

EDS410 Autumn 2011

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Development theory in historical perspective &  
an overview of Development studies

I & II

# Main topics

(Please see list of readings EDS410 for further bibliographic information)

- **European origins of modern development doctrines (Cowen & Shenton, 1996: Ch.1)**
- **Immanent-Intentional: conceptual distinction (Cowen & Shenton, 1996)**
  - **Smith & Marx (including original sources)**
- **Polanyi's thesis (Polanyi, 1957)**
- **Development theory in the Post-war era**
- **Intentional development: Seers to Sen (Shanmugaratnam, 2001)**
- **Post-modernist/Post-structuralist discourses (Peet & Hartwick, 2009)**
- **Historical Overview of DS**

## Literature:

- Cowen, M. P and R. W. Shenton, 1996, *Doctrines of Development*, London Routledge
- Chang, H-J and I. Grabel, 2004, *Reclaiming Development, An alternative economic policy manual*, Zed Press
- Chang, H-J, 2003, *Kicking Away the Ladder – Development Strategy in Historical Perspective*, Anthem Press
- Peet, R. (with E. Hartwick) 2009, *Theories of Development*, Guilford Press.
- Polanyi, K., 1957, *The Great Transformation – The political and economic origins of our time*, Beacon Press, Boston
- Reinert, E. S., 2007, *How Rich Countries Got Rich and Why Poor Countries Stay Poor*, Constable, London
- Rist, G., 2008, *The History of Development From Western origins to global faith*, Zed Press 3<sup>rd</sup> edition
- Shanmugaratnam, N., 2001, *On the Meaning of Development: An exploration of the capability approach*, *Forum for Development Studies*, No. 2, 2001:263-288



*Elsie: "WHAT'S THAT, DADDY?"*  
*Father: "A GOW."*  
*Elsie: "WHY?"*

*Punch (1906)*

*Development seems to defy definition, although not for a want of definitions on offer. ...it is little wonder that we are thoroughly confused by development studies texts as to what development means. - Cowen and Shenton (1996:3)*

- Development as modernisation
  - Development – a failed enterprise
  - Development as freedom
  - Development as trusteeship
  - Development – a technology of control, a racist project
  - No to ‘development’ – the choice is ‘post-development’
- In 1988, Wolfgang Sachs, believed development was dead and tried to write its obituary (rather prematurely):  
*‘The last 40 years can be called the age of development. This epoch is coming to an end. The time is ripe to write its obituary. .. The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. .. Development has changed the face of the earth but not in the way it had intended.’* - The Development Dictionary

- **Amartya Sen consistently projects an optimistic vision of ‘development as freedom’, as a process of intentional social advancement through the expansion of human capabilities**
- **Mark Duffield (2007: ix): Development is a form of biopolitics but ‘ rather than a universalizing biopolitics, development is the opposite. It is a means of dividing humankind against itself in the generic form developed and underdeveloped species-life. Development is thus central to the new or culturally coded racism that emerged with decolonization.’**
- **Post-development: Abandon development. Reject universal commodification. Need is for harmonious and equitable cohabitation. Hope: the new social movements (Escobar, 1995; Rist, 2008)**

## Major issues on which consensus is hard to come by:

- **Meaning of development – i.e. What is development?  
So many definitions**
- **How to achieve development, given a particular answer to the question above? Can development be governed to achieve desired ends? This leads to many other questions.**
- **Differences again, even when a definition is agreed upon by a group of concerned persons.**
- **Does this make DS an interesting field? Too broad? Too demanding? Somewhat frustrating at times? What is DS?**

# The European origins of modern development doctrines

(Cowen & Shenton, 1996)

- The European origins of modern development doctrines - in order to draw attention to the **Eurocentrism** of post-war development theories
- The idea of development had been invented to deal with the problem of social disorder in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe through trusteeship. Unfortunately, most of the widely used texts in development theory/studies fail to root the constructivist idea of development in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe (C& S). These texts assert that development theory was born after the Second World War.

## Two key words: The Enlightenment, Modernity

### The Enlightenment:

(17-18<sup>th</sup> century Europe) Reason, Rationalism, Rationality; Science; Critical thinking; Progress in material wealth

Individual freedom, Justice, Emancipation;

**Note:** The Enlightenment was not characterised by a single line of thought or theory. There were diverse schools of thought.

*Among the major thinkers: Descartes (16<sup>th</sup> C), Voltaire (17<sup>th</sup>), Hobbes (17<sup>th</sup>), Locke (17<sup>th</sup>), Rousseau (18<sup>th</sup>), Kant (18<sup>th</sup>), Smith (18<sup>th</sup>) Condorcet (18<sup>th</sup>)*

**Caution:** The East-West dichotomisation by critics of Eurocentrism is rather simplistic. There were and there are competing ideas and theories within the West and within the East.

## **Modernity:**

**‘At its simplest, modernity is a shorthand term for modern society or industrial civilization. Portrayed in more detail, it is associated with 1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation by human intervention; 2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; 3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation state and mass democracy. Largely as a result of these characteristics, modernity is vastly more dynamic than any previous type of social order. It is a society –more technically, a complex of institutions- which unlike any preceding culture lives in the future rather than the past.’ – Giddens, 1998 (cited in Wikipedia: Modernity)**

- **Re: Sociological Theories of Modernisation – See Peet & Hartwick (2009)**

## **Modernity :**

- **Early modern theorists disagreed on how to define modernity.**
- **Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Auguste Comte, Saint Simon, Alex de Tocqueville, Emile Durkheim were all theorists of modernity but had different perspectives**
- **Characterised by ‘endless bouts of disruptive change,....modernity is the most unstable epoch that humanity has ever known.’ (The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology)**
- **Nation state, technological revolutions, wars, Fascism, genocide, progressive change, domination, democracy, human freedoms, socialism, imperialism, globalisation...**
- **Modernity is driven by multiple engines of social change – it is difficult to predict historical events**
- **Polanyi: Double movement – a paradox of modernity (state-capital-society)**
- **Bourdieu: Modernity→cultural inequalities reproduced via ‘habitus’**

## **How Marx & Engels saw it in the 19th century:**

- **‘All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.’ (The Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848)**

- **Modernisation – universalisation of a particular (Western) experience? Eurocentrism**
- **Development=Modernisation=Westernisation =Civilisation?**
- **Capitalism – the universalising force?**
- **Modernisation – set in a European cosmology**
- **First, let's look at how 'development' was invented in Europe**

## Development of Capitalism - 19<sup>th</sup> c Europe

**Industrial revolution –  
Social transformation**

**Making of a new order**

- Class formation: new property relations
- Capitalists-Workers  
Proletarianisation
- Growth of trade
- Capital accumulation & growth: Wealth & Income up
- Urbanisation
- Middle class formation



**Social misery & disorder**

(Negative consequences)

- Dispossession, Destitution;  
(pauperisation)
- Low wages
- Unemployment
- Poverty

**Concerned groups called this  
'The Development Problem'  
& demanded state  
intervention**

**Origins of Trusteeship/  
Intentional development**

**Unintended (but not unpredictable) Outcomes of an Immanent  
Process**

*Immanent: inherent, intrinsic, originating from within, natural, organic*

‘The burden of **development** was to compensate for the negative propensities of capitalism through the reconstruction of social order. To develop, then, was to ameliorate the social misery which arose out of the **immanent process** of capitalist growth.” (ibid:116)

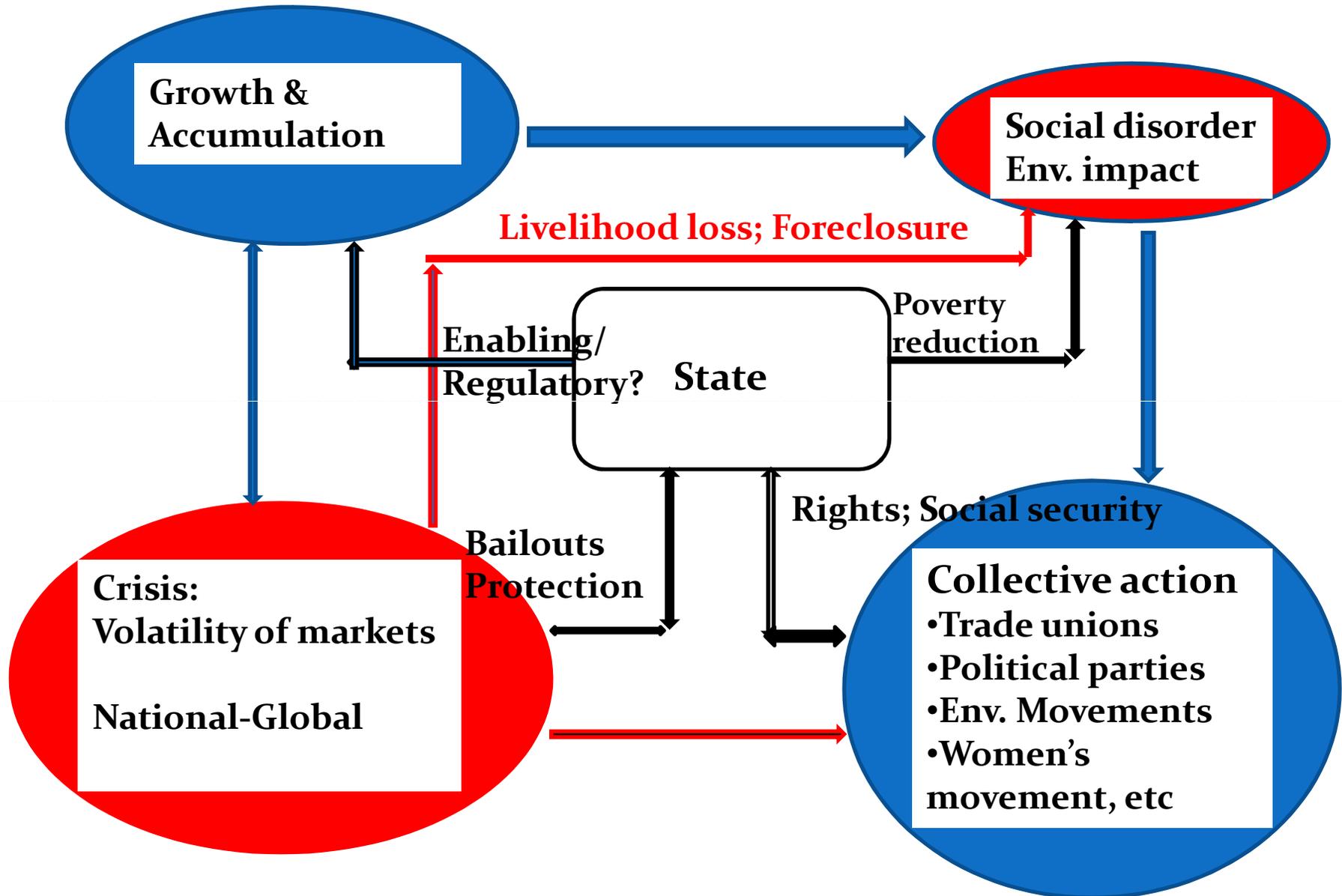
*Immanent as opposed to Intentional*

- The harsh social and economic consequences of the development of capitalism came to be seen as the real problem of development.
- **The entrapment of development in trusteeship:** In 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain and France, the resolution of this problem (which was viewed as a state of disorder created by the ongoing process of change) was seen in terms of **trusteeship, i.e. the intention of one to act on behalf of another. The ‘more developed’ aid & guide the development of the ‘less developed’.**
- The advocates wanted specific public (state) intervention with policies and arrangements to compensate for the negative consequences and enable the development of the losers.

- This imbued development with an **intention** to achieve certain results. It was in such a context that doctrines of development emerged –**i.e. development was invented as intentional social advancement.**
- Cowen & Shenton (1996:viii): ‘An intention to develop becomes a doctrine of development when it is attached, or when it is pleaded that it be attached, to the agency of the state to become an expression of state policy.’
- **Note:** The historical reality of Western capitalist development was even more complex than this, as the state had to intervene to protect and promote economic growth and capital accumulation. As noted by Polanyi (1957:132), ‘not human beings and natural resources only but also the organization of capitalist production itself had to be sheltered from the devastating effects of a self-regulating market.’

(Also see Chang & Grabel, 2004 and Reinert, 2007)

# The real story is a bit more complex! (in our own times)



## Back to 19th c. The context: 1830s-1840s Britain

- **Hobsbawm:**

**‘No period in British history has been as tense, as politically and socially disturbed as the 1830s and early 1840s, when both the working class and the middle class, separately or in conjunction, demanded what they regarded as fundamental changes. .. Much of this tension of the period from 1829 to 1846 was due to the combination of working classes despairing because they had not enough to eat and manufacturers despairing because they genuinely believed the prevailing political and fiscal arrangements to be slowly throttling the economy.’ (C&S: 11)**

## France:

- **Louis Blanc (1841):**

**‘Is the poor man a member of society or its enemy? ... He finds the soil everywhere about him occupied. Can he cultivate the land for himself? No, because the right of the first occupier has become the right of property. Can he gather the fruits that the hand of God has caused to ripen along man’s way? No, for as the soil has been appropriated so have the fruits... What shall this unfortunate one do?’**

**‘He will tell you “I have arms, I have intelligence, I have strength, I have youth; take all that and in exchange give me a bit of bread.” This is what the proletarians say and do today. But even here you may respond to the poor man: “I have no work to give you” (C&S: 12)**

## Trusteeship:

### *Development's entrapment in trusteeship*

#### France:

- French socialism of Saint-Simonians – Opposed to the liberalism of the French Revolution.
- Advocated a theory of trusteeship. Property should be placed in the hands of trustees chosen on the basis of their capacity to decide where and how society's resources should be invested. (Against private property as it could neither be justified on the grounds of happiness nor on grounds of the capacity of the possessors of property to use it in the most productive manner.)
- Land, labour and capital should be entrusted only to those who had the capacity to utilise them. **(No market allocation!)**
- The society's bankers are potentially fit to be trustees because they know how to appraise the needs of industry. But must modify the bankers and the banks to be fit for trusteeship. A general system of banks with a central bank at the apex.

## Trusteeship..

### Britain:

- John Stuart Mill (1806-1873): Utilitarian social reform: Liberty + Education in a capitalist order
- Fabian society (1884- ): Advance the socialist cause by reformist than revolutionary means. (Labour Party)
- Malthus's grim predictions seemed to be borne out by the depressions of early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Britain (1815-1818) and France (1816-1825). This played a major part in the emergence of intentional development and state intervention (though that was not Malthus' answer).

### C&S (p12):

- 'It was the turmoil and fear of revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century that gave birth to the idea of development and it is these unexplored origins that are the source of much of present-day confusion about development's meaning.'

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## **Immanent & Intentional Development**

- **The development of the capitalist economy is driven by an inner logic**
- **There are subjective policy interventions to manage the economy and to deal with socio-political problems**
- **Adam Smith & Karl Marx offer different theories of the immanent nature of the capitalist economy**

## Adam Smith (1723-1790)

### How to create order in a society in change

- Individual is the basic unit, and self-love (self-interest) – the driving force of immanent development. But it needs to have the right state and institutional environment. An economy governed by a self-regulating market – ‘the invisible hand’ - >i.e. a self-regulating economy driven by **perfect competition**.
- Smith’s view of the evolutionary stages of development: Hunting, Nomadic pastoralism, Settled farming (feudal), Commerce (modern). Each had its own **property structures**. Individual self-interest is the driving force of evolution of the social systems and *laissez faire* is the Natural order that results – reflecting the ‘mind of the Creator’!
- Natural theology -> Natural law -> Natural liberty->Laissez faire (‘The invisible hand’) – a **providential design** (also see Ekelund & Herbert, 1983, A History of Economic Theory and Method)

## • **The state must establish the prior conditions for laissez faire**

- **Modern private property rights and their enforcement**
- **Public works: infrastructure – investments not attractive to private investors**
- **Administration of justice; Removal of impediments to natural justice**
- **Taxation should not interfere with the allocative mechanism (i.e. market) – or be a disincentive to individual effort**
- **Defence**
- **Smith's vision of the economy and society as a 'natural order' driven by self-love (self-interest), which is mediated/restrained by moral values and rules of free competition. The human being is borne with self-interest and dies with it – from womb to tomb!**
- **The individual's universal characteristics: Self interest, Strong desire to better his/her conditions, Fellow feeling and sympathy**
- **Human aversion to work Vs Natural capacity for work**
- **Objective process of the market <-> Subjective choice (self-interest; + sympathy)**

- **The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759) – ‘Moral Man’**
- **The Wealth of Nations (1776) – ‘Economic Man’**

(also see Ekelund and Herbert, 1983)

- **Both Moral man and economic man are creatures of self-love (a characteristic not necessarily the same as selfishness).**
- **Moral man: Sympathy is that human faculty which holds self-interest in check**
- **Economic man: Competition is the economic faculty that restrains self-interest**
- **Competition ensures that pursuit of self-interest will improve economic welfare of society**
- **Monopoly represents unbridled self-interest and the consequent destruction of welfare.**
- **Sellers may like to charge higher prices for their goods but they cannot do it under competition. The tendency would be to lower the prices to attract more customers.**
- **Monopoly: free to set higher prices.**

**Haven't Smith's fears about monopoly come true? ‘Perfect competition’ V  
The reality of capitalism**

- **Smith's model of perfect competition and spontaneous order: development - an unintended outcome of individual decisions made in production and trade. Material improvement follows spontaneously from exchange.**
- **Division of labour->Increased productivity->Increased output->higher wages-Higher per capita income->Higher levels of consumption->Greater wealth of a nation->Increased capital accumulation->Division of labour->**
- **Smith's concern about poverty and favourable view of public action to promote education, reduce poverty.**
- **Sen's Smithian normative approach (intentional social advancement)**

## Discussion on Smith & beyond

- **How compatible are self-love (self-interest) and fellow feeling?**

‘How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing it.’ - The opening sentence in ‘The Theory of Moral Sentiments’ 1759

‘It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves not to their humanity but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our won necessities but of their advantage.’ The Wealth of Nations, Ch. II, 1776

- Reason, Rationality, Self-interest, Choices; self-interest-altruism
- Rationality – a person’s choices are subject to reason
- Rational choice theory – based on a very narrow meaning of self-interest (relentless maximisation ) and reason (Sen, 1977, 2002).

## **Karl Marx (1818-1883)**

- **Marx rejected Smith's essentialising of human nature across all divides of history, culture and social organisation. Rejected Smithian natural theology. Saw the Promethean power of capital.**
- **History as a succession of modes of production driven by class struggle. Class conflict is the defining feature, not individual self-interest. (Marx did not deny the existence of self-interest)**
- **The Base -Superstructure metaphor: Economic base – Political, juridical, cultural, ideological superstructure; The reciprocal relationship between Base & Superstructure; Critics' views on this**
- **The mode of production is driven by the articulated combination of the relations and forces of production.**
- **The CMP: Capital-Labour is the contradiction that drives the economy towards growth, development and differentiation.**
  - **Class conflict: Capital-Labour**
  - **Competition: Capital-Capital; Labour-Labour**

## **The emergence of the CMP:**

- **Separation of the producers from the means of production (primitive accumulation) - Proletarianisation**
- **Reintegration of the dispossessed as workers with capital: formal and real subsumption of labour under capital.**
- **Class conflict and competition pushing capitalists to adopt technology – this promotes a permanent technological revolution.**
- **Pauperism and creation of surplus population**
- **Accumulation and expansion of capital and cycles of crisis**
- **Capitalism expands as an international system**
- **Contradiction between the forces and the relations of production -> prospects of revolutionary transformation**

# Marx: Two domains of the idea of development (C&S, 1996)

- **A restricted domain:** When the intent to develop is subordinated to an immanent process of capitalism. The development of productive forces.
- **An expanded domain:** Intent to develop prevails over an immanent process. ‘True or full development of humanity hinged on the intent of the human subject to develop, not within the restricted development of labour power for capital but through the expanded freedom of activity in general. This for Marx was the full development of freedom.’ (C&S, 1996:119)
- Marx rejected doctrines of development that rested on trusteeship – both bourgeois and ‘socialist’ trusteeship

## **Marx on Agency and Emancipation: from a realm of necessity to a realm of freedom**

- **A fundamental tension, dualism in Marx's theory: a logic of Contingency (people make history; political struggle) Vs a logic of Necessity (teleological determinism – immanent) – (Discuss Gramsci's view; Post-Marxism)**
- **The contingency-necessity tension in Marx's writings has caused considerable debate and discussion regarding Marx's theory of emancipation and led to the emergence of Post-Marxism. (For a review, see Glyn Daly (1999), Marxism and Postmodernity, in Gamble, A., D. Marsh and T. Tant (eds), 1999, Marxism and Social Science, Macmillan. See the works of E. Laclau and C. Mouffe for detailed theoretical arguments for Post-Marxism.)**

## *The young Marx's imagery of the emancipated individual:*

For as soon as the distribution of labour comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot escape. He is a hunter, a fisherman, a herdsman, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; while in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus **makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic.**

*German Ideology, 1845*

- **Friedrich List's (1841) 'National System of Political Economy' (Germany) and Marx's critique**

**List: (German political economist, became US citizen and returned to Germany )**

- **Spent time in the US and studied the economic development of US – which was practising infant industry protection against competition from imported British goods**
- **Advocated protectionism and a major role for the state in the national development of Germany**
- **List's influence on development policy: The east Asian late developers (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan) followed Listian policies (more recently China, India, Brazil) – 'catching-up'**
- **'Kicking away the ladder' – List's reference to Britain, which List argued was the first country to practise protectionism but tried hard to deny that option to other countries by 'kicking away the ladder'. (see Chang, 2003, Kicking Away the Ladder – Development strategy in historical perspective. Anthem Press)**

- **Marx wrote a scathing critique of List's book (see Marx-Engels collected works Vol. 4, 1844-45). He called List 'a true German philistine' and accused him of plagiarism (& provided evidence). According Marx, List's book had no originality, i.e. the propositions were already known. Marx's main critique was theoretical.**
- **Marx was against 'national' capitalism and policies meant to protect the domestic bourgeoisie against foreign competitors. He argued that what this meant was to let only German (and not foreign) capitalists exploit German workers.**
- **Marx's viewpoint was not liberal but radical in the sense that he believed that free trade and competition would hasten the arrival of revolution and the end of capitalism, which would pave the way for the full emancipation of the individual.**
- **But Listian/Neo-Listian policies have been playing a major role in the development of capitalism in different countries.**
- **Social democracy was the 20<sup>th</sup> century 'socialist' compromise!**

# Trusteeship and Colonialism

**A European view of civilisation, colonialism and trusteeship:**

**‘Speaking of civilization, seniority is not a right, it is a duty. This duty, in truth, gives right, including the right to colonization. Savage nations have a right to civilization, as children have a right to education, and the civilized nation owe them this debt. To pay one’s own debt is a duty, as it is a right. Hence in ancient times the right of India over Egypt, of Egypt over Greece, of Greece over Italy, of Italy over Gaul. Hence in our own days, the right of England over Asia, and of France over Africa.’**

**-Victor Hugo at a banquet commemorating the abolition of slavery (quoted from Zorn (1989) in Rist (2008: 51)**

## **Post-War development theory and debates**

- **The Modernisation paradigm**
- **Underdevelopment, Dependency**
- **The development of underdevelopment**
- **Marxist and mainstream critique**

***Go to: EDS205 and other relevant courses***

- **Polanyi's (20<sup>th</sup> century) critique of the self-regulating economy model and its relevance to development theory**

# Intentional Development in Developing Countries

(‘Third World’, ‘South’)

**Dudley Seers (1979): ‘The New Meaning of Development’**

- **The question to ask about development is:**  
What has been happening to poverty, to unemployment and to inequality?  
If all three of these had become less severe during a given period, then beyond doubt it had been a period of development, whereas if one or more of these central problems had been growing worse it would be strange to call the result ‘development’ even if per capita income had doubled.

**Sen (in various writings – 1984, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1999), See Shanmugaratnam, 2001**

- **Development as capability expansion, as emancipation:**  
**See: Shanmugaratnam 2001: On the meaning of development – An exploration of the capability approach**

## Development Studies- A historical overview (Shanmugaratnam 2008 revised 2010)

<p><b>'Prehistory'</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•19th c. Europe: Invention of development</li> <li>•Colonial studies – the less known connection to DS</li> </ul>	<p><b>Related events/ Interventions/ Examples</b></p>
<p><b>Post-war: 1945-</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•1945: World Bank (IBRD); IMF Keynesianism</li> <li>•Decolonisation-&gt;</li> <li>•Cold War begins</li> </ul>
<p><b>1960s: Development Studies – Western Universities</b></p>	<p><b>State-led development policies in newly independent countries</b></p>
<p><b>1960s-1970s:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Modernisation paradigm &amp; growth theories</li> <li>•Critical theories: Marxist, Neo-Marxist/ Dependency; Structuralism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• African socialism (Tanzania)</li> <li>•India: Economic Planning</li> <li>•East Asian NICs emulating the Japanese success story</li> </ul>

**1980s:**

- Impasse in development theory
- Critiques of Marxist & Neo-Marxist structuralism
- Post-structuralism; Post-Marxism
- Gender/Feminist theories
- Middle range concepts:

**Agency/Actor**

- Empirical-Local studies
- Environment-Development
- Microeconomics
- Methodological individualism
- Washington consensus & IFIs impact Ds

**Late 1970s- 1980s: IFIs critique 'state failure' & prescribe neoliberal package: Washington consensus, Market-led development (Post-Keynesian)**

**TNCs**

**1987: WCED Report 'Our Common Future'**

**DS in universities in the South**

**1989: End of Cold war; Neolib. Triumphalism**

**1990s:**

- **Rise of postmodernism**
- **Capability approach gains currency**
- **Critical views/studies on neoliberalism, SAP etc**
- **Discourse analysis**
- **Post-development/ Anti-development**
- **More focus on Civil society; social movements, NGOs**
- **Focus on globalisation & development**
- **Post-Washington consensus: state-market**
- **'New wars', Conflict-Peace-Development, Liberal peace**
- **Listian theories (late development)/the other canon**

**Post-cold war**

**1990: UNDP, HDR**

**UNDP popularises the capability approach**

**1995: WTO**

**1990s-**

**Globalisation**

**Neoliberalism modified**

**Post-Washington consensus:**

**bringing the state back in –**

**Second generation reforms: effective states**



<p>2000-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•Neoliberalism, 'Postisms'</li><li>•Listian theories (late development)</li><li>•Critical modernism</li><li>•Climate change-development</li><li>•Emerging powers &amp; development</li></ul>	<p>'Global war on terror' Securitisation : Security- Development Nexus</p>

- Neoliberalism, 'Postisms'
- Listian theories (late development)
- Critical modernism
- Climate change-development
- Emerging powers & development

'Global war on terror'  
Securitisation : Security-  
Development Nexus

## Perspectives on DS & the Ethical dilemmas of DS

**Marx, 1845:**

- **Philosophers have only interpreted the world in different ways. The point, however, is to change it.**

**Rahnema, 1997:**

- **Who are we – who am I to intervene in other people's lives when we know so little about any life, including our own?**

**Questions:**

- **Who decides what is development?**
- **Who decides research priorities?**
- **Who decides the contents of DS programmes at universities?**
  
- **DS – a tool of constructing, sustaining hegemony?**
- **DS & the formation of epistemic communities.**

**DS: At the service of the management of the established order.**

**Producing Social Engineers/ Technocrats/System managers?**

**‘The governing elite today needs a science capable of (in both senses) rationalizing its domination, capable both of reinforcing the mechanisms that sustain it and of legitimising it. It goes without saying that the limits of this science are set by its practical functions: neither for social engineers nor for the managers of the economy can it perform a radical questioning.’ (Bourdieu, 1993: 13)**

- **The science of social engineering: depoliticised/ ‘apolitical’/**
- **DS: A critical science, Reflexive**
- **Focused on Power relations, Processes, Actors, Structures**

# Knowledge

<b>Knowledge</b>	<b>Academic audience</b>	<b>Extra-academic audience</b>
<b>Instrumental</b>	<b>Professional</b>	<b>Policy</b>
<b>Reflexive</b>	<b>Critical</b>	<b>Public</b>

(Source: Burawoy 2004 (reproduced from Kothari, 2005))