismo", in Conciencia Lationoamericana online: www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/9741/conciencia/feb01/freibetto.html Downloaded 2001.08.15.

[133] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 225.

Development discourse have resulted in people "wanting" Development, while globalisation is still distrusted even if seen as unavoidable. Development remains an aspiration for which globalisation is presented as the means to achieve it. One of the reasons so many people still believe in Development, despite the fact that most of its promises have not been fulfilled, has to do with the ideological character of the concept. This will be discussed later in this chapter.[134]

Globalisation, in the shape it has taken at the end of the 20th Century, has also had an unexpected side-effect. The perceived consequences of the globalisation process for the countries of the South and the responsibilities assigned by those opposed to it to the countries of the North have resulted in a new movement, global in character, that is identified simply as "anti-globalisation". This movement will be discussed in chapter 4.

1.8. What Development has achieved

"The best one can say is that Development has created a global middle class of those with cars, bank accounts and career aspirations. It is made up of the majority in the North and small elites in the South and its size equals roughly that of 8 per cent of the world population which owns an automobile".[135] Is this statement by Wolfgang Sachs an accurate summary of the results of four Development decades? Are there no concrete positive changes that can be shown as having improved the lives of those supposed to benefit from Development?

Macro statistics do show an improvement in conditions of life around the world in general in terms of comparable indicators, which have historically been considered as part of the Development effort. For example, according to the World Development Report from 1993, "health conditions around the world have improved more in the past forty years than in all

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[134] See Chapter 4.

previous human history".[136] These improvements express themselves in an increase in life expectancy at birth for both developed and developing countries. In 1993 it was more than 75 for high-income countries and 63 for developing countries. For developing countries, the life expectancy at birth in 1950 was 40. Child mortality also fell from 280 to 106 per 1,000. "Enormous reductions in child mortality occurred almost everywhere around the world between 1960 and 1990. For example, child mortality in Chile dropped from 155 to 20 per 1,000, in Tunisia from 245 to 45, and in Sri Lanka from 140 to 22".[137] According to the report, the declines in mortality are due to income growth, improvements in medical technology, and public health programmes combined with the spread of knowledge about health. The World Bank establishes a direct link between income per capita and life expectancy, that is to say, the higher the income, the higher the life expectancy. The report states though that "health depends on more than income alone" after figures have shown that life expectancy has increased in cases where income remained stable. The impact of medical technology depended on the accessibility countries had and of the use they made of it. The same is said about public health measures such as clean water, sanitation, and food regulation. A clear correlation is established with levels of education which allow people to understand how to prevent sickness through daily precautions such as preparing food, disposing of waste hygienically and eliminating flies. For better access to scientific advances and therefore better health for developing countries one of the key recommendations of the report is income growth, particularly of the poor.[138]

A more recent report from the World Bank (1999/2000) estimates though, that even if the per capita GDP for developing countries has risen at a rate of 2.1 % per year from 1960 to 1997, it stagnated after the East Asian

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[135] Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Need for the Home Perspective", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 291.
[136] The World Bank: "World Development Report 1993", Oxford University Press, New York, 1993, p. 21.
[137] Ibid. p. 23.
[138] Ibid. pp. 34-36.

financial crisis at the end of the 90s. And more worrisome, "the average per capita income of the poorest and middle thirds of all countries has lost ground steadily over the last several decades compared with the average income of the richest third… In fact, rich countries have been growing faster than poor countries since the Industrial Revolution in the mid-19th century. A recent estimate suggests that the ratio per capita income between the richest and the poorest countries increased sixfold between 1870 and 1985. Such findings are of great concern because they show how difficult it is for poor countries to close the gap with their wealthier counterparts".[139] This assertion by the World Bank is crucial inasfar as it recognises one of the major criticisms of those concerned with Development: the fact that the only way for the underdeveloped world to catch-up would be for the rest of the world to freeze their current stage of economic growth (if taking mainstream understanding of Development). Inasfar as this is impossible, the result is that the gap not only remains but it increases, as it is stated by the World Bank in the 1999/2000 report.

The UNDP's Human Development Report for 2001 also highlights persistent inequalities between and within countries. It quotes results from a study that compared the poorest and richest peoples across the globe, "giving a much more complete picture of world inequality than a simple comparison of country averages could". Some of the results quoted are:

- In 1993 the poorest 10% of the world's people had only 1.6% of the income of the richest 10%.
- The richest 1% of the world's people received as much income as the poorest 57%.
- The richest 10% of the US population (around 25 million people) had a combined income greater than that of the poorest 43% of the world's people (around 2 billion people).

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[139] The World Bank: "Entering the 21st Century. World Development Report 1999/2000", p. 14.

- Around 25% of the world's people received 75% of the world's income (in PPP US$).[140]

With respect to inequalities within countries, the report refers to a study of 77 countries comprising 82% of the world population. The study showed that between the 1950s and the 1990s inequality rose in 45 of the countries and fell in 16. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the region with the world's highest inequalities, in 13 of the 20 countries with data for the 1990s, the poorest 10% had less than 1/20 of the income of the richest 10%.[141]

1.8.1. Successes of Development

Taking Development in a broader sense than just economic growth, some successes can be shown. The Human Development Report of 2001[142] refers to progress towards gender equality, environmental sustainability and democracy.

Gender equality is measured through the female education enrolment ratio (as a percentage of male ratio). For the world as a whole, it moved from less than 60% in 1970 in primary, secondary and tertiary education to 90% (primary), a bit less than 90% (secondary) and a bit over 90% (tertiary) in 1997. Looking at particular countries, the picture changes somewhat. In the case of developing countries, enrolment ratio of girls to boys was 89% at the primary level and 82% at the secondary level in 1997. But for 27 countries girls' net enrolment had declined at the secondary level between the mid-1980s and 1997. There are 43 countries where male literacy rates are at least 15% higher than female rates.[143]

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[140] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "Human Development Report 2001", Ibid. p. 19.
[141] Ibid. p. 17.
[142] Ibid. p. 11.
[143] Ibid. p. 15.

For **Environmental sustainability** two indicators are used: carbon dioxide emissions and energy efficiency. The carbon dioxide emissions (tonnes of carbon per capita) were reduced from a bit more than 1.2 in 1980 to a bit more than 1.1 in 1998. Energy efficiency (GDP in PPP US$ per kg of oil equivalent) increased from a bit more than 2.0 in 1980 to a bit more than 4.0 in 1998.

Democracy is measured looking at the percentage of countries with multiparty elections. It was 30% in 1974 and it moved to more than 60% in 1998.

The report also makes a reference to a stronger recognition of **Human Rights**. This is measured by the increasing number of countries ratifying the six major human rights conventions and covenants. Taking for example CAT (Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment) and CRC (Convention of the Rights of the Child), the least and most ratified respectively, stronger recognition can clearly be seen. In 1990 just over 50 countries had ratified both, and, by March 2001, 125 had ratified CAT and 191 had done so with CRC.

The introduction of these other aspects when looking at what Development has achieved, is in line with the Human Development claim that "Development is about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value". The HD Report even quotes Aristotle: "Wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful for the sake of something else".[144] This something else, though, that should be defined personally, or collectively within the framework of particular cultures, has a-priori been defined by mainstream Development discourse, even by Human Development. Countries and populations are evaluated according to those

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[144] Ibid. p. 9.

values, indicators and existing models. In the next section I will present some theories that tried to introduce new aspects or variations to mainstream Development discourse, still having Development as a universal goal.

2. Alternative theories of Development

Although the concept of alternative Development has found ground in Development discourse, it is not self-evident what makes a particular approach be considered alternative. It could be the call to reformulate, enlarge, or change what is considered to be mainstream Development. It could be the proposal to achieve similar aims as those historically proclaimed by Development but through different means or for different target groups. It could also be understood as the efforts to redefine a societal model for which Development projects and programmes are instrumental in achieving, therefore calling for new policies that would lead to new social and economic relations. What it is common, though, of all theories understood to be alternative is a particular critique of mainstream Development with respect to elements that should be introduced, discarded or modified.

One of the major criticisms is aimed at the centrality of economics, what Richard Douthwaite calls "economic totalitarianism".[145] From the brief historical reference to the changes in Development thinking made in the preceding section, it can be concluded that economic growth has remained at the centre ever since in the 50s it was legitimised not just as a means, but as a social goal on its own. Growth was then presented as the key to Development and half a century later, no international organisation or national government aiming at Development fails to include economic growth as one of the main components of their programmes and national priorities. Nederveen Pieterse believes that some alternative approaches stereotype mainstream Development without recognising the changes that have taken place. He argues, in fact, that mainstream has moved away from a pure growth-oriented

idea into one that incorporates the enlargement of people's choices such as education, basic needs and housing and has added new instruments to measure quality of life, thus overcoming the economic determinism of the GNP.[146] He sees this as a success of alternative Development inasfar as alternative practices have been introduced into mainstream redefining in the process its goals and discourse. He adds, "alternative Development has become less distinct from conventional Development discourse and practice, since alternatives have been absorbed into mainstream Development".[147] From this point of view, alternative Development's role could be seen as contributing towards a constant updating of Development theory and practice by the introduction of new concerns such as the environment, human rights, democratic processes, etc. Nederveen Pieterse argues, though, that alternative Development weakness is the lack of a common theory, the various denominations with their various practices, the fact that those proclaiming the need for alternative views do not identify themselves as contributors towards a common body of ideas even if proclaiming the need for a shift in paradigm. But, Nederveen Pieterse continues to argue, alternative Development cannot represent a new paradigm first of all because it does not fulfil the functions of one referred by Thomas Kuhn as providing "the explanatory power of a theoretical model and its institutional ramifications for the structure and organisation of science"; and secondly, because the universalisation implications that a paradigm has in terms of all embracing explanations and normalisation for future practices comes in contradiction to essential criticism of alternative theories to mainstream Development.[148] In this respect, it can further be argued that the core of what is understood as alternative Development lies in locality and particularities of place and culture.

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[145] Douthwaite, Richard: Ibid. p. 314.
[146] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, post-Development, Reflexive Development, in "Development and Change", Volume 29, Number 2, April 1998, p. 358.
[147] Ibid. p. 344.
[148] Ibid. pp. 355-357.

Even if contradictions and uncertainties exist within alternative Development discourse, several theories have clearly been seen historically as presenting a challenge to mainstream due to their alternative character, particularly those theories associated with small scale, people centred and concerns for the environment. A typical example is Development at a human scale. An analysis of this particular theory follows.

2.1. Development at a Human Scale

The concept of Development at a Human Scale was developed by Latin American authors working in conjunction with members of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in Sweden. CEPAUR, the Centre for Development Alternatives from Chile, was responsible for the project that led to the elaboration and presentation of the new concept. In a publication resulting from the efforts of both organisations, "Development Dialogue, Desarrollo a Escala Humana",[149] Development at a Human Scale is defined as a "perspective that allows the opening of new lines of action". "Such Development concentrates and bases itself upon the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, in the generation of growing levels of self-dependency and in the organic articulation of human beings with nature and technology, of the global processes with the local behaviours, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy and of Civil Society with the State".[150]

According to the document, human needs, self-dependency and organic articulations are the key pillars of this type of Development combined with the full participation of human beings in the process, aiming at transforming people from the objects of Development into the subjects of it.

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[149] Development Dialogue, Número Especial 1986, Desarrollo a Escala Humana, una opción para el futuro, Cepaur, Fundación Dag Hammarskjold. The book was written by Manfred Max-Neef, Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn with the co-operation of Felipe Herrera, Hugo Zemelman, Jorge Jatoba and Luis Weinsten.
[150] Ibid. p. 14.

The document distances itself from the traditional basic needs approach introducing a new theory of human needs, which distinguishes between *needs* and *satisfactors*. It questions the traditional belief that human needs are endless affirming, on the contrary, that they are finite, few and classifiable and that they are the same for all cultures and historical periods. What changes, according to the document, is the means used to satisfy them, that is the satisfactors. This theory leads to a new interpretation of poverty understood as the lack of satisfaction for any of the human needs. Certain needs can remain unsatisfied within the framework of an abundance of material goods taking into account that the authors define the fundamental human needs combining two criteria: existential and axiological. From there they talk about the needs of Ser (Being), Tener (Having), Hacer (Doing) and Estar (Physically Being) on the one hand, and on the other the needs of Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Leisure, Creation, Identity and Freedom.[151]

In relation to this theory of needs the authors introduce a new concept of Development that goes beyond the traditional economic approach, attending to human beings in a holistic way. The proposal is the construction of a human economy based on the dialectic relationship between human needs, satisfactors and economic goods. That means that needs can no longer be related exclusively to goods and services for their satisfaction, but with social practices, modes of social organisation, political models and values. This implies the direct participation of human beings in an open process of selection of satisfactors with independence of the traditional views from how needs "ought" to be satisfied. A subjective element is introduced moving away from pre-packaged solutions. Such approach emphasises diversity and the role played by civil society in Development processes. Therefore, it moves away from the traditional concept of reaching the already existing Development of those in the industrialised world. The document says,

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[151] For a classification of human needs and satisfactors see Development Dialogue, Ibid. p. 42.

nevertheless, that "Development at a Human Scale does not exclude conventional aims such as economic growth so that all people can have a dignified access to goods and services. The difference with respect to the dominant models lies in *concentrating the goals of Development in the process of Development itself*. That is to say, that the fundamental human needs can start realising themselves *from the beginning and during the whole process of Development*; meaning that the realisation of the needs is not the goal but the engine of Development. This can be achieved inasfar as the Development strategy is able to constantly stimulate the generation of synergetic satisfactors".[152]

It can be said that the concept of Development at a Human Scale brought new elements into the Development debate: redefinition of needs, the central role of subjects of Development, locality, diversity, and even a concern for the environment as part of the organic articulations between human beings, nature and technology. It questioned the centrality of the economic concerns characteristic of mainstream Development emphasising the need to mobilise other resources such as popular organisations and it proposed a path that would consider the particularities of peoples in different parts of the world. Its major contribution to the Development debate can be summarised in the effort to make Development at a Human Scale a real participatory process with clear aims of justice for societies that have been historically exploited, economically and culturally. This explains the centrality of the concept of self-dependence associated very much with the need to promote popular participation for people to be able to understand their reality, plan their own future and be the major role players in their implementation. The local space is therefore prioritised vis-à-vis the regional or national, taking into account that that is the space where human beings and communities can have the greater impact. It does promote though the micro-macro articulation once the subjects at the micro level have constituted themselves in role-players not easily co-opted by the global level. The human scale is emphasised together

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[152] Ibid. p. 51.

with the promotion of the articulation from the bottom rather than the other way around. Another contribution of Development at a Human Scale is the fact that their authors do not see it as a "model" to be followed or replicated but a process in constant elaboration. This allows for personal and communal contributions, promotion of self-confidence and the Development of creative capacities.

Development at a Human Scale did not, however, question the view of traditional Development with respect to societies in need of overcoming their backwardness and reaching a stage considered to be superior, even if in the process particularities of each society could introduce small variations to that stage. It continued to see Development as a positive goal for Latin American societies and it trusted in the possibility of implementing it in ways foreseen and desired by peoples themselves.

Criticism of this proposal came from another Latin American, Jose Luis Coraggio, who questioned the ability to constitute subjects of transformation without a clear political strategy which, among other areas, defines "the enemy". He does not believe that calling for a human scale within an organic globality can change a system strongly entrenched politically and economically, nor that the local communities can achieve any significant transformation on their own. Basically, what Coraggio does not believe in, is in the capacity of local groups directly involved in Development projects to produce viable alternatives to transform their own reality.[153] It must be said that the authors of Development at a Human Scale recognised the limitations that solely mobilising representatives of civil society would have. Therefore they concluded their proposal announcing two major challenges if structural changes were to materialise: to optimise the use of non-conventional resources in the construction of collective projects oriented towards self-dependency and the satisfaction of human needs; and to optimise local developments so that their influence could transcend spatial limitations and reach national

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[153] Coraggio, José Luis: "Poder local, poder popular", in Cuadernos del CLAEH no. 45-46, Montevideo, 1988, p. 103-107.

levels becoming a project with global aspirations for which the political articulation of the micro and macro levels was emphasised.[154]

This debate between the local and the global level, the social and the political sphere is relevant for this work, taking into account the importance given by post-Development to locality and the leading role it assigns to social movements. These aspects will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.2. Alternative Sustainable Development

Sustainable Development will be looked at again in this section, but from the perspective of its alternative character. As it has already been discussed, mainstream Development incorporated the concept in such a way that sustainable Development *is* today's Development, and sustainability means within that context the continuation of growth. But there are genuine concerns about the need to reach a model of Development that will question the centrality of industry and science, the incompatibility between environmental sustainability and economic growth, and the view that nation-states are the only agents of Development. It is precisely from several environmental NGOs that the following proposals originate. During deliberations at the Rio Summit it became clear to many organisations concerned with the environment, that no significant changes were going to take place as a result. They then published a "10 point plan to serve the Earth Summit". That declaration included a series of concerns identifiable with an alternative view of sustainable Development. The points were:

1. Legally binding targets and timetables for reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, with industrialised countries leading the way.
2. A cut in Northern resource consumption and transformation of technology to create ecological sustainability.

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[154] Development Dialogue: Ibid. p. 91.

3. Global economic reform to reverse the South-North flow of resources, improve the South's terms of trade and reduce its debt burden.

4. An end to the World Bank control of the Global Environmental Facility.

5. Strong international regulation of transnational corporations.

6. A ban on exports of hazardous wastes and on dirty industries.

7. Address the real causes of the forest destruction, since planting trees, as UNCED proposes, cannot be a substitute for saving existing natural forest and the cultures that live in them.

8. An end to nuclear weapons testing, phase-out of nuclear power plants and a transition to renewable energy.

9. Binding safety measures – including a code of conduct – for biotechnology.

10. Reconciliation of trade with environmental protection, ensuring that free trade is not endorsed as the key to achieving sustainable Development.[155]

This alternative perspective addresses issues of over-consumption (practised by the Northern countries and the elites in the South) and of global economic reform, it questions the role of multinationals and of free trade within Development, it calls for clear commitments with respect to specific measures to protect the environment and for new roles at the international level that will limit the administration of resources that belong to all by a few. In summary, this view makes a call to put the environment at the centre and not Development, which is the case for mainstream sustainable Development. From mainstream perspective, the way to protect the environment is through further industrialisation relying less and less on natural resources. As Mathias Finger puts it: "It is with the prospect of achieving independence from nature that most natural and engineering sciences are developed. And it is with the complementary prospect of optimising a society's management capacity to

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[155] See Chatterjee, Pratap and Finger, Mathias: "The Earth Brokers", Routledge, London and New York, 1994, pp. 39-40.

sustain such Development that the social sciences are pushed forward".[156] Alternative sustainable Development, on the contrary, makes a call to sustain the environment rather than the dominant economic model for which Development is a central instrument.

3. Theories outside mainstream Development

The theories discussed in this section cannot be considered alternative, inasfar as they continued to promote some of the central ideas of mainstream Development such as growth and industrialisation. Nevertheless, due to the ideological background they cannot be seen as part and parcel of mainstream Development and are therefore looked at separately.

3.1. Socialist Development

It can be argued that the only significant difference between socialist and capitalist Development lay in the fact that one was state led while the other one was – and is - market led. As Gordon White argues, socialist countries can be identified by the fact that they have "embarked upon a Development path which does not rely on the dynamic of private ownership and entrepreneurship"[157]. The developmental model applied in what became known as real existing socialism relied heavily on some of the central ideas of mainstream Development such as economic growth, industrialisation, technologization of agriculture and urbanisation. The difference would be that the industry in the socialist model should be nationalised, the agriculture socialised, the markets abolished or limited, the economy centrally planned.

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[156] Ibid. p. 27.
[157] White, Gordon: "Revolutionary Socialist Development in the Third World: An Overview", in White, Gordon; Murray, Robin and White, Christine (Editors): "Revolutionary Socialist Development in the Third World", Wheatsheaf Books, Sussex, 1983, p. 1.

But the end results typical of mainstream Development were never questioned.

According to White, industrialisation was the core of socialist Development, "seen not merely as the establishment of conventionally defined industries, but a comprehensive process of both social and technical change throughout the whole economy".[158] Given the fact that socialist Development priorities for state action were "heavy over light industry, industry over agriculture, import substitution over international integration, investment (both productive and social) over consumption, speed over proportionality"[159], social needs remained often unattended and shortages of consumer goods were common. Due to the predominantly rural background of the societies where socialist Development was implemented, industrialisation was forced upon these populations with high costs and disappointing results, according to Robert Bideleux. Cultural adaptation to the new industrial mode was a challenge not always easily met. Bideleux argues that "the command economy may be the only way in which a Stalinist industrialisation strategy and all-pervasive Party control can be sustained over long periods".[160] The centralised economic planning did give the Soviet Union and its allies the possibility to implement industrialisation and the developmental model at large according to state priorities but it did not result in a better quality of life for ordinary citizens. It can be argued that the Cold War forced the Soviet Union to invest beyond its possibilities in heavy industry for defence purposes. Two post-war rehabilitation efforts and the threat of a third one also explain the strict centralism in management.

But the lack of satisfaction in ordinary life due to those options resulted, in the long run, in the debacle of the system. Gorbachev, the last president of the Soviet Union, brought these arguments forward in his famous document "Perestroika": "An absurd situation was developing. The Soviet

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[158] Ibid. p. 11. See also Chatterjee, Pratap and Finger, Mathias: Ibid. p. 3.
[159] Ibid. pp. 11-12.
[160] Bideleux, Robert: "Communism and Development", Methuen, London and New York, 1985, p. 143.

Union, the world's biggest producer of steel, raw material, fuel and energy, has shortfalls in them due to wasteful or inefficient use. One of the biggest producers of grain for food, it nevertheless has to buy millions of tons of grain a year for fodder. We have the largest number of doctors and hospital beds per thousand of the population and, at the same time, there are glaring shortcomings in our health services. Our rockets can find Halley's comet and fly to Venus with amazing accuracy, but side by side with these scientific and technological triumphs is an obvious lack of efficiency in using scientific achievements for economic needs, and many Soviet households appliances are of poor quality".[161] As a result he proposed a shift in the Development thinking of the Soviet Union within the frame of Perestroika. This one meant, among other things, "priority Development of the social sphere aimed at ever better satisfaction of the Soviet people's requirements for good living and working conditions, for good rest and recreation, education and health care. It means inceasing concern for cultural and spiritual wealth, for the culture of every individual and society as a whole".[162] Gorbachev's concerns about a shift in Development thinking arose from a comparison with results achieved by Western Development. Such a comparison was possible and even necessary inasfar as the paradigm for both systems remained the same. However, he emphasised that the "essence of perestroika lies in the fact that *it unites socialism with democracy* and revives the Leninist concept of socialist construction both in theory and in practice".[163] Though ideologically apart, they were both set to achieve the same goals in terms of economic growth, urbanisation, industrialisation and so forth. Without questioning those goals, the socialist approach remained on the losing side. Bideleux argues, for example, that while in the West economic growth has been achieved largely by "qualitative changes in and increasingly efficient use of resource inputs", the communist states "expanded their economies mainly by mobilising ever-

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[161] Gorbachev, Mikhail: "Perestroika. New Thinking of Our Country and the World", Harper and Row Publishers, Nee York, p. 21.
[162] Ibid. p. 35.
[163] Ibid. p. 35.

increasing resource inputs on a scale conducive to inefficient resource utilisation and severe pressure on popular consumption levels".[164] The imitation of mainstream Development, even if not always following the same path but pursuing the same aims, prevented socialist Development from presenting a real alternative. Bideleux argues for communal, village-based communism as well as for market socialism, which could have been better at taking into account the culture and aspirations of those who were forced to follow the supposedly universal model of capitalist Development, even if under socialist leadership.[165]

3.2. Dependency Theory

This theory originated in Latin America though it expanded later to authors from other parts of the world such as Europe and Africa. The major concern of this theory is not Development but underdevelopment, and particularly how both relate to and depend on each other, that is to say the Development of the so-called centre and the underdevelopment of the so called periphery. Although Dependency Theory cannot be seen as promoting a particular developmental model, through its criticism of capitalist growth and its proposals in order to reach socialist industrialisation it did have a theoretical impact in the first place as a critique of mainstream Development ideas and also as a contribution towards socialist Development.

The UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) was founded in the 50s and headed by the Argentine Raul Prebisch. This organisation played a major role in criticising the dominant Development model for Latin America at the time, based on transfer of capital, export of raw materials and the *theory of comparative advantage*. Prebisch opposed to this view the *theory of the deterioration of the terms of trade*. The theory of comparative advantage stated that it was in the interest of all partners in trade

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[164] Bideleux, Robert: Ibid. p. 144.

to specialise in what they could do best and that each country could gain from the exchange, provided the relative prices of the products put on the market differed from one country to another. Relative costs differed from absolute costs due to relative advantages resulting from different levels of productivity. When this theory was applied to trade between industrialised and developing countries it was argued that the latter should specialise in the production of raw materials while the former should focus on the production of industrialised goods. ECLA's opposing theory argued that the industrial nations were the ones benefiting at the cost of the countries exporting raw materials. The trade they were involved in was characterised as *unequal exchange* due to the fact that in the long run the relationship between export and import prices deteriorated for the developing countries forcing them to export more raw materials in order to import less manufactured goods. This deterioration in the terms of trade resulted from increased wages and benefits in the industrialised countries and stagnation in the developing countries taking into account that only industrialised goods had added value. The call therefore was that developing countries should not to specialise in raw materials production but reach industrialisation through import substitution.[166]

The Dependency Theory authors expanded this concept to explain that underdevelopment was not the result of backwardness with respect to the industrialised countries and of the lack of proper integration in the modern world. On the contrary, underdevelopment resulted from a particular mode of integration of the periphery into a world system dominated by the centre and determined by historical processes that had led the developing countries into a position of dependency. They argued that the industrialised countries

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[165] See Bideleux, Robert: Ibid. Chapter 2: "The case of village communism: from Herzen and Bakunin to Chayanov and Ghandi", pp. 29-70.
[166] See Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. pp. 113, 115 and Nohlen, Dieter; Nuscheler, Franz: "Handbuch der Dritten Welt, 1: Grundprobleme, Theorien, Strategien", Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., Bonn, 1993, pp. 47-50.

benefited from this world system through the appropriation of surplus and the accumulation of profits.

Fernando Hernique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, two of the most prominent authors on Dependency in Latin America, argued that the exploitation taking place at the international level was possible due to coincidences of interests between the local dominant classes and the international ones. In 1959 Gunnar Myrdal had put forward the concept of *dual societies* in relation to underdeveloped regions. *Dualism* was used to refer to the coexistence of a modern, capitalist, export oriented, capital intensive sector with a backward, primitive, labour intensive and subsistence sector. The modern sector was seen as based in the cities and led by educated elites, while the subsistence sector was based in the hinterland and formed by the illiterate majorities.[167] Dependency theoreticians criticised this theory arguing that, in fact, just like at the international level, the elites of the periphery countries needed the inputs and labour from the underdeveloped regions in order to reach their own "class" Development. Both regions/sectors, whether at the national or at the international level, were seen as part of one system, and the underdevelopment of one of them was explained in the context of *peripheral capitalism*. As Samir Amin put it, "the world capitalist system cannot be reduced, even in abstraction, to the capitalist mode of production, and still less can it be analysed as a mere juxtaposition of countries or sectors governed by the capitalist mode of production with others governed by precapitalist modes of production (the 'dualism' thesis). Apart from a few 'ethnographical reserves', such as that of the Orinoco Indians, all contemporary societies are integrated into a world system".[168] But the capitalist system, as seen by Amin, promotes the inclusion of new regions within its sphere as a means to bring about a rise in the rate of profit of central capital determining the type of relationships to be established with the periphery. The resulting peripheral capitalism is biased towards export

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[167]Nohlen, Dieter; Nuscheler, Franz: Ibid. pp. 42-43.

activities, tertiary activities and light industries.[169] The periphery is formed as a result of a displacing competition exercised by the most developed societies and most productive economies. These are in a position to produce greater quantities of goods, better and more efficiently. They have the management capacity and the knowledge, while the peripheral economies depend on direct investments from foreign capital and technology transfer which in turn continues to deteriorate the terms of trade.[170]

The logical consequence of this perspective was to move away from such a harmful partnership, what Dieter Senghaas called "Dissociation" (de-linking). This was described as a strategy to dissociate from world markets with the objective of reaching a self-centred Development understood as a model in opposition to "dependent reproduction" taking place within the existing world economic order.[171]

The debate counterposing the binary opposites centre/periphery, dissociation/association, bourgeoisie/working class, was not homogenous amongst dependency authors. While some authors believed in the possibility of a rearrangement of the conditions for international trade that could promote self-centred Development (Senghaas) the Marxist-oriented authors believed that the only alternative was a revolutionary process leading to socialism. The Marxist position saw the State in developing countries as an agent of imperialistic interests and of their national allied classes. Therefore underdevelopment could only be overcome through the capture of the State by the exploited classes. But what was the alternative? How was Development going to differ from the traditional modernisation -industrialisation approach? According to Cardoso, writing in the 80s from a critical perspective to the theory he helped shape in the 60s and 70s, dependency theory authors "are

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[168]Amir, Samin: "Accumulation on a World Scale. A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment", Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1974, pp. 2-3.
[169] Amin, Samir: Ibid. pp. 169-170.
[170]Senghass, Dieter: "Aprender de Europa. Consideraciones sobre la historia del desarrollo", Ediciones Alfa, Barcelona/Caracas, 1982, pp. 32-33/265-266.
[171] Nohlen, Dieter; Nuscheler, Franz: Ibid. p. 473.

content to propose the same type of Development for the benefit of other classes".[172]

State rather than market led, after dissociation from the central economies rather than in association with them, industrialisation and modernisation remained the objectives of the dependency school. Various authors tried to explain underdevelopment, never to question it. They accepted underdevelopment as a stage to be overcome even if denouncing the way in which the central economies had benefited from it. They provided new elements that questioned the traditional views of backwardness and tradition as the reasons for underdevelopment and brought to the discussion an unjust international system that had remained anchored in colonial/imperialistic relationships. As for new proposals of how to overcome what dependency authors saw as obstacles to Development, not much was said in the theory and no concrete implementation occurred. It did inspire, though, several liberation movements in Latin America and several books that explained the economic and political situations of whole regions. The most representative cases are "Las venas abiertas de America Latina" by the Uruguayan Eduardo Galeano and "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" by the Guyanese Walter Rodney.[173]

3.3. Self-reliance

Originating in Tanzania under the umbrella of Ujamaa – African Socialism -, the concept referred to a Development strategy that relied on people's own resources and capacities to satisfy their needs. The strategy was formulated in the Arusha Declaration of February 1967 under the guidance of Tanzania's

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[172] Quoted by Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 120.
[173] Galeano, Eduardo: "Las venas abiertas de América Latina", Siglo Veintiuno Editores, Buenos Aires, 1975; Rodney, Walter: "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa", Bogle-L'ouverture Publications Ltd., London, 1972.

President, Julius Nyerere, who proposed that "Development be the political mobilisation of a people attaining their own objectives"[174].

Tanganyka had achieved independence in 1961 and it became Tanzania after the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba joined it in 1964. The new country was highly dependent on external finance and the terms of trade for its exportable products – agricultural raw materials and some minerals - were rapidly deteriorating. At the same time Tanzania was trying to become politically non-aligned, something extremely difficult for a country still relying heavily on Western aid for the purpose of financing its Development. It is from this background that self-reliance emerged as an alternative to a dependent Development path. In fact, the idea of foreign aid was questioned by the Arusha Declaration. "Even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our needs from external sources, is this what we really want? Independence means self-reliance".[175] Rather than depending on external support, the declaration makes a call for hard work, stressing that "not everybody understands and accepts the basic requirements for Development. The biggest requirement is hard work".[176] Food self-sufficiency was seen as the area which should be given priority and therefore the call was to prioritise subsistence agriculture vis-à-vis cash crop production and the importation of goods. The emphasis on agriculture rather than on industrialisation made the Tanzanian socialist path move away from traditional socialist Development. Other differences were the limited significance given to international trade and the call to return to the land. This was a result of Nyerere's conviction of the need to implement a programme that would respect people's values, traditions and aspirations. And also because industrialisation was much more dependent on foreign financial and technical assistance than it was on the mobilisation of the population to guarantee the satisfaction of their basic needs through their own efforts. This in turn was expected to have an impact

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[174] Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 7.
[175] Nyerere, Julius K.: "Freedom and Socialism", Oxford University Press, Dar Es Salaam, 1969, p. 239.
[176] Ibid. p. 244.

on people's self-confidence, one of the pillars of self-reliance. This implied the ability to use locally-based knowledge, to develop creativity to achieve new goals within a permanent learning process, to reject the imitation of imported models of Development. Another pillar of self-reliance was the concept of solidarity, of mutual dependency among equals.

The results of several years of self-reliance were not the expected ones. Nyerere himself declared: "Ten years after the Arusha Declaration Tanzania is certainly neither socialist nor self-reliant. The nature of exploitation has changed, but it has not been altogether eliminated… Tanzania is still a dependent nation, not an independent one. We have not reached our goal; it is not even in sight".[177] There are several interpretations for this failure. From a Marxist point of view, the problem with Ujamaa was that it intended to improve the material conditions of the peasants promoting social values corresponding to a pre-feudal mode of production, therefore not bringing about the necessary transformation in production relations and failing to make the peasants conscious of their belonging to a new class.[178]

Gilbert Rist believes that the difficulties did not lie in the declaration, which was "a normative discourse, a declaration of intentions"[179], but with the measures taking for its implementation. He refers specifically to the "ujamaa villages" where people were grouped together on the basis of respect for other people, common property and the obligation for everyone to work. Though these were traditional values and the expectation of the Tanzanian authorities were that people would move voluntarily into the villages, this did not happen and the resettlement was made compulsory. By 1977 approximately 8 000 villages housed more than 13 million people. This measure was clearly in contradiction to the respect of local values and traditions and opposed to the very spirit of self-reliance. Though the social costs of this relocation were

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[177] Quoted by Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 133.
[178] Babu, A. M.: "African Socialism or Socialist Africa?", Zed Press, London, 1981, p. XV. See also Saul, John S.: "The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa", Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1979.
[179] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 131.

very high – or maybe due to it - no significant improvements in agricultural production could be shown as a result. Rist mentions other difficulties: the idealism of president Nyerere vis-à-vis the interests of other leaders who saw collectivism as an obstacle to their personal aspirations; the difficulty of relying on tradition while at the same time trying to modernise agriculture through technology and adopting new crops linked to chemical fertilisers and pesticides; and finally the question of foreign aid. The "originality" of the Tanzanian experience attracted Development practitioners and though it had declared its intention to become as independent as possible, up to 60% of Tanzania's Development was being funded by international aid. [180]

The failure of the Tanzanian experience questioned the enthusiasm that the concept of self-reliance had brought to the Development debate. Although the concept was highly valued by those in search of alternative ways to reach a better life, the lack of results highlighted the difficulty of embarking on a path that "de-links" from the international market without relying on alternative alliances that could provide resources and knowledge not to be found locally or at the national level. Gustavo Esteva argued that the initiative was flawed even before it started inasfar as there is no way in which a country can adopt the Development goals historically set by others, and try to find its own path to reach them. He does not believe in the ability to set ones' own objectives, as Nyerere wanted, if the overall goal is Development for which the objectives have been set a-priori.[181] Self-reliance though, is not necessarily a failed concept. What has failed is the effort to achieve it within the frame of Development. The alternative to be considered is the contribution that self-reliance could make to a path that consciously moves away from the Development discourse.

4. Development as an ideology

[180] Ibid. pp. 131-134.
[181] See Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. pp. 7-8.

According to Vaclav Havel, ideology is "the interpretation of reality by the power structure" and therefore, "always subordinated ultimately to the interest of the structure".[182] He believes that human beings adjust to that vision in order to relate to the world from a position where they feel safe, justified and connected. Submitting to a particular ideology provides the illusion of understanding reality inasfar as the dominant interpretation of reality becomes reality itself. The Development discourse can be understood as ideology following Havel's approach to it. For him, ideology "creates a bridge of excuses between the system and the individual, spans the abyss between the aims of the system and the aims of life. It pretends that the requirements of the system derive from the requirements of life".[183] Those in the "underdeveloped" world can find in the Development discourse the hope to eventually overcome what is presented as a state of backwardness and reach a state of true life, as it ought to be lived, according to the dominant view. Even those who are very critical of current international relations, of the international financial institutions, of the injustices of labour relations within the capitalist system, see Development as the panacea that will cure all evils. A declaration of the Latin American Workers' Union (CLAT, from its Spanish name) in May 2001, in response to the formation of a free trade zone for all countries of the Americas perceived this as a new domination strategy by the United States. It was entitled: "The central question is between Development and dependency".[184] The declaration, though making a call for the formation of a Latin American Community of Nations opposing the historical central role of the United States in the economy of the continent, does accept the view that the United States has of the socio-economic reality of the majority of the Latin American countries. In the final analysis, even if emphasising respect for the multiplicity of nations and the environment, and

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[182] Havel, Vaclav: "The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central Eastern Europe", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 340.
[183] Ibid. pp. 338-339.
[184] Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores (CLAT): "ALCA: La cuestión es entre el desarrollo y la dependencia", ALAI-amlatina on line service: alai.ecuanex.net.ec, May 04, 2001.

questioning the centrality of economic growth, the declaration sees Development as the major aim "in order to guarantee a better future for our peoples".[185]

For Rist, Development is a deep-rooted belief rather than an ideology. He establishes the distinction between ideology and belief. While the former is open to debate, "social beliefs (human rights or 'Development', for example) are a kind of collective certainty; their concrete forms may be debatable, and they may even be doubted in private, but it would be improper to question their validity in public".[186] Beliefs are therefore propositions which people simply believe because they have been stated long enough, or because everybody else seems to believe in them. They accept them and model their behaviour on them.

Raff Carmen says of Development, that it "can justifiably be called the surrogate religion of the second half of the Twentieth Century".[187] Rist coincides with this view inasfar as beliefs are of a religious character. They are above unfulfilled promises, contradictions, and mistakes. It is this character of Development as part of modern religion that allows its continuity and reproduction, even after fifty years of Development implementation have brought very little of all that it promised. The belief remains, even if the practices supposed to achieve it fail, or change, or are put into question. The belief in Western society as a model for humankind that Development will help to achieve can be considered as a myth. "Myths are the products of a long evolution in humanity's creative imagination. While they are unreal (false) when measured against tangible reality, they nevertheless ring true inside the social imagination in which they originally took shape".[188] Myths, therefore, are just appearances and not reality; but if they are not confronted with reality they maintain their character as reality itself.

[185] Ibid.
[186] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 22.
[187] Carmen, Raff: "Autonomous Development. Humanizing the Landscape: An Excursion into Radical Thinking and Practice", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1996, p. 11.
[188] Carmen, Raff: Ibid. p. 11.

As it happens with certain beliefs and with religion, the support for Development sometimes becomes an irrational, almost passionate act. Development practitioners are perceived as missionaries by receiving communities, as those bringing the good news, understood as the promise for a better life that Development can bring, irrespective of the fact that several decades of countless Development projects have not yet achieved the outlined goals.

In a newspaper article from June 2001 there is a reference to a Zulu chief – Ngamizizwe Madlala - constantly being sought after by people from his kraal. "What do all these people want to see him about? Development, nothing else". According to chief Madlala "Development is very important to our people because they want to see their lives getting better". But Development also carries prestige to those being seen as the ones bringing it to the communities, to such extent that it even justifies war. In this concrete case, the conflict is between local government and traditional leaders, and the legitimacy that one or the other has in delivering Development. According to Madlala, "if government does not solve this problem 'blood can even flow' in these areas. Government's 'weakness' is that it looks at the issue of powers and functions of traditional leaders along political lines and if it is not resolved, chiefs and local councillors are 'heading for war'".[189] One could call such a conflict a Development war and it could be seen in the same light as a religious war. Development transcends all rational categories and enters the realm of irrational beliefs. On the one hand communities believe that Development means a better life without specifying what they understand by that. The word Development just seems to summarise all their expectations. On the other hand elected councillors and hereditary amakhosi, both see themselves as the providers of that better life. It does not matter whether or not concrete results can be shown at the end of the day, what counts is to be seen as the legitimate implementing agent of Development. If ideology can be

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[189] Xundu, Xolani: "SA's forgotten leaders", in Business Day, South Africa, Monday 4 June, 2001, p. 11.

defined as "the aggregate of ideas, beliefs, doctrines, etc. of a large group of persons",[190] Development can then be understood as such with respect to a specific aim: achieving a better life. Following on Havel's analysis though, achieving such a dream can remain at the level of interpretation of reality without concrete manifestations of change. In the case of the Zulu kraal under chief Madlala, the battle can then be seen as taking place not for the control of resources that would impact on the well-being of the community but for the control of the power structure that would interpret reality, ultimately subordinating it to its own interest. And all will be done, including going to war if necessary, in the name of Development.

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[190] Definition of ideology in "The New American Webster Handy College Dictionary", New American Library, Chicago, 1981.

Chapter 3: post-Development

1. Introduction

For many decades several authors from various parts of the world have questioned the Development discourse and called for alternatives. In the 1980s many of these authors, through their contribution to the journal "Development: Seeds for Change", started to give shape to what later became known as post-Development. Two major books can be identified as the collective expression of this particular way of thinking: "The Development Dictionary", edited by Wolfgang Sachs and published in 1992, and "The post-Development Reader", compiled by Majid Rahnema with Victoria Bawtree and published in 1997.[191] In the previous chapter I tried to present a historical view of the concept of Development, be it mainstream or alternative, as a background to the arguments presented by post-Development authors. These arguments can be summarised as the conviction that reformulating Development is not possible or desirable and that what is needed instead is to formulate and implement alternatives *to* it.

Against this, critics of post-Development[192] argue that this approach has rejected the concept of Development *without* formulating any alternative. In an article in reply to some of these critics, Arturo Escobar, one of the

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[191] Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1992; Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: "The post-Development Reader", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1997.

[192] See for example Storey, Andy: "post-Development Theory: Romanticism and Pontius Pilate politics", in The Society for International Development (SID): "Development", Volume 43 No. 4 December 2000, pp. 40-45; Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post- Development, Reflexive Development", in "Development and Change", Volume 29, Number 2, April 1998, pp. 347-361; Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: "After post-Development", in "Third World Quarterly", Vol. 21, Number 2, 2000, pp. 175-191; Gasper, Des: "Essentialism In and About Development Discourse" in the "European Journal of Development Research", Volume 8, Number 1, June 1996, p. 169.

proponents of post-Development, summarises what he believes are the "three main claims in the anti-post-Development literature:

- post-Development critics presented an overgeneralised and essentialised view of Development, while in reality there are vast differences within various Development strategies and institutions;
- they romanticised local traditions and local social movements, ignoring that the local is also embedded in global power relations and that, indeed, many struggles today are about access to Development;
- they failed to notice the ongoing contestation of Development on the ground".[193]

A fourth critique that also forms part of the debate is what Nederveen Pieterse calls "the refusal to, or lack of interest in translating critique into construction"[194] and what Andy Storey formulated as "the post-Development school cannot provide a clear model of how social change can be effected".[195] That is to say, while the ability of post-Development writers to articulate "meaningful sensibilities"[196] and a coherent criticism to Development understood as a particular power discourse is recognised, their reductionism of Development, their lack of recognition of popular aspirations towards it, the failure to articulate clear alternatives as well as the romanticising of local traditions are the focus of criticism.

The aim of this chapter is to reach a clear understanding of post-Development in its anti-Development aspects as well as in its formulation of other possible ways in which human beings and societies in their diversity and complexity can achieve better and more satisfactory ways of life. This requires exploring the central ideas put forward by post-Development authors

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[193] Escobar, Arturo: "Beyond the Search for a Paradigm? post-Development and beyond", in The Society for International Development, Ibid. p. 12.
[194] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development", Ibid. p. 361.
[195] Storey, Andy: Ibid. p. 45.

and analysing to what extent they constitute an alternative to the Development discourse. For that purpose the central positions of post-Development will be analysed, using the various articles and books published by authors identified with this current of thought. The abovementioned criticisms will be looked at trying to identify to what extent they are a clear reflection of post-Development formulations and what post-Development discourse says in turn. Related theories will also be looked at in order to establish links or differences that can contribute to a better understanding of post-Development. Finally, a section will be dedicated to present some final observations on post-Development.

It is important to mention, nevertheless, that post-Development cannot be evaluated in the same way as Development. First and foremost because Development has existed for at least several decades and has been promoted by institutions at national, regional and international level. Development is recognised, accepted, desired, maybe even feared and rejected, but many of its manifestations are concrete, measurable and tangible. Development has become part and parcel of modern society and instruments have been created to measure it, compare societies on the basis of it, set targets, goals, even go to war for it if necessary as it has been mentioned in the previous chapter. Development has entered the realm of ordinary life in ways that few other concepts have. The world is artificially divided between developed and developing or underdeveloped countries. National governments and international institutions promote Development as the major aim to be achieved by millions of human beings all over the world. Most of the policies implemented in the so-called underdeveloped countries are formulated in the name of achieving Development. Such an overrated concept associated with almost every aspect of human life cannot be evaluated in the same way as a school of thought which aim is, precisely, to criticise such concept and propose its abandonment. While Development can be evaluated for what it was set to achieve and what it has actually achieved or not as well as for the

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[196] Ibid. p. 45.

policies of the institutions responsible for its implementation, post-Development can mainly be seen as a discourse analysis, as a deep critique of Development. Post-Development criticises and also proposes, it re-values existing forms of relations, practices and world-views that might have been neglected or suppressed by Development. Nevertheless, it is not institutionalised, it does not exist in clearly identified policies and it is not promoted by any government or international agency. The emphasis, therefore, will be on ideas and on the potential ability of these ideas to impact on the formulation of alternative discourses as well as on concrete practices.

2. Central positions of post-Development

In an interview with Wolfgang Sachs in February 2002[197] I referred to the school of post-Development to which he replied: "Don't put it too much as a school. It is the others which classify you as a school. You might have noticed that I hesitated to use we and ourselves, because there is no natural agreement in certain way. There was and there is a common search, and certainly there is a common kind of notion. But the others are the ones who put you a label on". Even if Sachs's statement reflects the self-perception of post-Development writers, the truth is that in the last years an amount of considerable literature has accumulated that can clearly be identified with a particular and novel way of seeing, and questioning, Development. In February/March 2002 a seminar was organised in Paris by one of the post-Development writers, Serge Latouche from "La ligne d'horizon"[198] called "Undoing Development, Redoing the World. The International Colloquium on post-Development".[199] One of the results of this meeting was the creation of a post-Development network. It can be argued therefore, that there are numerous indications about the building up of a way of thinking to which scholars, researchers, and even

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[197] Interview conducted by the author of this thesis in Porto Alegre, Brazil, on February 3, 2002. See Annex 1.
[198] See website: www.lignedhorizon.com/
[199] See website: www.apres-developpement.org

people who at certain point would have called themselves Development practitioners, relate to and identify with. It is also true though, that unlike in the traditional Development discourse, no manual or guide or central points to adhere to exist within this particular way of thinking. Post-Development seems to have more to do with sensitivities, with ways of understanding the world, with criticisms of existing theories and the putting forward of new ways of thinking that are broad and respectful of diversities.

In the following sections I will explore these ways of thinking, the "common search and the common notion" as referred to by Sachs. This exploration does not exhaust the central ideas that a careful reading of post-Development literature suggests. It seeks to offer, nevertheless, an approximation to better understand a current of thought whose major contribution is a radical criticism of the Development discourse.

2.1. Criticism of modern society

In the many readings of post-Development writers there seems to be consensus about criticism of modern society, clearly a goal to be reached through Development. These writers seem to concur with other lines of criticism such as the one spelled out by Charles Taylor. In his book "The Ethics of Authenticity"[200], Taylor talks about three malaises of modernity which he describes as:

(1) individualism, impacting on the loss of meaning and on the fading of moral horizons;

(2) the primacy of instrumental reason by which he means "the kind of rationality we draw on when we calculate the most economical application of means to a given end" resulting in the fact that "the

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[200] Taylor, Charles: "The Ethics of Authenticity", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991, pp. 1-12.

independent ends that ought to be guiding our lives will be eclipsed by the demand to maximise output"[201] and

(3) the fact that "the institutions and structures of industrial-technological society severely restrict our choices, that they force societies as well as individuals to give a weight to instrumental reason that in serious moral deliberation we would never do"[202], resulting in the loss of freedom.

Combining these three malaises it can be said that modern society has been characterised by the pursuit of self-fulfilment neglecting demands that come from beyond the individual (such as community, society or environment); that this self-fulfilment has legitimised an almost exclusive economic view of society which has put science and technology at its service independent from any moral constraints. Herman E. Daly summarises this dominant perspective of economics as follows: it "confines its attention to the study of how best to allocate given means among given ends. It does not inquire very deeply into the nature of means or the nature of ends. Yet, without a clear conception of the basic means at our disposal…our narrow economics is likely to commit the error of wishful thinking (assuming that just because something is desirable it must also be possible). Likewise, unless we inquire into the nature of ends and face the question of ultimate value, ethics and the ranking of our ends, we are likely to commit the opposite error, that of technical determinism (assuming that just because something is possible it must also be desirable)".[203] Instrumental reason justifies the logic of always getting more of what you want, whatever that might be, given the fact that personal satisfaction is at the centre of social relations and the market is the instrument to ensure that this satisfaction is obtained at the best possible price. But inasfar as the production of these goods or services is the means for the continuous enrichment of particular agents within society, the internalisation

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[201] Ibid. p. 5.
[202] Ibid. p. 8.
[203] Daly, Herman E. (editor): "Economics, Ecology and Ethics. Essays Toward a Steady-State Economy", W. H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1980, p. X.

of satisfaction through consumption has been one of the central psychosocial phenomena of modern society. Daly formulates it as follows: "Why do people produce junk and cajole other people into buying it? Not out of any innate love for junk or hatred of the environment, but simply in order to earn an income. If, with the prevailing distribution of wealth, income and power, production governed by the profit motive results in the output of great amounts of noxious junk, then something is wrong with the distribution of wealth and power, the profit motive, or both".[204]

Following this line of reasoning it can be argued that the main malaise of modern society has been the centrality of economics in all aspects of life, particularly of market-economics. This is precisely one of the major criticisms from post-Development authors with respect to the socio-economic model promoted by Development. They are neither the only ones nor the first ones to question what Karl Polanyi has called the "most controversial of modern mythological figures - economic man".[205] Gustavo Esteva believes that the transformation of autonomous man and women into *homo economicus* was a precondition for the emergence of economic society.[206] Ivan Illich calls *homo economicus* the protagonist of scarcity, who in pursuit of the satisfaction of needs assumed to be unlimited through means that are assumed to be scarce has been transformed from *homo sapiens* into *homo miserabilis*.[207] According to Illich, in the current consumer society human beings are dependent for the satisfaction of their constructed needs on "standardised packages" with a blind eye to cultural differences. The result of the imposition of these packages is the killing of subsistence ways of satisfying needs due to the belief that "useful activities by which people both express and satisfy their needs can be replaced indefinitely by standardised goods and services".[208] As stated by Majid Rahnema, "this particular perception of reality tends to reduce human

[204] Ibid. p. 25.
[205] Polanyi, Karl: "The Livelihood of Man", Academic Press, New York, 1977, p. 21.
[206] Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 18.
[207] Illich, Ivan: "Needs", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 88.
[208] Illich, Ivan: "Toward a History of Needs", Pantheon Books, New York, 1977, pp. 7-15.

beings and their societies to their economic dimension alone".[209] Post-Development authors are not alone in arguing that this is what has happened to modern society.

2.1.1. Questioning the centrality of the economy in human life

The central role that the economy - and in particular the market economy - plays in modern society is not a natural phenomenon but a human-constructed one. As early as 1944 Karl Polanyi wrote in "The Great Transformation" that the market did not spontaneously emancipate itself from government control. It happened, on the contrary, as a result of a conscious and violent intervention by government, which in turn led to the creation of the economy as an autonomous sphere.[210] It had not always been the case. In "The Livelihood of Man" he presented a series of historical examples of societies where the economy had remained embedded within the larger context, arguing that "world history is emphatically *not* economic history".[211]

Polanyi argues that in Western societies from the 19th Century onwards the economy became the market economy and the market economy became the market society. In consequence the economy and society became one and the same. As a result, man and nature were transformed into commodities, and this "commodity fiction" based on an enforced utilitarian practice had, according to Polanyi, a deep effect on how Western man saw himself and his society. In fact, the market system started to determine every aspect of human life leading human beings to believe that economic man was real man and that the economic system was society.[212]

But how did this happen? Karl Polanyi refers to two meanings of the word economics, a formal and a substantive one. The first one relates to the

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[209] Rahnema, Majid: "Poverty", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 169.
[210] Polanyi, Karl: "The Great Transformation", Rinehart and Company, Inc., New York, Toronto, 1957, pp. 135-150. See also Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 19.
[211] Polanyi, Karl: "The Livelihood of Man", Ibid. p. xlvii.
[212] Ibid. pp. 9-12.

scarcity principle, based on the assumption that means are scarce and that these insufficient means need to be allocated in the best possible way to provide for man's endless needs. That is to say, they should be maximised or economised. The substantive meaning relates to man's dependency for survival upon nature and fellow human beings. From this point of view the interaction between human beings and their environment is, also, the economy. The formal concept, dominant in modern economy, led to what Polanyi calls the "economistic fallacy" defined as "a tendency to equate the human economy with its market form".[213] It assumes the need for choice derived from the alternative uses of insufficient means. The substantive meaning, on the other hand, implies neither choice nor insufficiency.

Scarcity is one of the key concepts within the dominant view of economics. It assumes the unlimited nature of human needs and wants which naturally leads to "maximise" the use of the scarce resources to satisfy those needs. Polanyi argues, though, that once a human being is seen as economic man operating within the market, the only needs and wants that matter are those plausible to be satisfied through the markets[214], using what Ivan Illich called "patent" products or prepackaged solutions.[215] But this does not really say much about human needs or wants. It only describes a scarcity situation within a market situation. Scarcity can be understood in this context because the satisfaction of needs in that particular case can only take place using goods and services available within that particular market. If, on the other hand, one were to take the substantive meaning of economics, the scarcity principle would fall.

Even earlier than Polanyi, J. M. Keynes already questioned the assumption of infinite needs. He distinguished between two types of needs: "those needs which are absolute in the sense that we feel them whatever the situation of our fellow human beings may be, and those which are relative in

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[213] Ibid. p. 20.
[214] Ibid. p. 29.
[215] Illich, Ivan: "Development as Planned Poverty", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 97.

the sense that we feel them only if their satisfaction lift us above, make us feel superior to, our fellows".[216] For Keynes only the second type of needs may be insatiable. The existence of such needs and their satisfaction presupposes a stratified society where human beings are classified according to their material possessions, which, just like needs and wants within the market, are of individual character. This individual possession of means, which in modern society already places human beings within a particular category (those who can satisfy their unlimited needs through marketable products, that is to say, can be seen as already developed) relates to a distinction made by Charles Taylor between honour and dignity. "I am using honour in the ancien regime sense in which it is intrinsically linked to inequalities. For some to have honour in this sense it is essential that not everyone have it…As against this notion of honour, we have the modern notion of dignity, now used in a universalist and egalitarian sense, where we talk of the inherent 'dignity of human beings', or of citizen dignity. The underlying premise here is that everyone shares in this".[217]

Following Polanyi's line of argument one could maintain that the formal meaning of the economy relates to some extent to the old concept of honour in the sense that each individual should cater for him or herself, and the privileged space to do this is the market. Those who obtain the greater benefits, at whatever costs for those who do not obtain any or even lose, have learned to play the game and are, in a way, honoured by it. The substantive meaning of the economy, on the other hand, depends on reciprocity, on interaction, on mutual benefit. That is to say, for one to benefit, the others must benefit too, in the same way that dignity is acquired as member of a particular society or people and not as an individual.

Modern society, particularly in the neo-liberal heartlands, has come to accept - and value - the centrality of the market in social life and in consequence to evaluate advancements on the basis of what the market

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[216] Quoted by Daly, Herman E.: Ibid. p. 27.
[217] Talylor, Charles: Ibid. p. 46.

indicates. It is the quantity of what is consumed that is supposed to indicate the wellbeing of human beings. Quality does not count. To substantiate this claim one could refer to some of the sources that contribute to increase the GDP of national economies: accidents, pollution, sicknesses, crime, anything that implies exchanges within the monetary system will increase the figure. But quantity, as Schumacher argued, "is of preponderant weight only at the lowest Level of Being. As we move up the Chain of Being, the importance of quantity recedes while that of quality gains".[218] A world dominated by the economy does precisely that: it strengthens the lowest level of being in detriment of the highest. In another article where Schumacher compares Buddhist and Western economics, he argues that the modern economist measures "the standard of living by the amount of annual consumption, assuming all the time that a man who consumes more is 'better off' than a man who consumes less… Modern economics…considers consumption the sole end and purpose of all economic activity, taking the factors of production – land, labour, and capital - as the means".[219] This view reduces human beings to the category of consumers. As Raymond Williams argues "in the form of society we now have, and in the forms of thinking which it almost imperceptibly fosters, it is as consumers that the majority of the people are seen".[220] The alternative to this reality according to post-Development authors is, to use Karl Polanyi's expression, to re-embed the economy into society, to allow common man, rather than economic man, to be at the centre. It is, according to Jeremy Seabrook, to think of options where money does not play a central role any more and where we can seek "our release, where possible, from it", through "all that we can offer each other without the mediation of money", "regaining as many freely services and commodities as possible", rediscovering "the numberless delights and distractions with which we can

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[218] Schumacher, E. F.: "A Guide for the Perplexed", Jonathan Cape, London, 1977, p. 64.

[219] Schumacher, E. F.: "Buddhist Economics", in Daly, Herman E.: Ibid. pp. 141-142.

[220] Williams, Raymond: "Problems in Materialism and Culture", Verso, London, 1980, p. 187.

provide for ourselves and one another by liberating these from the captivity of the markets".[221]

While the critique that post-Development makes of modern society has great relevance, it should be noted that it refers to a constructed ideal type, which does not reflect the complexity and heterogeneity of the full historical situation. This argumentative ideal type tends to exaggerate the negative and mono-dimensional aspects of modernity in order to highlight its contradictions. In the process, though, it bypasses a full sociological account of modern society without references to positive aspects of it.

2.2. Re-valuing diversity

To conform with values, beliefs and patterns of behaviour and of consumption is a characteristic of Western society even if this happens within the framework of a broad range of choices. How people see themselves, what aspirations they have in life, what life actually has become within capitalism, can be described using Jeremy Seabrook's words, as the effort "of people trying to rise and to be equal to the immense impersonality of the markets".[222] The materially or financially rich get into this treadmill, even if only with the illusion that the endless acquisition of goods will provide them with the happiness they are searching for, taking into account that "the maintenance of a felt experience of insufficiency is essential to any capitalist version of Development".[223] Despite this, there is a conviction that, however imperfect, that is the model to follow and imitate. Therefore those considered poor according to Western standards are not seen as carriers of different and equally valuable ways of life but as mere imitators – or aspirants to become imitators - of the lifestyle of the rich.

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[221] Seabrook, Jeremy: "The Myth of the Market, Promises and Illusions", Green Books, Bideford, 1990, pp. 32-33.
[222] Seabrook, Jeremy: "Landscapes of Poverty", Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p. 88.
[223] Ibid. p. 5.

The absurdity of this logic is that the end-result of imitating the West is a decline in the quality of life of poor people. Taking food, for example, the "McDonaldisation of diet" has resulted in the "reinvention of malnutrition" within the framework of over-consumption of food while at the same time depriving the body of essential nutrients.[224] Similar examples can be cited with respect to dwelling, transport, clothing, health care, education, etc. The renunciation of traditional ways in order to incorporate those promoted by the West has led to the homogenisation of human aspirations and behaviours. This phenomenon has, among other consequences, the following two: it led to what Ivan Illich called reification. "By reification I mean the hardening of the perception of real needs into the demands for mass manufactured products. I mean the translation of thirst into the need for a Coke. This kind of reification occurs in the manipulation of primary human needs by vast bureaucratic organisations which have succeeded in dominating the imagination of potential consumers".[225] And this relates to the second consequence formulated by Wolfgang Sachs as "our loss of language of desire and language of culture to express what we want in non-globalist, non-universal terms".[226] Culture-specific and languages of diversity used to express people's needs and describe people's lives, have been replaced in many cases by Development terms.

The idea of diversity, though, could not be valued within the Development discourse because it questions the fundamental notion of superior stages to be reached, of a developed type of society that constitutes the model offered to the underdeveloped to follow. When the European colonisers met the inhabitants of the so-called New World, the evidence they found was that of the diversity of humanity. But what emerged then – in the 15th Century - and to some extent continued to inform literature and scientific

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[224] See Winterson Jeanette: "Our bodies are hungry for change", in Mail & Guardian, South Africa, March 15 to 21 2002, p. 27.
[225] Illich, Ivan: "Development as Planned Poverty", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 97.
[226] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

research long into the 20th Century was the distinction between the civilised and the barbarian, between Christians and infidels. The challenge of the "civilised European" was to eliminate diversity converting the "barbarian" into the only possible way of existence accepted by the former: a civilised European. With the passage of time this challenge was institutionalised into the idea of progress understood as "an irreversible movement from an endless diversity of particularities, wasteful of human energies and economic resources, to a world unified and simplified into the most rational agreement. It is therefore a movement from badness to goodness and from mindlessness to knowledge".[227] Teodor Shanin argues that the wording of progress changed with fashion into modernisation, Development or growth, but the central idea remained: diversity was produced by different stages of Development of different societies. As those considered to be at the lower levels move into the example shown by those who had already reached the highest achievement of progress to date, diversity would disappear.[228] In can be said then that Development, to some extent, is the elimination of diversity.

Development can be perceived as a strategy of engagement with the "other" but from the point of view of a relation in which the "other" serves. It is about re-enacting troubled and dominating relationships where differences were perceived as justifications for domination. The cultural and sociological roots of the Development endeavour, vis-à-vis the search for economic benefits for the West, can be found in this original engagement. As mentioned before, the process started with European colonisation. Development is called in to finalise its "civilising mission". If at the beginning the conquer of territories and populations was the defining characteristic, it then moved into what Ashis Nandy called the second form of colonisation, "the one which at least six generations of the Third World have learnt to view as a prerequisite for their liberation. This colonialism colonises minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within the colonised societies to alter their cultural priorities

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[227] Shanin, Teodor: "The Idea of Progress", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 65.

once for all. In the process, it helps generalise the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds".[229] This form of colonisation has to do with the spread of a particular world view "which believes in the absolute superiority of the human over the nonhuman and the subhuman, the masculine over the feminine, the adult over the child, the historical over the ahistorical and the modern or progressive over the traditional or the savage".[230] From this belief derives a mission, for which Development is a privileged tool, of converting those at the inferior end into replicas of those at the superior end. That is to say, there is a clear boundary between "us" and "them", and "them" offering civilised men a reminder of how far he had travelled using reason to overcome a condition "marked by the absence of industry, culture, navigation, trade, comfort, knowledge of the earth, time, art, letters, and society". In summary, marked by the absence of science, the presence of superstition and the reliance upon false rules, which converted the "Other" in savages in need of civilisatory and religious salvation.[231] The colonisation of the mind resulted in the fact that this conversion has not only been valued by the already "civilised" or "developed" but by those being called "uncivilised" and "underdeveloped" who willingly accept their inferiority and the lack of worth of their traditions, their value systems, their practices, in summary, of their lives. "To be like them"[232], seems to be the only option left, which of course demands to cease to be like oneself.

The renunciation of one's own identity (as individuals, as communities, as nations) is a strong feature in the history of Third World

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[228] Ibid. See pp. 66-68.
[229] Nandy, Ashis: "The Intimate Enemy. Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism", Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983, p. xi.
[230] Ibid. p. x.
[231] See Manzo, Kate: "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a Counter-Modernist Development", in Crush, Jonathan: "Power of Development", Routledge, London, 1995, pp. 232-238.
[232] See Galeano, Eduardo: "Ser como ellos", in Brecha No 306, p. VII, October 11, 1991, Montevideo, Uruguay.

countries. It can be argued that towards the end of the 20th Century, and in part as a result of the failure of Development to bring about qualitative changes, the revalorization of indigenous and local practices started to acquire new impetus. The year of 1992 is a symbolic turning point. Europe – and Spain in particular - majestically celebrated the 500 years of "Discovery" of the New World (12 October 1492-1992) under the official banner of "Encounter of two Worlds", while in actual fact the five centuries had been characterised by the domination of the conquerors denying the conquered their rights (to their natural resources, languages, heritage, etc.). But 1992 was also a time when the peoples of the then conquered regions elevated their voices in order to reclaim, publicly, their identities. The struggle had been there for a long time, it just attained a much powerful voice due to the centrality of the event for European interests.

Kate Manzo argues that the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa was a social movement that offered a counter-modernist discourse in the 1970s, precisely by questioning the traditional inferior/superior, black/white dichotomies. According to Manzo, Steve Biko – the leader of the BCM - argued that black people in South Africa were constantly being treated as children, perpetual pupils to the perpetual teachers that whites were presented as. Biko emphasised that the only way to overcome oppression in South Africa, not just for black but for all peoples in the country, was to cease to see white as the model and to re-evaluate African value systems, cultures, religions.[233] He was, indeed, making a call to revalue diversity.

The analysis of the significance and contribution of non-modern cultures has increased steadily in the last decades.[234] There is a growing awareness that Western culture is not the sole representative of knowledge and virtue. As Ashis Nandy put it, "It is now possible for some to combine

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[233] Manzo, Kate: Ibid. pp. 239-242. See also Biko, Steve: "I Write What I Like. *Selected Writings*", University of Chicago Press, 1978.
[234] The Zapatista movement in Mexico, which erupted in the international scene in January 1994, has played a major role in this respect.

fundamental social criticism with a defence of non-modern cultures and traditions. It is possible to speak of the plurality of critical traditions and of human rationality. At long last we seem to have recognised that neither is Descartes the last word on reason nor is Marx that on the critical spirit".[235]

Post-Development belongs to this tradition that reclaims diversity as one of the riches of humanity, as a "gift for the living together and the prosperity of all the peoples".[236] It believes that women, indigenous peoples, non-formally educated, active in the so called informal sector of the economy, the elderly, the young, the rural populations and the urban marginalised, the ethnic minorities, in summary all those representing diversity from the Western, male, scientific, technological, secular, rational, developed model, carry with them valuable ways of social organisation, of knowledge, of interpreting and constructing reality, of conceiving and implementing social change. This plurality of possibilities is not – and cannot be - valid for all cultures and all historical times. Diversity cuts horizontally as well as vertically and challenges individuals and communities to find answers that are relevant in time and space. The lack of already given responses, as it would be the case in a homogenised world, opens the door to creativity and innovation. Differences are perceived as stimulus, which convoke for dialogue and mutual learning.

Diversity means to recognise that "India is not non-West; it is India";[237] that the inhabitants of the low-income neighbourhood of Tepito in Mexico City are not poor, they are Tepitos; [238] that using donkeys as a means of transport is not backward but environmentally friendly; that bartering goods and services is not a desperate survival measure but an expression of an alternative, reciprocal, non-monetary economy.

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[235] Nandy, Ashis: Ibid. p. x.
[236] Menchú, Rigoberta: "El racismo y la discriminación. Vergüenzas para la humanidad", in ALAI-amlatina on line service: alai.ecuanex.net.ec, 21 March 2002.
[237] Nandy, Ashis: Ibid. p. 73.
[238] Esteva, Gustavo, in a talk given at the University of Bremen, Germany, in November 1993.

2.3. "Sufficiency revolution"

When after several decades of Development efforts the dominant world picture continues to be that of deepening inequality and increasing poverty, the old recipe prevails in order to respond to the needs of a growing population: increase production. Because in the last years the sustainability concept has reached mainstream Development discourse, the call for growth is done within the framework of a supposedly "environmentally friendly" type of production which will prioritise the use of renewable fuels combined with recycling practices and careful management. The assumptions behind are that, one, only through increased production can the demands of the world population towards a happy life be met, and two, that the environment can stand the demand, provided resources are used efficiently. To the concept of "efficiency" Wolfgang Sachs opposes the idea of "sufficiency". According to Sachs "there are some people in environmental circles who say that the spread of ecological efficiency could do it, that is only a matter of technological cleverness and sophistication. However, I certainly believe that sufficiency has to be opposed to efficiency or at least that's the other component. Because, in many ways, the question of how much is enough has to be asked. Efficiency is a word that comes out of a growth world, because once you are efficient you use what you gain as a new investment for a new growth. Sufficiency contains the other heritage. It asks what is right for me, what is good quality. If I have to put it in a formula, efficiency asks how to do things right. And sufficiency how to do the right things". [239]

The "sufficiency revolution"[240] Sachs refers to implies a deep transformation with respect to values, expectations, constructed ideas of how life ought to look like and how human needs are defined and satisfied. While

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[239] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

efficiency introduces the logic of the economy into the equation of human satisfaction, sufficiency challenges this logic prompting human beings and communities to define their needs and aspirations in non-economic terms. While efficiency relates to *homo economicus*, sufficiency relates to common man. Common man can draw satisfaction from other fellow human beings, from contemplation of nature, from creative work, from convivial relationships. Economic man, on the other hand, mainly draws satisfaction from the market.

It is important to distinguish between sufficiency and subsistence. While the first one implies satisfaction, the second one relates to a bare minimum below which survival cannot be guaranteed. In capitalist society, though, the concept of sufficiency is inadmissible because it questions the central idea of growth, for which constant production and consumption are essential. Jeremy Seabrook suggests that a more human life might lie, precisely, between the capitalist version of poverty and its version of plenty. He adds that "the erasure of the ground between bare survival and sufficiency has created our experience of oscillating between a debilitating poverty and an oppressive plenty which nevertheless always falls short of being enough".[241]

The post-Development approach believes precisely in the importance of recognising what is "enough" for our human satisfaction.[242] Ivan Illich says

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[240] See Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Need for the Home Perspective", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 298.

[241] Seabrook, Jeremy: Ibid. pp. 95-96.

[242] Carlin, John: "Imagine if everybody worked only to feed their families", in The Sunday Independent, South Africa, May 23, 1999, p. 16. He there included the following parable: "An American businessman is at the pier of a small coastal Mexican village when out of a small boat emerges a solitary fisherman. Inside the boat are several fish. The American compliments the Mexican on the quality and size of his fish. The Mexican says it has not taken him too long to catch the fish. To which the American replies: 'Why don't you stay out at sea longer so you can pull in a bigger haul?'. The Mexican says that the work he does is enough to support his family. Yes, says the American, but what do you do with all the spare time you have? 'I sleep late, fish a little, play with my children, take a siesta with my wife, Maria', the Mexican says. 'Each evening I sip wine and play guitar with my amigos. I have a full and busy life, senor'. The American is unimpressed. 'You should spend more time fishing and with the proceeds, buy a bigger boat. With the proceeds from the bigger boat you could buy several boats. Eventually you would have a fleet of fishing boats. You would control the product, processing and distribution. You would need to leave this small coastal fishing village and move to Mexico City, then Los Angeles and eventually New York, where

that "Enough is like a magic carpet; I experience more as a burden, a burden that during the twentieth century has become so heavy that we cannot pack it on our shoulders. We must load it into lorries that we have to buy and maintain".[243] The Western way of life has so profoundly affected the expectations of individuals in several cultures that any more austere proposal could be seen as a call for conforming oneself with a less satisfactory life. But the accumulation of goods and services has not proved to offer a happier condition to those who have access to them. The alternative is not to produce more, but on the contrary, to produce less recognising that this does not mean a compromise to reduce the quality of life but a new perspective to a fuller life with fewer commodities. As argued by Wolfgang Sachs, the challenge is to search "for a society...which is able not to want what it would be capable of providing…looking for forms of prosperity that would not require permanent growth. For the problem of poverty lies not in poverty but in wealth".[244]

The concept of sufficiency, as understood by post-Development writers, does therefore not only question established definitions of poverty (minimum income, poverty line, level of consumption of marketable products, etc.) but highlights the problems of over-Development. Industrial society is characterised by the over-production of dispensable goods designed and manufactured for transience. The ideas of permanence, endurance and rootedness in time are therefore absent. But it is from permanence, from the capacity to rediscover usefulness and virtues in already existing goods and means that sufficiency draws strength. And this poses a serious threat to the key idea of the Development discourse, that of unlimited, generalised growth.

you would run your expanding enterprise'. The Mexican fisherman wants to know how long all this will take. The American replies: 'Fifteen to 20 years'. 'And then?' the Mexican asks. 'That's the best part, the American laughs. 'When the time is right you sell your company stock to the public and become rich'. 'Then what, senor?', the Mexican asks. 'Then', the American explains, 'you retire. Move to a small coastal fishing village where you sleep late, fish a little, play with your kids, take a siesta with your wife, stroll to the village in the evenings where you can sip wine an play your guitar with your friends'".
[243] Illich, Ivan in conversation with Majid Rahnema: "Twenty-six Years Later", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 105.
[244] Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Need for the Home Perspective", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 299.

Growth is so central that in order to legitimise its continuity it has been reshaped under the oxymoron of "sustainable growth".

The concept of sufficiency also questions the centrality of the individualised way of satisfying needs characteristic of modernity. As Serge Latouche puts it, "modernity has legitimised, irreversible, the *individual* pursuit of happiness…The happiness of persons, if this is taken as an objective of a *society*, cannot be a simple addition of states of pleasure of all its members separately obtained, each to the detriment of the others…If the happiness of a society has a personal dimension, then personal happiness also has a collective dimension".[245] This dimension relates to the interdependence of human beings and with their environment. What might seem insufficient for a particular person or society in their pursuit to accumulate material things, turns into abundance when looked at it from the point of view of shared resources for collective wellbeing. But the individual satisfaction of wants that are artificially manufactured alongside with the product[246], fits into the picture of a stratified society where consumption elevates certain human beings to the category of the well-off, usually portrayed as models to be followed. John Stuart Mill, almost a century and a half ago, put it as follows: "I know not why it should be a matter of congratulation that persons who are already richer than anyone needs to be, should have doubled their means of consuming things which give little or no pleasure except as representative of wealth".[247]

In relation to the environment, while a way of life guided by sufficiency poses little demand on the Earth common resources, the quest for endless consumption leads towards their exhaustion. Quoting from Mahatma Gandhi, "Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's needs but not for every man's greed".[248]

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[245] Latouche, Serge: "In the Wake of the Affluent Society. An exploration of post-Development", Zed Books, London, 1993, p. 241.
[246] See Daly, Herman E. (editor): Ibid. p. 25.
[247] Quoted by Daly, Herman E.: Ibid. p. 15.
[248] Mahatma Gandhi: "The Quest for Simplicity. My idea of Swaraj" in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 306.

The idea of sufficiency strongly relates to Buddhism. E. F. Schumacher defines Buddhist economics as "the systematic study of how to attain given ends with the minimum means". He opposes this logic to that of modern economics for which consumption is the sole aim of economic activity. The former "tries to maximise human satisfactions by the optimal pattern of consumption, while the latter tries to maximise consumption by the optimal pattern of productive effort".[249] These two logics impact very differently in human activity as well as in nature. Sufficiency, in a way, brings out the wisdom of knowing what is enough and drawing satisfaction from it. On the other hand, constant consumption and production rely on permanent dissatisfaction. The first one acknowledges the specificity of cultures while the second ones tends to homogenise them under compulsory consumption of goods supposed to be universal and in the process destroying particular identities.

What emerges from this distinction is that, while modern economies are portrayed as promoters of individual choice and individual happiness, it is the idea of sufficiency which gives individuals and communities the opportunity to choose, to consciously decide what is in the best interest of their personal and community livelihoods, be it the type of houses they should live in, the food they should eat, the type of education they want to receive. The modern economy, on the other hand, has developed a standardised way of consumption for which the only option left for the consumers – provided they have the money to consume - is in which of the "no places"[250] are they going to acquire the products.

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[249] Schumacher, E. F.: "Buddhist Economics", in Daly, Herman E. (editor): Ibid. p. 142.

[250] See Zibechi, Raúl: "La revuelta juvenil de los 90. Las redes sociales en la gestación de una cultura alternativa", Editorial Nordan-Comunidad, Montevideo, 1997, p. 74. The author calls "no places" some of the major consumption temples of modern society such as shopping malls, supermarkets, etc. as well as to highways, airports, cars, ATMs. These are not places of identity that promote social relations or are anchored on common histories. They are provisional, ephemeral, meant to consume individually but surrounded by many other individualities equally under the

The decisions referred to in the former paragraph are those that individuals are able to take in aspects concerning their personal and community lives. But a great part of the decisions affecting people's lives are taken at the global level such as those in relation to trade, genetically modified seeds and environmental treaties. At this level, human beings can only influence decision-making processes if part of a strong civil society movement. It can be argued that sufficiency ideas tend to inform more individual and social choices than those taken at corporate level.

Development tends to be a discourse about improving the lives of the poor. It hardly makes references to changes for those considered to be developed. The concept of sufficiency, though, strongly challenges their life styles and introduces the discussion of improving the quality of life for humanity as a whole rather than just for those seen or described as underdeveloped. As pointed out by Wolfgang Sachs, "the search for justice has to start with changing the rich –not with changing the poor, as the development discourse implied. After all, the appropriation by 20 per cent of the world's population of 80 per cent of the world's resources makes marginalisation of the majority world inevitable. Turning the affluent into good global neighbours, therefore, requires building economies which weigh much less heavily on the planet and on other nations".[251]

2.4. Sustainability: sustaining life, not Development

The concept of sustainability is today inextricably associated with that of Development, and by extension, with that of growth. The idea of unlimited use of natural resources for industrialisation purposes, and in consequence, for the lifestyle associated with it, was made possible by the use of fossil reserves found deep under the surface of the earth. In the years called by Eric

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illusion of satisfying their needs given the "superabundance" those places supposedly offer.
[251] Sachs, Wolfgang: "Planet Dialectics. Explorations in Environment and Development", Zed Books, London, 1999, p. xii.

Hobsbawm "the Golden Age" (1950 to 1973) the consumption of fossil fuels (coal, oil, natural gas) increased steadily. This happened in the West as well in the Eastern Bloc which, even if ideologically apart, followed the same path of industrial Development. In some countries like the United States, the energy consumption tripled in that period, due in fact to the cheap price of oil. The pollution and ecological deterioration that resulted from the explosive economic growth of those years was barely noticed at the time and in fact it fitted within the dominant idea of progress which believed that "the growing domination of nature by man was the very nature of humanity's advance".[252] Science, therefore, was given the bulk of the responsibility for shaping human options inasfar as it invaded almost all spheres of human life through the technological revolution which characterised the 20th Century.

It was not until the 1970s that real concerns would emerge about the ecological consequences produced by the science-based technology which resulted in the global economic explosion characterised by unlimited growth and consumption.[253] Concepts to which ordinary human beings from the 1990s were very familiar with such as ozone holes and greenhouse effect, although present in the atmosphere for many decades, timidly started to be discussed in the 70s. Science was then called in, particularly in the last years of the 20th Century, in order not to question the model that was shaped in the 50s and 60s, but to make it sustainable. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, the dominant concept of sustainability has to do with sustaining Development itself, with sustaining growth. In fact, the documentation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg, 2002) defines sustainable Development as "social and economic Development within biophysical environmental constraints".[254] Within this discourse the

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[252] See Hobsbawm, Eric: "Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century. 1914-1991", Michael Joseph, London, 1994, pp. 261-262.

[253] Books concerned with unlimited growth such as "The Limits to Growth. A report for The Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind" and "Small is Beautiful" (Schumacher) are precisely from the early 70s.

[254] See for example Mail & Guardian: "World Summit 2002", March 22 to 27 2002, p. 1.

environment has become a risk factor to be taken into account, to be effectively and efficiently managed so that "business as usual" can continue for the present generation supposedly without compromising the chances for future ones. As formulated by the World Bank, "Sustainable Development is Development that lasts".[255]

Sustainability – of life, of the planet - on the contrary, does require an end in "business as usual", if understood as "not taking from the earth, from the world, from society, from each other, from life, more than we give back"[256]. And if science is to be called in one of its contributions could be, according to Wolfgang Sachs, towards the expansion of a post-fossil economy which "will have to be light in terms of resource use; its historical mission will be to provide welfare to people, using an ever decreasing amount of natural resources. As a consequence new standards of excellence for managers and engineers emerge, which will be measured by their ability to design production systems that create value out of a modest supply of nature".[257] The products resulting from such systems will have a minimum resource content, will be made with biodegradable materials, and their durability will be extended. This is just but an example of ways in which production can move into real ecological patterns.

It must be said, though, that these changes in production design are inextricably linked to the concept of sufficiency presented above. Sustainability is not just about changing production, but – mainly - about changing consumption. This requires a conscious effort for all human beings with respect to their relation to nature. Water consumption is a clear example of the direct relationship between human beings and nature. Most individuals and communities take water for granted and not only over-consume it but waste it. Re-establishing a relationship of "respect" towards water, of uses

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[255] Quoted by Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 81.
[256] Blackwell, Trevor and Seabrook, Jeremy: "Revolt Against Change: Towards a Conserving Radicalism", quoted by Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 380.
[257] Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 199.

characterised by the idea of sufficiency, would contribute to the sustainability of water much more than as many dams as engineers can design and built all over the world. This conscious relationship with nature also requires to become "selective consumers", to "discover the pleasure of systematically not pursuing options for buying".[258] Human groupings that rely on subsistence economies tend, naturally, to live more sustainable lives. It is not the market which determines their consumption patterns but their social reproductive needs.

2.5. Territoriality: "the shadow of the tree"

Spaces are not neutral, they are in fact culturally charged. Physical spaces are central for the constitution of a social actor and the conformation of identities. Anthropological places offer human beings the possibility of relating to, interacting and identifying with a particular history. They are places of memory.[259] According to Majid Rahnema "the overwhelming majority in the world still shape and satisfy their needs thanks to the network of human relationships they preserve within their vernacular spaces, and thanks to the many forms of solidarity, co-operation and reciprocity they develop within their communities".[260] This is so because at the local level there is an identity, a history, a territory and a social actor which constitutes itself in the interaction with others in a conscious pursuit of having an impact on the life of that particular territory. This last one is a specific and delimited space where a meaningful human activity takes place changing it and in turn changing the quality of life of those acting upon it. Human beings, in their local spaces, are not spectators of some far away designed fate but protagonist of their own proposals. They are in control of their own resources, they take decisions on the best use of them, they generate and control their own wealth

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[258] Ibid. p. 212.
[259] See Zibechi, Raul: Ibid. pp. 46-74.
[260] Rahnema, Majid: "Poverty", in Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Ibid. p. 168.

and determine their own understanding of wealth. They have a common project, or projects, for whose success or failure they feel responsible, or which they reformulate or abandon if other priorities arise, or if those projects cease to be relevant for their particular circumstances or desires.[261] The great transformation potential at the local level derives from the fact that communities – at that level - are in a position to define and prioritise their wants and needs. They have a direct link with reality without intermediaries and they can address the local problems as well as those resulting from global issues by using their own organisational resources searching for culturally relevant solutions.[262]

People acting at the local level might profit from knowledge coming from outside but are not dependent on it. Outside experts tend to give advice drawn from standardised solutions that are of a universal character. But, as argued by Schumacher, "The case for hope rests on the fact that ordinary people are often able to take a wider view, and a more 'humanistic' view, than is normally being taken by experts. The power of ordinary people, who today tend to feel utterly powerless, does not lie in starting new lines of action, but in placing their sympathy and support with minority groups which have already started".[263]

Looking at ordinary people acting at the local level on the one hand, and experts, usually representing the wider world, on the other hand, brings in the discussion local/global, parochial/universal. In the era of globalisation, some might argue, locality seems to have lost relevance. And the opposite argument would go that the only possible escape to globalisation is precisely to find refuge in local traditions. José Arocena questions this tendency to interpret human and social phenomena in terms of "either/or", and suggests to

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[261] See Arocena, José: "El desarrollo local. Un desafío contemporáneo", CLAEH, Montevideo, 1995, pp. 19-26. See also Sachs, Wolfgang: "One World", in Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Ibid. pp. 109-112.
[262] See Galilea O., Sergio: "La planificación local: nuevas orientaciones metodológicas", in Cuadernos del CLAEH no. 45-46, Montevideo, 1988, p. 128.

move towards "and". He argues that to think in terms of locality presents the challenge to be open to all the particularities of the local reality while at the same time have the capacity to analyse the ways in which it inscribes itself in the more global/universal reality.[264] In a similar line Wolfgang Sachs talks about "cosmopolitan localism" which "seeks to amplify the richness of a place while keeping in mind the rights of a multi-faceted world. It cherishes a particular place, yet at the same time knows about the relativity of all places".[265] And Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash, while emphasising the radical pluralism and unique cosmovision that local proposals carry with them, recognise the importance of coalitions and alliances, though affirming that in the coming together to oppose global forces, their strength derives precisely from their rootedness and understanding of their particular cultures. They make a distinction between being able to interact with others at the global level and "thinking globally". In fact, they argue that local thinking is the node that expresses the multiple possibilities that relate to the particularities of culture, rather than global thinking, which tends to express the dominant Western view. For them, "global proposals are necessarily parochial: they inevitably express the specific vision and interest of a small group of people, even when they are formulated in the interest of humanity". Local proposals, on the contrary, "conceived by communities rooted in specific places, reflect the *radical pluralism* of cultures and the unique *cosmovision* that defines every culture: an awareness of the place and responsibilities of human in the cosmos".[266]

Taking these two ways of thinking into agriculture it could be argued that global thinking would lead to cash crop production, that is, to rely on global markets, while local thinking would result in subsistence farming. In the case of housing, tall buildings for mass concentration on the outskirts of

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[263] Schumacher, E.F.: "Small is Beautiful. Economics as if People Mattered, Harper and Row, New York, 1973, p. 149.

[264] Arocena, José: Ibid. p. 33.

[265] Sachs, Wolfgang: "One World", Ibid. p. 113.

[266] See Esteva, Gustavo and Prakash, Madhu Suri: "From Global Thinking to Local Thinking", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. pp. 281-285.

overpopulated cities would result from the first perspective, while locally made homes with materials found in the locality, and to be built through community efforts would most probably result from the second one. Similar examples could be made with regards to food, health and education.

These two approaches can better be understood if looking at the differences between dwelling and the "hotelized" way of life. "To dwell is human", quotes Esteva from Ivan Illich, and goes on to say "the soil is not the carpet of pavement that we have thrown on all the ways of our modern cities, for the benefit of our cars. The soil to which we belong and that belongs to us is the concrete place where we can root our lives: through which we, in fact, can define our life itself". The hotelized life, according to Esteva, is the one lived by "global citizens", those temporary and rootless occupants who live like strangers to their places and to themselves, consumers of universal goods to be found independently of the seasons and the rains, claimants of a quality of life predetermined and independent of the land, the people and the culture that welcomes them.[267] For the global citizens there are trees. The dweller knows the shadow of a particular tree, full of memory and history.[268]

An important aspect to be taken into account when opposing locality to globality is that of responsibility. When acting at the local level, relationships are face to face and actions carry for those implementing them the "burden" of being in charge, of assuming the responsibility for their consequences. Zygmunt Bauman argues that one of the results of globalisation and particularly of its financial expression, with capital – and the decision making capacity associated with it - being able to move "free from territorial constrainst – the constraints of locality", is precisely that "whoever is free to run away from locality, is free to run away from the consequences". Bauman calls this tendency which has increased tremendously during the last quarter

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[267] Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Unpublished manuscript, 1993.
[268] Esteva, Gustavo, in a talk given at the University of Bremen, Germany, in November 1993.

of the 20th Century "the Great War of Independence from Space".[269] This independence releases capital and those sitting behind it and benefiting from it, from the need to negotiate, to come to agreements, to look for win/win situations rather than one sided benefits. The "faceless" option from globality frees those in charge from social and other commitments. Profit is the motive, and the impact that such pursuit has in those still anchored in territories is not a concern because they are also faceless, they only represent numbers, statistics, loses and gains.

Just as it was the case with the critique of modern society, it can be argued that the positive evaluation post-Development makes of territoriality refers to a constructed ideal type of community, be it rural or urban. The emphasis on roots assumes the universal benefit that remaining in one's own culture, neighbourhood or community provides human beings. The reality, though, is that many men and women, either voluntarily or due to financial and other constraints, move in search of greener pastures. Many do so looking for the solidarity, co-operation and reciprocity that Rahnema affirms characterise relationships within vernacular spaces. They do not find them in their places of origin and in many cases they discover them in the communities which receive them. In other cases, they move trying to avoid precisely the strong networks where the rules and traditions play a negative role in their personal Development. This is particularly true for women and youth in various traditional societies. In conclusion, it can be said that the value assigned to territoriality relates to a constructed ideal type that does not account for the complexity and contradictory nature of communities.

2.5.1. Re-linking production and consumption

I consume, therefore I exist, could be the defining statement of modern human beings, at least in our current time. Raymond Williams and Zygmunt Bauman

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[269] Bauman, Zygmunt: "Globalization. The Human Consequences", Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K., 1998, pp. 8-9.

argued, in books separated by almost twenty years, that being consumers is what is essential in understanding modern men and women.[270] It is not just that to consume is part of being, is that being is reduced to consumption. When Bauman argues that "ours is a consumer society" he explains that society is shaped, precisely, by the consumption patterns of its members. And consumption, in a society that has been reduced to its economic form and the economy is only perceived as the market economy, can only take place within the market. Therefore human beings are seen exclusively through their participation in the market and whatever happens outside it does not reflect in any way in statistics or analysis which show the "quality of life" of the world population.

To this logic post-Development opposes the idea of re-linking production and consumption, which in turn helps communities to recover their autonomy thus gaining independence from the market. The livelihood of rural communities all over the world is still largely dependent on what they produce and on what they can harvest from uncultivated sources (wild plants and fish, for example). When rural communities are forced to move into cash crop production as a means of earning income within the traditional Development approach, they become dependent on international markets (for demand and pricing, among other aspects) and at the same time damage the fertility of the soil and impact negatively on other natural resources. Being in control of one's own livelihood by becoming producer and consumer at the same time does not imply to produce everything necessary for the social reproduction of one's own community. It can be done through associations, networks, co-operatives and other associative structures.

In an interview with Wolfgang Sachs, I posed to him the question of how is it possible to re-link production and consumption at levels that are not those of subsistence agriculture or territorial networks. Sachs's reply related to energy production and consumption. He argued that the time for the use of fossil energy, found highly concentrated in few spots of the world, is over and

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[270] See Williams, Raymond: Ibid. p. 187 and Bauman, Zygmunt: Ibid. pp. 78-85.

the necessary move will be into a post fossil age characterised by the use of solar energy and bio-mass. Because they are both found in very diffuse and disperse ways and not at high condensed values "they do not just have the enormous possibility, but they are akin to be used in a very decentralised fashion". This allows, according to Sachs, "to bring producers, in our case now energy producers, as close as possible to consumers. Even so close that producers and consumers become identical. Anybody who puts a portable solar roof on his house, any farmer who goes for bio-mass generator, is at the same time a producer and a consumer".[271] This poses the question about the right distance between producer and consumer taking into account all the costs associated with centralised production such as transport, storage and conservation. It does not just relate to the example of energy but for goods in general. And in the case of foodstuffs an added concern arises with respect to nutritious value if considering the use of preservatives and other hazardous elements.

The call for re-linking production and consumption, therefore, goes beyond the satisfaction of daily requirements at the local level and introduces the debate into global issues such as energy.

2.6. Social movements

According to Arturo Escobar, achieving alternatives to Development can best be done "by building upon the practices of the social movements, especially those in the Third World. These movements are essential to the creation of alternative visions of democracy, economy and society".[272] It is interesting to note that social movements and the activist practices which characterise many of them are products of - and reinforce - modernity, at least if through their

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[271] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.
[272] Escobar, Arturo: "Imagining a post-Development Era", in Crush, Jonathan: Ibid. p. 212.

commitment to some of modernity's principles: social change, justice and the emancipation from poverty and oppression.[273]

If looking at the labour movement, the most important social movement during the 19th and the first half of the 20th Century, the three elements mentioned by Andre Berten as central in the defence of a project of modernity in the sense of Jurgen Habermas also apply: a positive evaluation, even if critical, of rationality and its progress; a deep trust in democracy; and the conviction that ethical issues (such as justice and liberty) are essential and susceptible to be discussed with arguments".[274]

Increasingly in the second half of the 20th Century new movements emerged with demands clearly distinguishable from those of the labour unions. Raúl Zibechi refers to the distinction between oppression (which happens at the cultural and social level) and exploitation (at the economic level). This distinction gave legitimacy to the revolts around issues of gender, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.[275] It was mainly during the 80s that an extensive literature was developed with respect to what become known as "new social movements", those whose actions had clearly gone beyond economic demands. Their existence results in – and at the same time is a consequence of - a significant social transformation which clearly distinguishes between an old and a new order, even if both can still overlap. "The 'old' is often yoked to analyses of modernisation or dependency; to politics centred around traditional actors like parties, vanguards and the working class who struggle for the control of the State; and to a view of society as composed of more or less immutable structures and class relations that only great changes (i.e. massive Development schemes or revolutionary upheavals) can alter in a significant way. The 'new', by contrast, is invoked in

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[273]Escobar, Arturo: "Culture, Economics and Politics in Latin American Social Movements Theory and Research", in Escobar, Arturo and Alvarez, Sonia E. (editors): "The Making of Social Movements in Latin America. Identity, Strategy and Democracy, Westview Press, Boulder, 1992, p. 68.

[274]Berten, Andre: "Modernidad y posmodernidad: ¿un asunto político?", in Cuadernos del CLAEH no. 56, Montevideo, 1991, p. 97.

[275] Zibechi, Raúl: Ibid. p. 40.

analyses based not on structures but on social actors; the promotion of democratic, egalitarian and participatory styles of politics; and the search not for grand structural transformations but rather for the construction of identities and greater autonomy through modifications in everyday practices and beliefs".[276] It is within this new order that the new social movements, such as those of women, environmentalists, peace activists and minorities, operate in a way substantially different from the classical mode of organisation and operation of the labour unions. Some of their central characteristics are:

- they are anti-modernist inasfar as they do not believe in a linear conception of history nor in progress understood as constant material growth;
- they reflect the aspirations of individuals and communities towards greater autonomy and less dependency on the state;
- they offer resistance against the bureaucratisation and economisation of their existence;
- they revalue social and cultural diversity;
- they constitute spaces for the articulation and creation of collective identities;
- they assign great importance to everyday life;
- they implement new modes of production and social reproduction through practices based on co-operation, reciprocity, solidarity and conviviality;
- their innovative social practices and political strategies are carriers of a new order for political and social relations as well as for socio-economic, cultural and political changes.[277]

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[276] Escobar, Arturo: "Imagining a post-Development Era", in Crush, Jonathan: Ibid. p. 217.
[277] See Zibechi, Raúl: Ibid.; Escobar, Arturo: "Culture, Economics and Politics in Latin American Social Movements Theory and Research", Ibid. and Escobar, Arturo and Alvarez, Sonia E. (editors): Ibid.

Looking at this list, the notion clearly emerges that the new social movements are not institutionalised practices within the framework of governments' or international agencies' programmes in order to respond to socio-economic needs through the implementation of Development projects. In fact, a central aspect of these movements is their self-perception in ways that question the traditional branding of those outside mainstream society as underdeveloped, marginalised, informal or maladjusted. They express diversity and multiplicity in ways that relate to what their realities are independently of constructed ideas of what they ought to be. The new social movements, be it women's organisations, ecological movements, human rights organisations, groups working for the rights of minorities, for those of gays and lesbians, youth movements, etc. do not have as their major aim to increase their participation in consumption. It can be argued that their right to live differently is at the centre of their concerns inasfar as the belief will go, once that is achieved responses and satisfaction will consequently come in other areas.

If, taking the example of the indigenous peoples of Latin America, it is not the equal participation in the dominant socio-economic model what is at stake in their struggles. What is central for them is "to open or consolidate ample spaces of autonomy in which to develop their languages and communities and reproduce their traditional ways of life".[278] It is very significant that everyday life has acquired a political dimension within the practices of social movements. "Everyday life involves a collective act of creation", resulting in the fact that social movements are "the work that society performs upon itself".[279] This implies the view of individuals and organisations as social actors rather than consumers, which is the case in

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[278] Zibechi, Raúl: Ibid. p. 45. See also footnote 8 in the same page, where the author wrote: "it is not by chance that the Subcomandante Marcos, asked about his opinion on the aspect of the Zapatista struggle which he considers more important, answered: 'The political and administrative autonomy of the indigenous regions'".

[279] Alain Touraine in "The Return of the Actor" (1988), quoted by Escobar, Arturo: "Culture, Economics and Politics in Latin American Social Movements Theory and Research", in Escobar, Arturo and Alvarez, Sonia E. (editors): Ibid. p. 71.

Western society. They are clearly not the only social actors and interact with others who might be seen as having more power or decision making capacity in areas that impact on society as a whole. But, following Foucault, "where there is power there is resistance" and this one in turn is a form of power if understood from the perspective of their interrelationship. Power, therefore, does not lie exclusively in a particular, focalised point, but is exercised from several points.[280] The way in which social movements exercise power, and in the process redefine the understanding of it outside traditional power structures (such as the State, political parties, funding organisations and financial institutions) puts them in a privileged position to reconnect civil society and the broader political institutional framework. As mentioned by Alvarez and Escobar "our case studies also document the important role of social movements in 'democratising' both authoritarian and nominally democratic regimes".[281] Their major contribution in this respect is to question the idea that changes can only happen by taking control of state power. In the first place because, as stated by Wolfgang Sachs "the state is a contested terrain like any other. There are different administrations, different interests. And even communities for a long time have developed some skills to play that and use one against the other".[282] And secondly because state power has a logic of its own which is dominant and homogenises society under it, while the creative practices of social movements under a variety of logics relative to their particular identities allows for transformations on the ground that sooner or later impact on other groups, structures and practices of society at large.

By being social actors – and perceiving themselves as such - social movements are in a position to reinterpret and redefine dominant value systems. One of them is "the process of needs interpretation and satisfaction…clearly and inextricably linked to the Development

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[280] Michel Foucault in "Historia de la Sexualidad" (1996), cited by Zibechi, Raul: Ibid. pp. 60-61.

[281] Alvarez, Sonia E. and Escobar, Arturo: "Conclusion: Theoretical and Political Horizons of Change in Contemporary Latin American Social Movements", in Escobar, Arturo and Alvarez, Sonia E. (editors): Ibid. p. 326.

[282] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

apparatus".[283] The fact that their common elements tend to be cultural rather than economic permeates social movements' understanding of the concept of needs. From a developmental point of view needs can only be satisfied through marketable products. Post-Development, on the other hand, tends to coincide with the perspective of social movements if considering what was argued before, that is, that their right to live differently is at the centre of their concerns. In the same light can the following statement from Wolfgang Sachs be understood: "In the first place people strive for meaning. It is not for having or for being technically better off. People, in the first place, want to live out stories they feel good with, they feel challenged by, they feel protected by. So you can say people are in the first place spiritual beings, you could say cultural beings".[284]

The centrality of culture – rather than economics - in the constitution and life of social movements plays a role in intensifying an independent and autonomous life style where the respective identities are more determinant in the definition of wants and satisfactions than the pressure of the markets. It allows them to look for ways of interaction (within the movements and with society at large) anchored in their ancestral or specific practices and beliefs rather than in the dominant ones. And it also frees them from the pressure of achieving material, measurable results, because, as stated by Eduardo Canel "social movements represent more than whatever their organisational forms and limited demands may express: they are fluid processes of constituting new actors and are constantly undergoing transformations".[285] It is not efficiency but sufficiency, in its broad sense, which guides them.

If we go back to Escobar's assertion that achieving alternatives to Development can best be done by building upon the practices of the social movements, some reasons can be advanced in order to conclude that his

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[283] Escobar, Arturo: "Imagining a post-Development Era", in Crush, Jonathan: Ibid. p. 225.

[284] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

[285] Canel, Eduardo: "Democratization and the Decline of Urban Social Movements in Uruguay: A Political-Institutional Account", in Escobar, Arturo and Alvarez, Sonia E. (editors): Ibid. p. 287.

assertion is right: social movements can be perceived as spaces where social actors constitute themselves and in their everyday lives already build the elements for a new society with respect to production, distribution, education, health, etc.; their mode of organisation does not imitate that of mainstream society (hierarchical and centralised) but innovates in ways that promote horizontallity, equal participation, direct democratic processes (in opposition to representational democracy); they rely on reciprocity, local capacities, indigenous knowledge; they are independent from the State and political parties and this allows them to have autonomous criteria with respect to multiple areas of their individual and collective lives; they are subjects, with a history and a will, with their own language of desire and culture.[286]

It is important to mention, though, that social movements are products of particular societies and they reflect their contradictions and shortcomings. Therefore one should note that there are also "difficult" social movements such as those of militant religions, separatists, criminal networks, among others.

The positive aspects of social movements reflect the good residing in the society at large. As any other structure of society they are at risk of incorporating negative tendencies, particularly the one of reproducing themselves for the mere sake of their existence, even after achieving the objectives which originally convoked them. If this happens, their spontaneity, independence and autonomy can disappear and they become integrated into mainstream modes of operation. Their ability, therefore, to promote or implement alternatives to Development depends on their wisdom to remain loyal to themselves and to their purposes; on recognising that their existence is circumstantial and that their power does not lie in their continuity but in the relevancy of their practices – and their styles - for the aims of those who have convoked them.

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[286] Some of the ideas of this section are discussed by Zibechi, Raúl in "Poder y Representación: ese estado que llevamos dentro", Unpublished manuscript, 2001.

2.7. Anti-capitalism/Anti-Development

Post-Development is clearly an anti-capitalist discourse. As such it opposes Development as one of the key instruments for the expansion of the capitalist model. Development programmes, on the one hand, are put in practice to compensate for social inequalities resulting from the application of the capitalist mode of production, that is, of market forces operating for the benefit of capital. On the other hand, nevertheless, these programmes do not only promote the very same capitalist mode as the model to be followed, but are conditioned for the release of funds and other type of support to the implementation of a free market economy.

Capitalism operates within a growth and accumulation paradigm. According to a Marxist economic point of view, to accumulate capital the capitalist depends on surplus value. In the capitalist system, workers provide surplus labour over and above the equivalent of what they are paid for their work. The difference, that is the surplus value, goes to the capitalist. But this one must operate in a market dominated by the law of competition, which usually requires a reduction in prices for being able to grab a bigger portion of the market. This is done through a reduction in the cost of production by increasing the commodities produced in the same time. The increase in production is achieved by improving equipment, rationalising production, carrying to a higher level the division of labour for which in increase in capital in necessary. According to Ernest Mandel, "the increase in capital can come, in the last analysis, only from an increase in the surplus-value capitalised. Under the lash of competition, the capitalist mode of production thus becomes the first mode of production in the history of mankind the essential aim of which appears to be *unlimited increase in production*, constant accumulation of capital by the capitalisation of the surplus-value produced in the course of production itself".[287] The physical capacity of the workers as well as their demands through organised labour brought about some changes in the way

capitalists increase their surplus-value. This increase results now "essentially from *growth in the productivity of labour* thanks to the employment of new machinery, more rational methods of work, a more advanced division of labour, a better way of organising labour, etc.".[288] Currently, in the era of automation, the use of labour has reached a minimum, while production continues to increase.

Even if post-Development cannot be categorised as a Marxist approach to capitalism it is possible to say that this logic of production and accumulation which is a landmark of the capitalist system is being criticised by post-Development. Growth and accumulation through permanent increased production on the side of the capitalist requires, on the other end, a permanent increased consumption for which a feeling of permanent dissatisfaction is needed. Consumption becomes a leitmotiv which, although not necessarily providing a better quality of life for the consumer, does assure the capitalist the continuing accumulation.

There are innumerable social consequences as a result of this logic such as unemployment and underemployment, work under exploitative conditions, health problems, depressions, breaking down of family and community ties, uncontrolled urbanisation, destruction of rural societies, social violence, malnutrition, child prostitution and homelessness. These negative social phenomena result from the search of the capitalist promise of reaching happiness through consumption. But this promise is false and destructive. False, because as already stated, the continuous production and selling of new goods for the benefit of capital demands a permanent feeling of dissatisfaction that is inherent to the capitalist system. And is is destructive, because if the whole of mankind were to consume at the level of the populations of the highly industrialised countries, the resources of the Earth could not stand the demand. Nevertheless the message is powerful and attractive to millions of human beings who pursue a dream that is not theirs.

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[287] Mandel, Ernest: "Marxist Economic Theory", Merlin Press, London, 1977, p. 133.
[288] Ibid. p. 137.

By the same account, growth as an end in itself as seen by the capitalist system does not necessarily imply better social life conditions. On the contrary, it might increase existing inequalities. According to Samir Amin "disparities in the distribution of income are acute everywhere in the Third World…, and tend to be worst in those countries with the most pronounced growth".[289]

Post-Development denounces the fallacy of the capitalist promise, even if recognising its attractiveness for many as well as the dependency many others already have in this mode of life. But it claims the right to support and encourage those searching for alternatives outside this model. The following quote from Prakash and Esteva illustrates this position: "We know very well that education for jobs, like the family car and flush toilets, is felt as a basic need for many millions. They cannot survive, or have the good life as they understand it, if that need is not satisfied by the Market or the State. They cannot conceive their own way of living without the consumption of goods and services now defining their survival kits. We are not arguing that they be deprived of their 'rights' to satisfy their 'needs'. All we are emphasising is our solidarity with the millions saying 'No, thanks' to all those 'needs' and 'rights' –thus rejecting the universality of Development and education".[290]

Post-Development questions capitalism, and Development as one of its tools, as a universally valid model to be imposed on all humanity. It is set to offer alternatives to those marginalised, either by choice or fate. This position should not be seen as an effort to overcome capitalism through the definition of a political strategy. It is much more a current of thought, which offers values, statements and concrete practices that stand in opposition to those traditionally promoted by capitalism.[291]

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[289] Amin, Samir: "Empire of Chaos", Monthly Review Press, New York, 1992, p. 39.
[290] Prakash, Madhu Suri and Esteva, Gustavo: "Escaping Education. Living as Learning within Grassroots Cultures", Peter Lang, New York, 1998, p. 28.
[291] An analysis with respect to the relationship between post-Development and Marxism/Socialism as well as post-modernism can be found in Chapter 3.

Many of the concepts discussed above can be found in early works of Ivan Illich. In his famous book "Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution", Illich called for "research on alternatives to the products that dominate the market", for a "counterresearch on fundamental alternatives to current prepackaged solutions". He recognised that the "difficulties of such research are obvious. The researcher must first of all doubt what is obvious to every eye. Second, he must persuade those who have the power of decision to act against their own short-run interest…And finally, he must survive as an individual in a world he is attempting to change fundamentally so that his fellows among the privileged minority see him as a destroyer of the very ground on which all of us stand".[292]

The books[293] and other publications associated with post-Development can clearly be seen as resulting from research done in line with that call.

3. Criticisms of post-Development and possible answers

As stated at the beginning of this Chapter, the major criticisms of post-Development can be summarised as: reductionism of Development; lack of recognition of the desire of people to access Development; romanticising of local traditions; and failure to articulate clear alternatives. Possible answers from the point of view of post-Development will be presented in this section.

3.1. Reductionism of Development

One of the critics of post-Development, Jan Nederveen Pieterse, argues that one of its weaknesses is that is simplifies mainstream Development "as a single, homogenous thrust toward modernisation and its diversity, complexity

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[292] Illich, Ivan: "Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution", Marion Boyars, London, 1971, pp. 172-173.
[293] Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Ibid.; Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: "The post-Development Reader", Ibid.

and adaptability are underestimated". He also refers to the constant changes in mainstream Development through co-option of alternatives emerging from alternative Development and that this capacity has also not been perceived by post-Development writers.[294]

In conversation with Wolfgang Sachs in February 2002[295] I asked for his comments on this particular criticism to which he replied that Development can mean anything, from putting up skyscrapers to putting up latrines. He then introduced the distinction between Development, with a capital D, and developments with a small d. The first one means, according to Sachs, "the global track towards economic growth for everybody", and the second one "basically means ways of improving, enhancing, the various local, regional, even national situations". While the first one can be equated with growth, the second one can be equated with empowerment. Development is top down, developments are bottom up. The various readings of post-Development literature suggest that it is Development with a capital D - whether perceived as mainstream or alternative - that is being criticised. That type of Development cannot show diversity, complexity or adaptability. It is a civilisatory project with historical roots, with global institutions in place in order to implement it, and with an ideology that has made the world value it and long for it, independently of its real effects and consequences. Rather than contesting the meaning, the understanding of a concept that for over fifty years has survived all academic and popular debates and has overwhelmingly retained its original purpose and mission, post-Development writers have opted to help to clarify this particular meaning and to encourage a move beyond it. It is not a matter of reducing Development by arbitrarily choosing some of its characteristics and leaving others outside. On the contrary, it is a matter of looking at its broad character for which its particularities – some of which might be diverse, complex and adaptable - are not essential.

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[294] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development", Ibid. pp. 347-349.
[295] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

"Development is white sugar"[296], argues Claude Alvares, and that value system will remain even if women are brought massively into the sugar mills, or if peasants can participate in discussing management styles, or if more sustainable methods are looked for in order to process the sugar. *Gur*[297] is out. And so are the lifestyles, the modes of organisation and production, the cultural beliefs it represents. Development comes in with a power that exceeds its particularities and transforms reality for good according to Western standards. It is therefore not a reductionism of Development which makes post-Development writers talk about the need to move beyond it, but the certainty that no substantive alternatives can be exercised within its framework.

3.2. Lack of recognition of the desire of people to access Development

In an address to the Heads of State at the Summit of Mercosur (Common Market of the South) in Ushuaia, Argentina, on 24 July 1998, the then President of South Africa Nelson Mandela said: "Common contexts led us both – in the Southern part of Africa and in the Southern Cone of Latin America – to establish and build regional associations informed by a commitment to democracy; by the imperatives of *Development* in a rapidly globalising world economy; and by the recognition that peace and security are dependent on *Development*, social equity and proper environmental

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[296] Alvares, Claude: "Science", in Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Ibid. p. 224.
[297] *Gur* is another form of sugar "mostly manufactured in open furnaces, using agricultural waste, timber or bagasse. The extraction of sugar cane juice is not as high as in the big industry process. The final product also does not keep well beyond a certain period. However, no pollution results from the production process: neither the Earth nor its atmosphere is damaged". While white sugar "is dangerous to health for a number of reasons long tested and proven…nothing but empty calories…*gur,* on the other hand, is a food. It contains not merely sugar, but iron and important vitamins and minerals". (Alvares, Claude: Ibid. pp. 223-224).

management in the context of the goal of *sustainable Development*".[298] Similar words, and similar emphasis on the importance of Development which appears three times in the small paragraph, could have come from many leaders in various parts of the world. Less than a year later Juan José Bentancor, a trade union leader from Uruguay, said in a radio interview that what the workers were trying to get from Mercosur was "Development with social justice".[299] Bentancor's statement could have been formulated by workers from any part of the world. Because what workers and political leaders seem to agree on is that what the world needs, at least the Third World, is Development. It can be added without hesitation that such formulation would be shared by millions of people all over the world.

Are post-Development authors failing to see this widespread expectation and unable to recognise the aspirations of people for Development? I posed the question to Wolfgang Sachs who referred again to the distinction between Development and developments, adding: "Lots of misunderstandings come because once you speak about the end of Development people feel that their desire for doing something or improving something, for getting out of stagnation, or giving people hope or dignity, is being frustrated. That's not the point of view". He said that he does "not recognise the aspirations of people to become like those in Cape Town or in the States or having the last colour television around them". The problem is, he added, that very often the aspirations of people are not couched well by Development terms. For instance, "for many powerless groups the point is to get some more bargaining power, to get water rights or land rights. You can call them Development, but only because Development is everything". So, in order to be able to truly express what you want and what you need you have to move away from it, "because as long as you speak about Development, about

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[298] Mills, Greg and Mutschler, Claudia (editors): "Exploring South-South Dialogue. Mercosur in Latin America and SADC in Southern Africa", South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Johannesburg, 1999, p. v. The italics are mine.

[299] "Los reclamos de los trabajadores ante un nuevo 1º de mayo", Interview with Juan José Bentancor and Ismael Fuentes, in Radio El Espectador www.espectador.com.uy, 30 April, 1999.

the empty shell, you are prevented from figuring out what it means for us, here in our terms, to be better off and to have some of our aspirations fulfilled".[300]

According to Sachs's reply post-Development does not underestimate the claim people might have on Development. What it does, rather, is to pursue ways in which they can formulate their aspirations independently of Development. Work, homes, clean air and water, autonomy, cultural rights and many other expectations from human beings and communities can be seen as Development inasfar as they relate to hopes for a better life. But if formulated within the Development discourse, using Development terms, they are destined to fit into an already existing framework which does not recognise anything that falls out of predetermined patterns. It therefore transmogrifies the original expectations into compatible ones that will fit Development's already existing criteria. As a consequence efforts would be made to achieve formal education rather than learning; a family car, rather than transport; skyscrapers, rather than homes; frozen foods, rather than "comida"[301]; hospitals rather than hospitality.

Post-Development thinking argues that Development has robbed human beings of the possibility of expressing their needs and wants, imposing on them the needs and wants of capitalist society for which only the market can offer satisfaction. When individuals and communities all over the world say we need Development, what do they really mean? It can be agreed, probably, that they want better lives. But again, what does this mean? What does a better life mean for a rural pensioner living in one of South Africa's former homelands? And what is its meananing for an indigenous woman in Chiapas? What still, for a single mother living in a one-room shack with several children in Montevideo? Development seems to have an answer for all of them. Post-Development wants to encourage each of them, as individuals and as communities, to find their own answers. And, if going back to

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[300] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

Schumacher's quote about minority groups which have already started taking a wiser view (with respect to agriculture), and to the variety of actions implemented by social movements in various parts of the world, it can be concluded that they are, already, finding their answers even if they are not final and everlasting. This affirmation leads to the next criticism, that of romantic and nostalgic value given to communities and local traditions by post-Development.

3.3. Romanticising of local traditions

Many authors have questioned the emphasis put by post-Development writers on local traditions perceived as an uncritical romantic celebration. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, for example, wrote the following: "To post-Development there are romantic and nostalgic strands: reverence for community, *Gemeinschaft*, the traditional…There is a strand of equating of poverty with purity and the indigenous and local with the original and authentic".[302]

The various readings of post-Development authors suggest that Nederveen Pieterse's statement is true with respect to the value that these authors ascribe to local practices and traditions. Nanda Shrestha says for example that "the indigenous economic systems and values were generally self-reliant and self-sufficient, sustainable and far less destructive of humanity as well as nature".[303] Majid Rahnema in turn argues that those seen as "underdeveloped", "had traditions that were well rooted in their society, traditions that enabled them to set up systems of governance and economic abadi, often quite suitable to their needs".[304] Still another example, quoting from Hassan Zaoual, "the human essence of African endogenous economies is

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[301] In "Beyond Progress and Development" Gustavo Esteva argues that there is no English word for "comida". See page 48 of this thesis (footnote 75).

[302] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: Ibid. p. 361.

[303] Shrestha, Nanda: "Becoming a Development Category", in Crush, Jonathan: Ibid. p. 276.

[304] Rahnema, Majid: "Signpost for *post-Development*", in ReVision, Spring 97, Vol. 19 Issue 4, p. 4-9.

not found on limitless production and accumulation, but on redistribution within the framework of the cohesion of the group and the whole of society".[305] Those, and many other statements, confirm that post-Development writers do assign values and particular significance to those practices. Does it mean then, that they are making a call to go back to such practices and that others should join in?

Gustavo Esteva says that what communities whose lives are rooted in particular traditions and territories are proposing "is not stepping in history: a return to tradition. It rather implies returning from the future".[306] According to Esteva, for the traditional man "past is destiny", which is not the belief of these communities. They do value particular traditions and want to preserve them, but not as the only and sole guide of their present and future lives. He adds, though, that these communities are not escaping either towards the past or the future. What they are doing is creating opportunities for the present.[307] Majid Rahnema argues that when they make references to societies belonging to other times and spaces "it should not be interpreted as a call for returning to the past".[308] And Wolfgang Sachs establishes the distinction between holding traditions, habits and old ways of life in high regard and romanticising them. He adds that the ways of life of any community one is to look at "are changing in any case, be it under pressure from outside, be it under need from the inside. So romanticising them would imply to fix them in time, to want to preserve them, to idealise them. I do not think that even Gustavo (Esteva), who is probably the one who is closest to that, is proposing such a thing. And I would go even further. If somebody says, you are romanticising the past or

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[305] Zaoual, Hassan: "The Economy and Symbolic Sites of Africa", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 34.

[306] Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Unpublished manuscript, 1993, pp. 14.

[307] See http://sunsite.queensu.ca/memorypalace/kitchen/Estevao1/: Gustavo Esteva on the new commons. Downloaded 2002.04.22.

[308] Rahnema, Majid: "Signpost for *post-Development*", Ibid.

local traditions, I would argue this is rather an old fashioned and boring objection which comes from the ideologues of progress".[309]

What are, then, post-Development writers proposing with respect to local and indigenous practices and traditions? It can be argued that a first consideration is the fact that these practices and traditions exist in their own right; are unique and particular to the peoples, communities, villages and neighbourhoods which practice them; they express their value systems, memories and histories; they are a result of the interaction between certain human groups and their territories. A second consideration is that they are also capable of offering satisfaction and wellbeing to those who practice them. As Rahnema argues, "I only want to suggest that vernacular or pre-industrial societies were far from being incapable of healing their colonial wounds or of reorganising themselves when confronted with the new needs of modern life. And they did not have to consider themselves underdeveloped in order to regenerate their full living capacities".[310]

The need to ascribe value to local and indigenous traditions can be interpreted as a response to the fact that they had been ignored or despised by Development. For Development to take place, Underdevelopment had to be created. And Underdevelopment cannot be but the result of practices and traditions that have remained anchored in the past and have not joined the era of progress and growth. As President Truman stated in his message in 1949 referring to more than half the people of the world, "their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas".[311] In the Development discourse communities, peoples and nations are charged with responsibility for their backwardness, for their lagging behind, for their state of not having reached the potential they were supposed to have

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[309] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

[310] Rahnema, Majid: Ibid.

[311] President Truman's Point Four Message, in Rist, Gilbert: "The History of Development. From Western Origins to Global Faith", Zed Books, London and New York, 1997, Appendix I, p. 249.

reached. And this has happened as a result of their ways of doing things which are not up to standard with the Western, modern, civilised way of doing them. It is for this reason that those already developed need to intervene in order to make "the benefits of our science and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas".[312] Once the end of the journey has been defined, the road needs to be shown, and for that what is required is the knowledge and professional expertise that has already worked for Western society. If, on the contrary, one were to assume that there are multiple journeys with open ends, there would be an abundance of roads and the relevant ones would be chosen in respect of each particular journey. Proclaiming the value of local traditions is assuming the existence of various possible journeys, even those we do not know because they result from different cultures, worldviews and histories.

The Development discourse includes experts and authorities because it assumes it already knows and this knowledge is universally applicable. Post-Development, on the contrary, makes a call "to be open and always attentive to the world and to all other humans…Attentive implies the art of listening, in the broadest sense of the word, being sensitive to what is, observing things as they are, free from any preconceived judgement, and not as one would like them to be, and believing that every person's experience or insight is a potential source of learning".[313]

This statement suggests that post-Development does not romanticise local and indigenous practices. What it does, rather, is to claim their right to exist, to be valued, to be considered relevant and able to respond to the realities of particular communities and even to suggest alternatives to others. It does not want to fix them in time, but allow them to evolve in their own way and at their own path. Change is inevitable, but the direction of change is open and cannot be predetermined as it is the case within Development.

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[312] Ibid.
[313] Rahnema, Majid: Ibid.

The high regard in which post-Development holds many local practices relates also to the fact that, in a world challenged by environmental degradation, the majority of those perceived by mainstream society as poor, tend to be "careful guardians of resources and ecosystems". This is so because "the poor depend on soil fertility, fish from lakes and estuaries, plants for medicine, branches from forests, and animals for subsistence and cash, they have a very down-to-earth incentive for conserving their resource base".[314] This integrated lifestyle is exemplary for others in the sense that a healthy relationship with their environment becomes the condition for their survival.

Returning to the criticism that post-Development tends to romanticise local traditions, it can be said that in their effort to respond to the trend of mainstream Development discourse to disregard indigenous and local practices, post-Development writers have not shown their heterogeneity and contradictions. They have emphasised the positive aspects failing to account for a full description that should also include various negative trends and realities. This shortcoming, though, does not confirm the statement that they have equated "poverty with purity and the indigenous and the local with the original and authentic". What it does is to present a partial analysis, which might need to be complemented for a broader understanding.

3.4. Failure to articulate clear alternatives.

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the inability – or lack of interest - of post-Development writers to translate critique into construction is one of the shortcomings highlighted by other authors. In the following paragraphs I will try to include some possible answers to this criticism, and in fact some examples of concrete alternatives suggested by post-Development. But I

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[314] Heinrich Boell Foundation: The Jo'burg Memo. Fairness in a Fragile World. Memorandum for the World Summit on Sustainable Development", Heinrich Boell Foundation, April 2002, p. 25. The co-ordinator and editor of the Memorandum, and who drafted large parts of it, was Wolfgang Sachs, one of the main writers of post-Development.

would like, previously, to make some comments on the criticism itself. Nederveen Pieterse wrote the following: "Sachs is a reasonable refresher course in critiques of Development. A common-sense reaction may be, your points are well taken, now what do we do? The response of, for instance, Gilbert Rist is that alternatives are not his affair. The trend in several sources is to stop at critique. What to do? Emery Roe's response, in a discussion of sustainable Development as a form of alternative managerialism, is: 'Nothing'. What this means is an endorsement of the status quo and in effect, more of the same, and this is the core weakness of post-Development".[315]

Why is Gilbert Rist being criticised for saying alternatives are not his affair? In the Introduction to his book "The History of Development" Rist argues that "its aim is not to add one more theory to all the others formulated so far but, rather, to scrutinise the aura of self-evidence surrounding a concept which is supposed to command universal acceptance".[316] Rist and other authors considered to be post-Development theorists have contributed enormously to the understanding of the Development discourse from a very radical perspective. One could argue that, even if there were no alternatives proposed, that has been their contribution to the debate. That, in fact, post-Development is a form of critique and its justification derives precisely from highlighting Development's internal contradictions. But one could also argue that the way in which they have formulated their criticism offers in itself alternatives, only that they are not presented as such. As Gustavo Esteva formulated it, "the virtues I want to speak about, which may be at the centre of the topology of the mind beyond Development, can be affirmed, in our time, only after a radical opening to surprise".[317] To be open to surprise means to accept that one does not know, that there are no predetermined ways, that one has to be attentive to the multiple possibilities and have the wisdom to learn from them. That is why, in a series of talks Gustavo Esteva gave at the

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[315] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: Ibid. p. 365.
[316] Rist, Gilbert: Ibid. p. 1-2.
[317] Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Unpublished manuscript, 1993, p. 14.

Universities of Oldenburg and Bremen in Germany in 1993 he introduced himself as an "itinerant storyteller". He was not proposing alternatives, he was sharing life stories. But from those stories the audience could draw some insights in order to explore, be open, be sensitive, to other ways of doing things. Thus alternative practices and reflective spaces were generated.

In the same light, in a text written already in 1971, Ivan Illich suggested that the search for alternatives lied in questioning what is obvious to the eye and the broadly accepted solutions, arguing that it is easier to talk about alternatives than to formulate them with precision. He added: "It is not my purpose either to paint a Utopia or to engage in scripting scenarios for an alternative future. We must be satisfied with examples indicating simple directions that research should take. Some such examples have already been given. Buses are alternative to a multitude of private cars. Vehicles designed for slow transportation on rough terrain are alternatives to standard trucks. Safe water is an alternative to high-priced surgery. Medical workers are an alternative to doctors and nurses. Community food storage is an alternative to expensive kitchen equipment. Other alternatives could be discussed by the dozen…".[318] Ivan Illich's statement reinforces the idea that alternatives are happening; they do not need to be created. If going back to the section on some of the central positions of post-Development, some of these alternatives can be found there: in the discussion of sufficiency, sustainability, re-embedding the economy into society, the practices of new social movements, etc.

Wolfgang Sachs argues that post-Development writers have made concrete alternative proposals and in his particular case he referred to the book "Greening the North. A Post-Industrial Blueprint for Ecology and Equity".[319] According to Sachs, this book came out of a larger project on how to make

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[318] Illich, Ivan: "Development as Planned Poverty", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: Ibid. p. 99.
[319] Sachs, Wolfgang, Loske, Reinhard, Linz, Manfred, et al: "Greening the North. A Post-Industrial Blueprint for Ecology and Equity", Zed Books, London and New York, 1998.

Germany sustainable and the answers offered by the book are alternatives that are relevant not for every country in the world but for Germany. He sees it as a complement to "The Development Dictionary" which "had lots of diagnosis but little alternatives while this last book is purely alternatives with little diagnosis".[320] The book includes a long list of concrete proposals to make Germany sustainable, which entail changes in established paradigms. It also proposes guidelines for a transition from the current modes of production and consumption to the alternative ones. The proposals go from renewable energy sources, ecological tax reform, slower speeds and shorter distances, to the shared use of electrical appliances. It emphasises regionalism, rather than parasitical cities; rural diversity, rather than monoculture; organic cycles, rather than intensive linear production; healthy food, rather than the processing industry; regional farmer's market, rather than global supermarkets. And it proposes fair trade, instead of free trade, among many other suggestions.

Sachs also mentioned other post-Development writers who have contributed concrete alternatives. Claude Alvares, for example, is the director of the Goa Foundation, an Indian organisation committed to protecting the Goan environment and the Goan quality of life. It was set up as an independent, research-based group that would concentrate on studies relating to the Goan ecosystem. For the last ten years the Foundation has filed dozens of public interest litigation cases on a wide range of issues including protection of beaches and forests, pollution control, wildlife protection, aquaculture, mining and implementation of environmental laws.[321] And Gustavo Esteva, according to Sachs, "has done nothing else than making communities the centre of their own change and not seeing them as an object of benevolent intervention by some Development experts for changes imposed from the outside".[322]

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[320] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.
[321] See website for the Goa Foundation: www.goacom.com/goafoundation/
[322] Ibid.

The Heinrich Boell Foundation Memorandum for the World Summit on Sustainable Development includes a series of concrete proposals related to the environment which are clearly associated to post-Development.[323] Some of them are, for example, that as far as poverty derives from a lack of power rather than a lack of money, poverty alleviation calls for "a basic rights strategy rather than a basic needs strategy". That "poverty alleviation cannot be separated from wealth alleviation" and that such a process requires, among other things, bringing down the demands of the global consumer classes on natural resources, that they move towards resource-light patterns of production and consumption and that they make a fundamental shift from fossil energy into solar energy. It also suggests that people move into a new understanding of wealth calling for a shift in business strategy "from the sale of hardware to the sale of services", so as to produce less goods. In that way, "they will sell results rather than things, satisfaction rather than engines, fans or plastic". But looking at wealth differently also means re-valuing other forms of wealth such as friendship and beauty. Above all, the call is to cherish well-being rather than well-having".[324]

When other authors criticise post-Development for the inability to translate critique into construction, it can be argued that what they are expecting is a reformulation of Development, alternative proposals that can be measured and compared, new ways of implementing projects so that the quality of life can be improved and statistics able to reflect those improvements. But post-Development is about going "beyond" Development, is about doing things in different ways, is about referring to life, and dreams and hopes in words that are not Development terms. The novelty of post-Development lies precisely in the fact that it breaks away not just from traditional Development practices but from its structure, its worldview, its framework. It challenges the reader to accept uncertainties and be creative in order to see new/old/rediscovered possibilities as they evolve. Alternatives

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[323] Heinrich Boell Foundation: Ibid.
[324] Ibid. See pages 21, 22, 35, 36, 37.

can be told easier than formulated, as argued by Illich, and they can be lived easier than written down into a replicable formula. This does not deny the importance of systematising the practices of those seen as carriers of some form of response to the old question of how to make life a happier and more enjoyable endeavour. But it does challenge the way to do it: from which background, which worldview, using what language? Only questioning some of these categories that precede Development can the post-Development "proposals" be understood.

It is important to add that post-Development seems to position itself strategically outside the level of the State as a site of action. It therefore does not address political problems and does not, in consequence, offer solutions at that level.

4. Post-Development and other theories

In an unpublished manuscript from 1993 Gustavo Esteva refers to conversations that several authors (later to be associated with post-Development) held at Ivan Illich's house in Ocotepec, Mexico, on "After Development, What?" The first of those conversations took place in 1987. The concerns that informed that discussion and the ones that followed over the years (which materialised in "The Development Dictionary") emerged in a particular historical time, a time that they perceived as the end of an era because "the principal illusions that underpinned it have become exhausted". They were convinced that the Development era was over and asked themselves: "where are we then? What is to be beyond Development?"[325] They were certainly not the only ones who in the late 80s and beginning of the 90s were talking of fundamental civilisatory changes, of falling paradigms, of uncertainties that were challenging humanity and to which the old ways of interpreting the world seemed to have fallen short of explanations. The end of

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[325] Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Unpublished manuscript, 1993, p. 10.

the Cold War was a major event of the time and it brought with it discussions around the world on many other ends: of socialism, at least of "real existing socialism", of ideologies, even of history.[326] A renowned historian, Eric Hobsbawm, published a book in 1994 on the history of the 20th Century closing it already in 1991.[327] The feeling of the end of an era was clearly widespread.

The events – and the interpretation of events - that shaped those years clearly had an impact on what later became known as post-Development. In the following sections I will try to analyse its relationship with post-modernism, which became a significant interpretation of world events at the time. I will also look at Socialism taking into account the clear anti-capitalist stance of post-Development and the fact that the political (and ideological) opposition that Socialism represented during several decades became weaker towards the end of the century. One thesis to explore is whether civil society (and post-Development as part of it) replaced it in its opposition or reclaimed some of its old postulates that were being discredited by the self-proclaimed victory of the Western way of life. Links between post-Development and religion will also be explored in this section due to coincidences found in many of the readings with respect to the promotion of values and of certain lifestyles. It is important to take into account that religion also acquired a new dimension at the end of the 20th Century in part due to the end of certainties mentioned before and an arising need of replacing them with new ones.

4.1. Post-modernism and some coincidences with post-Development

Post-modernism is a debatable term being used in different contexts and ascribing to it different meanings. It is not the objective of this work to analyse the different approaches to it, which vary greatly among various ideological schools. Its introduction in this section responds to coincidences it

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[326] See Fukuyama, Francis: "The End of History?", The National Interest, Summer 1989.

seems to present with post-Development. There is a relationship between the two due to the change in the intellectual climate in the 80s and 90s that allowed for significant thinking outside the dominant discourses of modernity. It is within this context that post-modernism is important for this work in order to better understand the context in which post-Development emerged. The references to post-modernism, therefore, do not pretend to exhaust a debate that exceeds by large the intentions of this work.

The prefix "post" (after, behind, beyond) seems to indicate that post-modernism is what comes after modernism assuming therefore the end of modernism or at least of some of its defining characteristics. But there are some authors like Daniel Bell and Gilles Lipovetsky who argued that post-modernism also means "the arrival of an extremist culture that takes the logic of modernism to its most extreme limits".[328] However for Jean-Francois Lyotard post-modernism is not the end of modernism but a new type of relationship with it.[329] What is clear is that post-modernism can only be understood in its relationship (marked sometimes by opposition and sometimes by continuity) with modernity. Essential characteristics of modernity are: the belief in lineal progress, in rationality, in democracy; the conviction that there is one universal truth which explains the world and that it can be known through reason; the rupture or breaking away from traditions and particularities in the name of universality and for the purpose of change, of revolution, of progress; it has an impulse towards the future and it is optimistic about it based on the unquestionable faith on science and technology; it believes in vanguards, in discipline, in secularism; it promotes

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[327] Hobsbawm, Eric: Ibid.

[328] Lipovetsky, Gilles: "La era del vacío. Ensayos sobre el individualismo contemporáneo", Anagrama, Barcelona, 1986, p. 105. In his analysis of modernism and postmodernism Lipovetsky makes many references to the works of Daniel Bell.

[329] Cited by Berten, Andre: "Modernidad y posmodernidad: ¿un asunto político?", Ibid. p. 97.

consumerism and individualism.[330] Post-modernism clearly moves away from some of these characteristics but it also strengthens others.

According to the Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo what is fundamental about post-modernism is that it questions the idea of truth understood not just as an adequate proposition about facts but as an hermeneutic activity, that is, as a way of interpretation subject to historical conditions. For him, post-modernism dismantles the supposed validity of all universal truths opening the way for plurality, tolerance and aspiration for social emancipation. Vattimo also argues that the term "modern" is normative because modernity is the time when "being modern" is the supreme value. This is so because of the belief in a lineal evolution according to which the value closest to the end is the most perfect. But post-modernism also does away with this and it cannot be normative because it is based on the concept that there is no predetermined, perfectionist evolution of history. For Vattimo there are no more objective, absolute criteria universally valid; what we have today is a society with multiple cultures and value systems where human beings must opt building their interpretations which do not need to be persuasive but acceptable from a rational point of view.[331]

According to Jean-Francois Lyotard post-modern describes the current condition of knowledge in the most highly developed societies and the transformations it experienced in science, literature and the arts over several decades. He places these transformations within the context of the crisis of narratives. According to Lyotard, modern sciences have a discourse of legitimation in relation to some grand narrative perceived as "truth". He then proceeds to define post-modernism, "simplifying to the extremes", "as incredulity toward metanarratives". In that way, postmodern knowledge

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[330] See Berten, Andre: Ibid. p. 97; Lipovetsky, Gilles: Ibid. pp. 9-10, 105-106; Sans, María Isabel: "La posmodernidad o la época de los superados", in Sarthou, Hoenir, Agostino, Ana, Sans, María Isabel: "deGeneraciones", Editorial Nordan-Comunidad, Montevideo, 1995, p. 113.

[331] Benitez Pezzolano, Hebert: "Los caminos de la posmodernidad", Interview with Gianni Vattimo, El País Cultural, Año XI, No. 522, November 5, 1999, Montevideo, Uruguay, p. 10.

"refines our sensitivity to differences and reinforces our ability to tolerate the incommensurable".[332]

Gilles Lipovetsky, in turn, argues that one of the ways post-modernism should be understood is as the "rehabilitation of what has been rejected by modernism: tradition, the local, ornamentation". Post-modernism revalues simple life, it questions the ideas of centralisation and of truth, it legitimises the affirmation of personal identities and therefore the equal right to citizenship and social recognition, and it proclaims the end of impositions in a coercive and lasting way opposing to it the idea that all options, all views can coexist without contradiction. Lipovetsky agrees with Lyotard and Vattimo that central to post-modernism is the questioning of a universal truth, which he formulates as the "denunciation of the imperialism of truth". In this denunciation though, modernism is not excluded. In fact, according to Lipovetsky, post-modernism opposes to the exclusiveness of modernity an inclusiveness so broad that even some of the values of modernity can find a place.[333]

If looking at some of the ideas presented above as central to post-modernism, clear parallels can be established with post-Development. The questioning of a universal truth is of paramount importance taking into account the universal pretensions of the Development discourse. Equally important are the abandonment of the idea of progress and of a predetermined evolution of history. This opens the way to proclaim the existence of various interpretations of reality, of the value of multiple ways of life, and of the possibility to determining people's/communities' own future with independence from pre-established models. What it clearly means in the context of the Development discourse is that the Western, techno-scientific, market oriented way of social organisation is but one of the existing possible ways and that it should not be imposed on others because it does not carry any superior value. Once this is accepted, the local and the traditional do not need

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[332] Lyotard, Jean-Francois: "The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge", University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1988, pp. xxiv-xxv.

to be re-valued; they just take up again their place in the multiplicity of expressions that constitute the diversity of life. As a result money economy cannot be seen as "the" economy any more, but one form of economic activity relevant to particular communities or societies but lacking significance for others; scientific knowledge, following the same logic, is but one way of knowing reality, there are others; even broadly accepted definitions of terms such as poverty, education, democracy, and many others are open to interpretation because, as Gianni Vattimo argues, "the existence is basically interpretation".[334]

Post-Development relates to post-modernism in this fundamental breaking away from the belief in one and superior way of doing things, in the proclamation that diversity should be opposed to standardisation, in the view of multiplicity as a value rather than a challenge for disciplinarian action. Gustavo Esteva argues, in fact, that with the exception of the lifestyle of a tiny minority, the majority of the people in the world "have started to be postmodern". This is so because "they have already experienced modernity in their own villages or in the cities where they have settled. But they have been actively opposing the economic standardisation of their lives".[335] It is then by shaping their lives according to their own values, beliefs, traditions and practices that they are questioning the validity of modernity to respond to their particular needs and wants, which in the process are also redefined.

As argued earlier, though, post-modernism questions some fundamental characteristics from modernity but it also strengthens others, such as individualism and consumerism. If taking the logic of the impossibility of a universal truth to its extremes, the only reliable source of knowledge left is that of personal subjectivity. In consequence, the modern practices of subordinating the individual to collective rational rules, to eliminate preferences and singular expressions under homogenous and

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[333] See Lipovetsky, Gilles: Ibid. pp. 11, 115, 121.
[334] Benitez Pezzolano, Hebert: Ibid. p. 10.
[335] Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Unpublished manuscript, 1993, p. 52.

universal laws, social conventions, moral imperatives and even under the democratic centralism of the revolutionary party has been replaced by the ideal of personal fulfilment, by the respect to singular subjectivity, by the legitimisation of pleasure, and by the reorganisation of institutions under individual aspirations. Lipovetsky summarises these trends with the expression "process of personalisation". He argues that through this process, the individualistic logic that for a long time was limited to the economic, political and knowledge spheres, has reached ordinary life. He concludes that "to live freely without repression, to fully choose each one's mode of existence: this is the most significant social and cultural event from our time, the most legitimate aspiration and right to the eyes of our contemporaries".[336] Consumption is what fully defines this aspiration. Daniel Bell argues in fact that hedonism – and consumerism as its expression – are the epicentre of both, modernism and post-modernism.[337] Consumption gave modern human beings the chance to show their acceptance to social change, to personal transformation, but without realising that mass consumption operated as a sophisticated form of control by modern powers. It can therefore be perceived as a contradiction of post-modernism the proclamation of the individual and his/her right to integral fulfilment as the central value and at the same time the promotion of consumerism as a way to achieve it when in fact it tends to strengthen their dependency and homogenisation. This contradiction can be better understood if looking at the concept of authenticity, as discussed by Charles Taylor, rather than at individualism. Taylor questions the value conferred to choice itself as an expression of constitution from authenticity. To assume that all options are equally worthy (from McDonald's menu to sexual orientation) is to deny "the existence of a pre-existing horizon of significance, whereby some things are worthwhile and others less so, and still others not at all, quite anterior to choice". So becoming authentic cannot be proclaimed because of the free choice exercised among a variety of brands

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[336] Lipovetsky, Gilles: Ibid. pp. 5-8.
[337] Cited by Lipovetsky, Gilles: Ibid. p. 106.

offered in the market. According to Taylor, "I can define my identity only against the background of things that matter… Only if I exist in a world in which history, or the demands of nature, or the needs of my fellow human beings, or the duties of citizenship, or the call of God, or something else of this order *matters* crucially, can I define an identity for myself that is not trivial. Authenticity is not the enemy of demands that emanate from beyond the self; it supposes such demands".[338] Taylor's concept of authenticity seems to rely on the existence of values that precede the individual and give sense to his/her existence. It is a concept that emphasises the dialogical character of identity. The individual is not any more at the centre, or the centre of each individual can only be defined in relation to significant others and to demands that transcend individual self-fulfilment.[339] It can be argued that this concept does not dispute some of the central postulates of post-modernism such as questioning the validity of universal truth and promoting diversity. What it does, though, is to introduce a reference against which background particular truths can be realised. From the point of view of post-Development, questioning the universal pretension of Development (or progress, or industrialisation, or growth) does not mean to accept the validity of all and every value system. If looking at the discussion on central positions of post-Development it is clear that certain values (and not others) underlie them. In the section dedicated to religion this aspect will be looked at with more detail.

To conclude then, it can be argued that post-Development reflects to some extent practices and beliefs that have been characterised as representative of a post-modern era, though it takes distance from others. This is due, in part, to the contradictory character of post-modernism that represents a radical break away from modernism and, at the very same time, the continuation and/or strengthening of some of its defining characteristics.

4.2. Socialism

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[338] Taylor, Charles: "The Ethics of Authenticity", Ibid. pp. 38-41.
[339] Ibid. p. 35.

The introduction of Socialism in this chapter responds to a practical relationship between the two traditions. It can be argued that after the political changes in the former Eastern Bloc many active socialists found their new militancy space within practices of civil society, some of them associated with the ideas and proposals put forward by post-Development writers. Gustavo Esteva, for example, is an advisor to the Zapatista movement in Mexico, a movement that cannot be called socialist, but that clearly has socialist roots. The political changes resulting from the end of the Cold War moved many former political initiatives to a new sphere where cultural and social practices took precedence over political demands. These new practices did not substitute political struggles. What they did was to generate new spaces that had coincidences with traditional political ones in their relationship to certain values, ideas and word views.

Post-Development coincides with Socialism in its anti-capitalist stance. But unlike Socialism, it is not an ideological current pursuing political transformation or the overtaking of state power. The coincidence is about a fundamental belief in the injustice of the capitalist system and in its inability to promote happiness for all human beings. For many decades socialist ideas where at the centre of the opposition to global capitalism. After the end of the Cold War, and increasingly so in the last years of the nineties, it can be argued that a new anti-globalisation movement took centre stage in that opposition. Socialist ideas, to a large extent, remain part of this movement, which has coincidences with post-Development.[340]

One of Karl Marx's greater contributions to the socialist ideology is the radical criticism of the bourgeois society and its political and economic liberalism. He opposed to it an interpretation of history and of human nature that saw man originally as a "social being". He criticised the capitalist view of a society based on private ownership of the means of production, which

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[340] The coincidences between post-Development and the anti-globalisation movement will be analysed in the next chapter.

allowed for the exploitation of human labour and the appropriation of the surplus-value. This exploitation is possible precisely because liberalism assumes the existence of isolated individuals who interact with nature without social intermediation. These opposing views, isolated individuals vis-à-vis individuals understood as social beings, determine different approaches to society, economy and politics. To private property for liberalism corresponds the social property of the means of production in socialism. To a concept of society constituted by isolated individuals interacting within the market or in the framework of a legal order resulting from a social contract corresponds the idea of social beings who cannot be understood outside a particular society which is historically determined. This society, according to Marx, is formed by the State and civil society, which in turn is constituted by conflicting social classes resulting from the relationships of production and the private appropriation of the means of production. The State, in capitalist societies, tends to represent the interest of the dominant class (the bourgeoisie) and the domination of the other classes (mainly the proletariats). Therefore, moving towards a socialist society requires that the proletariats becomes the dominant class.[341] This extremely brief reference to one of the central ideas of socialism serves to illustrate some coincidences with post-Development: the concept of social beings in opposition to isolated individuals who, for capitalism, are entitled to their full satisfaction independently of the social good. Seeing human beings as social beings results in the search for a collective wellbeing which intends to overcome injustices associated with the exploitation of one class by another. Through the changes in the relationships of production, socialism is supposed to reach equality of opportunities, and at the same time give a sense of dignity to the workers inasfar as they recover control over their own work and this is performed for the benefit of the community at large.[342]

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[341] See Argumedo, Alcira: "Los Silencios y las Voces en América Latina. Notas sobre el pensamiento nacional y popular, Ediciones del Pensamiento Nacional, Buenos Aires, 1993, pp. 101-109.

[342] See Gutiérrez, Gustavo: "Teología de la Liberación. Perspectivas", Verdad e Imagen, Salamanca, 1985, p. 158.

From here derives a commitment to values such as justice and solidarity. Capitalism, and its paradigmatic expression, the market, stands in opposition to these values. E. F. Schumacher has argued that the market could be seen as "the institutionalisation of individualism and non-responsibility".[343]

Post-Development relates to socialism in the opposition to these anti-values that capitalism represents: to profit as motif rather than social utility; to the pursuit of technological advancement in order to improve capitalist benefits rather than create better working conditions; to unlimited competition to increase profits rather than co-operation; to the promotion of individual success through material accumulation, among some of the predominant characteristics of the capitalist mode of production.[344]

4.3. Religion

Most theories concerned with the wellbeing of human beings relate, in one way or another, to religious concepts. Many official and theological documents from various denominations refer explicitly to Development. A clear example is the Encyclical Letter from Pope Paul VI, "Populorum Progressio"[345], which central theme is precisely Development. Another document, also from the Catholic Church though representing a particular and contested view, also includes a chapter on "Liberation and Development". It was written by Gustavo Gutiérrez and is called "A Theology of Liberation".[346] The relationship between religion and Development arises from the fact that, as Gutiérrez argues, the term Development has come to summarise human beings' aspirations for a more humane life. And that religion is about the

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[343] Schumacher, E.F.: "Small is Beautiful. Economics as if People Mattered", Ibid. p. 42.
[344] See Einstein, Albert: "¿Por qué el socialismo?" in Castells, Manuel et al: "Capitalismo, mundialización, socialismo", Editorial Izquierda Hoy, Montevideo, 2001, pp. 14-15.
[345] Populorum Progressio, Carta Encíclica de su Santidad el Papa Pablo VI, Sobre el Desarrollo de los Pueblos, Ediciones Paulinas, Madrid, 1967.
[346]Gutiérrez, Gustavo: Ibid.

construction of a just society even if through the intermediation of a relationship with God.[347]

Religions contain particular value systems that prescribe and guide followers' behaviour. They give orientation and meaning to people's lives. They give a sense of purpose and of transcendence. These values therefore impact on people's expectations, on their own conduct and on the one they expect from others, on their willingness to do certain things and their rejection to do others. Values explain individual and collective behaviours that are not based on a logical rationale but on the belief of higher concepts that precede them and for which no rational explanation is needed. They are God's teaching and faith is confident to believe in them or, if outside religion, they belong to a horizon of significance equally normative if it pre-exists human beings who have come to relate to it in their search for meaning and transcendence.[348] The intention of this section is to look at some of the values central to certain religious denominations and look at their relationship with post-Development. It is important to mention that some specific religious traditions relate to post-Development while others do not. If looking at the Catholic Church, clear parallels can be established with Liberation Theology while probably none will be found with the Opus Dei, a rightist movement within the Catholic Church. The vastness of religious traditions makes it impossible to try to relate post-Development to all of them. The reason for including religion, though, lies in the fact that values seem to play a major role in post-Development discourse. By looking at their religious background an effort is made to better understand the sources and origins of that discourse.

4.3.1. Economy, Transcendence and post-Development

According to Wolfgang Sachs, "people are in the first place spiritual beings, you could say cultural beings", and what concerns them above everything else

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[347] Ibid. pp. 45, 158.

is the search for meaning, "not for having or for being technically better off".[349] This logic comes into opposition with the capitalist one where human beings are in the first place consumers, where no intrinsic value is assigned to their existence and where this one can only be reflected through their participation in the market. Transcendence does not form part of economic analysis while it is central to every religious perspective. It is important to mention, though, that spirituality, per se, is not a guarantee of goodness or the opposition of evil. Spirituality, as a manifestation of human existence, carries with it the contradictions that characterise human beings and their practices. Taking this limitation into account, it can be argued that post-Development seems to put an emphasis on the search for meaning mentioned by Sachs, and in the process it distances itself from traditional economic analysis dominant in the Development discourse. As a result, it makes proposals for change that can be related to religious values.

4.3.1.1. The concept of Social Capital

With the introduction of the concept of social capital, economics as a social science seemed to have made an effort to de-economise the otherwise one-sided analysis of society that, as mentioned before, dominate the Development discourse and its strong economic tradition. According to Harris and de Renzio, "since 1993, social capital has become one of the key terms of the Development lexicon, adopted enthusiastically by international organisations, national governments and NGOs alike".[350] The origins of the concept can be found in the works of James Coleman at the University of Chicago where he seek to demonstrate that "individual attainment is affected by family or other aspects of the micro-social environment, readily interpreted as (individual

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[348] See Taylor, Charles: Ibid. pp. 38-41 and Schumacher, E. F.: "A Guide for the Perplexed", Ibid. pp. 21-24.

[349] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

[350] Cited by Fine, Ben in "The Developmental State is Dead – Long Live Social Capital?", in "Development and Change", Vol. 30, 1999, p. 4.

possession) of social capital".[351] Ben Fine argues that the next major step in the evolution on the concept came with Robert Putnam. Following Putnam's analysis, social capital is conformed by the level of trust among social actors in a particular society, the civic norms followed and the level of association which characterises it.[352] The emphasis is on networks, at greater or lesser levels of formality, and the implications that these networks have in the performance of the individuals and societies at large.

In a seminar organised by the Society for International Development (SID) in Montevideo, Uruguay, on New Approaches to the Concept of Development[353], Bernardo Kliksberg, Co-ordinator of the Latin American Institute for Social Development, made a presentation on Social Capital and Culture and their relationship to Development. Drawing precisely from the concept of social capital, he emphasised the need to add new variables to the economic analysis, particularly concepts such as co-operation, trust, ethnicity, identity, community, friendship, among others.[354] The idea of social capital, on its own, seems to break away from an economic logic because it introduces references to values, cultural norms, networks, relationships, etc. The importance of these elements derives, though, from the fact that high levels of social capital are supposed to impact positively on the economic performance of a particular society. To use the words of Putnam himself, "social capital is coming to be seen as a vital ingredient in economic Development around the world. Scores of studies of rural Development have shown that a vigorous network of indigenous grassroots associations can be as essential to growth as physical investment, appropriate technology, or … getting prices right".[355] That is to say, the non-economic considerations introduced by the concept of

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[351] Ibid. p. 5.
[352] Cited by Kliksberg, Bernardo: "Capital social y cultura: claves olvidadas del desarrollo". Paper presented at: Society for International Development (SID), Uruguay Chapter, "Jornadas sobre el desarrollo de las economías del Mercosur. Nuevas aproximaciones al concepto de desarrollo", Montevideo, Uruguay, 24 April 2000, p. 10.
[353] Society for International Development (SID), Uruguay Chapter: Ibid.
[354] Kliksberg, Bernardo: Ibid.
[355] Quoted by Fine, Ben: Ibid. p. 7.

social capital are brought in for the maximisation of the economic principle of growth. The economic logic, therefore, remains.

4.3.1.2. A theological view

At the abovementioned seminar the economist Elena Lasida gave a commentary on Kliksberg's paper. According to Lasida, Kliksberg's proposal was about adding non-economic variables to a logic that remained essentially economic. In fact, social capital is but another form of "capital", that is to say, another factor of production. Her counter-argument was then that the economic logic itself needed to be reformulated and for that she proposed that the economy could be assisted by theology. Lasida emphasised that the mere inclusion of values such as solidarity, co-operation and mutual responsibility remain as recommendations of a moral order which is "outside" the economy, even if they can help counteract some of the perverse effects of the logic of the markets. But, her argument continued, with the assistance of theology it is possible to think in moral and ethical terms from *within* the economic logic. Theology, in fact, is not the only discipline which can integrate its analysis with economics.[356]

It can be argued, following the preceding debate, that references to certain values in post-Development occur within the logic proposed by Lasida, not as a way to complement models that need to be improved but from a *sui generis* perspective which is different from the Development discourse and also different from religion. While social capital adds (social and cultural considerations) reinforcing the economic and developmental logic, post-Development does not want to add to or change the Development discourse

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[356] Lasida, Elena: "Comentario a las ponencias de Bernardo Kliksberg y Monseñor Diarmuid Martin" at: Society for International Development (SID), Uruguay Chapter: Ibid. Elena Lasida is Doctor on Economics from the University of Paris, and wrote her thesis on: "Economic Figures of Transcendence. Study on the logic of the market and the logic of the sacred".

because it is a different proposal strategically engaged outside of Development. It also does not want to borrow values from religion doctrines in order to improve its own proposal. Values are already integrated and form part of post-Development because they form part of human beings, of society, of reality at large. As argued by Wolfgang Sachs, "there is no dichotomy between values and reality. Values are fused into the reality and reality is fused into values".[357] As a consequence, some of the concepts central to post-Development that can be perceived as values are but part of a way of doing things, of living, which express possibilities already practised by concrete human beings and communities. Some of these ideas, and how they relate to religion, follow.

4.3.2. Sufficiency, solidarity and community

The notion of *sufficiency*, discussed earlier at length, is a value promoted by most religions. It opposes the idea of constant growth and consumption central to the Development discourse. Schumacher quotes from St Ignatius Loyola "that man ought to make use of them (things on the face of the earth) just so far as they help him to attain his end, and that he ought to withdraw himself from them just so far as they hinder him".[358] Christianity in fact believes in the need to orient oneself towards the spirit of poverty,[359] which in no way means deprivation or dissatisfaction. Analysing the biblical meaning of poverty, Gustavo Gutiérrez makes the distinction between (a) poverty as an scandalous state that denies human dignity and therefore is contrary to God's will (this poverty relates to conditions of exploitation and injustice), (b) spiritual poverty understood as full willingness to open oneself to the Lord (the opposition to an attitude of pride, of self-sufficiency, and (c) poverty as solidarity and protest. Gutiérrez sees in this form of poverty a synthesis of the

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[357] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.
[358] Quoted by Schumacher, E. F.: "The Age of Plenty: A Christian View", in Daly, Herman E: Ibid. p. 128.
[359] See Populorum Progressio, Ibid. pp. 16-17; see also Mathew, 5, 3.

other two. Christian poverty is an act of love and liberation through the commitment and solidarity with the poor so that they overcome the scandalous material poverty, and this is done in testimony of the spiritual poverty that allows human beings to open themselves to God. The ideal of poverty from this point of view is a call for justice.[360]

For Buddhism the key concept is simplicity from which the idea of attaining maximum wellbeing from minimal consumption derives.[361] Satisfaction, for religion, comes from following superior values that go beyond the individual. It does not depend on material wellbeing but on spiritual wellbeing. The dependency on material goods for happiness is a clear result of the industrial revolution, the overproduction of dispensable products made to be seen as indispensable, and particularly of the revolution in credit which made it possible to consume them not just for the wealthy but for the middle classes who found their ascension in society precisely through consumption. The search for happiness became consumption and consumption became insatiable in the search for happiness. In a similar manner, Christianity sees in this obsession with "having" an obstacle for personal and collective growth, for the full Development of qualities that make the greatness of human beings in their mutual relationship and care.[362] Moving away from sufficiency implies, necessarily, moving away from solidarity.

Solidarity, like many other terms, is broadly used and it might have different meanings for different people in different contexts. The Jesuits Jon Sobrino and Juan Hernández Pico analysed at length the concept of Christian solidarity.[363] Sobrino argues that solidarity is the way in which Christians and Christian churches relate to each other; it is a concept and a practice of Christian life for which the reference to "the other" is essential, in order to

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[360] Gutiérrez, Gustavo: Ibid. pp. 369-386.
[361] See Schumacher, E. F.: "Buddhist Economics", in Daly, Herman E: Ibid. p. 141.
[362] See for example Populorum Pregressio, Ibid. p. 16.
[363] Sobrino, Jon. SJ and Hernández Pico, Juan. SJ: "Teología de la Solidaridad Cristiana", Instituto Histórico Centroamericano, Centro Ecuménico Antonio Valdivieso, Managua, Nicaragua, 1983.

give as well as to receive, at the human as well as at the theological level; in order to see in the other the ethic demand for responsibility as well as to find in that other the gratuity. It is therefore the Christian way of overcoming personal or collective individualism at the level of faith but also at the level of history. And it is in the discovery of the reality of the poor that solidarity has its origins, questioning the extent to which humanity can be perceived as a unit and modern Western man perceived as "the" man. The unveiling of the reality of the poor results in an urgent call for co-responsibility among human beings. Sobrino argues further that answering to the suffering of the poor is an ethical demand, but it is also a salvation practice for those who act in solidarity with them. Those who do it recover the deep meaning of their own lives which they thought was lost; they recover the dignity of being human integrating themselves in the pain and suffering of the poor; they receive from the poor new eyes to see the truth and new encouragement to face unknown and dangerous paths. Those who act in solidarity with the poor feel that they have to reply with thank you, for something new and better they have received. This donation that comes from the poor can be seen as the mediation of the gratuity of God. In helping the poor one receives from them the meaning for one's own life. In that way, that help becomes solidarity, giving and receiving, a relationship of mutual support.[364]

This concept of solidarity links in many ways with ideas that seem to be central to post-Development. The co-responsibility among human beings relates to conviviality, which makes a call to rely on each other rather than on the markets and to acknowledge residing capacities on every person that are beneficial for the community at large. It puts the emphasis on relationships of reciprocity rather than on dependency, questioning in fact the possibility of "giving" without an involvement that transforms the giver in receiver and vice versa and in the process restores full humanity to both. Sobrino questions the traditional approach of missionary work as an expression of generosity from

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[364] Sobrino, Jon. SJ; "Conllevarse mutuamente en la fe", in Sobrino, Jon. SJ and Hernández Pico, Juan. SJ: Ibid. pp. 15-22.

those who have to those who have not. He argues that the introduction of the idea of solidarity breaks this logic by revealing the fact that those who go on mission will also be evangelised by the receiving churches and peoples. As a result, the "poor" will send them back on mission to their originally sending churches introducing circularity in the mission work. This results from the particular knowledge that the poor have and that shows the missionary his or her own "non-knowledge". "The poor person is the one that historically makes relative and even contradicts what the missionary who comes from countries of abundance thinks he/she already knows about God; but if he/she accepts that relativity and contradiction he/she will know God better".[365] Traditional missionary work can be associated with Development; and the solidarity that breaks that logic with post-Development ideas of diversity, of rootedness, of reciprocity. Traditional missionaries were (and are) sent to teach the poor, to show them the way (into heaven but also on Earth), to help them overcome the burden of their pagan beliefs and practices, to assist them to replace them by the truth of Christianity and modernity. Solidarity, from a Christian perspective as elaborated by Sobrino, demands a different approach because it is rooted in the belief of the intrinsic value of each human, it acknowledges that the fulfilment of every person depends on the fulfilment of the other, that it is in our mutual dependency that our humanity is constituted, that wisdom resides in all human beings but that we are closer to it when we discover the revelation in those who seem to have nothing to offer but whose knowledge will lead us closer to God. Solidarity breaks the logic of outside intervention and replaces it with living together, it does not talk any more of transfer of knowledge but of mutual discovery and it is not guided by instrumental reason but by love.

In a presentation about Globalisation and the challenges it posed to popular education, José Luis Rebellato argued that justice, solidarity and love are transformed into historical forces of liberation if they reach the consciousness and the life of people and of social movements. That dignity is

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[365] Ibid. pp. 31-33.

an essential value for an ethic of liberation.[366] In this way these values disassociate themselves from an exclusive religious character and acquire a secular one. Solidarity as the way in which Christians and Christian churches relate to each other (as described by Sobrino) becomes the way in which people relate to each other - irrespective of their religious beliefs - in pursuit of a just reality for all. It is important to mention that solidarity as a particular way of people relating to each other existed independently of religion. It is from the historical practice of solidarity that the concept emerged and was incorporated into a theological reflection.

Community is another important aspect of post-Development with parallels in religion. Each church, independently of its denomination, is in fact a community of believers. The first Christians lived together and had everything in common. In community they found their identity. The religious concept of community can be related to that of "commons" widely found in post-Development literature. "The 'commons' was once the space held in common by feudal communities for everyone's use and benefit. The 'enclosure' of the commons by private owners, which took place in Europe about 200 years ago, was a key step in the development of industrial capitalism. Most of the world is now privately owned and the idea of the commons is mostly a romantic memory. Gustavo Esteva, however, argues that the extreme poverty and dislocation of post-World War Two Development in Mexico City has led to the spontaneous development of a 'new commons' in the most marginal areas of the city".[367] These commons are the collective construction of neighbourhood dwellers, peasants, indigenous peoples, who defined themselves through the relationship to their communities. Esteva argues in fact that they are not "members" of a community, they "are" the

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[366] Rebellato, José Luis: "Globalización Educativa y Cultural. Desafíos para la Educación Popular", paper presented at "Encuentro sobre Formación de Adultos. Area de Extensión de las Facultades de Veterinaria y Agronomía", Paysandú, Uruguay, October 1999, pp. 11-12.

[367] See http://sunsite.queensu.ca/memoryplace/kitchen/Estevao1/: Gustavo Esteva on the new commons. Downloaded 2002.04.22.

community. Communities are inseparable from the identity of these human groupings, and it is within that context that their particular cultures are constantly regenerated. They are also the physical space that guarantees their reproduction. Isolated individuals or families would be unable to survive due to general adverse conditions of the spaces that most of these communities occupy (jungles, high altitudes, slums in highly populated cities). It can be argued that Latin American indigenous peoples have survived centuries of colonisation and economic exploitation, among other reasons, due to their communal way of life. This way of life has allowed them to resist the oppression from the dominant culture and continue with their modes of production, religious practices and beliefs. The idea of community therefore refers to the space (anthropological as well as physical) where human beings fulfil their aspirations of belonging, identification and maturing, where they find affection, social cohesion and the opportunity to implement collective projects towards their common realisation.[368] These concepts are central in the post-Development discourse.

4.3.3. The return of religion

Modernity and its faith in rationality played a role in the marginalisation of religious beliefs. The case of France can illustrate the decline in the number of believers for the Western world in general. According to Gilles Lipovetsky, in 1967 81% of the youth between 15 and 30 years of age declared they believed in God; in 1977 62% said so; and in 1979 only 45,5% said they believed in God.[369] It can be said that Post modernity, with its criticism of the validity of universal truth and the broader acceptance of diversity also played a role in the expansion, at the end of the 20th Century, of a multiplicity of religious beliefs. Lipovetsky argues though, that this return to religion was "a la carte", with people believing in certain dogmas but not in others, mixing the Gospel

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[368] See Zibechi, Raúl: "Los arroyos cuando bajan. Los desafíos del zapatismo", Editorial Nordan-Comunidad, Montevideo, 1995, pp. 42-47.

with the Koran or with Buddhism. He believes that this spiritual renovation that guaranteed certain success to oriental religions as well as to esoteric practices and various sects is the result of the post-modern individualism that lead human beings to search for themselves.[370] What is interesting about this phenomenon and possible relationships with post-Development is that it shows the dissatisfaction human beings were experiencing with their modern lives: a lack of meaning, of purpose, of direction. Modernity offered them comfort but not happiness, and above all, it did not offered them a sense of transcendence. In this respect the return of religion can be perceived as an indication of the failure of the Western way of life to provide responses beyond material well being. This lack of meaning can be related to Serge Latouche's proposal of looking at the suicide rate rather than the GNP as an indicator of the quality of life in different societies.[371] The so-called societies of abundance are the ones with the highest suicide rates.

It can be argued therefore, that the end of the 20th Century saw a move towards values that transcended the material. In other words, material satisfaction, as proclaimed by the Western model as the measure of happiness, ceased to be seen as such.

5. What differentiates Post from Alternative Development

There are many coincidences among some of the critiques and proposals of post-Development and those from alternative theories of Development. The most radical difference, nevertheless, is the clear distance that post-Development authors take with respect to Development. While the latter believe that if some changes were to be introduced the concept could stand, the former declare the need to move beyond it. The term itself might play a role in this difference. As Serge Latouche puts it, "The debate over the word 'Development' is not merely a question of words. Whether one likes it or not,

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[369] Lipovetsky, Gilles: Ibid. p. 118.
[370] Ibid. p. 118.

one can't make Development different from what it has been. Development has been and still is the *Westernisation of the world*".[372] On the other hand, Raff Carmen, who can be considered among those searching for alternative Development, argues that "the term Development itself needs to be recaptured and reclaimed".[373] From these two positions, it can be argued that the main difference between Post and Alternative Development is the belief the latter has in the possibility of changing Development and making it a positive process. For post-Development, Development has not failed, it does not need to be reformulated so its original goals can be met, on the contrary, it has succeeded in achieving for large sections of the world population what it was set to achieve, that is to forcible homogenise them under the Western mode of life with all the implications this had at the economic, social and cultural levels. But, while the relationship post-Development establishes with Development is clear and it seems to be shared by all those considered as post-Development writers, more than one position seems to exist with respect to the relationship with Alternative Development. Some of them will be discussed in the following lines.

5.1. Post and Alternative Development: irreconcilable concepts?

Alternative thinking makes a call in order "to reject the notion that the achievement of economic growth is a fit, proper or desirable goal for any nation".[374] This statement could clearly have been formulated by Post or Alternative Development writers. Economic growth at the centre of Development, many could argue, has even been questioned in mainstream Development. The World Bank, for example, in its 1999/2000 World

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[371] Latouche, Serge: Ibid. p. 46.
[372] Latouche, Serge: Ibid. p. 160.
[373] Carmen, Raff: "Autonomous Development. Humanizing the Landscape: An Excursion into Radical Thinking and Practice", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1996, p. 209.

Development Report stated that "growth does not trickle down; Development must address human needs directly".[375] It is true though, that whether accompanied by other goals or as a goal in itself, economic growth continues to inform Mainstream Development in a way few other concepts do. The clearest example is how sustainable Development has been transmogrified into sustainable growth. Alternative Development, on the other hand, does make an honest appeal to move away from the centrality of economics and to place new emphasis on environment, democracy, human rights, participation, locality, etc. Some of these emphasises are clearly shared by post-Development. In an interview with Wolfgang Sachs I mentioned precisely the fact that many of post-Development ideas could be seen as Alternative Development and asked him what is it that differentiates both approaches. Sachs' response was: "There was a time when alternative Development, to a certain extent, was thought to be another road, a side road, to Development. It was meant to be a kind of bottom-up approach to the very same thing. And for that reason at the time, we in the book ("The Development Dictionary") took a certain distance from it. But I wouldn't make much of a fuss out of it today. Although I would prefer if people are able to describe what they want, what they are doing, what they say their hopes are, in non-Development terms".[376] Sachs' response offers two interesting lines of analysis. In the first place, by asserting that he wouldn't "make much of a fuss out of it", he minimises the importance of what separates or distinguishes Post from Alternative Development. And secondly, by stating his preference with respect to people expressing their wants and hopes "in non-Development terms", he helps to understand precisely what some of the differences between the two are.

In "The Development Dictionary", as Sachs indicated in his answer, efforts were made in order to establish a clear distance from an alternative

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[374] Douthwaite, Richard : "The Growth Illusion. How economic growth has enriched the few, impoverished the many, and endangered the planet", Green Books, Dublin, Ireland, 1992, p. 315.
[375] The World Bank: "Entering the 21st Century. World Development Report 1999/2000", Oxford University Press, New York, 2000, p. 1.
[376] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

Development discourse. Most of the contributions were in fact very critical of alternative theories. Gustavo Esteva, for example, argued in the book that many proponents of alternative Development "do not seem to see the counter-productivity of their efforts" taking into account that "for those who make up two-thirds of the world's population today, to think of Development – of any kind of Development – requires first the perception of themselves as underdeveloped, with the whole burden of connotations that this carries". The mere association of one's own intention with Development, continued Esteva's argument, "tends to annul the intention, to contradict it, to enslave it". He believes, therefore, that there are no possibilities to transform Development and the only option is to remain outside (or beyond) because any effort to qualify Development ends up being trapped in a logic which essence (the existence of the opposite of Development, that is of underdevelopment) denies all the good intentions of the qualifications: defining one's own objectives, having confidence in oneself and one's own culture, promoting bottom-up management, etc. etc.[377]

In a similar light, in a book from 1993, Serge Latouche argued that "the opposition between 'alternative Development' and *alternative to* Development is radical, irreconcilable and one of essence, both in the abstract and in theoretical analysis".[378] But Latouche was not questioning the validity of some of what he called "a wide range of 'anti-productivist' and anti-capitalist platforms" usually brought together under "the heading of 'alternative Development'". What he was doing, rather, was challenging the placing of such initiatives as part of the Development discourse. "Visions of a society truly convivial for its members" are, for Latouche, clearly not Development. Simply because, as with Esteva's argument, Development cannot be transformed. He believes that to argue that Development is rooted in particular cultures, or assigning as inherent to it the characteristics described above as typical of alternative Development would amount to try to

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[377] Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Ibid. pp. 7-8.

define Development by its opposite. According to Latouche, it would be as decreeing "that the bloodiest dictatorship be called a democracy…By the same token, enunciating 'good Development' will unfortunately not prevent the techno-economic dynamism relayed by the national authorities and by most NGOs from uprooting people and plunging them into the dereliction of shantytowns".[379]

Critics of post-Development would argue that there is an inability to recognise that, in fact, Alternative Development has had a positive impact by influencing mainstream discourse and promoting the incorporation of some of its postulates. Post-Development would argue, in turn, that such changes are but superficial cosmetics that guarantee the continuation of what is essential in Development.

Looking at Esteva's and Latouche's arguments it can be said that they "do make a fuss" out of the difference between Post and Alternative Development, in opposition to Sachs' statement. But a closer look can indicate that there is no contradiction. Such a conclusion can be drawn from the second part of Sachs' answer where he indicated he would prefer if people could articulate their wants and hopes in "non-Development terms". In conclusion one could say that post-Development writers do not oppose proposals, statements, arguments which inform several alternative theories of Development. What they do question – and take a radical distance from – is the continuation of these platforms as part and parcel of the Development discourse. They believe that by doing so they are likely to fail. Furthermore, they will be used to legitimise the opposite of what they wanted to achieve.

5.2. Beyond Development

From the discussion above, it is clear that what differentiates Post from Alternative Development is their position vis-à-vis Development. Many

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[378] Latouche, Serge: Ibid. p. 159.
[379] Ibid. pp. 159-160.

within the Development discourse are concerned about failures, are preoccupied with finding new orientations, are hoping to discover ways that will result in achieving the better future that Development had promised but, for the time being, has failed to deliver. "Development", the journal of the Society for International Development, for example, dedicated the special issue commemorating forty years of the Society[380] to the critical revision of the concept of Development and in fact posing the question "Can we, in 1997, still bring the people together under the banner with any confidence?".[381] In her review of forty years of Development, Wendy Harcourt shares her concerns for growing and persistent global poverty, unemployment and inequality; for the continued economic and cultural domination of the North; for the trend of maldevelopment with all its ecological consequences; for the disempowerment of local organisations and the pre-eminence of neo-liberal economic policies, for the phenomenal increase of the polarisation of wealth and the corruption of the aid apparatus; for the destructive effects of globalisation, among a long list of direct or side effects of Development. From this revision she concludes with the pressing need to rethink Development, though, she argues, "the search to include human, social, cultural, gender and ecological needs and hence to recast completely the focus of Development, questions at times its very validity". Nevertheless, she makes a call to all those in the Development community, "whether they themselves accept the label" (this can be understood as a reference to post-Development) to share in a broad discussion that will explore the "multiple experiments and visions of Development", concluding with the hope that ways will be found "for Development to achieve a greater accountability, equity and democracy".[382]

It is at this final stage of Harcourt's analysis where post-Development takes a different stance arguing that such hope is flawed because it assumes

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[380] The Society for International Development (SID): "Development", Volume 40 number 1, Sage Publications, London, 1997.
[381] Harcourt, Wendy: "The Search for Social Justice", in The Society for International Development (SID): Ibid. p. 5.
[382] See Harcourt, Wendy: Ibid. pp. 6-11.

that the long list of disappointments are but misresults of Development, wrong trends that failed its original and authentic aim. The argument of post-Development would be, on the contrary, that *they are Development*. It is of no use, therefore, to engage in discussions around how to revise it, or improve it or reformulate it. The only viable option in order to respond to the human, social, cultural, gender and ecological needs Harcourt refers to is, for post-Development, to move beyond Development. And here lies the fundamental difference with alternative theories of Development. In summary, while the strategic place of engagement for Alternative Development is <u>within</u> the Development field, post-Development finds its strategic place of engagement <u>outside</u> of it.

6. Post-Development: de-constructing words and building sensitivities

In trying to describe post-Development I have used language, the English language in particular. Had I used Spanish, for example, my mother tongue, the end result would probably have been different. Language is not impartial and the different tongues are not just different phonetic systems that express the same things using different words, but different world interpretations. Language, of whatever kind, does not just describe reality. It creates it. As Steve de Shazer argues, "language is reality. This way of thinking suggests that we need to look at how we have ordered the world in our language and how our language (which comes before us) has ordered our world".[383]

In our world Development - the word Development - precedes us. Words, in general, precede us. Following on Gustavo Esteva's formulation, they were "pro-posed" to us with a purpose and they were "im-posed" upon us under certain conditions. What post-Development writers have done, according to Esteva, is to look at the words within the Development discourse,

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[383] de Shazer, Steve: "Words Were Originally Magic", W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, London, 1994, p. 9.

"re-cognise them and de-cognise them, take a critical distance from them", in an effort "to expose some of the unconscious structures that set boundaries on the thinking of our epoch" through the use of a web of key concepts which have reinforced the Occidental worldview.[384] Questioning Development, talking about the end of Development, or proclaiming to be beyond Development, therefore, means – also - questioning the language of Development, its assumptions, its self-explanatory concepts, its taken for granted values, its construction of a world that does not need to be dreamed or imagined because the Development discourse has already presented it to us, with its targets, aims, means and resources.

If reality is going to be transformed, language has to be revisited. Words that have been contaminated with a meaning broadly accepted – independently of its correlation with real facts - cannot, spontaneously, bring new images in the listener or reader or speaker. And words that present *problems* "within a given system of understanding" can only find solutions "born of that system, and assertions from alternative systems will remain unrecognised".[385] Let's take the example of "living on less than one US dollar a day". The image that such combination of words brings into the reader or listener would tend to be the same all over the world: a poor human being in need of Development. The possibility that such a person lives in a non-monetary economy would not come spontaneously, neither the fact that he/she might be happy and not interested in developing himself/herself. Living on less than one US dollar a day clearly states a problem which requires a solution. Within the Development discourse no other interpretation is possible. But if we move "beyond" Development, other interpretations, in fact many of them, can be thought of.

Post-Development thinking can be seen as "sociological thinking" if following Zygmunt Bauman's proposal of the function of sociology, that is to

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[384] Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Unpublished manuscript, 1993, p. 1.
[385] Gergen, Kenneth J.: "Realities and Relationships. Soundings in Social Construction", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p. 253.

"de-familiarise the familiar". "Familiarity is the staunchest enemy of inquisitiveness and criticism – and thus also of innovation and the courage to change".[386] By questioning what seems to be an unquestionable truth: the need for Development (be it mainstream, alternative, reflexive or any other type), what post-Development writers are doing is precisely opening opportunities for innovation and change, for new ways; one could even argue for truly "alternative" options. As stated by Gustavo Esteva, what they are doing in his place and in other places[387], is "reembedding food in agri-culture, healing from medicine, giving-up education, relearning to dwell and regenerating our art of living and dying…we are dissolving all our needs, our dependency of health, education or housing; we are learning to use remedies, for the land or for our bodies and beings…we are eliminating, in our daily life, sacred cows, like equality or democracy and dismantling cherished ideals".[388] These options are radical, even though they are ordinary. They are radical vis-à-vis the Development discourse but they are anchored in ordinary practices, which in turn question the radical disruption caused by Development. One of the contributions from post-Development that arises from the ability to "de-familiarise the familiar" is to oppose simplicity to the grandeur of Development projects. The following paragraph might shade light to understand this logic.

In "Cuatreros", a novel by Hoenir Sarthou, a journalist asks Raúl Sendic, founder of the Tupamaros Liberation Movement in Uruguay, what function should they have in the political future of the country. Sendic replies "I believe that the Tupamaros have certain moral authority wherever they go". The journalist insists: "But concretely, as an organisation, what function should they have?". And Sendic answers: "That's all".[389] This quote, in a way, relates to post-Development with respect to the position from which its ideas

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[386] Bauman, Zygmunt: "Thinking Sociologically: an introduction for everyone", Oxford, U.K Cambridge, Mass. USA, B. Blackwell, 1990, p. 15.
[387] Gustavo Esteva lives in Oaxaca, Southern Mexico.
[388] Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 12.
[389] Sarthou, Hoenir: "Cuatreros", Vintén Editor/Maxilibros, Montevideo, 2000, p. 140.

and proposals should be understood. Sendic's reply seems to suggest that the aim of those who want to transform society is not to seize power, or to struggle for the control of the economy, or to promote Development for that matter. Instead, the central point is to promote people's freedom and wellbeing in ways rooted in ordinary life.

One of the Tupamaros, José Mujica, who eventually was elected into Parliament after spending more than a decade as a political prisoner, questioned the ideal of consumption not just because of the costs and its negative effects on the environment but mainly because it deprives human beings from their freedom forcing them to resign to their time in order to work, to earn and to spend. He also questioned the ideas of progress and of industrialisation arguing that "anthropologically, what man needs is fire, the supposed slavery of the kitchen is not such slavery, to prepare a good meal with one's own hands is not a burden but a type of necessary ancestral rite".[390]

Sendic's and Mujica's words seem to contribute more towards the understanding of post-Development than if a substitute discourse for Development were to be formulated using some of these ideas. Precisely because of the radical break away from the Development logic and the novelty of the proposal within academic research. As stated by Gustavo Esteva, "what I am experiencing cannot be de-linked from the places where it is rooted. It cannot be translated into formal categories; it cannot, in fact, be translated".[391]

In "The Turning Point", Fritjof Capra says about the book that "none of its elements is really original, and several of them may be represented in somewhat simplistic fashion. But the ways in which the various parts are integrated into the whole are more important than the parts themselves. The interconnections and interdependencies between the numerous concepts represent the essence of my contribution. The resulting whole, I hope, will be

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[390] Amorin, Carlos: "Por un cambio civilizatorio", Interview with José Mujica, Brecha, p. XV, December 29, 2000, Montevideo, Uruguay.

more than the sum of its parts".[392] The same might be said about post-Development. It is the articulation of criticisms to Development, the analysis of already existing practices and of their inherent value, the proposals towards a way of life that challenges poor and rich alike and the questioning of established categories of analysis that makes post-Development original. But, if going back to those experiences Esteva mentioned as not able to be translated, it is the idea of "hospitality", of the world as a "hospitable place" which constitutes one of post-Development central contributions. He wrote in fact, that in those early conversations on "After Development, What?" "I was forced to synthesise in one word what is the opposite to Development. I used then the word hospitality…To be a host to others is not to follow them, to opt for them, or to affiliate your soul to them. It is just to acknowledge and respect the others, to be hospitable to them. Hospitality implies a notion of horizons, not of frontiers. A horizon is not a geographical or topological concept, but a historic and cultural metaphor. It is a collective conscience completely independent of geography, a 'collective memory' in continual transformation".[393] Hospitality has to do with making others feel cherished, able to live in a space that is comfortable, that welcomes the outsider and the insider in order to share and mutually benefit. Hospitality is about giving and receiving, but never intervening with pre-existing knowledge assumed to be better than that of the host.

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[391] Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 13.
[392] Capra, Fritjof: "The Turning Point", Flamingo, London, 1983, Preface xix.
[393] Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 10.

Chapter 4: Field Study

1. Introduction

The aims that have motivated this thesis are: (1) to explore the ideas put forward by post-Development; (2) to see whether there is evidence on the ground that these ideas inform existing practices; and (3) to explore to what extent these ideas can have a growing influence on those disenchanted by Development and in search of alternatives. This last aim can only be dealt with at the end of the dissertation and consequently it will be analysed as part of the conclusions. The first aim was the object of analysis in the former Chapter. Its exploratory character is due to the fact that post-Development is still a subject of study relatively new. Although many of the ideas put forward by authors subscribing to this "school" of thought are not new, their articulation results in a comprehensive body of concepts and proposals of a unique and particular character. As in other exploratory studies, questions relating to the meaning of the concept, the reasons for its emergence, its relationship with other concepts and its scope were the motivating factors in order to gain significant insights into a new discourse. But questions also arise over the extent to which these new ideas have already reached and impacted on concrete practices. Or, in turn, whether they have been formulated as a result of already existing ones. This means to try to identify if there are practices on the ground that pursue objectives similar to those put forward by post-Development and if so, whether this is a result of post-Development ideas having influenced them or just a coincidence. These matters relate to the second aim of this dissertation and will be dealt with in this chapter.

2. Purpose of the Field Study

The field study was implemented with the aim of looking for evidence, on the ground, of practices informed by the ideas put forward by post-Development. Even if one could argue that one of the main contributions of post-Development is a radical criticism of the Development discourse, be it mainstream or alternative, concrete proposals have also been formulated as it has been argued in Chapter 3. These proposals have to do with different ways of doing things, with different life-styles and values, with the search for frames and practices that respect the multiplicity and diversity of human beings. They also have to do with a radical opposition to current ways associated with the capitalist mode of development. The opposition to this model and the search for alternatives takes place at different levels of society, from grassroots to political organisations, from locally based initiatives to world global networks. How post-Development relates to these different levels, how it impacts on their particular actions and how, in turn, it is influenced by them, are questions that have informed the options taken in the selection of groups and the implementation of the field study. Looking at the relationship between post-Development and locally based initiatives on the one hand and post-Development and global networks on the other, has to do precisely with contemplating the diversity of responses to the dominant market economy as mentioned above. The study, therefore, aims at exploring coincidences between post-Development and practices and ideas at grassroots as well as at global level. A particular point of interest will be to look at commonalties in their opposition to the current capitalist mode of Development and of concrete alternative proposals, be they already existing practices or proposed ideas.

The field study can be divided conceptually into two parts. The first one deals with concrete groups operating in localised territories and the second one with activities, movements and networks of a global character.

3. Post-Development and the Global Barter Network

This section will deal with groups acting at the local level, in defined territories. The selection of these groups was done on the basis of similarities between their ideas and practices and those promoted by post-Development. These similarities are the ones found by the researcher ex-ante in literature about the particular experiences and in existing knowledge from previous informal contacts. The extent of the coincidences and their relevancy were to be found as part of the field research. The groups chosen were the Global Barter Network in Uruguay and in Argentina. These experiences will be described and their possible relationship to post-Development analysed. The methodology utilised for each group will also be presented.

3.1. Field Research of the Global Barter Network

The following presentation of the Global Barter Network is the result of research conducted in the year 2000 by the author of this thesis. A decision was taken to do in-depth research on the Uruguayan Network while at the same time gathering supportive information from the Argentine one. The reason for this decision was that the researcher originally comes from Uruguay and this would make the access to the member groups based in that country easier given the possibility of my staying there for a longer period of time. It is important to mention that the Argentine Network is older and it inspired and supported the creation of the Uruguayan one.

3.1.1. Methodology

* Exploratory phase:

In this first phase of the research, I relied on information I gathered from the Internet, particularly from two websites: (a) the one from the Alliance for a

Responsible, Plural and United World, Workshop on a Socioeconomy of Solidarity. This website is run by PACS (Politicas Alternativas para o Cone Sul) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil[394]; (b) the website of the Argentine Global Barter Network.[395] In both websites I found extensive information, including several academic articles, on barter networks. Through contact details I found in the Global Barter Network website I wrote to Professor Heloisa Primavera from the University of Buenos Aires, founder of the network and a central figure in the theoretical analysis of the significance of the experience. We communicated through e-mail for several months and Professor Primavera gave me important information on who to contact at the Uruguayan network. I then wrote to Martha Silva, who was responsible for the Uruguayan website[396], from where I downloaded relevant information (presentation of the Network, list of members, principles, and so forth). During several months in late 1999 and early 2000 we communicated through e-mail with Silva in preparation for my visit to Uruguay in March/April 2000. I also agreed with Professor Primavera that I would visit the Argentine Network in April 2000.

* Field research:

This phase had several steps in Uruguay and in Argentina:

1. Informal meetings with members of the Uruguayan Network in Montevideo (March 2002)

These included:

(a) Meeting with the founder, Alvaro Antoniello.

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[394] http://www.alternex.com.br/~pacs (1999/2000).
[395] http://www.visitweb.com/trueque (1999/2000).
[396] http://www.chasque.apc.org/aharo/trueque For current information on the Uruguayan Global Barter Network visit: www.truequered.org.uy (2002).

(b) Meeting with Antoniello and two other members, Martha Silva and Macarena Borba. This meeting took place at the house of Alberto Moron, an Uruguayan residing in Venezuela. Moron did not belong to the Network but he was active in a similar initiative in Caracas, called Notmoney. As Moron explained, this is a barter system which operates through the Internet. At this meeting, Moron presented the idea of possible co-operation between the two networks. The members of the Global Barter Network said they were at a very early stage and wanted to consolidate their experience before engaging in another one of an international character. At this meeting I also shared information about the purpose of my research.

(c) Meeting with Martha Silva, responsible for the website of the Network.

In all these meetings important information was gathered about the history and general functioning of the Network. I also had informal conversations with several members while trying to make appointments for the individual interviews. In many cases it was not possible to agree upon a date for the interview but information was provided through the phone of the particular experience of that person since he/she joined the network.

2. Interviews

I held 27 individual and 3 organisational interviews with members of the Network. For this purpose the following steps were taken:

- Design of questionnaires: (1) individual structured questionnaires and (2) less structured organisational questionnaires.

- Meeting with Professor Carmen Terra, social worker and current director of the School of Social Work at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the Republic, Uruguay, for the purpose of exchanging ideas around the design of the questionnaire. As a result of this meeting I added a new

question relating to other forms of social involvement/participation of the members of the Network.

- Selection of the sample. For this purpose, the selection criterion was that of representating the variety of strata and types. I tried to select a sample that would show the variety of the universe of the Network in terms of age, sex, geographical area of operation (nodes) and type of goods/services offered.

- Three pilot interviews of members of the network using the individual structured questionnaires and one pilot interview using the less structured organisational questionnaires.

- Final design of questionnaires. Several changes were introduced in the individual questionnaires following the pilot individual interviews:

  - A question was added with respect to the participation of other family members in the Network.

  - It was explicitly indicated in the reformulated questionnaire that estimation of values should be given in credits (currency of the Network) rather than in pesos (national currency), as it had created confusion during the test interviews.

  - A question dealing with the type of satisfaction drawn by the members from the Network had two possible answers. These ones had to be reformulated for clarity purposes.

  - Two questions were reformulated in the section dealing with Development, as it became clear that some aspects were confusing to the interviewees. They had to do with the existence or not of Development programmes in their area of operation, the participation or not of the interviewees and their evaluation.

  Copies of the individual and organisational questionnaires can be found in Annex 2. The interviews were done in Spanish. English translations are also included in the Annex.

- Twenty-seven interviews of members of the Global Barter Network in Uruguay using individual structured questionnaires. This is the total

number, including the three test interviews. They were conducted by the researcher and a hired research assistant. These interviews took place at the homes of the members (12) or at markets in some of the Nodes (15).

- Three interviews using less structured organisational questionnaires. Two of them took place at the markets and one in the home of the interviewee. These also include the test interview.

3. Participation in "info-meetings" of the Network in Uruguay.

I participated in three meetings in three different nodes: (a) Nodo Sur, in Montevideo, which is the founder node; (b) Nodo El Bosque, in Solymar, Canelones; (c) Nodo Marindia, also in Canelones.[397] In these meetings existing members and people interested in receiving information about the Network took part. General information about the Network, how to join, how it operates, etc. was presented on each occasion.

4. Visits to markets of the Network in Uruguay.

The markets visited were: (a) Nodo El Bosque; (b) Nodo Marindia; (c) Nodo Shangrila; (d) Nodo Guidai (Sayago). The first three nodes are in the Department of Canelones, the last one in Montevideo. The visits to the markets offered the possibility of seeing the bartering operating in practice, for doing a number of interviews, and of talking informally with a large number of members of the Network. They also allowed me to observe the differences in operation between the various nodes.

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[397] Montevideo is the capital city of Uruguay and concentrates most of the members of the Network. The other two meetings took place in different localities of Canelones, the bordering Department, 25 and 45 kilometres from Montevideo, respectively.

5. Trip to Buenos Aires, Argentina

I went to Buenos in April 2000 and undertook the following steps for the research:

- In-depth interview with Professor Heloisa Primavera, member of the leadership and the person responsible for scientific analysis and promotion of the experience. This interview was very important for gathering information of the Argentine Network and on other experiences of social currencies around the world. Prof. Primavera gave me extensive information on literature, websites, and some hard copies of articles relating to the Argentine Barter Network.

- Visit to La Bernalesa[398], the first and biggest market of the Argentine Network in the locality of Bernal, 30 kilometres south of the city of Buenos Aires. Bernal is very important in the history of the Barter Network because, as it will be explained in the next section, it was there that the initiative started.

- Informal interviews with members of the Argentine Network. This happened while at the market in La Bernalesa. Besides chatting informally with people active in the bartering, I had an informal interview with Beatriz Olivet and Sonia Fernandez who, due to the expansion of the Network in Bernal, had been hired for the purpose of administration and website keeping.

- Informal meeting with Heloisa Primavera and Dr Solis, a lawyer, who was asked by the members of the Argentine Network to look at the legal aspects of the Network. This meeting also took place in La Bernalesa.

6. Other steps undertaken in the research

- Keeping of a field journal.

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[398] Name of the place where the market in Bernal takes place. It is a former factory now being used as a hall.

- Collection of written materials (books, scientific articles, brochures, materials printed by the Networks, both in Uruguay and in Argentina, newspaper interviews and articles about the topic, websites).
- Oral information (listening to radio interviews about the topic).
- Review of Literature.

* Analysis:

This phase included the following steps:

- Data processing.
- Analysis of Data.
- Writing of findings for (a) internal use of the Network; (b) for a scientific article[399]; (c) for the purpose of this dissertation. This step includes qualitative analysis of the collected information and theorising.

3.1.2. Description and historical background

The information included in this section is a result of consulting the various sources mentioned above.

The Global Barter Network is a space where goods, services and knowledge are exchanged without the intermediation of money. There are such networks in several parts of the world, for example Canada, United States, United Kingdom, France, Spain, Australia, Mexico, Argentina and Uruguay. In this particular case I will refer to the experiences of the Networks in Uruguay and Argentina.

This initiative started in Argentina in May 1995. The first "Barter Club" resulted from efforts of the civil society to achieve their survival, under the worst unemployment conditions of Argentina's history in the second half

of this century[400]. As part of an ecological movement active since the eighties in the locality of Bernal, in the province of Buenos Aires, members of the P.A.R. (Programa de Autosuficiencia Regional) (Regional Self-sufficiency Programme) decided to get involved in the issue of unemployment and growing urban poverty. The idea originated after one of its founders donated a great number of pumpkins produced in his garden to a neighbour who had recently been widowed and was facing serious economic difficulties. The woman started making marmalade from them and exchanging this for other products she needed. After some time, she realised she was getting three times more income than from her pension. This motivated a meeting of twenty neighbours to start bartering between themselves. This group became the first club of the Network. Five years later it had grown to more than 400 Clubs – or Nodes - in different regions of the country, involving about 300 000 persons in global barter transactions of food, clothes, arts and craft, healthcare, therapies, tourism and formal and informal education and training in many different fields. Members of the Network estimate that services and goods for a market value of approximately US$ 400 millions are exchanged annually within the network. It also expanded to other countries such as Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia[401].

In the case of Uruguay the Network started in October 1998. It coincided with a period of growing unemployment (11.2% in the first quarter of 1999 compared to 10% a year earlier and which reached over 13% in May 2000), reduction of industrial production (by 5.1%), reduction of personnel

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[399] Agostino, Ana: "Global Barter Network: New Social and Economic Relationships Within a post-Development Era?", UNISA Latin American Report, Volume 17 No 1, UNISA Centre for Latin American Studies, South Africa, 2001.

[400] Primavera, Heloisa: "La moneda social de la red global del trueque en Argentina: barajar y dar de nuevoe en el juego social? Paper presented at the international seminar: "Globalisation of Financial Markets and its Effects on the Emerging Countries, organised by the Instituto Internacional Jacques Maritain, CEPAL and the Chilean Government, Santiago, Chile, March 1999.

[401] Ibid.

employed in the industry (by 10.5%), among other economic indicators[402]. In conversation with Alvaro Antoniello, considered the founder of the Uruguayan Network, he told me that it took a long time to set up the initiative in Uruguay. He started in 1997 by searching on the Internet for solidarity economies independent of money. He found the website of the Argentine Network and contacted its initiators, Horacio Covas and Carlos de Sanzo, who invited him to the Second Conference on Barter in Buenos Aires. Once he was back in Montevideo he gave several talks on the topic and some people added to the idea. They then invited Carlos del Valle, founder of Nodo Obelisco in Buenos Aires, to give a talk. Although there was high participation, no nodes were formed as a result. Antoniello explained that he tried again in 1998, giving more talks and inviting once more members from the Argentine Network, but this time with the support of a radio station which offered him a space to talk about the experience. Some newspaper articles were also published during this time. According to Antoniello, the media coverage made a great difference. Before the end of the year they had founded Nodo Sur, in the city of Montevideo, and the Uruguayan Network was then created. Other nodes followed. At the time of the research there were 7 nodes with an estimated participation of around 200 people.

3.1.3. How the Network operates

The information in this section refers to the Uruguayan Network and it was obtained through the research process. It describes, therefore, the reality of the Network at the time of the research (March/April 2000).

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[402] Instituto de Economia de la Facultad de Ciencias Economicas y de Administracion, Universidad de la Republica: "Uruguay 1999-2000, Informe de

Nodes:

The Network is organised around **nodes** (a word borrowed from computer language), which are of territorial character. Each autonomous node has a founding group and a co-ordinator. It meets usually every week for the purpose of exchanging information, training new members in the principles of the Network and promoting the exchange of goods and services. There are seven nodes concentrated in Montevideo (the capital city) and surrounding areas, plus one in Melo, capital of the Department of Cerro Largo. Others are being promoted in other parts of the country. This is done by talks given by current members, visits to areas from which they get requests, besides radio and other media interviews.[403] The number of members varies according to the node, from 7 (Buceo) to 68 (Marindia). Some are active members who attend meetings and other activities and others have just listed their names and offers in the node's list. From the individual interviews it became clear that the level of participation at the activities of the nodes has a direct impact in the frequency of bartering. The members interviewed from nodes that have no markets (Buceo and Sur) had had very low demand for their offers because they depended on others contacting them telephonically. At the other extreme, the node of Marindia is the one experiencing the highest levels of bartering as a result of weekly meetings and markets.

Lists:

The **lists** with the member's names, contact details, and "products, services and knowledge" which they offer, are very important for the operation of the

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Coyuntura", Montevideo, December 1999, pp. 19-21.

[403] During the research period in Uruguay, I listened to several radio interviews and saw one TV interview to members of the Network. During 2000 and beyond various newspaper articles were published in Uruguay about the experience. I was requested to provide information for one of these articles, because information was given to the journalist about my research. I was also consulted in 2002 by Economy students from

Network. There is a general one and each node has its own. Through the lists people advertise what they offer and look for what they might need. But the lists do not always reflect the current reality of the Network. This is because the total number of active people is not fixed. On the one hand new members join regularly, but also old members who are listed are not active any more. The general list was a major instrument for the selection of the members to be interviewed. It was there that information on the universe of the network was first found and where the selection criterion was applied to in order to select a suitable structured sample.[404] But not everybody who was listed was still active and not everyone who was interviewed was listed. This was the case for eight people interviewed at the markets who, although active members in their respective nodes, were not yet included in the general list. This clearly showed the high mobility within the network and the difficulty to reflect the total universe through the lists. Nevertheless, they constitute an important tool that needs to be updated continuoulsy.

With respect to what is being offered on the Network the list showed that food is the good mostly bartered within the network followed by handicrafts, plants and clothing. This was confirmed by the information gathered in the individual interviews. Among the most frequently mentioned services are those related to house maintenance: cleaning, electrical work, carpentry, building, etc. The list also shows a frequent offering of alternative therapies, such as yoga, Reiki, reflexology, acupuncture, etc. This has to do with the fact that some of the initiators of the experience practice them and had an influence on those who joined the Network. Many other offers can be found in the list such as professional services (lawyers, doctors, dentists, psychologists, veterinarians, etc.), computer services, sewing, knitting, theatre classes, magicians, mechanical work, translations and hairdressers. As one of

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the University of the Republic, Uruguay, who were studying the experience of Barter in Uruguay and saw references of my research in the newspaper article.

[404] Annex 3 includes a copy of the list of the Uruguayan Barter Network downloaded from the Network's website: http://www.chasque.apc.org/aharo/trueque/asociados
It reflects the membership as it stood in October 1999.

the people interviewed said, "imagination is the limit" for what people can offer and access in the Network.

Markets:

The other instrument is the **market** where members of the node go to offer their produce and acquire what others are offering. It can take place in the house or garden of a member of a particular node, in a church or other community centres utilised regularly by that node or it can be organised in open spaces such as parks or plazas. The markets visited as part of this research were in a church hall (Marindia and Guidai), a private home garden (Shangrila), and a community centre (El Bosque-Solymar). The markets can be attended by members of a particular node or by all those participating in the network. Some markets are also organised openly as a way to promote the experience. That means that the public in general can attend. The type of exchange that takes place in the market is called "multi-reciprocal barter", facilitated by credits. Multi-reciprocal implies that several individuals are involved which is different from a one-to-one barter. It was clear from the visits, that the market is an essential instrument for the bartering to take place. It also encourages the promotion of values central to the network. In one of the markets, for example, home-made bread was being offered but there was only one left at a time when two people were interested in taking it. They decided to cut it in two so that both could take some home. In another market I also saw people taking clothing home without giving any credits and the decision whether to keep them or not was going to be taken later. The particularity of the type of exchanges that takes place in the markets helps members to further understand the meaning of the Network as more than a market without money. This aspect of the Network was mentioned to me by various participants while at the markets. There was also an atmosphere of friendship, which is central for people participating strongly within the Network. It was clear from the individual interviews, that those members who

did not attend markets had a different feeling towards the initiative. They were part of it just inasfar as they could obtain or offer some good or service without money. On the other hand, those belonging to nodes with markets had integrated the Network as a central activity in their lives. One of the participants in Nodo Marindia said to me: "I keep waiting for Tuesdays to come" (day of the meetings and markets). In the same node, another participant said: "My children like Tuesdays very much. They see it like the days of abundance".

Credits:

The **credits** are units of exchange and not substitutes of monetary value. They symbolise mutual trust. According to Carlos de Sanzo, one of the founders of the Argentine Network, "if the Global Barter Network were a telephonic network, the different exchanges among its members would be equivalent to the talks of the subscribers, and the credits would be equivalent to the cables and junction stations which allow the communication to take place"[405].

The credits are issued centrally by one node - Nodo Sur - which was the first one to be formed. (It is also in charge of promoting the experience, distributing information and keeping the website updated, among other activities). The credits are distributed by all the nodes to their own members. They have a symbolic value equivalent to the national currency. That is to say, a credit of 50 units equals $50 (pesos). This is done for the purpose of allowing the exchange to take place. The "value" of a particular good or service is given by the person who produces it or provides it. It tends to be lower than in the money market. The tendency, according to the information provided by Alvaro Antoniello, is to have an equal hour/value for the time dedicated to the production or provision of whatever good or service.

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[405] De Sanzo, Carlos, Covas, Horacio, Primavera, Heloisa: "Reinventando el Mercado. La Experiencia de la Red Global del Trueque en Argentina", Programa de Autosuficiencia Regional – Red Global del Trueque, 1998.

When a new member joins, after his/her participation in two meetings and his/her agreement to follow the principles of the Network, the person receives 500 credits to allow him/her to start operating. After those initial 500 credits, the person will generate his/her own through the goods or services to be offered within the Network.

A central idea of the Network is the constant circulation of credits for the stimulation of production. This idea opposes the concept of accumulation. To accumulate makes sense within a money economy because money per se has value independently of its purchasing capacity. In fact, "in the international speculative financial system, nineteen times more money moves than in the actual exchanges of goods and services".[406] But in the Network the credits are just instruments for the facilitation of the exchanges to take place, thus promoting production. The credits have no value outside the Network.

One of the people interviewed in Nodo Marindia said he tries as much as possible not to use the credits and do direct bartering instead, "because the papers are like money". This expresses the danger that some members feel with respect to the replacement of the formal currency by the Network's currency. In an info-meeting Alvaro Antoniello emphasised that credits have actually no value, they are just measurement units that allow for the multireciprocal exchange to take place. It can be said, though, as a result of the ideas expressed around credits by various members interviewed, that there is a need for further training around this concept.

3.1.4. Principles

The Global Barter Network in both countries is guided by a set of principles to which all members must subscribe. These principles are made known to all people who want to join the Network. They can be found in publications and

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[406] Kohanoff, Rafael: "Ganarse la vida: un derecho fundamental", in "Trueque", Programa Social de Trabajo, Secretaria de Promocion Social, Secretaria de Industria, Comercio, Turismo y Empleo. Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, August 1998, p. 3.

internal documents of both Networks in Uruguay and in Argentina, as well as in the websites. They are the following:

1. Our fulfilment as human beings need not be conditioned by money.
2. We aim not to promote products or services, but our mutual help in accomplishing a better way of life, through work, solidarity and fair trade.
3. We believe in the possibility of replacing competition, profit and speculation by reciprocity among people.
4. We assume that our actions, products and services may respond to ethical and ecological standards more than to the will of the market, consumerism and short term profit.
5. The only conditions to be a member of the Global Barter Network are: assisting to weekly group meetings for trade, being trained permanently and being "prosumers" (both producer and consumer) of goods, services and knowledge, as recommended by Quality and Self-help Groups.
6. We assume that every member is the only responsible for her/his actions, goods or services bartered in the Network.
7. We believe that belonging to a group means no relationship of dependence, since the individual participation is free and common to every member of the Network.
8. We claim that groups need not necessarily to be formally organized, in a permanent way, since the network model implies constant change of roles and functions.
9. We believe it is possible to combine the autonomy of groups (Clubs or Nodes), in the management of internal affairs with all the principles of the Network.
10. As members of the Network, we recommend that no activity which might separate us from the goals of our Network should be supported, whether morally or marterially.

11. We believe our best example is our behaviour in and out of the Network. We keep confidentiality about our private lives and prudence in the public treatment of those matters that might alter the growth of the Network.

12. We deeply believe in an idea of progress as a consequence of a sustainable welfare of the great majority of people of all societies.

3.1.5. Key ideas

The following ideas seem to be key for the way the Barter Network operates. Although they are not listed in any document, as it is the case with the principles, they were repeatedly mentioned during the interviews, in the structured ones as well as in informal conversations. References to them can also be found in documentation of the Network.

Mutual trust:

The individual interviews clearly showed that those people who just list their names are rarely contacted in search of goods or services. That is surely so because personal knowledge and mutual trust are essential for exchanges to take place. For the same reason, the nodes that operate better are those with regular markets because members see each other every week and establish strong relationships. This was clearly seen in the case of Nodo Marindia. It operates in a small town where most members know each other from other activities and tend to relate beyond the specific activities of the Network. This personal knowledge and the importance given to trust allow for other differences with the traditional market. In the node of Marindia, for example, I was told of cases where credits were given spontaneously to members who needed more than what they had and that person returned them when it became possible. The co-ordinator of this node managed to get a motorcycle in this way. She paid back the credits to the other members over several months. I was also told that even in the absence of credits members can still

access what they want through direct barter. I witnessed several direct exchanges while visiting the markets.

Alvaro Antoniello, founder of the Uruguayan Network, said at an info-meeting that what the credits represent is precisely the mutual trust among its members.

Promotion of creativity:

It is common that people join the Network offering to share a particular good or service, which they see as being derived from their best knowledge. This is so because most human beings are either trained to perform a particular activity or have earned their living with it and tend to associate their capacities only with that area. When they join the network they are encouraged to think of other capacities and interests they have which can be useful to the other members. This means a direct stimulation of the creativity and self-esteem of those involved. The Network therefore promotes dormant capacities that might not find a place in the labour market but are valued within the Network. During the visits to meetings and markets I met several members who have joined offering their formal qualifications but ended up participating actively in bartering through offering of other activities. In the case of an architect, she found that catering at birthdays and weddings drew a much higher reception from the other members. The same happened to an art teacher who faced a high demand for her home-made noodles. I encountered many other examples of this type.

Independence of money:

The dependency on money to purchase means that those who are unemployed are excluded from the possibility of accessing whatever goods or services they need for their social reproduction. But their condition of unemployed also means that whatever knowledge and capacities they might have are not

utilised because there is no money to pay for them. The Barter Network breaks this logic and first and foremost allows for people to do what they can, becoming productive again and in the process valuing themselves. Whatever they produce allows them to re-integrate into society offering their capacities and at the same time utilising those of others for the satisfaction of their needs.

The independence from money is a major feature of the Network. Robert Nisbet (in History of the Idea of Progress) says about money that "unlike hard property, it has the effect of atomising a population, of giving each individual that sense of self-security that allows, even encourages, his withdrawal from binding relationships with others"[407]. In the absence of money, on the contrary, those relationships are the ones that can provide the security needed in the form of whatever goods, services, knowledge or support might be required. The Network relies on the abilities, capacities and the will to participate of its members, which results in creative production for the benefit of all those involved. Several of the people interviewed by individual questionnaire mentioned the independence of money as a motivation to participate in the Network. Others formulated it as an alternative market to the current one, based on solidarity and communal values, and some even stated that it is an initiative against capitalism.

It generates work, not employment:

This process establishes a clear distinction between employment and work. While employment is what one does to earn money, work is a creative endeavour done for the satisfaction it provides, either at the personal or community level. The Barter Network does not generate employment, it generates work. This concept was emphasised by Heloisa Primavera and mentioned by other members of the Uruguayan Network.

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[407] Nisbet, Norbert: "History of the Idea of Progress", Heinemann, London, 1980, p. 337.

"Prosumers":

Another major idea that has to do with the operational mode of the Network is that of "prosumer", a person being a producer and a consumer at the same time. In the traditional capitalist mode of production, a person must sell his/her labour force for a payment which in turn will be used to buy whatever goods or services that person might need. What he or she produces is not related to the satisfaction of needs, it is just a "means" to obtain a payment with the hope of in turn acquiring a satisfactor for those needs. Often people consume without being involved in any productive activity themselves. They can either generate income through the work of others or through speculation in property, for example. In these cases, therefore, production and the satisfaction associated with it is not directly related to production. In the Barter Network, on the contrary, the Network is the space where both meet. The concept of prosumer is central to the Global Barter Network. In the various contacts with members, at meetings, markets, interviews, etc., it became clear that they see themselves as prosumers and that they understand what the concept stands for.

Reciprocity and non-profit:

Other key ideas of the Barter Network are reciprocity and non-profit. People do not join for the purpose of profiting and accumulating at the expense of someone else's efforts, but to share goods and knowledge for personal and collective benefit. This was mentioned by several of the people interviewed as a being a key difference from the money market.

3.1.6. The population and its participation

The Global Barter Network, in Uruguay as an Argentina, does not have any political, religious or any other type of affiliation. According to what people said to me during the research, and also expressed in written information about the Network[408], the Network is a horizontal structure with no president, no secretary and no other assigned responsibility that could imply a hierarchical order. Nobody can act as spokesperson or on behalf of the Network. It basically constitutes a co-ordination space open to the participation to all those who share its principles and values and are willing to become "prosumers".

The research showed that the number of members of the Uruguayan Network is not fixed. As previously mentioned, there is a high mobility among the population. According to the February 2000 list on the Network's website there were 185 members. At the time of the research (March/April 2000) estimates put the numbers at over 200. Looking at the sample, the majority of the members were women (62%). This coincides with the total population of the Network taking into account that 66% of those listed were also women. Of those interviewed by individual questionnaires, the majority were people between the ages of 26 and 45 (51.84%), followed by the age group between 46 and 60 (18.51%); they were employed (33.33% formally employed, 29.62% active in the informal sector, 14.81% retired, only 22.22% were unemployed) and with a high educational level (33.33% had completed tertiary education and just 11.11% had only completed primary school, the rest had either secondary education and/or technical or commercial training). More than half of those interviewed were also involved in some other type of social, communal or political participation.

Three types of people seem to join the Network: those "who live from the Network" (they are unemployed or have very limited monetary resources);

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[408] See for example the Uruguayan Network website: www.truequered.org.uy

those who supplement their incomes through the Network but their participation responds to their support of the ideas and values of the system; and those who are searching for an alternative societal model. The first group is a clear minority in the Uruguayan case, only four people of those interviewed. It seems that the considerations of the ideals and alternatives offered by the Network are the primary motivation. In fact, asked in the individual interviews about their reasons for joining, the majority of the members gave social rather than economic reasons. A total of eight people mentioned economic factors, but only one gave it as the exclusive reason for joining. 44% of the answers had to do with the philosophy of the Network (solidarity, more humane relationships) and 29.62% highlighted being part of a community-based initiative. Becoming independent from money and building an alternative market was mentioned by 18.51% of those interviewed. Although some respondents mentioned the Network as a way to access a supplementary income in a time of economic crisis and unemployment, they emphasised the way this is done: face to face relationships, a search for common benefit over personal profit, friendships, etc.

After their participation in the Network for periods that vary from three to eighteen months, very few people experienced changes in their economic life, with the exception of those who said "we eat thanks to the Network" (four of those interviewed). In these particular cases this has happened either through food obtained in the Network or through the access to certain services that allowed whatever money was available to be used for food and other essential commodities or services. One concrete example is the case of a family of four where only the father was formally employed. The mother offered her baking skills to the Network and with the credits generated they managed to contract the services of other members of the Network to renovate the house where they lived. This house was rented but they made an agreement with the owner to exchange the rent of 18 months for the improvements to the property. In this way the monetary income was allocated

to those goods and services that could only be acquired with money and other needs were satisfied through the Network.

Almost all respondents, on the other hand, experienced changes in their lives in general such as quality relationships, motivation for developing creative activities, awareness with respect to new ways of life, greater sense of satisfaction, greater options and personal growth.

Asked specifically whether the Network gives them satisfaction because they can increase consumption within the current model of life or because it allows them to live a new model (new relationships, values, etc.), more than half of those interviewed opted for the second choice and about a third said both. None mentioned the first option alone.

One of the reasons why the Network does not yet constitute an economic alternative for the majority of its members is that it is still a marginal activity in their lives, with few exceptions. The Nodes that were well organised and had weekly markets offered the highest opportunity for bartering, that is, once a week. But the majority of the members still depended on being contacted after listing their names and offers. Therefore exchanges might take place once a month or even with lesser frequency. The increase of the number and frequency of the markets was a clear expectation from the majority of the people interviewed. It was also expected that the Network would develop other mechanisms for increasing the number of exchanges. According to Martha Silva, this expectation shows one of the weaknesses of the Network. She said that some members expect "the Network" to do something without realising that they are the Network and that others expect the leadership, in this case the initiators of the experience, to propose and implement. Martha Silva believes that some people relate to the Network as they used to relate to the State when the Welfare state was still strong: being passive recipients. She argues that those who are active, on the contrary, have understood that the functioning of the Network depends on their involvement and creativity. The fact that the operating better Nodes were those based in small neighbourhoods, where members see each other often and have

developed strong personal relationships, seems to relate to this aspect highlighted by Silva. In these cases, members motivate each other and promote not only exchanges of goods and services but social functions and solidarity initiatives, such as helping members coping with their personal difficulties. There was a concrete case in Nodo Marindia of a member living in a squatter camp whose house had burnt down and the other members helped her to rebuild it. This in turn was done promoting the circulation of credits and using the skills residing in the node.

It is important to mention that the members of the Network do not see it as a substitute for the formal market but as parallel and complementary. Some reasons were put forward for this during the individual interviews and at the info-meetings. One is that it allows the Network to open to the formal market, which offers goods and services absent from it. Some of them can never be offered by the Network due to their technological complexity and demand for capital input, as argued by Alvaro Antoniello. Another reason has to do with the fact that money is still necessary for accessing particular goods and services and for paying taxes. One other reason given is that the Network is a space which offers an alternative and it should be seen as such differentiating itself from the traditional market and advancing new practices and values.

3.1.7. Challenges

From the individual interviews it became clear that the majority of the members are happy with the functioning of the Network but have clear expectations of improvement, and particularly, of the possibility of doing more exchanges within the Network. The responses in the questionnaire addressing this particular aspect show which are some of the major problems to overcome:

- The Network does not offer variety and does not yet include certain goods and services that are essential. This forces participants to look for them outside and often they do not have the money available. Many people expressed their expectation of "living from the Network", like in Argentina. The growth of the Network can be considered as a sine qua non for that to happen.

- Lack of access to raw materials within the Network. This clearly puts limits on what people can offer, because they still need money to buy the raw materials. Services are also affected by this. This situation results from an agreement within the network that while services are paid for with credits, the materials needed for them are paid for with money.

- Lack of training on how the Network operates (principles, structure, ways of establishing relationships, promotion of products and services, etc.) and also on the quality of goods and services. One of the people interviewed with the individual questionnaire mentioned that certain quality standards should be agreed upon within the network for the goods and services bartered. Training is seen as essential in order to reach these standards.

- Not enough markets. These are the most important instruments for the exchanges to take place and the feeling was that with few of them, the Network remains marginal. Most of the people interviewed, in fact, mentioned the small number of markets as a major limitation.

- Lack of communication among the nodes. If a more fluent relationship were to be established, this could increase the number of markets that all members could go to. In this case, nevertheless, transport was mentioned as a problem. Several of the people interviewed also mentioned the need to implement other forms of promoting what is available within the Network. Again, the Argentine experience was presented as an example. A telephone service exists there for people to call and ask for information. There are also regular bulletins that are distributed, constant updating of the website and public boards with information. It became clear from the

individual interviews that participants had expectations of better ways of accessing information on supply and demand within the Network.

- Difficulty of obtaining certain services because people offered them only "if they are not busy in the formal market". This was mentioned in the nodes without markets but does not occur in those that meet and have markets regularly.

3.1.8. The Argentine Network

The several interviews and meetings with members of the Argentine Network as well as the publications consulted showed that most of the problems listed above have been overcome in the Argentine case and that, in fact, many people live from the Network. The major reasons for this are the size of that Network – around 300 000 people at the time of the research - and the volume of exchanges that takes place, allowing many of its members to live almost exclusively from it. This was the case, for example, for the two women interviewed at the market in Bernal (Beatriz Olivet and Sonia Fernandez). They have been hired to work for that particular node for administration and website keeping and are paid their salaries in credits. As they explained to me, they are able to access the majority of the goods and services they need within the Network. The market of the Bernal Node, which I visited in April 2000, receives an average of 2 000 members three times a week. According to Olivet and Fernandez it offers 23 types of goods and services. The Network has grown to such dimensions around the country, that 17 Municipalities have declared it of social interest (Bernal being one of them). It has also existed for a longer period of time and it has been able to establish links with the formal market. These links, for example, have been crucial in solving the difficulties of access to raw materials. Another difference is the existence of "Quality Circles" which promote and evaluate the quality of the goods and services within the Network. This relates to training, which is a major component still lacking in the Uruguayan Network. Training is an essential part of the barter

initiative and it refers to the specific activities related to production but also to the operation of the Network. According to Heloisa Primavera, such an innovative way to establish alternative market relations cannot be learned spontaneously; it requires systematic training to overcome habits characteristic of a capitalist economy based on profit.

The growth and expansion of the Argentine Network did not happen without problems. Heloisa Primavera mentioned the falsification and accumulation of credits as some of the most difficult ones to overcome. She said that the different nodes are discussing alternatives on how to address them. One of the alternatives put forward by Bernal, the founder node, is known as the "oxidation of the credits". This means to write an expiry date on the credits to force their use within a certain period of time promoting their circulation. But not all role players agree with this. Heloisa Primavera said that the problem should be addressed by training rather than coercive measures. She believes that some of the nodes have not given the emphasis to training that this one requires. Nodo Obelisco, the one that she co-ordinates in the city of Buenos Aires, is implementing a training programme aimed at addressing these issues. The programme deals specifically with the concepts of solidarity, entrepreneurship and social responsibility. These concepts are being redefined within the context of the Network in the belief that language "constructs" reality and not just describes it. Solidarity, for example, acquires the meaning of consuming as much as one produces, or even more, but never to accumulate credits; entrepreneurship is equivalent to increasing the production/consumption within the Network moving away from the formal market; and social responsibility means to play an active role in the Development of the node/network by participating permanently in different roles. The aim of the training, according to Primavera, is to promote a new understanding of quality of life and of the role that each person plays for the collective benefit.[409]

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[409] More information on the training programme can be found in: Red Latinoamericana de Socioeconomia Solidaria – RedLASES: "Como comenzar una

3.1.9. Follow-up

After finalising the field research I remained in touch with several of the members interviewed in March/April 2000. I contributed to the bulletin of the Uruguayan Network called "El Enredo" and met Alvaro Antoniello and Martha Silva on several occasions. I also maintained correspondence with Heloisa Primavera for some months. All these role players were active at the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre where they presented a workshop on the Barter Network. I took part in this event. From these contacts and further publications around the Uruguayan Barter Network[410], the following information about the current state of the initiative was gathered:

- By September 2002, the Barter Network had grown to over 6 000 members. The deepening of the economic crisis is seen as one of the explanations for the rapid growth during this particular year. According to data of the Uruguayan National Institute for Statistics, in November 2002 unemployment had reached 19% and industrial manufacturing in the second quarter of 2002 had decreased by 7.9% compared to the same quarter of 2001.[411] According to what Alvaro Antoniello declared in a newspaper interview[412] this rising unemployment explained the sudden growth experienced by the Network in 2002 compared to the previous years. This led to the expansion of the experience to other parts of the county such as Maldonado, Paysandu, San Jose and Rocha. These are all

red de trueque solidario", training material prepared by Heloisa Primavera, Carlos del Valle and Istvan Karl from Nodo Obelisco, RGT, RedLases.

[410] Pierri, Etore: "Ferias del trueque se expanden a siete departamentos del Interior", in La Republica, Montevideo, Uruguay, 02 July 2001, p. 10; Sempol, Diego: "El boom del trueque", in Brecha, Montevideo, Uruguay, 27 September 2002.

[411] Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, Uruguay, website consulted in November 2002: http://www.ine.gub.uy

capital cities of Departments in Uruguay, from 100 to 400 km away from Montevideo.

- The number of markets had also grown significantly to over 150 in Montevideo.

- Regional co-ordinations were created between nodes on common regions with a positive impact in the circulation of information.

- There are currently two webpages[413] for access to information and exchange of ideas and a regular radio programme on Saturday afternoons.

- A telephone service has also been introduced, called "fonotrueque" (phonebarter).

These changes reflect the fact that some of the challenges mentioned as a result of the research have been addressed. The major development is the growth of the Network which, in many respects, will impact positively in the functioning of the experience. As in the case of the Argentine Network, this growth implies, also, the appearance of new problems. Acording to Alvaro Antoniello "the massive arrival of new members does not allow for a deeper training in the principles and values of the Network. Some people join just searching for their own benefits. This shows the need for further training".[414]

3.1.10. Development – post-Development

A section of the individual interviews was dedicated to questions related to Development. People were asked about their understanding of Development, alternative Development and post-Development. They were also asked to choose the concepts they believed were necessary to access a "better quality of life" (an essential aim of Development discourse) and about the relationship between the Barter Network and Development.

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[412] Alvaro Antoniello interviewed by Diego Sempol: "El boom del trueque": Ibid.
[413] truequeuy@yahoogroups.com (exchange list), and www.truequered.org.uy (for information purposes). Website consulted in 2002.
[414] Alvaro Antoniello interviewed by Diego Sempol: "El boom del trueque": Ibid.

A first remark has to do with the difficulty experienced with this section. It was only here that changes were made to the original questionnaire due to difficulties experienced in the first three test interviews. The concept of Development did not seem to flow naturally as part of the questionnaire and in relation to the Network. Respondents had to think very long before answering the questions and some decided not to. Although Development is a word that comes up very frequently in every day life and even in the way people refer to themselves when talking about their country (for example "we are underdeveloped") it seemed from the answers that no clear content is given to it or that anything that improves life is seen as Development.

People related Development to the satisfaction of basic needs, culture, economy, relationships, personal growth, education and work. Alternative Development was linked to the land, with specific mentions to organic agriculture and permaculture, and to alternatives to neo-liberalism and industrialised societies. With respect to post-Development, most of the people interviewed had never heard of it.

With respect to what is necessary for achieving a better quality of life, the concepts chosen from a given list by the majority of the respondents were those clearly not in line with mainstream Development, such as balance between economic growth and limits set by the environment, subordination of the economy to society, recognition of cultural differences and search for own models as well as redistribution of wealth. Economic growth and open participation in a market economy ended up at the bottom of the list. At a personal and community level the answers chosen followed the same path: recognition of what is really necessary, re-link production and consumption, depend not on money but on interpersonal relationships, local knowledge and solidarity, use knowledge and experience characteristic of each culture and community, recognition of what is sufficient, were among the most frequently chosen. To increase monetary income and greater access to consumption were concepts only chosen by a few.

With respect to whether there is a relationship between the Barter Network and Development the majority of the people believed that there is. Those who said the experience of the Network relates to Development saw this relationship mainly through the support to overcome the economic crisis and through personal growth. Others established a link with Alternative Development inasfar as the Network offers an alternative to the dominant economic model without money, it represents a different quality of life and it relies on interpersonal relationships based on trust, among the most frequent answers. The few persons who said the Network relates to post-Development said that what they have in common is that they both reject accumulation that is the paradigm of Development and re-value old practices and experiences such as those from Andean Civilisations.

3.2. Conclusions

In this section I will draw conclusions about the functioning of the Barter Network and about its relationship with post-Development.

3.2.1. The Barter Network

The Barter Network is an initiative operating within the capitalist system but substantially different from it. It does not seek to destroy it but it claims its right to operate according to its particular values and rules, which in essence are an ideological challenge to capitalism. From this point of view, and following the analysis of Raymond Williams[415], one could say that the Barter Network is an alternative experience to the dominant capitalist system and not an oppositional one. According to Williams, "there is a simple theoretical distinction between alternative and oppositional, that is to say between

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[415] Williams, Raymond: "Problems in Materialism and Culture", Verso, London, 1980, pp. 37-42.

someone who simply finds a different way to live and wishes to be left alone with it, and someone who finds a different way to live and wants to change the society in its light". Small group solutions to particular crisis usually correspond to the first category, and political ones to the second one. But the author goes on to say that both are divided by a very narrow line depending on the circumstances and on how threatened the dominant culture feels. It can also happen that an endeavour that starts as a particular response to a particular reality providing satisfaction to those involved, inasfar as it articulates with other initiatives of similar character, can cross that line becoming oppositional. At this stage, nevertheless, it is clear that the Network offers a concrete alternative to its members without threatening the dominant culture.

People draw satisfaction from the Network in a variety of ways:

- Through the revaluation of their own capacities. Outside the Network these capacities depend on the offer-demand logic and on the availability of money to pay for them. Within the Network they are valued for what they are, independently of their market value. This has an impact on the self-esteem of the members.
- Through the promotion of creativity and the discovery of multiple abilities. This helps in the reorientation of one's own work with the possibility of testing its acceptance without incurring in financial loses.
- Through work, an activity which people value as a creative endeavour and which in the Network is independent from employment and from money.
- Through the existence of a given market where relationships are established for the benefit of all.
- Through the satisfaction of people's needs without the intervention of money.
- Through the establishment of quality relationships which provide mutual help, co-operation and social contact.

In the case of the Uruguayan Network, limits to increased satisfaction came from its size and its still marginal character. These factors did not allow for a greater participation of people potentially interested in joining but whose life situations, for example full unemployment, required complementary solutions. The expansion of the Network was the greatest challenge for it to become more inclusive. The Argentine Network provides an example of the possibilities offered when high numbers of people are involved. In this case the problems that need to be overcome are associated with habits inherited from the formal market. As stated earlier different strategies are either being discussed or already implemented for such purposes.

Having reached a level of participation of 6 000 people from around 200 at the time of the field research, the new reality of the Uruguayan Network offers an interesting opportunity for further investigation which could show to what extent expectations associated with the expansion of the Network have or have not materialised. Reaching conclusions in that respect remains, clearly, outside of the scope of this particular research.

3.2.2. The Network and post-Development

The Global Barter Network is an initiative that started independently from any Development discourse, Development funds, or Development projects. It is a response to several forms of disenchantment: exclusion from the labour market, disagreement with how the market operates, dislikes of imposed consumption, among others. It is a response that originated from those directly affected by such factors and, as Alvaro Antoniello said, "without asking permission from anybody". It is a response that does not need to ask for funds, or state support, or subsidies or loans. It relies entirely on people's capacities and their will to participate. The aims of the Network can be seen as improving the quality of life through reciprocal support and resorting to the knowledge and capacities of those involved. From this point of view, it is

possible to say that the Global Barter Network does practice some of the ideas put forward by post-Development authors, though not prompted by them. It is important to mention again that with the exception of two, the members of the Network had never heard about post-Development nor had they arrived to the barter experience as a result of a theoretical search. Their daily realities and the interaction with others had led them to practice ways of producing, consuming and relating to each other which, in essence, are similar to those favoured by post-Development.

There is a coincidence in the disillusionment that academics and people on the ground share with respect to the unfulfilled promises of Development. For post-Development authors, Development has achieved what it was set to achieve, even if in the process the lives of millions of people have worsened. For people on the ground, like for example the members of the Barter Network, Development, or capitalism, or the programmes put in place by their governments, have failed them. There is a common search, therefore, for alternatives that are not depending on the traditional concepts put forward by the Development discourse but on locality and relationships. This process does not come without difficulties, setbacks and contradictions. But it does express the existence of a space where the motivating ideas can be related to those associated with post-Development. The extent of this space, its long-term viability, its reproduction capacity, among other questions, cannot be answered by this research or by this example only. But it is clear that new social and economic relationships are taking place in a context that challenges the traditional Development discourse.

4. Post-Development and the World Social Forum

In this second section of the chapter I will look at the World Social Forum as an example of global activities, movements and networks of a global character, which oppose the current capitalist mode of Development. By way

of introduction I will refer to the anti-globalisation movement and its relationship to the World Social Forum.

4.1. Introduction

The end of the Cold War at the beginning of the 90s resulted in the decrease of social mobilisation around the world. Capitalism was broadly perceived as the triumphant ideology and as the only viable model for social and economic organisation. Its traditional opponent, communism, was seen as a great failure unable to offer any alternative. Euphoria prevailed amongst Western governments for having been proved right and for facing the pleasant challenge of expanding their free-market model to the whole world without opposition. Globalisation became the word of the decade, which summarised the common path humanity was to follow under the lead of international capital. Left-wing parties and movements were disoriented, some even disintegrated, and disenchantment amongst former militants prevailed. But neither the end of the Cold War nor the globalisation of financial markets brought about the changes most social movements around the world had struggled for in terms of eradication of poverty and the building up of a more just global society. The opposite, in fact, is true. According to an Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) report in 2002 entitled "Globalisation and Development" "Globalisation has not only engendered growing interdependence; it has also given rise to marked international inequalities. Expressed in terms of a metaphor widely employed in recent debates, the world economy is essentially an 'uneven playing field', whose distinctive characteristics are a concentration of capital and technology generation in developed countries and the strong influence of those countries on trade in goods and services. These asymmetries in the global order are at the root of profound international inequalities in income distribution".[416] But

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[416] ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean), United Nations: "Globalization and Development", ECLAC, 15 April, 2002, p. 75.

inequalities have not only increased between nations. They have also deepened within specific countries and regions. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, the unconditional acceptance and implementation of macroeconomic policies defined by the international financial institutions in order to enter the world economy, resulted in a worsening of the income distribution indicators. Productivity has been seriously affected and in turn unemployment and associated social indicators have also worsened. These trends relate to an emphasis on foreign direct investment accompanied by a breakdown of the production chains, especially in manufacturing.[417]

These negative trends and the suffering they caused around the world started shaping new forms of responses towards the end of the 90s. These responses were characterised by a globalised scenario where not just capital became transnational and able to move at the click of a button, but also, and determining in a way the path and character of globalisation, communications did. A new "global" anti-globalisation movement was born at this time, which strongly opposed capitalism and neo-liberalism around the world. The strongest opposition to economic globalisation, then, took the shape of a global movement. In this section I will analyse the emergence and characteristics of the anti-globalisation movement. I will then present the field research on the World Social Forum with reference to its origins, functioning, and ideas, and finally I will look at its relationship with post-Development.

4.1.1. The anti-globalisation movement: background

The mass mobilisation in the streets of Seattle at the end of November 1999 protesting the Millennium Round of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) became associated with the birth of the new anti-globalisation movement. Beyond differences among those protesting, what brought 50 000 people to

[417] See ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean), United Nations: "Equity, Development and Citizenship", ECLAC, 6 March, 2000,

the streets of Seattle was their "opposition to a corporate globalisation at the cost of social objectives such as justice, community, national sovereignty, cultural diversity and ecological sustainability".[418]

The direct precedent to this mobilisation was the publication, in early 1998, of the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) promoted by the world's wealthiest countries. The agreement had been discussed in secret in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries and once it became public it generated broad opposition amongst civil society organisations around the world. In some countries, like France, the protest movement caused the French government to withdraw from the negotiations and prevented the agreement from being signed. A new level of popular awareness had been reached and it expressed itself in various mass demonstrations protesting the economic model represented by the world financial institutions. This opposition brought thousands of people to Davos, Switzerland, during the meeting of the World Economic Forum in January 2000. Thirty thousand demonstrators occupied the streets of Washington D.C. in April 2000 to protest against the meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The next mass demonstrations took place in Chiang Mai, Thailand, in May 2000, when the Asian Bank for Development held its annual meeting. The World Economic Forum for Asia-Pacific met in Melbourne, Australia, in September 2000 and thousands of protestors made their presence felt again. Then, also in September, came the battle of Prague where thousands of people coming from various European countries protested the policies of the Bretton Woods institutions during their annual meeting in the Czech capital. Similar events were to follow whenever the international financial institutions met anywhere in the world. What all these mobilisations had in common was the identification of those institutions as responsible for the unjust world economic order and as serving the interests of corporations,

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pp. 53-68 (The legacy of the 1990s).
[418] Bello, Walden: "2000: el ano de protesta contra la globalizacion", in "Porto Alegre 2001. Hacia un mundo desglobalizado", Focus on the Global South, Bangkok, January 2001, p. 5.

seen in turn as exercising more power on people's lives than governments do.[419] The protests, though, did not happen without consideration of possible alternatives. In June 2002, while world leaders and official delegates met in Geneva for the UN Summit on Social Development, thousands of NGOs from around the world organised the Alternative Summit with the aim of "preparing a true social agenda for the peoples of the world" and "against neo-liberal and sexist globalisation".[420] Susan George said to the media in Geneva: "We are here because we have ideas and proposals to formulate. We will be here and everywhere where they are trying to decide our future without us. We did not come just to protest; we want to appropriate our future".[421] The final resolution of the Alternative Summit made a call to social movements, trade unions and NGOs to "construct and develop the widest possible movements around practical goals; to debate the alternatives to the neo-liberal model; and to make progress in the co-ordination of movements on an international level".[422]

The major proposal approved in Geneva was the support for a World Social Forum (WSF) to be held annually parallel to the World Economic Forum in Davos. The first Forum was to take place in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in January 2001. More than seventy organisations and international movements adhered to the International Committee in support of this initiative. Further analysis on the WSF will follow later in this chapter.

4.1.2. The importance of Internet in the constitution of the movement

As argued earlier, the revolution in telecommunications – particularly the Internet - played a major role in the constitution and characterisation of the anti-globalisation movement. This movement shares with other social

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[419] See Bello, Walden: Ibid. pp. 5-8.

[420] Trias, Ivonne: "Otro mundo es posible. La mundializacion de la resistencia", in Brecha, La Lupa, July 14, 2000, Montevideo, Uruguay, p. 19.

[421] Ibid. p. 20.

[422] See the complete text of the Declaration in Annex 4.

movements (as discussed in the previous chapter) the questioning of hierarchical forms of organisation, fluid processes of constituting actors and participatory rather than representational structures. These modalities contributed to the high utilisation of the Internet. According to Hans Geser "The Internet promotes the emergence of large-scale collectivities from the 'grassroots level' because it enriches the arsenal of mobilisation mechanisms by some extremely decentralised and informal procedures which can start and expand easily outside any framework of formal organisation".[423] Geser refers precisely to the anti-globalisation protests in Seattle – and the ones that followed in Prague in 2000 - as a vivid illustration of the advantages that Internet offers for "combining decentralised fact-gathering and mobilisation with speedy diffusion and knowledge, consensus building and effective transnational action".[424] This action aims at impacting on the results of a specific event, but not at consolidating a new structured movement with a clear set of rules. In this type of mobilisations there is no clear leadership and gatherings take the form of "multitude" rather than of a hierarchical, single, manageable movement. As Geser argues, "lacking clear leadership as well as clearly defined stock of followers, they (the anti-globalisation movement) consist of a multitude of divergent groupings which co-ordinate their actions spontaneously for specific time periods, without losing their structural autonomy and without converging in their ideological views and specific strategic goals".[425] For Raul Zibechi, "multitude" is not a mass but a rainbow. It cannot be represented, led – or misled -. Its participation is a result of conscious decision-making and not of formal procedures. The multitude does not respond to social control and its impact does not depend on a structured set of proposals but on "noise" resulting from its own movement.[426] This

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[423] Geser, Hans: "On the Functions and Consequences of the Internet for Social Movements and Voluntary Associations", Online Publications from Sociology in Switzerland: http://socio.ch/movpar/t_hgeser3a.htm, p.1. Downloaded 2002.10.18.
[424] Ibid. p. 3.
[425] Ibid. p. 4.
[426] Zibechi, Raúl: "Poder y Representación: ese estado que llevamos dentro", Unpublished manuscript, 2001.

loose character is the ideal ground for the type of communication that takes place through computer networks and their "highly decentralised forms of campaigning based on parallel activities of many independent individuals or groups" as indicated by Geser. He goes on to argue that "the Internet gives rise to new forms of social organisation which are better able to combine the following conflictive functional capacities:

- high levels of individual autonomy and individual participation;

- widespread and volatile membership;

- effective co-ordination and precisely focused collective actions;

- high structural flexibility: due to lack of rigid bureaucratic organisation;

- low external controllability: because there are no cooptable (and corruptible) leaders".[427]

4.1.3. Down to earth

The characteristics listed above emerge from the new reality of social movements after the end of the Cold War. The political character which was essential in that period (social movements were then defined as belonging to the political right or left and they usually had a relationship with political power) was replaced by cultural and social aspects. The de-politicisation resulting form the failure of real existing socialism in Europe gave rise to a concern for cultural and personal realities, expressed mainly at the local level. According to Frei Betto, big utopias are not at the centre of mass movements any more. What motivates them are the struggles for concrete improvements in the quality of life that have to do, for example, with the environment, the rights of women, ethnic minorities, gays and lesbians, the search for secure employment and access to land. Human beings are mobilised around particular concerns and not because of ideals or theoretical discourses. Frei Betto argues that "popular movements should address specific demands from the population, even if they do not look political and ideological. In other

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[427] Geser, Hans: Ibid. pp. 5-6.

words, it is not about what the leaders believe it is best for the people, but what the people are interested in…The popular movement must face the methodological challenge of starting at the personal level to get to the social, at the local to get to the national, at the subjective to get to the objective, at the spiritual to get to the political and ideological". This requires leaving aside the idea of vanguards, the authoritarianism of political leaderships, the ambition for power, the stereotypes of other social classes and religious beliefs.[428]

Even if the mass mobilisations in Seattle seemed to be political in character and theoretical inasfar as "anti-globalisation" does not immediately bring to mind specific and local realities, daily struggles can be identified at their foundation. It was the World Trade Organisation that was meeting in Seattle in November 1999 and agricultural issues dominated the agenda. The subsidies European and other Western farmers receive from their governments impact directly on the quality of life of millions of people around the world. "In 1998, total agricultural support in the industrialised countries amounted to US$ 353-billion, more than three times the value of official Development assistance, more than double foreign direct investment flows to developing countries, and equivalent to almost 60% of total world trade. What does this mean in practice? It means, says Oxfam, that the tomato processing industry in West Africa is being undermined by cheap competition from Italy. It means that maize farmers in the Philippines are seeing their incomes fall in the face of imports from the United States. It means that what the West gives with one hand in aid and debt relief, it takes through export subsidies and tariffs which distort trade".[429]

This concrete aspect of globalisation, of a world order dominated by free trade independently of any ethical consideration, of a global injustice that marginalises millions of human beings from their own source of social

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[428] Frei Betto: "El movimiento social frente al neoliberalismo. Partir de lo local y lo subjetivo", in Brecha special edition "Lo local, lo global", p. XXVIII, May 11, 2000, Montevideo, Uruguay.
[429] Elliot, Larry: "It's about putting food in mouths", in Mail & Guardian, South Africa, December 3 to 9 1999, p. 18.

reproduction, was what was being questioned in the streets of Seattle and supported, mostly electronically, around the world. The anti-globalisation movement that erupted against the WTO is the global manifestation of local dissatisfactions. But unlike political structures with centralised procedures for decision-making and implementation, with identified membership and elected leaders, and with the aim of achieving political power, the global movement against globalisation has a decentralised structure, an informal organisation, it is not interested in seizing power but in mobilising widespread pressure in order to impact on governments and international authorities. In this way, rather than a pyramidal structure typical of political organisations, the movement resembles a network of networks with the aim basically of pulling together grassroots and their efforts, and facilitating the circulation of information and discussion of alternatives. [430]

4.2. The World Social Forum

A clear expression of the international co-ordination of those opposed to capitalist globalisation is the World Social Forum (WSF). As mentioned earlier, its origins are associated with the global movement against neo-liberalism and capitalist Development and it was within the context of a meeting of those involved in the movement that the proposal for such Forum was presented and approved. For the purpose of research, the WSF offered the advantage of being a localised initiative with a series of preparatory events, publications and a regular website. It also offered the possibility of encountering, in one particular city, a broad representation of the groupings and movements involved in the anti-globalisation effort. This led the author of this thesis to take a decision to participate actively at the WSF and implement field research of this initiative.

The term field research in this particular case is used in a broad sense, not only as data-collecting activity but mainly as an in-depth direct

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[430] See Geser, Hans: Ibid, pp. 6-7.

observation aiming to make sense of an ongoing process and at drawing some tentative conclusions that can open the way for further research.[431] What follows is the presentation of the field research, the resulting information, and a series of conclusions about the relationship of the WSF and post-Development.

4.2.1. Field research

At the time of writing this dissertation[432] two World Social Forums have taken place: the first one from 25 to 30 January, 2001 and the second one from 31 January to 5 February 2002, both in Porto Alegre, Brazil. For the purpose of this research I actively participated on both occasions gathering information as a result of the various steps described below. Observation and participant observation were crucial instruments during the research process

* Preparatory phase:

This phase refers to the second half of 2000 and January 2001, in preparation for the first World Social Forum. It included the following:

- Regular use of the WSF website[433] as the relevant starting point for gathering information. The downloaded information had an immediate snowball effect by providing further sources for consultation but also contact details of relevant role-players. As a result I came into contact with Luiz Heron through e-mail, one of the Brazilian organisers who, seeing that I was a resident in South Africa, asked me to promote the Forum in this country. He specifically requested me to suggest names and contact possible parliamentarians who could be interested in attending the

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[431] Babbie, Earl R.: "The Practice of Social Research", Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., Belmont, California, 1979, pp. 205-206.
[432] November 2002.
[433] www.forumsocialmundial.org.br

World Parliamentary Forum, planned for 27 and 28 January 2001, parallel to the Social Forum. I made contact with Dr Ben Turok, who eventually attended the Forum, and provided him with the information I had at the time about the initiative.

- I travelled to Porto Alegre in January 2001 from Montevideo. That allowed me to join the Uruguayan committee for the WSF and take part in preparatory meetings. Various aspects of the Forum where discussed at these meetings, particularly those dealing with the organisation, criteria for participation and contents. There I received first hand information on the logistics of the Forum and had the chance to discuss in-depth with other participants the various workshops offered, which allowed me to take early decisions on which ones to attend. Being active in the Uruguayan committee also gave me the advantage of coming into direct contact with the social movements and other groupings from Uruguay which attended the Forum. I travelled to Porto Alegre by bus with almost 40 other participants from various social organisations. The informal talks during the bus trip provided an interesting insight into the type of organisations interested in the Forum.

* Participation at the WSF:

This refers to the first and second World Social Forum (2001 and 2002). For both events I was a full delegate with access to all activities. The direct observation of events and the participant observation in some of them were the central tools for the gathering of information and for the acquisition of an insight that could later allow me to analyse and theorise about the Forum. I undertook the following activities:

- Direct participation in conferences, seminars, workshops and cultural events.

- Informal interviews with participants from different organisations. Being able to speak Spanish, English, German and Portuguese, I had contacts with participants from various different countries.
- Collection of written materials on-site (books, articles, brochures, newspapers, etc.).
- Analysis of the events for the presentation on a radio programme in Uruguay[434] (2001) and for a regular contribution to an on-line women's publication[435] (2002).
- In-depth interview with Dr Wolfgang Sachs, one of the most important post-Development writers, editor of "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power" (2002).

* Other activities:

- Collection of further information of events related to the WSF that took place after January 2002 and of analysis of the experience (publications, newspaper interviews, websites).
- Systematisation of the information for the purpose of presenting the WSF to colleagues while working at the Heinrich Boell Foundation in Johannesburg (August 2002).

The following presentation results from the information gathered through the various sources listed above.

4.2.2. World Social Forum: background

According to Ignacio Ramonet, director of Le Monde Diplomatique, founder of ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid

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[434] See "Foro Social Mundial en Porto Alegre", Interview with Ana Agostino in Radio El Espectador: www.espectador.com.uy, 30 January, 2001.

[435] laredva: "Foro Social Mundial. Porto Alegre 2002. Informes Especiales de Ana Agostino", 01-04. February 2002: www.repem.org.uy/laredva_POA02_VI.htm

of Citizens) and one of the promoters of the WSF, the anti-globalisation movement went through three clearly identified stages. A first stage following the fall of the Berlin wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, had to do with efforts to identify, describe and understand the phenomena resulting from these events, namely the expansion of neo-liberalism and globalisation. The realisation that the application of a market-led model had resulted in deteriorating life conditions for millions of people around the world led to the second stage, that one of protest and insurrection. Ramonet believes that, symbolically, this second stage started on 1 January 1994 when the Zapatista movement in Chiapas erupted onto the international scene. Several protests around the world followed in the second half of the 90s. Ramonet goes on to argue, then, that a third stage of proposition had, inevitably, to follow the first two stages of analysis and protest.[436]

The WSF can be perceived as the space where several proposals came together representing the search for a world radically different than the one resulting from capitalist globalisation. But how did this gathering come into being? One of the newspapers that publicised the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) was Le Monde Diplomatique. Its General Director is Bernard Cassen, who is also the director of ATTAC France. The Association, which started in France but has expanded to various countries, aims at the introduction of the Economics Nobel laureate James Tobin's proposal of a tax on speculative capital movements, what became known as the Tobin Tax. ATTAC played a major role in the mobilisation of civil society against MAI and the many mass-protests that followed. Simultaneous with these events in Europe and in the United States, several Brazilian intellectuals and grassroots activists discussed the possibility of engaging in a new stage of resistance that could go beyond demonstrations and start thinking of specific proposals for building "another world". The idea was that those organisations already networking for protest purposes could meet at a world scale in a World Social

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[436] Ramonet, Ignacio: "El consenso de Porto Alegre", in El Pais online: http://www.biodiversidadla.org/prensa/prensa168.htm Downloaded 2001.03.25.

Forum while the leading thinkers of current capitalism and globalisation would be meeting in Davos at the World Economic Forum. The idea was presented to Bernard Cassen who immediately supported it and made the suggestion that such a Forum be held in Brazil, specifically in Porto Alegre. The reasons for this were that it had to be in the Third World in order to have a symbolic effect and that Porto Alegre was already becoming known for its democratic experiences. The Workers' Party (PT – Partido dos Trabalhadores) had been ruling the city and the state of Rio Grande do Sul –of which Porto Alegre is the capital- for a few years and it had won recognition as an advanced example of participatory democracy. The major project that is recognised around the world is the "participatory budget" where all citizens are invited to be active in the decision-making process for allocating state (and city) funds, according to popular needs. Citizens are also involved in the monitoring of the companies that implement the projects (schools, hospitals, transport, garbage collection, parks, street upgrading, etc.). As a result, this city of one and a half million inhabitants is considered amongst the best-administered in Latin America and amongst those with the highest standard of living.[437]

The idea of organising the WSF in Porto Alegre was supported by several Brazilian organisations: Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (ABONG); ATTAC Brazil; Brazilian Justice & Peace Commission (CBJP); Brazilian Business Association for Citizenship (CIVES); Central Trade Union Federation (CUT); Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Studies (IBASE); Centre for Global Justice (CJG); Landless Rural Workers' Movement (MST). They presented the proposal to the state and municipal authorities who then agreed to host the international meeting in the understanding that the responsibility will lie with the civil society organisations. These organisations set up a Brazilian Committee in Support of the Forum and, following on Cassen's suggestion, a delegation from these organisations travelled to Geneva in June to participate at the

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[437] Ibid.

Alternative Summit. The proposal was then presented to this gathering and accepted and an International Committee was set up in support of the Forum. Preparations for the first World Social Forum to be held from 25 to 30 January 2001 in Porto Alegre started immediately in Brazil as well as around the world.[438]

4.2.3. General Information

The first two World Social Forums (2001/2002) were organised around four themes: (1) production of wealth and social reproduction; (2) access to wealth and sustainability; (3) empowering civil society and the public realm; and (4) political power and ethics in the new society. During the mornings several panels took place in relation to these themes with presentations from activists, academics, people involved in one way or another with those particular issues. The afternoons were reserved for workshops presented by NGOs or other organisations. There were hundreds of workshops around a great variety of topics. In the evenings "testimonies" were presented by people involved in different kinds of struggles (peasants, writers, labour union leaders, peace activists, women and youth, for example). Participants could choose which of these to attend from a programme handed to all those registered. While in Porto Alegre, these programmes were a central tool for gathering information not only on the activities but also on the participants, to find out who was in Porto Alegre and what topics were they discussing. It was through the 2002 programme that I found out about Wolfgang Sach's participation at the Forum and managed to arrange an interview with him.

An extensive parallel programme took place in Porto Alegre city for all those unable to participate directly in the Forum, which is open only to people appointed and registered by social organisations. There are two types of registration: as delegate, which allows for full participation in all WSF

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[438] For further details on the origins and other aspects of the World Social Forum visit the website: www.forumsocialmundial.org.br

events, and as participant, which allows for participation at the workshops. The first registration has a cost and the second one is free. All the morning events are shown on a screen for those unable to attend directly. The major venue was the Catholic University campus. Entrance to the campus is open to everyone. Thousands of people circulate there daily and participate in the many cultural and social activities that take place. This openness relates to what some believe is central to the WSF: it is an encounter of all those disenchanted with the current neo-liberal model in which most of the world live and hope for a better world. Discussions have taken place in the International Council on limiting participation but the majority believe that this would be against the spirit of the movement that originated the event. In line with this, the cultural activities that take place around the city during the period of the WSF were as important as the debates. Artists from different countries participate. There was also an International Youth Camp where different events are organised every day. Schools open their doors for people to be accommodated free of charge. A major demonstration opens the Forum each year and the citizens of Porto Alegre join in. During the last two years these demonstrations have marked what some consider the spirit of Porto Alegre. As an active participant at both demonstrations, I could feel this joyful and celebratory spirit while walking the streets of the city.

4.2.4. Charter of Principles

In response to the dynamics of the first World Social Forum the Organising Committee and the International Council approved the following Charter of Principles[439] in June 2001. It represents the only common statement of the WSF inasfar as no final resolution or plan of action is issued as a result of each Forum. The Charter indicates, in fact, that it is not the aim of the WSF to

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[439] The Charter of Principles can be found at the website of the WSF: www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/home.asp Click on Charter of Principles.

arrive to common positions or to take decisions. It constitutes, therefore, the only abiding document.

1. The World Social Forum is an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and inter-linking for effective action, by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neo-liberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism, and are committed to building a planetary society directed towards fruitful relationships among Humankind and between it and the Earth.

2. The World Social Forum at Porto Alegre was an event localised in time and place. From now on, in the certainty proclaimed at Porto Alegre that "another world is possible", it becomes a permanent process of seeking and building alternatives, which cannot be reduced to the events supporting it.

3. The World Social Forum is a world process. All the meetings that are held as part of this process have an international dimension.

4. The alternatives proposed at the World Social Forum stand in opposition to a process of globalisation commanded by the large multinational corporations and by the governments and international institutions at the service of those corporations interests, with the complicity of national governments. They are designed to ensure that globalisation in solidarity will prevail as a new stage in world history. This will respect universal human rights and those of all citizens - men and women - of all nations and the environment and will rest on democratic international systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality and the sovereignty of peoples.

5. The World Social Forum brings together and inter-links only organisations and movements of civil society from all the countries in the world, but intends neither to be a body representing world civil society.

6. The meetings of the World Social Forum do not deliberate on behalf of the World Social Forum as a body. No one, therefore, will be authorised, on behalf of any of the editions of the Forum, to express positions claiming to be those of all its participants. The participants in the Forum shall not be called on to take decisions as a body, whether by vote or acclamation, on declarations or proposals for action that would commit all, or the majority, of them and that propose to be taken as establishing positions of the Forum as a body. It thus does not constitute a locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings, nor does it intend to constitute the only option for interrelation and action by the organisations and movements that participate in it.

7. Nonetheless, organisations or groups of organisations that participate in the Forum's meetings must be assured the right, during such meetings, to deliberate on declarations or actions they may decide on, whether singly or in co-ordination with other participants. The World Social Forum undertakes to circulate such decisions widely by the means at its disposal, without directing, hierarchizing, censuring or restricting them, but as deliberations of the organisations or groups of organisations that made the decisions.

8. The World Social Forum is a plural, diversified, non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party context that, in a decentralised fashion, interrelates organisations and movements engaged in concrete action at levels from the local to the international to built another world.

9. The World Social Forum will always be a forum open to pluralism and to the diversity of activities and ways of engaging of the organisations and

movements that decide to participate in it, as well as the diversity of genders, ethnicities, cultures, generations and physical capacities, providing they abide by this Charter of Principles. Neither party representations nor military organisations shall participate in the Forum. Government leaders and members of legislatures who accept the commitments of this Charter may be invited to participate in a personal capacity.

10. The World Social Forum is opposed to all totalitarian and reductionist views of economy, Development and history and to the use of violence as a means of social control by the State. It upholds respect for Human Rights, the practices of real democracy, participatory democracy, peaceful relations, in equality and solidarity, among people, ethnicities, genders and peoples, and condemns all forms of domination and all subjection of one person by another.

11. As a forum for debate, the World Social Forum is a movement of ideas that prompts reflection, and the transparent circulation of the results of that reflection, on the mechanisms and instruments of domination by capital, on means and actions to resist and overcome that domination, and on the alternatives proposed to solve the problems of exclusion and social inequality that the process of capitalist globalisation with its racist, sexist and environmentally destructive dimensions is creating internationally and within countries.

12. As a framework for the exchange of experiences, the World Social Forum encourages understanding and mutual recognition among its participant organisations and movements, and places special value on the exchange among them, particularly on all that society is building to centre economic activity and political action on meeting the needs of people and respecting nature, in the present and for future generations.

13. As a context for interrelations, the World Social Forum seeks to strengthen and create new national and international links among organisations and movements of society, that - in both public and private life - will increase the capacity for non-violent social resistance to the process of dehumanisation the world is undergoing and to the violence used by the State, and reinforce the humanising measures being taken by the action of these movements and organisations.

14. The World Social Forum is a process that encourages its participant organisations and movements to situate their actions, from the local level to the national level and seeking active participation in international contexts, as issues of planetary citizenship, and to introduce onto the global agenda the change-inducing practices that they are experimenting in building a new world in solidarity.
(Charter of Principles 2001)

4.2.5. Process and themes at the WSF

The structure of the above mentioned events as well as the Charter of Principles reflect the character of the World Social Forum as a loose space for international co-ordination and as a manifestation of the great variety of oppositions to capitalist globalisation and neo-liberalism. As argued by Roberto Bissio, Co-ordinator of Social Watch, the organisational format of the Forum shows the dynamics of global civil society. He believes that the facts that (a) the WSF does not want to arrive at common resolutions; (b) everyone can talk, listen, make alliances, and (c) no one, not even the organisers, are allowed to become spokespersons for the rest, and least of all to constitute themselves as an authority, are amongst the most significant strengths of the

WSF. He adds that "the WSF is not, and it does not want to be, a political party or a project of alternative power".[440]

The various informal talks I had in Porto Alegre as well as the type of workshops and conferences I attended and the ideas discussed there show that what brings thousands of people to the WSF (approximately 12 000 in 2001 and 50 000 in 2002) is not a shared conviction about a particular socio-economic and political model to be implemented but the opposition to the current one and the feeling that a more just, equitable, ecological, happier world is possible. Those present in the Forum dream of this other world in various different ways: from workers defending the centrality of labour for social transformation to those proposing new forms of work independent from labour relations such as the experiences of barter networks; from those wanting to tax international transactions as a source of income for Development initiatives to those proposing the boycott of the international financial institutions; from those promoting the involvement of social movements in the construction of a political alternative to those suggesting the abandonment of politics. All these and other topics have been covered during the WSF at the workshops and testimonies presented by participating organisations. This multiplicity of experiences is one of the characteristics of the Forum, where the diverse – and sometimes contradictory - aspects of civil society around the world are welcomed, provided they agree with the founding principles of the initiative. Differences are encouraged within the framework of those organisations "who question neo-liberalism and are building alternatives to enable human Development and to overcome market supremacy inside each country and in international relations".[441] Among the Uruguayan participants, for example, labour union leaders, unemployed and

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[440] "Os governos podem mudar as regras do jogo impostas por essa globalizacao", interview with Roberto Bissio, Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo, Edicao Especial, March 2002, No. 239, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, p. 16.

[441] World Social Forum. A different world is possible, 25-30 January 2001, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, Official Programme, Presentation, p. 57.

promoters of the Global Barter Network came together for the purpose of organising a common delegation.

Although the issues addressed during the first Forum encompassed a variety of topics, "two great themes are the focus of the World Social Forum: wealth and democracy. The theme world wealth addresses the formation, concentration, and distribution of wealth and the sub-themes of employment, environment, and freedom of financial capitals. In the debate concerning democracy, the democratic limitation of national states before the ample operating freedom of financial capitals, as well as the power of organs such as the International Monetary Fund will be analysed".[442] A bias towards the questioning of the way international financial institutions operate and the role capital plays in the constitution and ways of operation of democratic societies can clearly be identified. This bias can be traced to the origins of the Forum, its relationship with the global mobilisation against these institutions, and with the prominent role of ATTAC and its focus on international transactions. It also relates to the extended view among those involved in the anti-globalisation movement with respect to the negative role played by these institutions. According to Ignacio Ramonet, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) are the "hidden government of the planet"; the political frameworks – "structural adjustment programmes" - applied by various governments around the world are decided by these institutions and have resulted in growing inequality around the world.[443] Following this line of analysis, any alternative to the current world order must prioritise the opposition to them.

But the dynamics of the first WSF and the overwhelming participation of organisations emphasising social and cultural aspects of alternatives to capitalist globalisation led to a reformulation in the programme-presentation of the second Forum. The WSF 2002 is introduced there as aiming at the

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[442] Ibid.
[443] Ramonet, Ignacio: Ibid.

"systematisation of alternatives to neo-liberal globalisation that the experiences of resistance and the utopian analysis and aspirations allow us to debate upon".[444] For the third Forum to be held again in Porto Alegre in January 2003 the International Council aims at reasserting the open nature of the WSF event and process, and to uphold the commitment not to attempt to produce overall summary positions nor to point to major alternatives, but rather to bring out the diversity of proposals for building another world.[445]

Wolfgang Sachs, interviewed in Porto Alegre by the author of this thesis during the second WSF, believes though that not much is being discussed at the Forum of how that other world can look like. For Sachs the emphasis of the WSF is on democracy: how to preserve it and develop it further in the context of a globalised world. But what to do when democracy has been consolidated and people freed from a savage form of globalisation, according to Sachs, is not sufficiently debated. He adds that the participatory budget in Porto Alegre is a concrete example, a possible model, and the WSF would really be a meeting about another possible world if thousands of other such different ways of doing things would be generated and discussed.[446] The changes promoted by the International Council for the third Forum might be a reflection of the need for contemplating, not just in theory but in practice, the vast differences of proposals and practices of those participating at the WSF.

Some of the participants, though, seem to have a very clear image of what that other possible world would look like. Ignacio Ramonet argues that it would be a world without foreign debt; where the countries of the South would play a more important role; where there would be no structural adjustment programmes; where the Tobin Tax would be applied to the financial transactions; a world with more Development aid and where this one

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[444] World Social Forum. A different world is possible, 31 January – 05 February 2002, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, Official Programme, Presentation, p. 75.

[445] See the WSF website: www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.asp Go to: Who Organizes it; International Resolutions of the Council; International Council – Barcelona, Spain. Downloaded 2002.10.31.

will not adopt the ecologically unsustainable model of the North; where there would be massive investments in schools, houses and health; where the 1 400 million people lacking water would have access to it; where women would be truly emancipated; where the precautionary principle would be applied to all genetic manipulations and where the current privatisation of life would be stopped.[447] Ramonet's statement summarises some of the ideas present at the WSF. It can also be argued that it reflects the view of those who believe in a particular end-result of the Forum, or at least the aspiration to be able to formulate a common understanding of how a different world should look like. Sachs' expectation that the Forum could generate examples of thousands of different ways of doing things probably reflects the view of those who do not expect to arrive to common positions but to familiarise themselves with and exchange ideas on as many alternatives and proposals as possible.

4.2.5.1. The social and the political at the WSF

While there were a great number of groups promoting diversity, the fact that there was a strong constituency wishing to arrive at models to be followed can be associated with the role played by the traditional left in the Forum. According to Sachs "it is not a secret that the mainstream of people here find their action and intellectual home in the traditional left, what I would call yesterday left. And this yesterday style left never really asked the question of alternative or post-Development. Because in the last instance the notion of society wide planning and the notion of developing productive forces of society is a corner stone of their implicit belief".[448]

Sachs' statement can be related to the fact that, although the Charter of Principles explicitly says that the WSF brings together "only organisations and movements of civil society" and excludes "party representation", the

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[446] Interview conducted by the author of this thesis in Porto Alegre, Brazil, on February 3, 2002. See Annex 1.
[447] Ramonet, Ignacio: Ibid.
[448] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

Brazilian Workers' Party (PT) plays a major role in the running of the event. While in Porto Alegre I talked informally with support staff who where members of the youth wing of the PT. It can be said that the logistics relied to a certain extent on the organisational capacity of the party. It is important to remember also that the fact that the PT ruled the city and the state was a decisive factor for the selection of the venue. The Mayor and Governor respectively, besides other Workers' Party members, have been central figures in the first two Forums. Parties from the Left in various countries were the ones that responded to the invitation for the World Parliamentary Forum and the Forum of Local Authorities parallel to the WSF, events for which the Workers' Party was the host.

As a political structure, the PT has a particular view of society, of the economy and of power relations. This view is present in some of the activities organised during the Forum but does not exclude others. And this is a central characteristic of the WSF: what takes place during those days in Porto Alegre and the dynamics it generates around the world are much more than the addition of the various views, activities and proposals. It is a collective and heterogeneous expression of hope and dissatisfaction at the same time; of trust in what human beings committed to values such as justice and equality can achieve and of condemnation of what human beings guided by greed are doing. A big opposition to the world represented by Davos is common but the shape of that other world is a blur. For some it might follow a political model that could be identified with socialism, and various representatives of socialist parties around the world were present every year in Porto Alegre. For others it might resemble community life as lived by indigenous peoples in different countries, and several indigenous organisations were also present in the WSF. In an informal conversation with a representative from the indigenous peoples of Ecuador, I was told that the WSF was seen by his people as a privileged space for presenting their particular view of social and communal life.

The role played by the Workers' Party offers an interesting scope of analysis. Though finding commonalties with the traditional left as mentioned

by Wolfgang Sachs, its origins are linked to social struggles, particularly the workers' struggle, with the support of other social forces such as Christian community-based-organisations, independent Marxists, intellectuals and rural workers.[449] Looking at its origins, composition and mode of operation, it can be said that, though a political party, the PT is "another type of political party". "It is easy for everyone to see that the PT is different from other parties. And not only in terms of its political stances, which for many are too 'radical', or for its bearded men (there really aren't that many!). People recognise the PT militant because there is a PT way of being which is a specific culture more than an ideology. An enthusiasm comparable only to that of soccer fans, an energy that drives the militant - the highly-feared PT militant - out in the streets, flag in hand, a red star on the chest. The PT also distinguishes itself from the other parties because it knew how to produce, from the beginning, a happy, modern, young self-image in comparison to the

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[449] From the "The Workers' Party Political Declaration", São Bernardo, October 13, 1979: "After many years of democratic resistance, the most recent fact experienced by Brazilian society is the great struggle of the working class masses for better living conditions for large sections of the Brazilian population, both in cities and in the countryside. The struggles, which the dictatorship was unable to prevent, created the necessary conditions for the first steps toward breaking-up some of the main support devices of the 1964 regime, namely the wage squeeze and banning the right to strike. The proposal to create the PT came from development of these struggles since, having to face the enormous concentration of power by the State, workers realised that the economic struggle, although important, was not enough to ensure better living conditions for most Brazilians. (...) The idea for the PT emerged with the growth and strength of this new and far-reaching movement which, today, reaches factories and neighbourhoods, trade-unions and church grassroots communities, anti-poverty movements, students, intellectuals, professional groups, blacks, women, and many others, such as those who defend the rights of indigenous populations. (...) Thus, the Workers' Party intends to constitute a national mass organisation formed by all who are concerned with the transformation of economic, social and political order. (…) The movement, therefore, does not wish to suggest only instantaneous and provisional solutions to the working-class masses, but rather to create conditions for a medium and long-term struggle for the true democratisation of not only our present political institutions but of society. The PT fights for the direct control of political and economical power by the workers, the only way of putting an end to exploitation and oppression. Therefore, it will build a democratic internal structure based on collective decisions which may effectively ensure that its political direction and program will be defined by the party's members. (...) Downloaded from the website of the Fundacao Perser Abramo established by the Workers' Party in May 1996: www.fpabramo.org.br/apres/apres_ingles.htm. Go to Exhibition "Paths – The Workers' Party"; A Star is Born – Building the Workers' Party. Downloaded 2002.11.26.

prevalent, stiff, old-fashioned style. The star, its 'trade mark', is reproduced in many forms, free from rules or regulations, based entirely on creativity".[450]

This description of the PT and of the reasons people follow it can be applied to the WSF. After my active participation in the last two years I can say that there is "a way of being" in the WSF, a particular culture that cannot be reflected on the website, or in documents presented at or produced during the event, or in reports written by academics or journalists describing what happens in Porto Alegre. The dynamics during the Forum, the encounters, the feelings, the informal discussions, the interactions with ordinary Porto Alegre citizens, the chats with the taxi drivers, are all part and parcel of that process of "being" that is in the making. It can be argued then, that although the left – in this case the Brazilian left - plays a major role in the characterisation of the WSF through a political structure – the Workers' Party - this contribution breaks away from traditional party politics. "Another world is possible" is the slogan of the Forum, and the PT can affirm that this is an achievable dream because from its own experience "another political party is possible" has become a reality. But, even if it plays an important role during the Forum, the PT is just one of the participants at the event and many others contribute from their practices and beliefs to shape the WSF.

4.2.5.2. The internationalisation of the WSF

The fact that the Forum takes place in Brazil is not a minor circumstance. The Forum is a world event but it has a very strong Brazilian character that any participant can feel while in Porto Alegre. It happens in a Brazilian environment, the national committee is the main organiser and the Brazilians are – by far - the biggest contingent. The internationalisation of the Forum is strengthening through regional and thematic Forums that started taking place around the world (continental Forums in Europe, Asia and Africa, thematic

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[450] Website of the Fundacao Perser Abramo: Ibid. Go to Exhibition "Paths – The Workers' Party"; PT Also Means Culture – The PT Way of Being. Downloaded

Forum in Argentina as well as national Forums being organised in several countries). This process will reach a further depth if plans to rotate the WSF venue in different Third World countries from 2004 onwards materialise. Making the WSF more international, though, implies opening it to more local and national contributions. The more it rotates around the world, the more the particular realities and cultures of the chosen hosting countries will impact on the character of the WSF. The Argentine thematic Forum, for example, was clearly marked by the current economic and political crisis in that country and by the responses from Argentine civil society to those specific conditions.

As argued in the online announcement of the event, "this thematic Forum that will take place in Buenos Aires and in other parts of the country from 22 to 25 August (2002), constitutes a significant step in the internationalisation process of the WSF and it aims at promoting debate and identifying strategies and alternatives to neo-liberalism in the sub-region and in the continent, as a result of the analysis of the crisis and of the forms of resistance in Argentina". "Efforts will be made to give more visibility, support and solidarity to the various forms of resistance and the building up of alternatives in Argentina, articulating them with the rest of South America and the global movement to overcome neo-liberalism and war".[451] The internationalisation of the Forum, seen as a global response to capitalist globalisation, seems to rely on specific responses already happening at national, regional, or local level.

4.2.6. Preliminary conclusion about the WSF

The WSF, as it has already been argued, does not provide a way forward or a plan of action that could give shape to an alternative path to the current

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[451] Online announcement of the World Social Forum in Argentina, Thematic Forum Argentina. Received from dialogo@wamani.apc.org, August 04, 2002. See also the website of the World Social Forum in Argentina: www.forosocialargentino.org/foro2002.htm

dominant model of capitalist globalisation. What the WSF provides is the opportunity to make various initiatives widely known; it allows for exchanges and articulations to take place; it strengthens the localised efforts through an international network that sends a global message of discontent and of search for alternatives; it builds-up self-esteem amongst those already active in the day to day construction of "other ways of doing things". The WSF is a source of hope that the current injustices and inequalities around the world can be overcome. It is an encounter from which participants leave with enthusiasm and encouragement. It also threatens the established order simply by exposing high numbers of people who are discontented and committed to the building-up of a new order.

4.3. The World Social Forum and post-Development

As it has been said before, the WSF is characterised by the heterogeneous and diverse actors that shape the movement as well as by the various and multiple proposals presented and discussed there. In comparing the ideas put forward by post-Development with those of the Forum, this heterogeneity must be taken into account.

One of the central ideas of post-Development discussed in the previous chapter is the emphasis on locality, on "thinking and acting locally" as emphasised by Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash. They believe in fact that global thinking is impossible, because "we can only think wisely about what we actually know well". And furthermore, "when local movements or initiatives lose the ground under their feet, moving their struggle into the enemy's territory – global arenas constructed by global thinking - they become minor players in the global game, doomed to lose their battles". They therefore make a call to think and act locally, "while forging solidarity with other local forces that share this opposition to the 'global thinking' and 'global

forces' threatening local spaces".[452] If looking at the dynamics of the WSF, and following on the distinction proposed by Esteva and Prakash between local and global thinkers, it can be argued that both groups are present at the Forum. The local thinkers can be recognised, for example, in the call made by the Argentine Social Forum. It is from their locally anchored practices in response to their specific local realities that they become part of a global movement. Their strategies are not global in order to change international practices but based on specific proposals to be implemented in Argentina and, from there, articulate with other local practices around the world. Local thinkers can also be identified in the International Forum on Globalisation. This organisation, which played a major role in the mobilisations in Seattle and beyond, presented at Porto Alegre a Report Summary on Alternatives to Economic Globalisation resulting from meetings held over three years among associates from various countries. In this document they included a chapter on "Ten Principles for Democratic and Sustainable Societies". Under one of the principles, Sudsidiarity, they affirm: "Economic globalisation results first, and foremost, in de-localisation and disempowerment of communities and local economies. It is therefore necessary to reverse direction and create new rules and structures that consciously favour the local, and follow the principle of subsidiarity, i.e., whatever decisions and activities can be undertaken locally should be. Whatever power can reside at the local level should reside there. Only when additional activity is required that cannot be satisfied locally, should power and activity move to the next higher level: region, nation, and finally the world".[453] Furthermore, the local thinkers can be identified with the majority of those presenting workshops at the WSF dealing with issues and topics that relate to their day-to-day practice.

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[452] Esteva, Gustavo and Prakash, Madhu Suri: "From Global Thinking to Local Thinking", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria (compilers): "The post-Development Reader", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1997, pp. 277-289.
[453] International Forum on Globalization: "Report Summary. A Better World is Possible. Alternatives to Economic Globalization", IFG, San Francisco, CA, p. 9.

The global thinkers, on the other hand, have a global agenda. Their most symbolic event took place during the first WSF in 2001 when a virtual debate was organised between Davos and Porto Alegre and televised around the world. Although this debate generated a great interest among the media, the normal programme of the Forum continued unaffected with organisations presenting their workshops and testimonies aimed at sharing experiences and ideas among those present in Porto Alegre. Following on Esteva and Prakash analysis, the organisers of the debate – ATTAC France, initiator of the idea of the introduction of the Tobin Tax - moved into the enemy's territory without impacting on the world order dominated by the latter. It can be said that global thinkers aim at questioning an unjust global order with global proposals, not necessarily anchored in local practices.

The two perspectives resulting from global and local thinkers find a space in Porto Alegre. Even if the WSF emerged as an initiative to counteract capitalist globalisation at the global level, the dynamics of the last three years[454] have led many players to emphasise the importance of local alternatives, perceiving the Forum as the space for articulating those alternatives. Global campaigns are still being promoted: against foreign debt, against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (commercial agreement led by the United States), in favour of the Tobin Tax, against the use of genetically modified food and many other campaigns. In some cases, though, these campaigns have national expressions and relate to the issues that such international initiatives generate in particular countries. As mentioned earlier, no one represents or can become spokesperson for the WSF. In the same token, no campaign, or project, or strategy becomes the Forum's initiative or symbolises the ideas and proposals from it. The Forum represents the heterogeneity of those opposing capitalist globalisation and neo-liberalism and that great variety – sometimes containing a great deal of contradiction - is the trademark of the WSF.

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[454] This includes not just the two World Social Forums but the various other events, preparation meetings, encounters, publications, national and continental Forums.

From that point of view it can be argued that some of the initiatives and strategies present at the WSF have similarities with ideas put forward by post-Development. Some of the coincidences are:

- The respect and promotion of diversity and the decision not to arrive to common resolutions. This relates to an opposition to corporate led-globalisation that results in the undermining of cultural, social and economic diversity and the homogenisation through compulsory forms of industrial consumption. The logical follow-up to this opposition is the recognition that there is not one but various alternatives to that model.

- The importance assigned to local practices and local knowledge. This is particularly relevant in the areas of food security and ecological sustainability. It also relates to the emphasis on activities linked to production for communities' own consumption. The important role played by the landless people's movement within the Forum and their struggle for land is directly linked to this.

- The questioning of the centrality of the economy in human life and the search for alternative economic models such as economy in solidarity, barter networks, etc. For these initiatives human beings are at the centre of all economic activity rather than the accumulation of capital; they promote co-operation instead of competition; they value work for its creative aspect independently of remuneration; they promote a convivial way of life rather than a life centred on the markets.

- The strong opposition to capitalist Development (represented by the international financial institutions and what they stand for). This refers to opposing foreign investment and export oriented type of Development, centrality of economic growth and its heavy dependency on natural non-renewable resources, lose of power by national governments being replaced by the markets and global cultural homogenisation, among other things.

- The option for social movements as agents of transformation. The WSF is a space of encounter of civil society and of the practices that take place outside the traditional political space. In the same way, post-Development has positioned itself strategically within the initiatives of social – rather than political - actors.

- The support for the constitution of citizens rather than consumers. The emphasis given up to now by the WSF to the topics of wealth and democracy has to do with the restitution of rights, with the recognition of human beings as actors who decide upon their own lives. This relates to personal as well as community rights.

- The idea of conviviality understood as mutual responsibility. In the neo-liberal logic dominated by the free movement of capitals, social responsibility is not a factor to consider any more. In fact, economic globalisation has eliminated social responsibility. Within the WSF the idea prevails that this last one should be restored, thus the call for corporate accountability, but also through the acknowledgement that our actions affect others and the world we live in. This relates in turn to the call made by the Forum for a globalisation in solidarity in opposition to corporate globalisation. The first one acknowledges interdependence but makes a call for mutual benefit from it.[455]

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[455] The ideas summarised in this section emerged from various documents obtained at the WSF. See for example: "World Social Forum. A different world is possible, 25-30 January 2001 / 31 January – 05 February 2002, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, Official Programme(s). The events listed there clearly indicate the priorities and orientation of the event.

4.3.1. Global alternative to Development or global alternative Development?

If, as argued in Chapter 3, what distinguishes post from alternative Development is that the latter still proposes Development as the tool for a better life - even if it calls for alternative ways to implement it - while post-Development positions itself outside the Development discourse, the World Social Forum could be seen as integrating or supporting alternative Development views. Development is still an aspiration for many of those active at the WSF even if accompanied by qualifications such as ecological, human or people centred. It could be argued, though, that while the word Development still appears in the discourse, many of the proposals emerging from the Forum, some of the activities presented there, and above all, the very structure and functioning of the Forum, can clearly be seen outside the Development tradition. Firstly and foremost because Development is an interventionist strategy to be implemented following prescribed plans and actions in order to reach a predetermined model. The definition of the Forum as an "open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and inter-linking for effective action, by groups and movements of civil society"[456], as stated in the Charter of Principles, positions the initiative in a different category. It opens the scope for proposals that can be considered as part of the Development discourse but also to others that are clearly outside. The Charter includes only one reference to Development: "The World Social Forum is opposed to all totalitarian and reductionist views of economy, Development and history"[457]. This does not constitute a defence or an opposition to Development, but an encouragement to shape it according to the various and heterogeneous views

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[456] See Principle No. 1 of the Charter of Principles included in this chapter.
[457] See Principle No. 10.

represented at the WSF. Some of these views, in fact, can even propose its abandonment.

Two of the most prominent post-Development authors, for example, were invited as speakers during one of the morning conferences at the second WSF in 2002. Vandana Shiva and Wolfgang Sachs were part of the panel on "Sustainable Environment" within the topic of "Access to Wealth and Sustainability". The French organisation La ligne d'horizon[458] presented on the 1 February a workshop called "Alternatives to Development". One of the post-Development authors, Serge Latouche, is a member of this organisation that in February/March 2002 organised a seminar in Paris called "Undoing Development, Redoing the World. The International Colloquium on post-Development".[459] Several of those who later participated at the colloquium were present in Porto Alegre in January. Among them were Wolfgang Sachs (Germany), Heloisa Primavera (Argentina), Aminata Traore (Mali), Jose Bove and Jean-Pierre Berlan (France). Co-organiser of this event was Le Monde Diplomatique. Ignacio Ramonet, from this publication and also from ATTAC, was invited as a speakers for the panel "Democratising Communications and the Media". Even if Le Monde Diplomatique supported the seminar on post-Development, it can be argued that some of Ramonet's positions can be identified with sectors promoting Alternative Development. This relates, for example, to his views on "another world" where he mentioned "more Development aid" and a Development model that will not follow the unsustainable steps of the North.[460]

Nevertheless, as Wolfgang Sachs said in the interview with the author of this thesis, the issue of distinguishing post and alternative Development is not in the agenda of the Forum. In fact, there is no discussion around Development as such. If Development can be identified with the strategy to be

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[458] See website: www.lignedhorizon.com/

[459] "Undoing Development, Redoing the World. The International Colloque on post-Development", Paris, February/March 2002. For further information visit the website: www.apres-developpement.org

[460] Ramonet, Ignacio: "El consenso de Porto Alegre", Ibid.

implemented in Third World countries in order to impose corporate-led, neo-liberal globalisation, then the great majority of those present in Porto Alegre are clearly opposed to it. But, as argued in the previous chapters, over the decades Development has signified a variety of things, among them, the expectations of millions of human beings for a better life. The term, therefore, "the empty shell" as argued by Sachs, stands.

What seems to arise from the various proposals and discussions at the WSF is that giving content to that empty shell has started to take a quite different direction for many organisations around the world and that, without referring to post-Development, several of these proposals coincide with the ideas put forward by this school of thought.

The afternoon workshops are considered the privileged space for the exchange of ideas towards the building of a different possible world. Many of the almost 700 workshops presented during the WSF resembled a number of the ideas of post-Development. Some of the areas covered that seemed to coincide with post-Development were, for example: towards a post capitalist world, alternative and participatory economy, a new democratic order based on the participation of social movements, re-linking production and consumption, stop commodification of life, alternatives to Development[461], socio-economic solidarity/solidarity as a theological space in the construction of a new world/solidarity economy and state, popular education, ending International Financial Institutions. Other workshops had to do with formal education, social capital, labour laws, sustainable Development, socialism, international technical co-operation, reforming the International Financial Institutions and other areas that can be associated with Development discourse. And a great number of workshops related to topics that could go either way, depending on the approach and the implementation, such as gender justice, fair trade in opposition to free trade, democratic participation, Paulo Freire's approach to education, sustainable use of natural resources, etc.

In summary, it can be said, that the WSF hosts a variety of approaches to Development, from the radical criticism represented by post-Development which proposes its abandonment, to views that propose the introduction of changes or additions but still believe in it.

What the World Social Forum shows, in its world event in Porto Alegre as well as in its many national, regional and continental ones[462], is the growing discontent with capitalist globalisation. If, as argued in Chapter 2, globalisation is the new name for Development or the current stage of several that Development has followed in the process of westernising the world[463], then this movement is also in opposition to Development. The search for alternatives clearly includes non-developmental paths. This relates to a fundamental distrust in those institutions traditionally in charge of designing, financing, and monitoring Development projects. After over 40 years of implementation, what the anti-globalisation movement does is questioning the effectiveness and the legitimacy of this approach to overcome world inequalities. It does not propose new institutions or new projects to replace those that have become obsolete. The alternatives are in the making and not universally valid. It can be then argued that this new international scenario, without explicitly naming it, is questioning Development. Post-Development writers have had the capacity to put this questioning into formulations that contribute to a better understanding of the current reality and of the various possibilities for the construction of happier, more satisfactory ways of living.

It is important to mention, though, that the strength of the WSF and of post-Development is their opposition to capitalist globalisation and to

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[461] This workshop that took place on the 1 of February under the Thematic Area "Production of Wealth and Social Reproduction", was presented by La ligne d'horizon.

[462] At the time of writing this thesis the European Social Forum was taking place in Florence, Italy, with a participation of over 20.000. Almost half a million people participated at the opening march. For the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, for January 2003, 100.000 delegates were expected.

[463] See for example Finger, Matthias: "People's Perspectives on Globalisation", in The Society for International Development (SID): "Development", Volume 40 number 2, Sage Publications, London, 1997, p. 15.

Development, respectively, though post-Development opposition can primarily be found at the level of discourse. What many observers have criticised of the Forum - and in fact many writers have argued is the weakest point of post-Development - is that it mainly criticises without proposing alternatives. It has already being discussed in this and in previous chapters that the Forum – as well as post-Development - do offer a variety of alternatives and proposals even if without the intention of presenting them as models to be followed. But although alternatives exist, it is from questioning the injustices and inequalities of the capitalist system/Development, that the WSF and post-Development derive their relevance. John Holloway argues that "when we write or read it is too easy to forget that at the beginning it was not the word but the scream. Facing the deconstruction of human lives by capitalism, a scream of sadness, a scream of horror, a scream of anger, a scream of rejection: NO. The starting point for theoretical reflection is the opposition, the negation, the struggle".[464] It is, according to Holloway, from the rejection to a world that we feel is wrong, a world that resembles a non-truth, where we can take hold. Because of the extent of what is wrong, of what needs to be changed, this original scream, this rejection, becomes a powerful force aware of its own lack of power in the existing order. But by the same token, it becomes a powerful force in order to understand that whatever changes might be implemented to that unjust order they cannot use its categories, its power, its logic. In this way, the original NO, the founding opposition, becomes the guarantee to avoid reform, to skip the temptation of changing from within without altering the fundamental order. Following this logic, Holloway's proposal is to change the world without taking power. Inmanuel Wallerstein seems to agree that this is the WSF's approach. According to Wallerstein, the left spent almost a hundred years arguing that there was only one possible strategy to change the world and that it included two elements: to create a centrally organised structured and that this one

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[464] Holloway, John: "En el principio fue el grito", in Brecha, March 8, 2002, Montevideo, Uruguay. (Text extracted from Holloway's book: "Como cambiar el

should have as its main aim taking control of state power. After several leftist parties did take power without transforming the world as a result, Wallerstein believes that Porto Alegre offers an alternative to that strategy. He argues that in the WSF there is no centralised structure but a coalition of transnational, national and local movements, with multiple priorities, united in their opposition to the neo-liberal world order. He further argues that the majority of these movements are not looking for state power, and if some of them are looking for it, this just constitutes one more of several tactics.[465]

Oposition becomes strength because it clearly defines how "another possible world" should not look like, it defines paths that should not be followed, it questions values that should not be hoisted. During the march organised by the European Social Forum in Florence, Italy, in November 2002, a demonstrator from Poland was asked for his reasons for being there and he answered "I'm here against war, against capitalism and for love".[466] The opposition to war and capitalism, which mobilised almost half a million people on a Saturday afternoon, is a powerful statement containing seeds for change. During the interview conducted by the author of this thesis with Wolfgang Sachs, he frequently used the expression "other ways of doing things". This relates to ways that take distance from mainstream society trapped within the capitalist way of doing things. Opposing it, questioning it, challenging its legitimacy, opens the doors for a variety of other ways, for the unexpected, for novelty. And here is where the strength of the WSF and from post-Development coincide: in the unconditional opposition to a state of affairs that has dominated the world order for several decades and in the trust in alternative forces/ways/proposals that that opposition can unleash.

To talk about coincidence does, clearly, not mean that the WSF is a space that in all its ideas and practices resembles post-Development. The opposition to corporate-led globalisation and the capitalist model can be

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mundo sin tomar el poder").
[465] Wallerstein, Inmanuel: "Otro mundo es posible", in Pagina 12, March 6, 2002, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
[466] Shown on SABC News at 20.00 hours, 9 November 2002.

associated with the indignation necessary to theorize possible ways of overcoming them. Following on Boaventura de Sousa Santos' analysis, these ways are in fact many inasfar as there is not just one social transformation principle, and "even those who still believe in a socialist future see it as a possible future, concurrent with other alternative futures…Because the forms of domination are multiple, the resistances are also multiple as well as the implementing agents. In the absence of a unique principle, it is not possible to bring all the resistance forms and agents under one common theory".[467] The various forms of resistance present at the WSF reflect in fact a myriad of possibilities, some of which can clearly be considered as part of the Development discourse, and some clearly outside of it. It is this overlapping of ideas and proposals between the WSF and post-Development's discourse which shows the current relevance of post-Development, taking into account the visible importance of the WSF and its consolidation as the largest opposition to neo-liberal globalisation.

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[467] Santos, Boaventura de Sousa: "A critica da razao indolente. Contra o desperdicio da experiencia. Para um novo senso comun. A ciencia, o direito e a politica na transicao paradigmatica, Volume 1", Cortez Editora, Sao Paulo, 2000, pp. 23, 27.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

1. Introduction

This study was undertaken in order to:

- explore the ideas put forward by post-Development;
- see whether there is evidence on the ground that these ideas inform existing practices;
- explore to what extent these ideas can have a growing influence on those disenchanted by Development and in search of alternatives.

A pre-requisite for this exploration was the systematic analysis of the Development discourse, which was done under the perspective of post-Development's critique. In the preceding chapters I have made references to a number of reports from a variety of sources which show that after forty years of implementation Development has not managed to overcome basic inequalities around the world. I have also presented and analysed several local and global practices which, being very critical of the current model of capitalist Development, are protesting against it, are challenging its universal validity by living and practising "other ways of doing things", and are articulating such practices with the aim of building up alternatives. One of the aims of this study was to identify to what extent there is a relationship between these particular experiences and post-Development.

As a result of several years of research, trying to understand theoretically what post-Development stands for and empirically the practices of organisations and movements and their relationship to this current of thought, a series of conclusions are presented in this chapter. They have to do, on the first place, with the aims of the study. For that purpose I include an

analysis of the extent to which the research has brought about a clear theoretical understanding of post-Development and particularly, its distinctiveness from alternative Development. One of the criticisms presented early in this dissertation was the broadness and ambiguity of Development, what Wolfgang Sachs called "the empty shell". It is important to conclude then, whether post-Development can be clearly defined and distinguished from other currents of thought. A second conclusion in relation to the aims has to do with the practicality of post-Development ideas, with the extent to which they can be found in existing practices, whether because they have inspired them or because they reflect already existing realities. And finally, concerning the aims, it is important to conclude whether post-Development ideas can provide inspiration and support for implementable alternatives to the dominant capitalist mode of Development. Other conclusions refer to the impact that the end of the Cold War and post-modernism had in post-Development and to areas of this study that call for further research.

2. Post-Development: an identifiable concept?

In this section I will present a series of ideas that I believe help to distinguish post-Development from other currents of thought and to highlight its originality. They refer to the theoretical formulations of post-Development as well as to its relationship to concrete practices.

2.1. A Radical Critique of Development

Post-Development has the merit of unconditionally criticising Development and declaring the impossibility of its reformulation. This is unique to this current of thought. No other authors or movements have proposed the abandonment of Development. Even the anti-globalisation movement, probably the widest and most heterogeneous opponent to the current predominant socio-economic model in the world, while opposing corporate-

led globalisation, capitalism and neo-liberalism makes no explicit reference to opposing Development. As it has been argued earlier this movement emphatically opposes many of the trademarks of the capitalist mode of Development. Also the Global Barter Network proposes types of relationships and of insertion in the broader society that in essence question distinctive characteristics of Development such as growth, productivity and the money market. But none of them has an anti-Development discourse. None of them explicitly says, either in internal documents or in public manifestos, "we are against Development". Post-Development, on the other side, says that "the idea of Development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape; Development has become outdated…it has grown obsolete"[468]; "Development has evaporated. The metaphor opened up a field of knowledge and for a while gave scientist something to believe in. After some decades, it is clear that this field of knowledge is a mined, unexplorable land".[469]

Post-Development writers believe that the explicit questioning of Development is absolutely necessary because, as argued by Wolfgang Sachs "if there is no clarification or no images about Development, it means that the conventional one creeps in".[470] As a consequence, they have argued that Development is destructive, it results in poverty (understood in a broad sense), lose of self-esteem, dependency, destruction of nature and of cultures, even in the loss of language to express feelings and desires because a "Development language" has taken over to express them and propose ways of satisfying them.

As it has been discussed earlier in the dissertation, Development is associated with hopes and expectations for a better life, independently of the concrete results brought about by it. In this way, questioning Development,

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[468] Sachs, Wolfgang: "Introduction", in Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1992, p. 1.
[469] Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 22.
[470] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

calling for an end to it, appears to be "totally irresponsible".[471] It seems more legitimate to question globalisation, a phenomenon still distrusted and associated with negative effects around the world (domination of financial markets, privatisation of public assets, unemployment, etc.). The fact that Development is part and parcel of the model promoted by globalisation, or as argued by Gilbert Rist, the result to be achieved if following the globalisation path[472], does not seem to impact on those that are opposing globalisation and at the same time calling for "better" Development. The Final Resolution of the Alternative Summit held in Geneva in June 2000 says, for example, that what brings people together are "the shared refusal of neo-liberal globalisation and the general support within the movement for Development centred on human beings".[473] The ideology of Development is very much entrenched in governments as well as in civil society. After having become a myth, a religious belief, even a justification for war[474] in relation to the well-being of peoples around the world, questioning it seems to amount to playing down legitimate expectations for a better life. Post-Development writers have taken this challenge without undermining the aspirations of human beings for a better life, but questioning the all-encompassing power of the Development discourse that imposes interpretations and solutions. And they have done it in the understanding that no real, substantial improvements can happen in people's lives within the framework of Development. Their contribution is significant inasfar as they thoroughly describe why this is so, what have been the cultural, social and economic implications of Development as a power discourse and as the concrete implementation of plans and programmes aiming at reaching a predetermined model. They have presented numerous and grounded arguments on the impossibility of reforming or improving

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[471] Rahnema, Majid: "Introduction", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria: "The post-Development Reader", Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1997, p. ix.
[472] Rist, Gilbert: "The History of Development. From Western Origins to Global Faith", Zed Books, London and New York, 1997, p. 225.
[473] See Final Resolution of Alternative Summit included in Annex 4, under point 4: Debate and Develop Alternatives.
[474] See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Development and have concluded, therefore, with the call for a move beyond it. This is a trade-mark of post-Development that contributes to distinguish it from any other discourse.

2.2. Central ideas

In the chapter dedicated to analysing post-Development I included a series of ideas that seem to be central for this current of thought. It can be argued that none of them is original or exclusive to post-Development. What is original is the articulation of these ideas and the relationship that is established between them – as a reflection of what is happening on the ground - and the challenging of the validity of the Development discourse. The bringing together of these ideas casts light for better understanding the sensibilities and insights that are essential for post-Development. Together, they form a distinctive cluster of values – hospitality, locality, conviviality, community and so forth - and critique of capitalism and Development.

The Development discourse "is made up of a web of key concepts. It is impossible to talk about Development without referring to concepts such as poverty, production, the notion of the state or equality".[475] It can be said that for post-Development, on the contrary, it is not concepts that are essential but ways of living, of doing things, of experiencing them, of feeling them, of being sensitive about them. It is not the empirical verification of proposed theories that, according to post-Development writers, will challenge the Development discourse, but the living of other ways. As argued by Gustavo Esteva, "my trouble is that I have no words to speak about my theme. Where am I, if I declare I am beyond Development and progress? I cannot really describe or tell. I can <u>be</u> there, but I have no words to share what my gaze reveals".[476] But words were found and reflected in numerous articles, books, websites and talks. Ideas started shaping which in essence reflected that gaze.

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[475] Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 4.

Formulations were shared, published, criticised and contested. For the sake of challenging the Development discourse, "being beyond Development" was not enough. It was important to declare openly that condition, to proclaim it in words that could be understood by those still within Development, practically or in their beliefs. The central ideas of post-Development constitute then an effort to systematise particular sensibilities and living experiences in order to share them broadly as examples of "life beyond Development".

2.3. Distinguishing post-Development from alternative Development

Various forms of alternative Development, as argued in the corresponding section in Chapter 2, have criticised Development and embarked on efforts for reformulation. Nevertheless, basic characteristics of the Development Discourse have in most cases remained, particularly the interventionist nature of it. Even people-centred, participatory, endogenous, and other approaches to Development rely on forms of intervention - from the outside, from the knowledgeable, from experts -. Development, also alternative Development, is planned, budgeted, monitored and evaluated. Criteria are usually universal even if adjusted to particularities on the ground. To this logic post-Development opposes the ideas of *hospitality* and *attentiveness*. As has already been mentioned in Chapter 3 and it seems relevant to include as part of the Conclusions, when asked about the opposite of Development Gustavo Esteva answered: "I used then the word hospitality…To be a host to others is not to follow them, to opt for them, or to affiliate your soul to them. It is just to acknowledge and respect the others, to be hospitable to them. Hospitality implies a notion of horizons, not of frontiers. A horizon is not a geographical or topological concept, but a historic and cultural metaphor. It is a collective conscience completely independent of geography, a 'collective memory' in

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[476] Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Unpublished manuscript, 1993, p. 1.

continual transformation".[477] Hospitality relates to a living space that welcomes and promotes mutual benefit, that acknowledges differences and values them, that opens those involved to the unknown and to the discovery of their own and others' knowledge and capabilities. And in relation to this, as has been argued by Majid Rahnema and also included in Chapter 3, "the most significant quality is to be open and always attentive to the world and to all other humans … Attentive implies … being sensitive to what is, observing things as they are, free from any preconceived judgement, and not as one would like them to be".[478]

This attitude promoted by post-Development clearly questions the interventionist approach still present in alternative Development, which relies on pre-existing knowledge on the side of the experts. But it also questions the homogeneous gaze that results from the Development discourse and it constitutes a call to "use our own eyes".[479] Gustavo Esteva and other post-Development writers argue that the Development discourse has imposed restraints on the way human beings see and understand the world. Wolfgang Sachs says, for example, that "Development has so pervasively spread these assumptions that people everywhere have been caught up in a Western perception of reality".[480] Proposing the need for Development, even if called alternative, means accepting this construction as reality itself and acting accordingly. This constitutes another major distinction between Post and alternative Development. The former does not just search for alternative actions that will result in the recovery of oneself, one's own community, and the life-style dreamed by that human grouping in particular, but for alternative gazes and interpretations of reality. The major difference in the interpretation of reality is that post-Development does not believe in underdevelopment, used in the Development discourse as a synonym of backwardness, of un-

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[477] Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 10.
[478] Rahnema, Majid: "Signpost for *post-Development*", in ReVision, Spring 97, Vol. 19 Issue 4, p 8.
[479] Esteva, Gustavo: Ibid. p. 10.
[480] Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. pp. 4-5.

civilisation, of a state that needs to be overcome. For Development to take place, being underdeveloped is a pre-condition. The determination of that condition, in turn, results from that constructed vision of reality that applies Western values and standards around the globe. Alternative Development still operates from that logic inasfar as it accepts the existence of underdevelopment. The fact that post-Development questions this concept does not mean that it denies the need for improvements, changes, acquisition of new knowledge and incorporation of new practices. All human societies experience these transformations, at their own path and rhythm. Highly industrialised societies are also in constant transformation. This does not lead, though, to others calling them underdeveloped. Such qualification relies on the adherence to a set of values, which make the observer believe in the superiority of a particular model over others. Development – whether mainstream or alternative - is about reaching that model. Post-Development is about unleashing potentials, discovering capacities, learning from experiences and from each other, using one's own language to dream and to implement.

Post-Development also differentiates itself from alternative Development in its holistic view of people's lives and ways of improvement. While alternative Development would rely, by definition, on the implementation of Development (projects and programmes, for example) and the apparatus required for it (be it governments, international aid institutions or NGOs), post-Development emphasises day-to-day practices of those directly involved.

But post-Development also argues that not all so-called alternative Development theories are in the thrall of Development. If they take distance from an interventionist approach, question productivist and capitalist forms of social organisation, rely on local knowledge, reject imposition of imported interpretations and models, among other characteristics shared between post- and some alternative Development discourses, then the former would argue that the latter is not, in fact, part and parcel of Development; that it is a matter of attachment to an extremely ideologically charged word that retains

alternative Development within the Development discourse. What post-Development has done, and that is what is particularly distinctive from alternative Development, is to embark on an effort to unmask Development. While the latter would criticise capitalism and globalisation and present them as impediments to achieve "good Development", post-Development argues that on the contrary, it is Development which, due to its mythological character as the summary of the good life that human beings around the world can achieve, lends legitimacy to the continuation of, precisely, capitalism and globalisation. If taking this step, that is, of ceasing to call for Development with whatever qualification, then those other theories would also place themselves outside the Development discourse. Inasfar as they remain loyal to the word, post-Development would argue, they likewise risk supporting what is intrinsic and unavoidable of Development, defeating in the process the very aims they were set out to reach.

3. Post-Development: practices on the ground or just ideas?

Can one speak of any post-Development happening on the ground? Or, on the contrary, does it only exist at the level of theoretical formulation? My conclusion is that post-Development seems to describe what already exists and not to have inspired or promoted the implementation of concrete alternatives to the Development discourse. This does not exclude the possibility that certain practices in some parts of the world could have resulted from the inspiration and examples of post-Development writers. It only refers to the Global Barter Network and the World Social Forum analysed as part of this dissertation. In both cases there are a significant number of coincidences but none of them was formed, or started implementing particular actions, or adhered to certain ideas and values, as a result of their coming in contact with post-Development as a systematised discourse. It is possible that many of those active in the World Social Forum (and in the anti-globalisation movement) have been exposed to the ideas presented in some of the post-

Development publications (books and articles). The field research did not show, though, individuals or groups who perceived themselves as "post-Development followers". Maybe because that would have been a contradiction in terms, in the sense that it would have opposed the central concept of hospitality. There could have been, nevertheless, expressions of knowledge of that current of thought and of recognition of the inspiration its ideas played on the particular activities implemented. I did not encounter in my research one single person who said "I know post-Development and sympathise with its ideas, it has been an inspiration for my actions and those of my organisation". There is no doubt that, had the research taken place in Oaxaca (Mexico), where Gustavo Esteva lives and actively participates in community life, or in Goa (India), where Claude Alvares is committed with a series of initiatives, or in any other locality where any post-Development writer lives, shares his/her views with the community and learns from the interaction with its members, there would have been more people who had heard, known and been inspired by post-Development. But the research explicitly aimed at interviewing individuals, groups and global initiatives not directly associated with it. This not-knowing post-Development did not mean lack of coincidence with its discourse. There were in fact several such coincidences which I will be describing below. What these coincidences show is the ability of post-Development to theorise about what is happening on the ground and build a coherent set of formulations which, while presenting a clear picture of empirical facts, provide a new framework to de-construct the Development discourse.

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, in a series of talks Gustavo Esteva gave at the Universities of Oldenburg and Bremen in Germany in 1993 he introduced himself as an "itinerant storyteller". He also said about himself that he was a "de-professionalised intellectual".[481] Both definitions strongly

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[481] Both definitions can also be found in: Esteva, Gustavo: "Fiesta – jenseits von Entwicklung, Hilfe und Politik", Brandes und Apsel/Suedwind, Frankfort, 1992. The book includes a section called "Zur Person Gustavo Esteva", (About the person Gustavo Esteva), by Martina Kaller. It starts by quoting these two definitions Esteva

emphasise life before analysis, practice before theory. Nevertheless, while Esteva seems to take distance from academic life and prioritise making known the daily practices of peasants in Oaxaca and dwellers of certain neighbourhoods in Mexico City (Tepito)[482], it is the systematisation of these particular practices into a discourse that gives them relevance as examples which contribute towards creating awareness and impacting on other practices and even on new formulations. It is, in summary, the theorising of these stories that makes them relevant for the outside world. They were already relevant for those living them before Esteva gave talks at universities, published books that included these stories and presented them in a website.[483] But theorising about them, placing them within the framework of a descriptive or explanatory theory, even if without universal pretensions, allows for their dissemination as examples that can contribute towards new formulations and new worldviews. This falling back on intellectual abilities refers to one of the contradictions highlighted by Jan Nederveen Pieterse in his analysis of post-Development: "post-Development reflects anti-intellectualism in its reliance on de-professionalised intellectuals and distrusts of experts, while on the other hand it relies on and calls for 'complex discursive operations".[484]

The act of "storytelling" aims at impacting on others, at moving from the particularity of these stories to the significance they can have on realities outside their territorial and cultural boundaries (or horizons). By offering them as examples of "the ethos beyond Development – that is, about men and women who have decided to liberate themselves from the oppression of

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uses for himself. See p. 176. Wolfgang Sachs also uses the term "de-professionalised intellectuals" referring to the contributors of "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power". See Sachs: Ibid. p. 5.

[482] References to Tepito can be found in Esteva, Gustavo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Ibid. pp. 20-24 and in Esteva, Gustavo: "Fiesta – jenseits von Entwicklung, Hilfe und Politik", Ibid. pp. 140-149.

[483] See http://sunsite.queensu.ca/memoryplace/kitchen/Estevao1/

[484] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development", in "Development and Change", Volume 29, Number 2, April 1998, p. 364.

economic society"[485], Esteva theorises about these practices and places them outside the Development discourse. It can be said then, that although he also says "you will not find in the images I will delineate for you a substitute for the Development discourse"[486], these images are presented in order to prove the obsolescence of that discourse. In summary, one could argue that Esteva does indeed draw on his professional knowledge in order to challenge the Development discourse. However, this is done in both academic as well as in other environments and he ensures that his ideas are nurtured by the experience at grassroots. It is then at the level of ideas, rooted in concrete practices but reaching broader audiences as a result of their systematisation, that post-Development has made the greater contribution to the radical criticism of Development and to the construction of possible ways to understand one's own reality and transform it from a "beyond-Development" perspective.

The relationship of post-Development to emerging independent practices outside the Development discourse can be illustrated through the concept of Conventional Wisdom, firstly brought into debate by John Kenneth Galbraith in 1958 in his book "The Affluent Society".[487] He there argued that "men react, not infrequently with something akin to religious passion, to the defence of what they have so laboriously learned. Familiarity may breed contempt in some areas of human behaviour, but in the field of social ideas it is the touchstone of acceptability. Because familiarity is such an important test for acceptability, the acceptable ideas have great stability. They are highly predictable". To refer to those ideas characterised by familiarity, acceptability and predictability, he then coined the expression conventional wisdom.[488] Development is clearly a concept within the realm of conventional wisdom, characterised by acceptability that derives from familiarity independently of

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[485]Esteva, Gusatvo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Ibid. p. 26.
[486] Ibid. p. 13.
[487] Galbraith, John Kenneth: "The Affluent Society", Penguin Books, Great Britain, 1999. (40th Edition).
[488] Ibid. pp. 7-8.

objective results.[489] Galbraith argues that "the articulation of conventional wisdom is a religious rite", an affirmation of what people already believe in with no intention of conveying knowledge.[490] One could say that while Development is part and parcel of conventional wisdom, reproducing familiar and predictable concepts, post-Development can be identified with sociological thinking, as described by Zygmunt Bauman, aiming at "de-familiarising the familiar",[491] that is, at questioning conventional wisdom. According to Galbraith, "the enemy of the conventional wisdom is not ideas but the march of events … The fatal blow to the conventional wisdom comes when the conventional ideas fail signally to deal with some contingency to which obsolescence has made them palpably inapplicable. This, sooner or later, must be the fate of ideas which have lost their relation to the world. At this stage, the irrelevance will often be dramatised by some individual. To him will accrue the credit for overthrowing the conventional wisdom and for installing the new ideas. In fact, he will have only crystallised in words what the events had made clear, although this function is not a minor one".[492] One could argue that this paragraph describes what has taken place among Development, post-Development and practices on the ground. Development has become obsolete, the march of events (practices of grassroots and social movements) has rendered it unsuitable to describe them and interpret them, and post-Development has put this process into words. There is a clear function of interpretation, systematisation and dissemination of these ideas that is reserved to post-Development if conventional wisdom is further to be questioned and new ideas to find a place in social debate.

This discussion aimed at reasserting the conclusion that post-Development has not inspired or generated new practices, but systematised

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[489] I have already discussed at length in Chapter 2 the ideological character of Development, its religious and mythological dimensions that gave the term a meaning that has gained independence from its real effects and achieved results.
[490] Galbraith, John Kenneth: Ibid. p. 10.
[491] Bauman, Zygmunt: "Thinking Sociologically: an introduction for everyone", Oxford, U.K Cambridge, Mass. USA, B. Blackwell, 1990, p. 15.
[492] Galbraith, John Kenneth: Ibid. p. 11.

them, theorised around them, made them capable of being looked at, analysed and compared by broader audiences and therefore able to impact on other practices and discourses.

In the following section I will include characteristics from concrete practices from the researched groups which coincide with those presented by post-Development.

3.1. The Global Barter Network and the World Social Forum: coincidences with post-Development

3.1.1. Examples but not models

I have cited on many occasions through the dissertation that post-Development writers emphasise examples. Ivan Illich wrote already in 1971 that for the purpose of thinking of an alternative future "we must be satisfied with examples".[493] Wolfgang Sachs said to me in the interview held in Porto Alegre that he hoped the World Social Forum would generate examples of thousands of ways of doing things, examples of what he called "real life alternatives".[494] And Gustavo Esteva's "storytelling" is precisely about examples, about possible ways. The word model does not form part of the post-Development discourse. There is no normative concept within it. As it has been argued earlier, within modern society, being modern is the supreme value. In a post-modern scenario no one value can be seen as supreme. Interpretation and action occur within acknowledging a pre-existent horizon of significance, which is culturally determined and therefore not universally valid.[495] So examples are shared for mutual knowledge and enrichment, not

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[493] Illich, Ivan: "Development as Planned Poverty", in Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree Victoria: Ibid. p. 99.
[494] Wolfgang Sachs in conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.
[495] See Taylor, Charles: "The Ethics of Authenticity", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991.

for the purpose of setting common goals in order to reach a predetermined model. And this is exactly what happens at the World Social Forum described as "an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and inter-linking for effective action", and where participants "shall not be called on to take decisions as a body, whether by vote or acclamation, on declarations or proposals for action".[496] The WSF aims at allowing those participating to learn from already existing practices, to share their own, to build-up self-confidence with respect to what they are doing and to join efforts to attain objectives already in common. The WSF does not offer a clear model that could be opposed to "the process of globalisation commanded by the large multinational corporations". It just makes a call for "globalisation in solidarity".[497] This derives from the groups and movements present at the Forum, which bring the concept of solidarity to the debate as a value already informing their practices. Nevertheless, there is no clear definition of how "globalisation in solidarity" should look like.

What is emphasised in the WSF, as well as in post-Development discourse, are the practices of social movements and their ability to build-up alternative visions of economy, society, and political organisation. In this respect the Global Barter Network is a concrete example of a trading system independent from money, from the values of growth and productivity and based on trust and mutual benefit. It cannot be replicated by initiatives pursuing different aims, but it constitutes a "real life alternative" to the money market. At the WSF hundreds of such examples converge.

3.1.2. Pre-eminence of civil society in social change

In my case studies and in post-Development theory there is a strong pre-eminence of civil society in social change. Social movements are

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[496] See Principles No. 1 and No. 6 of the Charter of Principles included in Chapter 4. To be found at: www.forumsocialmundial.org.br

implementing practices that move away from the traditional view that socio-economic changes could only happen by taking control of state power. Post-Development has also prioritised this space outside political power and outside the state. If looking at the example of the Global Barter Network, it can be said that the initiative brought about concrete changes for its members without any political or state intervention. The practice of the Global Barter Network derived in transformative actions which impacted on concrete life conditions (for example access to goods and services in spite of unemployment), societal organisation (relationships based on mutual trust), and values (such as conviviality and solidarity). These changes, in the long run, can have a lasting impact in society at large as a result of the growing number of members of the Network who are active in other spheres, of the publicity the initiative has recently acquired, and of its articulation with other initiatives of similar character. The World Social Forum, in turn, brings together a variety of organisations and movements practising "different ways of doing things" in their day to day lives. Some of these actions impact on broader society at different levels.

The State, though, is a contested terrain as argued by Wolfgang Sachs[498] and not all participants at the WSF have given up on accessing control of State power. This indicates again that the WSF not only includes proponents of alternative/socialist Development, but also more programatic and statist models. That is clearly the case of the Workers' Party from Brazil that, as described earlier, plays a major role in the Forum. It has also been discussed in the previous chapter that from the point of view of that party there is a new approach to the relationship with the State and with power. The particular case of the state of Rio Grande do Sul as well as of the city of Porto Alegre with the participatory budget was mentioned as an example. The party has recently (November 2002) won the national elections and its candidate, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, will become the president of Brazil from 01

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[497] Ibid. Principle No. 4.
[498] During the interview conducted by the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

January 2003. It will be of interest to observe whether the participatory democracy practised at the city and state level can be implemented at the national level, and what other changes – if any - from traditional party politics will the Workers' Party introduce. It will also be interesting to observe the relationship with civil society and to what extent this one will be able to impact on policies without being co-opted.

Nevertheless, what clearly emerged from the individual interviews with members of the Global Barter Network and it can also be found among some participants at the WSF, is a new independence gained by grassroots and movements vis-à-vis the State. Martha Silva, from the Uruguayan Network, mentioned as a difficulty that some people related to the Network as they used to relate to the State when the Welfare state was still strong: as passive recipients. Demanding from the state used to be a major function of social movements in the past, be it for wage increases, improvement of streets or new schools. To this logic, the new movements oppose the concept of being in charge of implementation on their own. As Silva formulated it, the members needed to realise that "they are the Network".[499] The successes or failures of the initiative are then the responsibility of its members, of their commitment, of their ability to make it work. I have also quoted in Chapter 4 what Susan George said to the media in Geneva during the Alternative Summit and that, for the sake of argument, I am including here again: "We are here because we have ideas and proposals to formulate. We will be here and everywhere where they are trying to decide our future without us. We did not come just to protest; we want to appropriate our future".[500] This characteristic of "being in charge" is clearly reflected in post-Development discourse and it opposes the "recipient" role traditional of Development. Those still in the Development paradigm cannot, therefore, elucidate important parts of the WSF process because they lie, precisely, outside of its realm. Post-Development, on the other hand, can interpret the phenomenom of the pre-eminence of civil society

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[499] See Chapter 4.

because it has already identified it and promoted it. Social movements and the theory of social movements have in fact indicated opening of activist terrains largely outside that of the Development discourse.[501]

3.1.3. Opposition to Capitalism

During the research I met representatives from grassroots and global movements who openly proclaimed their opposition to capitalism. In the case of the World Social Forum, numerous documents and debates presented by participating groups and organisations made this opposition explicit. In the case of the Global Barter Network several of those interviewed with the individual questionnaires shared their view of the Network as an initiative against capitalism. The term capitalism can broadly be understood in this context as referring to the system we live in. All those interviewed either formally or informally for the purpose of this dissertation live in capitalist societies. The dominant model, whether it is called neo-liberalism, corporate-led globalisation, or capitalism, is perceived as a system dominated by the interests of capital sidelining social, cultural and environmental objectives such as "justice, community, national sovereignty, cultural diversity and ecological sustainability".[502] Post-Development clearly articulates this opposition by questioning key landmarks of the capitalist mode of Development such as growth, constant production and accumulation, profit, free operation of markets and the belief that they are able to self-regulate their impact on society.

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[500] Trias, Ivonne: "Otro mundo es posible. La mundializacion de la resistencia", in Brecha, La Lupa, July 14, 2000, Montevideo, Uruguay, p. 20.

[501] See for example Fuentes, Marta and Frank, Andre Gunder: "Ten Theses on Social Movements", in Modiga, J. (compiler): "Planning, Projects and Participation: A Reader, Volume I", Department of Development Administration, UNISA, 1998, pp. 209-221.

[502] Bello, Walden: "2000: el ano de protesta contra la globalizacion", in "Porto Alegre 2001. Hacia un mundo desglobalizado", Focus on the Global South, Bangkok, January 2001, p. 5.

It can be argued that post-Development has put into words the constraints organisations and movements face within capitalist society as regarding living accordingly to their values and expectations. Development is precisely one of the control mechanisms put in place by capitalism to ensure the purpose and direction of initiatives aimed at improving life conditions. Social movements believe such improvements cannot happen within the framework of capitalist society, to which post-Development adds the formulation that to go beyond capitalism, is to go beyond Development. The Global Barter Network formulates it as being an initiative that offers an alternative to the traditional market, therefore taking distance and in the process questioning the market economy which is a trade mark of capitalism. In the case of the WSF, there is a strong and clearly articulated opposition to the international financial institutions, to what they represent, to their logic of the centrality of financial transactions, of the value of money independently of the actual exchange of goods and services. This logic needs to be overcome if "another possible world" – as the WSF proclaims - is to be reached or created. All these ideas are reflected in the post-Development discourse. Time will tell whether the WSF opposition to finance capital takes a more post-Developmental character or the character of a renewed socialist or alternative Development.

3.1.4. Locality / territoriality

This is a central idea of post-Development that has been discussed at length earlier in the dissertation. As part of the conclusions it is important to mention that the initiatives researched as part of this study share this emphasis on local practices, even the World Social Forum that by definition is of a global character. But the strength of the Forum lies precisely on the particular practices that come together under its umbrella to form that heterogeneous and multiple movement. Indeed the internationalisation of the Forum, with the growing number of national, continental and thematic Forums, implies greater

impact and contribution from local and national forms of analysis, organisation and implementation. The concept of territoriality, of a relationship without intermediaries to the issues that concern social groups, stood at the centre of various workshops, seminaries and testimonies in the last two Forums. As it has already been argued several global campaigns are also important within the WSF. But even these have a strong tie to national experiences. It is the case for example of the continental campaign against the Free Trade Area of the Americas that is working through referendums in opposition to the initiative organised in several countries by national groups.

The Global Barter Network is clearly an initiative that started locally in response to realities on the ground and relying on people's capacities. And even within this localised initiative, the best functioning groups at the time of the research where those that shared a series of activities and concerns in their areas of action (they lived in the same neighbourhood, participated in other local initiatives, knew each other from former activities, etc.). In this particular case the closer the attachment to a defined territory, the better the results. This did not exclude articulations, co-ordinations, or other type of relationships with outside groups. In fact, such contacts were essential and highly valued. The history of the Network in Uruguay shows the importance of the support from the Argentine Network. And the limitations encountered at the time of the research were perceived by its members as able to be overcome if the Network were to grow (to other areas in Uruguay and also have relationships with Networks elsewhere). But the starting point and measure of success were the particular Nodes.

Co-ordination is essential for both initiatives as a means of strengthening what is happening on the ground, for example to build-up self-confidence and to have a broader impact. It seems to be clear to participants, though, that the articulation at the international level cannot replace the functions that initiatives must perform in their own territories.

3.1.5. Other coincidences

Other coincidences were found in the research that link the practices of the Global Barter Network and the World Social Forum with the ideas put forward by post-Development. They relate to concrete values and modes of relationships. Among them is the emphasis given to trust. It is an integral part of the Global Barter Network and it is also mentioned by Gustavo Esteva together with friendship as the backbone of the stability of the groups he lives with and has written about.[503] There are also respect, the promotion of diversity, the horizontal rather than hierarchical forms of organisation, the emphasis on community and convivial life and the centrality of solidarity, among others.[504] These coincidences reflect the accuracy of post-Development in describing, analysing and systematising practices from grassroots and social movements.

4. Post-Development: alternative *to* Development?

Following on the findings of the research, it can be argued that post-Development does not constitute an alternative discourse to Development. This does not mean that it does not offer a series of alternatives to look at and relate to. As it has been said earlier, post-Development emphasises examples, day to day practices, real life alternatives.

Arturo Escobar has written that Development must be understood "as a pure function of power of an immense productivity: it circumscribes nations in certain ways, it affects socio-economic distributions, it produces orderings, sets of priorities (e.g. industrialisation and growth, etc.); and it does that by acting primarily on given sectors (agriculture, economics, population, etc.), fragmenting and recomposing them, creating and manipulating visibilities

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[503] Esteva, Gustavo: "Fiesta – jenseits von Entwicklung, Hilfe und Politik", Ibid. p. 12.

("small farmers", "illiterate", "urban marginals", "informal sector", etc.), appealing to imperfections and insufficiencies (lack of capital, or of the right values, or of democratic institutions), actualising existing world forces (for example the market economy), and so forth".[505] Following this description which reflects the understanding of post-Development writers of the Development discourse, the latter can be seen as normative, telling human beings around the world how their lives ought to look like, how to interpret their current living conditions and that of others and imposing ways of understanding and of behaving. According to Escobar, this is done through two major mechanisms: "the work of Development knowledge (the professionalisation of Development), and the work of Development institutions (the institutionalisation of Development).[506] Post-Development does not oppose a similar discourse in character, even if ideologically different. I have already included the self-definition of post-Development writers as "de-professionalised". It is also clear that no institutionalisation exists around the ideas and practices of post-Development. There are no normative concepts and no previously defined end-results. In summary, post-Development exercises no power beyond the convincing force of its arguments and of the examples it shares. From this point of view it cannot be considered an *alternative* to Development though it can be said that it offers *alternatives* to it. Just as Wolfgang Sachs emphasised the distinction between Development with capital D and singular, and developments with small d and plural[507], the same can be said in this case. If post-Development were to be seen as an alternative to Development, it would amount to a replacement, to a take-over from it. This is not the intention of post-Development. On the contrary, as it has been argued at length in this dissertation, the intention is to unmask Development, to show its obsolescence, to propose a move beyond it.

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[504] See Chapter 4, where I dedicated two sections to analyse the coincidences between post-Development and the Global Barter Network and the World Social Forum.
[505] Escobar Arturo: "Power and Visibility: The Invention and Management of Development in the Third World", University of California, Berkeley, 1987, p. 21.
[506] Ibid. p. 22.
[507] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

It can be argued that post-Development aims at liberating human beings - not just those considered "underdeveloped" - from the burden of Development, from its prescriptions, values, institutions, agents, funds, conditions and power. And for that purpose it offers examples of those who have already liberated themselves from that burden. These examples are the alternatives, the various ways of seeing and doing things. Liberating human beings from Development (the word, the accepted knowledge, the organisational structure of its discourse that has guaranteed its reproduction[508]), will not necessarily lead to a replacement by the ideas and examples put forward by post-Development. The expectation, according to Gustavo Esteva, is that it will allow people "to walk on one's own feet, on one's own path, in order to dream one's own dreams. Not the borrowed ones of Development".[509]

5. The end of the Cold War and post-modernism: their impact on post-Development

As part of this dissertation I made references to ideas proposed by Ivan Illich in several books published in the 70s. In the Introduction to "The Development Dictionary", Wolfgang Sachs thanked Ivan Illich for "the personal and intellectual magnetism…who brought a number of us (the contributors to the book) together and animated our thinking throughout the years".[510] It is clear then that the ideas that later materialise in what is today known as post-Development go a long way back. Nevertheless "The Development Dictionary" was only published in 1992 and "The post-Development Reader" in 1997. As a conclusion of this dissertation it can be argued that this did not happen by chance but as a result of a new intellectual

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[508] See Escobar, Arturo: Ibid. pp. 28-29.
[509] Esteva, Gustavo: "Development", in Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 23.
[510] Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid. p. 5.

debate in which the end of the Cold War and post-modernism played a significant role.[511]

A central characteristic of this historical period is the end of the belief in all encompassing theories able to explain the totality of the world. This opened the way to tolerance, diversity, particular truths – rather than a universal truth -. It made it easier, one could argue, to do the unthinkable: questioning Development. It is possible to believe that when these books were published post-Development writers found a more receptive audience willing to explore "other ways". But it is also true that these audiences were already involved in "other ways" precisely as a result of that changing atmosphere. If looking at the concrete example of the Uruguayan Global Barter Network, many of its members were active in areas defined as "new age" (alternative therapies, healthy eating, and so forth). They had moved from militancy in party politics to individual and social concerns.

The de-politicisation of social movements resulting from the collapse of Real Existing Socialism gave birth to new forms of organisation, new interests and new searches. It became possible to question sacred cows such as the centrality of politics for social transformation, the role of political parties and the concepts of vanguards and democratic centralism. In the same way, other taken for granted concepts were open to criticisms and reformulation and in turn other styles of practices started to be implemented. Post-Development could refer then to more examples on which to build up alternative views of society, the economy, democratic construction, etc.

In summary it can be said that the 90s and beyond were a ripe time for the ideas of post-Development and for an unbiased debate around them. This leads to the question of whether post-Development and other critical views of capitalism replaced the socialist opposition to it.

There is no doubt that many of those in the anti-globalisation movement as well as in the World Social Forum come from a background of

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[511] See Chapter 3 of this thesis for a deeper analysis on the relationship between post-Development and post-modernism, Socialism and Religion.

political militancy in leftist parties. From this point of view, it could be argued that new coalitions and movements have been built up to criticise capitalism outside the sphere of political parties. In the same token, the Global Barter Network is an initiative that operates outside the capitalist framework even if, at least for the time being, not challenging it. One could then conclude that these initiatives and many others, including post-Development writing, have replaced socialism in the opposition to capitalism. But this statement would not be a true reflection of reality. In the same way that I argued earlier that post-Development did not "replace" Development discourse, these new groups, movements and theoretical formulations did not replace socialism in its opposition to capitalism because they are of a different character. They are not aiming at political power and at transforming production relations from the sphere of the State. They question capitalism for the inequalities it has brought, for the domination of the economy over all aspects of human life, for its undermining of social solidarity and other values such as community, reciprocity, mutual benefit, for its disregard for the environment, for its profit orientation, for its support for war. They want to change this reality produced by capitalism in a variety of ways, such as going ahead with their day to day practices ignoring capitalist ways (for example solidarity economies, indigenous communal autonomies); by promoting international campaigns (such as cancellation of debt, end of structural adjustment programmes, against the Free Trade Area of the Americas); by calling on the reform of international institutions (the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation), among others. There are great differences between the various responses and there is no intention of bringing them together under a common set of formulations and programme of action. Sympathisers of these ideas and proposals do not become formally affiliated and adhere to a series of regulations. There is, in fact, no encompassing organisation to affiliate to and no embracing ideology to follow. These actions and concepts could all be seen as in the post-modern mode. From this point of view, the opposition to capitalism is not a replacement to the one exercised by socialism but of a new

character and dimension. It is not a political opposition and it does not propose the replacement of one political and economic system by another. Post-Development's contribution to this opposition is the radical criticism of Development as an instrument aimed at reproducing the capitalist system.

6. Areas for further research

6. 1. Evolution of the Global Barter Network and the World Social Forum

The field research implemented as part of this dissertation looked at initiatives, at the territorial and at the global level, that are relatively new. The Global Barter Network in Uruguay had operated for less than two years at the time of the research, and the World Social Forum had met in two occasions. It is therefore early days to evaluate how they will evolve, how they will impact on re-definitions or re-formulations of concrete practices, and in consequence of generation of new theory.

In the case of the Global Barter Network, for example, the expansion of the Argentine network resulted in the appearance of new problems that can be seen as characteristic of capitalism such as falsification of credits and accumulation. The recent sudden growth of the Uruguayan one also brought with it old vices of the traditional market. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, according to Alvaro Antoniello "the massive arrival of new members does not allow for a deeper training in the principles and values of the Network. Some people join just searching for their own benefits".[512] These developments bring questions with respect to whether the initiative will remain within a space outside capitalism or if it will turn into a capitalist market without money.

With respect to the World Social Forum, it is also early to predict whether it will maintain its character of a loose meeting for the purpose of

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[512] Alvaro Antoniello interviewed by Diego Sempol: "El boom del trueque", in Brecha, Montevideo, Uruguay, 27 September 2002.

exchange of ideas without hierarchical organisation, or if it will generate power struggles for its control.

It is then open to further research to look at the evolution of these initiatives and to what extent they maintain the characteristics that place them within a critical space to capitalism.

6.2. Changes in the North

I have argued in this dissertation that post-Development emphasises on day to day practices, on new ways of doing things that can impact on the improvement of people's lives. I have also argued that as part of post-Development's criticism to the Development discourse, it questions the life-style promoted by Development, that is the Western model, for its negative effect on human beings, their cultures, and the environment. This means, then, that such changes should also happen among high consumers, among those already living that model and who constitute the "global North". The challenge that post-Development presents is that "poverty alleviation cannot be separated from wealth alleviation".[513]

In the interview I held with Wolfgang Sachs in Porto Alegre he mentioned in fact as a concrete proposal from post-Development his book "Greening the North".[514] As he argued, it was published with the intention of bringing about changes in Germany.[515] It is clear, therefore, that post-Development's critique of the Development discourse does not just aim at what has traditionally been considered the "underdeveloped" world, but at the world in general. Whether there are already practices in the North that relate

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[513] Both concepts, "global North" and "wealth alleviation" can be found in Heinrich Boell Foundation: "The Jo'burg Memo. Fairness in a Fragile World. Memorandum for the World Summit on Sustainable Development", Heinrich Boell Foundation, April 2002, p. 20 and 35 respectively. As I mentioned earlier, Wolfgang Sachs was the co-ordinator of this publication.

[514] Sachs, Wolfgang, Loske, Reinhard, Linz, Manfred, et al: "Greening the North. A Post-Industrial Blueprint for Ecology and Equity", Zed Books, London and New York, 1998.

[515] See Annex 1.

to post-Development ideas or have been informed by them is an area that calls for further research.

It is possible to argue that there are such practices taking into account that the anti-globalisation movement started in the North. It is also true that a high number of participants at the World Social Forum come from Europe and a European Forum has recently been organised there (Florence, Italy, November 2002). Nevertheless, these events per se do not allow for drawing final conclusions about their relationship with post-Development and it would be of interest to undertake specific research.

6.3. Evolution of post-Development

Wolfgang Sachs says in the Introduction to "The Development Dictionary" that "this book, it must be said, is the fruit of friendship. Over the years, all of us authors, in various contexts and associations, have been involved in a continuous conversation, spending days or weeks together chatting, cooking, travelling, studying and celebrating".[516] Gustavo Esteva refers to the first conversations several authors had at Ivan Illich's house in Ocotepec around "After Development, What"?".[517]

There is a very strong sense of conviviality in these two statements that can be found in many of the post-Development readings. The very nature of the discourse refers to trust, friendship and hospitality, which were clearly present in the bringing together of these authors. With time, "a common frame of reference emerged and informed, in turn, our individual work".[518] This common frame found its way into intellectual debate (through a series of publications) and was called – by others, according to Wolfgang Sachs[519] - the school of post-Development. The ideas that started shaping and articulating as

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[516] Sachs, Wolfgang: "Introduction", in "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Ibid. p. 5.
[517] Esteva, Gusatvo: "Beyond Progress and Development", Ibid. p. 10.
[518] Sachs, Wolfgang: Ibid.
[519] In conversation with the author of this thesis. See Annex 1.

a result of conversations among friends, became a subject of analysis and inquiry. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, as a result of this inquiry several criticisms arose with respect to post-Development. I have dealt in that chapter with what I believed were the central ones (reductionism of Development; lack of recognition of the desire of people to access Development; romanticising of local traditions; and failure to articulate clear alternatives). The criticisms had to do not only with the concepts proposed by post-Development but also with the process of constitution of its discourse. I mentioned earlier in this chapter the contradiction highlighted by Jan Nederveen Pieterse about "de-professionalised intellectuals" who strongly rely on complex discourse analysis operations to present their views.[520] He also sees a paradox in post-Development criticism of modernity. It can be argued that post-Development authors themselves come from a modern tradition and so do many of the authors they refer to. In this respect Nederveen Pieterse says, for example, that "the three nodal discourses uncovered by Escobar – democratisation, difference, anti-Development - *themselves* arise out of modernisation".[521]

Further research on the evolution of the post-Development discourse as it evolves independently of its founder writers should be able to detect how it responds to these contradictions. Does it acknowledge the importance of academic knowledge in its constitution and dissemination? Does it move beyond a criticism to a constructed ideal type of modern society recognising its complexity and heterogeneity, of which it is part? Furthermore, how will it respond to the myriad of initiatives honestly pursuing and believing in traditional Development goals?

These contradictions of post-Development do not, in any way, undermine its contributions and groundbreaking ideas. On the contrary they help to reinforce its disbelief in any discourse that pretends to embrace all aspects of human life and have universal validity, as it has always been the

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[520] Nederveen Pieterse, Jan: Ibid.

[521] Ibid. p. 365.

intention of Development. Post-Development has weaknesses, contradictions and gaps, in the same way that the practices of human beings, as individuals, groups, communities or international movements have them. Whether post-Development is able to learn from them, reformulate itself, be open to surprise in its own practice and theories, poses an interesting challenge for further research.

Annex 1

Interview with Wolfgang Sachs, Porto Alegre, 3 February 2002

Q: Let's start with the criticisms other authors have made of post-Development, for example the lack of recognition of popular aspirations towards Development.

A: Let me first make a distinction. Development as you know can mean everything, putting up skyscrapers or putting up latrines. The word does not allow differences. One way to go about it is to make a difference between Development with a capital D, which means the global track towards economic growth for everybody. And developments with a small d which basically means ways of improving, enhancing, the various local, regional, even national situations. It doesn't need to be on the road of economic growth on the first place. When I speak about Development I speak about the first one, with capital D. And in the history of Development, at least the last 42 years, we always had these two notions, Development as growth, and let's put it Development as empowerment. Or Development top down, bottom up. And that resurfaces again and again in new ways. So if I speak about Development I speak about the first kind of Development, not about the other one. And lots of misunderstandings come because once you speak about the end of Development people feel that their desire for doing something or improving something for getting out of stagnation, or giving people hope or dignity is being frustrated. That's not the point of view.

Q: But what would you say about the statement that you don't recognise the aspirations of people for Development.

A: Well, now that you see the words, I do not recognise the aspirations of people, let's say to become like those in Cape Town or in the States or having

the last colour television around them or whatsoever. But, very often even the aspirations of people are not couched well in the trend of Development. So for instance, for many powerless groups the point is to get some more bargaining power, to get some water rights or land rights. You can call them Development, but only because Development is everything. Development is everything with a positive sign in front of it. Sure, it is also Development, but there is no point in discussing it.

Q: Why call it post-Development, because to continue to use the word Development seems to be a bit problematic.

A: Yes, in the first place it is a bit of a semantic slot. Post-Development at least is an attempt to leave that catch-all phrase behind, because the notion is just an empty container. It is enormously misused and it does not help to clear up thinking and action. Therefore post-Development means to declare in a way, to declare that you are not following the main global road, the prospective of growth in an economic and material sense. That you are looking for other forms, models, examples, of having a more dignified life, having more pleasure and aesthetics in life. It can mean anything. However I have made the experience that it is very important to make this distinction because as long as you speak about Development, about the empty shell, you are prevented from figuring out what it means for us, here in our terms to be better off and to have some of our aspirations fulfilled.

Q: Some people could argue that these proposals can be identified with Alternative Development. What makes post-Development different from some alternative theories?

A: I wouldn't make much of a fuss out of it. There was a time when alternative Development to a certain extent was sought to be another road, a side road to Development. It was meant to be a kind of bottom-up approach to

the very same thing. And for that reason at that time, we in the book[522] took a certain distance to it. But I wouldn't make much of a fuss out of it today, although I would prefer if people are able to describe what they want, what they are doing, what they say their hopes are, to describe that in non-Development terms.

Q: What do you mean by non-Development terms?

A: If indigenous peoples say these are the kinds of rights we would like to have. They are doing it like this, we would like to relate to them. We need for us, this was our ancestral land. There is no need to describe that in terms of Development, not at all. On the contrary, the moment you describe it in terms of Development everything is open for many misunderstandings. And it is part of our loss of language of desire in a certain way, and language of culture to express what we want in non-globalist, non-universal terms. That is more the point. So I'm not ready to fight over post or alternative Development. It depends what is meant.

Q: Claude Alvares says that Development cannot be changed, it has always been the Westernisation of the world.

A: Of course, because he speaks about Development with capital D. The moment you speak about it in plural, developments, by the way it doesn't make sense any more because developments you immediately ask what for whom, for what. Of course the question is for whom, in what space, in what time, from what tradition is the discussion.

Q: The other criticism, romanticising of local traditions, what would you say about that?

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[522] Sachs, Wolfgang: "The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power", Zed Books, London, 1992.

A: I don't know if romanticising is the right word. Even Gustavo (Esteva), which is true, holds in high regard traditions and habits and the old ways of life, is not romanticising. Where he sticks to it, he appreciates that, he sees his friends who do not want to be ripped off of their heritage. But it does not mean romanticising. It's not unconditional love and desire to preserve. It is simple, if you take Tepito, inasfar as I can see, it's their way of life and why should they abandon that without any viable replacement? These ways of life are changing in any case, be it under pressure from outside, be it under need from the inside, so romanticising would imply to fix it in time, to want to preserve it, to idealise it, which I don't think that even Gustavo, who is probably the one who is closest to that, I don't think is the right word. There I would even go further. If somebody speaks about you are romanticising the past or local traditions this is rather an old fashioned, boring, objection, which comes from the ideologues of progress. As you can see throughout the decades that has always been a kind of automatic, run of the middle, objection.

Q: Last criticism, failure to articulate alternatives.

A: In the Development Dictionary?

Q: In the Development Dictionary and in general. (Reference to authors who have criticised them)

A: With all my respects to Jan (Nederveen Pieterse) whom I know well, it is wrong. Claude Alvares, who is a pretty radical person, has done a lot over the last ten years, for instance, to have a book order business for alternative

books, connecting groups not only in Goa[523], beyond Goa, around that. So it's not true that nothing is happening. It is not only in terms of Development, it's not that as a particular blueprint is pushed, propagated or promoted. In many and various ways Gustavo has not done anything else than making communities the centre of their own change and not seeing communities as an object of either benevolent change by some developmental list or Development expert or a change which is in a way impose from outside. For myself I would say that it is true that the Development Dictionary certainly has not much of alternative and I have seen it as a shortcoming that we did not succeed more, not in having plans, that was not the point of the book, but in highlighting, suggesting kinds of languages which could carry a different kind of potential. It is sometimes there, but it is much too unexplored, and much too undeveloped.

For myself, what is for me much more important, also for changes, personal changes, changes in the environment, in 96, 97,98, what I have done is what in English came out as Greening the North[524], which came out of a larger project on how to make Germany sustainable. So we try to answer the question in the book, which was very successful in Germany. It's available also in Zed Books. A blueprint for ecology and equity in a post industrial whatever it is. It must be out in South Africa.

Now, this is for me the complement in a certain way to the Development Dictionary because that is purely alternatives with little diagnosis, while the Development Dictionary was lots of diagnosis but little alternatives. But these are alternatives for a country like Germany, not for Mexico, or not for any community but for Germany.

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[523] Claude Alvares is active in the Goa Foundation, an Indian organisation committed to protecting the Goan environment and the Goan quality of life. For further information see: www.goacom.com/goafoundation/

[524] Sachs, Wolfgang, Loske, Reinhard, Linz, Manfred, et al: "Greening the North. A Post-Industrial Blueprint for Ecology and Equity", Zed Books, London and New York, 1998.

Q: Is it possible to say that, because one of the major criticism of Development is the universalising pretension, that it would be a contradiction for post-Development to put forward proposals that can have some global character?

A: I would say, maybe not everybody would say it, that of course you can put forward proposals with elements which might have a global character in the sense that they could be considered everywhere. We can not also cheat ourselves. Today it is a global task, if you want, to make large steps into the post-fossil age. So the question how many resources do I use, to what extent is a community, is an industry embedded in the natural environment of a region, fossil resources or new resources is a question of global relevance. That does not mean that it has to be done in the same way everywhere, but it is the kind of question which is going to be bumping up everywhere. Which I guess it's not new because many questions are human ones, they will always come back, they might be responded to in different ways, I don't know. Saying that, I can also argue it in a more technical sense. The moment you speak about renewable technologies you have to ask yourself in what ecosystem I am in, I mean large ecosystems, is it more arid lands, is it forests, is it Germany or is it South Africa? You have to see what is the renewable potential there and how you can organise agriculture, etc. etc., so you're forced to look at the place where you are and it doesn't help to look at other economies which pretend to function without any regard for environment and nature.

Q: In that respect it seems that governments have some role to play. So, what would be the relationship between communities who, with their lives seem to be making proposals, how do they impact on governments, or what does post-Development think that in those changes would be the role of the state?

A: I would prefer to say that the state is a contested terrain like any other. There is no prominent role of the state in that sense, because the state, who is

the state? There is all kinds of different animals, different sorts, different administrations, different interests. And in a given situation to struggle around what a city government or a national government wants, the department of agriculture versus the department of industry is doing, that's part of the game. And even communities by the way, for a long time, have developed some skills to play that out and to use the others, to use one against the other. So I would not identify a particular, singular role for the State. I would say whatever the conflict is, whatever the move is where certain groups or communities are in, that would also reflect or will also characterise the controversies or their support if you want from state powers. And of course there are enormously different situations in the world. In some places you have slightly reliable states, in others you don't have that at all. So that is also very different. There are, like here in Brazil, the various different indigenous peoples, who claim their rights, vis-à-vis the state. It's not that they want a particular role. The role that they expect from the State is rather non-interference. Fair enough. If you take Germany, it is very different there. We have a very different relationship to the state and the terrain of conflict is very different. So there are many ways.

Q: Let's look now at the World Social Forum. Is there any relationship with post-Development? It seems that they still claim for Development. Do you think that it can be said that you both belong to an anti-capitalist anti-neoliberal coalition?

A: I wonder. There is not much of post-Development. As there is not much about Development, which always is a very bad sign. Because if there is no clarification or no images about Development, it means that the conventional one creeps in. To approach it in a very simple way: that the WSF basically is about democracy, how to preserve, develop further, maintain democracy in a globalising world. The question, what the hell are you going to do with democracy is not really asked. Why should we be against globalisation I think

is not sufficiently asked. Yes, against globalisation in order to prevent further marginalisation, poverty and all of that. But these are only defensive acts, the question what do you want to do positively in a sense, once we are more protected against savage kind of globalisation. That is not there. So for instance you find the title of the meeting is Another World is Possible. But what this other world should look like you find very little here. There are very little experiments or models. I must say, here the city of Porto Alegre is an exception because the participative budgetary process is one model, one example, one thing to think about. And I would hope that such a meeting would generate two thousand of such different ways of doing things. Then it would be really a meeting about another world is possible. At the moment it is much more a meeting of we do not want this Davos world. But that is not enough in the long run. There is a history of course. It is not a secret that the mainstream of people here find their action and intellectual home in the traditional left. That is certainly true for those who I can judge. I can judge the Italians. The majority of them are from Informazione Comunista. That is probably true for quite a number of the Latin Americans here. It is true for a great part of Brazilians. Not all of them, of course. So what you have is a little bit of prevalence of the Latin countries. If you include France, and Italy and Latin America in Porto Alegre brings a certain prevalence of what I would call yesterday left. And this yesterday style left never really asked the question of alternative or post-Development. Because in the last instance the notion of society wide planning and the notion of developing productive forces of society is a corner stone of their implicit belief, therefore it is not present. So, it's present rather in a minority here, which is a pity. Nevertheless I appreciate the enormous dynamics here, and the enormous diversity of people.

Q: You said that there is no clear statement here in relation to globalisation, but the slogan, even from last year, was that the WSF was not opposing globalisation, rather they were proposing a globalisation in solidarity. What is your comment to that?

A: You are speaking to a certain extent to an environmentalist. And I am very much inclined to point to the material state of things, meaning that another world also means different things, different ways of doing. From different social practices to different technologies. From here, the participatory budget process to different car technology passing sustainable agricultures. And all of that, it is out there, it is not that there is nothing there, all that in my view is not sufficiently present here. So there is a certain danger to loose yourself in slightly too ideological debates, in the self-righteousness of various political opposition groups, which would be a pity. So I hope that the Foro moves more into that direction to incorporate real life alternatives instead of just policy alternatives on the level of global governance.

Q: One of the proposals of post-Development can be what you call "sufficiency revolution". Maybe you can expand on that.

A: For me the notion of sufficiency has become important to oppose it to efficiency, because there are in particular in environmental circles quite a number of people out there who say the spread of ecological efficiency could do it. That is only a matter of technological cleverness and sophistication. There is some truth to it. There is certainly more there in the ecological sophistication than this meeting here would admit. However I certainly believe that sufficiency has got to be opposed to efficiency or at least that's the other component, because in many ways the question how much is enough has to be asked. Although often it doesn't come in that form. It comes in the form of what is the accomplished way of doing things, what is a quality way of doing things, that you are satisfied with a certain state of things. You have some habits of food growing, and eating. Sure enough you would improve them but there are, if you want, a range of foods and of food cultures which is OK to you. Now there is no need, in a way that is sufficient, to proliferate into all kind of other food cultures or going towards mass produce of food. We

come back to the discussion of before. There are so many ways of living which have their own form and quality, there is no need to make everything merge into one single track. Efficiency doesn't render this idea. Efficiency is a word which comes out of a growth world. Because once you are efficient you use what you gain as a new investment for a new growth. Sufficiency contains the other heritage. It asks what is right for me, what is good quality. If I have to put it in a formula, efficiency asks how to do things right. And sufficiency how to do the right things.

Q: This relates to the idea of values. Post-Development can be related to Buddhism, Christianity, even the idea of sufficiency relates to Christian values. Is it right to say that post-Development is a current of thought that has to do with values that require changes, not just in the material sense as you were saying but in human beings?

A: Yes, definitely. However sufficiency is an idea that is everywhere. Of course you find it in Buddhism. To speak about values today is very de-contextualised, disembedded if you want, because values always are parts of the work of a culture, of a common understanding. The values don't exist out there, they are radicated, rooted, in the definition of things. By speaking of what is a human person and how you understand what a human person is, you imply already values and limits for intervention on the human person. If you see the human person in the first place as, let's put it simple, as a machine, then why shouldn't you go for organ transplantation or for genetic toolbox? And if you see the human person as a spiritual, finite, symbolic being, you would not so easily go for organ transplants and for genetic toolbox. It is not because they have some value out there, but because as a reality model there is an understanding of the human person which allows some things and doesn't allow others, favours some things and doesn't favour others. And this is of course the case with sufficiency, by the very definition. Sufficiency is about in what houses should we live, how should we relate to people, families,

what is an accomplished community, how should we organise society. It's all questions of what should we do and what is the right form in doing it. So the notion of sufficiency in a way is integrated there, it cannot be derived from some abstract, disembedded value. And therefore is different for different people and cultures I would say.

Q: If you read post-Development writers, there is a lot in terms of values: of how to live, how to relate to others, etc., which is a new discourse.

A: That's an old discourse.

Q: But within the Development discourse I mean.

A: Well, maybe, yes, OK. Again, to put it too simplistic. There is the common notion as I said before that people in the first place strive for meaning. It is not for having and not for being technically better off. People in the first place want to live out stories they feel good with, they feel challenged by, they feel protected by. So you can say people are on the first place spiritual beings, you could say cultural beings. If that is the case, of course, any thought about how should we be, how could we improve, how could we live needs and wants implies value or spiritual dimension. Because these are stories which are not simply technical. It's not a matter of how to do something, how to install a better toilet. It is about more. And therefore maybe it looks like as if there were lots of values in the post-Development discourse. That might be. However they are not values in the sense that one could list twenty-five values and then process them off from 1 to 25. That's not the way you can deal with values. Today what happens goes back in Sociology to our friend Max Weber that you get a dichotomy between values and reality. It's not a dichotomy. Values are fused into the reality and reality is fused into values.

Q: An idea that comes often in post-Development is the re-linking of production and consumption. That seems to be easier in rural areas, or at the local level. But how can this and other ideas from post-Development impact on society at large?

A: Let me give you another example. This afternoon I had to comment on the new book from Hermann Scheer[525] who is a German, a German parliamentarian but the president of Eurosolar, which is the European solar society. It's an excellent book, in my view, where he sketches out the perspective of a world solar economy. There are two things that have enormous potential, and one of his basic points is that he says: solar energies and solar materials, I mean, bio-mass basically, have the enormous possibility of – no, on the contrary - they are akin to being used in a very decentralised fashion. Because in the fossil age energy was found that is condensed, that is of high density, and this is only available in very few spots of the world, and then it was brought to people, consumers if you want, who live in a very disperse fashion. This time is over. Because the sun and bio-mass is there in a very diffuse, disperse fashion, not at a high, condensed value. So the new technology suggest to harvest both, the sun and the bio-mass in a very decentralised fashion. And to bring producers, in our case now, energy producers, as close as possible to consumers. Even so close that producers and consumers become identical. Anybody who puts a portable solar roof on his house, any farmer who goes for bio-mass generator is at the same time a producer and a consumer. Now, from a very different level here, the question what is the right distance between producer and consumer gets shaken up again. If you think about the entire fossil age, Johannesburg knows something about that, minerals, oil, coal, spilt on large scale and long resource chains. Because of that very technical nature of it, centralisation is built in. And that can and has changed, because it is a matter of fact that in the next number of decades we will have to move into a post-fossil age. So that question of

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[525] Scheer, Herman: "World Solar Economy".

producer-consumer, what is the right distance, is right there again. I don't need to be a postdevelopmentalist to pose that question.

I've mainly worked in the environment field. Although not in the technical aspects. I have always worked in the politics or culture of environment, which by the way is also lacking here. They have relatively few events dealing with what you could call environment but which at the core is a question of human rights and of world citizenship. Because that will decide if we are able to live on a finite planet. And environment is nothing else than developing styles of living and styles of technology, which allows you to live with many people on a limited planet.

Q: The school of post-Development…

A: Don't put it too much as a school. It is the others which classify you as a school. It is not my naming. You might have notice that I hesitated to say we and ourselves. Because there is no natural agreement in a certain way. There was a common search, there is a common search, and certainly there is a common kind of notion, of course. But are the others who put you a label on.

Ana Agostino
Porto Alegre, 03 February 2002

Annex 2

Global Barter Network field study: individual and organisational questionnaires

* Original Spanish Individual Interview:

Entrevista Individual

<u>I. Datos generales</u>

1. Nombre:

    _____

2. Edad: _____

3. Sexo: F   M

4. Capacitación:

    _____

    _____

    _____

5. Ocupación fuera de la red:

    _____

    _____

    _____

6. Ingresos por dicha actividad:

   _____

7. Otros ingresos tradicionales:

   _____

   _____

   _____

8. Núcleo familiar:

   _____

   _____

9. Ingresos (tradicionales) del grupo familiar:

   _____

   _____

   _____

10. Otros miembros del grupo familiar que participan en la red:

   _____

   _____

11. Tiempo de pertenencia a la red:

_____

_____

12. Bien o servicio que ofrece a la red (concepto, volumen y frecuencia – en créditos):

_____

_____

_____

13. Bienes o servicios que utiliza de la red (concepto, volumen y frecuencia – en créditos):

_____

_____

_____

14. Porcentaje de todas sus actividades económicas dentro de la red (aproximado):

_____

15. Actividades de las que participa en la red:

_____

_____

_____

16. Frecuencia de dicha participación:

_____

_____

17. Motivo(s) por el(los) que decidió la participación en la red:

_____

_____

_____

18. Resultados concretos que esperaba de la red:

_____

_____

19. Participación en otras actividades (sociales, comunitarias, políticas, etc.):

_____

_____

II. Valoración

1. ¿Qué cambios se concretaron en su vida económica luego del ingreso a la red?

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. ¿Qué cambios se concretaron en su vida, en general, luego del ingreso a la red?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. ¿En qué medida alcanzó los resultados que esperaba al ingresar a la red?

    _____

    _____

4. ¿Qué otros resultados obtuvo que no esperaba?

    _____

    _____

5. ¿Cómo definiría los valores esenciales de la red?

    _____

    _____

    _____

6. Luego de su participación en este período:

    a) decreció su interés por y su compromiso con la red, <u>o</u>
    b) aumentó su interés por y su compromiso con la red

    _____

    _____

    _____

7. La red:

    a) le da satisfacción pues le permite aumentar el consumo dentro del
        modelo de vida existente, y/o
    b) le da satisfacción pues le permite vivir un nuevo modelo (nuevas
        relaciones, valores, etc.)

_____

_____

8. ¿Cómo ve la relación de la red con el resto de la actividad económica en su barrio, localidad, país?

   a) marginal
   b) en crecimiento
   c) de gran importancia

_____

_____

_____

9. ¿Sería posible / deseable realizar el conjunto de las actividades económicas dentro de la red? _____

_____

_____

_____

10. ¿Qué ventajas / desventajas tendría? _____

_____

_____

III. Desarrollo

1. Para lograr una mejor calidad de vida es necesario:

- A nivel macro:
  - crecimiento económico
  - balance entre crecimiento económico y límites puestos por el medio ambiente:
  - redistribución de las riquezas
  - reconocimiento de las diferencias culturales y búsqueda de modelos propios
  - apertura económica en el marco del libre mercado
  - subordinación de la economía a la sociedad

- A nivel de experiencias personales/comunitarias
  - mayor acceso al consumo
  - revincular la producción y el consumo
  - reconocer qué es verdaderamente necesario
  - reconocer qué es suficiente
  - desvincularse del mercado
  - aumentar los ingresos monetarios
  - no depender del dinero, sino de relaciones interpersonales, conocimientos locales, propios y comunitarios, de relaciones solidarias
  - utilizar los conocimientos y experiencias propios de la cultura y comunidad

_____

_____

_____

2. ¿Hay programas de desarrollo en la zona?

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. ¿Usted participa?

_____

_____

4. Su concepción del desarrollo:

_____

_____

_____

5. ¿Qué entiende por Desarrollo Alternativo?

_____

_____

6. ¿Tiene conocimiento sobre el Post Desarrollo?: Sí   No

7. ¿Cuál es su idea del post desarrollo?

   _____

   _____

   _____

8. ¿Cree que la Red Global del Trueque se vincula de alguna manera con el discurso del Desarrollo / Desarrollo Aternativo / Post Desarrollo: Sí   No

9. ¿De qué forma:

   _____

   _____

   _____

10. Otros comentarios

   _____

   _____

* English Translation for Individual Interview:

<u>Individual Interview</u>

<u>I. General Information</u>

1. Name

2. Age

3. Sex: F   M

4. Education/ Training

5. Occupation outside the network:

6. Income for that activity:

7. Other traditional income:

8. Family unit:

9. Income (traditional) of the family unit:

10. Other members from the family unit who participate in the network:

11. Time of membership in the network:

12. Goods or services offered to the network (concept, volume and frequency – in credits):

13. Goods or services utilised from the network (concept, volume and frequency – in credits):

14. Percentage of all your economic activities that take place within the network (approximate):

15. Activities from the network in which you take part:

16. Frequency of that participation:

17. Reason(s) why you decided to join the network:

18. Concrete results you expected from the network:

19. Participation in other activities (social, communal, political, etc.):

II. Assessment

1. What concrete changes took place in your economic life after joining the network?

2. What concrete changes took place in your life, in general, after joining the network?

3. To what extent have you reached the results you expected when you joined the network?

4. What other results have you obtained that you were not expecting?

5. How would you define the essential values of the network?

6. After your participation for this period:

   a) your interest in and your commitment with the network declined, _or_

   b) your interest in and your commitment with the network increased.

7. The network:

   c) offers you satisfaction because you can increase consumption within the current model of life, and/or

   d) offers you satisfaction because it allows you to live a new model (new relationships, values, etc.).

8. How do you see the relationship between the network and the rest of economic activity in your neighbourhood, locality, country?

   d) marginal

   e) increasing

   f) of great importance

9. Would it be possible /desirable to do all economic activities inside the network?

10. What advantages / disadvantages would it have?

III. Development

11. To achieve a better quality of life it is necessary:

- At the macro level:
    - economic growth
    - balance between economic growth and environmental constraints
    - redistribution of wealth
    - acknowledgement of cultural differences and search for own models
    - economic liberalisation in the framework of a free market
    - subordination of the economy to society

- At the level of personal / community experiences
    - greater access to consumption
    - re-linking production and consumption
    - acknowledge what is truly necessary
    - acknowledge what is enough
    - gain independence from the market
    - increase monetary income
    - depend not on money but on interpersonal relationships, local knowledge, solidarity relationships
    - rely on knowledge and experience from one's own culture and community

12. Are there Development programmes in the area?

13. Do you take part?

14. What is your understanding of Development?

15. What do you understand under Alternative Development?

16. Have you heard about post-Development?   Yes   No

17. What is your idea about post-Development?

18. Do you think that the Global Barter Network links in some way with the discourse of Development / Alternative Development / post-Development?   Yes   No

19. How?

20. Other comments

* Original Spanish Organisational Interview:

I. Organización

Nivel descriptivo

1. Nombre de la organización

_____

_____

2. Número de miembros:

- por sexo:

- por edades:

3. Area de influencia:

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Estructura:

- concepto de "prosumidores"

_____

_____

- formas de pertenencia:

_____

_____

_____

- tipo de producción (bienes y servicios):

_____

_____

_____

- intercambios en la red (concepto y volumen):

_____

_____

_____

- intercambios fuera de la red:

_____

_____

_____

- actividades (reuniones, ferias, etc.):

_____

_____

_____

- moneda:

_____

_____

_____

- ingresos:

_____

_____

5. Objetivos:

_____

_____

_____

6. Capacitación:

_____

_____

_____

7. Relaciones (con otras redes, el Estado, otros):

_____

_____

_____

8. Historia:

- principales factores relacionados con la experiencia (desempleo, cambio de pautas\valores culturales, etc.):

_____

_____

_____

- condiciones de vida de los miembros de la red:

_____

_____

_____

- otros:

_____

_____

_____

Nivel ideológico

1. Visión:

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Objetivos:

_____

_____

_____

3. Valores o principios:

_____

_____

_____

_____

II. Realidad socio-económica

1. Del país:

_____

_____

2. Del área

_____

_____

3. Programas de desarrollo \ Políticas de Estado:

_____

_____

_____

* English Translation for Organisational Interview:

Organisational Interview

I. The organisation

Descriptive level:

1. **Name of organisation.**

2. Number of members.
   - by gender
   - by age

3. Area of influence (locations).

4. Structure:
   - Concept of "prosumers".
   - Forms of membership
   - Type of production (goods and services).
   - Exchanges within the network (concept and volume).
   - Exchanges with the outside.
   - Activities (e.g. meetings, markets).
   - Currency.
   - Income.

5. Objectives.

6. Training.

7. Relationships (with other networks; with the State; with others).

8. History.

- Main issues associated with the experience (unemployment, changes in cultural values, etc.).

- Life conditions of the members of the Network.

- Other.

Ideological level:

1. Vision.
2. Objectives.
3. Values or Principles.

II. Socio-economic reality

1. Of the country.
2. Of the area.
3. Development programmes / State policies.

Annex 3

List of members of the Uruguayan Barter Network, downloaded from the Network's website (http://www.chasque.apc.org/aharo/trueque/asociados) in October 1999.

Lista de Socios
I **nternet:**

http://www.chasque.apc.org/aharo/trueque/asociados

NODO SUR (Magallanes 1132-Montevideo -1º/10/9

ADRIANA- Sicoterapeuta gestilltica; espacio publicitario en **revista "Somos". Tel: 7096668.**

AIDA- Acompafiamiento de personas. Tel: 4809566.

ALEJANDRA -Tipeo, trabajos en **computadora. Tel: 4094548.**

ALEJ AND R **0- Digitopuntura,moxibusti 6n,refl exo** 1 **ogia,masa** j e, **acup untura, auricul opuntur chino, annonizaci 6n energetica de chacras. Tel.7072632-094455657**

ALICIA -Sociologa; fotografia; consultora de belleza. Tel: 4005533.

AL v **ARO -Veterinario, asesorias, busqueda de infonnaci6n, gesti6n de proyectos** en **Areas productivas especificas,gemas** en **bruto** y **elaboradas,plantas medicinales. Tel: 6137627**

ANA MARIA **-Modista, educaci6n pre-escolar, maquillaje, cosmetologia. Tel: 9023718.**

ANARUBIO -Terapeutacorporal, facilitadorade grupos demujeres. Tel: 6137627.

ANABEIl.,A -Bolsos matemales y otros, ropa y disftaces para ninos, zancos, teatro. Tel: 094301189.

ANGEL- Meditaci6n Trascendental, Clases de Fisica, Quimica y Matemlitica. Electricista. Internet: Pliginas Web, E-mail.Computaci6n. Tel: 3077371. E-mai1: aharo@.adinet.com.uy

ANGELICA -Alimentos vegetarianos, terapeuta floral (Rafl), radiestesia medica, geobiologia, plantas rnedicinales, rnusicoterapia, decoradora commercial e **interior. Tel: 3208577.**

BEATRIZ -Serigrafia, autoadhesivos. Tel: 094 300521

BEATRIZ -Tortas saladas. Tel: 6015443.

CARLOS -Carpintero, cocina integral, terapeuta floral (Rafi). T **el:** 3208577.

CLAUDIA -Medica pediatra, control de nifios sanos, **consultas programadas, prevenci6n** y **educaci6n** en **salud. Tels: 2222250, 094 408984.**

DANIEL. Carpinteria, clases de orfebreria y **de carpinteria. Tel: 3054907.**

EDUARDO- Seit3n (came vegetal). Tels: 6%3041 (trabajo); 6965032 (flia. dejar aviso).

ELBA -Medicina tradicional china, digitopuntW"a, moxibusti6n, Qi Qong, hierbas medicinales, licores y **jarabes. Tel: 6192279.**

ELIZABETH MESA -Modista, arreglos y **confecciones.** T **el: 5135895.**

GERARDO -Periodismo, annado de folletos, revistas.Reparaci6n de P **.C.s.Restaurado de fotos antigilas por Photoshop. Tel: 9000195.**

GONZALO -Sic61ogo, terapeuta floral (Each). Tel: 3086252.

GRACIELA- Clases de ingles; moza para fiestas; E-mail e **Internet. Tel: 4008887.**

GRACIELA -Educaci6n pre-escolares, jardin de infantes. Tel: 5074180.

GRACIELA -Periodista; expresi6n coq>oral para j6venes y **adultos mayores. Tel: 7089675.**

HECTOR- Carpinteria y **artes graficas. Tel: 6823517.**

lORGE- Odontologia completa. Tel: 9014889.

lORGE A. PEREIRA -Pintura, empapelados, enduidos; estudios biomtmicos, cartas astrales.Mediador Social,animaci6n de grupo (facilitador). Tel: 2226683

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JOSE -Artesano, trabajos en **cuero. Tel: 5131813.**

WAN CARLOS -Bobinado de motores electricos, reparaci6n de electrodomesticos. Tel: 3087215,

099 800738.

LAURA -Moza. Tel: 3092131,094300034.

LAURA -Restauraci6n de muebles, pintura, patinas, reciclaje; pastas caseras. Tel: 037-6403

LEONARDO- Sanitario, disefio grafico, impresi6n en **laser, escaneados, escritor. Tel: 6961133.**

LETICIA -Tallerista, taller de expresi6n pllistica, encuentros recreativos para nifios, cerlimica y cesteria para j6venes y adultos. Tel: 9015316.

LOURDES CRISTINA -Maestra pre-escolar, ingles para niftos, **recreaci6n. cuidado de nifios. Tel: 4006067.**

LUCIA -Busquedas en **Internet. Tel: 4019793.**

~ **LUCY -Pedicuria; manualidades, arreglos florales; miel. Tel: 5751495.**

MABEL -Elaboraci6n de came vegetal (seit8n); cortadora, modelista, ropa de niilos. Tel: 6965032.

MACARENA- Cosmetologia, depilaci6n, maquillaje. Tel: 099800738.

MARIA **-Panes; mates (para tomar** y **decorativos, maceteros).** T **el: 094 164809.**

MARIA CRISTINA -Animacion de cumpleaiios, titeres, musica, juegos; cuidado de nifios (puede ser noctumo); Maestra, clases particulares de Primaria. Tel: 9023180.

MARIA **JULIA -Tejido** en **punto de medida. Tel: 3204580.**

MARIA LillSA -Tortas de cumpleafios, 15 afios, casamientos, cotil16n. Profesora de dibujo. Tel: 2009879.

MARIELA- Taller de pllistica, cerlimica y cesteria; limpieza de cutis, maquillaje social, «bodyam>. Tel: 4098582.

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Octubre de 1999

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Annex 4

Final Resolution of the Alternative Summit held in Geneva June 2000[526]

PAVING THE WAY TO A NEW WORLD:
LET US GLOBALIZE THE STRUGGLE!

Final resolution

We, representatives of civil society, from different backgrounds and 60 countries, meeting in Geneva for an Alternative Summit on June 22nd to 25th in response to the Bangkok Appeal and on the eve of the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on social Development, fully recognise the challenges facing our peoples as they endeavour to achieve social Development in the context of globalisation. We have adopted the following declaration, which we invite all social movements, trade unions, NGOs, groups and associations who are engaged in the struggle against neo-liberal, sexist globalisation to sign. In this way, we aim to globalise our struggle and together pave the way to a New World.

1. Globalisation in a State of Crisis

The new millennium heralds increasing inequality between the countries of the North and the South, between those of the East and the West and, within the same country, between the rich and the poor, between women and men, between the young and the old, between urban and rural areas.

More and more people are suffering from poverty, including in the most affluent societies, while humanity produces considerable amounts of wealth. Neo-liberal globalisation accentuates these inequalities. Everyone is affected, but women and children pay the highest price, as neo-liberal politics have intensified the feminisation of poverty, propelled women and children into the global sex industry and exacerbated pre-existing violence against women. Globalisation is thus not only neo-liberal, but sexist too.

Globalisation is also characterised by its policy of immediate returns, exhausting the planet's resources. By promoting the domination of finance over all aspects of life, it undermines democracies, nation states, mechanisms for social solidarity and public services. Moreover, it favours the free circulation of goods but prevents the free movement of people, resulting in an explosion of migration: immigrants suffering from exclusion, exploitation, xenophobia and racism. Finally, it violates the most basic human rights (civil, political, economic and cultural), turning the neo-liberal model into a real crime against humanity.

In response to mounting opposition from increasing numbers of people and the manifest failure of neo-liberal policies, the establishment has adopted the language of "globalisation with a human face". On the one hand, it has co-opted the social agenda and is attempting to engage civil society in this process by offering it pseudo-influence through, for example, the World Bank / IMF Poverty Reduction and Growth Papers (PRSP). On the other hand, it is attempting to divide and increasingly represses critical social movements, trade unions and NGOs in order to weaken them.

Neo-liberal globalisation also leads to many armed conflicts that continue to decimate civil populations and drain national budgets, to the advantage of the

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[526] Downloaded on 30 September 2000 from:
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arms industry. The growing role of the "powers", reminiscent of imperialist traditions and enabled by the regrouping of their armies under NATO control, is disintegrating and disintegrating local culture and solidarity and results in rivalry between ethnic groups and the disintegration of society. This leads to the risk of wars, sometimes waged in the name of peace, and to the rise of sectarian attitudes that can take the form of fundamentalism or extreme nationalism. For example, with the pretext of fighting against drug trafficking, the United States' government increasingly represses insurrection movements and, particularly in the Andean region of Latin America, represses social movements through the installation of a powerful military base in Ecuador. Alongside the approval of Plan Colombia, exacerbates armed conflict in the country and could lead it to spread throughout the region. Another example is the way in which the same US foreign policy can lead to the "instrumentalisation" of fundamentalist groups, as is the case in Afghanistan, where the Taliban dictatorship makes its living from opium production.

There is no single answer to these crises but the fact that these conflicts exist makes it all the more urgent to develop solidarity between peoples in order to help bring about or reinforce popular structures, in particular trade unions or associations, allowing a chance for struggle and emancipation which consists of neither falling back on reactionary solutions nor accepting the dictates of Western governments. We want to build a better world, based on human rights to total Development, where men and women will live in equality, where there will be no discrimination or exclusion, and where peoples and their knowledge will be respected. We underline the importance of respecting fundamental human rights and, in particular, of implementing economic, social and cultural rights; the importance of using regional and international human rights instruments as a basis for criticising the dominant neo-liberal model; and the importance of encouraging Nation States to fulfil their obligations regarding human rights.

2. Networks for Action

Social struggles have taken on an international dimension over the last few years with the aim of demanding a equitable and responsible distribution of wealth. In 1996 the Zapatistas began this initiative, organising the First Intercontinental Gathering for Humanity and against Neo-liberalism, which united struggles from around the globe and called on the people of the world to create a network of resistance movements. This both laid the foundation and set the standard for many of today's movements against globalisation. It is not surprising that the Mexican government and the world powers seek to destroy the Zapatista Communities in order to eliminate the starting point of this resistance against them. Then followed mobilisation at an international level or around campaigns on specific themes such as the World March of Women, successfully denouncing poverty and violence against women; initiatives following the setting up of the WTO, particularly the creation of the Peoples' Global Action against "Free" Trade and the WTO (PGA); as well as many other movements too numerous to mention here. These movements often focus on social and environmental rights, as is the case with the Latin American campaign organised every October 12th on the Day of the Excluded, "El Grito de Los Excluidos".

The success of the recent demonstrations in the United States follows the emergence, during the past few years, of a series of mass campaigns with world-wide impact. These include the campaign for the cancellation of the debt of impoverished countries spearheaded, in particular, by collectives under the banner of "Jubilee 2000"; the campaign against the MAI; the campaign for the control and taxation of capital led by ATTAC, amongst others; the campaign against the WTO or against the increased power and scope of the WTO; as well as the campaign against IMF/World Bank structural adjustment and other economic reform programs.

The very scale of these movements bears witness to the emergence of a totally new situation. Their responsibility has grown because their actions have attracted world-wide media coverage and raised the expectations of not only militant networks but also large proportions of public opinion throughout the world.

3. Charting the Ways to our New World

These campaigns reveal the increasing rejection of the effects of a neo-liberal globalisation that serves the interests of dominant states, the financial sector and multinational corporations.

- Social questions are at the heart of this rejection. Neo-liberalism has contributed to reducing the role of the State, weakening public services (for example, by privatisation policies that threaten the health, education and social security sectors), eroding social rights and weakening trade union powers. The way in which neo-liberal globalisation has developed since the start of the 1990s has further accelerated this process and seriously increased insecurity of employment and instability in living and working conditions.

- Gender is also a major issue, as can be seen in the growing feminisation of poverty and in persistent violence against women. Establishing the equality of men and women as fact remains at the heart of the struggle against neo-liberal globalisation. The increasing campaigning by women around the world is a sure sign of this.

- Environmental questions, in the broadest sense, are also at the heart of recent campaigns - such as the refusal to allow the patenting of life by multinationals, who have succeeded in patenting various plants and life forms in recent years; massive rejection of genetically modified organisms (GMOs);

as well as the struggle against article 27.3(b) of the TRIPS Agreement, which menaces the very existence of indigenous communities and their traditional knowledge.

- Democracy is the fourth issue of this global campaign. The will of citizens to take matters in their own hands, to have a say in the future of our world, is being expressed increasingly and massively in the face of political and financial institutions that make decisions without any real control by the population, and especially in the face of the ideological "brainwashing" that tries to tell us there is no alternative to current neo-liberal policies.

- Finally, the struggle against xenophobia and racism and in favour of social integration and equality for immigrants is also an important issue in this world-wide resistance to neo-liberal globalisation.

In this context, social movements, trade unions and NGOs must at the same time:

- construct and develop the widest possible movements around practical goals. As we have already seen with the MAI or the Ministerial Meeting of the WTO in Seattle, and the April 2000 meetings of the World Bank and IMF in Washington, D.C., this is a vital way of modifying the balance of power and of counterattacking the proponents of neo-liberal globalisation. These practical campaigns also allow the building and testing of alliances between the various movements, both nationally and internationally;

- debate the alternatives to the neo-liberal model as well as questions that might create divisions between movements;

- make progress in the co-ordination of movements on an international level.

4. Debate and Develop Alternatives

The discussions that took place in Seattle among trade unions, NGOs and social movements showed that different approaches exist, particularly to social or environmental standards. The best way forward is to build a power base and declare new rights. Various international campaigns were also the subject of debate and discussion, especially the issues of debt (the concept of poorest countries, or how to control the use of the funds released by debt cancellation) or international financial institutions (their reform or abolition).

However, these different approaches have not been - and are not – an obstacle to joint action. The shared refusal of neo-liberal globalisation and the general support within the movement for Development centred on human beings, a source for inspiration rich in its diversity, mean that the points of convergence between the various movements create a sufficiently solid base. This synergy makes it possible to move beyond any points of divergence on the possible strategies for human Development and to create alternative proposals.

5. Solidarity through Action

There are now multiple initiatives, actions, campaigns and movements around the world that bear witness to the fact that another kind of world is possible - now. Many are based on highly practical goals. Let us mention:

DEBT

We appeal to all social movements, North and South, to fight for:

- cancellation of all the debt of developing countries which is illegitimate, immoral and un-payable;

- to phase out the so-called Heavily Indebted Poorest Countries' Initiative (HIPC) which is a parody of debt cancellation;

- to end the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment programs in indebted nations.

We call for a definitive solution to debt crisis, a solution that is fair, transparent and accountable to the people.

We also call for a mass global mobilisation in the countdown to the G8 Summit in Okinawa from July 21st to 23rd and for the UN Millennium Summit in New York on September 6th to address itself to cancelling debt in this millennium year.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) AND THE WORLD BANK

This Alternative Summit demands radical changes to the IMF and World Bank. For this reason we are calling for:

1. Total cancellation of multilateral debt (owed to the IMF and the World Bank in particular), with no structural adjustment or other externally imposed conditions, including on how the released funds are spent.

2. An end to structural adjustment programs and all other economic reform programs, designed and imposed from the outside by the IMF and the World Bank, as they are undemocratic and have disastrous social and economic consequences for local populations.

3. Transparency and democratisation of the IMF and World Bank, that must be directly accountable to the people still affected by their policies and projects. The future existence, structure and policies of these international institutions must be determined through a democratic, transparent process.

4. Respect, by these international institutions, of human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international law and to have the rights as a framework for their projects and policies; and to at all times respect national obligations to international and regional human rights instruments.

5. Reduction of World Bank powers and accountability for this institution, as proposed by the international World Bank Bonds Campaign.

6. If these institutions continue to work within their framework of global liberalisation, the movement for an Alternative World will not hesitate to force the abolition of the IMF and the World Bank.

Therefore, we call for a world-wide week of action, centred around September 26th to coincide with the annual meeting in Prague, Czech Republic, of the IMF & World Bank, as a time to demand radical changes of the World Bank and the IMF and a new structure for the international financial system.

THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

The world is not a commodity and humanity is not a resource. The time has come to recognise that international trade and its leading institution, the WTO, born out of the Marrakech Agreement, are in a state of crisis. It is time to replace this outdated, iniquitous, oppressive system by a framework for fair and durable trade for the 21st Century.

We continue to oppose any further negotiation rounds and to demand a moratorium on any new negotiations that would increase the power and scope of the WTO, and the exclusion from WTO jurisdiction of such issues as rural agriculture, social services and intellectual property rights. We demand the imposition of controls and taxes on capital.

Access to basic requirements must be guaranteed: sectors such as health, education, culture, housing, the environment, the provision of water and other essential requirements are fundamental rights. These sectors cannot be subjected to the rules of international commerce and must therefore be excluded from the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). In the same way, policies that aim to promote and protect food safety and self-sufficiency and sustainable rural agriculture should never be subjected to multilateral trade laws.

The Dispute Settlement Body operates in secrecy, usurping the legislative and regulatory powers of sovereign states and communities. Therefore, it should cease to exist.

International trade rules should be subjected to international law as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESOCUL); and the various international conventions, covenants and protocols which guarantee first and foremost peoples' fundamental human and sovereign rights.

The Agreement on Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) encourages the creation of monopolies that profit multinational corporations. It denies the right to healthcare and medicines for the majority. It results in knowledge and living matter being privatised, biodiversity being

compromised and countries of the global South being prevented from improving their levels of social and economic welfare or developing their technical know-how. TRIPS has no place within the WTO.

We condemn the policies implemented by the WTO, the World Bank, the IMF and the OECD. We denounce the way in which national and regional political powers (including the European Union) bear allegiance to transnational interest groups: the World Economic Forum; the International Chamber of Commerce; the European Roundtable; Services 2000; organisations which believe that they can regulate immigration according to their requirements in cheap labour.

We, the undersigned movements and organisations, commit ourselves to working towards a fair, democratically controlled system of international trade. We will support struggles on every scale, in all countries, through international campaigns of solidarity.

CONTROLLING CAPITAL FLOW AND TAX HAVENS

The Tobin Tax

The Tobin Tax applies to currency exchange transactions only. It is not the sole solution to the many problems and claims raised by financial globalisation. It is one widely supported way to control world-wide capital flows.

Due to its simplicity, the way it is structured and its impact, it can achieve a variety of synergistic goals. It is educational and dynamic, allowing citizens to understand why social, economic and political problems are linked to neo-liberal globalisation. As a tool to fight financial speculation it allows, if set at a sufficiently high level, the slowing-down of speculation that destabilises

economies and holds back all national projects aiming at construction and progress. Due to the significant revenues it generates, as a tool for international politics it allows a different international structure to be implemented, based on the global redistribution and sharing of wealth.

The Tobin Tax is a practical, feasible proposal. The electronic systems commonly used by banks would allow it to be implemented very easily. It depends above all on political will.

The way in which the revenue from this tax should be distributed is under discussion. One proposal is to create a new democratic international institution, mindful of social and environmental concerns, which would be responsible for managing the resources generated by the tax.

This is part of a wider issue: the struggle against unemployment and exclusion. The deregulation of labor markets goes hand in hand with employment policies that, in the name of the fight against unemployment, aggravate employment insecurity and low pay. It also goes hand in hand with policies that aim to dismantle the social welfare state. The best way to change governments' opinions is through the weight of citizens' action. Initially, this could be organised at the European level. We should therefore prepare to join together in a campaign against unemployment and job insecurity during the European Union Summit in Nice next December. This will also be an opportunity to campaign for social rights and the Tobin Tax.

Tax Havens

It is impossible to consider taxation without considering tax havens, where the assets of financial crime are recycled. They must be dismantled. Tax havens are like a noose around the world's throat. They are joint ventures linking together three partners: multinationals (tax fraud; huge commissions on world

markets; oil, arms, transportation, etc.), money-laundering organisations and Nation-States (financing political parties and politicians). It is therefore clear that governments and Nation-States are responsible. However, they have no real desire to dismantle tax havens even if a number of their members are fighting them. The major tax havens are not offshore but in London, Geneva, Liechtenstein, Monaco, etc.

Our objective is to crush these tax havens through targeted information and pressure campaigns, such as a march to one of the tax havens, to a multinational company's headquarters or to several of these targets simultaneously. It has also been suggested that the impact of tax havens on small countries should be studied and economic alternatives financed by the G7 nations once these countries' tax havens have been wiped out.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS

These agreements are presented as being necessary. They favour multinational corporations and local elites but cannot satisfy the needs of the people; on the contrary, they lead to increased poverty and exclusion. Bilateral, regional and international agreements exclude the social and environmental agenda and ignore the imbalances between countries: all they do is favour cross-border capital flows and local elites, preventing the application of democracy.

On the basis of these negative experiences, we reject the project to create the FTAA (Free Trade Area of America) proposed by the United States government in conjunction with the other governments in the region, and also reject similar agreements in Africa, Asia or elsewhere.

We call for fair, equitable trade agreements that form part of a scheme for durable Development, negotiated with the populations concerned and agreed by them, and aimed at peoples' social Development.

THE WORLD MARCH OF WOMEN, 2000

With more than 4,500 groups in 155 countries, the World March of Women 2000 is an unprecedented movement of women campaigning against poverty and in favour of sharing wealth. It aims to fight violence against women and sexual inequality. It is part of the body of social movements, trade unions, groups, associations, NGOs, etc. who are fighting the current trend of neo-liberal globalisation, suggesting alternatives and weaving a web of solidarity around the planet.

The March believes that globalisation today is not just a capitalist and neo-liberal phenomenon but also sexist. The situation imposed on women can only be explained by the combined effect of two global forces: neo-liberal capitalism and a patriarchy, which feed on one another and reinforce each other to maintain the vast majority of women in a state of cultural inferiority and social deprecation, on the fringes of the economy, where their work and very existence is "invisible" and their bodies treated like a commodity. All of this amounts to "gender apartheid".

Unfortunately, Beijing+5 has demonstrated that a lot of ground still needs to be covered before fundamental women's rights are respected. The March seeks to build a world where women and men are equal, where women are freed from all forms of violence and exploitation including domestic violence, rape, prostitution, trafficking of women, sexual harassment and social and State violence. The March wants to fight the structural causes of poverty and violence against women and many of their claims are similar to those of other social movements, but with an additional gender perspective:

- All Nation States should set up a legal framework and strategies for eliminating poverty, in particular female poverty.

- Urgent measures such as those described in this Resolution should be implemented.

- A Council for Economic and Financial Security should be set up to exercise political control over financial markets and to define world-wide rules for a new financial system. It should include representatives of civil society and ensure both male-female and North-South parity.

- Conventions and measures designed to eliminate all violence against women should be applied. Particular attention should be paid to taking into account lesbian claims, because globalisation is not only sexist but also particularly uncompromising with homosexuals.

The March demands that the principle of sexual equality be applied immediately in all committees or organisations which the movement for an Alternative World sets up, and that significant space be given within these structures to representatives of Southern Hemisphere countries and minority groups.

The March invites all movements to join them in its coming campaigns:

- October 14th, 2000: Brussels, European demonstration;

- October 15th, 2000: Washington, D.C., demonstration against the World Bank and the IMF;

- October 17th, 2000: New York City, in front of the United Nations building, where an international March delegation will meet Kofi Annan to explain women's claims and inform him of the March's determination to have them met.

6. Co-ordinating International Action and Campaigns

The impact of the international campaigns and demonstrations in Seattle and Washington, D.C. was largely due to the way they were carried out: a network of flexible, independent groups came together to campaign on mutually agreed and practical issues. This is what allowed very diverse movements to join together in common action.

At the same time, it is important to compare notes and create a forum for debate, to enrich these movements with the cumulative experience of our fight against neo-liberal globalisation. To do this, we must build a very flexible international alliance based on the practical campaigns these movements organise.

This has already begun, building on the will to formulate a common agenda, on getting to know each other, on understanding the stakes involved in each other's actions, and on a practical need to share information between regions, campaigns and movements so as to increase their visibility and efficiency.

Setting up co-ordination on an international level will be a complex process. The approach we use should make our movement both broader and deeper, in a conscious effort to bring together trade unions, workers' organisations, women, rural workers, cultural organisations, etc. The co-ordinating structure must also be strongly rooted in the social concerns and struggles of the peoples and populations concerned.

There are several ways of moving this process forward: linking thematic and regional campaigns, common days of action, peoples' assemblies, making more efficient use of technology, co-ordination secretariats, etc.

Among coming events, this December's Dakar 2000 Summit in Senegal and the January 2001 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, are two important opportunities to pursue this discussion process - with the aim of creating an international network for action.

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