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European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes

BUILDING DEVELOPMENT STUDIES FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM

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EADI GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT



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Building Development Studies for the New Millennium

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Reflecting on Development Studies in the New Millennium

Elisabetta Basile and Isa Baud

1 Towards a New Vision of Development Studies

In 2005, in a meeting of Directors of its member institutes, the EADI decided that a Vision Paper on Development Studies (DS)[1] was needed to set out its position on the nature of DS, its interdisciplinary character, and the implications for its positioning in the changing European higher education system. In that period the Bologna agreements on making university teaching programmes compatible across Europe were developed. They presented a dilemma for teaching and research programmes in DS. Substantively, the interdisciplinary character of DS did not lend itself easily to the proposed European accreditation system based on mono-disciplinary fields. Institutional pressure arose from the fact that EADI member institutions were conscious that DS Institutes might have

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trouble facing an accreditation framework unsuited to the interdisciplinary specificity of DS.

To counter this problem, a Vision Paper on Development Studies was written by several senior members of EADI.[2] Its aim was to define DS as an interdisciplinary field and prepare DS Institutes and researchers to face the new accreditation processes. Defining DS was considered only the first necessary step: interdisciplinarity was seen as the key specificity of DS and a key weakness in view of accreditation processes. The 2005 Vision paper intended to deal with this specificity to make accreditation by academic peers feasible, reducing the risk for DS as a field.

In 2015, EADI members in the Executive Committee representing members from 26 European countries, took up the question whether the ideas concerning DS laid down in the 2005 Vision Paper were still valid and appropriate, or whether the world and Academia had changed so much in their thinking that it was necessary to rethink DS and lay down current ideas in a new EADI Vision Paper. The discussion was triggered by strategic changes within the understandings of DS, the issues and disciplines with which it is aligning, and by changing institutional frameworks locally and globally in the world of education and academic research. An increasingly polycentric world and shifting international relations bringing in new issues and actors into development processes and practices were changing DS in its thematic focuses and research methodologies (see EADI General Conference on *Responsible Development in a Polycentric World. Inequality, Citizenship and the Middle Classes*, 2014).

The ways issues are discussed within EADI had also changed since 2005. Whereas in 2005, institute Directors nominated three senior members of EADI to write up the Vision Paper, in 2015 the process entailed broader participatory processes. A round-table discussion was held with the Executive Committee of EADI, and a paper commissioned to a small group from the International Accreditation Council. They set out an online survey for EADI members concerning the nature of DS, and carried out a literature review of articles published on DS in leading journals (see chapter by Monks et al.). Subsequently, discussions with academic communities in South Africa and China were held on the topic.

The discussions generated great interest among EADI members, such that EADI realized that a larger set of papers on the question of defining DS and how it is positioned within the broader academic, policy and practice communities, would reflect the thinking of the wider EADI

community more clearly. This book presents the outcome of the many contributions by EADI members on important dimensions of development issues, which together make up the EADI vision on DS and the nature of the work in which we are all engaged.[3] Although this volume includes contributions from southern authors linked to EADI, a future volume will provide a broader platform for engaging with Southern perspectives.

This introduction is organized as follows. The next section reviews the main changes in global development processes that we need to take into account in addressing DS in the new Millennium. Section 3 explores the nature of DS to understand the challenges it faces in addressing global development problems. Section 4 analyses implications of these changes for the DS academic community in terms of new perspectives on knowledge, recent narratives and paradigms, methodologies and scientific impact of DS research. It also provides contributions on how Southern issues and perspectives are informing current Northern-dominated academic discussions, and new themes in DS.

2 The State of World Development in the New Millennium

Major changes are influencing development trends and international institutional relations in the new Millennium, and are starting to define new power relations among countries and interests, impacting on development priorities and DS agendas.

The first change concerns the increasing cooperation among regional powers in the developing world, of which BRICS—the association of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa founded in 2006—is a strong example. With the last Summit (Xiamen, September 2017), the BRICS bloc has entered a new phase, intending to enhance an open, inclusive and balanced economic globalization. BRICS are moving in two complementary directions: increasing cooperation with non-BRICS developing countries, as shown by the Xiamen Summit which invited a group of non-BRICS developing countries; and creating new institutions enhancing financial cooperation. These include: (i) the New Development Bank created in 2014 to mobilize resources for development projects in emerging and developing countries; (ii) the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank, operating since 2016 as a multilateral development bank supporting infrastructure building in the

Asia-Pacific area; and (iii) the Contingent Reserve Arrangement, operating since 2015, to provide support through liquidity and precautionary instruments to countries facing short-term problems in their balance of payments. With China as leader, this institutional framework will have a major impact on financial cooperation in the future, challenging the hegemony of the Bretton Woods institutions.

The second change is the participation of new players, new sources of funds, and new initiatives in the system of aid and development finance. While the share of Official Development Assistance (ODA) in development finance has decreased, becoming marginal for several countries (Alonso 2012), the world is now in a "beyond aid" era and several alternative sources—domestic and external—provide finance for development. This situation is a consequence of the difficulties of several OECD countries in meeting their commitments, particularly after the 2008 crisis, raising the question to what extent aid can enhance economic growth effectively. This concern accounts for changes in the ODA system since 2000 aimed at improving aid performance, both in terms of quantity of available resources and effectiveness.

Aid effectiveness is a controversial issue, combining political, socio-economic and technical aspects. Due to the variety of recipient countries' situations, measurement techniques and different choices of variables, research has produced a largely inconclusive literature (Alonso 2012). With some significant exceptions of scholars who argue that aid is harmful or useless for developing countries (Easterly 2006; Moyo 2009), the literature shows that aid has a positive but rather small impact on growth for reasons that range from the vulnerability to external shocks and country-specific factors, to the diminishing returns of aid after a certain threshold, and the quality of domestic institutions. This evidence supports the necessity of international efforts to address aid effectiveness (Rajan and Subramanian 2008; Arndt et al. 2015).

With the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005), a comprehensive revision of aid management began, with agreement on actions for making aid more effective and introducing a monitoring system to assess progress. The institutional framework for aid management became fully defined with the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) (2008) and the Busan Partnership Agreement (2011). While the AAA focuses on relationships between donors and recipients and on the role of civil society in engaging citizens and the need to focus on fragile states, the Busan Partnership Agreement acknowledges the presence and the contribution

of new players and new sources of funding in the aid system, including NGOs, civil society organizations (CSOs), and private funders.

The inclusion of South–South co-operating countries and CSOs widens the discussion on the aid system. However, information on South–South cooperation is difficult to collect, as transactions are usually in the hands of non-DAC countries. Only broad estimates are available.[4] Moreover, South–South aid introduces new forms of cooperation with impacts on development that could be positive as well as negative. South–South cooperation is 'more horizontal' than North–South cooperation; moreover, recipient countries might learn from the experience of new donors (UNDP 2013). Yet, as the controversial experience of India and China in Africa shows, South–South cooperation might easily become an instrument of economic and political dominance, particularly when the development gap is large and donor countries pursue their own interests rather than recipients' development. This is why South–South cooperation is also seen as a new form of colonialism.[5]

Exerting a major impact on the aid system, the UN Campaigns for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2000–2015) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (2015–2030) are the third major change in world development. MDGs and SDGs are major examples of UN goal setting. As UN history shows, starting from the first UN Development Decade in the 1960s, goal setting is a key function in any UN action agenda, and, in principle, is a good feasible device to link UN principles and norms to operational activities. It should rely on the analysis of evidence and be inspired by development needs, and by defining targets and indicators, create the necessary conditions for monitoring and reporting on future achievements.

However, the achievements of UN action by means of goal setting have been limited. The reason is that usually goals are not set based on the assessment of socio-economic conditions nor always take development priorities into account. Stephen Browne[6] (2017) shows that goal setting for the Millennium Campaigns was strongly influenced by the tensions among interests and countries, and the Campaigns were built on political priorities and shaped by the most powerful interests in the UN.

Such tensions clearly emerged in the MDG agenda. According to Browne's reconstruction of the process (2017, Ch. 3), the MDG agenda was built on an agreement between DCs and LDCs on development finance; LDCs would engage in achieving the first seven goals, while

DCs would ensure meeting the eighth goal. Only the least controversial goals—not necessarily the most important—were included. Then, it is not surprising that, despite the undeniable progress in halving the number of people living in poverty, many goals of the first Millennium Campaign were not reached at global level, while outcomes are unevenly distributed across regions and countries. As the MDGs Report for 2015 shows, the major success of the Campaign is the 66% increase in ODA in the period 2000–2014. In contrast, the most critical regions continue to be Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (UN 2015: 62).[7]

With the UN Campaign for the SDGs, the operational framework is even more complicated and problematic. Environmental dimensions have been added to social and economic dimensions, and the goals have been universally extended to DCs and LDCs.

The initial expectations about the nature and number of goals have been disappointed. The UN has conducted a huge goal-setting exercise aiming at maximizing inclusion while minimizing tension. Yet, the choice of goals reveals a limited attention to development needs, while respecting national policies and priorities and avoiding tensions and conflicts. Many aspects influencing development, such as migration, terrorism, religious fundamentalism and human security at large, where conflicts of interest are strong, were not included. Thus, despite being unnecessarily complex, the SDGs define only a partial development agenda. With 17 goals, 169 targets and 244 indicators, often difficult to measure, the SDGs will be hard to implement (Melber 2017; Browne 2017; Browne and Weiss 2014).[8]

Most of the development problems neglected in the SDGs Campaign will play a key disruptive role in international relations in the new Millennium. This is the case of international migration: a long-term process that is expected to be very critical in the coming years, as climate change will deeply increase the risk of displacement 'forcing millions of people from their land and homes' (Oxfam 2017: 2; UNDESA 2016). Accurate projections are difficult to obtain, largely due to changes in its nature and dimension (UN-IOM 2018). Moreover, a global migration overview is not easy to draw, being the result of several processes. In 2015, 244 million people were international migrants—about 3.3% of total world population, with another 744 million internal migrants (in 2009). In 2016 alone, conflicts had led to more than 40 million internally displaced people and more than 22 million refugees (UN-IOM 2017: 2–3).

While different types of migrants should not be lumped together, these numbers suggest that the number of people obliged to leave their homes is large and increasing. Moreover, such migration processes impact on a much larger percentage of the world population as the impacts on residents of the countries of destination should also be taken into account. Altogether, the socio-economic costs are huge and growing, and international migration—including forced migration and migration linked to climate change—is expected to increase more than anticipated, both numerically and proportionally.

Overall, the new Millennium appears a major turning point in world development. This turning point has been marked by the UN campaigns that, for the first time in the history of humankind, have addressed global problems with global tools. The UN campaigns build on the failure of previous UN initiatives to counter marginalization and deprivation, stressing the need for large-scale initiatives. The need for new global UN initiatives is also the result of the emergence of new economic and political power relations, and changes generated by globalization—including the increase in migration—which make marginalization and deprivation manifest both in the South and North.

The partial success of the MDG campaign shows the difficulty of tackling development problems only in the South and has led the international community to the global campaign of the SDGs. However, with an incomplete and ambiguous agenda, the new campaign has already shown the difficulty of translating global principles into effective action. The increasing role of BRICS in international cooperation, and their effort to build a new financial institutional framework in competition with the Bretton Woods institutions, is strong evidence of the need for thoroughly reforming the system of international relations.

3 Development Studies and Social Engagement

Trends in world development in the new Millennium require a redefinition of DS. Together, the anthropogenic impact on the earth and the political and economic changes, as emerging countries increase their global roles, give rise to new development issues challenging existing theoretical approaches.

Redefining DS is necessary for two reasons. First, the complexity and urgency of world development problems require direct assumption of responsibility from the DS community. This implies that scholars and

practitioners explicitly engage in exploring problems and solutions in partnership with the communities and policymakers involved. Second, an epistemological and ontological change in DS is required. Emerging development interests and the needs of multiple actors lead to new research approaches, themes and priorities, requiring new forms of knowledge and involving several disciplines in research.

Complexity is a major feature of the Anthropocene (Pattberg and Zelli 2016). It is the outcome of the nexus between unexpected and diverse factors, and of chaotic and unpredictable behaviour where simplification is simply not possible (Mol and Law 2002). Capitalist development is not a linear process of change, and countries do not converge towards a single pattern of socio-economic organization worldwide. Country-specific institutions rooted in history and cultures influence individual and collective behaviour, shaping development trajectories and accounting for multiple outcomes. Such evidence undermines the idea of modernization and the very concept of development.

Complexity is further increased by the interplay of economic, political, and environmental processes, with a large number of subjects and systems involved, each with their own interests and needs. These do not exist in isolation, but enter into conflicting or synergic relationships (Mol and Law 2002: 10). The complexity of world development is mirrored in that of development issues. Poverty is an important example. While long being considered a major development problem, with poverty reduction policies being implemented by international agencies and national governments, poverty is taking on new forms that require innovative approaches. As Sumner (2012, 2016) shows, the nature of global poverty has changed: while in the 1990s more than 90% of the world's poor lived in low-income countries, in the first decade of the twenty-first century more than 70% of the world's poor are concentrated in a few large countries that have shifted from a low-income to middle-income category. This 'new geography of global poverty' challenges mainstream analyses of poverty and poverty reduction policies. It confirms that economic growth does not lead automatically to poverty reduction. It shows that poverty reduction requires income re-distribution policies and targeted interventions on economic and non-economic forms of inequality, and explicit attention to the multiple dimensions of poverty and discrimination against specific social groups (Alkire and Foster 2007/2008). It supports the need for major reforms of the aid system to improve its effectiveness, in order to

address structural issues in recipient countries and in North–South relationships (Sumner and Mallett 2013).

Inequality also requires a new analytical approach. The literature widely emphasizes that increasing levels of inequality are associated with capitalist development (Bourguignon and Morrisson 2002). This trend has been enhanced by the changes in the new Millennium pointed out earlier, and now inequality, both in economic and non-economic forms, is a problem with a greater social impact than poverty itself.

Understanding how non-economic modes of inequality work is a basic requirement for effective future policies. This entails knowledge and analysis about the drivers of inequality, i.e. the factors and processes that increase the gaps in bargaining power between the poor and the well off. These include processes of informalization and the deficit of decent work in DCs and in LDCs (ILO 2012); the increasing concentration of wealth from which a new aristocracy is emerging (Piketty 2014); the increasing size of the precariat in DCs (Standing 2011); the problem of jobless growth in DCs and emerging countries (UNDP and ILO 2007; ILO 2017); the segmentation of working classes along personal and social lines, which accounts for the increasing number of working poor who systematically earn wages below the poverty line (Basile 2013; Lerche 2007); and tax evasion and tax havens that support the global concentration of wealth (Oxfam 2018).

Another set of development issues concerns the changing nature of the aid system and the unsatisfactory working of the UN. The limited results of the MDG campaign and the uncertain beginning of the new SDG campaign confirm many inadequacies of the aid system. This situation calls for a reform of the role the UN plays in international relations. The increasing role of BRICS should also be carefully analysed. Several issues need to be addressed: how is the quality and impact of BRICS cooperation to be assessed? Does the evidence suggest that we are entering a new century of colonialism? To what extent will BRICS institutional frameworks undermine the existing international order and with what consequences?

Migration is a major source of development concerns, too. In its contemporary multi-scalar format, migration is a consequence of globalization, income gaps within countries and regions, conflicts and increasingly environmental risks. Available analyses are far from complete, while ideological approaches direct attention to relatively small international migration flows and ignore much larger regional migration patterns in

the global South resulting from unequal income levels and conflicts. New theories of migration need to understand the multiple processes generating migration, both in the countries of origin and destination of migrants. Defining policy interventions requires better knowledge of the determinants and overall consequences of migration. It is necessary to build a theory of migration as social transformation, to take into account negative socio-economic impacts on home countries—due to the breaking of family and social ties—and on recipient countries—due to conflicts with residents over resources and jobs—but also the substantial positive contributions of remittances for economic growth and investment in the home countries (Castles 2010; De Haas 2010). Finally, migration theories need to examine the impact of environmental problems on migration flows now and in the future in as yet unknown ways.

There is a sense of urgency to confront development problems in the new Millennium (Pattberg and Zelli 2016: 5). The unsatisfactory results of the MDGs show that poverty reduction policies require an adequate analysis of the causes of poverty and of the determinants of inequality, while postponing action worsens the problems, with implications for democracy and social justice. The uncertain beginning of the SDG campaign shows that conflicts of interest prevent widespread support for international initiatives. Moreover, the lack of political will to understand the social transformations brought about by migration will continue to produce ineffective ways of dealing with migration flows, perpetuating the existing crises in both countries of origin and destination.

The scope and seriousness of development issues—and their urgency—require ontological and epistemological reassessments of DS. These include three main areas, which are discussed in the various sections of this book. The first area is the purpose of development research. Broadly, two theoretical approaches to social change exist: problem-solving and critical thinking. While problem-solving shares a positivist approach to social analysis, critical thinking explores the 'historic and transformative and development potential of historical phenomena' (Moolakkattu 2009: 443). Their ontological differences are summarized by Cox and Sinclair (1996: 88–89): problem-solving theories take 'the world as they find it', where existing power relationships are the 'framework for action'. Their aim is 'to make these relationships and institutions work smoothly', keeping problems under control. In contrast, critical theories question the very 'framework for action' that problem-solving theories take for granted. They focus on the 'social and

political complex as a whole' rather than on separate parts, allowing 'a normative choice' of a new sociopolitical order.

Do DS have a primarily problem-oriented approach or should critical thinking prevail? Clearly, the aim of development research is to address development problems and propose feasible solutions. Yet, development research also requires the analysis of the origins of such problems and the socio-economic and political changes that can address them. This means that DS have to engage with issues of power relationships and transformation as major issues in redefining DS.

The second area in an ontological and epistemological reassessment of DS concerns the interaction among disciplines in DS. Disciplinary boundaries generally are distinct and disciplines have a specific theorization and prevailing worldview. However, the complexity of development problems in this historical phase—with new actors, needs and research themes—makes disciplinary interaction and integration necessary (multi-and interdisciplinarity). Trans-disciplinarity is also needed, including knowledge holders from society as co-producers of knowledge. Choosing new combinations of research approaches is a major challenge facing the DS community. Conflicting interests and actors with different expertise and languages are involved. The difficulties and commitment involved in producing a 'synthesis of knowledge' in empirical development research should not be underestimated, as its failure risks irrelevant and superficial analyses as outcome. This issue has increasing priority in debates on the future of development research.

The third area in the reassessment of DS is the influence that old and new interests exert on the production of knowledge concerning development processes and research. This is an outcome of the increasing number of influential actors on the development scene in the new Millennium. Such interests generate multiple, often conflicting, perspectives regarding development problems and their analysis. They produce 'knowledges' with different levels of recognition, such as the different degree of recognition of knowledge produced in the North and the South. Development research can also reflect the interests of organizations: DAC and non-DAC donors, private not-for-profit foundations, NGOs and CSOs, governments and corporations, economic and military hegemons. The DS community is well aware that the influence of such interests on knowledge production is substantial and inevitable. Yet, if the aim of development research is to address development issues, the increasing variety of actors and interests makes this influence particularly

challenging. As Lukes (2005: 88, 103) argues in his seminal book, there is a 'deep and intimate connection between knowledge and power', where power has 'the ability to facilitate or suppress knowledge'. As an instrument of power, knowledge might be manipulated to enhance and support structural asymmetries in economic and political relationships with major impacts on the weakest actors and their interests.

This situation raises a major issue: is the structural asymmetry of power and knowledge in development relations undermining the independence of development research? If so, as the previous discussion seems to suggest, then is ensuring the 'ownership' of knowledge for weak interests an adequate strategy? Should scholars and practitioners explicitly take the side of weak interests? What type of social engagement is required?

4 Debating Development Studies in EADI: Current Contributions

What are the implications of these global changes for DS? Changes are occurring in the field in four areas. First, how different narratives and paradigms contribute to DS is being debated more widely. Second, rethinking of what knowledge is and how research is done, as well as the engagement of DS with other disciplines is expanding. Third, how scientific impact is measured in the academic context, and the acknowledged methodologies in doing research is being questioned. Fourth, how existing power relations that prevent Southern academic perspectives and concerns being heard and integrated into theory are being challenged; simultaneously, DS are expanding to link with other disciplines to tackle complex issues towards the future. The chapters in this book contribute to clarifying these issues.

4.1 Narratives and Paradigms

Development studies are not a monolithic field, but have been continuously been 'assembled' across different traditions. In the Francophone tradition multidisciplinarity, with strong roles for heterodox economists and sociologists is striking. The close links between research and development practice, the importance of development researchers from developing countries in Francophone theoretical research and the importance of intensive empirical fieldwork are brought out by Lutringer (chapter in this book).

Development studies from the Spanish-language tradition, emanating from schools of thought in Latin American countries and Spain brought in new theoretical approaches since the late 1960s, based on unequal power relations between core countries and periphery countries—known as dependency theory. Latin American thinkers around ECLAC developed an economic structuralist approach, which gained wide recognition in DS (Madrueño and Martínez-Osés, chapter in this book). More recently, attention goes to reducing inequity and inequality through transformative processes; other social science disciplines within Spanish-language approaches focus on human development, social mobilization and citizenship issues, combining them with innovative concepts linked to sustainability, such as Buen Vivir.

Recognizing the complex issues in the current Anthropocene linked to global and local changes means that multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinary approaches to research are required. Multidisciplinarity concerns research from various disciplines working from their own theories and epistemologies, interdisciplinarity research-integrating theories deriving from different disciplines, and trans-disciplinarity which acknowledges the social construction of knowledge, requiring the subjects of research to be involved in research processes. When research aims to solve complex problems, theoretical frameworks from various disciplines need to 'speak' to each other to develop common understanding of problems and methodologies of research (Gupta and others chapter in this book). The chapter by Gupta and others discusses the necessity of making DS trans-disciplinary, transnational and post-normal; DS have to engage with other fields of concern (ecology, law) and with the 'hard sciences', particularly concerning the interactions between people and the natural environment. The conceptualization of inclusive development goes further; the authors suggest that future research integrates a focus on social, ecological, and relational inclusiveness, within multi-scalar analytical frameworks.

Postcolonial studies provide narratives, essential to reduce bias and unequal power relations in DS. As Schöneberg writes in this volume, the dominance of knowledge from Northern (or Western) academics and the 'othering' of knowledge from developing country regions needs to be recognized and reduced; local knowledge at various levels needs to be included integrally in DS. The positionality and identities of Western and non-Western researchers alike need to be recognized, especially how they inform knowledge production. European theoretical approaches need to be 'provincialized', indicating the boundaries of their validity and

applicability. This allows a truly global comparability to emerge as global South locations are recognized as sites of theorizing. For research methodology this implies a more interactive and reflexive approach, as Powell and Cummings, and Camfield suggest (this volume).

4.2 Knowledges and Research

A starting point has always been that DS must build on the empirical reality of the world around us, and be 'engaged' with it through a combination of theoretically informed research but also societally and politically engaged discussions on changes designed to decrease inequalities and include more people on terms that increase their capabilities for decision-making. This starting point has long created tensions between different views on knowledge and research among academics, and has led to innovative rethinking of what knowledge is (ontology), how knowledge is constructed, the role of academic disciplines, the methodologies of doing research, and valuing research results. While the multidisciplinarity of DS is widely accepted, a key issue remains how DS positions itself in relation to inter- and trans-disciplinarity. We need to explore the idea and implications of DS as an 'umbrella field' of study with changing constituting disciplines, with questions of epistemology and methodology deriving from combining different disciplines, and recognition of knowledge as a social construction.

The chapters in this section come from different domains, but provide similar ways of looking at the issues concerned. The first issue concerns the starting point that knowledge is a social construction, so that the questions of whose knowledge, framing of issues, and definitions of concepts has to be made explicit (among researchers, users of research, and communities being researched alike), to recognize bias and identify blind spots in analytical frameworks. The epistemological arguments concern the biases in analytical frameworks linked to unequal power between Northern and Southern research and societal partners in defining concepts and relations; more reflexivity in research and validation processes allow these to be addressed, and produce fundamentally new insights.

The second issue concerns the research processes involved; the writers agree that co-production of knowledge among academics—those being researched (and policymakers where possible)—needs to be done throughout any research project. The chapter by Oswald et al. develops

the concept of 'engaged excellence' which discusses the implications of knowledge and research as social construction; one which needs to be built on delivering high-quality research, co-constructing knowledge, mobilizing impact-orientated evidence, and building enduring partnerships, emphasizing mutual interdependence.

Third, existing concepts and their boundaries need to be examined to establish whether they deal with the issues in ways that are relevant and complete. The chapter by Alff and Hornidge interestingly comes from Area Studies, in which container concepts around spatial boundaries (and implicitly socio-economic and political boundaries) draw attention away from cross-boundary exchanges, mobilities and environmental and geo-physical influences. They show how such biases have led to a strong neglect of the definition and recognition of the oceanic domain, which is crucial to global sustainability.

Fourth, researchers need to be aware of their societal responsibilities and engage with users of knowledge in politically aware ways. Such arguments centre on the issue of research impact, an issue at the forefront of societal discussions not only among academics, but also among funders of research linked to governments and the private (not-for-profit) sector. Given the large societal challenges facing the world, research is needed which is seen by users of research as legitimate, credible and relevant to the issues they have to tackle in practice. When they have been involved in research processes from the start, that recognition is more likely to occur. How impact is defined and how subsequent change occurs is still a vexed question.

4.3 Methodologies and Scientific Impact

Emerging methodologies based on participatory methods, new types of data (existing large databases, computer-generated data) and the increasing use of spatial methodologies (cf. Pfeffer and Verrest 2016) are producing research results, with possibilities not envisaged even ten years ago. Participatory methods allow societally embedded knowledge of marginalized groups to be recognized and included in research projects. Large databases are used extensively by economists for greater (cross-)country validity. However, the reliability and validity of such databases is essential for such sources to produce meaningful results. The same applies to the digitally generated databases now used as new sources of data. The claims that the standard forms of research

methodology do not apply are contested. The 'spatial turn' in the social sciences, and the use of qualitative and quantitative geographic information systems (GIS), shows up the uneven clustering and concentration of issues such as poverty, environmental hazards and risks, and land use patterns; it can usefully be combined with other methodologies to visualize the spread of social inequalities (Baud et al. 2016; Pfeffer and Verrest 2016).

The multi-scalar and cross-sectoral character of the complex issues the world now faces, means that combined research methodologies are essential (mixed methods). This implies that universities and research institutes should recognize research fields dealing with complex problems, and provide the necessary 'space' and time for researchers from different fields to work together in interdisciplinary combinations to develop common understandings.[9] The chapter by Camfield discusses the criteria and use of research methodology found within DfID-UK and Norwegian funded research programmes and finds that mixed methods, including a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods are increasingly being used and now predominate. Using explicit theoretical frameworks was less prevalent (especially in quantitative studies), and most prevalent among studies using mixed methods. Camfield is very critical of the North–South research partnerships, in which academic co-publication was very limited, whereas the societal impact of the Southern partners was higher and based on innovative ways of presenting research results to non-academic audiences.

Publication scores have become an increasingly demanding criterion among university employers to assess the quality of the researchers they (wish to) employ. Tezanos and Trueba show in their chapter how differences in disciplinary fields and ways of publishing (articles versus books) lead to differences in impact factors between journals with concomitant effects on publication scores for academics. The multi- and interdisciplinary field of DS is affected by the exclusion of many of its leading journals from the ISI (with its Anglo-American bias), being lumped together with planning in one category, and from the way the citation scores are calculated (with only recent citations included). The sociopolitical construction of such scientific impact assessment needs to be recognized and explicitly challenged by DS researchers (and those in other fields) to produce scores that reflect real practices in the relevant academic field.

4.4 Southern Voices and Themes in Development Studies

Finally, DS has opened up to include many new areas of concern, with their own theoretical debates, which need to be linked up and integrated into DS perspectives. It also increasingly recognizes Southern academic traditions and contributions to DS, as well as the persistence of uneven power relations in South–North research partnerships in setting knowledge agendas and in publishing processes.

Melber takes up the fundamental question relating to the unequal power relations which define which knowledge and whose knowledge is recognized, given legitimacy and prioritized. Although there is more official recognition for voices from the global South—including researchers, practitioners and marginalized social groups—in practice recognition often remains very limited or even indirect, through spokespersons from the global North. This unequal situation is politically explosive and socially corrosive in preventing international research, policy and practice networks from being built up on a basis of equality and shared recognition of how and from where knowledge shaping should emanate.

Two chapters analyse Southern traditions in DS: those from India and Tanzania. India has a long intellectual tradition of DS from various disciplinary perspectives, focusing mainly on the national project of India's state-led development after Independence. Based on long-standing international collaboration with the Netherlands, recent workshop participants—Indian scholars and researchers at the Institute of Social Studies (The Hague)—set out their views on DS. Chhachhi et al. show that views were varied, but not necessarily along South–North lines, and that normative and transformative perspectives remain high on the agendas of all the researchers engaged. In Tanzania, DS has focused on the national development project led strongly by the state, and DS is a required course for all university students. Much research was policy- and donor-driven, and current organizational efforts at the universities are designed to obtain a more autonomous status, as discussed by Komba et al.

The last three chapters take up new themes in DS, linking other fields to debates in DS. Environmental studies and their links are discussed by Scholz, who sets out the new concept of socio-ecological inequality, which combines thinking on environmental resources with socio-economic inequality for DS. Given that excessive use of non-renewable resources and climate change impacts linked to human activity are likely to make the earth uninhabitable for humans, considerable investment in

research, understanding of the practices, rules, and power relations that steer human use of nature and the dynamics of its transformation, are required to ensure human prosperity in the future. A recent special issue of the EJDR on frugal innovation links to this discussion (Lelieveld and Knorringa 2018). Referring to processes of innovation, adaptation and adoption, and transformation by poor communities, the authors discuss how they can be linked to broader processes of inclusive development and efficient use of resources, setting out a future research agenda.

Harcourt takes up the issue of what a gender lens contributes to DS, both in the practice and impacts of development interventions, as well as the experiences of people living the transformations that accompany development processes. Gendering development analysis brings in an understanding of the inequality in gendered power relations, and the outcomes produced, resulting from the intersectionality of other sources of unequal power relations.

The final chapter deals with global urbanization, which with the SDG 11 is finally included in the international development agenda. Garau discusses future urbanization trends—economic growth, population increase, and the complexity of socio-economic and environmental issues which DS has to deal with in providing a much better understanding of cities as nodes in which development processes come together for positive or negative synergies.

Together, the contributions in this volume bring together recent thinking on DS, and set out a future research agenda, for the next generation of DS researchers and practitioners.

Notes

1. In this book we utilize the term DS for the field of research on development issues, although in the Netherlands and some other European countries the term used is 'International Development Studies (IDS)', in order to avoid confusion with the various Institutes of Development Studies found in Europe and around the world.
2. Task Force for the Vision Paper was composed of Hans Opschoor, Jacques Forster, Richard Jolly, and Joost Mönks (secretary).
3. The discussion also produced a new definition of DS, which is presented in the chapter by Monks et al. in this volume.
4. South–South cooperation by non-DAC donors in 2015 reached US$ 25 billion (about 16% of total ODA), with a significant increase since 2011

(OECD 2017, Table 7.5). As not all non-DAC donors are included, this is an underestimate.

5. Both India and China deploy their 'soft power' in their relations with African developing countries (Shah et al. 2017). Attracted by their cultural and political values, recipient countries engage with India and China to get their support and, to attract them, creating the condition for a form of 'colonialism by invitation' (Cheru and Obi 2010).
6. Browne is co-director of the Future UN System Project. With more than 30 years of experience in different organizations of the UN System, Browne deeply knows UN procedures.
7. While the number of poor has been halved, MDG 1 has been missed as 836 billion people still live in hunger. MDG 2 has been missed as primary enrolment rate has increased only to 91%. Moreover, only one-third of LDCs have achieved gender parity in primary education (MDG 3). Both MDG 4 (child mortality) and MDG 5 (maternal mortality) have failed in meeting their target reduction (of two-thirds), and with 40% reduction in the number of HIV/AIDS infections MDG 6 has not been met. MDG 7 has failed as, while the progress has been significant with 2.6 billion people who have gained access to drinking water, still 663 million people are excluded.
8. '[H]aving 169 priorities is like having no priorities at all', as the researcher and activist Lomborg argues (www.lomborg.com).
9. Other research fields, such as Sustainability Studies or Migration Studies, and in general all fields that share a problem-solving approach, faces similar issues.

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PART I

Narratives and Paradigms

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CHAPTER 2

An Inclusive Development Perspective on Development Studies in the Anthropocene

Joyeeta Gupta, Michaela Hordijk and Courtney Vegelin

1 Introduction

Development Studies (DS), one of the earliest scientific domains to take on a multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary approach, is very relevant today. This chapter argues that taking an inclusive development (ID) approach (Gupta et al. 2015a, b; Pouw and Gupta 2017) goes beyond conventional inclusive approaches as ecological and resource-related changes have major impacts on how social and political inclusiveness should be defined in DS (e.g. Hickey et al. 2015), and can enhance its relevance. Such an approach builds on the key values of DS but applies it to a changing context.

DS analyses the (re-)production of poverty and inequality (gender, income, access, spatial, trade, investment) in development processes through, *inter alia*, governance structures and how this affects justice outcomes (e.g. Baud 2004; Pouw and Baud 2012), and how development in the global South continues to be affected by (neo)colonial histories. It has mostly been undertaken by Northern scholars and development

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practitioners who studied and advised the South (Mönks et al. 2017). It has adopted constructive and critical approaches, and positivist to post-modern approaches. It has evolved over time, continuously redefining development and development cooperation (Baud 2004; Easterly 2006; Gupta and Thompson 2010; Thorbecke 2006).

In the context of the Anthropocene (understood as the entry into a new geological era in the Earth's history) and globalization, socio-ecological challenges, such as resource depletion and pollution and risks of a changing climate, are emerging quickly with potential long-term societal impacts. We argue that an ID approach to DS may help to address these challenges, where inclusive development includes (a) ecological, (b) social, and (c) relational or political inclusiveness, and development is accordingly redefined.

2 The Anthropocene: Challenges for Development Studies

We now explain the challenges raised by Anthropocene scholars, the tensions between development and Anthropocene scholars (see Sect. 2.1), and the need for post-normal science (see Sect. 2.2). We discuss key ecological, social and relational challenges (see Sect. 2.3), and governance options (see Sect. 2.4) related to these challenges.

2.1 Claiming Anthropocene Research

Fossil records show that the Earth has transited from the Holocene to the Anthropocene (Crutzen 2006). These changes demonstrate how humans have exploited, and continue to exploit, the Earth's resources as a consequence of 'the great acceleration' (Steffen et al. 2004), crossing planetary boundaries (Bogardi et al. 2012; European Commission 2012; Rockstrom et al. 2009). This exploitation affects the development prospects of countries, communities and individuals. It particularly affects the development prospects of vulnerable peoples and countries, not only in terms of their access to resources and preservation of a stable climate, but also in terms of how damaged biodiversity and ecosystem services (BESS)[1] affect their personal safety, basic material for a good life, health, and social relations (Chopra et al. 2005). These factors make it essential to look at ecological dimensions within DS.

Second, because the causes/drivers of local problems are often found in decisions and activities at other levels of governance, solutions to these problems have to be found in these other levels. This calls for a multi-scalar perspective (e.g. Gupta et al. 2013; UNEP 2012). Third, Anthropocene research shows that all countries face environmental and developmental problems and the relations between, and within, them are critical for global governance of development processes. DS has to continue to study the poor global South and changing North–South and South–South relations. However, it may also need to study the relevant development, environment and inequality challenges within the richer South (e.g. Sumner 2010) as well as countries in the global North (e.g. Piketty 2014). Fourth, since the relations between social and ecological challenges are interlocked, integrated, and indivisible (UNGA 2015; World Commission on Environment and Development 1987), this requires DS to understand and address these issues both individually and jointly.

Social scientists critique Anthropocene scholars in relation to the scale of analysis, political savviness and underlying science which they feel is depoliticized, technocratic, and hides contextual details (cf. Bondre and Wilke 2014; Castree 2017; Fischhendler 2015). However, inspired by others (Nicholson and Jinnah 2016; Winter 2006) we argue that DS scholars need to complement these approaches

Table 1 Critiquing and claiming the anthropocene

	The IDS critique: The focus on	*The ID/IDS claim: The focus on*
Scale	Averages/trends hide details	Averages/trends *and* details
	Global obscures the local	Global *and* local (glocal)
	Future ignores past and present	Future, *and* past and present
	Humanity because it dehumanizes	Humanity *and* humans
	Urgency, because it legitimizes technocratic decisions	Urgency *and* guarantees that decisions do not compromise on equity
Political savviness	Action, not underlying discourse	Action *and* discourses
	Limits without re-distribution	Limits *and* re-distribution
	De-politicization	De-politicizing *and* politicizing
	Growth, not well-being	Well-being more than growth
	Visionary and big, not modest enough (Clemens, Easterly)	Both visionary and structural, as embracing modest alternatives (see Sect. 4.3)
Science	Natural sciences	Transdisciplinary science
	Normal positivist science	Normal to post-normal science

by our own multi-scalar, politically aware approach and our attention to context, thereby claiming co-ownership of the Anthropocene as it will irrevocably and irreversibly change the way we see development (see Table 1).

2.2 Transdisciplinary and Post-normal Studies

In this context, DS needs to move from being only open to the social sciences to being open to collaboration with all scholars and inclusive of all knowledge, including local knowledge (de Sousa Santos 2008; Hordijk et al. 2014). While DS provides all social scientists a home, development economics and development law often profile themselves more within their own disciplines and their own journals and policy avenues.[2] Meanwhile many technical disciplines have adopted aspects of development studies within their scope such as socio-technical systems within engineering (e.g. frugal innovation) (Siddiqui and Collins 2017). Environmental scholars engage with development issues (see for instance Ecology and Society), and development scholars engage with environmental issues, but on the whole the two groups have yet to merge and tend to publish in their separate journals/publishing houses (e.g. Mönks et al. 2017).

At the same time, a new challenge in the era of 'alternative facts' is emerging which demands even more critical questioning of scientific results, for instance in climate change debates, while still respecting the social construction of knowledge and that multiple truths do exist. We are convinced that DS must embrace all scholars who focus on the local (e.g. anthropology) to the global (e.g. international relations), from social to natural sciences, from Northern to Southern, from indigenous knowledge and local knowledge networks to global epistemic communities who are trying to further knowledge in various ways to generate evolving and increasingly underpinned facts. This means engaging with different disciplines and using their knowledge to enhance our own and vice versa. This also means that we must continue to promote the positive transformation in DS towards balancing out the dominance of Northern scholars, and draw even more on Southern expertise and schools of thought.[3]

While DS scholarship ranges from having direct policy relevance to critical theoretical reflection, in the Anthropocene, it needs to become 'post-normal'. Post-normal science challenges 'normal' or 'value neutral'

science by recognizing the uncertainty of knowledge, the plurality of legitimate and value-laden perspectives, the high political stakes involved and the urgency for action in relation to complex problems (Baud et al. 2016; Funtowicz and Ravetz 1993, 2003: 1). Such problems cannot be addressed only through normal 'Kuhnian' science or consultancy, but require broad-based deliberative science or participatory integrated assessments focused on creating public interest science and social legitimacy for decisions with high stakes (Nye 2008). Whereas both plural perspectives and value systems are not new to DS, the urgency to act despite uncertain knowledge is less common. Thus, DS scholars must also undertake post-normal science more systematically to define what development should look like using critical realist (Novelli and Cardozo

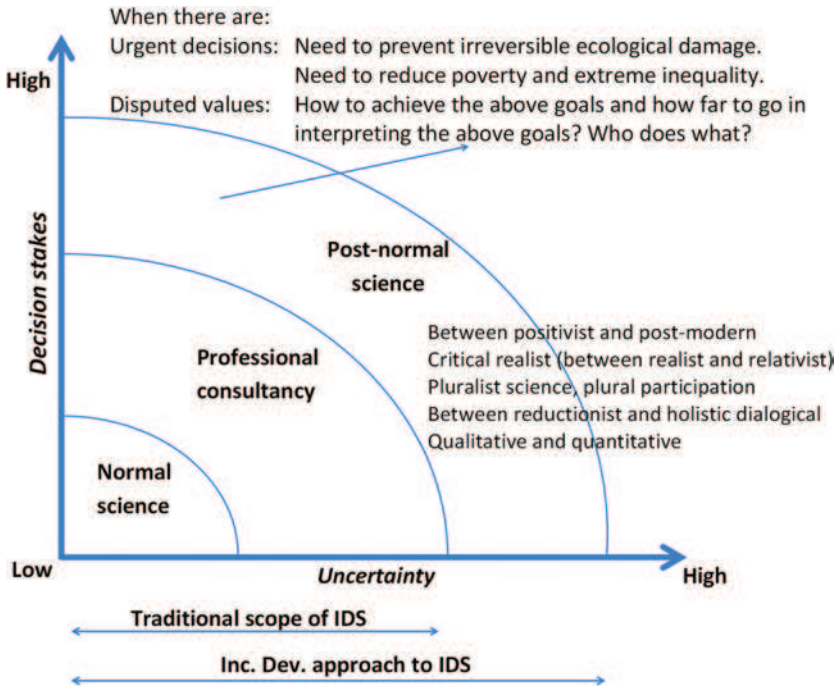


Fig. 1 Applying post-normal approaches to IDS (*Source* Building on Funtowicz and Ravetz [1993])

2008), pluralist approaches (cf. Bavinck and Gupta 2014), and function in the space between positivist and postmodern, and reductionist and holistic science. They need to use futures analysis to assess how unjust processes can be pre-empted if they deepen inequality—using possibly the 'precautionary principle' (see Fig. 1).

2.3 Key Ecological, Social and Relational/Political Challenges in the Anthropocene

In sharpening our inclusive development lens, we highlight two challenges in each aspect of ID. First, the ecological challenges include the hard absolute limits of natural resources including land, fresh water, and strategic minerals and metals, and soft negotiated limits on how far we can pollute our ecosystems without risking their carrying capacity. With rising demand there is less per capita availability of resources leading to potential tensions concerning water (European Commission 2012), strategic minerals (e.g. rare earths) and chemicals (e.g. phosphorous, zinc, lead, copper, nickel, nitrogen) (Lee et al. 2012). Furthermore, the extraction of these resources can have socio-ecological impacts (Oxfam 2008) while being embedded in political and legal relationships (PBL 2011). Finally, we are living beyond the carrying capacity of nature (Rockström et al. 2009; WWF 2012). This limits how much we can pollute air and water if we want to maintain our BESS (see Sect. 2.2). Even where there are enough abiotic resources—e.g. fossil fuels—we have to leave 80% of these underground if we want to address climate change (Carbon Tracker 2012). Living within the carrying capacity of nature requires soft (negotiable) limits as humans have to negotiate local to global limits on resource use and possibly translate these limits into legally binding law. This negotiation is urgent as new technologies accelerate, *inter alia*, fish extinction and loss of seed biodiversity, and as policy instruments are not politically neutral (Majoor and Schwartz 2015). These hard and soft limits define the eco-space (the environmental utilization space) that humanity has (Gupta 2016a). All these issues play out at local through to global levels; and the levels are often nested in each other.

Second, the social challenges relate to the exacerbated vulnerabilities and the rise in extreme wealth and income inequalities. Vulnerability has grown because of poverty, age/sex/race/religion/culture related challenges and discrimination, and exposure to ideological (e.g. the privatization of services/infrastructure), technological (e.g. the replacement

of non-skilled jobs, exclusion through the digital divide, outsourcing and offshoring jobs) and environmental change (e.g. exposure to extreme weather events, declining resources) in poor and rich countries. Participation in the electronic revolution is both empowering (e.g. access to information; digital banking) and disempowering (e.g. loss of privacy, big data used for surveillance). Furthermore, resource ownership is becoming more concentrated over time. Today, eight men own as much as the bottom half of the world's population; 10 companies own as much as 180 countries combined[4]; and 2043 billionaires with a combined wealth of USD 7.7 trillion run the world.[5] This wealth concentration, facilitated by modern technologies (Castells 2011), reveals that growth per se does not lead to resource redistribution; there is need for redistributive mechanisms. The socio-space is the sum total of social services and infrastructures available for human use within their own cultural context and the ability to use ecosystem services for generating incomes. Here, too, social challenges have local through to global causes in a globalizing world.

Third, relational challenges include the marketing of the lean state worldwide (Hurrell 1994), combined with the legacy of structural adjustment programmes, which led to declining state competence and capacity to finance public/merit goods (Kaul et al. 2003), maintain the rule of law, and provide and maintain basic infrastructure. Even in rich countries there is heated debate on who should pay for health care insurance and crumbling infrastructure, which has been accompanied by rising inequality in political power. Although democracies function from a constitutional authority—with balance of power between government branches; one person/one vote; and clearly distinguish between the responsibilities of the state, the private sector, the not-for-profit institutions, and individuals—these institutions are eroding from within. Large-scale tax avoidance and evasion by multinationals (Christensen 2011; Bringer and Perrin 2016) reduces state resources. Therefore, it abdicates its responsibilities in providing public/merit goods and implements public private partnerships and hybrid arrangements, even in the area of security (Jaffe 2012), through which it loses its power to independently regulate the private sector and act in the public interest (AIV 99 2016). While in theory it retains regulatory control over the private partner, de facto the state transfers control over natural resources and ecosystem services to private partners. Further, foundations set up by the rich who have avoided/evaded taxes, can steer international policy and undermine

democratic principles. We have also recently seen how the super-rich can be elected to political office, make rules to externalize the environment, and reduce corporate taxes (White House 2017). As such, new forms of political inequality are emerging.

2.4 Governance Alternatives

Thus, we have a shrinking 'eco-space', a contested 'socio-space', and a manipulated 'political space'. Although average incomes and health is improving, the global population and its demands are rising, and as technologies and algorithms exponentially replace jobs there will be fewer resources and employment opportunities to share. Since eco-space, socio-space and political space are closely linked to economic wealth, states and actors have choices: monopolization or sharing resources. They may use business-as-usual approaches to monopolize these spaces and divide access by using a market-based, technology-steered approach. This allows for the pricing and privatization of resources, ecosystem services, infrastructures, health and security (Ahlers and Merme 2016; Rulli et al. 2013; Zoomers 2010); the commodification of free ecosystem services of nature (e.g. carbon credits); and even trade in 'clean air'.[6] Such processes transfer power from the poor to the rich, while the rich hide their wealth in offshore tax havens (Christensen 2011). Others may monopolize resources, sinks and jobs by 'securitizing' development discourse through neo-realist hegemonic approaches (Fischhendler 2015; Duffield 2008), and by not ratifying international treaties (such as upstream countries which do not ratify the UN Watercourses Convention [Gupta 2016b], or the US which scarcely ratifies global environmental and human rights treaties). Some scholars recommend long-term bilateral agreements to gain access to strategic minerals and metals (Novosejt et al. 2010; PBL 2011). This can lead to further monopolization of these resources.

The alternative is 'Sharing our Earth'. This enlightened cosmopolitan option is focused on global sustainable development governance. It builds on existing multi-level governance systems to focus on multilateralism, diplomacy, and development approaches where rights- and equity-based approaches contribute to human well-being and putting 'the last first' (Arts 2017). Table 2 presents the implications of the Anthropocene for the ID approach. Columns 2–4 are explored more in Sect. 3.

Table 2 The implications of the Anthropocene for Inclusive Development

Anthropocene challenges		*Business-as-usual governance*			*Inclusive: Sharing via analysing*	*Development*
Ecological	Hard limits to resources (e.g. land)	*Impact on governance*	*Monopolise and divide*	Monopolize via:	Ecosystem limits to use	– Re-assess quality of development
	Soft (negotiated) limits needed to control BESS damage			– privatization, markets, PPPs; technologies, secret contracts	BESS as glocal public goods	– Different contextual paths to development
Social	Exacerbated vulnerabilities (poverty, discrimination, exposure to ideological, technological, environmental risks)			– securitization, hegemonic approaches; technologies, resist supranationalism: scale down to national level	Human rights, constitutional protections to ensure the furthest behind first; Rule of law, services, infrastructures as merit goods, access to markets, insurance, finance; inclusive design/engineering; grassroots innovation, frugal innovation; education for sustainable development, ecojustice pedagogy	– Address macro-level forces and locally gauged alternative development approaches in tandem
	Extreme wealth, income inequalities		*Share*	Share via scientific collaboration, diplomacy, principles, rights, goals, instruments	Practices of super-rich, monopolies to understand processes leading to concentration of wealth and power	
Relational	Lean, low/no capacity state, corrupt state, or state influenced by populism				Need for good government in providing GPGs and merit goods; Enhance multilateralism	
	Extreme imbalance in power affecting politics				Discursive politics; address securitization; Need for balance of power; Progressive tax systems Revisit changing North–South politics; procedural instruments; beyond dualisms	

3 Ecological, Social and Relational Inclusiveness

3.1 Monopolization Versus Sharing Our Earth

Both governance approaches operate internationally. 'Trumpian' politics, evident in the White House's 'America first budget', does not mention sustainable development, adopts a 'hard power' budget by allocating USD 54 billion for (inter)national defence, security, low-interest loans for weapon purchase and 'walls' by eliminating 'soft power' expenditures on diplomacy, aid (including World Bank programmes), and global climate change programmes, arguing that resources will be focused only where it serves US strategic interests. Domestic environmental programmes, climate change, social programmes and investments in science have been drastically cut back, and instead 'fair' trade measures are demanded to get jobs back to the US (White House 2017). In Europe, Brexit indicates the rise of nationalism and the unwillingness to be part of a supranational rule-based system. Cross-country research in Europe shows that underlying the growing rise of populism, is Europeans' fear that although they enjoy a good life today, their future is threatened possibly through job loss, loss of security, and rising migration (SPB 2016).

Nonetheless, the global community has spent decades designing shared governance options. Since the Brundtland report (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987), governments have emphasized science-based policy, ecosystemic standards and human development goals (see Millennium Development Goals 2000). This led to global political agreement on Agenda 2030 including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with their 17 goals and 169 targets on 'leaving no one behind' (UNGA 2015), and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change which aims to ensure that the average global temperature does not rise much above 1.5 °C in relation to pre-industrial times (UN Paris Agreement 2015). The SDGs have been negotiated by engaging civil society globally in an unprecedented manner (Gellers 2016), and requiring countries from different regions to share one voice/vote (Chasek and Wagner 2016). The final outcome, although not perfect, was democratically decided and addresses not only poverty and access issues but also distributional challenges (Gupta and Vegelin 2016). The SDGs are interrelated, integrated and indivisible and require a nexus approach (Boas et al. 2016). They provide a programme for an inclusive development perspective on DS especially as Agenda 2030 mentions 'inclusive'

41 times (Gupta and Vegelin 2016) and the Paris Agreement mentions the Right to Development. They require us to incorporate a precautionary approach before the rules of the game are so institutionalized that to reverse them becomes increasingly difficult.

Below, we define social, ecological and relational inclusiveness—with respect to people, technology, and implications for governance. We use the access (to basic resources/human rights) and allocation (of tenure/usufructuary/property rights, responsibilities and risks) framework (Gupta and Lebel 2010) to assess inclusiveness.

3.2 Ecological Inclusiveness

Ecological challenges include hard and soft (negotiable) limits to BESS ('ecospace'), exacerbated by the role of people, technologies and business-as-usual governance (see Sect. 2.2). Hence, ecological inclusiveness implies sharing our 'ecospace'. BESS is conservatively valued at USD 33 trillion, almost 1.5 times the global GNP (Costanza et al. 1997), while climate disasters cost USD billions annually (Cannon and Schipper 2014). However, if we can live within the carrying capacity of nature, we may have continued BESS into the future. This calls for research on (a) adopting glocal BESS limits (e.g. the 1.5–2 degree objective in the Paris Agreement) and (b) defining BESS as glocal public goods from which no one can be excluded (Kaul et al. 2003).

For people, such research needs to examine how one can guarantee access to minimum basic resources and ensure a fair allocation of tenure and usufructuary rights to resources, equitable division of ecological responsibilities between actors, and minimize the inequitable exposure to risks from damaged BESS. Furthermore, such research must also analyse when and how technologies exhaust resources and exacerbate inequity (e.g. when seeds are privatized by using biotechnology), how technology owners/users can be held accountable for the environmental damage they cause (e.g. when new fishing techniques exhaust fish stocks) and how the risk of stranded assets can be dealt with. For example, if prospective oil/gas producers like Ghana and Kenya cannot extract their oil, their resource becomes a stranded resource; if they have already invested in extraction infrastructure but cannot use it, their investments become stranded assets. This raises key North–South issues regarding who is allowed to use the remaining carbon budget (Bos and Gupta 2016). Governance questions include the extent to which privatization and

commodification of BESS is compatible with its nature as glocal public goods; whether fragmented ownership of BESS allows for implementing the interrelated, integrated and indivisible SDGs; and whether diffuse governance approaches can adopt eco-systemic limits and make policies regarding sharing.

3.3 Social Inclusiveness

Social challenges include exacerbated vulnerability and extreme inequality (see Sect. 2.3). Social inclusiveness requires research into regulatory approaches like human rights, constitutional protections, the rule of law; economic approaches like access to subsidies, markets, insurance and finance (Corrado and Corrado 2017; Kourula et al. 2017); and social approaches like access to different kinds of education, ecojustice pedagogy (Bonal and Fontdevila 2017) and health care. Such research should not only focus on the poor, but on the super-rich and multinationals, on new instruments like public-private partnerships, and on technologies, which can each lead to new forms of inequality and new divides.

For people, an ID approach to DS means research on: access to meeting basic needs such as rule of law, food, water, shelter and sanitation; equity in allocating education, health, transport infrastructures and services; who is responsible, and how, for reducing inequalities and who is responsible for social risks—such as the risk of insecurity, hunger, and disease, and which of these should be treated as 'merit goods' from which no one can be excluded (Kaul et al. 2003). For technology, research is needed on how technologies improve access through inclusive design/engineering; grassroots innovation and frugal innovation (Siddiqui and Collins 2017); where they replace jobs without reallocating the profits made; how technological development fosters or hinders inclusion, and who is responsible for the new risks—e.g. cyberterrorism, algorithm programs, or autonomous weapons. For governance, given that the SDGs are indivisible, and many of the above services, technologies and infrastructures could arguably be merit goods, who can provide these goods?

3.4 Relational Inclusiveness

Political challenges include the shift to lean, unaccountable states, while power has moved to rich individuals and multinationals (see Sect. 2.3).

This calls for research into a return to governments with resources to spare for providing public and merit goods as well as revisiting the key elements of democracies (e.g. constitutional protection, separation of power, voting integrity); on how states can collaborate to counter monopolization through anti-trust law and taxing the super-rich; on whether public-private partnerships are desirable and necessary, and what is needed for states to maintain their role as independent and accountable regulators and protectors of the public interest and providers of public and merit goods.

For people, this means research into who has to organize resource distribution and how resource redistribution is to be organized; for technologies, who controls technologies (e.g. e-governance, electronic voting) that positively (e.g. reducing costs for public participation in SDGs [Gellers 2016]) and negatively (e.g. spreading alternative facts, or hacking elections) affect governance. For governance, this calls for research into what makes an independent and good state (local and national), where the line lies between collaboration and collusion with the private sector, and how the state can ensure that it has regulatory knowledge, authority and power, and can address issues of concentration of wealth and power, while simultaneously being accountable to the people.

While these governance implications may give the impression that we are arguing for a strong state, which may contradict post-normal, adaptive governance and relational approaches that argue in favour of doing away with dualisms and strong control by dealing with complexity, we argue that a strong normative state is needed to set eco-systemic limits and determining liability and compensation when those limits are breached; to adopt minimum acceptable norms for all humans and prevent discrimination of minorities; ensure factual, as opposed to alternative fact, based policy; and redistribute resources to prevent extreme inequality. The state must ensure constitutional protections, and interstate relations must create an equitable world. Within such a system of basic rights and responsibilities, polycentric governance approaches (including an important role for local governments) that address inequality and engage regularly in single, double and triple loop learning is essential. However, we argue that where the state breaks down, there is no one to implement the constitution, collect taxes, or redistribute resources through the provision of public and merit goods—leading to the rise of monopolies, cartels, gangs and terrorists (Hazen and Rodgers 2014); this also allows for a context within which corrupt and unaccountable politicians try to shape society.

Table 3 Studying ecological, social and relational inclusiveness

	Inclusive: Sharing via analysing		*Access to*	*Allocation of*		
				Rights	*Responsibilities*	*Risks*
Ecological	Ecosystemic limits to use; BESS as glocal public goods	*People*	Basic resources	Tenure, usufructuary, property	Mandates, accountability	Liability, compensation
		Technologies	Do technologies enhance or exacerbate resource use		Mandates, Accountability, Standards	Stranded assets; Liability for damage
		Governance	Key BESS and related goals are inter-related, integrated and indivisible such as water and a stable environment; are they glocal public goods?			
Social	Human rights, constitutional protections, rule of law; Services, infrastructures such merit goods, Practices of the super-rich, monopolies	*People*	Basic needs	Equitable access to services, infrastructures, amenities	Mandates, accountability; standards	Social risks?
		Technologies	Do technologies enhance access and the distribution of social rights or exacerbate inequality?		Mandates, accountability, standards	New risks, e.g. cybercrime, algorithms?
		Governance	Which access rules need constitutional/human rights protections? Which services, infrastructures are merit goods? Who can provide them equitably? At what governance level?			
Relational	Need for good government to provide GPGs and merit goods; Enhance multilateralism; Discursive politics; Address securitization; Need for balance of power; Equitable taxation; Revisit changing North–South politics	*People*	Who puts in guarantees for socio-ecological access	How are rights in society shared? Principles or markets	How are responsibilities in society shared? principles or power?	How are risks in society allocated—state or individual?
		Technologies	How and who makes rules regarding access and allocation of rights, responsibilities and risks with respect to technologies used for governance?			
		Governance	What role for different actors (national/local states, private sector, NGOs, CSOs)? How far should hybridization go? Who is and who should be in charge? What value systems are needed? How can procedural instruments help?			

3.5 Implications

Table 3 presents a sketch of the key research questions that flow from an ID approach to DS.

4 Development Revisited

The urgency of challenges affects the content of development (4.1), the non-linearity of development paths (4.2) and development approaches (4.3).

4.1 Content of Development

While 'Development' is a mainstream term and vulnerable to critique, does that imply that it has become irrelevant (Esteva 1992; Escobar 1995)? It is conventionally equated with 'growth' measured in 'monetary' terms although this is increasingly complemented by the Human Development Index and multidimensional poverty indicators. Challenging this, some argue that there is a need to think beyond GDP (Costanza et al. 2009) possibly aiming at de-growth, as the continuous emphasis on 'growth' comes at a cost to our environment (e.g. Brand et al. 2017). GDP does not measure national well-being, which would reflect the ability of society to 'sustainably provide basic human need for food, shelter, freedom, participation', but rather measures the 'mere volume of marketed economic activity' (Costanza et al. 2009: 1). The question is whether using average metric approaches to measure formal market production at the aggregated level only requires us to discard the term development, or to engage more constructively in redefining the content of development, looking at alternative indices such as the ecological footprint, unpaid household production, subjective well-being, gross national happiness, the living planet index, the inclusive development indicator, and considering sectoral and socio-economic breakdowns to capture multidimensional inequalities. The new indicators and targets to measure the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals, however problematic they themselves are, may also help improve the measures used to analyse the progress made by societies, provided we also analyse their interrelationships (and not only the indicators in isolation of each other).

4.2 Different Paths to Development

Many dislike development because it portrays a linear model from underdevelopment to development and because of the way 'developed' countries try to promote development in the 'developing' world (Easterly 2006). We therefore use the term 'development' with the adjective 'inclusive' because (a) the term is broader and (b) rich countries are seen as 'industrialized' or 'high income' countries rather than 'developed' as they too have to find a route to sustainable development. If all countries are to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, while their starting points are different, they will have to find unique routes to these Goals. As Fig. 2 shows, countries will have to find a route along the dotted lines to enhance well-being while reducing their ecological footprint. If they emulate the North and do not use a precautionary approach, their pollution will go up significantly and cross tipping points. This requires much research.

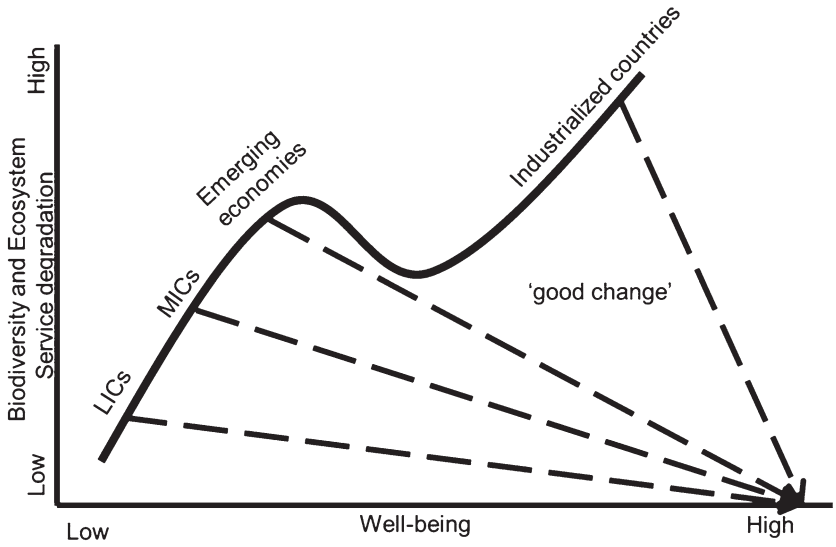


Fig. 2 Different paths to sustainable development

4.3 Towards a Double-Edged Development in the Anthropocene

Development has conventionally been conceptualized as macro processes, and practiced through intentional large-scale infrastructural and industrial investments in developing countries—as promoted by macro-level scholars, policy-makers and practitioners in the postcolonial era. Current-day variants include sustainable development, green economy/society, and inclusive growth. Counter approaches focus on framing around local initiatives and institutions of alternative development as 'small is beautiful', happiness, ubuntu, or buen vivir, all of which focus on small-scale, localized, or decentralized approaches.

We argue that scholars cannot rely on one approach to the exclusion of the other. In the age of globalization, there are six key impacts: dominant discourses like neoliberal capitalism and the shift from 'government to governance' modify goals and means; urban power hubs make decisions impacting all; intra and international migration shape local challenges; technical innovation and communication technologies support hyper capitalism and accelerated resource exploitation (Steffen et al. 2004); social relations are being rescaled (Brenner 2004); and the drivers of change are beyond the control of local governance (Gupta et al. 2013). We have no choice but to engage with and challenge dominant discourses and instruments of macro-development forces by using the knowledge, wisdom and practice of alternative development approaches in order to make space for locally generated ideas. Analysing power politics is not enough; DS has to academically develop instruments, in global alliances with Southern partners, to curb power politics and define how agents of change can use these instruments to address relational problems.

Some social scientists critique global governance efforts, including the SDGs, for reasons similar to the critique on the Anthropocene (see Table 1) and because they see it as part of intentional large-scale measures representing a top-down grand vision with grand solutions. Scholars (e.g. Easterly 2006; Kaika 2017) feel that we should be more modest in our claims and approaches or we will further deepen neo-colonial tendencies. However, we believe that DS scholars and practitioners should engage with the SDGs because (a) they have mainstreamed our own values and issues; (b) SDG interpretation and implementation is open-ended and we can play a significant role there; (c) the SDG platform is a forum to counter

growing socio-ecological and political inequality arising from neoliberal capitalism; and (d) while the SDGs represent a global institutional (hence macro/structural) response to global challenges, local level alternatives could leverage these structural efforts to ensure that their ultimate goals are met, as there is space within international law to accommodate this. The SDGs are an important opportunity and we risk becoming irrelevant if we do not engage with them. As the primary reference framework for development, DS scholars should articulate how we stand in relation to the SDGs, what we want to promote, what we critique, and how we can use the SDGs to make a stance against private sector-led developments in trade and investment. We should further recognize that the SDG agreements give voice, legitimacy and sometimes even provide funding for local struggles, especially in the South, where many alternatives are developed.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that while societies have developed this has also led to social and ecological exclusion, often through political processes. We have argued that Anthropocene scholarship requires DS scholars to take an ID approach; to look at ecological issues; to take a glocal approach; to address relevant issues in the South and North and North–South relations; and to take a nexus approach; all from the basic values of trying to address vulnerability and inequality in a just manner (2.2).

We have submitted that DS scholars need to join hands with Anthropocene scholars to learn from them, and to use our methods and approaches to enrich their work through multi-scalar (e.g. temporal, spatial, administrative) research complemented with our focus on details, the local, the present and humans; to expand our arsenal of tools for research and policy analysis from studying underlying discourses all the way to understanding how to improve individual instruments; and it calls on us to bring the sciences together in transdisciplinary, post-normal scholarship which may evolve into action research (Table 1; Fig. 1).

We have argued that the key ecological challenges are 'shrinking ecospace' (hard resource limits and negotiated limits on sinks); the social challenges are increasing vulnerability (poverty, discrimination and exposure to ecological limits and risks) and extreme inequality; the relational challenges exist with respect to the dismantling of the state and outsourcing of its responsibilities to other actors; and with the changing balance of power. In a business-as-usual approach, there is either a

tendency to separate eco-space, socio-space and political space through monopolization by privatization or securitization, or the opportunity to share such spaces through constitutionalism, rights-based approaches and multilateralism. We argue that an inclusive approach calls for research into defining eco-systemic limits to resource use, treating BESS as glocal public goods from which no one can be excluded, adopting human rights approaches and treating the rule of law and basic services as merit goods from which no one can be excluded, moving beyond pro-poor to focusing our research on the super-rich and private sector monopolies, and revisiting the power of the state and multilateralism (Table 2). The latter is particularly important to help analyse the processes of wealth and power accumulation and therefore have a better grip on how relational inclusiveness can be achieved to ensure socio-economic inclusiveness. We have also discussed ecological, social and relational inclusiveness in terms of access and allocation of rights, responsibilities and risks, and applied this to people, technologies and governance principles (Table 3).

In terms of development, ID focuses on the quality of development and how it is shared in society rather than on numerical metrics, although the latter may sometimes be useful. It argues that the linear vision of development hides the fact that many industrialized countries have not achieved sustainable development. Instead we submit that although each country and area may have different starting points, research needs to focus on how to strive towards well-being for people in our societies while living within nested ecosystems and eco-systemic limits. Finally, the notion of the Anthropocene raises issues of large-scale measures, which match macro development thinking. Many in the development world think that macro development approaches are faulty, and thus favour localized development efforts. We argue here that if inclusive development wants to address the problems created by structural forces, we have to also use the tools of these forces to counter them. Yet such counter processes must be fully informed by the knowledge of locally developed alternative approaches.

The Sustainable Development Goals are one such macro-level counter narrative that is trying to set a global agenda and counter the forces of the market, trade and investments currently taking place. DS should rejoice that its agenda has made it to the global agenda, even if imperfectly as a consequence of a messy global democratic process, and should use all its knowledge to enhance the contextual interpretation and implementation of this complex agenda. An ID perspective on DS implies a ‘Sharing our Earth’ agenda.

Notes

1. Such services include provisioning, supporting, regulating and cultural services.
2. E.g. Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal; Development Economics Journal. e.g. International Development Law Organization; World Bank Working Papers.
3. Such as Third World Approaches to International Law or Buen Vivir.
4. Global Justice Now, 'Corporations vs Governments Revenues: 2015 data'. http://www.globaljustice.org.uk/sites/default/files/files/resources/corporations_vs_governments_final.pdf.
5. https://www.forbes.com/billionaires/#4335cba3251c.
6. http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/15/asia/china-canadian-company-selling-clean-air/.

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CHAPTER 3

Development Studies in Spanish: A Critical and Constructive Response from the Peripheries

Rogelio Madrueño and Pablo Martínez-Osés

1 Introduction

Development Studies in Spanish (DSS) have had a long-lasting multidimensional conceptualisation since the mid-twentieth century. From the start, this field of research has conceived development as a pluralistic subject in which yearning for progress and social justice has been a key driver force behind the main ideas generated and disseminated. In fact, this attempt illustrates that DSS has remained practically unchanged in its alternative position in opposition to the path that mainstream economics has been following since the late 1950s.

The richness of DSS over the years relies on two interrelated and mutually reinforcing bodies of analysis that came to be known as structuralist economic thinking, which emerged from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC or

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CEPAL in Spanish), and dependency theories (Cohen 2014). Both these approaches were based on historical structural analysis.[1] The uniqueness of ECLAC enabled it not only to become the most important economic institution in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), but also the most influential regional institution of the developing world, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s (Sikkink 1997). The innovative thinking that distinguishes this school of thought permeated the intellectual contributions of some of the most renowned pioneers in development, based on intense intercultural dialogues. Similarly, it provided a point of reference in designing national development strategies of countries in other regions of the world (Zhu 2006). On the other hand, dependency theories brought together a variety of perspectives and approaches—philosophical, ethical, economical, sociological, historical, and political—with an aim of studying the problem of underdevelopment from a critical perspective. Beyond the LAC region, Spain developed its own view regarding development issues based on the structural features of national economies. While there are strong similarities between Spain and LAC structuralism, the latter is better known internationally.

Over time, these peculiarities of DSS have not completely disappeared. In fact, there has been a substantial resurgence of interest in DSS work. Nonetheless, while it is less visible than before, given the multiplicity of approaches and interests in Development Studies, they part of a conscious effort to rethink the development paradigm, as in the case of post-developmentalism.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a rigorous, although not exhaustive, analysis of DSS. This underlines that the DSS literature is often cumulative in certain spheres of knowledge, which have primarily been driven by a socio-economic focus based on structural economics, and then gradually expanded towards broader, more multidisciplinary approaches, to respond to major issues of development. As a result, certain features have been identified as key alternative responses of DSS, including a proactive cultural response to mainstream development discourse and the need to overcome their generally subordinated position to Western ideas of progress and development in both LAC and Spain. Thanks to this common position, a critical tradition, sometimes through eclecticism, and a hallmark of heterodoxy have become core elements in furthering these studies. Figure 1 provides a global overview of the main theoretical contributions and trends of DSS over time.

We should bear in mind that we are talking about non-homogeneous discursive structures, although we find similarities and overlaps in the use

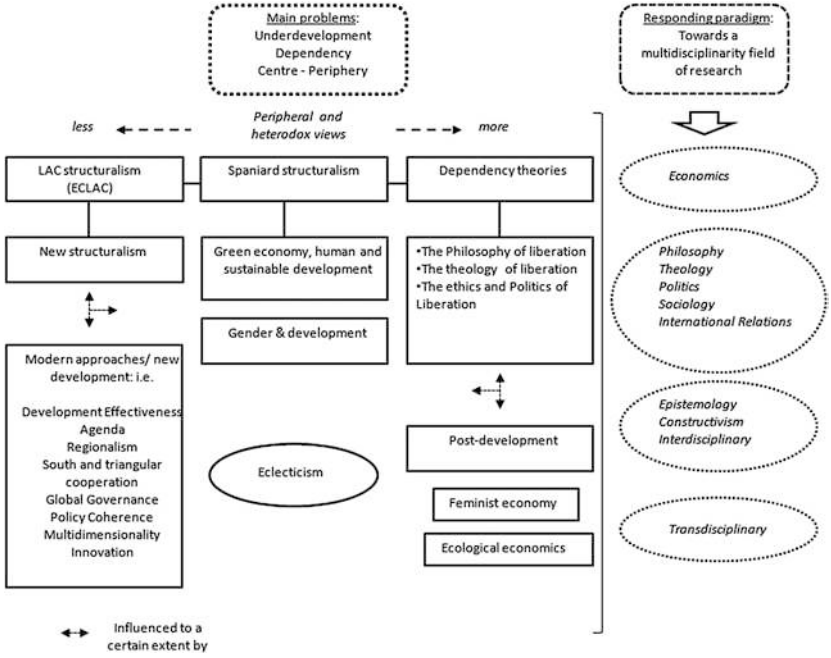


Fig. 1 Development Studies in Spanish: Main approaches and trends

of scientific categories. During these decades DSS has clearly reflected the interrelationship between discursive and non-discursive elements, which have included, *inter alia*, structural adjustment policies and the debt burden; and the struggle for equity and equality. Together these issues reflect at the same time changing scientific paradigms, from materialism to constructivism and various scientific approaches, keeping the historical and critical approaches.

Section 2 takes a closer look at the structuralist and neo-structuralist currents of thought emerging from ECLAC. Section 3 deals with the contributions from other disciplines that have influenced the heterodox currents of DS in LAC and Spain. They include perspectives from the humanities and social sciences, as well as those derived from humanist and green economics, and post-development thinking. Section 4 contains contributions from other modern approaches. Section 5 presents the conclusions.

2 Structuralism and Neo-Structuralism at the ECLAC School of Thought

Since its conception, DSS has found its own path towards understanding development as a pluralistic and interdisciplinary study of its own peripheral reality, without denying its historical, legal, economic and cultural background (Rodríguez 2006). One distinctive feature of DSS and its evolution over time is its capacity to share certain methodologies regarding the problem of development. This issue is perhaps more evident within Latin American structuralism, which emerged from the ECLAC school of thought (Rodríguez 1980, 2006). Its approach has mainly been influenced by Marxist, Kaleckian, Ricardian, Schumpeterian, and Keynesian ideas and assumptions (FitzGerald 1994; Lustig 2000). These features brought a major paradigm shift in its theoretical and practical proposals, which not only enabled Latin American structuralism to gain momentum after World War II, but also to gain attention from the greatest thinkers on development of the twentieth century, like Hirschman, Myrdal, Rosenstein-Rodan, Chenery, Kaldor and Seers (FitzGerald 1994; Simon 2006; Alacevich 2011). Consequently, ECLAC—and the LAC region—became to some extent a rich laboratory of ideas and policy proposals, which turned it into a centre of excellence with a worldwide reputation (Sikkink 1997; Easterly 2013).

Early on, Latin American structuralism acknowledged that the foundations for the scientific study of 'underdevelopment' and the whole process of socio-economic change and progress should not be isolated from the structure of production and existing institutional frameworks of developing countries. More importantly, it recognised that the issue of global interdependence is very sensitive and constitutes a major challenge for national development. According to Prebisch (1984: 176–179): 'the role of technological progress and the distribution of its fruits' were key to raising awareness and finding alternative solutions to the problems resulting from 'the tendency toward deterioration of the terms of trade'. As a result of this feature, industrialisation along with other policy measures emerged as a counteracting force. Key components of this process were selective policies and practices to manage development, enlightened policy decisions on financial and technological resources and 'changes in the trade policy of the centres'.

Latin American structuralist economics conceived of the world as a system of international economic relations, in particular as a set of relations between core and periphery countries, through which the former group are favoured by their early technical progress. On the policy and institutional side, the centre determines the rules of the game and the economic structure in order to serve its own ends. The role of peripheral economies producing raw materials is conducive to enhanced interaction between industrialised and non-industrialised countries, at the expense of the latter group (Prebisch 1984; Guillén 2007). As a result, developing countries face major constraints because their heterogeneous social structure cannot close the social divide given the difficulty of disentangling the effects of technology on an unbalanced national development. The inability of peripheral countries to reach their full development potential became a crucial factor providing theoretical justification for alternative ways of industrialisation. This included ideas, strategies and policies to overcome that barrier to development.[2]

ECLAC structuralism has gone through several phases in terms of formulation and policy recommendations. Three main phases can be distinguished: a first phase of theoretical and practical foundations during the 1950s and early 1960s, which includes early contributions such as the centre-periphery paradigm, the problem of deteriorating terms of trade for developing countries (known as the Prebisch-Singer hypothesis), and the analysis of peripheral industrialisation and its associated problems (such as structural inflation and external disequilibrium).[3] The solution to these problems (such as foreign exchange shortages and low levels of internal savings and investment), focused on strengthening industrialisation through import substitution. Lead authors in ECLAC's early years were Raúl Prebisch, Juan F. Noyola, Aníbal Pinto, Osvaldo Sunkel, and Víctor Urquidi (Kay 1991; Sunkel 2000).

The second phase covered the period of mid-1960s and 1970s. It drew attention to social, political and economic transformations. There was a reorientation towards development processes through structural changes with a view to achieving social homogeneity and greater productive and export diversification (Sunkel 1971).[4] In these years, the aim was to introduce analytical categories related to the process of industrialisation in LAC societies, which paved the way for the concepts of structural heterogeneity and persistence of under-employment. The difficulty of improving the labour market situation within a context of abundant supply of labour and the prevalence of high levels

of capital intensity with weak demand and low levels of investment was emphasised (Bielschowsky 2009). These ideas later gave rise to new approaches highlighting the social factors hindering a sustainable path to development. Notable among these is the need for income redistribution or distributive justice as a mechanism to encourage industrial and technical change, while giving national governments tools not only to reverse inequality and poverty but also restore or strengthen democracy. At this juncture, the active role of the state in the economy was considered to be a key element for reducing economic imbalances—between supply and demand side factors—and providing a politically viable option for development processes. This includes reformist authors, such as Celso Furtado, Osvaldo Sunkel and Aníbal Pinto, who favoured a reformulation of the import substitution strategy (Sunkel 2000; Sunna and Gualerzi 2016). Likewise, new approaches emerged in the non-economic sphere (see following section). Specifically, proposals elaborated by Cardoso and Faletto (1969) as well as by Celso Furtado (1969), explored the phenomenon of dependency from political and cultural perspectives respectively (Thorp 2000).[5]

The third phase (from 1980 to present) has seen a renewal of the intellectual thinking through a re-examination of the conventional structuralism of ECLAC, and a shift from a long to short-term horizon, which allowed the emergence of neo-structuralism—to a large extent the result of the debt crisis of the 1980s (Lustig 2000). A closer dialogue with mainstream development economics and neo-Schumpeterians is a new feature, while retaining its fundamental heterodox character. This includes a need for prioritising macroeconomic stabilisation policies. The need to overcome the external debt crisis and move towards a more sustainable pattern of development opened the way for two key notions that ECLAC thinking retains today. These are the approaches of 'adjustment with growth' and 'growth with equity', which promote the idea that socio-economic sustainable change should rest on a set of basic conditions: investment in human capital, public policies on integration and productive articulation, income redistribution, combined with more effective development financing and international and regional cooperation (CEPAL 1996, 2014). Prominent representatives in these years have been Fernando Fajnzylber, Ricardo French-Davis, José Antonio Ocampo, Jorge Katz, Bernardo Kosacoff and Alicia Barcena, among others.

3 Contributions from Other Human and Social Sciences

3.1 Dependency Theories and Its Derivatives

Unlike ECLAC's structuralism, which focused on the notion of modernisation, dependency theorists share a common concern: the historical hegemony of the centres (Dos Santos 1970). The concept of 'dependence' can be seen as a complementary paradigm to structuralism, providing a better understanding of the significance of the development problem, from a political and strategic point of view (Prebisch 1984). This is because the dependency argument goes beyond the traditional scope of trade and finance to focus on the issue of 'power and its cumulative accretion' (Lewis 1984: 124). It is clear that the scope of dependency cannot be called unique: it includes a multidisciplinary approach involving the social and human sciences.

Traditionally, dependency theories have been associated with the idea of complementarity and synergy between underdevelopment and development as if they were two sides of the same coin. Likewise, it is thought that dependency is a clear 'manifestation of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system' (Frank 1967: 16). The burden of dependence according to its theorists comes along with a subordinated relationship between peripheral and central (industrialised) countries. This prevents a step-wise process for development, triggering changes in the inner structure of the low-income countries that feeds social exclusion (Dos Santos 2002). Dependency theories were preceded by specific ideas, which include the work of renowned social scientists and thinkers in Latin America, such as José Carlos Mariátegui, Leopoldo Zea, Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, who were influenced by Marxism (Beorlegui 2004).[6] Similarly, the process of decolonisation and the reaction against the hegemony of the centres were factors that inspired and galvanised further action in developing the dependency approach, in particular during the 1960s and 1970s. All of this occurred mostly within the scope of heterodoxy. In the sociological field a body of work emerged from Brazilian authors such as Cardoso and Faletto (1969)—who published in Portuguese and Spanish—in which criticism was raised concerning the sociology of development and the politics of populism (Cardoso 1974). Likewise, Celso Furtado was a key figure on the cultural side due to his contributions regarding 'the control of technical progress and imposition of

consumption patterns from the centre countries', in particular by multinationals (Kay 1991: 47). At the other end of the spectrum, neo-Marxist authors, including Theotonio Dos Santos, Ruy Marini or Aníbal Quijano carried out an in-depth examination of capitalism and imperialism in dependent countries as well as the political economy of dependency (Osorio 2004). It is said that Gunder Frank could be included in this group, but he denies any influence based on Marx (Dos Santos 2002).

A further distinctive feature of the various strands of dependency theory is the philosophical and ethical point of view. In this field, Franz Hinkelammert, Leonardo Boff, Paulo Freire and Enrique Dussel, and Marta Harnecker have been key figures of a broader theoretical and praxis movement that is expressed in four complementary strands: the Philosophy, the Theology, the Ethics, and Politics of Liberation,[7] and the Pedagogy of the Oppressed. They focused, among other priorities, on the poor and their role in overcoming conditions of poverty, marginalisation and inequality by social mobilisation and the exercise of citizenship. These approaches include a critique of modernisation theories and a firm commitment to transformative political projects based on an ethical/moral community setting.[8] Out of these narratives emerges the trans-modernity paradigm that seeks to overcome the dominant construction of modernity by reconstructing history through the lens of the periphery and the exercise of the so-called decolonial turn.

Leading intellectual figures in this field are Ignacio Ellacuría, Dussel, Laclau and Hinkelammert. They provide a stream of philosophical, theological, and political thought that has been able to reinterpret traditional conceptions of history and civilisation from an alternative conception of history based on those who are excluded from the capitalist and liberal democracy system (Ellacuría 1991). This approach has various closely linked and interdependent parts, such as the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire 1970), the Philosophy of Liberation (Dussel 1973, 2007), a proposal for a new radical democracy (Laclau and Mouffé 1985), and a critique of reproductive and instrumental rationality (Hinkelammert 1984). Influenced by Marxism, neo-Marxism, neo-Gramscism and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, this stream of thought sees development as a notion fully committed to the alternative position of LAC to compel counter-narratives of development and progress. Thematic areas include, but are not limited to, ecology, feminism, hegemony, economic reproduction and the liberation of oppressed peoples. Indeed, Freire's view of liberating education, Ellacuría's concept of 'civilization of poverty',

Dussel's critique of political reason and Hinkelammert's critique of utopian reason are notions that resist postmodernism's resignation and suggest alternative paths based on universal human values. Similarly, Laclau considers a defence of radical and plural democracy as being imperative for change based on the socialist approach (Laclau 2000).

3.2 Human Development, Sociology of Globalisation, Ecological Economics and Post-development Thinking

A complementary view of LAC structuralism was developed in Spain by José Luis Sampedro, an economist who has been the mainstay of the Spanish school of heterodox development economics, but also includes economists, such as Martínez Cortiña, Berzosa, Martínez González-Tablas and José Déniz. Sampedro's contribution was his ability to understand and provide pioneering ideas in the field of human development before it became accepted internationally. He also developed dissenting arguments regarding mainstream economics, similar to those of the LAC structuralist and dependency theories, from a different peripheral context.[9] Sampedro's main contributions are based on ideas that put human beings at the centre of development and social change in harmony with the environment, where the role of interdependence and collective agreements are vital (Sampedro 1983, 1999).

In the field of human development, Gender and Development Studies in Spanish (GDSS) have also been increasingly prominent, even before the 1995 Beijing Global Conference on Women, where gender equality and women's empowerment were acknowledged to be key prerequisites for development. GDSS is the combined outcome of intense political activism, social movements and militancy in both LAC and Spain. Although references to GDSS date back to the early twentieth century, it gained momentum since the 1980s (Castillo 2009). These include issues such as violence, discrimination, gender public policies and the political development of the feminist movement. A wide range of scholars and practitioners are active in LAC, such as Marcela Lagarde, Evangelina García, Sonia Montaño, and Virginia Guzmán, among others. The same applies in the case of Spain, where scholars like Lourdes Benería in the field of women's work, Carmen de la Cruz on gender and human development, and María Bustelo in relation to gender evaluation, are active scholars. In parallel, these contributions have provided further impetus to strengthening the institutional capacity for GDSS.

In the same field of human development, Adela Cortina (1997) has played a key role in fostering development ethics, which underlie the notion of 'cosmopolitan citizenship' as a way to achieve peace, justice and effective sustainable development. Similarly, from the perspective of the sociology of globalisation, Manuel Castells (1997) has provided a rich analysis regarding the increasing importance of the network society and its effect on state structures, social movements and business interests.

3.2.1 Counter-Hegemonic Approaches

The prevalence of economic thought in DSS has also generated criticism. Manfred Max-Neef et al. (1994) and his 'barefoot economics' particularly provided a new critical approach to mainstream economics. By raising awareness of the direct experiences of poor communities, Max-Neef was able to emphasise the need for encouraging local and small-scale strategies for greater community participation and empowerment, which ultimately translates into a critical reconceptualisation of development on a human scale In contrast, Esteva (1996) and Escobar (1995, 2009) have focused on alternatives to development based on the influence of Foucault and Deleuze in discourse analysis and the representation of power. As a result, a postmodern critique of development emerged through deconstructive analysis. These authors have argued that an objective reality does not exist, which means that underdevelopment should be guided by the basic tenet of the relationships of power, which shape socio-economic realities and universal truths. According to Escobar, development must be seen as 'a new regime of representation', as an 'invention in the early Post-World War period' from which 'a new strategy for dealing with the problems of the poorer countries' is derived (Escobar 1995: 26–30). This entails a post-development critique in anthropology and DS that emphasises a pervasive cultural discourse with consequences not only in the productive and economic sphere, but also in the discursive space regarding development. Interestingly, in this framework, different notions 'became a powerful instrument for normalizing the world' (Escobar 1995: 26), because they were able to coexist in the same discursive field. This is the framework within which notions of the Third world, modernisation and the problematisation of poverty emerged as constructs rather than objective realities. Consequently, there is a need to review the notion of modernity in a post-development perspective, which involves the deconstruction of development as a discursive field, and its capacity to impose a particular social representation as reality.

Escobar proposes a comprehensive post-development vision based on a binary system, which emphasises the complementarity between modernity and *coloniality*. This, in turn, implies the need for a decolonisation of knowledge as a way to provide an epistemological restitution. The same applies to other research fields that have influenced counter-hegemonic social movements since the 1990s, such as the World Social Forum (De Sousa Santos 2010). These approaches do not deny the possibility of change; they see the solution to development problems in involving local communities not only through specific place-based ethnic, environmental, and de-growth initiatives, but also through political emancipation, new epistemological foundations emerging from the global South, and the reinvention of politics and democracy based on the world view of indigenous people. These aspects have opened the way for more interdisciplinary and holistic approaches and methods in DSS.

3.2.2 Fostering Multidisciplinarity in DSS: Recent Trends

With the expansion of DSS, in terms of spheres of knowledge, disciplines and practices, a parallel trend emerged aiming at a holistic vision of sustainable development. Key approaches include ecological economics and political ecology, and relevant scholars such as Martínez Alier, José Manuel Naredo, Eduardo Gudynas and Jimenez Herrero. Naredo and Martínez Alier, based on Georgescu Roegen's work—who is considered the father of ecological economics—focus their attention on the physical and ecological limits to growth in order to underline the vulnerability of human well-being and the planet more generally, due to the physical size of the economy (Carpintero 2006). This also implies rethinking our understanding of global development problems through a multidisciplinary approach to a fully human economy, which includes not only a redistribution of income and wealth, but also a distribution of both ecological and political power as interrelated and structural phenomena (Martínez Alier 2005). It includes the purpose of prioritising popular ecology—also called the ecology of the poor—which opposes a traditional view of environmental issues as a priority concern of the rich countries. In brief, the growing emancipation of ecological economics is driven by an increasing alienation from mainstream economics (Carpintero 2006; Jiménez Herrero 1997). The need to overcome these obstacles has made this approach an integral part of an open discipline with capacity to exert influence in other interdisciplinary fields, such as ecological politics or ecofeminism.

This includes the novel 'Buen Vivir' approach, represented by Gudynas and Acosta (2011), Unceta (2009), Tortosa (2001), and Delgado (2014), among others. It appears as an alternative paradigm of development that emphasises the need to strike the right harmonious balance between human beings and nature. It advocates responsible consumption and production patterns, and new development practices, i.e. post-extractivism, which, in a nutshell, is an attempt to move beyond the modern Western culture. These collaborations complement already existing work concerned with indigenous peoples by leading figures like Bartolomé de las Casas or scholars such as Miguel León-Portilla and Rodolfo Stavenhagen. In fact, these approaches are intended to address new challenges and emerging issues within DSS through a process of recognising and integrating those excluded or living at the periphery. The result is a move towards new linkages between the social and political realms by considering key transformational factors, such as a 'radical' or participatory democracy (Ernesto Laclau, Enrique Dussel, Boaventura De Sousa Santos, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Ramón Grosfoguel). Accordingly, this feature is giving new life to old ideas regarding empowerment and participation, which have acquired greater significance and importance in the contemporary context.

4 Other Modern Approaches

4.1 International Cooperation and Development

An appropriate institutional setting is needed to boost DSS. Civil society and academia have provided support for the research and training centres that gained momentum starting in the 1980s. To that end, specific university-based programmes regarding international cooperation have been set up and there is a growing body of research and practice.

Recent research suggests that research on international cooperation has been fuelled by two fields of knowledge; International Relations (IR) and Development Economics, in collaboration with other disciplines, such as History, Sociology, Anthropology, and Politic Science (RIACI 2010). According to García Segura (2006), the similarity between the IR discipline—in the case of Spain—and DSS is based on the fact that both seems to be the result of input from theory and practice from Western societies rather than from its own standpoint (Arenal 2014; Hettne 2009). This partly explains the priority given to particular

issues. However, there has also been a certain preference for heterodox approaches as well as for the problems of the developing countries, both within an eclectic framework (García Segura 2006).

Broadly speaking, it is possible to distinguish the specific contributions of DSS. On the one hand, there is a trend that has remained theoretical, based on a long-term perspective with regard to structural transformations of society; on the other hand, a pragmatic approach prevails. The latter remains mostly oriented towards an instrumental understanding of development where conventional quantitative analysis predominates. While the former tries to explain the development process as a whole, the latter has been a specific feature of recent years, disseminated through the production of policy papers, academic journals, and institutional publications linked to areas of international cooperation and development (Hettne 2009: 12). The fact that DSS brings together theoretical eclecticism and different subject areas or specialisations makes it prone to multidisciplinarity. It is clear that in this process the dialogue among various disciplines can still be improved (Unceta 2009). Within this framework, impetus has been given to DSS through the participation of civil society organisations and university centres and institutes.

Viewed from an international cooperation perspective, DSS have evolved from having purely descriptive purposes regarding the system of international cooperation to different disciplinary and methodological approaches (Gómez Galán and Sanahuja 1999; Martínez González-Tablas 1995; Murguialday et al. 2000). Nonetheless, the key feature of the transition is the shift towards pragmatic eclecticism, which recognises the emergence of a complex multidimensional systemic global crisis described through normative and descriptive analysis, as well as an institutional perspective.

Such a wide and diverse range of research interests has provided cross-cutting thematic areas. Some good examples are the following: education for development (López de Munain and Celorio 2007; Mesa Peinado 2000; Ortega 2007) and its economic and social effects (Larrú Ramos 2009); and the link between institutional architecture, system capabilities and an assessment of progress achieved and challenges ahead (Iglesia-Caruncho 2011; Sanahuja 2007; Martínez and Sanahuja 2012; Martínez and Martínez Osés 2014). The same is true for the analysis regarding legitimation and social inclusion (Díaz-Salazar 1996; Revilla 2002; Plataforma 2015 y más 2011).

Similarly, the scope of the analysis of the international aid system has broadened. This now includes the role of new actors and alliances in development, such as private actors and transnational corporations (Domínguez 2010; Mataix et al. 2008; Romero and Ramiro 2012). New aid modalities and non-traditional linkages (i.e. South–South and triangular cooperation) have gained increasing attention, due to the key role of several LAC countries (Ayllón and Surasky 2010; Santander 2011; Xalma 2010).

More recently, the challenges of the United Nations system of development cooperation have been analysed from different points of view. These include the institutionalist approach to economic policy, with an emphasis on well-being and productive capacity, critical approaches in the domain of the international political economy (IPE) or approaches based on human development and the new realities of development cooperation from a multilevel (global/regional/national/local) perspective. These approaches draw on changes in the political geography of poverty and inequality, new challenges of global governance and possible proposals on how to overcome these problems (Tezanos 2008).

While this process is underway, the new 2030 agenda for sustainable development is increasingly emphasised due to its universal and integrated approach. This matches attention for Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) that has gradually emerged (Alonso et al. 2010; Millán et al. 2015; Martínez Osés et al. 2016). Such recent approaches confirm that there is a need to reconsider current priorities in the field of DSS, from its 'object of study' to the incorporation of new ideas in relation to interdisciplinary and critical approaches, which might help to reaffirm its commitment to a multidimensional, universal and critical approach.

4.2 Regionalism, Global Governance, and Multidimensionality

Regionalism is one of the most innovative approaches to promoting DSS. Its analysis points to an integrationist approach, which is part of a long tradition that reflects not only the European experience, but also the steps on the path of regionalism in Latin America, through ECLAC's notions of 'old and new regionalism'. They emphasise the challenges of internationalisation in a context of significant asymmetries and weak

consensus between LAC countries and their development strategies (Serbín 2012; Sanahuja 2012). The ascent of progressive governments in Latin America at the beginning of the twenty-first century has meant that there is room for improvement in governance and strategic management in order to respond to neoliberalism. This includes studies on post-liberal regionalism (Sanahuja 2012) as well as on post-commercial or post-hegemonic approaches (Perrotta 2012).

They constitute a multidisciplinary framework for an integrated development policy at the regional level regarding different fields of social, economic and political development. However, they also show the paradox that exists in the developing world, especially between nationally based development strategies and a post-Westphalian regionalism, which combines national autonomy with a regionalist and post-liberal agenda (Sanahuja 2012).

This would complement ongoing initiatives to shift the multilateral architecture through institutional mechanisms, such as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA), and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), which are key for advocacy efforts regarding greater institutional autonomy (Serbín 2012). This has been a long-standing point of interest in the region and is a major area of research within DSS (Briceño Ruiz 2014; Sanahuja 2012). And it complements thematic priorities such as the provision of global public goods from a comprehensive perspective, in which middle-income countries have become key actors in the fields of financing, innovation, and taxation, while also emphasising the importance of South–South and triangular cooperation schemes (Alonso 2007; Santander 2011). All in all, global governance issues have become increasingly relevant and important for DSS as a result largely of the theoretical and practical efforts regarding regionalism.

Finally, it is important to emphasise the new approaches based on multidimensional analysis and new taxonomies of development, both within development economics. They are the result of an effort to address concerns regarding the challenge of rethinking development and its numeric and cartographic representation (Tezanos and Quiñones 2012). The situation is similar in the field of institutional change and development, with studies highlighting specific issues, such as taxation, informal institutions, financing for development and innovation.

5 Conclusion

DSS has emerged in response to a dominant development worldview. DSS has identified three particularly characteristic issues: first, to provide a comprehensive representation of the structural and historical factors that determine the long-term socio-economic change of a vast geographical area, which shares a common language and cultural values; second, to offer different representations of socio-economic development, which depend on social constructions that are not static but rather constantly evolving; and third, to provide an open platform for knowledge creation through the promotion of intercultural dialogue, in particular from a critical and constructive standpoint.

While DSS has remained to some extent side-lined from mainstream development discourse, one should not minimise the importance and tradition from these studies in development thinking and practice. However, it can be argued, from conception to implementation, that DSS is to a substantial degree peripheral and heterodox, though the latter to differing degrees. More importantly, it can be conceived as a response framework to Western ideas and discourses of progress and development in both LAC and Spain.

The second feature—representations of socio-economic development—involves the creation and promotion of new ideas and narratives in DSS that depend largely on inputs provided by Latin American and Spanish economic structuralism, and the evolution of dependency theories which have evolved dynamically over the years across disciplines and approaches.

Nonetheless, this feature should not be understood as a cumulative evolution of ideas towards a theory of universal development. Unlike theories of development, which have focused on development as a problem of underdevelopment, development thinking comprises different attempts at putting forward other forms of conceptualisation and theorising within a number of social sciences, which is an inevitable phenomenon of the modern era. Thus, different views have emerged in response to the conventional development paradigm. Among them, are neo-structuralist, post-structuralist, post-colonialist and postmodern approaches, among others, which provide critical and constructive responses to traditional mainstream assumptions regarding development. Similarly, they offer

new perspectives on the meaning of development at the turn of the twenty-first century. All this adds up to a "turn to" interdisciplinarity in addressing complex development challenges, and represents a pluralist conception of DS.

Finally, the third feature—a platform for knowledge creation—is at the heart of these studies. DSS is the result of a fluid relationship between a variety of approaches within and beyond Spanish language borders. A key example is the smooth dialogue with Brazilian scholars. More interestingly, there is a critical and political reinterpretation and adaptation of deep insights provided by Western scholars that have led to a group of ideas and theoretical frameworks in DSS with the capacity to offer relevant narratives of Spanish-speaking societies and their peripheral role in a globalised world.

As this paper has tried to show, there is a long tradition of thought based on the particularities of different societies over time, both in LAC and Spain. In each of these societies, the Spanish language as well as their status regarding development has led them to adopt a clear stance on the issue of periphery. This condition has turned from the very beginning into a very useful mirror through which DSS has set out different mechanisms for dialogue and resilience against the effects of mainstream development thinking in terms of both discourse and political practice. In this regard, periphery should be seen as a catalyst to foster creative and theoretical approaches to explain and provide concrete solutions to the challenges of development. Finally, the inclusion of a critical perspective—with a view to social justice for those excluded and deprived—is an overarching characteristic of DSS, even though their effects and influence in the economic and political spheres have remained uneven.

In a nutshell, DSS provides a critical and constructive way of thinking about the traditional notion of development on the basis of a key aim: the principal of social justice with particular reference to the poor. DSS involves recognition of its peripheral and heterodox status through narratives that are pervaded with a genuine spirit of humanism. In doing so, it promotes interdisciplinarity in facing the problems of tomorrow's globalisation. Lastly, its pluralist conception comprises different strands of critical thinking, which are connected to the past and committed to the future.

Notes

1. In the first three decades of its existence, this Commission was known as the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). In July 1984, it changed its name into (ECLAC), although the Spanish acronym (CEPAL) remained unchanged. http://www.cepal.org/en/about (retrieved 2 August 2016).
2. It also includes an appropriate institutional setting, such as the LAC Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES), which was founded in the in the early 1960s. http://www.cepal.org/en/about-ilpes (retrieved 3 August 2016).
3. By that time, H. Singer put forward a similar theory regarding the historical downward trend in terms of trade for primary products while working at the United Nations.
4. See ECLAC. http://www.cepal.org/en/historia-de-la-cepal (retrieved 3 August 2016).
5. The original version from Furtado's book was published in Portuguese in 1967. One year later, it was published in Spanish. This is a good example of the intercultural dialogue within ECLAC's school of thought.
6. Many of these authors were part of the migration of people from Europe to Latin America—who were in a situation of prolonged or permanent exile—in the first half of the twentieth century.
7. They were part of a movement within the Catholic Church that combined Christianity and Marxism, with an active role in Latin American politics. It also includes a variety of Latin American philosophers and social thinkers that have reflected on the issue of dependence and poverty from different angles.
8. See http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberation/ (retrieved 3 August 2016).
9. Consideration should be given to the fact that Sampedro's work was mainly developed under Franco's dictatorship in Spain.

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CHAPTER 4

Social Change and Democratic Forms: Revisiting the Contribution of the Francophone Literature on Development Studies

Christine Lutringer

1 Introduction

Development studies (DS) have the double function of analysing development processes and preparing development strategies. Uncertainties arising from the multiple contradictions associated with the entanglements of economic, technological and knowledge flows have been challenging and questioning the action of "development agents". This "identity crisis" opens up new spaces for critical reflection and DS are being refashioned around new nodes (see Basile and Baud, this volume). How do francophone development studies address the developmental challenges of the twenty-first century and how have they contributed to shape larger debates in this interdisciplinary field?

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Examining the francophone literature is particularly interesting for three reasons. First, it covers a wide range of diverse settings economically, socially and culturally; its geography spans France, Switzerland, Belgium and Quebec, Central and West Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, South-east Asia and the Caribbean.[1] Therefore, an analysis of the socio-economic realities of the Francophone scholarly community opens up avenues of research and provides understandings of development processes that may differ strikingly with Anglo-saxon scholarship. Second, some important pioneering work on development originates from Francophone authors: the very notion of the "Third World" was coined by the French demographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952. This also highlights the key role of non-economic disciplines in forging Francophone DS, an aspect this chapter addresses as well. Third, studies originating from Francophone academic networks have had significant influence on development processes themselves as they have informed a certain type of development cooperation and a range of aid programmes promoted by French, Swiss, Canadian and Belgian stakeholders.

This chapter argues that the francophone literature ties together *theories* of development with the *practices* of development in specific ways. It interrogates the specificities of Francophone scholarship, both methodologically and empirically, with a view to tease out some key messages. Adopting a long-term perspective, it analyses the specific contributions of Francophone scholarship to the field of development studies. It does so from a particular thematic vantage point, asking how reflections on (and, to some extent, engagement with) democracy and social change are framed by Francophone scholars. This chapter suggests that this has been an important research topic since the forging of francophone DS, which has made several original contributions in the contemporary period.

The analysis draws from Olivier de Sardan's methodological definition of development: in his perspective, development corresponds to "… the set of social processes induced by voluntarist actions of transformation of a social *milieu*.[2] These actions are undertaken through institutions or actors that are external to this *milieu* but that seek to mobilise it and that are grounded in an attempt to insert resources and/or techniques and knowledge" (Olivier de Sardan 1995: 7).[3] The first two sections of the chapter explore how this *milieu* has been defined. As DS are often (thought to be) driven by economic approaches, why and how have multidisciplinary approaches been forged since the inception

of "development" studies? What is the legacy of these lines of enquiry, which have also been informed by the close ties between academic and policy spheres, an aspect explored in the second section. The third and fourth sections focus on the actors and projects of development. They examine how contemporary Francophone scholarship elaborates the role of "development agents" for social change and democratic engagement with development processes.

2 Forging Development Studies in the Francophone Literature

2.1 Multidisciplinarity Foregrounded

In the post-WWII years, burgeoning DS are shaped by the idea that states and international aid have an essential part to play in developing the global South. In the decades of economic reconstruction boosted by state-driven action, many francophone scholars thought of the economy in terms of socio-economic systems and development economics, thus giving economics a predominant role. Francophone pioneers in development economics, however, integrated the role of institutions much more into their economic thinking than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts and thus they were able to relate economics to other disciplines. At the same time scholars from various other (non-economic) disciplines also wrote on development; demographers, sociologists and anthropologists influenced francophone DS since the beginning.

The francophone demographic school, for instance, was at the forefront of development scholarship. One can cite Alfred Sauvy, Louis Henry, Georges Tapinos and Jacques Vallin, who devoted a significant part of their work to the analysis of population dynamics in developing countries. Differing from the Anglo-Saxon tradition where the distinction between statisticians and demographers is clearer, they considered data collection an integral part of their discipline and worked in close cooperation with statistical organisations, at a time when data were often fragmentary (Gendreau 1991). Sauvy created the Institute for Population Studies—*Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques* (INED) in 1945 in Paris. Despite his mathematical training at the Ecole Polytechnique, he "never exaggerated the value of quantitative methods. His object, rather, was to observe, analyse and explain facts so that they could be understood by the general public, and to draw conclusions

from them that could be used for forecasting, and as a guide to action" (Tabah 1991). The francophone demographic school also made an original contribution by interpreting historical demographic evolution. This approach sought to locate the observed demographic dynamics within existing family structures, and social, political and cultural contexts. Hence, linking demographic variables with growth and development indicators led to results that varied according to context. The work of Jacques Vallin, who also collaborated with Sauvy, explored historical demography with projects on family dynamics in Africa that combined large-scale, long-term comparative studies. Georges Tapinos (1985) analysed how demography had shaped the history of societies and explored the complex relationship between demographic growth and economic development.

After Sauvy, several francophone demographers have been internationally influential and held positions in international research institutions. Tapinos and Vallin had leadership roles at the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP). International cooperation in demographic research, especially among the francophone community was institutionalised in 1971, with the creation in Yaoundé of the *Institut de Formation et de Recherche Démographiques* (IFORD) by the United Nations and the Government of Cameroon, following the recommendation of the Council of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa. In 1982, IFORD became a regional institute for 26 African countries. Since 1993, IFORD has been attached academically to the university of Yaoundé II. In this context the "demography group" of the *Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie*, the scientific network of francophone academic institutions created in 1961 also did important work.[4]

Sociology and anthropology too have influenced the beginnings of francophone DS. From the early 1950s until the early 1960s the sociologist and anthropologist Georges Balandier played a pioneering role in forging the sociology of development in France. Conducting fieldwork about modernisation and colonial modernity in Congo and Gabon in the 1950s, he edited with Alfred Sauvy in 1956 the first collection focused on the Third World, entitled *Le « Tiers-monde ».* Sous-*développement et développement.* Pirotte suggests that one of his key contributions is encapsulated in the following quote: "[…] no society can be defined, determined only by its internal characteristics" (1971: 72, quoted by Pirotte 2011). This connection between internal and external dynamics

becomes a defining feature of French sociological literature (see Section 3). Balandier is among the first scholars to underline the central role of factors such as industrialisation and external domination in all studies on the Third World (Haubert 1993: 181). Much of the early work of demographers, sociologists and anthropologists was informed by France's colonial context. As pointed out by Copans (2011: 407) researchers were simultaneously colonial ethnographers, sociologists of colonial situations, sociologists of the programme of social modernisation and sociologists of conflicts. Balandier played those roles in Senegal, Guinea, Gabon, and Congo, just as Bourdieu did in Algeria. In fact, decolonisation and the Algerian war had a strong impact on French perspectives on modernisation and development.

Multidisciplinarity was not only promoted by sociologists, anthropologists, demographers and geographers, but also by economists. François Perroux, often referred to as the first French-speaking economist to theoretically engage with development, influenced several generations of development economists. Starting from the ideas that (1) institutions and socio-economic systems are highly significant, (2) power dynamics and conflicts drive the economy, and (3) economic development is a historical process, Perroux saw the economy as full of tensions, distortions and imbalances (Hugon 2008: 21). He used concepts such as asymmetry, disarticulation, domination (Perroux 1966) and constantly tested economic concepts empirically. This approach along with his calls for engaging with other disciplines led to the creation of the journal *Revue Tiers Monde*,[5] established in 1960 by the *Institut d'étude du développement économique et social* (IEDES) that he then directed, and to the launch of the journal *Mondes en Développement* in 1973. The title of this journal, "worlds in development" reflects Perroux's attention for the heterogeneity of spaces in global development, the interdependence of these worlds and asymmetry that characterises their relationships (De Noël 2010). In 1982 the journal becomes Franco-Belgian as it aimed to become more international and extend the "spaces of communication" using Perroux's words. Economics remained its central discipline, but was associated, in a multidisciplinary approach, with sociology, political science, demography and statistics. Similarly, other journals in the francophone area, including the bilingual journal *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue Canadienne d'études du développement* created in 1980, promoted an interdisciplinary debate on development approaches.

2.2 *Engagement and Critical Positions*

Cultural aspects, linguistic factors, philosophical references along with the specific contexts of Francophone countries also informed such scholarship. The lived experience and memories of colonisation and decolonisation fostered activist, political but also scientific mobilisation. Some movements were grounded in religious activities, which addressed poverty in the South after fighting against poverty in the North, including in France (Copans 2011). This is the case, for instance, of the Emmaüs movement founded by Abbé Pierre in 1949 and of *Economie et Humanisme*, a centre of research and action in economics created in 1941 by Louis-Joseph Lebret, economist and Dominican priest, who also founded the *Institut international de recherche et de formation éducation et développement* (IRFED) now called *Centre international Développement et civilisations*. IRFED is a French association created in 1958 that developed a theory of engagement and training oriented primarily towards rural areas and grounded in research-action. Charitable actions across Africa and Latin America and activist engagement against the Algerian war led these religious leaders and thinkers along with their communities or associations to also engage the field of development through development projects. Copans (2011) argues that with decolonisation, some of these activists made concrete and long-term engagements. Parallel to this movement, towards the end of the 1950s, Marxists of the French communist party, as well as subsequently heterodox economists and the "dependencia" sociologists during the 1960s aimed to produce a French or francophone thought around their conceptions of national development and international cooperation.

May 1968 constituted a turning point for francophone scholarship that became increasingly radical, with a larger space for Marxist and Dependencia school thought compared with structuralism and the type of Christian humanism proposed by Perroux. This led to a greater gap between the positions taken by intellectuals and decision-makers (Hugon 2008: 25). Towards the end of the 1970s, both theoretical and applied DS were reshaped as the evident failures of development gave rise to new reflections and different approaches (Raison 1993: 147). The economist Samir Amin then became a leading figure of the alternative and critical group of economists from the mid-1960s to the 1980s. His work explored the effects of capitalist accumulation on a world scale (Amin 1970) as well as in specific studies on West Africa and the Maghreb.

More generally, francophone scholarship has contained a powerful critique of the dominance of neoliberalism. The early introduction of culture—and of cultural exceptionalism—in development scholarship brought about a hierarchy between the cultural realm and market rules. In such a perspective, cultural flows were to remain outside the purview of the market, which justified state interventions meant to hold back market laws in a range of domains (Albagli 2004). In 1982, at the World conference on cultural policies in Mexico City, the French Minister Jack Lang underlined the importance of cultural activities as factors of economic development. His famous phrase "economy and culture, same fight" (« *Économie et culture, même combat* ») reflected the French position that creativity and the arts should not be managed according to only economic and financial criteria. The promotion of cultural diversity and of language identity have remained important objectives for the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* since its creation. More generally, it is important to put in perspective the links between development agencies, cooperation networks and academic research, in other words, to relate *policies and practices* of development with *research* on development.

3 Linking Theories and Practices of Development

In Switzerland, the first issue of the publication series launched in 1975 by the Graduate Institute of Development Studies—*Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement* (IUED) concentrated on the relationship between cultural diversity and the unifying effects of economic development. Entitled "*Pluralité des Mondes*", it set out as its double objective characteristic of the overall teaching and research programme of the Institute: (1) explore cultural diversity and the dimensions specific to each society and take these as a point of departure for every theoretical reflection and (2) consider the diversity of epistemologic approaches to be indispensable. As the presentation of the *Cahiers* put it, "the plurality of cultural worlds needs to lead to a plurality of epistemologic approaches … [However] if we recognise the existence of an 'other' which is plural, we also need to interrogate ourselves on the supposedly unique Western thought, particularly when faced with other realities". In this first *Cahier de l'IUED*, Bungener (1975) insisted on the necessity to take into account the existence of cultural differences. Under-development was seen as a relational notion, which connects one

cultural system to another. A population can organise its life, set what it considers best according to the elements that constitute its milieu, in other words according to "what geography and history make possible". Bungener insisted on the problem of Western ethnocentrism and on the need for fieldwork and studies that are grounded in concrete experiences. The history of the academic institution where the series was published was characteristic of the relationship between theory and practice for its researchers but also of the institutional linkages between academic institutions and cooperation organisations in Switzerland.

In Geneva, the African Institute of Geneva—*Institut africain de Genève* was created in 1961, the same year as the *Institut d'étude des pays en développement in Louvain-la-Neuve* in Belgium.[6] The Geneva-based institute was renamed in 1973 the Graduate Institute of Development Studies.[7] Funded by the Canton of Geneva and the Swiss Cooperation for Development, it aimed to promote research on development and to train future development practitioners. Initially focused on Africa, given the link provided by the French language, the Institute opened up quickly to Asia and Latin America. Its mission was to develop teaching and research programmes, deliver continuing education and also to conceive international cooperation projects for different Swiss governmental bodies and for non-governmental organisations. The research foci were grouped around the central theme of social change that needed to be understood as a preliminary cause and a consequence of economic development (Bungener 1973). More broadly, bridges between academic institutions, policy worlds and practitioners were particularly strong in Geneva, given its international role and the location of several UN agencies' headquarters.

Overall a large part of francophone development research has given great emphasis to fieldwork and the active role of researchers on the ground. The French economist René Gendarme, who worked with François Perroux and was co-editor of the journal *Mondes en Développement* for more than 20 years, wrote in *La pauvreté des nations*, one of his major books, that "theoretical studies do not lead to anything if they do not lead to action" (quoted in Brot et al. 2006: 133). Gendarme has written extensively on Madagascar and has been engaged with various organisations, including with UNESCO (to study the right to land and economic development in sub-Saharan Africa) and UNCTAD (to analyse enclave economies). Empirical social sciences have developed in France since the mid-1950s, as more and more

younger researchers, including at CNRS, got involved in anthropology, geography and the sociology of modernisation and social change (Copans 2011). However, fieldwork at that time focused more on demographic and social change than on the projects of modernisation and development themselves. Similar to Anglo-Saxon scholarship, "acculturation and/or social change become the central themes of anthropological studies. The analysis explicitly focused on development is at best the last chapter of a section on social and cultural change" (Copans 2011: 407). Large French organisations recruited sociologists and geographers, in particular at the ORSTOM *Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer*[8] (which was renamed the *Institut de Recherche pour le développement*—IRD in 1998).

France's approach to "development" and its privileged links with some countries, especially in francophone Africa, has been informed by its colonial past (Moundounga Mouity 2009). Field studies but also development projects remain particularly focused on Africa. Institutionally, this is reflected by the division of Ministers in charge of development projects: during 25 years the Ministry of Cooperation was specifically in charge of the projects in Africa while the other parts of the world were the domain of the Ministry of External Affairs (Copans 2011). The analysis of development models in African societies shaped both theoretical reflections and development projects. Although research also started to be developed in Latin America and India, a big part of resources are still devoted to sub-Saharan Africa despite strategic changes related to globalisation and by Europe's more integrated policy for cooperation with the developing South. In 1999 the Ministry for Cooperation was replaced by a *Direction* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the one hand, and an agency, the French Agency for Development—AFD on the other hand (Listre 2015). While its geographical scope has been clearly broadened, as pointed out by Copans (2011), the only academic journal that is directly funded by the AFD today is *Afrique contemporaine*.

In Belgium, development aid to central Africa (Congo/Zaïre, Rwanda and Burundi) remains particularly important given its colonial history (Bassine de la Buissiere 1985; Contor 2017; Develtere and Michel, n.d.), which also led to a greater focus on those areas in the literature about development produced by Belgian authors. From France and Belgium the mobilisation of *coopérants*, i.e. young persons working abroad (historically instead of doing military service) also served the purpose of

supporting technical or educational missions on the ground (Desmeules 2008). In addition, the operational presence on the ground through para-statal bodies enabled researchers to collect more data from those countries to which there were colonial connections. The production of francophone scholarship has been facilitated by the extensive network of para-statal bodies and research institutions involved in activities of "cooperation for development". In particular the large network of French research centres worldwide favours the immersion of researchers in local realities. Among the 27 centres of this network, some, such as the French Institute of Pondicherry in India, were created as early as 1955. Others, such as the Institute de Recherche sur l'Asie du sud-est (IRSEC), were created later, in 2001. Therefore, more broadly, the production of francophone DS needs to be seen in the specific context of the French, Canadian, Belgian and Swiss development cooperation programmes.

Researchers who gained concrete experience of development also fed heterodox thinking. The "Observation of Development Projects", to quote the title of Hirschman's influential book published in 1967, was key in shaping the analysis of development processes among francophone thinkers as well. For example in Switzerland, Gilbert Etienne—whose personal trajectory exemplifies his bridging relationship with academia, political institutions and the private sector—was a vocal critic of both large development theories and anti-development ideologies: according to him both led to an *impasse* as they were unable to make sense of the more subtle ground realities, which were necessarily informed by historical, geographical and cultural factors and thus called for interdisciplinary research. Etienne's fieldwork in South Asia, particularly in India, extended over a period of more than 50 years. After living for ten years in Asia, his repeated visits to the same regions enabled him to assess the process of rural change, including the effects of green revolution techniques on local agricultural practices. His writings therefore drew from his astute observation of development trends at the micro level and from his close monitoring of national development policies. This led him to highlight the crucial role of infrastructure and a well trained and dedicated civil service. Etienne coined the expression "économie de coulage" (that could be translated as "economy of pouring"), which enlarged the analysis of corruption to three dimensions that are not necessarily interdependent: (1) the deficiency or inadequacy in the allocation of public funds, (2) the absence of collection of state revenues, and (3) corruption

as such (Etienne 2009: 197). More generally, the francophone literature developed approaches examining the specificities of historical trajectories as they shaped processes of social change (Maurer 1985; Dufour 2015).

4 Development as a Form of Social Change: Uncovering Internal and External Dynamics

According to Copans, before being a question of world political order, of aid and economic investment, of technical and cultural progress, development needs to be explained by the role of social structures, categories, groups, gender and individuals who are all actors of development (Copans 2006: 9). An important original contribution of francophone DS lies in the renewed importance of sociology and anthropology of development since the 1990s. One can trace back the analytical lenses proposed to the work done in the 1950s by Balandier, a pioneer in the analysis of social change in developing countries. Balandier, the pioneer of the French sociology of development, has been very influential, not only in francophone countries but also other regions. Haubert (1993: 179) reminds us, for example, of his influence on Rodolfo Stavenhagen's work in Latin America. Balandier constantly linked the dynamics of the inside ("dynamiques du dedans") with the dynamics of the outside ("les dynamiques du dehors"), an approach that has driven new scholarship emerging in the 1990s engaging with the influence of globalisation.

Social anthropologists identify and analyse the multiple (and often unintended) effects of the interventions generated by development. Olivier de Sardan (1995) conceptualises the "dynamics from below" that emerge in the context of development interventions as being related to the multiple social processes activated among the many actors, who are directly or indirectly concerned by development. For him "socio-anthropology of development is inseparable from socio-anthropology of social change. Development is only one of the multiple forms of social change and cannot be understood in an isolated manner. The analysis of development actions and the popular reactions to these actions cannot be separated from the analysis of local dynamics, endogenous processes or informal processes of change" (Olivier de Sardan 1995). In the context of globalisation, socio-anthropological approaches to development therefore serve to describe and analyse the multiple relationships that exist between the institutions of development, both public and

private, and the local populations to which these institutions are linked (Lavigne Delville 2011). Starting from the idea that institutions and agents of development have their own strategies, authors focus on their modes of functioning and modalities of action on the ground. Research is also oriented towards collective action in the recipient society, local social and political dynamics as well as popular representations (Jacob and Laville Delville 1994; Lutringer 2012). Collecting empirical data is essential to describe and analyse the practices and representations associated with the actions of development practitioners and the reactions they elicit. Leading scholars writing and publishing in French focus on African countries. They include for instance the Franco-Nigerian anthropologist Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan who works on Niger, Benin and Mali. He has created the Euro-African Association for anthropology of social change and development (APAD) that publishes the journal *Anthropologie et développement*. Other prominent scholars include Philippe Lavigne Delville, director of research at IRD and president of APAD, who works on West Africa and the Belgian sociologist Gautier Pirotte writing on Benin.

The "socio-anthropology of development considers 'development' as a particular form of social change that a complex *ensemble* of actors (NGOs, national or international agencies, experts, *coopérants*, technicians) tries to boost within 'target groups' that are themselves diverse and that change according to their own dynamics" (Olivier de Sardan 1995). It also looks at the context of power and inequalities in which development processes take place. The play of power ("jeux de pouvoirs") and the planning of development deserve scrutiny (Amougou 2009), as do ideologies, rhetorics and "populist" practices among development practioners and among researchers (Olivier de Sardan 1995). Drawing from Foucault, many of these authors also consider that by starting from the dynamics of the margins and "abnormal" situations one can understand the complexity of the system as a whole (Hugon 2008: 73). The key issue is then how to conceptualise "social actors" (Long 1994), a discussion that draws certain parallels between the processes of power and those of knowledge. As with power, knowledge is not only something that can be owned and accumulated. It cannot be measured precisely in terms of quantity or quality, but springs from processes of social interaction and results essentially from encounters. According to Peemans (2002: 11) "development is thus at the heart of power relations and of coalitions of actors that have the power or who

aspire to have it". Hence it is interesting to conceptualise "development as a mix of projects (and hence of social networks) that produce material and non-material effects, desired or not, among the beneficiaries and among enablers of these networks centred on development projects" (Pirotte 2011: 2). Development policies and projects constitute a research domain in their own right for anthropologists and sociologists. The failure of the first decades of development and the contested role of the State as main 'developer' have led to analyses of more complex "developmentalist configurations" (Pirotte 2011) with the multiplication, both in the global North and South, of new associative structures under the generic label of NGOs, combined with the revalorisation of local/village communities and associations. In the new millennium, development refers to the "entanglement of national and international agencies, local or global NGOs, experts, lobbyists, in charge of defining, implementing, managing or evaluating development projects or programmes" (Pirotte 2011: 3).

The developmentalist configuration comprises experts, bureaucrats, NGO professionals, researchers and technicians who in some way live from the development of others and mobilise or manage considerable resources, material and symbolic (Olivier de Sardan 1995: 7). According to Olivier de Sardan "there is development because of the very fact that there are actors and institutions that have development as an object or objective and devote time, money and professional competence to it. It is the presence of a 'developmentalist configuration' that defines the very existence of development". Socio-anthropological studies examine this developmentalist complex as well as the adoption/adaptation of development projects in specific contexts. Beyond the success or failure of development interventions, they shed light on the strategies of actors and on the conditions in which development interventions take place. The notion of a "project" enables us to explore the intersection of internal and external dynamics. As conceptualised by Boltanski and Chiapello (1999: 157) projects involve individuals that are diverse and distant from cultural, geographical, economic points of view: "a development project is a set of connections that enables objects (such as civil society), subjects (such as NGOs) and actions to emerge. The expression of social links between the different actors of the project may vary according to the social spaces in which they are expressed". More generally, Boltanski (2006) provides a critical analysis of the "project culture" ("la culture du projet") in contemporary capitalism. As the prominence of "projects"

increases in the economic realm, social structures themselves tend to be influenced by an organisation "by projects", whereby a multiplicity of projects of different nature are developed at the same time or in succession. In this logic, projects are necessarily transitory and people must be versatile and capable of changing their activities or their tools. This keeps them employable, in other words capable of being integrated in a new project. Boltanski is, therefore, one of the major francophone sociologists and political theorists, who reflect on the limits that need to be set to regulate capitalism in a democratic polity.

5 Democratic Practices Within and Beyond States

In international DS, the state was usually seen as the main promoter of development and a major instance of socio-political regulation until the end of the 1980s. With the Washington consensus, economists observed the disappearance or decline of development economics (Hirschman 1981) and reflected on the new regulations of the world economy (Hugon and Michalet 2007). At the same time in political science, which has the state as its core object of analysis, approaches have shifted in the francophone literature. Marchesin (1993) analysed the shift from the 1960s when many political scientists—often with a background in law—concentrated on the State and its immediate environment, mainly social elites and the formal political game. This thread of political science "from above" ignored social dynamics and popular practices. With new approaches taking shape in the 1980s, political scientists debated about the modern/modernising state, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, and about "politics from below". In 1980 Jean-François Bayart created the *Groupe d'analyse des modes populaires d'action politique* (MPAP) which explored political situations from the perspective of subordinated actors rather than from those who hold formal political power. These "popular modes of popular action" can take the form of "rebellions, refusal to cultivate certain crops, under-productivity, strikes, absentionism, migrations, […] smuggling, circulation of information that is not controlled by official media…" (Bayart 1983: 102). These popular practices limit the control that states exert on societies and puts into perspective how authoritarian forms of government are experienced in everyday life. According to Bayart the institutional angle is inadequate to understand the significance of democracy within societies. Moreover, procedural aspects, such as multiparty systems, free elections, press freedom, do not

necessarily accompany a democratic culture that permeates social life. Therefore, studying "politics from below" contributes to understanding issues of democratisation. It uncovers phenomena of political hybridisation, as new forms of governance and new modes of state-building arise from the reinterpretation of imported institutions. Authors are taking forward Badie and Birnbaum's argument (1979) that the State in Africa and Asia is not merely a "pure product of import". Investigating the state at large and the social basis of power means that research is located in specific socio-cultural realities—fieldwork is important—and in a specific historical trajectory. Researchers undertake an ethnography of public spaces by observing sites of everyday life, such as streets or places of worship, and by paying attention to the historical specificity of the societies on which the research is focused. There is still interest "in the traditional objects of political analysis (State, leaders, parties) but also an enlarged perception by exploring the 'political' outside/beyond official spaces" (Marchesin 1993: 108). This extends the traditional domain of political science but also questions Western "models". Democracy and human rights are concepts produced by Western history. They rest on the valorisation of the notion of individuals, but democracy in particular cannot be reduced to a specific, Western, civic culture (Bayart 2006).

More broadly francophone scholarship gives importance to questions of ethics and philosophy, as well as methodological considerations (Hugon 2008). With the Washington consensus, development risked being confined to a series of quantitative objectives, reducing social dynamics to numbers (Amougou 2009). French scholarship in its critique of such a narrow view also calls for reflection—and action—on a transnational democratic space where "development" and its objectives are being framed. The critique of the "imposition" of a specific model of development has given rise to an extensive literature: francophone scholars such as François Partant (1982), Gilbert Rist (1979, 1997), and Serge Latouche (1989, 2004, 2006) have laid the ground for "post-development" and "de-growth" theories. Another francophone line of thought advocates "alterdéveloppement" (Comeliau 2006). This critiques the new development paradigm which put the "expert" at the centre of development interventions, and did not recognise civil societies as development actors in their own right (Amougou 2009).

Conditionalities for development aid have increasingly included a political dimension: with the speech of French President François Mitterrand at La Baule in 1990, the request to conform to multipartism

and liberal principles became explicit as he says that "France will tie all its effort of contribution to the efforts that will be made for more freedom". This policy rests on the assumption, highly debated (Etienne 2009), that democracy and development are inseparable. As suggested by Marchesin (2004) both democracy and development have two sides, one ideal and one empirical, leading to a variety of interpretations of the possible linkages between the two. He reminds one of Touraine's warning about the effects of external agents (foreign states, international aid) that after some time hinder both democracy and development, and his argument that democracy is directly associated with endogenous development. In parallel, the conditionalities of aid and the very practices of development projects have led to technocratisation of the concept of democracy. According to Olukoshi (2008), under the label of "good governance" a transnational economic technocracy organised around international financial institutions has limited the powers of elected representatives on entire sections of budgetary, monetary, commercial and industrial policies. Decisions and arbitrage are not made nationally, which significantly hampers the spread of democratisation in Africa. Good governance has a prescriptive logic and is used to put pressure for imposing change. A group of francophone scholars who critically address this notion and its practicalities propose the concept of "democratic governance" instead (Bellina et al. 2008): in their approach, democratic governance denotes social legitimity and social anchoring of institutions. Democratic governance does not produce a result but a process, marked by the creation of spaces of interaction between the actors.

Scholars and practitioners have been reflecting on how to make decision-making processes more democratic, including at the international level. In fact, the three cornerstones of development (economic, social, environmental) are interdependent but they are object of political negotiation to privilege one of these dimensions (Hugon 2008), at national and global levels. Hence globalisation has been reshaping democratic politics. It has increased the legitimity and sometimes the effectiveness of democratic procedures but often done so at the expense of democracy as a political culture, as there is a difference between the time span of democratic procedures in phase with globalisation, and that of the construction and preservation of a democratic culture, embedded in societies, which requires a longer time span and is often not immediately clearly visible (Laïdi 2001).

6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed the distinct role of disciplines such as demography, sociology and anthropology in forging Francophone development studies. It has underlined the particular contribution of French sociologists in this field as early as the 1950s. French sociological approaches of authors such as Bourdieu, Touraine and Foucault have deeply informed scholarship on development. Consequently, the literature has placed particular emphasis on notions such as "trajectoire" and "pouvoir". Interestingly, the early introduction of culture—and of cultural exceptionalism—in development theories has also brought about a hiatus and hierarchy between the cultural realm and market rules. In this perspective, cultural flows need to remain outside the purview of the market, which justifies state interventions meant to restrict market laws in a range of domains. Compared with the Anglo-Saxon tradition, Francophone development economics have provided more critical approaches to development policies and have sought to locate analyses in more global/integrated/holistic perspectives.

Secondly, the chapter has argued that the francophone literature reflects a specific set of linkages between theories and practices of development in the Francophone countries. This needs to be seen within the specific context of the French, Canadian, Belgian and Swiss development cooperation programmes. The production of francophone scholarship has been facilitated by the extensive network of para-statal bodies and research institutions also involved in activities of "cooperation for development". The observation of the francophone socio-economic context along with the concrete experience of "development in practice" have in turn informed heterodox economic thinking. As francophone scholars have made a particular contribution towards the foundations of "post-development" and "de-growth" theories, the French-speaking development community is now raising concerns about the need to rethink the relationship between society and the environment.

Understanding social and political change has been central in the work of many francophone development scholars. This has been accompanied by a key methodological change in the 1970s, whereby the research should not be confined to the intended beneficiaries of development interventions. A plurality of actors and agents are recognised to shape development processes and here again the question of power

relations is essential. More generally comparative methods grounded in empirical research have been used by researchers to analyse national trajectories as linked with regional and global processes. As the effects of globalisation and the multipolarity of the world have generated substantial contributions by political scientists, an important and original contribution from Francophone political scientists lies in the observation of economic, political, social change from below. More broadly, Francophone political science is much closer to social and political anthropology than what comes under the remit of "Political Science" in the Anglo-Saxon world. Hence differences and specificities of Francophone contributions to DS derive from differences in approaches and methodologies in the very disciplines in which DS are grounded.

Although the use of French language has favoured exchanges across the Francophone community, Francophone DS remain fragmented. Although the role of social sciences in analysing development has been prominent, contemporary development problems also call for more attention to technical and technological factors. This is driving a new thread of applied development studies led by engineering disciplines and applied sciences. The challenge is to create the conditions for a constructive conversation between all these disciplines in order to keep nurturing critical approaches and reflexivity in development studies.

Notes

1. According to the estimates published by the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, there are about 274 million French speakers over the world. https://www.francophonie.org/Estimation-des-francophones.html.
2. The original French text reads 'définir le « développement », dans une perspective fondamentalement méthodologique, comme l'ensemble des processus sociaux induits par des opérations volontaristes de transformation d'un milieu social, entreprises par le biais d'institutions ou d'acteurs extérieurs à ce milieu mais cherchant à mobiliser ce milieu, et reposant sur une tentative de greffe de ressources et/ou techniques et/ou savoirs'.
3. The original French texts of the different quotations in this chapter have been translated in English by the author.
4. In 2018 the AUF gathers 845 academic institutions in 111 countries. https://www.auf.org/a-propos/qui-nous-sommes/.
5. In 2017 it was renamed *Revue internationale des études du développement*.
6. Subsequently renamed *Institut d'études du développement*.

7. In 2008 the Institute unites with the Graduate Institute of International Studies in order to constitute the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.
8. The *Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale* (ORSC) created in 1943 was renamed ORSTOM in 1944.

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CHAPTER 5

Imagining Postcolonial-Development Studies: Reflections on Positionalities and Research Practices

Julia Schöneberg

1 Introduction

We find ourselves at a social, political, economic and environmental crossroads, where Development Studies (DS) in all its facets have been designated a leading role. Despite the broad consensus that global problems require global solutions, development research and training too often remain dominated by Western epistemologies. Western knowledge is considered universal and it is widely accepted that assumptions rooted in European modernity are applicable in differing contexts and hemispheres. An invisible hand guided by "paternalistic and patronizing undercurrents of an earlier period" (Melber 2015) continues to shape exchanges and interactions reaffirming hegemonic structures in development research, theory and practice. Southern knowledge(s) often remain marginalized and/or silenced.

Postcolonial viewpoints were often neglected in DS and development theory debates of past decades and postcolonial theory and development

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theory are still considered as being far apart; the former being concerned with discourse and representation, the latter, although by no means homogeneous, dealing with the applicability of concepts and practices. Ziai (2016a: 36) identifies *Orientalism* and *Othering* (Said 1978), *Subalternity* and *Representation* (Spivak 1988), *Hybridity* (Bhabha 1994) and the *Provincialization* of Europe (Chakrabarty 2000) as the most important postcolonial concepts. Consideration of these strategies of theorizing and analysis may offer DS new points of departure for dealing with the global challenges of the twenty-first century as they expose colonial legacies and sensitize scholars to deeply rooted hierarchies and hegemonies in (inter-)actions.

I start my discussion by framing positivist assumptions on the universality of Western knowledge in DS before broadly sketching what can be understood by Postcolonial Studies without attempting to be conclusive. In doing so, I locate Postcolonial Studies in the context of development and discuss how the four prominent theoretical approaches listed above offer tools to be applied in the field of DS. Finally, the conclusion offers possible steps towards a postcolonialization of DS and provides recommendations of how postcolonial strategies might be employed in development research practice.

2 The Universality of Western Knowledge in Development Studies

In tracing the roots of the perceived universality of Western knowledge in DS it helps to look at development as a Western project of modernization (as critiqued by Sachs 2005) and the forms of ideological and economic power of the West over the Rest (Hall 1992) that are related to it. Enlightenment ideals of progress and evolution are cornerstones of Western modernity and gave legitimacy to the civilizing mission of European colonialism and its narratives of trusteeship (Cowen and Shenton 1996). The notion of the "expert" and "expert knowledge" is a slight alteration of the narrative of trusteeship and still visible in modes of theorization and practice in contemporary DS. I will return to this when I discuss the relevance of positionality in creating legitimate development knowledge. To reach the Enlightenment ideals, the promotion of growth was considered inevitable and economists such as Ricardo and Smith hailed the market as the most effective mechanism for maximizing human well-being (Willis 2005: 33) while at the same

time implying a worldview in which Europe was the centre of civilization. Rostow (1960) later built on this by claiming that societies must pass five stages of economic growth in order to reach a "developed" status. He defined development as a process towards such growth and modernity, meaning the evolution from the traditional society to an industrial economy. Tradition is clearly marked as backward and lacking modernity, while the process of modernization, including but not limited to, the "creation of law and order, administrative frameworks, the building of infrastructure, the growth of markets and trade as well as Western education" (Bernstein 2001: 267) becomes central as a counter to tradition. The underlying assumption was that the process of modernization could be kick-started by the intervention of those states that had already reached the highest stage of modernization: the so-called "developed", the West. This self-conception legitimized not only imperialism and colonialism but continued to impact on development theories and politics from the 1950s in what has been termed the post-World War II development project (Escobar 1995). Thomas argues that until present there is still an "unspoken acceptance of Fukuyama's 'end of history' argument and hence the idea that the only end result of development is […] globalized liberal capitalism" (Thomas 2001: 774). This limits development to (external) interventions targeting singular aspects of poverty rather than pursuing a vision of change (Thomas 2001: 779).

This reductionist narrative of modernity and progress has resulted in an epistemological dominance of the Western worldview leading to marginalization of Non-Western ideologies, knowledges and cultures in theorization and research practice within DS (McDonnell 2003: 8). Sardar (1999) indeed argues that "Eurocentrism is intrinsic in the way we think and conceptualize, […] inherent in the way we organize knowledge" (ibid.: 49). In his view, Eurocentrism is deeply entrenched in all social science disciplines, which continue to be, despite having evolved and changed, "geared to serving the needs and requirements of Western society" (ibid.). The way we structure, validate and distribute knowledge is deeply intertwined with this worldview (McDonnell 2003: 9–12) and shapes assumptions and analyses about "the Rest" and the problems and challenges that scholars of DS aspire to frame as global. Analytical tools of Postcolonial Theory offer useful toeholds for moving beyond unilateral and towards a plurality of knowledges.

3 Post-colonialism or Postcolonialism?

Before we embark on an evaluation of what Postcolonial Studies have to offer in the context of DS, we should put some thought into the implications connected to the spelling. The prefix "post" implies a historical conditionality, if not a historical termination in the sense of an "end of history" (Fukuyama 1992). However, to assume a temporal succession as in "after-colonialism" is too simplistic and becomes dangerous when this conceptualization confirms the exact issues that the concept initially intends to criticize: the definition of the Rest through the West. McClintock (1992) rightly criticizes that often cultures and histories of Southern countries are reduced to the period of colonialism and defined in related dimensions. Although this is the central critique, it unintentionally reconfirms a Eurocentric worldview and produces a chronological or sequential relation between non-European cultures and Europe (ibid.: 86). Non-European cultures are not positively defined by their particular characteristics but rather classified and subordinated in relation to seemingly linear European history (ibid.). However, despite the fact that a simple temporal classification is flawed, historical traces play an important role. According to Gramsci every process must be analysed as a product of "historical processes [that have] […] deposited an infinity of traces" (Gramsci 1971: 324). As a solution, we can use the spelling Post-Colonialism in the sense of simple temporal posteriority, but when stressing the relevance of historical traces and attempting to inventory them the spelling Postcolonialism should be employed. In the discussion that follows I will adhere to the latter.

Since Postcolonial Studies are particularly concerned with questions of discourse a reflection on the use of binary terminology is necessary. While Postcolonial Studies tend to speak of West/Rest, DS generally use the binary of Global North/South. Neither pair describes the geographical relation of Europe and the USA in relation to the so-called "Third World" but serve to point to shortcomings and problems. In relation to poverty and inequality a South in the North certainly exists, which demonstrates, as argued below, the particular concern of DS with the applicability of concepts and practices to defined problems. The binary West/Rest not only highlights the continuities of Western universality in contrast to the plurality of the Rest but also attempts to make visible the exploitative relationship produced by a history of colonialism

and imperialism and a certain kind of "knowledge about a subject and certain attitudes to it" (Hall 1992: 277). It is important to keep these nuances in mind, despite the fact that these terms are often used interchangeably.

4 Linking Postcolonial Studies and Development Studies

In recent years critique of Western development interaction with the global South has emerged from different perspectives. While DS focus on issues such as poverty, Postcolonial Studies explore structures of power and the (re-)production of knowledge. Generally, Postcolonial Studies and DS are viewed separately and do not appear to have connections in development practice. I will focus on their relationship and discuss core differences and commonalities. The aim is to point out why the field of DS needs tools provided by postcolonial critique, how it can benefit from them, how they can be employed and adapted for our academic field.

Colonialism lies at the heart of Postcolonial Studies. Colonialism is framed as a project that constructed a dichotomous system in order to legitimize and justify Western intervention. Said (1978) coins the production of this kind of binary worldview through the concept of *Othering*. Non-Western countries were produced as the West's inferior Other (McEwan 2009, 124) and characterized as savage and barbaric while the West was presented as a role model and therefore as the location of valid knowledge (ibid.: 106). Starting from the assumption that colonialism basically and fundamentally "reshaped existing structures of human knowledge" (Loomba 2008: 57), proponents of Postcolonial Studies strive towards a "conceptual reorientation towards perspectives of knowledge [by aiming to force] alternative knowledges into the power structures of the West" (Young 2003: 7). Postcolonial authors apply their critique at the level of discourses, models of representation and existing discursive practices and forms of knowledge production. They formulate critique about concepts, ideologies and practices manifested in mainstream development action. The roots of Postcolonial Studies lie in cultural sciences and linguistics. Its critique is fundamentally theoretical and abstract. Often, questions of socio-economic inequalities are neglected. Ignoring the relevance of concrete material inequalities offers only an incomplete

picture. A critique often heard is that "development studies does not tend to listen to subalterns and postcolonial studies does not tend to concern itself whether the subaltern is eating" (Sylvester 1999: 703).

DS, although by no means homogeneous, deals with the applicability of concepts and practices. It is a part of the social sciences, which have their origin in theories of progress, growth and education. Knowledge is generally conceptualized as "leading into […] practical applications and solutions" (Ziai 2012: 10).

Both theoretically as well as methodologically both approaches differ fundamentally. Whereas DS deals with precisely defined political, economic, societal and environmental challenges and shortcomings, the contrasting understanding in Postcolonialism focuses on historical and cultural constructs and questions the assumed Eurocentric constructions of progress. The binary of developed/undeveloped and the widespread conceptualization of development as a process that can be captured with indicators (ibid.), is the main critique formulated by Postcolonialism, when engaging with theoretical critique and deconstruction. Despite these theoretical and methodological tensions, the knowledge of countries of the Global South, the relationships between the global South and North and their concrete enactment, is central to both approaches. However, Sylvester argues that "of the two fields Postcolonial Studies has the greatest potential to be a new and different location of human development thinking if it can overcome a tendency to look into intellectual rather than practical projects of development" (Sylvester 1999: 703). Proponents of Postcolonial Studies have formulated different analytical approaches and methods for analysis. In order to evaluate their usefulness for moving towards a DS informed by postcolonial thought I will discuss the four most prominent theoretical approaches.

5 Postcolonial Studies in the Context of Development: Four Approaches

The works of Said, Spivak, Bhabha, and Chakrabarty are considered some of the most influential postcolonial writings. Not only do they dissect persistent colonial discourses, they also offer tools and strategies for analysis. I outline the approaches of these four authors to provide an anchor for thinking Postcolonialism and DS together and indicating their potential as analytical tools to be employed within DS.

5.1 Orientalism and Othering

In his seminal work Orientalism (1978) Edward Said argues that the categories of Orient and Occident, i.e. the South and the North constantly used in DS, are entirely man-made ontological distinctions having evolved from a European history of thought, images and language and its assumed universality (Said 1978: 132). He contends that this construction of dichotomy has continued to this day, particularly within power/knowledge divides, culture and politics. He stresses three main arguments. Firstly, Said stresses that the "making of the Orient" needs to be seen as an act of power resulting from domination and hegemony of the West (ibid.: 133). Central to his discussion are the binaries of Self/Other i.e. Us/Them that depict Western self-identification of superiority against oriental backwardness and legitimized colonial rule. Secondly, Said analyses forms of knowledge and points out that knowledge inevitably depends on the context within which it is produced (ibid.: 137) and thereby on the positionality of its author. Power and discourse are important features of Said's argument, especially when he points to various forms of power—political, intellectual, cultural and moral forms (ibid.: 138)—and the way it becomes apparent. Thirdly, Said points to the distinction of latent and manifest Orientalism. While manifest Orientalism (such as literature or art) can change, latent Orientalism is grounded in a framework which fundamentally designates all non-Western peoples as backward and uncivilized (ibid.: 145). This obvious demarcation of the Self and the Other has been further elaborated upon by Stuart Hall (1992), who named the process "Othering". This, as Ziai pinpoints, is the "construction of an alien other which serves as a projection for the (re)production of one's own (positive) identity" (Ziai 2012: 7). What is most important in the context of development theory and practice is that as long as this concept of the "Other" persists, it implies the authority of the North "to know" (ibid.) and legitimizes "expert" interventions. The question of who can possess legitimate knowledge and has a position from where to voice it has been taken up extensively by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988).

5.2 Can the Subaltern Speak?

In posing the question "Can the Subaltern speak?", Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) analyses the possibilities of subaltern

articulation and asks whether the subaltern can speak at all. Generally, the term subaltern is used to describe a person or group that inhabits a lower rank or subordinated position. Originally, Gramsci used the term to describe the "proletarian, whose voice could not be heard" (Gramsci 1971). He stresses that the so-called subaltern classes are subjugated by a hegemon; nevertheless, they remain capable of overcoming suppression by challenging restrictive powers. The classification of subjugation and oppression of certain groups or classes, originally defined by Gramsci within Marxist categories, has been continued by Said, Hall and Spivak. Within Postcolonial Studies the term is used to describe the continuous construction of the formerly colonized as subjects in relation to their colonizers and without a position from which to speak (McEwan 2008: 60). While Hall and Said conceptualize the prevailing power relation within terms of Othering, Spivak explores the spaces of the subaltern to speak and to be heard. She strongly draws on a poststructuralist theory, but at the same time questions it. For example, she accuses popular proponents of Poststructuralism, such as Foucault and Deleuze, of ignoring questions of ideology and thereby misrepresenting that power and interests are heterogenous (Spivak 1988: 66). She claims that the oppressed, i.e. the subaltern, are not a homogenous mass but are dominated by different sets of ideologies, which can uphold and maintain domination and exploitation. In this context, Spivak distinguishes different forms of representation and provides the example of colonized Indian society, where she identifies dominant foreign groups as well as dominant indigenous actors, making it difficult to analyse who legitimately can and/or is speaking and acting for whom.

In making Spivak's arguments applicable to development research and practice, Spivak's arguments can shed light on the role of Western actors in non-Western contexts and their modes of intervention. Spivak claims that the "marginalized are often silenced by the conventions and modes of representation […] and that the very act of inscription robs them of their voice" and thereby highlights multiple dimensions of oppression. Similarly important is the observation that the act of speaking is never complete without a listener (Nandi 2012: 123). In this regard, the problem of subaltern articulation is not merely an "inability of the subaltern to speak, but [also an] […] unwillingness of the […] dominant to listen" (McEwan 2009: 69).

5.3 Hybridity

Homi Bhabha has strongly proposed the theory of hybridity. In his article "Signs Taken for Wonders" (1994) he illustrates his theory of subtle change taking place in (post-) colonial spaces through the power of hybridity. Similar to Spivak, Bhabha draws on poststructuralist theorists such as Foucault and Derrida as well as on the concept of historicism. In illustrating the authority/ambivalence divide that, in his opinion, provides spaces for resistance (Bhabha 1994: 157–158), he uses Derrida's model of double inscription although modifying it by stressing questions of authority (ibid.: 155). Bhabha argues that initially the colonizers strived for domination by disavowing the other culture and thereby imposing authority. A problem arises once the colonized appear too similar to the colonizer, as the justification for domination then becomes obsolete. In order to maintain authority, it is therefore necessary to uphold narratives of radical difference (ibid.: 158). Nevertheless, Bhabha contends that ambivalence and authority provide spaces for resistance, which he calls hybridity. Through hybridity the process of disavowal can become reversed as other "knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority" (ibid.: 162) thereby decreasing colonial authority and contesting its legitimacy. With the theory of hybridity, Bhabha fundamentally challenges the focus on binaries such as self/other, colonizer/colonized, civilizer/civilized and disputes Said's and Hall's claims that the "Other" is constantly and inevitably reiterated. Quite in contrast, he views (post-) colonial relationships and inherent discourses as becoming generally diluted, which means that they not only influence culture and identity of the supposedly "undeveloped" but also of the "developer." An obvious critique is that through this theory of ambivalence Bhabha too readily downplays and misrepresents dynamics, tensions and clashes of anti-colonial struggles (McEwan 2009: 66). However, as an analytical tool the concept of hybridity proves useful for examining ambivalences and uncovering incoherencies in (post-)colonial discourses and formations of identity resulting from them (Ziai 2012: 9).

5.4 Provincializing Europe

With his demand to "provincialize Europe" Chakrabarty (2000) claims that rather than viewing Europe, by which he refers to traditions of thought evolving from the Enlightenment, as the centre and root of

all significant thought, one needs to provincialize these. He maintains that categories and "strategies we have learned from European thought […] are both indispensable and inadequate" (Chakrabarty 2000: 19) in representing non-European ideas of (political) modernity. In this context, the demand to provincialize Europe does not mean to abolish European ideas and traditions of thought altogether, but to acknowledge that these are only one among many. In order to make his argument, Chakrabarty analyses the concept of historicism, which he identifies as integral to the idea of (European) modernity (ibid.: 6). He argues that historicism, a concept that assumes that social and cultural phenomena are determined historically, furthers the image of the waiting room of history in which some peoples have "not yet" arrived (ibid.: 22). It implies that all people strive for the same development and that some people have already achieved the set goals, while others are lagging behind. Chakrabarty argues that historicism led "European domination in the world" by implying that ideologies of modernity and capitalism originated in Europe were spread (ibid.: 7) and subsequently denied non-European peoples their own categories. Chakrabarty claims that it is not necessary to reject or even discard European thought altogether; he demands a space in which a new pluralism of thought can be created and acknowledged. His major critique is that of "asymmetric ignorance": while scholars from the South readily refer to and draw on works of European thought, the reverse is not the case (ibid.: 28). Even though Chakrabarty very much remains on the level of discourse, his theory can be a useful tool for uncovering the hidden colonial imprint of concepts and assumptions we hold as true, and for sensitizing and valorizing research and practicing other forms of knowledge (Ziai 2012: 10).

6 Are Postcolonial-Development Studies Imaginable? Positionality and Research Practices

The postcolonial approaches outlined above and the tools and strategies they offer are part of epistemologies that have potential to reach beyond the universality of thought and seek to valorize marginalized world views and knowledges (McEwan 2009: 256). Embedding these various epistemologies in the broad field of DS requires establishing progressive South–North research partnerships and much more permeable boundaries between theory and practice.

Raghuram and Madge (2006) propose a postcolonial method for producing knowledge(s) and doing research, not only, but especially within the realms of DS. Their method consists of three steps: (1) critically questioning why, how and whom/what we as Westerners/Europeans research in the South, how we analyse our findings– essentially how we "produce" knowledge; (2) rethinking theorization and uncovering underlying epistemologies; and (3) scrutinizing our own identities and linkages.

The key to Postcolonial-DS is positionality. Critical reflection must take account of the various identities and multiple realities that researchers are negotiating as well as structural frameworks and pressures within academia (ibid.: 274). The circumstances of knowledge production are decisive as they validate "certain knowledges and exclude others" (ibid.). In this conception, reflecting on one's own positionality reaches beyond consideration of issues of race, class and gender. It calls for a politically engaged scholarship or even activism. Researchers cannot be solely concerned with the subjects or objects of their research as a neutral and value-free but need to engage with power imbalances, inequalities and hierarchies connected to their research on the personal, institutional and global level (ibid.: 275). In the context of research partnerships, there are (not only but including in North–South collaborations) problems of asymmetry in knowledge production connected to funding and donor structures as well as institutional hierarchies.

The term positionality describes the "positions from which subjects come to know the world" (Sheppard 2002: 318). One's own positionality depends not only on "her or his position with respect to others" (ibid.), but also "involves power relations, both in the sense that some positions tend to be more influential than others and in the sense that […] knowledge challenges the power of those who claim objectivity" (ibid.). In attempting a postcolonial method, a conscious and critical positioning of the research not as standalone but as product of historic and colonial legacies, power relationships and struggles, is essential. Awareness of one's own presumptions and ideologies or discourses is crucial in a situation where the researcher is from the global North and conducts research in a country of the global South. Despite awareness, a position outside the researched discourses is impossible; the researcher herself is always part of predefined discursive formations and most likely confirms or constructs them through the research. She becomes part of the subject and object positions she seeks to explore.

This leads to the dilemma of attempting to conduct research objectively while being forced to take sides. Scheper-Hughes (1995) has argued this case for anthropology, but her arguments are applicable to DS. She proposes a form of militant and politically engaged anthropology and questions whether simply seeking to understand is morally just. In her view, researchers are by no means "exempt from the human responsibility to take an ethical (and even political) stand" (ibid.: 411) as the mere observation of events renders social science research meaningless. By outlining her own experiences in the field, she contends that one cannot adopt a neutral position, which she criticizes as indifference, but needs to commit to an active voice of solidarity instead of purely attempting to construct explanatory models. The researcher needs to be a witness, a commentator, maybe even an advocate, rather than an observer (ibid.: 419).

Scheper-Hughes' arguments are relevant to the discussion of a meaningful and purposefully conducted social science research. However, in establishing a dichotomy of right and wrong she fails to acknowledge the more complex reality of power relations and social reality. By calling for a universal norm of morality and humanity, she overlooks that her belief system is coined according to a certain social environment that is far from universally accepted. There is a fine line between relativism and imposition. The challenge is to find a balance between respecting the other while standing up for one's values, rather than the extremes of a complete relativism of all unfamiliar societal aspects or the simple imposition of a certain (one's own) world view and ethics. Matthews rightly emphasizes that we "must be aware that our identities and position in the world impact upon the way in which we produce knowledge […] [and avoid] too-easy confidence in our ability (or the ability of others) to distinguish truth from falsehood" (Matthews 2018: 17). This is a dilemma, especially when approaching issues of power/knowledge struggles, dominating discourses and questions of voice and representation.

The researcher herself directly affects fieldwork and the way empirical data is generated. Research is based on individual analysis and interpretation, a process that begins with the formulation of research questions and the selection of an analytical framework, the methodology and methods of analysis we choose. Sometimes these are decisions that are bound by considerations of funding, project limitations or priorities of our research institutions. For an authentic postcolonial method to be applied Raghuram and Madge (2006: 276) argue that:

> research questions should be produced in dialogue so that project beginnings are embedded within and take account of the priorities of the researched and not delimited by the concerns of the northern 'experts'.

There are critical questions at the heart of each attempted decolonized research outset:

> Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated? (Smith 2012: 10)

To enable this, structural changes, in Western academia in particular but also beyond, are urgently necessary. However, even if there were more funding opportunities for such dialogical research outsets, the second inevitable consideration with regard to positionality is the complex power relations in place, both within (our own) research institutions and within North–South research partnerships. Not only is our way of pursuing research highly institutionalized and constricted through "disciplines and fields of knowledge, […] interest groups, […] [and] the academy, [it also is] an integral part of political structures" (Smith 2012: 127). Melber (2015) pertinently states that "declared awareness of asymmetrical North–South relations does not eliminate the risk that these are perpetuated" (ibid.: 36). In drawing on experiences from research collaboration in and with African institutions, he identifies several pitfalls to well-intended aspirations. First, in relation to the discussion on epistemologies above, there are ongoing divides on the power of definition of what is considered "truly academic and scholarly, or for that matter relevant" (Melber 2015: 25). As a result, ownership of academic knowledge production largely remains outside Southern realms. Second, this leads to the problem of relevance criteria. In many cases Western academic work is measured by impact factors. In light of recent and increasing debates on research impact in society generally and alternative measurement indices this should not be generalized; however, too often impact factors continue to provide the only acknowledged recognition of academic excellence and achievement (Tezanos and Trueba, this volume). Research that does not conform to these criteria is deemed invalid in this context. The third problem is the fact that North–South research partnerships (tellingly they are never called South–North partnerships)

are generally based and "dependent on Northern funding and Northern scholars, who might try to overcome the structural constraints but remain confined to […] a Northern setting" (Melber 2015: 26). In research, similar to development cooperation, Southern scholars remain in danger of being confined to the role of beneficiaries. Although the risk may be higher in technical, agricultural or economic research than in the social sciences, Southern partners are often considered instrumentally, for conducting empirical studies and data collection. Important steps forward have been taken in recent years. Funding agencies such as The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research for Global Development (NWO-WOTRO) and the Commission for Research Partnerships with Developing Countries (KFPE) in Switzerland have set out ethical and methodological foundations for research partnerships to ensure collaborative knowledge building. Nevertheless, widespread practical implementation is still lacking. As a result of all three issues, existing asymmetries in knowledge production are perpetuated.

To resolve this asymmetry requires an agenda for Southern-led research with much more rigorous pursuit and emphasis. While indigenous initiatives in research certainly exist, they fail to receive the appropriate consideration. Research remains the "domain of experts" (Smith 2012: 127), the term "expert" mainly referring to formal (Western) educational qualifications and positions; a view that is reinforced by the academic and funding agencies (ibid.: 128). Smith suggests two starting points for advancing indigenous research agendas: (1) community research and (2) strengthening indigenous research within the agenda.

Community research is not a new invention. Past decades have seen discussions on a variety of participatory research methods (Bergold and Thomas 2012). Yet, Smith specifically demands research projects that are not exclusively conceptualized, funded and led by external actors but which ensure community ownership and control due to the fact that they are fully rooted locally. Community-based research institutes may offer openings at the interface of development (practice) and research (Smith 2012: 128–131). To illustrate the second demand Smith draws on the case of Nga Pae Te Maramatanga, New Zealands's Maori Centre of Research Excellence. The goal of this institution is to build a research infrastructure with the focal point of intersections and linkages. These linkages not only include connecting "indigenous researchers to each other across disciplines and institutions [but also] communities to researchers" (Smith 2012: 135) and research to development practice.

7 Conclusions

At the end of this debate the question is inevitable: What can a postcolonial agenda for DS look like and what should it encompass? I propose three starting points drawing on the postcolonial writings I have discussed above: (1) listen to and collaborate with the Subaltern; (2) provincialize Europe in knowledge production; and (3) abandon dichotomies.

7.1 Listen to the Subaltern

Beverly (1999) has rightly observed that if the Subaltern could speak in a way that we, as Western researchers, would consider relevant, they would no longer be subaltern. This simply means that the Subaltern, rather than being unable to speak, is in a position of not being listened to. As a solution development knowledge needs to be re-theorized to involve varied epistemological frameworks. Considering Southern frameworks of knowledge and knowledge production—which are by no means homogeneous – demands a reframing of what is deemed relevant. Indigenous and other non-Western knowledges need consideration and exploration; too often they are neglected because they are not written down but transmitted verbally. These knowledges bear great importance as they can serve as "springboard for modes of development" that build on indigenous values rather than copying outside models and goals (Goulet 1980: 485). Finally, we need to critically scrutinize and question our ways of doing research, interpreting our data and decolonize our methodologies to be able to listen and need to pursue openings for dialogical and horizontal research agendas (Meckesheimer 2013; Mato 2000).

7.2 Provincialize Europe

Provincializing Europe does not and cannot mean shifting from one ethnocentrism to the other. Both Western and non-Western scholars need to challenge Eurocentric knowledge, but at the same time be aware that all knowledge, non-Western and Western alike, is socially constructed (Matthews 2018: 17). Harding (1991) calls for objectivity combined with strong reflexivity. This means that in order to produce the most objective knowledge possible one has to "not only carefully examine the object of the study, but also systematically examine the background beliefs and

social situation that inform the approach taken" (Matthews 2018: 16), something that is applicable to Western and non-Western researchers likewise. Positionality and identities, and even more importantly awareness of them, regardless of where we come from, are key (ibid.: 15). What is indeed required is a shift from the "monolithic understanding of theory towards plurality of theories" (Melber 2015: 37), including theories from the South. A postcolonial approach to DS thus requires us to de-centre Western thought and claims concerning universality and universal truth. We need to provincialize European analyses and at the same time recognize Southern research and knowledge production and to listen to the Subaltern. In drawing on Chakrabatry's call to provincialize Europe we should aspire to a "form of relativism that posits the existence of other cosmologies and existence rationalities without a priori positing some external normative high ground" (Tucker 1999: 19). Essentially, the view of "knowledge as produced in one place (the centre) and applied in another (the periphery) must be reformulated" (Escobar 1995: 148) to a plurality of epistemologically valid centres. What is required are spaces where open contestation can take place. Postcolonial approaches and theories are useful tools in this endeavour. If it succeeds, Postcolonial-DS can work to overcome the assumed universality of Western knowledge by pursuing pluri-versality through conceptual delinking, promotion of encounter and exchange and through global dialogue (Mignolo 2005).

7.3 Abandon Dichotomies

Finally, we need to scrutinize the perpetuation of the Self/Other dichotomy that gives legitimacy to the intervention of the Western expert. To redefine development (expert) knowledge, "experts" need not be banned but should be recognized as "holding a particular form of knowledge" (McDonnell 2003: 21), one that must be open to contestation, modification and hybridization as proposed by Bhabha. Allowing these into development research and practice means to fundamentally shift from aspiring to universal truths to acknowledging that specific contexts and specific challenges require solutions targeted to their complex webs of relationships, values and histories. This volume very much showcases the diversity of what we call DS. Approaches are by no means homogeneous, underlying assumptions are diverse and this becomes even messier if we allow for plurality, or even pluri-versality of theories breaking dichotomies of Self/Other, Us/Them, West/Rest, South/

North, developed/undeveloped, civilized/uncivilized. Taking away these dichotomies does not mean to gloss over power imbalances and hierarchies that continue to be perpetuated. In fact, considering a historical continuum and the simultaneously re-arising colonial-apologetic voices and white supremacist tendencies in Western academia and politics it is crucial to be "wary of histories of development that deny this colonial genealogy" (Kothari 2005: 50). Yet, as Kothari points out, we need to look at histories, rather than a universal inventory. Entanglements are never binary and our awareness of the past impacts on the nature of theories we develop and the way we interpret contemporary societal, political, economic and environmental challenges (Bhambra 2007).

However, in as much as there is no one truth, there also is not one solution. As scholars of DS we need to stop for a moment and reconsider the term development. We are aware, and postcolonial analysis has pointed that out well, that the term (and its practice) is value-laden and shaped by (post-)colonial power relations, Western narratives of progress and their entanglements with (white) idea(l)s of modernity and civilization. Use of the term appears to produce more misunderstandings than solutions. At the same time as we acknowledge how diverse and far from dichotomous our academic field is, we adhere to and perpetuate the dichotomies above in defining and framing the subjects and objects of research. To reach a truly postcolonial approach to our engagements in development research and practice we should consider abandoning the term development. As Ziai (2016b) controversially poses: Why are we not talking about global social policy or global inequalities, (in-)justice and solidarity instead of adhering to a concept we recognize as flawed? By terming precisely what is meant we were much better able to dissect social, economic and environmental dimensions of global inequalities and analyse origins of disparities and their continuations.

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PART II

Perspectives on Knowledges

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CHAPTER 6

Engaged Excellence in Development Studies

Katy Oswald, Melissa Leach and John Gaventa

1 Why Does Development Studies Need Engaged Excellence?

An important question for scholars of Development Studies (DS) is how to undertake research that is both rigorous in its own right, and relevant and useful to those whose lives and futures are potentially affected by the new evidence, insights and concepts it generates. In other words, how do we do research within DS that is engaged with society, not detached from it?

DS has long been a multi- and interdisciplinary field of study, bringing together diverse perspectives from within and outside the social sciences, both to understand economic, societal and cultural changes, and to inform policies and practices that support change. DS also has a normative stance, interested in tackling real-world problems and supporting 'good' change—while recognising that how this is defined and valued

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varies over time and amongst different people and groups. However, the extent to which DS researchers engage with non-academic actors in framing and conducting their work is more variable. In this chapter, we articulate and explore an approach to DS which combines high quality, conceptually and empirically innovative research, with deep and extensive engagement with particular local and global actors through our practices, partners and students (*IDS Bulletin* 46(5), 2015). We term this approach 'engaged excellence' (Oswald et al. 2016).

A few strands of DS and related research have a long history of working in an engaged way, and we suggest that important lessons can be drawn from these to understand the broader benefits of this approach, and articulate the challenges that it also poses. This is important in order that we undertake 'engaged excellent' research in a more systematic and reflective way. We need to be clear that an approach to research that embraces excellence and engagement, will mean that trade-offs need to be made, ethical and practical challenges will have to be navigated, but overall, we argue, the approach has the potential to create more robust and influential research across the wider canvas of DS.

This exploration comes at a key moment. As we write, in 2017, we simultaneously have a situation in which policy and decision-makers often appear to dismiss evidence, truth and 'experts' as irrelevant, whilst at the same time, we as researchers face a greater emphasis on demonstrating the impact of research, particularly on evidence-based policy (Pittore et al. 2016). This speaks to the dilemmas we face as DS scholars about whether DS is and should be instrumental and applied, or scholarly and critical, or both at the same time. As Bardsley (2017) suggests, for instance, DS encompasses research on, with and for development—but how these different dimensions are to be combined within a particular study often remains elusive. Engaged research, and systematic learning about it, offers some valuable responses to these dilemmas.

At the same time, there is more attention to involving societal actors in fields of science and research dominated by natural science and technical disciplines—whether concerning health, environment or other issues (see, for instance, www.futureearth.org). Here, the term 'trans-disciplinary' is often used to connote research that engages government, business or civil society actors from the start, facilitating relevance to and impact on their concerns. Trans-disciplinarity is sometimes cast as an alternative to the standard linear model whereby researchers produce knowledge, and then disseminate or 'translate' it to society. As science grapples to

become more engaged, however, the real challenges of doing this in practice are becoming more evident. Here, DS, conducted through an engaged excellence approach, offers some valuable lessons and pointers. These are set to become more relevant as DS itself expands to embrace a wider range of natural as well as social science disciplines, to address multidimensional global challenges.

At the *Institute of Development Studies* (Sussex), we have identified four pillars that we believe contribute to 'engaged excellence' (Oswald et al. 2016): delivering high quality research; co-constructing knowledge; mobilising impact-orientated evidence, and building enduring partnerships, emphasising their mutual interdependence.

The arguments supporting the concept of engaged excellence within DS can be summarised into three broad strands: epistemological, pragmatic and normative (Oswald et al. 2016). This chapter is structured around these three strands. In each section, we will outline the arguments made in support of engaged excellence respectively from epistemological, pragmatic and normative perspectives. We then show why the four pillars that support engaged excellence are significant in relation to that perspective. We conclude with a short reflection of the implications for our vision of DS. Many of these arguments draw on work that has a long tradition, but in order to give contemporary illustrations of what an engaged excellence approach to research looks like, we use case study examples from recent work of *Institute of Development Studies*, published in an *IDS Bulletin* 47(6) 2016 which interrogated the concept of an engaged excellence approach to research.

2 Epistemological Arguments

The epistemological arguments for engaged excellence stem from the position that knowledge is situated and always represents the standpoint of the knower (Pietrykowski 2015: 244; Haraway 1988). All knowledge is socially constructed through our experience and interactions, so our own experience will affect our interpretation of what is valid knowledge (Lincoln et al. 2011: 103–104). This means that no one researcher, or even institution, can claim a monopoly on knowledge. There will always be multiple interpretations of the problems we seek to address and the knowledge we generate through research.

While recognising this point, Harding (1995) goes further and argues that the multiple interpretations are not equal. She argues that certain

individuals and institutions have more influence over the interpretation of what is valid knowledge than others, but this privilege often conceals a blind spot. Those exercising it are unable to see how social structures reinforce and reproduce the dominance of their ideas and agendas over those of others, and therefore they do not recognise their own biases (Rosendahl et al. 2015). In the case of DS, this privilege tends to be held by Northern research institutions. Harding calls for research to start from the perspectives of marginal lives, and to incorporate multiple and contradictory perspectives that can challenge those blind spots and biases (ibid.) The implication for DS is that researchers need to acknowledge their own interpretive biases (Pietrykowski 2015) and recognise that they can never be neutral observers. Therefore, we need to acknowledge and include diverse, marginalised, subaltern and contradictory perspectives in our research, in order to create a 'less false' account of a phenomenon. This is what Harding calls 'strong objectivity' (1995).

A further epistemological argument can be derived from Jasanoff (2004a), writing within the philosophy of science, who argues that whether or not it is acknowledged, science and society are always co-produced. Scientific knowledge is never immune from the social, political and economic forces that shape it.

> [S]ociety cannot function without knowledge any more than knowledge can exist without appropriate social supports. Scientific knowledge, in particular, is not a transcendent mirror of reality. It both embeds and is embedded in social practices, identities, norms, conventions, discourses, instruments and institutions – in short, in all the building blocks of what we term the social. (Jasanoff 2004a: 2–3)

The epistemological consequences are that objectivity, subjectivity and intersubjectivity need to be included in our explanations of the lived experience of modern societies (Jasanoff 2004a). The methodological implications are that science and society should not be seen in isolation from each other, but in co-production. It also implies that we need to understand

> [h]ow is knowledge taken up in societies, and how…it affects people's collective and individual identities, permitting some to be experts, others to be research subjects, and still others to be resisters or revolutionaries?…it enables normative analysis by following power into places where current

> social theory seldom thinks to look for it: for example, in genes, climate models, research methods, cross examinations, accounting systems or practice of expert bodies. (Jasanoff 2004b: 79–80)

Jasanoff asks us to look for co-production along four pathways: "making identities, making institutions, making discourses, and making representations" (Jasanoff 2004b).

These epistemological arguments challenge us to consider 'who defines quality research'. In the *IDS Bulletin* on engaged excellence, Pittore et al. (2016) outlined the Hunger and Nutrition Commitment Index (HANCI) as an example. This is a partnership between *IDS* and advocacy organisations working at national levels, which collates data in order to rank governments on their political commitment to tackling hunger and nutrition. This ranking is then used by partners to advocate for increased commitment by governments. They argue that in order for their research to have credibility with the policy-makers they are trying to influence, their research, and the methodology it uses, must be seen to be legitimate (ibid.: 6). In other words, their research methods need to be trusted and seen as robust.

There has, of course, been a long and vibrant debate within academia about how to define rigorous and robust research. Different research paradigms have different understandings depending on their epistemological viewpoints. An engaged excellence approach, that encourages researchers to engage with each other (interdisciplinary) and actors outside academia (trans-disciplinary), helps us to understand that good quality research will be rigorous in whatever epistemological and methodological approach it uses (i.e. be able to explain why a particular methodological approach has been used, based on a particular epistemological viewpoint), and robust in the application of the chosen method(s) and approach. A further criterion that an engaged excellence approach raises is relevance, i.e. that we need quality research that is relevant to the problems we are seeking to address.

However, the question of who defines what 'quality' research is, is a political one. In the same *IDS Bulletin*, Dolan et al. (2016) outline a ten-year research partnership between *IDS* as a north-based institution, the Refugee Law Project as a south-based one, and Men of Hope Refugee Association Uganda, as a grassroots social-political 'community'. Within the context of this partnership they discuss the value of legitimacy and 'quality', arguing that one reason for southern

organisations to partner with a northern research institute like *IDS* is to benefit from their credibility amongst donors and other institutions, but they note that these benefits may or may not outweigh the costs of "reinforcing the notion that excellence only exists in—or is, at any rate, judged in—the north" (ibid.: 9).

These epistemological arguments support the concept of co-constructing knowledge, as they call for research that acknowledges diverse perspectives and forms of knowledge, and uses them to co-construct meaning, providing a more holistic representation of research phenomenon. They call for research that recognises that the knowledge it produces will be socially constructed, and therefore, we need to pay attention to who is involved in that construction.

However, the co-construction of knowledge implies more than simply bringing together diverse perspectives. Precisely because of the privilege that certain institutions and the knowledge they produce have, there will always be power inequities between different perspectives and forms of knowledge. For example, there has long been an argument within DS that scientific knowledge should be understood alongside Indigenous Knowledge, which can often reveal local understandings and interpretations that can help make DS more relevant and useful to those whose lives our research seeks to impact. However, the relationship between scientific knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge is itself laden with inequities, assumptions and suspicions, and bringing the scientific community together with Indigenous Peoples is a process fraught with sensitivities. Apgar et al. (2016) document two research projects into resource management, one on the ecological restoration of fisheries by the Skolt Sámi in Finland, and the second on the conservation of agro-ecological and forest management practices by peasant communities in Paraguay. In both cases, the research process tried to recognise that "…all knowledge, including Indigenous knowledge (IK), …[is] embedded in social and cultural institutions and practices…" (ibid.: 3). They use these case studies to contribute to the argument that sustainable resource management systems, and research into them, need to acknowledge and recognise socially embedded indigenous knowledge as being just as legitimate to local communities responsible for those systems as scientific knowledge.

However, the authors also warn against the way in which this is being implemented in several locations. In Canada, for example, formal recognition of Indigenous Knowledge in shared governance processes has "led to their knowledge becoming subjected to a bureaucratic process based

on government set measures", leading to co-option and assimilation of IK into external mechanisms (ibid.: 4). This is often due to inherent inequalities between researchers and communities, and an instrumental understanding of IK that fails "to appreciate the broader political and social processes within which knowledge is created and contested" (ibid.). They argue that we don't just need to be engaged researchers, but we also need to be embedded in the communities we work with.

This example highlights the fact it is not just institutions in the global north that are privileged in the production of knowledge compared with institutions in the global south. Institutions in the north can marginalise the knowledge of indigenous peoples in their own countries. The same can occur when universities and institutions in the south, whose models of knowledge production often mirror those of the north, also marginalise the indigenous knowledge of local peoples.

These epistemological arguments also support the need for partnerships, as they also require researchers to work in partnership with people not normally involved in traditional academic research. These need to be mutually respectful partnerships, which allow for debate and contestation, and are alert to power inequities, particularly in relation to knowledge. For instance, in their article reflecting on their ten-year partnership with *IDS*, collaborators from the Refugee Law Project and Men of Hope Refugee Association Uganda challenge DS institutions in the Global North to reflect on our positions of privilege in the creation of knowledge (Dolan et al. 2016). They problematise the term 'engaged excellence' by questioning who defines what counts as 'engaged' and 'excellence' in research, and call for the approach to be true to the values of collaboration and respect for multiple subjectivities. They argue that determining what 'engaged excellence' means is a 'politically and epistemologically positional judgement' (ibid.: 3) and this discussion should be the central focus of partnerships, which profess a commitment to this approach.

Through this case, Dolan et al. (2016) provide a powerful example of a research collaboration based on an understanding that "we are all 'subjects' of our own lives and narratives, not 'objects' in the stories of others" (ibid.), which is a challenge to traditional extractive forms of research. They explain how a ten-year learning process, involving masculinity theorists, feminist movements, activists for sexual and gender diversity, and human rights organisations, has enabled a dialogue across contrasting perspectives and challenged dominant discourses

in development that frame women as victims and men as perpetrators of violence, making invisible the experiences and rights of male survivors (ibid.: 6). They argue that engaged excellence is not just about co-constructing knowledge with those at the centre of the change we collectively wish to see, but about "finding spaces to challenge and shift accepted ways of knowing and acting" (ibid.). In the same *Bulletin*, Apgar et al. (2016: 7) also show how the co-construction of knowledge can challenge dominant narratives, explaining that the research undertaken in partnership between Snowchange and the Sámi people in Finland countered the idea that their land was 'pristine'.

Finally, these epistemological arguments also challenge us to think about who decides what counts as impact: a researcher's perspective on what counts as impact might be very different from a practitioner's. In their *IDS Bulletin* article outlining the HANCI project, Pittore et al. (2016: 2) argue that separating research and advocacy is a false dichotomy. They state that when research is developed for the purposes of informing advocacy, in their case, around nutrition, the evidence can be critically examined by researchers together with policy advocates, and its policy relevance can be improved (ibid.).

In another article from the *IDS Bulletin*, Oosterhoff and Shephard (2016) reflect on the Love Matters project they were involved in, which explored the meaning and relevance of sex education themes through an analysis of online behaviour on the Love Matters sex education platform and offline research on gender roles and sexuality by young people (ibid.). The project used the concept of affective engagement, which is based on the premise that emotions and affection play a role in understanding our preferences and choices, and therefore, research that creates an affective link with people may be more likely to have impact on them. They document how their research on young people's sexuality used creative methods, such as music, as a form of knowledge, to document the experiences of young Kenyans and to share them with others, and that the sharing of knowledge in this form resonated strongly with other young people.

An engaged excellence approach implies that we need to involve multiple actors in deciding what constitutes impact and evidence, because we need to recognise that there will be multiple perspectives on what counts as impact. In their article, Dolan et al. (2016: 8) identify several ways in which research participants can be positively impacted by the research process, "through making visible a social issue; the therapeutic effect of

being able to reflect upon and re-evaluate their experience as part of the process, the experience of solidarity in knowing others are also sharing their story, and the subversive or politicised outcome that these consequences may generate". In the same *Bulletin*, Apgar et al. (2016: 10) argue that when research is engaged, an important outcome for those involved in the research is the recognition of their knowledge being valued in its own right. Therefore, one form of impact can be understood as the recognition and legitimation of different forms of knowledge and subaltern perspectives previous ignored in mainstream research and policy arenas. This in turn can be important to people's rights, autonomy and self-determination in social and political matters, as Apgar et al. show.

Fazey et al. (2014: 206–207) argue that research can be assessed in terms of '(1) changes in understanding/attitudes; (2) changes in practice or policy; (3) actual impacts of changes in practices/policies; or (4) the quality of the research processes'. The latter raises the question of how much emphasis we put on assessing process, or the 'engagement' part, of engaged excellence.

Evaluating the process of engaged research should be closely related to evaluating its impact (Molas-Gallart and Tang 2011), in particular, focusing on the process, we can try to understand how and why a process of engaged research has had impact (been used in some way), and how this relates to the approach and methods used (Fazey, Bunse et al. 2014: 218).

3 Pragmatic Arguments

There are many pragmatic arguments for engaged excellence, mainly coalescing around the idea that for those who would be the users of the knowledge produced, the research is more likely to be relevant and useful to those actors if they are part of the research process. Cash et al. (2003) argue that in order for research to be used, it needs to be legitimate, credible and salient in the eyes of the user. Engaged research should, therefore, make research more legitimate in the eyes of users due to their involvement; it should be more credible due to the involvement of multiple perspectives; and it should be more salient, as the users will have helped shape the research questions.

There is a long tradition of trying to combine scientific and experiential knowledge in research, in order to make it more representative

of people's realities, and therefore increase its usefulness and relevance (see, for example, Chambers and Howes 1979). In recent years, this has approach has been used within development and climate research. Rice et al. (2015: 254) argue that

> [v]aluing people's everyday experiences of climate change and diverse ways of knowing climate (even when they might be scientifically imprecise) provides the possibility for people and communities to act on climate change through the knowledge and experience they already have…Recognizing experiential ways of knowing has three advantages for climate praxis: it enables and legitimates more diverse communities of action, it resists the extraction of climate change from its complex socio-natural entanglements that have place-based meaning, and it provides culturally specific understandings of what is at stake with climate justice.

These pragmatic arguments support the idea that quality research needs to recognise that academic knowledge alone is not sufficient to address the complex problems we are trying to address in DS.

> [K]nowledge from one location or one point of view can no longer sufficiently deal with problems which manifest themselves in thousands of ways across diverse global contexts. Knowledge must be multi-sited and pluralistic in its assumptions and worldviews. (Gaventa and Bivens 2014: 155)

Glover and Silka (2013: 48) support this argument, but at a micro-scale. They argue that

> …community problems are messy problems. When, as academics, we limit our discussion partners just to other academics, we are less likely to rub up against this messiness and the attendant complications… In research partnerships, community partners help expose the complex problems in the locality in which they occur, and we are forced to move beyond disciplinary ways of organising knowledge. A change in the culture of inquiry and the knowledge generation may result.

This argument calls for a "…recognition that if interpretation is standpoint dependent, then including researchers from a range of diverse standpoints necessarily enhances the quality of the scientific process" (Pietrykowski 2015).

The pragmatic argument for engaged excellence challenges disciplines to co-construct knowledge across boundaries. DS is multidisciplined, but it is often not truly interdisciplinary. This is something that the Future Earth initiative is trying to encourage within research on sustainability. Mauser et al., writing about this initiative, argue that

> …specifically tailored (discipline-based) scientific questions often do not address the grand societal challenges and are therefore of inadequate scope and scale for the…grand research challenges of sustainability despite their being of outstanding importance to the society in which they live. (Mauser et al. 2013: 422)

They also recognise that working across disciplinary boundaries can be a challenge as current institutional incentives do not encourage it (ibid.).

The pragmatic reason for being interdisciplinary is that we are more likely to solve problems this way. In their contribution to our *Bulletin* on engaged excellence, Ely and Marin (2017) document two Transformative Pathways Knowledge Networks, one in the UK and one in Chile. These networks convene workshops that identified sustainability challenges and shared research priorities among knowledge partners convened in each country. They argue that by bringing together diverse perspectives on complex problems that alliances can form. In particular they argue that this co-construction of knowledge has the potential to unlock impasses caused by seemingly irreconcilable difference in perspectives held by different actors. Importantly, those actors include people who have a direct influence on policy and practice changes.

These pragmatic arguments have implications for impact, in that it supports the argument that engaged research, in which users of research are involved, is more likely to have impact.

A problem with traditional research is often the lack of incentive to have an impact beyond academia. "…[N]either producers nor users 'own the problem' of producing usable knowledge…[T]he scientific enterprise often sees its job as producing knowledge only, rather than producing information that is useful in decision-making" (Dilling and Lemos 2011). Researchers are often not incentivised to take responsibility for the practical impact and usable nature of the knowledge they produce (beyond references in journal articles).

This means that it falls to users of knowledge to try and interpret academic research. In response to this problem, there has been an increase

in the number of knowledge brokers or knowledge intermediaries or boundary organisations. These are people and organisations that interpret and package academic knowledge to make it accessible and useful to policy-makers, community organisations and citizens. (For a review of this kind of work, see Turnhout et al. 2013.)

These arguments challenge researchers to:

> re-evaluat[e] the role of the researcher. It is no longer sufficient to produce 'world-leading' academic articles in isolation: effective scholars, as imagined within impact evaluation practices, are also skilled in communicating their research to multiple audiences, and recognising, realising and evidencing the opportunities for their research to effect change in the wider world. (Williams 2013: 232)

Researchers need to blur the lines between research and action in order to make their research useful and relevant (Benequista 2011).

Mason (2015: 498) goes further and argues that we need to embrace trans-disciplinary research in order to have significant impact. He calls for:

> …a shift in approach from the abstract to the practical, from ideas to action, or rather to praxis: ideas in action, hence generating more ideas to translate into fresh action and so on. In a parallel vein, transdisciplinary research moves beyond bridging divides within the academy, the project of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research, to engaging directly with the production and use of knowledge in wider society.

We need to recognise when research has impact, it is a result of a political and negotiated process. This has been acknowledged by a body of work looking at the politics of policy processes, which challenges the divide between research and policy. Wehrens (2014: 549), writing about public health, states that:

> …scholars have begun to criticize the analytical a priori separation of research, policy and practice domains that is characteristic for the two communities conceptualization…Rather, what counts as a 'scientific' issue and what counts as a 'policy-affair' is often the subject of active negotiations… the boundaries between domains are never as clear-cut as they may appear, as they are negotiated in practice.

Policy processes are inherently political processes, and therefore will always involve a politics of knowledge that is subject to negotiation and debate (Keeley and Scoones 2003).

A Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach understands impact to be an integral part of the iterative research process, it is what the 'action' in PAR refers to. It is based on an assumption that "[i]f research is a shared experience, the relationships that are established over time have the capacity to extend beyond the research findings and into spaces in which we can move beyond an exploration of what is, and into an exploration of what could be" (Wagaman and Sanchez 2015). PAR engages participants (both academic researchers and practitioners) in self-reflection in order to be the change they want to see through their actions (Pietrykowski 2015). The purpose of PAR is not only to produce knowledge for action, but also to produce knowledge from action (Nielson 2016).

4 Normative Arguments

There are also strong normative arguments for engaged excellence. While the arguments above have argued that knowledge is situated, pluralistic and co-produced from an epistemological perspective, and engaging multiple perspectives and knowledges contributes to potentially more robust and impactful research from a pragmatic perspective, there is also a moral imperative to engage multiple perspectives and actors in our DS research processes. There is an injustice being committed if this is not done, and this argument is made particularly strongly in the literature on decolonising academia.

For those who seek to address this moral imperative, the solution is often articulated in terms of finding ways to democratise knowledge, and to seek what is called 'cognitive justice'. The motivation for democratising knowledge is cognitive justice. This concept arose from a critique of the dominant Western paradigm of scientific-rational knowledge, and a recognition of the injustice that positivist epistemological positions inflicts on subaltern forms of knowledge (Visvanathan 2005; Santos et al. 2008). As Gaventa and Bivens (2014: 149) argue:

> universities [need] to think not only about justice in the larger world, but also about their own distinctive role in shaping cognitive justice and

> knowledge democracy. Without cognitive justice – which focuses on whose knowledge counts – the larger struggles for social justice will not be realised.

According to advocates of cognitive justice and the pursuit of democratising knowledge, engaged research is both a moral necessity, but also one which ensures more holistic and pluralistic knowledge is produced, which will mean research is better able to address complex problems. A

> …knowledge democracy, [is] where governance is being transformed by the mass creation and availability of knowledge…: the quality and validity of knowledge systems for sustainability depend on ensuring plurality, transparency and independence. (Cornell et al. 2013)

In their article on engaged excellence, Tandon et al. (2016) pick up on and extend this argument by calling for an acknowledgement of ecologies of knowledge that recognises that knowledge is not just cognitive, but that we also know through acting upon the world and feeling about the world. They state that knowledge can exist in multiple forms: text, images, stories, music, drama, poetry, ceremony, etc. This is demonstrated by Dolan et al. (2016) in the same *IDS Bulletin* who document the powerful role that participatory video and theatre played in their collaborative research project, arguing that these methods allowed deeply personal stories to be articulated using "non-verbal expression of emotional truths that are difficult to communicate in words" (7). In turn, this provided the research with a deeper understanding of participant's experience, and challenged commonly held assumptions (ibid.). They argue that community–university partnerships can be a particular way of doing this, where communities are in the driving seat in terms of setting research agendas.

Another response to these normative arguments is found within the work on Participatory Action Research (PAR). The motivation for PAR arises from an explicit acknowledgment that traditional research is often blind to power relations, and actively seeks to address these issues through its approach. It recognises that

> … Western research is steeped in a monolithic understanding of knowledge that assumes individual ownership of knowledge enabling exploitative practices that can co-opt and distort Indigenous ways of knowing. Thus,

> addressing issues of power, privilege and representation are key to building co-constructed narratives. (Caxaj 2015)

PAR builds on a tradition of critical pedagogy that explicitly recognised the oppressive nature of colonial 'expert' knowledge on subaltern knowledge. Both Freire and Fals-Borda "privilege indigenous ways of knowing as a counterweight to discourses rooted in expert knowledge, technocratic solutions and efficiency criteria" (Pietrykowski 2015). PAR does this through its use of participatory methods that "seek to counter 'hegemonic' approaches where [traditional] research methodology serve to confirm oppressive knowledge" (Mason 2015).

Within feminist critiques of mainstream academia, there have been similar moral arguments made for widening our understanding of what counts as knowledge. Harding calls for us to expand what we "honor as knowledge" (Harding 1986: 24) and others have challenged academic researchers to recognise that our knowledge is situated, and often privileged, so we need to acknowledge other perspectives (Haraway 1988).

There has been a specific plea for economics to embrace the normative argument to engage with multiple perspectives on knowledge and undertake PAR. DeMartino (2011, cited in Pietrykowski 2015: 245) called for an economists' code of ethics, in part as recognition that "economic policies have had an enormous and often deleterious impact on the lives of ordinary citizens across the globe" (ibid.). There has yet to be a wholehearted embrace of participatory approaches to research in economics within DS, despite its dominance.

A further normative argument is the need to decolonise academia. This is particularly relevant for D. S. Williams (2013) argues that most DS institutions are mainly located within universities of the Global North, yet they study the Global South. Corbridge (2007) argues that DS is in a paradoxical position of both explaining structural differences between the global North and South, and prescribing solutions for closing that gap (Williams 2013: 224). Therefore, it has been complicit in "presenting people and places of the Global South as being in need of intervention" (ibid.).

Fals-Borda called for a counter-discourse to mainstream academic knowledge that allows "the dominated, underdeveloped societies [to] articulate their own socio-political position on the basis of their own values and capacities…" (Fals-Borda 1987: 331, cited in Pietrykowski 2015). Others argue that it is time for DS to be much

more universal, recognising that is about the processes of addressing development issues in any society, as well as their interactions and interconnections.

These normative arguments strongly support both the co-construction of knowledge (where knowledge is understood as being beyond just cognitive), and building partnerships in order to do this—partnering with actors who have been traditionally excluded from research processes, and whose knowledge is not traditionally seen as 'valid'. This requires thinking carefully about the process of how research is carried out. As noted earlier, in situations where inequities exist in knowledge, 'experts' and 'laypeople' will have assumptions about their own knowledge in relation to the others and discussions will not be a level playing field. Prior work may be needed with those involved to challenge those assumptions and build the confidence of those whose knowledge may not be traditional seen as 'valid'.

For these kinds of partnerships to work, Hoffman (2016: 86) argues that they need to be based on mutual respect, stating that when building partnerships, particularly with individuals and institutions outside academia, researchers

> …must recognize the extent to which discourse is inherently a dialogue rather than a monologue, a conversation requiring mutual respect and appreciation for the expertise of all sides. In order to succeed, academics need to accept that they do not have a monopoly on knowledge and expertise, and that engagement is a two-way learning process.

Unequal power relationships will always create challenges for forging enduring partnerships (Strier 2011: 83) and "even in efforts to do good, actors in and outside of the partnership may still be harmed by unjust—albeit often unintentional—abuses of power" (Hutchins et al. 2013: 3764).

However, these kinds of partnerships need be seen as a two-way relationship in which both parties have an active role in shaping that partnership, and see benefit from being in that partnership. This implies mutual accountability. (Kajner et al. 2011: 267–268) remind us that this means we need to

> …think carefully about that for which they are accountable and those to whom they are accountable. These considerations are important when

thinking about scholarly work with communities as well as when working with students and colleagues within the institution. When scholars enter into a shared ethical space and understand the concept of relational accountability, they respect and embrace multiple worldviews and increase both the quality and quantity of relationships.

5 Towards a New Vision of Development Studies

Whether motivated by questions of epistemology, pragmatic concerns for impact, or a normative sense of knowledge justice, the engaged excellence approach has strong implications for our vision of DS. It affects how and with whom we do our research, how we build partnerships, and how we communicate and mobilise around knowledge.

In turn, it also has implications for how we assess our success. For DS to achieve its unique vision and contribution outlined in the 2005 Vision Paper (Olomouc Vision paper 2015, see also Mönks et al., this volume), then our argument would suggest that it cannot be assessed with traditional metrics of peer-review publication. Rather, while striving for research excellence, it must also strive to engage with others in the production and mobilisation of knowledge, to reflect not only interdisciplinarity but also the trans-disciplinarity found in respect for multiple forms of knowledge, and to meet its normative concerns for a more just and sustainable world.

Undertaking an engaged excellence approach to research also has implications for the skills required by DS researchers, and therefore on what might be taught in DS as well. What does an 'engaged excellent' researcher within DS look like? Cornell et al. (2013: 68) have written about the capabilities needed to work on science-policy studies, but they are equally relevant to an engaged excellence approach to DS:

> Be humble - recognise the limitations of one's own knowledge and perspectives in dealing with complex systems;
>
> Undertake active inquiry and openness towards other systems of thought, disciplines and world-views and other sources of knowledge and learning, both formal and informal;
>
> Have the ability to listen to others, being able to communicate in real, multi-way dialogues.
>
> Be willing to acknowledge that the partial knowledge that a researcher brings to the dialogue table will be transformed in the process, giving latitude to other contributors;

Have facilitation and management skills;
Be enthusiastic about sharing knowledge and learning, rather than imposing knowledge.

The challenge we face is not only how to meet the challenges of an engaged excellence approach to our research in DS, but also in how we prepare the next generation of DS researchers to be able to apply, expand and deepen this approach.

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CHAPTER 7

‘Transformation’ in International Development Studies: Across Disciplines, Knowledge Hierarchies and Oceanic Spaces

Henryk Alff and Anna-Katharina Hornidge

1 Introduction

In April 2017 global ‘Marches for Science’ caused a stir in the global media. Tens of thousands of supporters across the US and Western Europe took to the streets drawing public attention to the increasing discrediting of scientific, evidence-based research by leading political circles, in particular by US President Donald Trump, who had disavowed human-made climate change as a means to challenge and revoke environmental legislation passed under his predecessor Barack Obama. The politically motivated, populist production of ‘alternative facts’ and the broad media and public response it caused, intensified fierce discussions on which types of science would be societally desirable in the future. These debates not only shed light on the positioning (and instrumentalisation) of the Western system of science and its members

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in political debates beyond their exclusive domain, or what some critical voices regard as their core competence (of doing high-level data-based research), but also on the role of (Western) academia in setting global standards for scholarly practice. The still powerful role of Western academe in defining 'proper and truthful scientific knowledge' and in excluding those not meeting these standards, combined with evolving debates on the loudly voiced need for transformative and trans-disciplinary science in the wake of mounting ecological and societal changes ahead are highly relevant, yet, so far little addressed issues. Thus, despite a growing need in scientifically engaging with accelerating and multidirectional global transformations of the human-environmental system and the transformative character of science alike, academic knowledge production continues to be largely organised in disciplinary and sociocultural container spaces.

Given this paradox, how can we conceptualise and contextualise 'transformation' in a meaningful way? Why does (and should) the emerging field of transformation studies and the insights it generates matter for understanding international development? Transformation studies, at the interface of the social sciences and humanities and natural sciences, aim to grasp and connect conceptually the dynamics, trajectories and reflections of the current increasingly rapid global, (trans-) regional and -local political, social and economic changes. Transformation studies encompass a wide array of research foci; ranging from the study of increasing sociocultural connectedness in a globalising world (Castells 1996) to post-/de-colonial research and post-area studies (Mielke and Hornidge 2017; Sidaway et al. 2016), the study of the changing human-environmental system (Tsing 2015; Subramaniam 2014) and science and technology studies in the Anthropocene. Transformation studies therefore can be considered inherently inter-, often even trans-disciplinary in nature, and a form of science aiming to overcome rigid disciplinary and science-to-society boundaries. Transformation studies acknowledge the non-linear and multidirectional character of change at various scales, dependent on social, political and economic configurations, and especially on the interactions of human and non-human actors. Thus, from our perspective, transformation processes are relationally produced in the interaction of people, goods and knowledges, rather than being bound or fixed to particular places, regions or areas. Although the outcome of any transformation process is an unknown, often unexpected and fragmented, it is shaped by contemporary events. Nowotny points out that

'future-making' is always a process of appropriating the future in the making (Nowotny 2016: 28) and argues: "What is lying ahead is partial and biased, inevitably framed through the present" (Nowotny 2016: 38).

Transformation studies contribute to rethinking international development, a field that continues to be dominated by an overarching Euro- and Americo-centric, statist programme that aims at mastering natural environments and securing continuous, linear progress and growth. In line with James Scott' (1998) legibility concept, this chapter sets out a critical reflection on a dynamic concept of 'transformation', emphasising that any process of change (including studying it, or attempts to actively shape it), is about the negotiation processes inherent to unfolding change, rather than about its ultimate result or outcome. We conceive transformation as an open-ended and unpredictable process that cannot be controlled by state-endorsed discourses of modernisation nor meaningfully invented by the imperative of technology. Compared to the notion of 'development', we argue that transformation lacks the normative connotation of 'development' as process of 'positive' change and 'improvement' (cf. Thomas 2000). Especially in face of accelerating globalisation, transformation is not exceptional, but rather the "normal stage of natural and human affairs, exacerbated by the increasingly intricate interaction between humans and their environment" (Nowotny 2016: 38). Stability rather than transformation needs to be considered exceptional or illusory.

Here, we set out how transformation studies have challenged disciplinary boundaries as well as hierarchies of knowledge production and visions of alternative futures. We discuss and challenge progress-centered visions and geographies of global development in doing so and draw attention to fields of interest that until recently remained 'blind spots' of global development research, such as marine nature–culture interactions.

The following section explores how the Euro- and Americo-centric science system is shifting from disciplinary to trans-disciplinary knowledge production. The subsequent section focuses on recent efforts to reconfigure Area Studies as an important tool of knowledge production beyond socio-spatial container-thinking (Mielke and Hornidge 2017). The third section, somewhat as a spin-off of the other two, then deals with alternative trajectories of future change. Finally, we engage specifically with the 'oceanic turn' as a promising way of making sense of constant transformation and nature–culture relations in marine spaces.

2 From Disciplinary to Trans-Disciplinary (Scientific) Knowledge Production

Since the mid-1990s, the systems and practices of scientific knowledge production are undergoing far-reaching re-orientation and -organisation globally (UNESCO 2015; Nowotny 1999). This section summarises some of the structural changes in the science system and discusses them with regard to transformation research, as a subfield to international development.

Since the 1990s calls for inter- and trans-disciplinary science, including a more continuous dialogue between natural and social science disciplines, as well as between scientists and practitioners, have been widely articulated. First triggered by Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* in 1962, discussions on the disciplinary organisation of the sciences, and the introduction of niche fields fostering interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary forms of knowledge production, were again fuelled by the nuclear incident in Chernobyl in 1986, and subsequent discussions on the role of the sciences in society. Chernobyl—at least in the (West) German scientific context—became a symbol for the (wo-) man-made unknowns and uncontrollable risks of second modernity (Beck et al. 1996; Beck 2007). It accompanied a growing 'green movement' in countries of Western Europe and North America that set the stage for environmental science policy-making that would bring the agency of nature back as a critical theme for the future of humanity on the planet.

Since the late 1980s, sustainability and sustainable development became leading paradigms for coping with 'grand societal challenges'. In Europe, the publication of the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development 'Our common Future' (Brundtland Report) in 1987 was a key event influencing policy, specifically science policy-making for sustainability. The United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 is considered a turning point towards rethinking the disciplinary organisation of the science system in the USA (Bernstein 2015). Both events and subsequent discussions focused on questions of ecological, economic and social sustainability and thus development that "seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 24).

Within the scientific system itself, the sustainability paradigm triggered immense debates regarding the longstanding compartmentalisation

of science, making it ill equipped to produce integrated social, ecological and economic system analyses. These debates paved the way towards what can be called reflective science. While Brewer (1999: 328) provocatively stated: "The world has problems, but universities have departments", Max-Neef wrote (2005: 14): "Our relation with a complex world and a complex nature, requires complex thought". He continues: "Our insistence on artificially and ingeniously simplifying our knowledge about nature and human relations, is the force behind the increasing dysfunctions we are provoking in the systemic interrelations of both eco-systems and the social fabric." Currently, the concept of the 'Anthropocene' reminds us that our planet is a finite space, as well as of our/humanity's responsibility within that space. This makes the call for overcoming rather than following strictly disciplinary and categorical trajectories of academic knowledge production ever more pertinent. The rule-changing human-produced impact on the globe, as widely noted, demands substantially more than a de-compartmentalisation and -hierarchisation of the science system.

This has led since the early 2000s to a discussion on the need for strengthening a cross-boundary (interdisciplinary) and more society-driven, trans-disciplinary mode of knowledge production. Important incubator for the conceptualisation of trans-disciplinarity in research and teaching at European universities and research institutes was the International Trans-disciplinarity Conference in Zürich in 2000, resulting in a widely proclaimed manifesto for trans-disciplinary research methods in fields such as environmental, sustainability and development research. The 'real-world' problem-orientation and the production of knowledges required for societies' abilities to cope with and adapt to continuously accelerating change processes—complex and highly challenging problems of systems in change—called for by international science policy-makers was increasingly discussed within the scientific community itself.

The participatory character of a profoundly trans-disciplinary mode of knowledge production was then further outlined and legitimised with reference to the notion of the 'knowledge society' as stage of societal development following the industrial era, as Knorr-Cetina wrote: "A knowledge society is not simply a society of more experts, more technological gadgets, and more specialist interpretations. It is a society permeated with knowledge cultures, the whole set of structures and mechanisms that serve knowledge and unfold with its articulation"

(Knorr-Cetina 1999: 7–8). The technology-focused notion of 'information society' has led to immense national-level investments in information and communication technologies (ICT), often reaffirming already existing inequalities (Hornidge 2007, 2010, 2014).

Regionally, science policy-making for internationalising education and research was spurred, especially in Europe (the 'Bologna Process') and Southeast Asia (as part of ASEAN[1]) by setting regional standards and encouraging regional integration through student and staff exchange (for a critical discussion, see Feuer and Hornidge 2015). Yet, within the scientific community itself, these ideas of knowledge being produced in and by society as crucial engine for social, political, ecological and economic development, and education-based integration acting as cornerstone not just for economic integration but also as pillar of long-term peacebuilding, led to processes of significant self-reflection—altering the position and role of science as a world-making activity in an accelerating and mobile world (Weingart 2010).

3 Post-structural/-colonial Debates and More-Than-Euro-Centric Perspectives Towards Socio-Spatial Transformation

Transformation Studies, broadly defined as the scholarly inquiry of open-ended, fragmented processes of societal, economic, political and environmental change and their underlying preconditions and social representations, draw on post-structural and post-colonial thinking (Appadurai 1996; Deleuze and Guattari 1993; Foucault 1972; Hall 1996; Said 1978), utilising a wide range of conceptual and methodological approaches. Based on recent debates in area-focused research, we discuss here how transformation studies have, first, recently challenged established ways of understanding socio-economic, -cultural and -political change, especially in 'areas' often perceived, represented and constructed as the 'other' by past Euro-centric scientific thinking (Harding 2008), and second, contributed to structural shifts in the ways knowledge is produced across (and beyond) science, technology and academia.

Focusing on a systematic inquiry of 'the other' as tool of Western self-distinction from 'the other', "classical" Area Studies have their roots in post-World War II history. While in Europe and particularly in Germany they were based on a strong philological, historical and

text-focused tradition of Oriental Studies, in the US they were designed (and funded) according to the latter's role as a superpower in a bipolar world and thus for the purpose 'to know the enemy' (Mielke and Hornidge 2014: 4). Despite these differences, Area Studies generally intended to produce encyclopedic-style knowledge of bounded and spatially fixed geographic entities or world regions (the Middle East, Africa, the Soviet Union and its proxies) (ibid.). This modus of research and scholarship led to the formation of hierarchical knowledge systems (Gibson-Graham 2016) and a particularly strict institutional academic architecture, in which global centres of political and economic power heavily dominate discussions even today. "Classical" Area Studies based in the West played an important role in defining the 'other' as backward and in need of modern development, and proposed modernisation and progress through state developmentalism. As a consequence, the promotion of a linear path of development towards Western-style modernity through urbanisation, technology transfer and industrialisation, and lack of acknowledgement in Western academia of alternative modernities (Houben and Schrempf 2008), is partly responsible for the catastrophic loss of resources, especially in the tropics, with which humankind today (and future generations will) urgently have to deal (Gibson-Graham 2016).

Beyond the 'West-and-the Rest' distinction still pertinent in Area Studies, its underlying logic of mapping the world and dividing it into legible units (Scott 1998) produces and constantly (re-) enforces 'spatial container' thinking. It has also produced hierarchical, largely 'self-referencing' communities of scholars in Area Studies' (African Studies, East European Studies, Southeast Asian Studies) who rarely look beyond their respective boundaries of expertise (Van Schendel 2002). In fact, the division of the world into strictly bounded 'areas' with their distinct knowledge communities has not only marginalised non-Western epistemologies of knowing and living the world (Goss and Wesley-Smith 2010: xvii; Harding 2008; Dotson 2014), but also remained largely blind to the increasing interconnections and mobilities across places, territories and scales. Several interrelated factors and dynamics led to the increasing negotiation, reflection and rethinking of Area Studies as a tool for predefining power imbalances and drawing strict boundaries. First, changing global dynamics of power have informed far-reaching socio-economic, political, cultural and scientific reconfigurations, challenging the dominance of Euro-centric perspectives.

The de-colonialisation of (much of) Asia and Africa, long-term structural changes in industrialised societies, the end of the bipolar and the emergence of an increasingly multipolar world have had tremendous repercussions on the ways international development is performed, experienced, lived and evaluated. This ongoing global, trans-local and actor-based transformation of value systems, lived realities and power imbalances challenges the ways in which different forms of knowledge are produced, disseminated and enforced.

Post-structural and -colonial debates, but also the 'trans-' debates (transnationalism/-locality/-culturalism) encouraged the rethinking of conventional Area Studies wisdom. These strands of thinking, first, brought about an increasing and more in-depth reflexivity and sensitivity towards historically enforced power imbalances and positionality, and changes in power hierarchies (Sidaway et al. 2016: 779). Secondly, they brought about debates on and possible solutions for redefining spatiality.

Both these conceptual re-orientations have emerged to a degree in 'critical'Area Studies. First, challenging hegemonic interpretations of social processes and formations, 'critical' Area Studies, or what Sidaway has termed the 'third wave' of Area Studies (Sidaway 2017), in a vernacular turn, draw attention to the emic perspectives of local actors and take into account the positionality of the researcher. Utilising a process-oriented perspective, the 'becoming' rather than the state of 'being' of multi-scalar socio-economic and -cultural formations and contradictions is explored (Deleuze and Guattari 1993), with a critical stance towards static power hierarchies and an interdisciplinary and reflexive approach to exploring social interactions and mobilities as inherent features (Mielke and Hornidge 2014).

Secondly, 'critical' or post-Area Studies approaches started to challenge territorialised and static concepts of (state-) space and spatial container thinking or 'methodological territorialism' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). As a consequence of globalisation processes, multiple and overlapping cross-border social interactions, connectivities and mobilities of people, things, technologies, values and ideas have become the focus of Area Studies.

It has become somewhat common usage among critical Area researchers to refer to 'areas' as fluid spaces or as dynamic social formations (Sidaway et al. 2016) or to put mobility at the core of a vision of 'area' (Mielke and Hornidge 2017; Koch 2016). Yet the question remains, what characterises (but not essentialises or totalises) 'area' (Koch 2016)

and how 'area' should be researched in methodologically sound ways, taking into account the socio-spatial situatedness of knowledge (production) and the flows of and interconnections between people and ideas constantly reshaping it (Sidaway et al. 2016; Chari 2016).

The following section provides two examples that 'test' new methodological approaches by seriously de-constructing the sharply bounded nature of areas without carving out new areas or "fetishising" connections and flows (Castells 1996). One fruitful endeavour into the deconstruction and transformation of area-based knowledge has been to study socio-spatial intersections or overlappings in crosscutting spaces of interaction (Ho et al. 2015). The often-cited example of 'Zomia' (Van Schendel 2002) that was further conceptualised by Scott (2009) provides a historically informed, in-depth account on how social actors and state organisations interact across area boundaries and are involved in the working of power relations and space. Scott characterises Zomia, without sharply demarcating it, as a 'zone of refuge' of the hill people of upland Asia, escaping (lowland) state rule and exploitation, and thus puts the 'power of mobility' as well as what he calls the 'friction of terrain' in the centre of spatial production.

Another conceptual undertaking to challenge established container-thinking in Area Studies and the disciplines can be seen in the figurational approach applied by the competence network Crossroads Asia (2011–2016) linking several German universities and Area Studies centres (including the two authors of this chapter). The research of Crossroads Asia does not focus on the social, political, economic and religious differentiation within the 'regions' of Central and South Asia, but rather explores and conceptualises the increasing everyday connectivities, mobilities of social actors and flows of meaning across Asia from an interdisciplinary perspective. To do so, the connectedness of mobilities and interactions across space were assessed with the help of mobile methodology, following a relational rather than 'containerising' approach to place. One of Crossroads Asia's key commitments was to empirically test a conceptual framework about the multidimensionality of space (including spatial dimensions of place, territory, network, positionality and mobility) allowing multifaceted insights into how everyday social interaction from an actor-perspective reconfigures trans-locally connected places and vice versa (Alff and Benz, forthcoming).

These ways of rethinking socio-spatial formations and transformations in the face of the post-colonial or vernacular turn, may revive debates of

how reflexive (social) science and humanities can contribute to assess the challenges our world is facing in a context of future rapid and essentially rule-changing global economic and ecological changes. The following section suggests conceptual and methodological approaches to overcome progress-oriented, linear trajectories in international development theory and focus on the increasingly fragmented, fragile and messy character of future change.

4 Post-progress Thinking? Conceptual and Methodological Approaches to Future Change

Since the Enlightenment, Western belief in technical progress and continuous improvement has been the predominant paradigm in thinking—as well as the primary incentive (or stimulus) in achieving desired economic and societal change. Values such as the universalism of reason, manifest in scientific positivism, and the promise of human practice as THE mightiest tool in taming and mastering, and thereby alienating humankind from, nature (Tsing 2015: vii) have decisively shaped the (academic) landscape of much of the world for centuries. Modernity has been perceived almost exclusively as being achieved through a linear process of constant improvement and progress in the human condition.

This section starts to rethink ways to capture the character of highly accelerated future change conceptually and methodologically. It critically engages with historical forms of knowledge production that centre on the notion of progress. The linearity of change implicit in notions of Western modernity and progress has been criticised widely. The concept 'multiple modernities' emphasising diversity has taken centre-stage in these debates on nonlinearity and multicontextuality (Eisenstadt 2000; Dirlik 2003; Houben and Schrempf 2008). Yehuda Elkana and Hannes Klöpper (2012) emphasise, "[r]ethinking the Enlightenment entails an epistemological shift from a 'local universalism' to a 'global contextualism'". Thus, acknowledging modernity as multiple cultural programs, each emerging from and producing their own preconditions and meanings, has been key to questioning the logic of constant improvement in both representing and living with the future.

Another field of study scrutinising the optimistic fixation on progress as continuous improvement is found in the field of Future Studies that developed since the 1970s largely in the USA and Europe. The initial

ideological-utopian writings by for instance Alwin Toffler in his book *Future Shock* challenged fixed trajectories of the future, instead announcing the 'death of permanence' and the 'perishability of fact'. Within academia, futurologist Bertrand de Jouvenel (1967) emphasised the difference between *facta* and *futura*. While, according to Jouvenel, *facta* refer to completed events in the past, *futura* had not yet arrived and would become *facta* only after they had happened. Yet *Futura* appears to be subject to the creative power and influence of human civilisation. Thus future-making practices are considered uncertain, yet open to human imagination. Since Jouvenel's early contribution, debates around the uncertainty of future change have produced an astonishing body of work. Barbara Adam and Christian Groves (2007) take de Jouvenel's work further, distinguishing between probable, possible and preferred futures. They particularly question the role of technological improvements in human past and present and understand these as means to support processes of 'structural securitisation' to overcome the notion of destiny. Helga Nowotny (2002, 2016) argues that in predicting a probable future, humanity could still switch to a possible and preferred future. She emphasises that the notion of uncertainty in human history formed a prime incentive for systematic knowledge production ultimately aiming at making (preferred) future(s) more predictable: "Knowledge generated when confronted with uncertainty has proven to be the most powerful means developed in our cultural evolutionary trajectory so far to assure survival and striving for continuous improvement in material living standard and well-being" (Nowotny 2016: 2). It is thus not surprising that within international development and in debates of science futures, preferred or desired futures are increasingly associated with concepts of sustainability and resilience.

The transformation of knowledge into practice(s) of innovation and improvement in turn generate new knowledge and invention although advanced technologies produce more uncertainty than solutions (Nowotny 2016). This becomes even more pertinent with the current crisis of capitalism, with the disastrous overuse of resources and the cataclysmic challenges to human life on the planet arising from climate change, sea-level rise and pollution (Nowotny 2016). Having these rule-changing transformations of the Anthropocene in mind, Nowotny argues rightly that there's an existential need to make sense of and cope with uncertainty and that there will an increased demand for this capability in the future (Nowotny 2016: xiii). Nowotny notes that particularly

in the Western context, uncertainty is increasingly associated with precarity or—to follow Beck, Giddens and Lash—social insecurities, as well as threat and a lack of safety (Beck et al. 1996), rather than with opportunities (Nowotny 2016: 4), emphasising the historical and social context-dependence of dealing with uncertainty.

These are concerns also reflected in Tsing's book *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins.* Based on the example of the trans-local (or rhizomatic) economy of Matsutake mushrooms, it provides intriguing ideas on how to deal with life in "ruinised landscapes" under conditions of precarity "that is, life without the promise of stability" (Tsing 2015: 2) or what Jean-Luc Nancy has called the 'civilisational catastrophe' not as a singular event, but as a cascading process, in which "everything becomes the end and means of everything" (Nancy 2015: 36). Tsing argues that precarious livelihoods in (natural) environments destroyed by capitalism are possible, if humanity abandons linear progress-thinking and acknowledges the 'systematicity of indeterminacy' and thus precarity as a perspective through which to explore uncertain future ways of life. Her work develops concepts such as 'post-normal times' (Sardar 2010), a further development of 'post-normal science' by Ravetz and Funtowicz (1999). They mirror debates gaining renewed interest and heuristic purchase (Davies 2011), unpacking what is seen as normatively desirable (i.e. referring to the Marches of Science in Spring 2017 all over Europe, what type of science we want), by whom and how to get there, as they continue to unfold.

The growing interest in 'big data' has to be seen in a similar vein: the attempt to reduce uncertainties by 'controlling the data', or what Nowotny (2016: 59) calls processes of 'datafication'. The systematic collection, storing and analysing of these data requires a substantial simplifying of social reality. Continuous attempts at systematising big data hollow out potential insights to be achieved, especially with regard to sociopolitical and cultural process data (Nowotny 2016: 59). While 'thick descriptions' formerly provided insights into contradictory systems of meaning and world-making, these are reduced to 'thin descriptions' of overly simplified, but systematised, assessments, with contestable causalities. Instead Nowotny suggests that we should deal better, conceptually and methodologically, with the messiness of the 'small-data world' and the performativity of everyday life analysis (Nowotny 2016: 56).

In an increasingly mobilised world, studying 'small-data worlds', interconnections rather than nodes and follow-the-moving-target

methodology are key instruments to capture local-to-global dynamics. Marine/oceanic spaces, often treated as socially empty 'blue voids', due to their constant fluidity and role in enabling global connections are prime examples of arenas in which to test relational or mobile approaches to global change.

5 Marine/Oceanic Spaces as Subjects and Arenas for Rethinking Global Change

As we have outlined earlier, trans-disciplinary boundary-crossing, shifting perspectives and accelerating global transformations have a lasting impact on how transformation studies make sense of and frame international development and will do so even more in the future. While much of the scientific engagement with increasing global interconnections, interaction and movement is land-based, and particularly urban-dominated (Sassen 1991), oceanic or marine spaces are under-represented in academic debates on current and future processes of socio-economic and -political change, despite their immense importance for global trade and other forms of circulation, as well as a source of nutrition for a significant proportion of the world population (Scholtens and Bavinck 2017). The land–sea bias has particularly been challenged by research on the social construction of the ocean and oceanic perspectives (Ingersoll 2016; Steinberg 2001; Steinberg and Peters 2015) and ocean-based and historically informed, post-Braudelian approaches to 'region' (Lewis and Wigen 1999; Pearson 2003; Ho 2006; Amrith 2013; Tagliacozzo et al. 2015). The call for engaging more thoroughly with visions on sustainable development of the marine realm, termed by Anna-Katharina Hornidge as 'Futuring the ocean', illustrates the intensifying debates on shifting interactions in marine resource use around the globe (cf. Pauly and Zeller 2016; Tsering 2017).

In an 'oceanic turn', Blum (2013: 151) proposed that "[t]he sea should become central to critical conversations about global movements, relations, and histories. And central not just as a theme or organising metaphor with which to widen a landlocked critical prospect: in its geophysical, historical, and imaginative properties, the sea instead provides a new epistemology—a new dimension—for thinking about surfaces, depths, and the extra-terrestrial dimensions of planetary resources and relations." Thus, the ocean as a space constituted by and constituting

mobilities and connectivities (Braudel 1972) not only provides an intriguing research subject in itself, but may also provide a research perspective for innovative ways of socio-spatial thinking (beyond the terrestrial realm) (see also Anderson and Peters 2014; Steinberg and Peters 2015). In their critical assessment of the limitation of oceanic research in human geography, Anderson and Peters (2014: 4) remind us that "[t]he sea may not be conceptualised as marginal to the land" and rather than treating it as an epistemological concept (Ingersoll 2016), they emphasise that "[t]he sea is not a material and metaphorical void, but alive with embodied human experiences, more-than-human agencies as well as being a space in and of itself that has a material character, shape and form." In order to substantiate this border-crossing specific of the ocean, not only as a metaphor or social construction, but also as 'material space', Steinberg and Peters (2015) suggest thinking WITH the ocean rather than about it by applying what they call a 'wet ontology'.[2] They outline the sea/ocean as a means "by which the sea's material and phenomenological distinctiveness can facilitate the reimagining and re-enlivening of a world ever on the move" (Steinberg and Peters 2015: 248). Central to their conceptualisation of the ocean is its fluid, flowing character and three-dimensionality (Elden 2013), which makes it appear quintessentially dynamic and mobile, or in Deleuzean words, in a constant process of becoming.

The particular materiality of oceanic spaces becomes especially relevant in contemporary attempts by state governments worldwide to 'territorialise the ocean' (Roszko 2015), and to treat it as an extension of state-controlled terrestrial realm, e.g. for economic exploitation in the wake of increasing resource scarcity, carving out exclusive zones of interest and sovereignty (cf. Schofield, forthcoming). While these bordering attempts, as in the case of the South China Sea, are strongly disputed between states, they also raise questions regarding their rationality, as they often ignore the physical (natural-cultural) properties of the oceanic spaces they encompass. Gordillo claims that "[o]nce a *terra incognita* of the planet, oceans now (re)present a space that can be occupied, harnessed, and utilised by different actors 'in any direction'—up or down, ahead or behind, under or over, left or right" (Gordillo, forthcoming, emphasis by the authors), thus ascribing an increasing and universally applicable degree of legibility to the ocean. While the increasing anthropogenic impact and human exploitation, transformation and technological encroachment into formerly inaccessible areas of the marine realm

over the last century cannot be denied, the ocean in all its three-dimensional complexity remains under-explored.

The unpredictable variability of the ocean becomes particularly evident in places where sea meets land and nature meets culture, which is often in densely populated, economically and socially productive but also resource-consuming places highly vulnerable to ecological change. The trans-disciplinary research of land–sea interactions therefore provides a fertile ground for understanding and reflecting on the entanglements between nature and culture, human societies and their marine environment (WBGU 2013: 300). As Tim Ingold (2008) states: "Understanding the oceans and seas as spaces intertwined with land, air and human life allows us to move beyond conceiving them as empty, but rather as part of a 'meshwork' of natures integrated into human experience." Thus challenging the boundary-producing fabric of disciplinary science, on the one hand, and linking up nature–culture interconnections through the study of land–sea interactions, on the other, can contribute to achieving desired (possibly more sustainable) futures.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has foregrounded what we see as central contributions of the field of transformation studies to on-going debates in international development. We have drawn particular attention to the relational (and interactional) production of change at multiple socio-spatial scales (global, regional, local), suggesting that transformation as a permanent rather than temporally limited condition works through the interrelations and movements of people, goods and knowledges. Transformation studies as an emerging field of inquiry have thus encouraged a rethinking of development as a progress-based, unidirectional and linear process, whose analysis is often bound to (and therefore restricted by) disciplinary (and socio-spatial) boundaries, hierarchies of knowledge production and predetermined visions of the future. We have expanded the gaze towards present and future change to include fields of interest that until recently have been 'blind spots' of development research: nature–culture interactions and marine spaces.

In our attempt to formulate a working definition of transformation we have outlined its amorphous, dynamic and fragmented character. In our understanding, transformation is an open-ended, highly unpredictable (uncertain) process resulting from the interactions between human,

as well as non-human actors (the latter largely dismissed by the paradigm of modernist, progress-based global development over the last decades). This focus on natural–cultural interactions, we argued, has become particularly crucial in Anthropocene debates that engage with the rule-changing impact of human activity on the natural environment. In the face of the existential question of how to sustain life on the planet, knowledge production in academia is witnessing a partial shift away from disciplinary to trans-disciplinary thinking to forge dialogues across the science–society interface increasing the visibility of the 'more-than-human' in analysing change.

As a similarly critical contribution to grasping the trans-local interrelatedness of transformations around the globe, and especially across non-Western and post-colonial societies, we have noted current efforts in Area Studies to rethinking the essentialisation of regions as sharply bounded socio-spatial containers. Focusing on trans-local connections and mobilities as well as emic (rather than etic) perspectives of actors towards transformation (acknowledging multiple modernities), critical Area Studies challenge established hierarchies and trajectories of area-based knowledge production. James Scott's example of 'Zomia' and the Elias-inspired figurational approach of the Crossroads Asia network are valuable contributions to rethinking the inherently statist and 'West-and-the-rest' logic of Area Studies which bring forward new epistemological and ontological ways of dealing with notions of area, particularly in the face of likely more intensive socio-spatial interconnectivity in the future.

Drawing conclusions from the analytical sections, we explored alternatives of making sense of future transformation beyond the progress thinking guiding scientific and technological trajectories of improvement of the human condition since the Enlightenment. Nowotny's conceptualisation of uncertainty we consider particularly valuable, as it broadens the scope of future studies. Uncertainty, or what Anna Tsing (2015) has called the 'systematicity of indeterminacy', rather than the universal belief in constant progress, needs to be properly contextualised in scientific knowledge production to equip it for increasing future levels of connectedness and mobility.

We have suggested marine spaces as an arena for exploring future global change. Still under-represented in scientific debates on socio-environmental change, marine spaces provide an inspiring and strategic example for making sense of present and future transformations, given their three-dimensionality and constant fluidity and their variety

of more-than-human assemblages. The unpredictable variability of the ocean particularly in the face of man-made climate change, sea-level rise and resource exploitation, may serve as a case in point for contextualising the uncertainty and precarity that will shape future human life on the planet.

Notes

1. Association of Southeast Asian Nations.
2. During a conversation on an 'Ocean Governance'-themed conference in Bremen in March 2017, Steinberg even suggested extending 'wet ontologies' to 'more-than-wet ontologies', given that the sea is subject to constant change of its aggregate state (polar ice [melt], sea water evaporation) which has severe effects on nature–culture relations.

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CHAPTER 8

Making the Most of Knowledge for Development and Development Studies

Mike Powell and Sarah Cummings

1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the role of knowledge for development and in Development Studies (DS) as we look ahead. We start by considering what development is and what it might become, and then look at the role of DS and consider how knowledge contributes to developmental goals.

Our own starting points are information and the processes through which it becomes constituted and used as knowledge. Both authors are long-term members of EADI's Information Management Working Group. Originally dominated by librarians, this longest-working group has retained its focus on the selection and curating of information and on enabling access to it for development practice, even as the means of

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doing so change from documents to mobile apps, from classification to hyper-index, from formal output to direct access to semantically ordered research data and social media. This has occurred in contexts of continuous organizational change within our own work environments and of emerging concepts of information and knowledge societies. In 2007, we secured funding from the Dutch Government for an EADI-hosted programme called Information and Knowledge Management: Emergent Issues (IKM Emergent). This brought together information managers, development practitioners, DS researchers and policy-makers to research the issues and pilot new approaches. Although the programme formally ended in 2012, this chapter continues reflection on those issues, informed by our work and research since.

2 Development and Development Studies

2.1 What Is Development?

For long 'development' has been framed in the context of modernization, of the rich (and developed) showing the way for the poor (and backward), of colonial ministries of works gradually relabelled development ministries. The words used may have been more diplomatically phrased but their meaning has been implicit and the relationships on which such 'development' has been based profoundly unequal. The Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015) challenge that framework. Achieving economic aspirations in a socially cohesive and environmentally sustainable manner is a challenge for every society, going beyond the confines of any individual country. In such an inter-connected world, problems from one society spill over into another. Many solutions are best undertaken through joint, collaborative action.

Societal change is a complex, multifaceted process beyond anyone's control. 'Development' comprises one approach, which tries to steer change in what are perceived as positive directions. It mobilizes significant resources; about US $130 billion annually from OECD countries in recent years.[1] These figures, however, are modest compared to the remittances sent home by migrants (US $442 billion in 2016),[2] and the trillions of dollars in world trade. Positive societal change, which could be labelled 'development', therefore has to be understood in much broader terms than the efforts of the international development community. We prefer the words 'development support' to describe the deliberate efforts of development professionals and organizations to bring about change.

2.2 What Does This Mean for Development Studies?

These definitions have implications for the nature of DS. Societal change is related to and influenced by work in various academic disciplines; biology, medicine, engineering, computing amongst others and is an intrinsic subject of study for more, such as history, economics, anthropology and sociology. Where does this leave DS? Is it attempting to produce a multidisciplinary academic understanding of what could be termed (with some methodological difficulty) as positive social change? Or is its business to study and reflect on the processes of what we describe here as development support, that is the mixture of thought, policy and action designed to steer societal change towards desired and (hopefully) shared goals? Some DS departments do the former. However, most, we would suggest, are concerned with development support; not just as a subject for detached research but as a system of relationships, funding, thought and action of which DS are a part. Many DS departments receive much of their funding from aid budgets rather than from the higher education funds of their own countries. Although many use traditional academic indicators, such as publication in peer-reviewed journals, to assess their work, the logic of their mission, we suggest, is to inform and influence policy-makers and practitioners in the fields of development support. This has implications for how their work should be assessed, to whom they should be accountable and, our main concern, which knowledge exchanges are of most importance to their work.

According to Cummings and Hoebink (2017), DS is: 'an academic area composed of a variety of fields and disciplines with different, sometimes entwined, histories but which are also aggregated for purposes such as allocation of research funds and research assessment' (Burgess and Shaw 2010: 629). Researchers in DS aim to 'make a difference' and their research aims to be instrumental in contributing to development (Sumner and Tribe 2009) as do the journals in this field, as illustrated by the 'Aims and scope' of the journal *World Development*:

> Our goal is to learn from one another, regardless of nation, culture, income, academic discipline, profession or ideology. We hope to set a modest example of enduring global cooperation through maintaining an international dialogue and dismantling barriers to communication. (*World Development*, no pagination)

Despite these good intentions, Cummings and Hoebink (2017) show that academic knowledge production in DS is dominated by top institutions in developed countries and by men, because of complex processes active at a systemic level that probably affect all academic fields (see Dahdouh-Gubas et al. 2003). Critical processes include the dominance of the publishing industry and academic institutions of the developed world, the dominance of the English language in academic communications, and severe challenges facing universities and research in many developing countries. It is not surprising that academics in developing countries are poorly represented. The question is whether this is an issue that matters to DS. Cummings and Hoebink (2017) argue that this lack of representation of academics from developing countries is a serious issue for DS from perspectives of equity, responsibility and diversity. It also serves to narrow the knowledge base upon which DS are constructed.

3 Knowledge for Development

To consider the role of knowledge in development, we first need to consider the nature of knowledge. In the Enlightenment, knowledge was understood as 'justified true belief', and was codified as an object, which was passed down and accepted by those able to understand it. Contemporary understandings of knowledge are more fluid and dynamic. Knowledge is seen as being contingent on the location of the observer (Merleau-Ponty 1948) and is subject to its recipient's interpretation (Polanyi 1958). Aided by large-scale increases in higher education, knowledge is increasingly a resource, which many people pick up, use and adapt for a range of purposes. It has a social as well as an intellectual dynamic. Against this background, we define knowledge as 'the informed and supposedly rational basis for a person's understanding of a phenomenon or a situation'. We say 'supposedly' as there are undoubtedly occasions when what is genuinely held to be knowledge—i.e. when there is no deliberate lie—turns out to be completely mistaken.

In development terms, knowledge is at the heart of knowledge societies. Agenda 2030 and the SDGs aim to create knowledge societies (UN 2015). But what sorts of knowledges do they need? In posing this question, it is important to stress that current models of knowledge production, the discovery of the best solution for an identified problem, will remain of

undoubted value. Our question is focused on what else is needed and the financial and institutional arrangements needed to deliver it.

One challenge concerns how to utilize the exponential increase of potentially applicable knowledge generated by the mass production and use of knowledge across and between societies. Is there a relationship between the necessary growth of knowledge production, communication and use within developing countries and the need for 'development research'? Are these all part of the development of knowledge societies or separate activities? It would be hard to argue that they should be separate, with two sets of institutional arrangements and funding streams, one for 'in-country' knowledge and another for research for development support. Another question is how to proceed when the challenges are far from clearly identified: when it is not at all obvious from which source a solution may come or even if there is a single solution. What are the best approaches to the complex multi-faceted 'wicked' problems the world faces? Applying knowledge in such settings cannot be fully objective: it generally involves deliberate choices. Such choices are partly intellectual, involving the acceptance, or not, of evidence and arguments from a range of possible sources. They are also made within social and economic contexts, which influence who is listened to and why. The choices made then shape what subsequently happens, with constantly emerging possibilities but also new constraints. Although we all try and ensure our own research is heard, systemically the question is through what mechanisms can potentially relevant knowledges be made visible and then assessed, in ways which are equitable and inclusive yet also focused on agreed developmental aims?

3.1 Multiple Knowledges and Knowledge Ecology

The cumulative effect of these trends about how knowledge is understood and used is that we work more often in environments of multiple knowledges, with multiple sources of knowledge to apply. We have to select relevant knowledges, each with their own epistemological foundations, methodologies and sources of evidence from a range of possible sources. There is sometimes an urge to 'integrate' the selected knowledges, to create some new configuration of 'knowledge-based' certainty. We are concerned that such integration may be superficial or illusory and that it is better to apply such knowledges with a continuing awareness of

their differing foundations and the need to handle the possible tensions between them. In the process, understanding the contexts in which the problem is situated is key. After a long period of increasing mass production and standardization, today's challenges call for more bespoke solutions.

Development consists of many different sorts of knowledge. It relies on technical, specialist knowledge (e.g. on how to manufacture and site a water pump), but without the community knowledge relating to how water is used and who collects it, the pump may not be used at all. Multiple knowledges relate to 'knowledges' from different disciplines, schools of thought or derived from different learning processes, cultures or world-views. Such situations are a challenge for any type of cross-cutting, multi-sectoral, multidisciplinary endeavour. They offer particular challenges for the development sector, given the need to communicate across boundaries of culture, gender, space and status in a historical context of highly unequal power relationships. According to Valerie Brown (2008, 2011), all individuals have access to many different types of knowledge: individual, community, specialist, organizational and holistic knowledge. Scientific and technical knowledge is just one form of 'specialist' knowledge. Global problems need to be resolved by combining different sorts of knowledge and different stakeholders. For example, van Ewijk and Baud (2009) explored the role of different types of knowledge—tacit knowledge, community-embedded and codified knowledge—in partnerships between cities in the Netherlands and the South.

At best, this process produces a holistic vision in which all potentially relevant sources of knowledge, and their relationships, are identified and brought together in a common purpose. More realistically, we can learn to recognize that many 'knowledge divides' exist, including those of language, profession, culture and gender. We understand that knowledge initiatives impacting on one part of this reality may have unexpected, adverse effects on other parts. Seeking to create conditions in which knowledge is communicated through dialogue, rather than manipulation or imposition, offers the possibility of unexpected learning from other knowledges. It also makes it more likely that any jointly achieved conclusion will be acted upon. We use the metaphor of a 'development knowledge ecology' to describe this concept (Cummings et al. 2011). This can be interpreted in terms of existential conflicts for survival, such as the

attacks of the West African terrorist group Boko Haram on all manifestations of Western knowledge. We prefer the metaphor of an ecology that can be recognized, cared for and made mutually supportive. This encourages a new, more holistic perspective on development knowledge, which emphasizes the connections and spaces between organizations and cultures, and how to bridge them.

3.2 Hierarchies of Knowledge

Different forms of knowledge have always existed; practical or theoretical, analytical or rhetorical, formal or informal. One way of encompassing this reality has been to view the various approaches within a number of implicit or explicit hierarchies. Thus, there are hierarchies around the superiority of academic knowledges (and their means of communication) over other types of knowledge and, within academia, between elite institutions and the rest and sometimes between the allegedly more 'rigorous' and 'scientific' knowledge of positivist methodologies against the myriad uncertainties of studies based on critical realism. Other hierarchies are based on the supposed origin of knowledge. In development terms, an historic bias was created as part of the colonial project, which legitimized a sometimes overtly racist Eurocentrism, whilst downgrading or denying the importance of local knowledges. Recently, neo-liberal ideology has added a further criterion of the immediate monetizable value that any 'knowledge' may realize. This impacts research funding and investment decisions, shaping perceptions of value away from the public good and towards immediate and privatized returns.[3]

These hierarchies are counterproductive to producing good quality knowledge, by limiting what is accepted as evidence. They constrain thought within cultural, disciplinary or linguistic boundaries. They distort research agendas and institutional and professional arrangements for organizing and communicating research around the norms and priorities of a few elite sectors of knowledge production. In these rarefied environments, research is driven by high-end scientific curiosity, by theoretical challenges, by competition and interaction between those located within the same environments of closed peer groups through whom new knowledge creation is judged, all of which we respect. Our point is not that such elite knowledge production has no value, simply that other modes of knowledge production are equally important.

We question the perspective, which sees 'pure' disciplinary work as the parent of the less regarded applied sciences (Byrne 2011). We believe that processes of application and the empirical observations they allow are important both in themselves and as contributors to new theoretical agendas. Development support should prioritize knowledge application, because that is what it is being paid to deliver. It needs to be fully informed on local realities forming the context of application. This requires an engagement with and support of local knowledges and their formal and informal production. It aims at mass engagement, adaptation and use of relevant knowledge as an indicator of development as well as a means to its achievement. It requires developing two-way communication channels to identify problems which most concern populations, set research agendas, report and discuss findings. It requires the professional skills to make such interactions productive and institutional arrangements open to greater societal participation in development research. In short, it requires an inversion of the logic: a reorientation of both attention and budget from the pseudo-academic cloisters of the DS community towards the emerging knowledge societies in which development is occurring. At the very least, money spent on research and ICT by the development support sector should lessen the gap between rich and poor countries, not widen it.[4]

4 New Approaches and Perspectives on Knowledge for Development

4.1 New Ways of Working

That still leaves the issue of how to engage productively with multiple knowledges. If we are critical of hierarchies and perceptions of some sorts of knowledge being superior to others, does that mean that properly conducted positivist science should be disregarded? Our answer is an emphatic no, qualified only by an observation that such methods should not be abused to try and establish 'proof' and 'certainty' in situations where none exist. What is required is awareness of what knowledges exist which might be of value in certain situations and to work in an emergent process of learning. We do not suggest that this is easy or that, outside commonly encountered 'neighbouring' knowledges or disciplines, it is something we are taught or know how to do. We can study other

knowledges through the prisms of our own, but in doing so we are constraining what we will see or understand. To be open to other knowledges requires a willingness and capacity to go beyond our own.

These challenges exist within all societies. Knowledges are related to identities, including gender. They have cosmological and ontological roots, as well as their own epistemologies. For development-related research, these differences form part of daily experience. But this may mean that development-related studies are also well placed to help resolve them. Similarly, in the same way we do not consider applied science to be subservient to 'pure' science, nor regard local knowledge as being the poor cousin of global. In fact, we are far from sure that the distinction is helpful. Globalization has long been linked intellectually with the continuing expansion and extension of ideas rooted in the European Enlightenment. This gives an ill-informed prominence to the European role, compared to that of India, China and mediaeval Arabia in the origin and development of scientific method (Sen 2006), and reminds people of the often violent imposition of knowledges and knowledge institutions associated with colonialism. It also does not adequately explain the strong currents of 'alternative knowledge' in countries like the United States where there is widespread support for Creationism and refusal to engage with the science of climate change.

If knowledge societies are to be inclusive, democratic, and support global collaboration, we need a more conducive framework for both individuals and social groups to engage with knowledge. It has to be seen as a resource for humanity and for developing people's lives rather than as alien force promoting feelings of inadequacy. We should be clear on what is involved in supporting certain types of knowledge and the forms of evidence on which they are based. We believe that all knowledge starts with individual understanding and moves through various stages of sharing and contestation with others, starting with families and moving outwards through social, educational and spiritual experiences. Thus, all knowledge is local but some, especially if the routes to its attainment are welcoming, respectful and seen as potentially rewarding, can become very widely shared. Amilcar Cabral, himself a postgraduate agronomist, both recognized the vital role of the knowledge and culture of his largely illiterate population in the success of their liberation struggle and foresaw them learning from and contributing to a 'universal'

knowledge in the continuing development of their own lives (Cabral 1980). Kenyan professor of literature, Ngugi wa Thiong'o suggests the word 'Globalectics', as a combination of the globe where 'there is no one centre, any point is equally a centre' with the dialectics of the necessary 'dialogue, or multi-logue, in the phenomena of nature and nurture in a global space that's rapidly transcending that of the artificially bounded, as nation and region' (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2012: 8). He offers a very different vision of globalization. Some such conceptually open and equitable space is a pre-condition for knowledge creation that builds bridges rather than walls.

4.2 New Narratives on Knowledge and Development

There is a pressing need to develop new discourses, narratives and arguments, to articulate a perspective on the transformational role of knowledge for development and its essential role in implementing the SDGs (Cummings et al. 2017). One such opportunity for advocacy is an international initiative of the Austrian Knowledge for Development Community, which is working to conceive a set of Knowledge Development Goals for the year 2030. Leading figures in the development field have been invited to share their visions to co-create and collectively constitute these Knowledge Development Goals and an Agenda Knowledge for Development (Brandner and Oster 2015). This Agenda (Brandner and Cummings 2017) is designed to complement the SDGs by providing an integrated approach to knowledge-related challenges that directly influence achieving the SDGs. It presents a vision of the societal and economic value of knowledge in which the transformational power of knowledge can be harnessed for the development of inclusive, pluralistic knowledge societies. It was launched in April 2017 to the UN in Geneva at the *Knowledge for Development: Global Partnership* Conference (Textbox 1).

The Agenda Knowledge for Development also has relevance for DS in terms of Knowledge for Development Goal 12 (see Textbox 2). In the next section on research, we reflect on ways of addressing the issues highlighted by this goal.

E Goal 1: Pluralistic, diverse and inclusive knowledge societies
Responsible and transparent knowledge ecosystems, also for those who are excluded because of gender, migration status, disability, and other vulnerabilities.

E Goal 2: People-focused knowledge societies
Self-determination of the individual, founded on education for all, freedom of expression, universal access to information and knowledge, and respect for cultural and linguistic diversity.

E Goal 3: Strengthening local knowledge ecosystems
Collaboration and context-based communication, based on local realities and local knowledge.

E Goal 4: Knowledge partnerships
Multi-stakeholder knowledge partnerships crossing sectoral and disciplinary boundaries to facilitate creative and rich solutions.

E Goal 5: Knowledge cities and rural-urban linkages
Profiled, internationally well connected knowledge cities recognising and embracing their knowledge function so that rural areas can also be part of knowledge societies.

E Goal 6: Improved knowledge strategies in development organisations
Advanced knowledge management strategies with a recognition of these organisations' role in knowledge ecosystems and in strengthening local knowledge.

E Goal 7: Capture, preservation and democratization of knowledge
Protection of intellectual heritages, including digital heritage, in libraries, museums and archives. Equal opportunities to easily access and use knowledge.

E Goal 8: Fair and dynamic knowledge markets
Private sector playing an active and relevant role in local knowledge markets based on fair market conditions for private knowledge services.

E Goal 9: Safety, security and sustainability
Evolving knowledge societies mitigating uncertainties and negative impacts.

E Goal 10: Legal knowledge
Legal frameworks based on transdisciplinary knowledge addressing the real needs of the people; citizens knowing their rights and being able to invoke them.

E Goal 11: Improved knowledge competencies and knowledge work
High competence in all kinds of individual knowledge work and organisational knowledge management. High quality of knowledge service professionals; protection of knowledge workers.

E Goal 12: Institutions of higher education to play an active role
Universities and other institutions of higher education deploying new, inclusive models to solve real world problems.

E Goal 13: Information and communication technologies (ICTs) for all
ICTs being utilized to access knowledge and facilitate communication and dialogue without hampering alternative or traditional methods of knowledge transmission.

Textbox 1 Thirteen knowledge development goals in the agenda knowledge for development

12.1 Universities and other institutions of higher education in both North and South have an important role to play in the knowledge ecosystem. They should strengthen the wider understanding of our world and the capacity to generate alternative solutions for problems affecting humankind.

12.2 It is imperative that knowledge, created, collected and recovered in universities and institutions of higher education should be used to solve universal problems and not to increase gaps in power and wealth. One promising methodology to increase the relevance of universities is transdisciplinary research, including many types of participatory research, which responds to real world, persistent problems, involves multiple stakeholders, integrates different forms of knowledge by crossing disciplinary boundaries as well as boundaries between science and society, and integrates the process of knowledge production with societal problem solving.

12.3 We need to strengthen bonds and alliances between educational centres in the North and South in order to develop capacities oriented to face present-day challenges. The willingness to share and the willingness to adopt and learn are essential prerequisites to finally cooperate and co-create new knowledge as partners.

12.4 Academic knowledge production should develop new models which support rather than exclude Southern academics.

Textbox 2 E Knowledge development goal 12: institutions of higher education to play an active role

4.3 New Approaches to Knowledge Production in Research

Responsible, more equitable knowledge production involves greater cooperation with colleagues in developing countries (Cummings and Hoebink 2017). This would both deepen the pools of knowledge and thought for development research and create more sustainable environments for Southern researchers, increasing their prominence in academic journals of DS. The far higher level of collaborations within the life sciences and medicine, identified by Dahdouh-Gubas et al. (2003) than in DS (Cummings and Hoebink 2017), leads us to conclude that DS can learn from these other disciplines. According to Dahdouh-Gubas et al. (2003), collaboration within the life sciences is higher because it involves official collaborations with local hospitals and Ministries of Health (ibid.: 338) as well as more research on location in developing countries. Another explanation is that the life sciences, particularly the medical field, have more formal regulations about authorship, such as those published by the International Committee of Medical Journal Editors (ICMJE). DS could also consider basing its research on a more

equitable, responsible model of research, founded on structural collaboration and partnership, rather than what may be a more observer–object relationship. It could develop similar guidelines for DS and work in developing countries.

One model might be that of the Commission for Research Partnerships with Developing Countries (KFPE), Switzerland, set up in 2012, which has worked on publishing guidelines, issues of research design, methodologies, and data analysis. However, it provides no direct guidelines on authorship (KFPE 2014) and no evidence of success at a systemic level as in the medical field. EADI itself has shown awareness of the importance of this issue with the launch of the Journal Mentoring Programme (JUMP)[5] in April 2017. JUMP aims to increase the number of academic articles authored by development researchers from the South in EADI's journal, the *European Journal of Development Research*, particularly focusing on women and authors from sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. Although JUMP is a laudable step in the right direction, it is very small scale and only related to the small number of Southern researchers who could be supported to attend the EADI General Conference in 2017.

The development research sector has a history of innovation in investigating local realities whilst also minding academic-policy-practice gaps. Institutionally, post-independence initiatives such as the Indian Institutes of Technology, established by Nehru's government, or the pioneering work of Aquino de Bragança and Ruth First at the Centre for African Studies in Maputo are prime examples. Methodologically, Robert Chambers at IDS worked on participatory research and Norman Long at Wageningen on action research. Currently, new research approaches are being developed, such as trans-disciplinary research, which involves collaboration with multiple stakeholders, such as citizens and patients (Defila and Di Giulio 1999; Bunders et al. 2010). According to Regeer and Bunders, trans-disciplinary research can be defined as 'an umbrella term for interfaces in which different actors generate socially robust knowledge in meaningful interactions in order to contribute to solving unstructured problems' (Regeer and Bunders 2009: 47).

Within the field of international development, there is also a call for breaking down the knowledge silos between development research and the field of development practice. Duncan Green, former head of research at Oxfam, argues:

> We have the development practitioners, who can't afford £2,000 for a journal [subscription] and academics, who are working separately. Once those silos have been broken down, we will understand what academics are doing much better and academics will be speaking to our kind of needs much more. There will be a dynamic process where the research will become more useful as well as more accessible. (Jha 2012: no pagination)

Commentators on development practice are calling for more intra- and inter-organizational learning to improve development projects and programmes (Valters 2015) and for 'a more nuanced and more applicable set of knowledge for development policy action and change' (Harcourt 2016: 172).

Recognizing that we need to move beyond mono- and interdisciplinary research to provide a better basis for development and change is consistent with the results of a recent consultative exercise that identified 100 critically important research questions for the post-2015 international development agenda (Oldekop et al. 2016). Some 21 representatives of international organizations, NGOs and consultancies, and 14 academics with diverse disciplinary expertise developed an agenda to address long-standing problems, new challenges and broader issues related to development policies, practices and institutions. A major finding was the need for 'trans-disciplinary research collaboration' (ibid.: 55), arguing that 'trans-disciplinary efforts for knowledge co-production combining the expertise of academics, practitioners and policy-makers are needed to design problem-driven, usable and solution-oriented approaches' (ibid.: 57).

Despite the intellectual impact of earlier innovations and regular calls for better communication between the many actors involved in producing and using knowledge for development, few lasting changes in method, institutional setting or communication practice have emerged. The question is why such changes are so effectively resisted. We suggest that in part this results from a set of deeply rooted practices within the organization of academic life in richer countries; where the developmental impact of development research is but a small cog amongst the wider intellectual or organizational strategies found in publishing and research funding models oriented towards academic assessments. The failings of the current system and the necessity for change are not recognized because they are not keenly felt in these environments. Beyond this, the scale of the changes required is not recognized. Most senior academics have some experience of interdisciplinary work and, in the development

field, possibly some experience of participatory approaches. Although people feel they have done it and understand it, few have done it enough times or in enough different environments to understand the range of challenges such approaches can involve.

A key finding of a study of 500 interdisciplinary projects in the UK was that 'the most significant benefits from innovative interdisciplinary initiatives are likely to be different from those that were expected' and 'not expressible in terms of the discipline that originated the initiative' (Blackwell et al. 2010). They also found that leading such work was harmful to people's academic careers. Their report confirms our own view: to embed the cross-boundary work essential to effective development research and current agendas requires far deeper institutional change than has yet been considered or enacted.

5 New Types of Knowledge, Information and Data Management

New theories of knowledge and development not only require new research strategies and orientation. They have very practical implications for the information management. Knowing what information to bring together and improving accessibility so that people can use it are, we would argue, important and neglected skills.

Recently, management in the development support sector has increasingly accepted the delusion that digitization removes the need for information management. Whilst other sectors—engineering, architecture, health—have invested in bespoke ICT designed around the specific dynamics of their work, the development support sector has tended to buy off the shelf products designed to meet other needs in other circumstances.[6] Filing or content management systems in the development support sector experience a range of common problems. Entries are seldom added in a consistent manner by the staff who contribute material, distributed as they are across many offices in different locations. The material itself can be hard to classify, referring, as such documents often do, to a range of different activities and subject areas. Within the mass of material tagged under a single heading, it can be hard to trace the chronological development of work on a particular theme or place, with historic documents often virtually invisible. Similar problems affect searches for external documents using common search engines. The algorithms used by such

devices have radically different priorities than their use in development support requires. Ranking documents found by size of institution, number of connections, previous searches and number of hits privileges the work of governments and multi-laterals, obscuring the work of smaller, local actors, especially those writing in languages other than English.

A similar lack of critical approach is evident in relation to data. The 'discovery' of big data in the richer countries has been followed by the earnest pursuit of 'data for development' (Powell et al. 2012). In the process, a number of drawbacks about public data in developing countries become obscured: the lack of support for national statistical offices, the poor quality of the data, its focus on 'official' transactions, which masks the size and importance of informal or traditionally based arrangements. Decisions can be made on the basis of 'data', on the apparent certainty of numbers, which in fact produce a very distorted picture of local reality. The issue becomes potentially more pernicious when we consider that the largest and most accurate sets of data in most developing countries relate to usage of mobile phones and associated apps, some of which help users access development related information about health, farm prices, etc. This data, under current regulatory arrangements, belongs to the mobile phone companies, most of which are multinationals. Taylor (2016), for example, examines the ethical and methodological problems with tracking human mobility using data from mobile phones. So far, the potential monetary value of this data in poorer countries is not seen as significant and a number of phone companies have helped researchers by making such data available.[7] We cannot assume that this will remain the case. Without new regulation, there is a real danger that development actors—civil society and governments—will end up depending on, and even paying, external agents for data about their own lives, created by their paid-for use of their own phones.

Similar smoke and mirrors affect approaches to open access. The argument that it should not be necessary to pay large amounts for articles written as part of publicly funded research, which are then reviewed by peers who receive no extra payment for this service, may seem obvious. However, it may have unintended consequences. An environment is created in which high-quality material is freely available. This may make both individuals and organizations less inclined to pay for other material. It is, however, not free to produce such material (ROAPE 2013); the costs of its production are subsumed elsewhere, as part of a research grant or a communications budget or by voluntary efforts. The

management of these costs may be centralized, so that whilst all research may be put in a repository, decisions about which material to give extra resources and promote may follow departmental or institutional interests, not the developmental value of research. Economies of scale benefit larger institutions. Views challenging established norms and existing power relationships, especially from smaller institutions located in the South, are less likely to receive research grants or have the institutional budgets to cover editorial and production costs. If they are unable to charge for their work, they have little financial sustainability and their output becomes ever more invisible.

Thus, substantial practical obstacles to achieving the broader challenges of putting development research at the heart of development exist: i.e. of contributing to the growth of knowledge societies rather than servicing the infrastructure of development support. These are not insurmountable, but require commitment, investment, research, innovation and the discipline required to maintain long-term effective collaboration. We should not be talking simply of costs but also of the developmental returns of such a process. This requires sustained attention in three areas.

The first is 'curation'. This might be regarded as an unpleasantly trendy equivalent of what our (now often redundant) colleagues used to term librarianship or archive management, but we see it as a necessary extension of these skills, albeit possibly in new locations. The skill of knowing 'what is there' requires a different sort of knowledge than understanding 'what is there'. Just as the worker in a record shop might respond to an enquiry about the blues, by asking whether you wanted delta or urban, roots or modern without necessarily knowing the music itself, so information curators can know what the collection contains or through which routes external sources can be found. This is valuable in development research in two areas. (i) Development research requires a deep knowledge of local context. The researcher should not be content only with other published academic research on their subject, but needs access to local knowledge, local data, and local intellectual output beyond academic boundaries. This takes on a variety of forms, frequently not formally published. It will not be reliably found unless a conscious effort is made to know what might be available and maintaining the relationships and networks needed to access it. (ii) Development research is increasingly characterized by interdisciplinarity and trans-disciplinarity. Such ways of working require the discovery of information from unfamiliar sources.

Knowing what exists and how to find it is the key role of an information curator, but not the only one. It should also include awareness of the fragility of the information resources being used, especially digital ones, with a readiness to identify those of potential long-term importance to the research area and copy and preserve them. It involves an awareness of and sometimes a creative role in the uses of ICT in handling information. This ranges from issues of document preservation, by exposing and to some extent selecting the underlying bias of search, to creating taxonomies which facilitate the multiple classification and use of documents.[8] It also includes ways of displaying or visualizing information, which can contribute to understanding what is being researched. We have argued elsewhere (Powell and Cummings, forthcoming) that mapping existing sources of potentially relevant information and their gaps is a valuable tool at the initial phase of any cross-boundary work. More creatively, displaying information in new and unexpected ways, as curators of galleries regularly do, is another potential role.

The second area relates to technology and infrastructure. Too much attention to ICT focuses on its promotional potential. In contrast, effective information exchange requires mechanisms for collaboration; technologically it requires the development of and adherence to appropriate standards. Discussions of information and knowledge management have long recognized how poorly knowledge flows from one contained work environment to another. Recent developments in ICT create the potential to build automated connections between such environments or to conduct more targeted and specific searches of the web more generally. These developments come from the emerging semantic web and its most public manifestation, the field of linked open data. If managers comply with the required technical standards and choose to share their material in this way, this makes datasets open to interrogation and use by other parties. Large datasets need to be used with caution in development research. However, the same processes can be applied to query and link metadata about both documents and micro-datasets. This creates the potential to place a mass of less visible, often qualitative material—working papers, operational surveys, grey literature, videoed presentations—accessible to a much wider audience. What is currently hidden on the seventh level of an organization's website can be identified and re-located within a collection of material about a particular place or theme.

However, this will not happen if the development sector simply copies solutions from other sectors. The clue is in the word 'semantic'. For

automated information exchange to work, the correct meanings of words have to be understood by the machines. In most areas, this is achieved by designing expert systems, using very clearly defined, often disciplinary terminology. For interdisciplinary work, single 'expert' vocabularies will not work, still less in the far more cross-boundary work of development support. This is not just an issue for development as a 'field'; it is fundamental to the type of 'knowledge society', which new technologies enable. Are citizens able to participate in such a society and benefit from the knowledge produced? Or do they become the subjects of automated systems, which, through their structure and language, deliberately exclude them? A telling example comes from a study in Bangalore on localized floods (Srinivasan and Wallack 2009: 1):

> Bus stop conversations about water logging and reported complaints about pipes and drains refer to the same occurrence. Yet the community's understanding of the situation and the Karnataka government record of the event label, catalogue and interpret the event in divergent manners.

The challenge is not unrecognized: literature exists on what are known as heterogeneous ontologies. However, it appears to be the poor cousin of the field and, in the development support sector, we are only aware of a single example, relating to land governance and use, of a serious attempt to map meaning as well as language at a local level and connect both to a widely used taxonomy.[9] The work needs doing in every field and language.

Finally, if development research is to connect with development actors, far more serious engagement is needed with potential users and suppliers of information in the global South. Our 20 years' involvement with the EADI Information Management Working Group have seen a steady erosion of properly constructed two-way communication with development actors, both professional and amongst the general publics in developing countries. Development researchers tend to spend less time on fieldwork, working with colleagues in developing countries (for example Duffield 2014). Agencies specialized in development communication, understanding the contexts of application, like Healthlink, PANOS and Sci-Dev have seen their activities axed or heavily curtailed. 'Participatory' approaches frequently describe more a choice of methodology than a commitment to relationships, with resultant material often not even shared with those who have helped create it (Kirimi and

Wakwabubi 2009). Even rarer is any attempt to present professionally carried out development research in a form likely to be comprehensible to the people it concerns.[10] Instead, there is a reliance on websites and mobile phone apps to deliver information to a mass of unknown users who, it is blithely assumed, will accept it at face value and 'develop' because of it.

This matters for two reasons. First, a widening gap in communication between researchers, practitioners and other actors lessens the value of everyone's knowledge. Barriers between research and practice means that researchers are less exposed to the detail of grassroots communication through extension workers or community initiatives. They do not know what has traction or not and why. They do not hear the conversations and the feedback, which could provoke new research questions. Second, valuable information that, if presented through a dialogue informed by local realities, could change lives is not heard. In the process, a major rationale for the funding of development research—its capacity to inspire development, to inform and empower the citizens of the knowledge societies of the future—is undermined.

6 Conclusions and Next Steps for EADI

As we reflect on IKM Emergent's review of knowledge and development, our conclusions may seem depressing. Knowledge is underestimated and underutilized. Much development research seems remote from the lives and realities that development is supposed to affect, produced and communicated in ineffective ways. Or, can we see development research at a crossroads? Conversations about complexity and trans-disciplinarity edge ever closer to mainstream discussions. Could Brexit and Trump serve as timely reminders of the dangers of research becoming removed from social realities or of knowledge being perceived as representing barriers, not progress? Can researchers and practitioners, North and South, transcend historic demarcations and collaborate with shared purposes? These are obviously big questions, which will be affected by government policy, high-level trends in the organization of intellectual labour and the attitudes and priorities of donors. In the meantime, we all continue our work. IKM Emergent has long talked of a development knowledge ecology. This is the context in which we work and which we can treat as a savage encounter or a set of interdependencies to be nurtured. We prefer the latter and suggest that managing

information so that whatever we use or produce in our own work is accessible and visible to networks of others to whom it may be useful is a quiet first step.

A similar twin track approach can also guide EADI members. They, like us, manage as best they can within their existing institutional, political and financial climates. However, EADI as an association is better equipped to articulate and advocate the profound changes in relationships and methods required if DS are to be part of the solution to contemporary development agendas rather than part of the baggage of the under-performance of past development paradigms.

EADI also offers space for discussion and collaboration in which new ideas and information infrastructures can be built. Recently, we in the Information Management Working Group have witnessed attrition in staff and budgets of our colleagues, whilst everything gets outsourced to the mercies of Google. Small amounts of investment linked with encouragement of co-operative approaches can offer more developmental and sustainable yields, providing the building blocks for a more equitable, sustainable and open development knowledge ecology.

Notes

1. http://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/tab01e.xls. Accessed 20 March 2017.
2. http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/04/13/remittances-to-developing-countries-edge-up-slightly-in-2015. Accessed 20 March 2017.
3. This paragraph and the section below, 'New Approaches to Knowledge Production in Research', each summarize a whole chapter, complete with references, of our forthcoming book *Challenging Ignorance: What We Do Not Know About Development and Change*.
4. For all the apparent commitment of donors to transparency in recent years, we have been unable to nail down figures for either the amount or nature of expenditure by the development support community on research, communications and their own ICT (as opposed to support for ICT4D projects). This leaves us making estimates based on some figures from some agencies, extrapolated using our own experience. On this unsatisfactory basis, we believe the total spent annually by development support agencies on research to be around US 1.5 billion dollars of which probably around 90% is channeled through Northern companies, universities or research institutes (*Challenging Ignorance*, Ch. 2). We also estimate the

amount development support spends annually on its own ICT requirements to be between US 2–3 billion dollars. Hardly any of this is spent on sector defined, open source software which might also support the needs of Southern partners (IKM Working Paper No. 16, pp. 8–10).

5. https://www.eadi.org/jump/.
6. There are of course exceptions to this generalisation including the work of Eldis at IDS and D Groups (https://dgroups.org/).
7. See, for example, the research and big data pages of http://lirneasia.net. Accessed 20 March 2017.
8. IKM piloted a number of ideas for user influenced search in IKM Vines, explained by Pete Cranston at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LZi-oe3S_Dac. Accessed 20 March 2017. It also had a demonstration topic map on its website. Due to continuous updates in the software on which they were based, neither pilot still works, which underlines our point about the fragility of many digital resources .
9. We are referring here to work, funded by DFID, carried out by the Land Portal in partnership with the Open Development Mekong which sought to determine the meaning of terms relating to land ownership and use in Vietnamese, Khmer, Burmese and Thai and map them to the nearest English Language equivalents in the FAO Agrovoc Thesaurus. Mike Powell facilitates process of internal evaluative practice amongst the stakeholders of the Land Portal—https://landportal.info/voc/landvoc. Accessed 13 March 2017.
10. In six years of discussing development research in IKM, we came across two examples of researchers having made such an effort. One, which we failed to follow up, came from a team working for ICARDA in Aleppo, Syria. The other was Martha Chinouya's initiative in reporting on her research on women and HIV in Eastern Zimbabwe by means of a dramatized video produced in the Shona language.

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PART III

Scientific Impact and Methodologies

Check for updates

CHAPTER 9

Analysing the Scientific Impact of Development Studies: Challenges for the Future

Sergio Tezanos and Carmen Trueba

1 Introduction

Development Studies (DS) is a cross-disciplinary (multi- and interdisciplinary) field of study, and hence not a discipline. Its cross-disciplinary character can be regarded as an advantage, as it seems to be the most appropriate research strategy for understanding the complex and multidimensional process of sustainable human development (EADI 2005; Hulme and Toye 2006; Sumner and Tribe 2008; Domínguez 2012). However, cross-disciplinarity comes with a cost in terms of "scientific impact", as cross-disciplinary and applied fields of study tend to have lower impact factors than mono-disciplinary and/or basic research fields.

This chapter offers an in-depth analysis of the scientific impact of DS. To do so, we use the data provided by the two main (and competing) international citation indexes in Social Sciences: the Clarivate Analytics' *Social Science Citation Index* (SSCI) and the Elsevier's *Scimago Journal*

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Rank (SJR). After this introduction, the second section briefly explains the usefulness of journal impact factors for analysing the "quality" of research across different fields of study. The third section discusses the implications of the cross-disciplinary nature of DS in terms of its performance in journal impact factors. The fourth section comparatively analyses the impact factors of DS in the SSCI and the SJR. The fifth section analyses the consequences of creating a separate category of "development" in the SSCI. We conclude summarizing the main results and offering some recommendations in order to increase the scientific impact of DS.

2 What Do "Impact Factors" Really Measure?

The journal impact factor is the most widely used scientometric indicator. Statistically speaking, it represents the average number of times that the papers published in a particular journal are referenced (cited) by other papers. Impact factors were originally conceptualized in the 1960s by the American structural linguist Eugene Garfield as an indicator for evaluating the "quality" of scientific journals (Garfield and Sher 1963; Garfield 1979). In particular, Garfield sought to develop a relative citation statistic that accounted for the effects of size and age of journals on the total number of citations they receive, as larger and older journals tend to receive more citations because they have larger bodies of previously published articles available to be cited.

As Clarivate Analytics (2017) clearly states in its on-line *History of citation indexing*:

> The concept behind citation indexing is fundamentally simple. By recognizing that the value of information is determined by those who use it, what better way to measure the quality of the work than by measuring the impact it makes on the community at large. The widest possible population within the scholarly community (i.e. anyone who uses or cites the source material) determines the influence or impact of the idea and its originator on our body of knowledge.

Despite its advantages in measuring academic "influence", the impact factor has also some limitations. A major critique is that impact factors vary ostensibly across different fields of study, and hence they are not directly comparable. As Fig. 1 shows, the two selected Science's fields of study (Neurology and Cell biology) have higher impact factors than the five selected Social Science's fields of study, both in the SSCI and

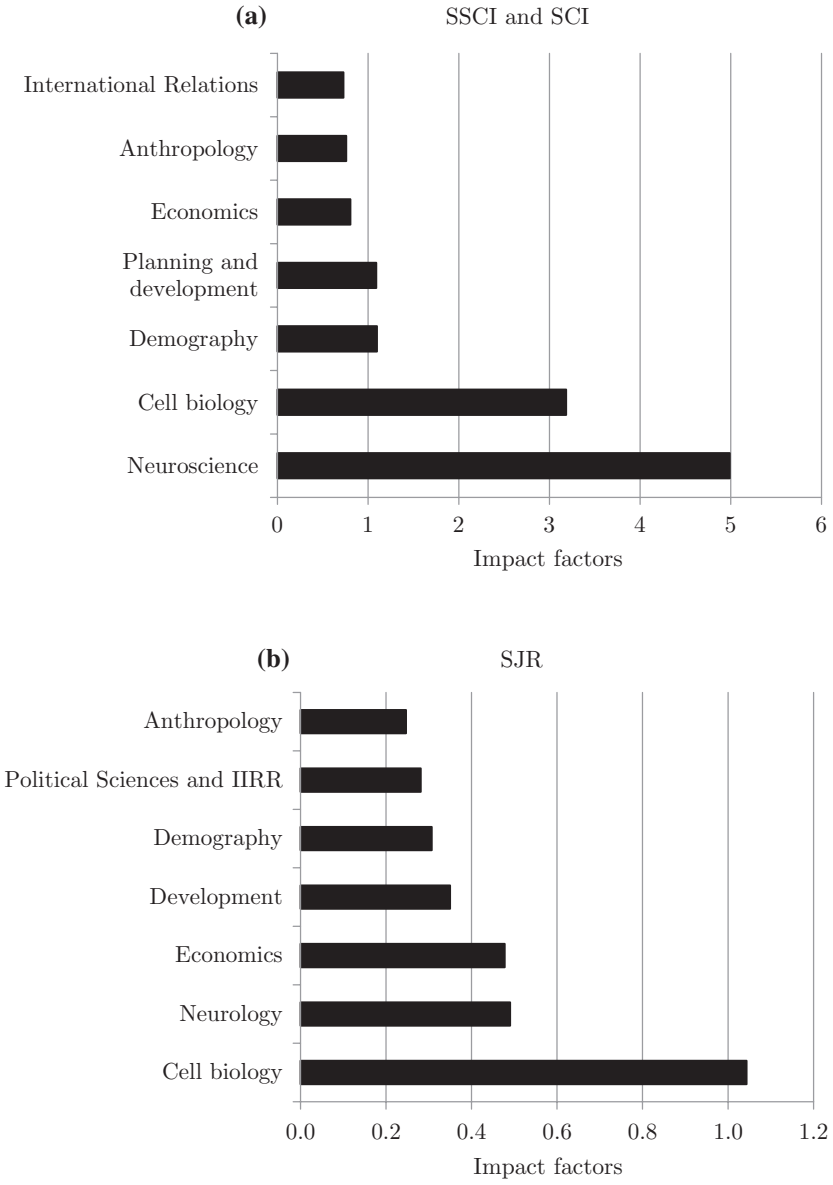


Fig. 1 Comparison of impact factors across different fields of study (a) SSCI and SCI (b) SJR (*Source* Authors' calculations using data from FECYT [2017] and Scimago [2017]. Impact factors are geometric averages of each field of study)

the SJR. Within Social Sciences, DS rank comparatively high among the selected fields of study.

There are a number of reasons for this variability across different fields of study. Five important ones are:

i. The average number of authors per article varies widely across fields of study. As Aksnes (2003) and Amin and Mabe (2004) showed, highly cited papers tend to have a high number of authors, and fields of study with high numbers of authors per paper tend to have higher impact factors as a consequence of self-citation patterns or "clubs of citation" (i.e. authors citing their own work and/or the work of their own research team), which should be regarded as "bad (scientific) praxis".
ii. There are different publication patterns across fields of study, which contribute to different levels of citations. In many fields within Social Sciences it is more common to publish books than in "hard" Sciences. As references within books are not captured by impact factors, when books instead of journal papers are published, the total number of inter-journal citations is reduced.
iii. There are differences in the level of coverage across subject fields. In a field with a low coverage of journals due to an important number of scientific journals "excluded" from these impact factors—such as DS, as we will explain later—, a higher proportion of citations from the field will not be captured in the data base (i.e. those citations in journals not included in the data base) which leads to lower impact factors.
iv. There are differences that stem from the mono- *versus* multidisciplinary natures of different fields of study, as mono-disciplinary journals tend to receive more citations.
v. There are differences between "basic" research fields and "applied" research fields, as the latter are more likely to cite journals in related basic research fields than other applied journals.

As a result, Cross (2014: 6) warns that impact factors cannot be used to compare journals from different subject areas due to the high variation across them: "[…] This is why the journals covered by the JCR are classified into fairly narrow subject categories. It is only at this level that journals should be ranked according to their impact factors."

Apart from these differences across fields of study, impact factors can also vary strongly over time due to the higher variability that affects smaller journals. As Cross (2014) statistically explains, smaller samples of journals have greater sampling errors than larger ones. As a consequence, small changes in the total number of citations to a journal that publishes relatively few papers per year leads to significant changes in the impact factor between years. As we will explain later, this variability especially affects DS due to its limited coverage.

3 Cross-Disciplinarity in Development Studies

DS is a "field of study" which synthesizes several disciplines, and therefore cannot be regarded as a discipline, but rather as a "melting pot" that blends analytical approaches and theories from several disciplines.

Before understanding what a "non-disciplinary" field of study is, it is important to define the concept of "scientific disciplines". The American physicist and historian of science, Thomas Kuhn, offered a pioneer definition based on the concept of "paradigm". According to Kuhn (1962/1996), a "scientific paradigm" is a set of concepts and practices that define a "scientific discipline" at any particular period of time. In his influential book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn (1962/1996: 10) defined a scientific paradigm as "universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners". In line with Kuhn, the OECD (1972: 83), in its pioneer report *Interdisciplinarity: Problems of Teaching and Research in Universities*, defined disciplinarity as "the specialised scientific exploration of a given homogeneous subject matter producing new knowledge and making obsolete old knowledge".[1]

So, in this context, what is cross-disciplinarity? This is a polysemic concept that needs clarification, as there are many related concepts—such as multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinarity—with important differences. These terms are generally conceived in contrast to what Kuhn defined as "normal science" (i.e. disciplinary knowledge). If a disciplinary research field is understood as a group of researchers that share a paradigm, the generic term of "cross-disciplinary" research should be understood as a combination of different paradigms from various disciplines in order to offer analytical insight into complex problems. In this context, the OECD (1972: 136–138) offered a clear distinction

of three levels of cross-disciplinarity in increasing order of interaction between their disciplinary components:

- *Multidisciplinarity* occurs when the solution to a problem makes it necessary to obtain information from two or more disciplines without the disciplines drawn on thereby being changed or enriched. This is often observed when research teams are formed with an interdisciplinary objective and at first keep their discussions on the level of mutual and cumulative information but without any actual interactions. Its impact in terms of knowledge creation is, therefore, additive.
- *Interdisciplinarity* occurs when there is cooperation among various disciplines that leads to actual interactions and to certain reciprocity of exchanges resulting in mutual enrichment. Therefore, interdisciplinary researchers are knowledgeable and experienced within more than one discipline, and the results of their study of a certain problem are more coherent and integrated. Its impact in terms of knowledge creation is—potentially—multiplicative.
- *Transdisciplinarity* occurs when the interactions or reciprocities between disciplines derive in a "total system" without any firm boundaries between disciplines. Therefore, transdisciplinarity results in overcoming the original disciplines and founding a new meta-discipline.

In sum, DS is a cross-disciplinary (multi- or interdisciplinary depending on the level of integration of the different disciplines) academic field of study. Consequently DS is not a discipline, as it is characterized by a diversity of paradigms and disciplines, mainly within the Social Sciences (such as Economics, Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology, International Relations and Geography). Moreover, DS is—in nature—"more inclined to be 'problem-oriented' than to be 'discipline-oriented'" (EADI 2005: 15). Therefore, the majority of DS research projects are normative, as the creation of knowledge is an instrumental means for contributing to solve real (development) problems.

Nevertheless, the "cooperation" among different disciplines within DS also involves important risks that may affect the "scientific evaluation" of this field of study. As EADI (2005) clearly warned, if the disciplines were integrated without sufficient scientific rigour, DS would be "a thin layer of inter- and multidisciplinarity which may be adequate for

journalistic purposes but not for academic studies" (EADI 2005: 16). These risks will be specifically evaluated for the DS's field of study in the following sections.

4 How Is Development Studies Assessed by Impact Factors? SSCI Vs. SJR

DS is assessed by different impact factors within the category of Social Sciences. There are two main international citation indexes in Social Sciences which are elaborated by two private companies: the Clarivate Analytics' SSCI and the Elsevier's SJR.[2] In order to understand the scientific impact of a specific field of study—such as DS—it is crucial to know the main differences between these two citation indexes. Let us focus on their main differences in terms of five important features: accessibility; methodology; definition of the subject category of development; coverage; and citation windows.

4.1 Accessibility

A major difference between these two impact factors is in terms of accessibility: whereas the online access to SJR is open and unrestricted, the SSCI requires an institutional or individual subscription and only limited data is freely available online. As the SSCI's subscription fees are very high, this is an impediment for the scientific communities of developing countries to use these performance indicators.

4.2 Methodology

On the one hand, the SSCI provides bibliographic information developed from the Clarivate Analytics' Web of Science. It includes over 3000 social sciences journals across 50 disciplines (grouped in 55 subject areas and 177 subject categories).

In statistical terms, the SSCI aims to measure the relative quality of academic journals by calculating the yearly average number of citations to recent articles published in that journal. The formula used to calculate the SSCI in a particular year t for journal i is expressed as follows:

$$\mathrm{SCCI}_i = \frac{A}{B}$$

where A represents the number of citations to recent items (citations in year t to items published in years $t-1$ and $t-2$) and B refers to the total number of articles published in $t-1$ and $t-2$. For instance, if we want to compute the impact factor of a specific journal in 2015 we consider the citations that this journal received in 2013 and 2014 and the number of articles published in these two years.

On the other hand, the SJR provides indicators developed from the information contained in the Scopus database (Elsevier). Citation data are drawn from over 22,000 journals (not only Social Sciences) that are grouped by subject area (27 major thematic areas) and subject category (313 specific subject categories) according to the Scopus classification (the All Science Journal Classification, ASJC). This platform takes its name from the SJR indicator, developed by Scimago from the widely known algorithm Google PageRank. This indicator shows the visibility of the journals contained in the Scopus database from 1996.

In this case, the impact factor weights citations based on the impact of the citing journal. The formula used to compute the index is obtained in a two-step process (see González-Pereira et al. 2010). The first step is to compute a size-dependent metric that reflects the prestige of journal i in a particular year t (the so-called Prestige SJR: $\mathrm{PSJR}_{i,t}$) using the following formula:

$$\mathrm{PSJR}_i = \frac{(1-d-e)}{N} + e \cdot \frac{\mathrm{Art}_i}{\sum_{j=1}^{N} \mathrm{Art}_j} + d \cdot \left[\sum_{j=1}^{N} C_{ji} \cdot \frac{\mathrm{PSJR}_j}{C_j} \cdot \mathrm{CF} + \frac{\mathrm{Art}_i}{\sum_{j=1}^{N} \mathrm{Art}_j} \cdot \sum_{k \in \mathrm{DN}} \mathrm{PSJR}_k \right]$$

where C_{ji} are the references from journal j to journal i; C_j is the number of references of journal j; constants d and e are set to 0.9 and 0.0999, respectively; N is the number of journals in the database; Art_j is the number of articles of journal j; and CF is a correction factor that distributes the prestige across all the journals in proportion to their accumulated prestige.

The second step is to normalize the preceding indicator to obtain the SJR indicator, which is a size-independent metric:

$$\mathrm{SJR}_i = c \cdot \frac{\mathrm{PSJR}_i}{\mathrm{Art}_i}$$

.

4.3 Definition of the Subject Category of Development

SSCI identifies a large area of "geography, planning and development journals" that includes the subject category of "planning & development", defined as "concerned with resources on the economics and social development of both underdeveloped and industrialized areas. The resources in this category focus on subjects such as economic forecasting, development studies, policy-making strategies, theories of planning, and the growth of the third world" (Thomson Reuters 2012).

In contrast, SJR includes the ASJC's subject category of "Development" (code 3303) within the subject area of "Social Sciences", but do not offer a specific definition of this category.

4.4 Coverage

It would appear that a comprehensive bibliometric index should cover all journals published in a specific subject category. However, there are important differences in the "selection strategies" of the SSCI and the SJR. The former believes in the so-called "Garfield's law of concentration", which states that the core literature for all scholarly disciplines may be concentrated in a relatively small number of journals (Garfield 1977, 1979, 1996).[3] As a result, in 2015 the SSCI category on "planning and development" only covers 55 journals whereas the SJR category of development consists of 188.

The larger sample of SJR has important implications in terms of languages, as it includes journals in other languages than English (mainly Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and French, although they remain a minority within the sample). In contrast, the SSCI is clearly biased in favour of English publications; as they clearly state in their webpage, they focus "on journals that publish full text in English or, at the very least, bibliographic information in English […] full text English is highly desirable, especially if the journal intends to serve an international community of researchers".[4]

4.5 Publication and Citation Windows

The "publication window" is the year during which the papers included in the calculation of the impact factor were published (i.e. the publication window is the impact factor year). Moreover, the "citation window"

is the period during which citations to these papers were counted. In the case of the SSCI, the citation window refers to the two previous years. Therefore, the 2015 SSCI's impact factor (released in 2016) computes the citations of years 2013 and 2014. In the case of the SJR, the citation window refers to the three previous years. Therefore, the 2015 SJR's impact factor (released in 2016) computes the citations of years 2012, 2013 and 2014.

So, why do impact factors include citation windows? As Cross (2014) explains, impact factors were devised as a proxy of the quality of research papers and academic journals, originally in the fields of molecular biology and biochemistry, where 25% of citations received in a particular year were accounted for by papers published in that year and the two previous years. Therefore, the two-year citation window was appropriate in these "fast-moving" fields of study. However, the citation patterns vary considerably across fields, and there are acute differences between Sciences and Social Sciences. This is the reason why Garfield (1998) argued for longer citation windows in order to take into account citations in "slower moving" fields. As a consequence, since 2007 Clarivate Analytics also computes a five-year impact factor.

Clarivate Analytics justifies the use of short citation windows as this implies that the resulting impact factors are more sensitive to recent changes in citations. This means that if a journal's impact factor is affected by a paper with an atypically high (or low) number of citations, this atypical situation will not skew the impact factor for more than two years. In contrast, longer citation windows (like the three years of the SJR or the five years alternative of the SSCI) dilute this effect but will include it for a longer period.

A practical advantage of the two-year impact factor is that for its computation it only requires three years of data (the publication year plus two years of citations). Alternatively, the five-year impact factor takes over twice as long to produce and this extended delay may be detrimental to new journals trying to establish themselves.[5]

So, are these citation windows adequate for DS? Let us analyse a real example: Pietrobelli and Rabellotti (2011) published a paper in *World Development*—a "top" journal according to its impact factor in both the SSCI and the SJR—that, to-date, has received 84 citations according to Scopus, hence becoming the most cited paper of this journal.[6] The paper includes 71 bibliographic references, but only 4 of them were dated to the years 2009 and 2010, thus contributing to the 2011 SSCI's impact

factor. Furthermore, among these four references, two were published in books (and thus they were not computed in the impact factor) and the other two in journals (one journal is included in both the SSCI and the SJR, and the other only in the SJR). According to this example of the most cited paper in one of the most cited Development journals, the "immediacy" of citations in development journals seems to be very limited, thus suggesting that short period windows may be negatively affecting DS impact factor and that several years are needed to gauge the general impact of a title.

Beyond this anecdotal evidence, what does the aggregate time pattern of citation in DS look like? Let us focus on the SSCI's subject category of "planning and development" for this analysis. Figure 2 and Table 1 show the percentage of lifetime citations received by year since publication. As already explained, only citations received in the two years after publication count towards the original SSCI's impact factor. These citations are those that fall within the two-year citation window depicted in the graph. In this case, the proportion is only 10.8% (i.e. 4.5% in 2014 plus 6.2% in 2013). If we expand the citation window to five years, the

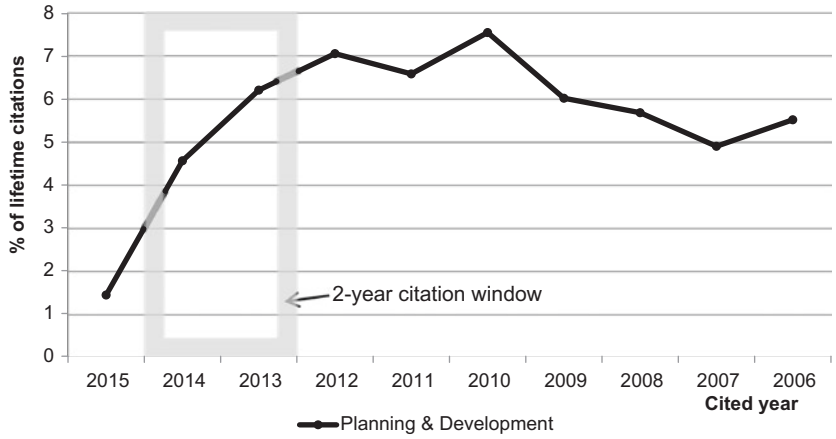


Fig. 2 Time pattern of aggregate citation in "planning and development" (*Source* Authors' calculations using SSCI data from FECYT [2017]. The percentage of lifetime citations is based on the aggregate citation distribution [by cited year] of citations published in journals during 2015 to items published in journals in the SSCI's "planning and development" category during the last 10 years)

Table 1 Aggregate citation across different Social Sciences' fields of study

Cited year	*2015*	*2014*	*2013*	*2012*	*2011*	*2010*	*2009*	*2008*	*2007*	*2006*	*2005-All*	*Total*
Planning and Development												
Number of citations from 2015	1.161	3.709	5.049	5.740	5.357	6.141	4.894	4.619	3.982	4.486	36.085	81.223
% of lifetime citations	1.43	4.57	6.22	7.07	6.60	7.56	6.03	5.69	4.90	5.52	44.43	100.00
Aggregate cited half-life	9.0	8.8	8.7	8.4	8.4	8.4	8.2	7.7	7.4	7.3		
Economics												
Number of citations from 2015	5.359	18.909	29.469	33.184	34.654	34.080	33.424	33.050	29.345	26.584	330.463	608.521
% of lifetime citations	0.88	3.11	4.84	5.45	5.69	5.60	5.49	5.43	4.82	4.37	54.31	100.00
Aggregate cited half-life	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0	>10.0		
International Relations												
Number of citations from 2015	1.166	3.288	4.437	4.231	3.927	4.023	3.496	3.161	2.905	3.107	22.728	56.469
% of lifetime citations	2.06	5.82	7.86	7.49	6.95	7.12	6.19	5.60	5.14	5.50	40.25	100.00
Aggregate cited half-life	8.2	8.1	7.9	7.8	7.7	7.8	8.3	7.3	7.2	7.7		

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Cited year	*2015*	*2014*	*2013*	*2012*	*2011*	*2010*	*2009*	*2008*	*2007*	*2006*	*2005-All*	*Total*
Anthropology												
Number of citations from 2015	1.408	4.157	5.231	6.125	5.412	5.571	5.296	4.487	4.466	4.281	48.646	95.080
% of lifetime citations	1.48	4.37	5.50	6.44	5.69	5.86	5.57	4.72	4.70	4.50	51.16	100.00
Aggregate cited half-life	>10.0	9.9	9.6	9.8	9.9	9.8	>10.0	9.8	9.8	9.8		
Demography												
Number of citations from 2015	294	1.216	1.569	1.530	1.676	1.965	1.576	1.691	1.515	1.321	12.772	27.125
% of lifetime citations	1.08	4.48	5.78	5.64	6.18	7.24	5.81	6.23	5.59	4.87	47.09	100.00
Aggregate cited half-life	9.4	9.5	9.2	8.9	8.7	8.4	8.7	8.2	8.4	8.9		

Source Authors' calculations using SSCI data from FECYT (2017)

proportion of citations is three times larger (32%), in part because 2010 (the fifth year after publication) is precisely the year with the highest proportion of citations. However, even with a five-year citation window, we are still missing over two-thirds of citations in the field of DS.

It is also worth comparing DS with "related" Social Sciences' fields of study. Table 1 includes four other Social Sciences' subject categories: Development, Economics, International Relations, Anthropology and Demography. In comparative terms, the time pattern of citations of "planning and development" is similar to that of the other four related fields of study (Fig. 3). In particular, "planning and development" is the second subject category—among the five analysed categories—with the

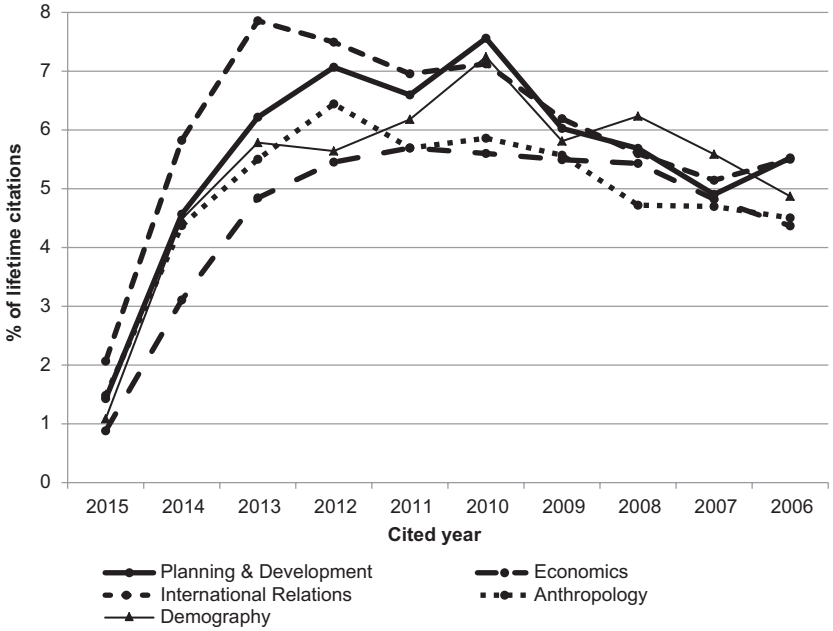


Fig. 3 Comparison of time pattern of aggregate citation across different Social Sciences' fields of study (*Source* authors' calculations using SSCI data from FECYT [2017]. The percentage of lifetime citations is based on the aggregate citation distribution [by cited year] of citations published in journals during 2015 to items published in journals in the "planning and development" category during the last 10 years)

highest proportions of citations both in the two-year citation window and in the five-year one, only surpassed by "International Relations". In any case, there are important variations in terms of time patterns of citations across subject categories, and these variations are relevant since they determine the resulting impact factors of each field of study.

Another interesting statistic that sheds some light on the "appropriate" citation window for DS is the "aggregate cited half-life". For a specific subject category, it is the median age of the articles that were cited in a particular year. It is an indication of the turnover rate of the body of work on a specific subject. For example, in 2015 "planning and development" had an aggregate cited half-life of nine years (Table 1). This means that articles published in "planning and development" journals between 2007 and 2015 (9 years) accounted for 50% of all citations to articles from those journals in 2015. Hence the other 50% of 2015 citations were references to papers published before 2007. In comparative terms, the other four analysed Social Sciences' fields have similarly high aggregate cited half-life figures, which all in all indicate that they are not benefited from short citation windows—such as the two-year, or even the five-year, periods.

Now we know the main differences between these two competing impact factors, let us analyse the comparative performance of DS in the SSCI and the SJR. Table 2 summarizes the main descriptive statistics for DS and other "related" Social Sciences' fields of study. In the particular case of DS, there are important differences in the impact factors in both rankings, with both a higher average and a higher maximum value in the SSCI (due to methodological differences and sample compositions).

Furthermore, a reasonable question is: to what extent do these journal rankings correlate with each other? First of all, it is worth noting that there are important differences in terms of the journal composition of each ranking. In particular, there are only 37 journals that are simultaneously included in both rankings; therefore, there are 15 SSCI journals that are not included in SJR; and, in the opposite direction, there are 151 SJR journals that are not included in the SSCI. Nevertheless, among the 37 journals included in both journal rankings there is a "moderately" high level of coincidence in terms of their corresponding impact factors, with a Spearman's coefficient of 0.75 (see Annex. Table A1).

In comparison with the other four Social Sciences' fields (Table 2), DS have a relatively high impact factor (in terms of the weighted average, it has the highest impact factor in the SSCI, and the second

Table 2 Descriptive statistics of SSCI and SJR for different Social Science's subject categories. 2015

	Development		*Economics*		*International relations*		*Anthropology*		*Demography*	
	SSCI's planning and development	*SJR's development*	*SSCI's Economics*	*SJR's Economics and econometrics*	*SSCI's IIRR*	*SJR's Political Sciences and IIRR*	*SSCI's Anthropology*	*SJR's Anthropology*	*SSCI's Demography*	*SJR's Demography*
Number of journals	55	188	344	545	86	404	84	289	26	76
Average impact factor (geometric mean)	1.090	0.350	0.805	0.478	0.729	0.281	0.759	0.247	1.098	0.307
Weighted average impact factor (geometric mean)	1.359	0.517	1.025	0.526	0.906	0.337	0.987	0.368	1.235	0.513
Standard deviation of impact factors	0.792	0.563	0.995	1.803	0.748	0.546	0.889	0.560	0.810	0.599
Max. impact factor	4.311	2.840	6.614	20.761	3.275	4.424	4.311	4.896	3.214	2.585
Min. impact factor	0.185	0.100	0.028	0.028	0.014	0.100	0.038	0.100	0.188	0.100

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

	Development		*Economics*		*International relations*		*Anthropology*		*Demography*	
	SSCI's planning and development	*SJR's development*	*SSCI's Economics*	*SJR's Economics and econometrics*	*SSCI's IIRR*	*SJR's Political Sciences and IIRR*	*SSCI's Anthropology*	*SJR's Anthropology*	*SSCI's Demography*	*SJR's Demography*
Number of journals included in both rankings	37		195		61		52		20	
Coincidence between rankings (Spearman coef.)	0.753		0.895		0.819		0.878		0.869	

Sources Authors calculations using data from FECYT (2017) and SCIMAGO (2017)
Weighted average impact factor in terms of the number of articles published in each subject category. This statistic prevents small journals (i.e. journals that publish few articles per year) from skewing the average impact factor of its subject category

highest in the SJR, only surpassed by Economics), a low coverage (only Demography has a lower number of journals) and the lowest coincidence between SSCI and SJR's rankings (which, in this last case, is a consequence of mixing "planning" and "development" in the SSCI's category, as we will explain later).

5 Consequences of Mixing "Planning" and "Development" in a Single (Melted) Category

As already explained, SSCI identifies a large area of "geography, planning and development journals" that includes the subject category of "planning & development", which is defined as "concerned with resources on the economics and social development of both underdeveloped and industrialized areas. The resources in this category focus on subjects such as economic forecasting, development studies, policy-making strategies, theories of planning, and the growth of the third world" (Thomson Reuters 2012).

Therefore, journals working on development and those working on planning are mixed in a single category. Nevertheless, there are important reasons why development journals should be separated and provided with their own category:

Firstly, and most importantly, because of the differentiated subject matters: whilst DS have its origin in central planning, this is no longer the case in the twenty-first Century. DS have undergone momentous change over the past decades, becoming a field of study on its own, as it is already recognized in other informetrics databases, such as the SJR and Google Academics.

Secondly, DS, as a field of study, has considerably grown in the last few years, both in terms of the number of specialized journals (as all ready explained, the SJR subject category of "development" includes 188 journals) and academic institutions. For example, in Europe we have a supra-national scientific association, the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI), and a number of national associations, such as the Development Studies Association of United Kingdom and Ireland (DSA), the Danish Association of Development Researchers (FAU), the Finnish Society for Development Research (FSDR), the Norwegian Association for Development Research (NFU), the Red Española de Estudios del Desarrollo (REEDES) and the Research School for Resource Studies for Development (CERES).

Table 3 Descriptive statistics of a hypothetical SSCI's "development" subject category. 2015

	SSCI's "planning and development"	*SSCI's "development"*
Number of journals	55	29
Average impact factor (geometric mean)	1.09	0.82
Standard deviation of impact factors	0.36	0.529
Max. impact factor	4.311	2.438
Min. impact factor	0.185	0.185

Sources Authors' calculations using data from FECYT (2017)

In fact, in 2016 six of these European associations jointly requested Thomson Reuters and Clarivate Analytics to create a new separate category for DS journals.

Administratively, creating a separate development category involves a small and easy to implement change, as impact factors are not computed in relation to the journals included in each subject category, but in relation to all journals included in the Web of Science database. Therefore, the impact factors of each journal will be exactly the same, either within a mixed "planning and development" category or in a separate "development" category.

However, the fact that impact factors will remain the same does not mean that there are not important consequences of creating a development category, separated from planning. The main consequences are fourfold (Table 3):

i. The number of journals covered in the new—hypothetical—SSCI's development category would be only 29. This, in fact, does not change the real supply of DS journals, which obviously remains the same, as planning journals are not actually publishing on development issues. However, this will make clear that the SSCI database has a severe—and unjustified—shortage of DS journals.
ii. It would allow strong development journals—which are currently "lost" in the hybrid category—to emerge, as the first quartile of the current "planning and development" category is taken by planning journals. In fact, among the 14 journals included in the first quartile, only 3 are "strictly" development journals. This emergence of DS journals would benefit those academics that are

interested in publishing in DS journals with high rankings (as most European universities' accreditation processes actually incentivize them to do), not in a mixed category.

iii. The average impact factor of the new development category will drop to 0.82 (from 1.09 of the mixed category). This is an obvious consequence of removing the planning journals, which have comparatively higher impact factors.

iv. The dispersion across impact factor will also increase, although the range between the maximum and the minimum impact factors will be smaller (due to a lower maximum value).

6 Conclusions and Recommendations

We have argued that the cross-disciplinary (multi- and interdisciplinary) nature of DS has several implications in terms of its "scientific impact", as cross-disciplinary and applied fields of study tend to have lower impact factors in journals than mono-disciplinary and/or basic research fields.

This paper offers an in-depth analysis of how the scientific impact of DS is built up. To do so, we analyse the two main (and competing) international citation indexes in Social Sciences, which are run by two private companies: the Clarivate Analytics' SSCI and the Elsevier's SJR. Although they try to measure exactly the same thing (the impact/influence of scientific journals), there are important differences between these two ranks in terms of accessibility, methodology, definitions of the subject category of development, coverage and citation windows. Our analysis provides nine main empirical results:

Journal impact factor is the most widely used scientometric indicator. It represents the average number of times that the papers published in a particular journal are referenced (cited) by other papers. Despite its advantages in terms of measuring academic "influence", impact factors vary noticeably across different fields of study due to differences in terms of the average number of authors per article, the publication patterns across fields of study, the level of coverage (i.e. the number of journals included in each field of study), the mono- versus cross-disciplinary natures of different fields of study, the time periods covered in literature citations, and the differences between "basic" and "applied" research fields. Therefore, impact factors are not directly comparable across fields of study and should be "handled" with caution.

DS is a cross-disciplinary academic field of study, and hence not a discipline, characterized by a diversity of paradigms and disciplines, mainly

within the Social Sciences. Although the "cooperation" among different disciplines seems to be the most appropriate research strategy for understanding the complex and multidimensional process of sustainable human development, it also involves risks that may affect the "scientific evaluation" of this field of study. If the disciplines are integrated without sufficient scientific rigour, DS would be "a thin layer of inter- and multidisciplinarity which may be adequate for journalistic purposes but not for academic studies" (EADI 2005: 16).

The selection of the "citation window" (the period during which citations to a journals' papers are counted) is of paramount importance for evaluating the scientific impact of a field of study. The SSCI citation window refers to either two or five years. The SJR's citation window refers to the three previous years. Our analysis shows that even with the larger citation window (five years) we are still missing over two-thirds of the citations in the field of DS, precisely because these citations belong to papers that were published before the five-year window and thus are not used to compute impact factors. This is the main explanation for the relatively low impact factor of DS (in comparison with "hard" Sciences); a feature that is similar to other Social Science fields of study, which reveals that short citation windows do not benefit these fields of study.

Regarding the performance of DS in the two analysed impact factors (SSCI and SJR), there are important differences in terms of scores, with both a higher average and a higher maximum value in the SSCI. Differences are relevant in terms of the journal composition of each ranking: whereas SSCI includes 55 "planning and development" journals, SJR includes 188 "development" (and non-planning) journals. More strikingly, there are only 37 journals that are simultaneously included in both rankings, and the level of coincidence among these 37 journals in terms of their corresponding positions in both ranks is only "moderately" high (with a Spearman coefficient of 0.75).

Compared with four other Social Science fields (Economics, International Relations, Anthropology and Demography), DS have a relatively high impact factor (the highest weighted average in the SSCI, and the second highest in the SJR, only surpassed by Economics), a low coverage (only Demography has a lower number of journals) and the lowest correlation between SSCI and SJR's rankings (as a consequence of mixing "planning" and "development" in the SSCI's category). However, impact factors in all these Social Science fields are significantly lower than those of "hard" Sciences.

The low coverage of DS journals (especially acute in the SSCI) implies greater sampling errors than in those categories with larger numbers of journals (such as Economics and International Relations). As a consequence, small changes in the total number of citations to a development journal leads to significant changes in the impact factor between years.

There are important reasons why development journals should be provided with their own category, rather than the SSCI "mixed" subject category of "planning and development". First, because of its differentiated subject matter: although DS have its origin in central planning, this is no longer the case in the twenty-first Century. DS have undergone momentous change over the past decades, becoming an autonomous field of study, as already recognized in other info-metrics databases, such as the SJR and Google Scholar. Second, DS have considerably grown in recent years, both in terms of the number of specialized journals and academic (supra-national and national) associations (in Europe for example EADI, DSA, FAU, FSDR, NFU, CERES, and REEDES).

Administratively, creating a separate development category in the SSCI is easy to implement, as impact factors are not computed in relation to the journals included in each subject category, but in relation to all journals included in the database. Therefore, the impact factors of each journal will remain the same, either within a mixed "planning and development" category or in a separate "development" category.

Although impact factors will remain the same, there would be four important consequences of creating a separate development category. First, the number of journals covered in the new—hypothetical—SSCI's development category would only be 29 due to its severe—and unjustified—curtailing of DS journals. Second, it would allow strong development journals—currently "lost" in the hybrid category—to emerge, as the first quartile of the current "planning and development" category is occupied by planning journals (with only three development journals among the 14 first quartile journals). This emergence of DS journals would benefit those academics that are interested in publishing in DS journals with high-ranking positions (as many European scientific systems are incentivizing them to do). Third, the average impact factor of the new development category will drop 25% (from 1.09 to 0.82) as a consequence of removing the planning journals, which have comparatively higher impact factors. Fourth, the variation across impact factor will also increase, although the range between the maximum and the minimum impact factors will be smaller (due to a lower maximum value).

All in all, this analysis provides evidence that may be useful for guiding future actions that seek to increase the scientific impact (and influence) of DS. In particular, the following three recommendations may be useful for EADI and other European DS associations:

We should have a pro-active attitude towards the private editorial companies that produce impact factors. In particular, we should ask them to increase the citation windows for cross-disciplinary, Social Sciences research fields, such as DS, in order to ensure the citation window is closer to the actual pattern of citations. In our case, this means that longer citation windows (for example, nine years, which is precisely the "aggregate cited half-life" of DS) will result in a more comprehensive coverage of the actual citations received by DS journals.

We also need to strengthen our demand for creating a separate "development" category in the SSCI, as the mixed "planning and development" category clearly damages development researchers who are "forced" to publish outside the first quartile due to the preponderance of planning journals in the top positions of the ranking.

We should also seriously demand an increased level of coverage of DS journals (especially of SSCI, but also of SJR) in order to reduce the sampling errors in the computation of the impact factors, to increase the supply of "indexed" journals, and to include non-English speaking scientific communities—which are seriously under-represented.

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Notes

1. See also OECD's (1972: 83–86) seven criteria to characterize a specific discipline, regarding its: (i) "material field"; (ii) the "subject matter"; (iii) the "level of theoretical integration"; iv) the "methods"; (v) the "analytical tools"; (vi) its "applications in fields of practice"; and (vii) the "historical contingencies".
2. It should be explained that the SSCI is part of the *Web of Science*, an online subscription-based scientific citation indexing service owned by Thomson Reuters since 1992. However, in 2016 Thomson Reuters sold the *Web of Science* to an independent company, Clarivate Analytics, that now owns and operates the citation indexes.

3. For example, an analysis of 11,813 journals across all categories of the natural and social sciences covered in the 2014 *Journal of Citation Reports* revealed that 525 journals accounted for 50% of citations. Moreover, 4470 of these journals accounted for 80% of published articles and nearly 85% of cited articles (Testa 2016).
4. http://wokinfo.com/essays/journal-selection-process/.
5. Obviously, this detrimental effect is only valid for databases with wide coverage of journals, such as the SJR, were the inclusion of new journals in a relatively short period of time is feasible. By contrast, the inclusion of new journals in a short period of time is highly unlikely in the case of the SSCI.
6. Information retrieved on 19 May 2017 from https://www.scopus.com/record/display.uri?eid=2-s2.0-79957944103&origin=inward&txGid=86A216B8E9C4E0FA956A437A7DD2955B9.wsnAw8kcdt7IPYLO0V48gA%3a1#.

Annex

See Table A1.

Table A1 Pairwise correlation between SSCI and SJR rakings. 2015

			Ranking37_SSCI	*Ranking37_SJR*
Spearman's Rho	Ranking37_SSCI	Correlation coef.	1.000	0.753[a]
		Sig. (bilateral)		0.000
		N	37	37
	Ranking37_SJR	Correlation coef.	0.753[a]	1.000
		Sig. (bilateral)	0.000	
		N	37	37

Sources Authors' calculations using data from FECYT (2017) and Scimago (2017). The analysis includes the 37 journals that are simultaneously considered by the SSCI and the SJR rankings
[a]Correlation is significant at a 0.01 level (bilateral)

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CHAPTER 10

Novel Perceptions on Development Studies: International Review and Consultations Toward a Renewed Vision

Joost Mönks, Gilles Carbonnier, Aude Mellet and Leo de Haan

1 Setting the Scene

The European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI) released its first Vision Paper on Development Studies in 2005 (Opschoor et al. 2005). In the wake of the so-called Bologna Process, which promoted greater harmonisation within the European higher education area, the Vision Paper primarily adopted a Eurocentric

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perspective on Development Studies (DS). Ten years later, the international consultation process that would lead to the drafting of an updated Vision Paper was launched, again under EADI aegis and concluded at the EADI General Conference in Bergen, Norway, in August 2017. This time, the emphasis was on perspectives from emerging economies and developing countries. The authors have been closely associated with this process and shared the objective of questioning existing paradigms in DS education and research. This paper presents key outcomes of this consultation process. It does not have the ambition of providing a comprehensive overview of the field of DS across the world or even in the countries considered. Rather it highlights trends and emphasises critical questions that have arisen on the nature of—and approach to—DS.

Although DS origins can be traced back to colonial times (Sumner and Tribe 2008a), it expanded as an interdisciplinary field of research and education after World War II. The field thus developed in an international development landscape that was largely shaped by the Cold War, decolonisation, and a growing development aid enterprise (Myrdal 1996). In this context, DS evolved as an 'asymmetric business' largely dominated by Northern social scientists who were studying the South.[1] It was not rare for Northern researchers to spend years as expatriates carrying out field research. Northern experts and organisations were supposed to have the knowledge, technology and means to help the so-called underdeveloped world catch up with the industrialised one. The DS field was characterised by a divide between a Western scholarly community and that community's object of study—that is, the South, which was facing 'development problems'. For their part, Southern students were coming to European and North American universities to study the development issues facing their own countries. This was facilitated by scholarships,[2] which were part of technical cooperation programmes offered by donor countries.

In 1975, several European academic institutions established the EADI. The objective was to promote quality in research and education in the field of international development, as well as to disseminate development research findings to the public. Thirty years later, EADI took stock of the DS field and adopted the first *Vision Paper on Development Studies*. This 2005 Vision Paper (Opschoor et al. 2005)—which reflected primarily a European vision of DS—served as a reference for the accreditation of DS programmes in European universities within the framework of the Bologna Agreement. The Vision Paper defined DS mainly as:

- A multi- and interdisciplinary field of study that seeks to understand social, economic, political, technological and cultural aspects of societal change, particularly in developing countries.
- A field of study embedded in normative and policy concerns that aims to contribute to possible solutions to societal problems that development or its absence may produce.
- A field of study that is not only context sensitive, but that keeps evolving in parallel to transformations in the global development landscape, involving an increasing range of topics.

The Vision Paper was elaborated early in the new millennium and the global development landscape has undergone dramatic shifts since. These include the spread of geo-referenced and 'big' data, the expansion from the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and a parallel expansion of the breadth of issues addressed by DS scholars. Another major shift concerns the rapidly growing influence of emerging economies in global governance and international development policy debates. As the transposition of Western-inspired models to the South is increasingly questioned, other development experiences, such as the recent Chinese 'success story', are attracting keen interest from other countries of the developing world. International development is expanding as a field of research and education in emerging economies such as Brazil, China and South Africa. In parallel, the global public goods agenda reflects the fact that development concerns such as environmental degradation, climate change, security, global health, poverty and inequality have become universal. The adoption of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, which requires all countries including advanced economies to shift towards more sustainable production and consumption patterns and to cut by half the share of people affected by poverty as nationally defined, reinforces this. As a result, one may wonder to what extent these trends may dilute the identity of DS as an education and research field bringing together specific epistemic communities.

The binary concepts underpinning the dominant DS narrative—developed/developing, rich/poor, North/South, donors/recipients—are increasingly inoperable as analytical terms. In this context, an update of the 2005 Vision Paper on DS was spearheaded by EADI in collaboration with the International Institute of Social Studies (The Hague), the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (Geneva) and the

NORRAG Network for international policies and cooperation in education and training. The process involved surveys, individual interviews, ad hoc consultations and regular exchanges with partners in Europe and North America, and China, South Africa and other emerging economies.

This paper presents the outcome of this process and aims to feed into further debates. The next section provides a bibliometric analysis of how publications in the DS field have evolved. Sections 3 and 4 examine facts and perceptions regarding the evolution of the DS field in China, South Africa and Europe. Section 5 focuses on the most critical issues that have emerged from this research and consultation process. Section 6 concludes and outlines a 'renewed vision' of DS.

2 Is the Field of Development Studies Thriving or Declining?

Looking at global scientific publishing as a whole—beyond the DS field—the total volume of publications has tripled over the past three decades (SNSF—Swiss Academies 2016). Based on data from Thomson Reuters' Science Citation Index (SCI), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), it appears that the overwhelming dominance of the West has eroded, most notably in the face of the remarkable rise of Asia: the proportion of articles involving researchers from Asian-based institutions has tripled over the same period, reaching 21% of total scientific publishing in 2015 (SNSF—Swiss Academies 2016). Over the same period, the share from North America dropped by more than 10%. In terms of impact however, research produced in emerging economies remains below average, but is rising fast, notably in the case of China (SNSF—Swiss Academies 2016).[3]

In this context, how has the DS field evolved? Tracking the evolution of publications in the field, we start by comparing the catalogues of six major English-language social science publishers between 2000 and 2015. We then look at the evolution of the impact factors of peer-reviewed journals in both DS and neighbouring fields between 2000 and 2015.

Reviewing the titles categorised as development-related in the online catalogues of Columbia University Press, Cambridge University Press, Edward Elgar, Palgrave, Routledge, and Oxford University Press, we compare the relevant literature published in 2000 to that published in 2015, including monographs, research collections, series and handbooks.[4] The quantity of development-indexed publications increased

more than eightfold over the period, from 62 in 2000 to 549 in 2015. Analysing these publications by discipline, field of study, topic and region on the basis of their titles and short synopses highlights the predominance of development economics or titles dealing with economic issues, in both 2000 and 2015. However, an increasing number of titles deal with other disciplines, including political science, geography and anthropology. The region most often referred to is Asia, followed by Africa. Themes proliferate, with an increasing number of publications dealing with topics that were much less prevalent in 2000 as compared with 2015. This includes themes such as global health, technological innovation, impact evaluation, water and sanitation, disaster, tourism, and religion.[5] Similarly, some topics have gained momentum; namely, governance, climate change, sustainable development, globalisation, and cities/urban space (see Annex 1). While a flourishing DS literature can be interpreted as indication of a thriving field of study, it can also be seen as a challenging sign that DS is spreading out in many directions, begging the question as to what holds DS together and what its boundaries are as a specific field of research and education (see Sects. 5 and 6).

Broadening this perspective, we also note an increase in relevant publications when looking at the catalogues of non-strictly academic and yet influential publishers in the DS field, some of which pursue an advocacy-oriented agenda. Considering ZED ('Development'), Pluto Press ('Development Studies') and Verso (no development-related category), as well as Hurst ('Development'),[6] the number of relevant indexed titles increased from just 10 titles in 2000 to 31 in 2015. There is also a rise in popular blockbuster titles released by mainstream commercial publishers, authored by figures such as Ha-Joon Chang, Chimamanda Ngozi, Bill Easterly, Katherine Boo or Mike Davis, not to mention the success of development-related movies by film-makers such as Danny Boyle (*Slumdog Millionaire*) or Hubert Sauper (*Darwin's Nightmare*).[7]

Analysing the evolution of impact factors (IFs) for a selection of development-related journals, we see a notable increase in IFs for six comparators between the two reference years. Figure 1 shows that IFs are available for 8 journals in 2015 compared to 6 in 2000.

We then compare IF data for journals in the DS field to a selection of journals in connected disciplines and fields; the results are shown in Figs. 2 and 3. In both reference years, DS journals (indicated by red bars) represent about a quarter of the total, but there is more journals in 2015 with an impact factor.[8]

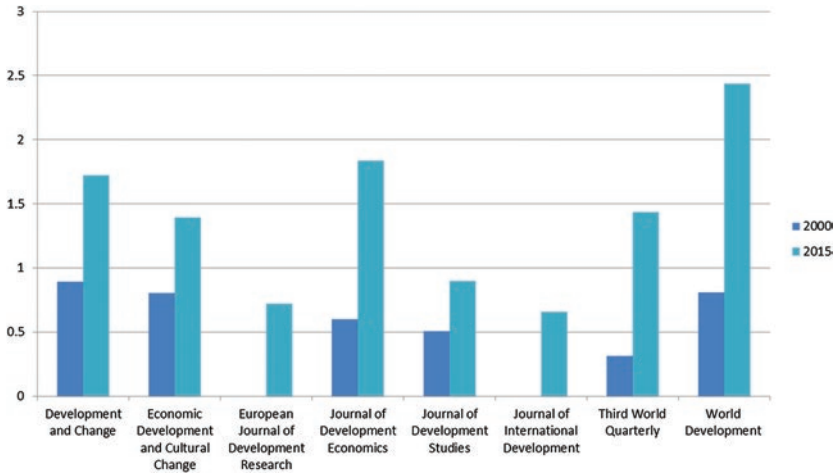


Fig. 1 Impact factors for selected Development Studies journals (2000 and 2015) (*Source* Authors' elaboration based on data retrieved from Thomson Reuters [2016])

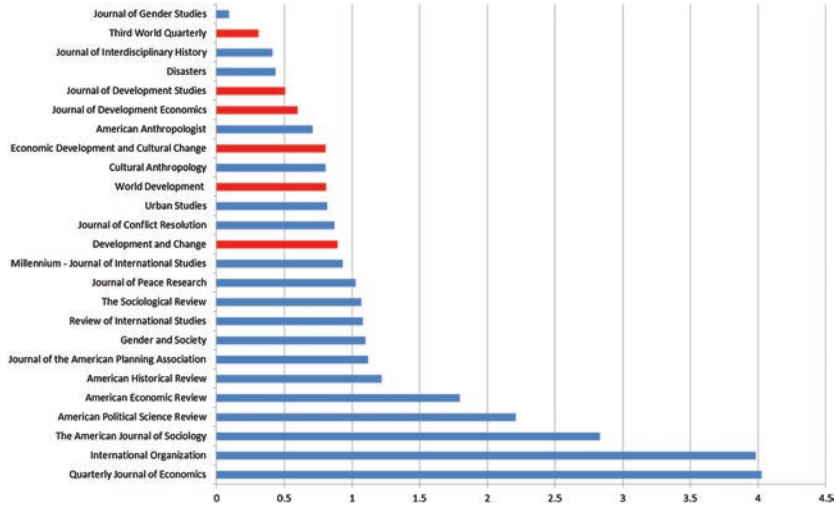


Fig. 2 Impact factors for selected journals in the Development Studies and connected fields (2000) (*Source* Authors' elaboration based on data retrieved from Thomson Reuters [2016])

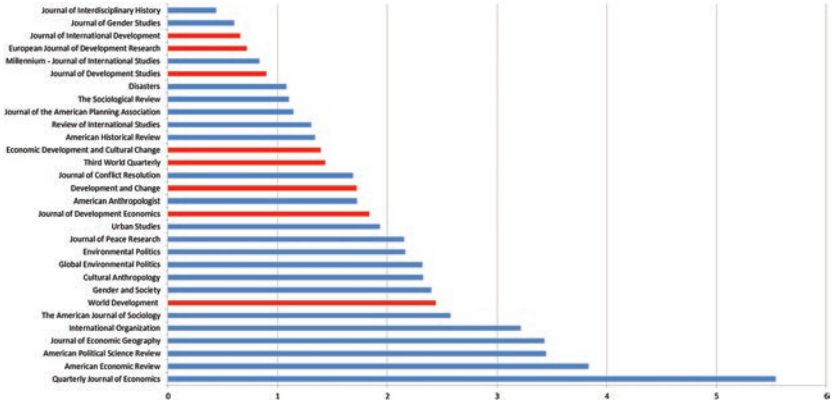


Fig. 3 Impact factors for selected journals in the Development Studies and connected fields (2015) (*Source* Authors' elaboration based on data retrieved from Thomson Reuters [2016])

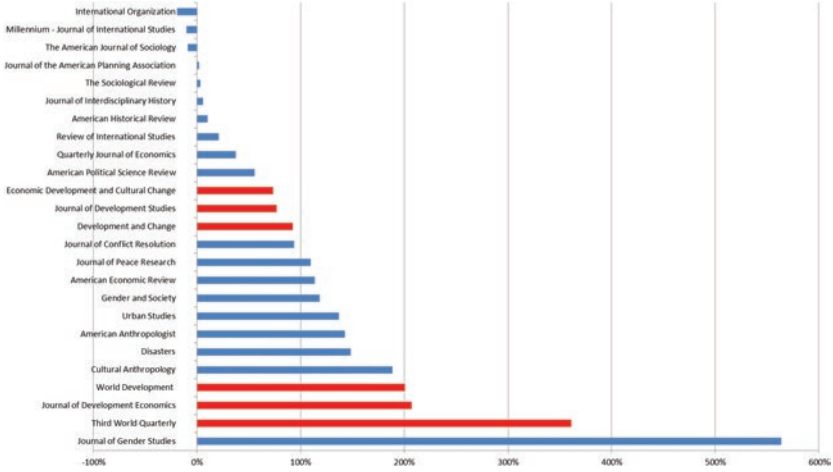


Fig. 4 Impact factor percentage increase between 2000 and 2015—only for journals with data available for both years (*Gender Studies* had a very low IF in 2000, which explains the steep increase in relative terms) (*Source* Authors' elaboration based on data retrieved from Thomson Reuters [2016])

Illustrating the relative increase in IFs between 2000 and 2015, Fig. 4 shows that DS journals do relatively well in this regard, which supports the argument that DS as a research field is experiencing increasing interest.

This brief inventory is obviously partial and incomplete. It is restricted to a few journals in English and should be complemented with an analysis of publications in other languages. It needs inclusion of additional reference years and journals, and an extended analysis of the evolution of authors' institutional affiliations and location to identify trends such as the rise of publications (co-)authored by researchers from the South.

3 Development Studies in Emerging Economies—The Cases of South Africa and China

Sections 3 and 4 present information and data collected through questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions and consultations with key informants involved in research and education in the field of DS, in South Africa, China and across Europe.

In South Africa, we held meetings in Johannesburg (March 2015) and Stellenbosch (September 2015) with non-representative selections of South African development scientists.[9] Their perception is that DS in South Africa is very much alive. They were unanimous in reporting that DS has a large constituency—both in government and society. Students easily find employment and are considered agents of social change. Because of its leading role in the continent, South Africa attracts many students from elsewhere in Africa, who apply to the various DS programmes on offered at many of the country's universities. Typical DS students want to make a difference in policy and practice, and take an activist stance when it comes to their contribution to society. The South African DS Association (SADSA) gave a major impetus to the recognition of DS as an academic field during the latest review process in South African higher education and the subsequent establishment of the Higher Education Qualification Framework (South African Council on Higher Education 2013).

The viability of DS appears to be largely driven by the South African government and its self-described mission of being a developmental state. Whether or not the state can be considered 'developmental' is sometimes a matter of heated debate, mirroring the centrality of development debates in South Africa. An important ongoing debate on DS

relates to the necessity of decolonising knowledge and giving space to African indigenous knowledge. Issues like 'whose development are we talking about', 'which powers dominate knowledge on development' and 'how to break out of this domination' are mentioned as priorities. In sum, many researchers involved in DS in South Africa—or South African DS—are questioning and criticising the geography of knowledge production and many concepts of modernity originating in the North. The presumed necessity of industrialisation is one such 'received Northern development wisdom' that is challenged. Instead, local knowledge and contexts are emphasised and new knowledge ecologies originating in the South are emerging. This is echoed by Brazilian and other Latin American scholars, who also highlight the need for challenging the predominantly Northern origin of DS, emphasising contributions from leading Latin American scholars and policy-makers, not only those of the *Dependistas* in the 1960–1970s, but also—in more recent years—those of the proponents of *buen vivir* ('good life'), a concept interpreted in various ways (Gudynas 2011; Madrueno et al., this volume).

In China, the authors of this paper held focus group meetings at Tsinghua University and Beijing Normal University (BNU) in May 2015 and organised a conference on the topic at Peking University in May 2016. Chinese scholars highlighted that studying development is nothing new in the Chinese context. The origin of development economics in China can be traced back, according to some scholars, to as early as 1945 with the work of Professor Pei-Kan Chang as well as to area studies in the early 1960s when a series of institutes specialising in different developing regions in the world were set up, such as the Afro-Asian Institute established at Peking University in 1963.

DS in China re-emerged more recently under the impetus of a growing demand for studying China's recent development trajectory—that is, China's experience over the past three decades. This approach, found in a number of Chinese DS programmes, geared particularly to international students, starts from the concrete experience of China itself, offering a recent 'successful developing country' case study, as a source of inspiration for less advanced developing countries. There is much talk of the 'Beijing consensus' on development in contrast to the (post-) 'Washington Consensus'. Thus, the Chinese experience offers an alternative perspective to mainstream pathways to development advocated by the West over the past decades. It further helps support the view that there is no single recipe and that context matters. As one of the Chinese

experts during a 2015 focus group discussion argued: 'Development cannot rely on old, aid-related paradigms nor on simple solutions; we are entering a new global era in which we must question the very meanings of "development", where and for whom it matters, and who should do what to support it.'

In China, DS is widely seen as gaining traction even if not (yet) formally acknowledged as an independent field by the Ministry of Education. DS-related curricula are being increasingly integrated into economics, history and cultural studies programmes in several Chinese universities. With China (re-)emerging as a major international development player, the demand for DS is likely to grow substantially, as can already be seen in mounting interest from students from other developing countries and from the West who apply to DS programmes in China. The same might apply to Chinese students who wish to prepare for a career within the framework of South–South cooperation or 'China going abroad'. Several interviewees noted that DS programmes in Chinese universities still often emulate existing DS programmes from the West, which is unsurprising, given that many Chinese faculty members involved have had training in the West. Exploring how best to integrate the 'Chinese experience' into curricula is likely to be a prolonged process deserving further research.

4 Evolving Perceptions in Europe

In Europe, the consultation process encompassed three phases: (i) a questionnaire sent to EADI Executive Committee members and Working Group convenors,[10] (ii) discussions on a draft revised Vision Paper at the EADI Directors' Meeting in the Czech Republic in October 2015[11] and (iii) written feedback received thereafter.[12] The ensuing picture shows contrasts within Europe. While the DS field is reportedly vibrant in several countries witnessing an increase in the number of students applying to and enrolled in DS study programmes (the UK, the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland), DS is emerging as a relatively new field in eastern Europe (the Czech Republic and Poland) while the trend is a relative decline in other countries, such as Italy, Spain and Norway. There is some correlation with fluctuating trends in those countries' levels of official development assistance (ODA). The latter may impact the financial resources available in support of DS research and education (scholarships) as well as students' expectations regarding post-graduation job opportunities.

Our consultations highlighted a growing tension between the requirement of disciplinary excellence prevailing in academia and the interdisciplinarity required to approach complex global development issues. The same tension exists concerning the need for in-depth theoretical grounding and methodological sophistication vis-à-vis increasing student demand for practical and 'soft' skills and applied knowledge. Many interviewees underscored the necessity to clarify epistemological foundations and methodological specificities of DS. The consultations underscored tensions and disagreement within the field of DS itself, for example between orthodox/mainstream DS that seek to bring 'solutions to development problems' and more critical DS streams that question the very meaning of development and the politics underlying the development enterprise, and lack of space given to varied knowledge ecologies from the South. Another bone of contention is how normative or policy relevant the DS field should be.

Research funding exerts an obvious influence in this regard. The questionnaires filled in by European academics active in the DS field highlight that funding emphasises research producing policy-relevant findings that are practical and 'usable' in the short run. Interviewees report a general reduction in funding, which is more clearly earmarked in line with political priorities (e.g. counterterrorism and 'deradicalisation', technological innovations and job creation). However, this does not seem to lead to a narrowing down of the DS field. Echoing our inventory of emerging themes in DS publications, interviewees in Europe identified a number of new and increasingly important teaching and research topics, summarised in Table 1.

The most frequently cited topics are climate change, armed conflict and security, and the increasing private sector role. These are followed by migration, emerging economies and the need for acquiring or strengthening professional or applied skills. Many of these topics relate to global public goods and transcend the old divide between North and South, which had long been at the core of DS in Europe. Conversely, the survey underlines that inequality, social exclusion and marginalisation are global concerns directly relevant to European societies as well. The broadening scope of themes falling under DS leads to tensions regarding the field's boundaries, as well as to some concerns related to the potential blurring of lines between DS and other fields. This is the case with international studies (IS), which increasingly encompasses global issues that also lie at the core of DS, such as global health, South–South and South–North migration, gender or climate change.

Table 1 Emerging topics in the field of Development Studies

Topics highlighted	
Students' expectations and interests	Environment/climate, security/conflict/peace, private sector, emerging economies/BRICS Excellence in education, professional skills, theoretical grounding
New curricula and thematic areas	Climate, security/conflict, terrorism and organised crime, human rights BRICS, globalisation, international cooperation, political and economic governance, agrarian change and 'land grabbing', food security, natural resources Civil society/social movements, social and solidarity economy ICTs, innovation, trade and investment, TNC/CSR Applied methods, professional skills
Evolution of themes and actors	Security/conflict-related issues, migration, aid effectiveness and impact evaluation, South–South cooperation New actors (philanthropists, foundations and corporations, emerging aid donors)
Evolution of Development Studies education and learning	Stronger interest in professional skills, in policy planning, and management Multi-locational training, fieldwork, practical experience

Source Responses to the questionnaire from EADI Executive Committee members and Working Group convenors and inputs throughout the feedback process

Last but not least, the fundamental question of 'what is development' kept emerging—be it at the EADI Directors' Meeting or during subsequent feedback loops. Some argued in favour of redefining the concept of development beyond the notion of 'societal change', for example by better integrating the sustainability imperative and encompassing 'change' in a broader variety of dimensions related to the human condition,[13] including analysis of the religion–development nexus (Khartas and Silva 2013).

5 Discussion

Our consultations started by sharing the 2005 EADI Vision Paper on DS. Surprisingly, the vast majority of respondents in Europe, and many interviewees in China and South Africa, felt that this Vision Paper—released over ten years ago—remains close to the mark despite radical

changes in the global development landscape since 2005. The 2005 Vision Paper advanced a definition of DS that was generic and broad enough to capture the essence of the field without becoming obsolete too quickly by changes in the global environment. There is also agreement still on the multi- or interdisciplinary nature of DS as well as its context-specific and policy orientation.

5.1 Convergence and Divergence

While our review and limited non-representative sample of interviewees in Europe, China and South Africa remains limited and does not allow for sweeping generalisations, several issues facing the DS field nonetheless emerge, with both converging and diverging trends and tensions.

Overall, DS seems to be, relatively, thriving in several parts of the world, including North America.[14] Student cohorts are stable or growing in several European countries and in South Africa. While still modest in China, the field is expected to grow strongly in the coming years and several new programmes and schools are opening (e.g. the Institute of South–South Cooperation and Development at Peking University inaugurated in 2016 and headed by Justin Yifu Lin, a former Chief Economist of the World Bank).

Consultations reveal convergence and shared perceptions across geographical boundaries with regard to several core characteristics of the DS field in terms of its object, purpose and approach. First, a widely shared recognition exists of the interdisciplinary (or at least multidisciplinary) nature of DS in the social sciences, with increasing interactions with 'hard science'. Second, normatively, there is a shared concern for social issues related to poverty, inequality, exclusion and, to varying degrees, environmental sustainability. Third, DS is recognised as being context sensitive. A distinctive feature of DS is a tendency to analyse complex problem areas from a multi-level (local, national, regional and global), multi-stakeholder (state/non-state, formal/informal, local/international actors) and yet context-specific perspective. Fourth, DS considers not only development policies, but also processes and practice. Fifth, DS tends to be problem-oriented to the extent that the field is concerned with real world problems and how to address them. This is echoed by a growing emphasis on—and demand for—professional and 'soft' skills in standard DS curricula. In sum, a majority of researchers and teaching staff within the DS community seek to 'make a difference' by influencing

political/social actors (Sumner and Tribe 2008b). As DS is indeed increasingly concerned with informing policy and influencing action, greater attention is devoted to measuring such relevance and outcomes, including in educational curricula and research methods.

Conversely, we also identified points of tension and divergence within the DS field. The relevance and legitimacy of research designs, findings and recommendations from the 'the old metropolitan centre' as being applicable to the developing world is challenged. Traditional Western DS, built on a fading dichotomy between the industrialised and developing worlds, is increasingly questioned, with alternatives anchored in the recognition of diverse knowledge ecologies and South–South academic cooperation (e.g. de Sousa Santos 2014). Giving greater space to domestically produced knowledge, new DS programmes in China draw on the recent Chinese development experience, which is seen as (at least) as relevant as that of industrialised countries decades or centuries ago. Further research is required to avoid generalisations when it comes to 'DS in the global South', as illustrated by the different paradigms prevailing in South Africa and China.

5.2 Epistemological Issues

The composite and interdisciplinary nature of the DS field is subject to much debate. Indeed, research in this field includes a broad variety of social inquiry approaches embedded in positivist, interpretative, historical and critical social research. Methodological approaches to development research range all the way from inductive methods grounded in the observation of field reality to hypothetico-deductive approaches aimed at testing empirically theory-based models. In short, DS integrate the concepts, models and paradigms from the relevant disciplines concerned with DS.

The extent to which DS truly succeeds in moving beyond multidisciplinarity remains a question when defining the field and its methodological specificity (which is also the case for other interdisciplinary fields of inquiry). Besides, the meaning and bearing of 'multidisciplinarity' or 'interdisciplinarity' remains the subject of lively debate. This was already identified in the 2005 *Vision Paper*, which stressed the contested notion of interdisciplinarity,[15] while many related concepts are subject to various interpretations (multidisciplinarity,[16] cross-disciplinarity, pluri-disciplinarity and trans-disciplinarity).[17] Such forms of knowledge production

can be defined in contrast to what is often seen today as 'normal'—that is, disciplinary—knowledge production. Cross-disciplinary interactions may range from a mere exchange of ideas and comparing findings on a single issue studied from diverse disciplinary angles to the collaborative generation of research questions and shared methodological approaches and research procedures, which can involve the integration of some of the concepts, theories and epistemological foundations of several disciplines.

As the scope and range of issues falling under the umbrella of the DS field expands, the positioning and relationship of DS vis-à-vis other fields, such as international studies (IS), area studies, or ecology, are evolving fast. Global issues such as climate change, security, migration or global health are key topics in both the DS and IS fields. The former tends to emphasise the complex interactions between local, regional and global dynamics involving a broad range of stakeholders beyond state actors, while the latter might emphasise—slightly more—issues related to global governance and public policy. Similarly, the intensifying relationship between DS and hard sciences deserves further scrutiny as ecological issues and the nexus between technology and development gain momentum. Technology is set to play a major role in the implementation of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development. Leading technological schools (such as EPFL in Lausanne) have beefed up programmes for engineers and other scientists interested in addressing global societal and environmental challenges, which include multidisciplinary approaches drawing on the social sciences and field experience in developing countries.

6 Towards a Renewed EADI Definition of Development Studies

Based on the research and consultations summarised above, the definition, the learning and teaching as well as learning outcomes within an updated vision of the DS field were discussed at EADI Directors' Meetings in 2015 and 2016 and finalised by the EADI Executive Committee in April 2017, along the following lines:

A. Definition and goals of Development Studies

Development Studies (also known as 'International Development Studies' or 'International Development') is a multi- and interdisciplinary field of study rather than a single *discipline*. It seeks to

understand the interplay between social, economic, political, technological, ecological, cultural and gendered aspects of societal change at the local, national, regional and global levels.

Development Studies, as an academic field of study, is also characterised by normative and policy concerns about inclusive and sustainable development. It aims to contribute possible solutions to societal problems and is increasingly applied in focus and engaged with policy and practice.

Development Studies is context sensitive. It examines societal change using historical, comparative and global perspectives. It aims to take into account the specificity of different societies in terms of history, ecology, institutions, culture, knowledge, technology, etc. It further examines how these differences can—and often should and do—translate into varied local responses to regional or global processes, and varied development strategies.

Development Studies is an evolving field of study, which covers an expanding range of concerns. Current concerns include poverty, inequality and exclusion, environmental sustainability and climate change, global governance; armed conflict and violence, urbanisation, rural development, land tenure and agrarian change, migrations, health, education, labour, and gender equity. However, the range of concerns it addresses and the methods it uses evolves over time, as witnessed by an increasing interplay between social and 'hard' sciences and the emergence of novel concerns such as South–South cooperation, poverty and social exclusion in industrialised countries, technological innovation, and private sector actors in international development.

Though policy and practice are the primary focus of DS, there has never been a consensus on these matters, nor should there be. There are too many uncertainties and too much diversity in situations and objectives around the world to make this possible.

Development Studies promotes and draws part of its strength from genuine partnerships and cross-fertilisation between institutions and individuals anchored in different disciplines and traditions, and working in different parts of the world.

B. Learning and teaching Development Studies

As an academic, policy and practice-oriented field, DS draws on various disciplines and methods. In most cases, teaching programmes are multidisciplinary and use mixed methods. In some cases, deepening students' grasp of a single discipline is prioritised (for example, 'development economics'), but accompanied by steps to enhance their ability to understand and use concepts and methods from other disciplines.

Which disciplines and methods become the focus depends on the particular societal and policy issues considered and on the specialisation followed within the field of Development Studies.

At an epistemological level, DS includes a variety of social inquiry approaches embedded in positivist, interpretative, historical and critical social research. Methodological approaches for development research can range from inductive methods grounded in the observation of field reality to deductive approaches that test theory-based models empirically, although positivist and quantitative approaches tend to be most influential.

Education in DS therefore needs to do the following:

(a) deepen and contextualise disciplinary understandings, while broadening such understandings with reference to other disciplines, epistemologies and methods (both qualitative and quantitative);
(b) investigate societal problems and innovations in a way that provides students with relevant analytical tools and theories, and a wide range of examples and perspectives showing how they can be applied in a context-sensitive manner;
(c) give students a coherent specialisation and enhance their methodological rigor;
(d) flexibly accommodate their particular needs and interests, given their academic and professional backgrounds and expected career paths;
(e) use pedagogical approaches that enable students to reflect on their own experience and to learn from each other's diverse experiences and backgrounds.

C. Learning Objectives (outcomes)

> To deal with the complexities of development processes, graduates in DS should be able to carry out policy and practice focused analyses and academic research on a range of topics, using appropriate conceptual frameworks. They must apply concepts and methods from relevant disciplines with scientific rigor.
>
> Graduates must be able to select and apply relevant methods for collecting, interpreting and assessing (qualitative and quantitative) information on development processes and their impacts, including knowledge and experience from a range of sources. They must be able to operate intelligently and ethically in situations of incomplete or inaccurate information.
>
> They must be able to communicate the results of their research (and their methodology) to audiences ranging from academics and policy-makers to local communities and civil society organisations. They also need to consider how to engage these stakeholders in following up the research.

This updated 'vision' does not radically deviate from what was advanced in the 2005 paper. This might result from the fact that—even though we expanded our study to include the views of scholars, teaching staff and students from emerging economies—the study originated again from EADI; that is to say, from a Western/European perspective. Also, many academics we interviewed in South Africa and China were educated in North American and European academic institutions and thus partly shared an anchoring in Western 'knowledge ecologies'. Finally, we underline that our small interviewee sample can by no means be regarded as representative and should be expanded to include major players, such as DS actors in other emerging (notably India and Brazil) and developing countries.

In the coming years, profound transformations in the development landscape may spur more substantial changes in response to centrifugal forces. DS as a field of study is not only expanding in Southern academia. The field is becoming broader and more universal, as reflected in the global development agenda subsumed under the SDGs. Consequently, the previous division of labour between DS and other fields, which used to give DS a specific identity, is being questioned, while other fields

such as IS encroach on the DS field. This may eventually pose a risk of dilution of DS itself, as topics of interest multiply and become global. DS scholars may be more interested in engaging peers and epistemic communities within narrower thematic areas such as migration, health, trade, labour and environmental issues. We may thus expect a reconfiguration of scholarly DS communities around specific themes of mutual interest that cut across disciplinary and spatial boundaries, such as security, energy and climate change, education and training, public health or migration, combined with an increasing policy focus and concern for relevance and impact.

With the questioning of normative frameworks and development models originating in Western knowledge ecologies, we may expect an increasing 'localisation' of DS in conjunction with a more contextualised understanding and approaches to development problems. At the same time, we may expect growing interconnections with other fields of study, such as the life sciences, environmental science and international studies. An important question deserving further research is how to decolonise knowledge in DS, a field strongly anchored in the social sciences. The relevant disciplines emerged and developed during colonial times, mostly in Western Europe during the nineteenth century. This calls for further reconsidering the disciplinary heritage of international DS.

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Notes

1. There were of course important exceptions, such as Amartya Sen, Arturo Escobar, Akin Mabogunje or Arjun Appadurai. The need to look at theories originating in the South has also been highlighted by scholars such as Jean and John Comaroff (2012).
2. See for instance the recent article by Jolly and Santos (2016) tracing the evolution and narratives that have framed 'development' since 1945.

3. Impact is measured by the number of citations per published article, adjusted across fields. See SNSF—Swiss Academies (2016).
4. Edward Elgar Publishing ('Development Studies'), Routledge ('Development Studies'), Columbia University Press ('Development Economics'), Cambridge University Press ('Economic Development and Growth') and Oxford University Press ('Development Studies'). We further considered Palgrave Macmillan ('Development Studies') but did not include it in the comparison given that data for 2000 could not be retrieved.
5. There have been recent calls to reconsider the secular development enterprise as the norm and, in this context, religion as a separate object of study. See, e.g., Carbonnier (2013).
6. No development-related publications were listed in the Hurst catalogue in 2000.
7. See Lewis et al. (2014).
8. We did not include the e-journals that have emerged between the two reference years. Several e-journals have no standard IF notwithstanding remarkably high paper download numbers.
9. Including scientists from the University of the Western Cape, the University of the Limpopo, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, the University of Fort Hare, the University of Kwazulu Natal, the University of Johannesburg, the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of South Africa (UNISA), Stellenbosch University and the University of Cape Town.
10. The questionnaire, sent between 21 May 2015 and 20 June 2015, focused on how academics and researchers perceive the evolution of the DS field since the initial Vision Paper was adopted in 2005. Respondents from 15 countries completed the questionnaire (Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Spain, Slovenia, Switzerland and the United Kingdom).
11. A total of 34 participants attended the EADI Directors' Meeting, representing organisations from Northern, Western, Southern and Eastern Europe.
12. Written contributions received from experts based in Belgium, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom.
13. For a discussion, see for instance Sumner and Tribe (2006, 2008a).
14. It is interesting to note that DS in the US, contrary to Canada, has never been established as a clearly identified field of teaching and research,

notwithstanding the fact that that some key programmes in top universities and a few relevant journals are located in the country. From the limited research that was conducted on this topic with regard to the US, it appears that there is a trend to integrate a specialisation in 'international development' as part of Master of Arts programmes in international affairs/relations. Such specialisation seems to be attracting a growing number of students, who see an interest in terms of their education and career prospects.

15. An interdisciplinary approach implies a direct interaction between the disciplines, with individuals being knowledgeable and experienced in more than one discipline. It creates its own theoretical, conceptual and methodological identity. Consequently, the results of an interdisciplinary study of a certain problem should be more coherent and integrated. An influential OECD study defined interdisciplinarity as 'the interaction between two or more disciplines. This interaction can go from the mere transmission to the mutual integration of the basic concepts, epistemology, terminology, processes, as well as of the organisation of training and research' (see Apostel 1972).
16. In a multidisciplinary approach, the object under study is approached from different angles, using different disciplinary perspectives. However, neither the theoretical perspectives nor the findings from the various disciplines are integrated.
17. A disciplinary research field can be defined (in line with Kuhn 1962) as involving a group of researchers working on a specific set of research questions, using the same set of methods and a shared approach. Disciplinary research is 'normal problem solving' within a 'paradigm'. Non-disciplinary research, then, can be seen as ways of combining elements from various disciplines, as an interaction among two or more different disciplinary specialties, in an attempt to apprehend the social reality in all its complexity rather than in a fragmented manner. This is also carried out in an attempt to address practical questions or to solve concrete issues and produce new knowledge.

Annexes

See Annexes Figs. A1 and A2.

Type of publication	2000	2015	Absolute increase (2000-2015)	Percentage increase (2000-2015)*
Number of publications	62	549	487	7.85
Discipline				
Law	5	79	74	14.80
Economics	36	269	233	6.47
Politics	15	228	213	14.20
History	2	25	23	11.50
Anthropology	1	61	60	60.00
Sociology	5	102	97	19.40
Geography	3	136	133	44.33
Average absolute increase			**119.00**	
Average percentage increase***				**24.39**
Field of Studies				
Demography	1	11	10	10.00
Gender	1	41	40	40.00
Environment	15	193	178	11.87
Education, Training, Learning	1	34	33	33.00
Average absolute increase			**65.25**	
Average percentage increase***				**23.72**
Topics				
Tourism	1	23	22	22.00
Governance	2	49	47	23.50
Conflict/Post-conflict	2	24	22	11.00
Globalisation	2	32	30	15.00
Inequalities	2	14	12	6.00
Poverty	3	16	13	4.33
Human Development	0	4	4	**
Foreign Aid	3	10	7	2.33
Climate Change	3	68	65	21.67
Sustainability/Sustainable Development	10	137	127	12.70
Migration	3	28	25	8.33
Disaster	0	20	20	**
Employment/Labour	7	29	22	3.14
Agriculture	5	30	25	5.00
Water	0	17	17	**
Health	1	25	24	24.00
Security	3	21	18	6.00
Cities/Urban space	4	78	74	18.50
Rural	4	41	37	9.25
Trade	1	17	16	16.00
Industry	4	28	24	6.00
Energy	2	17	15	7.50
Technology	1	28	27	27.00
Impact measurement/Accountability/M&E	0	8	8	**
Religion	0	10	10	**
Food	5	24	19	3.80
Average absolute increase			**28.08**	
Average percentage increase***				**12.05**
Regions				
Africa	3	59	56	18.67
Asia	10	130	120	12.00
Latin America/Caribbean	4	32	28	7.00
Middle East	0	10	10	**
Europe/North America	6	33	27	4.50
Pacific	1	7	6	6.00
Average absolute increase			**41.17**	
Average percentage increase***				**9.63**
Others				
Others	1	13	12	12.00

* Numbers rounded off to 2 decimal places.
** For entries with the value of 0 for the year 2000, the percentage increase cannot be calculated and hence is left unspecified.
*** Calculations for average percentage increase exclude entries for which the percentage increase is unspecified.

Absolute increase higher than average
% increase higher than average
Both increase higher than average

Fig. A1 Inventory of titles by category (*Sources* Authors' elaboration based on catalogue searches of Edward Elgar Publishing [2016], Routledge [2016], Columbia University Press [2016], Cambridge University Press [2016], and Oxford University Press [2016])

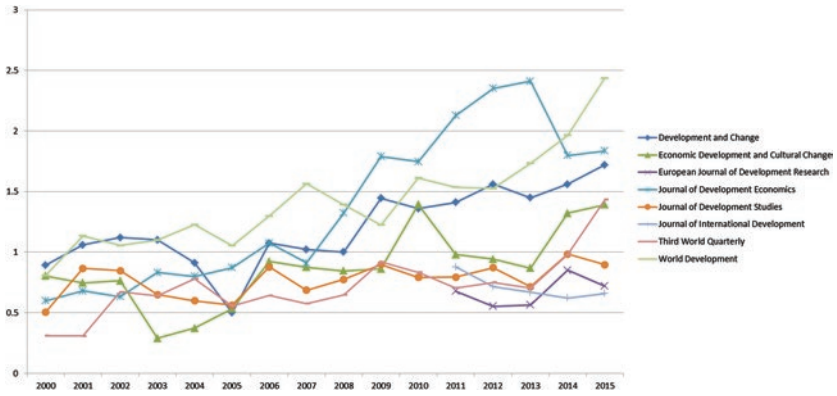


Fig. A2 Evolution of impact factors—Development Studies journals (2000 to 2015) (*Source* Authors' elaboration based on data retrieved from Thomson Reuters [2016])

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CHAPTER 11

Methodologies in Development Studies: An Overview

Laura Camfield

The interdisciplinary nature of the field of Development Studies (DS) makes it hard to point towards a 'signature' methodology. Different development challenges bring different ideas about what the problem is (ontology) and how researchers can know about it (epistemology), as well as different research methods. The rationale for choosing a method can be ideological or pragmatic. In the field of DS, this often entails knowing what methods research commissioners see as credible and what types of evidence they find persuasive. The weight placed on the data generated by certain methods and the lack of critical attention to how it was actually produced shows the importance of a focus on methodology. In looking at, or for, the defining methodologies of DS, this chapter focuses on methodology in a relatively narrow sense: what types of sample and what combinations of methods are typically used by researchers within DS to construct credible arguments around questions of policy or practice. It describes which methodologies constitute the bulk of DS research through analysis of projects and outputs. Finally, it asks what

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people who generate and use DS research could do to increase its rigour and relevance (Guijt and Roche 2014; see also Oswald, Leach and Gaventa, this volume) and how the political economy of development research funding might militate against this.

The chapter is structured as follows: I first introduce the debate around methodology within DS and explain why the areas I focus on in my comparison of projects and outputs matter (Sect. 1). I then briefly describe the data sources drawn on in this chapter (Sect. 2). I show how frequently different methodological approaches are used, by drawing on four types of data: the methodologies used in (i) 122 development research projects funded by DFID-ESRC (UK Department for International Development and Economic and Social Research Council) over a period of 10 years (2005–2014, see Camfield et al. 2016), (ii) 110 funded by the Norwegian Research Council from 2009 to 2016, (iii) the methodologies reported in a random sample of 159 papers from the aforementioned DFID-ESRC research projects, and (iv) in paper abstracts published in three broad-based development journals during 2016. By looking at both projects and outputs I can check whether there is a bias towards the publication of papers with particular methodologies, which might give a misleading impression of the types of research that are funded. In the second part of the chapter, I look at the implications of these findings for development research, and specifically for the revision of the EADI definition of DS (see this volume, Chapter 10, Sect. 6).

1 Introduction

A perennial challenge to the credibility of DS is the perception that it is theoretically and methodologically weaker than its component disciplines. These effects can be seen when DS scholars choose to publish in disciplinary rather than DS journals (Tezanos and Trueba this volume) or are more successful in obtaining funding from specialist funders such as DFID than research councils who feel the field has little to say to the social sciences more broadly. It can also be seen in the UK Development Studies Association's re-envisaging of itself as a 'learned society' with prizes and a book series with a university press, rather than a body that represents civil society organisations as well as academic ones and explicitly seeks to shape policy.

The question of methodology is linked to that of theory. DS is notoriously a-theoretical as well as a-historical (Lewis 2009), as shown by

the analysis of projects and papers in the following sections. This lack of attention to theory challenges DS claim to be inter or multidisciplinary and use mixed methods effectively as disciplines and methodologies come with very different theoretical understandings. Academics and practitioners can also be slow to recognise the implicit colonialism in their understandings of the world. Hence we need a revision of the EADI definition to reflect new insights from Southern scholars and reactions against 'business as usual' from post-development and post-colonial scholars. At the same time, there seems to be less space for 'basic' as opposed to problem-focused or evaluative DS research. This is reflected in the changing language of the DFID-ESRC calls discussed later in the chapter, the need for Impact plans with accompanying budget allocations for proposals, and the increasing emphasis on impact case studies as part of the assessment of research quality in the UK.[1] The tendency to value knowledge in relation to what it can do (e.g. whether it influences practice or can be commodified) is not unique to DS. However, the requirement that DS researchers be equally at home talking to practitioners, policy-makers, donors, and disciplinary peers encourages a dual persona—at once complicit with and critical of the development industry—which is not wholly comfortable (Mosse 2005). In the following sections, I look at indicators of methodological good practice such as use of secondary data to contextualise findings, engagement with theory, and systematic methods of analysis. Many of these relate to good academic conduct in general. Some, such as reflection on limitations and ethics, and as part of that genuine partnership with Southern institutions, are particularly important within DS. Their importance is due to historical power imbalances and vulnerabilities and a tendency among policy-makers to rush to action on the basis of poorly digested evidence (Lewis 2009). Being explicit about the limitations of this evidence can help to reduce this.

2 Data Sources and Methodology

This chapter does not claim to describe the methodologies in DS in their entirety. However, by using the UK and Norway as illustrative examples, it draws out what might need to be asked about methodologies elsewhere. A potential limitation of this chapter is that one of the main sources of data—the DFID-ESRC review—has a UK bias. This is because the majority of Principal Investigators (PIs) were based at UK

institutions, even though they come from at least 22 different countries.[2] Therefore, I have included projects funded by the Norwegian Research Council, which supports institutions across Europe, as long as there is a Norwegian partner. I have also included paper abstracts from journals with an explicit focus on European development research (EJDR) or based in the Netherlands (Development and Change) or the USA (World Development).[3] Secondly, many researchers in DS are not academics and are instead based in NGOs, research centres, multilateral institutions, and government research and evidence divisions. I recognise that in choosing to focus on methodology in more formal settings (for example, as outlined in project proposals to prestigious funders or reported in papers in international journals), I inevitably exclude some of the day-to-day development research (for example, project needs assessments or evaluations). My personal experience of working across academic and practice-based settings is that in relation to generating primary data, there is relatively little difference between the two. Development studies' history as a colonial management tool (Ferguson 2005), its grounding in rural settings (Marcus and Asmorowati 2006) and its focus on development problems and/or the problems of development funders point it towards particular approaches such as the household survey or the key informant interview (Chambers 1997). Nonetheless, we might expect to see a smaller range of approaches used, oriented perhaps towards less expensive qualitative approaches, if this chapter concentrated instead on the output of NGO and INGO research departments.

As outlined above, the aim of the chapter is to create a comprehensive and credible picture of development research methodologies. I do this by drawing on a range of data sources, summarised in Table 1.

3 Projects

In the following section I explore methodologies used across 122 ESRC-DFID Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research projects covering 2005 to 2014 (the 'UK sample') and triangulate this with analysis of 110 Norwegian Research Council projects covering 2009 to 2016 (the 'Norwegian sample'). The data are not directly comparable as I was only able to access the project summaries for the Norwegian Research Council projects whereas in the ESRC-DFID analysis I had access to the original proposals and outputs. The comparison provides an overview of

Table 1 Data sources and their limitations

Type of information	*Data source*	*Limitations*
Projects	Methodologies used across 122 DFID-ESRC Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research projects covering 2005–2014	Bias towards UK institutions. Predominantly academic research projects, awarded through a highly competitive scheme that emphasised methodological innovation. This means they may not be representative even of academic development research
Projects	Methodologies used by 110 development projects funded by the Norwegian Research Council from 2009 to 2016	Bias towards Norwegian institutions. Project summaries the analysis was based on did not always provide sufficient methodological information
Outputs	Analysis of the methodologies reported in 151 abstracts[a] of papers published in three broad-based development journals during 2016 (EJDR (49), Development and Change (52), World Development (50))	Only three out of twelve volumes of World Development were screened during this year as each one had between 27 and 41 articles. This meant, however, that there were comparable numbers from each journal. Abstracts did not always provide full information on the methodology
Outputs	Random sample of 159 quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods papers taken from the 122 ESRC-DFID projects described under projects	While these were subject to the same bias as the projects, it was possible to read the whole paper rather than just the abstract and make a fuller assessment of their methodology (for example, the extent to which they reflected on limitations, which is a defining feature of good development research)

[a]175 papers were sampled originally; five papers were excluded as they didn't have an abstract and nine because there were book reviews

the research designs of the sampled projects as an illustration of the types of research carried out in DS. I note some changes in methodology over time in relation to the UK sample, for example, an increasing orientation towards research characterised as 'mixed methods'. However, these were not as pronounced as expected given the duration of the programme. The elements I look at are whether the studies have single or multiple countries and where these are located, the balance of primary and secondary data collection, the attitude towards theory, the research design, the methods of analysis and the extent to which they reflected on ethics

and limitations. I also briefly describe the calls the projects originated from, as these will have shaped their focus.

The UK sample was generated from seven calls across three phases. The calls were broadly similar, although, their foci changed over time in response to the proposals received.[4] The first call was open in terms of theme and asked for 'basic research that has an eventual and demonstrable relevance to the international development agenda for reducing poverty'. At least 50% of this should be from the social sciences. Theoretical and methodological contributions were mentioned alongside substantive ones as possible foci and 'multi- or interdisciplinary research projects are encouraged'. The second phase broadened the area focus to any country where poor people might be living, although few funded projects included countries from the global North. It also broadened the focus from people who are currently poor to those who might become poor in the future. The third phase added specific thematic areas such as ICT and Development and the final call became more practice focused, looking at 'what approaches are most effective in enabling the poorest to exit and stay out of poverty'. Although gender was not emphasised in the calls, by the third phase attention needed to be paid to 'structural inequalities—including those based on gender, age, disability, ethnicity, race, religion, class, educational status and spatial factors' as well as to issues of 'measurement and metrics'. In contrast, NORGLOBAL assessed proposals on plans to recruit women and the gender balance of the proposed team, as well as attention to gender in the research.

NORGLOBAL spanned multiple programmes,[5] all of whom had specific calls, which I do not have space to analyse here. The overarching statement clarified that 'NORGLOBAL is established to strengthen Norwegian research on and for development in low- and middle-income countries, and also strengthen research capacity in these countries. The programme has a special responsibility to generate new knowledge within the field of development in Norway'.[6] Proposals for both schemes were assessed in a similar way with attention to the following broad criteria (Table 2).

Both programmes considered ethics, although this was only explicitly scored by NORGLOBAL. DFID-ESRC also requested data archiving—this was not mentioned in the first call, but by the final call all data was expected to be open access. NORGLOBAL considered the additional following criteria in assessing proposals, which reflect its overarching statement: national cooperation (the extent to which

Table 2 NORGLOBAL and DFID/ESRC Criteria for proposal assessment

DFID/ESRC	*NORGLOBAL*
Originality; potential contribution to knowledge	Scientific merit; The project manager and project group
Design and methods	Scientific merit
Outputs, dissemination and impact[a]	Dissemination and communication of results
Value for money	Implementation plan and resource parameters
Contribution to Programme	Relevance relative to the call for proposals

[a]By the second phase DFID-ESRC required an Impact plan with at least 10% of budget devoted to achieving it

the project strengthened the Norwegian development community), Internationalisation (the extent to which the project enhanced Norway's place in the world), Environmental impact, Recruitment of women, Gender balance in the project and Gender perspectives in the research.

In the UK sample the projects were evenly divided between single and multiple country studies (multiple country studies mostly had two or three countries). This was also roughly the case in the Norwegian sample (54% multiple country studies vs. 45% single country studies). Despite the predominance of multiple country studies, these were not necessarily comparative or united by a common research design. More than one-third of the UK and the Norwegian samples treated the countries as single case studies. This reflects the difficulty of coordinating multiple actors with different interests in multiple settings. However, it also limits the potential contribution to development knowledge when research questions are addressed in different and incomparable ways, even within the same project. Six per cent of the Norwegian sample included countries in the Global North, compared to less than 1% for the UK sample. Given that the Norwegian sample started later (2009 rather than 2005), this may reflect a growing interest within DS in comparisons of the global North and South. These comparisons recognise the commonality of issues such as deprivation and increasingly of ways of addressing them (e.g. the rise in social protection) (Copestake 2015).

The main world regions included In the UK sample were South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Within these regions, South Africa, Kenya, Malawi, Ghana, Tanzania and India predominated, suggesting a bias towards Anglophone or English-speaking Africa and India. This phenomenon of certain areas being researched extensively reflects language,

colonial histories, and the preferences of funders. It also reflects the ease of finding good research partners, which depends on a functioning higher education sector, specialist research institutes and civil society. Countries in possession of all of these things may not be the countries most in need of development support. Forty-one projects worked in fragile and conflict affected states. These are a particular focus of one of the funders, DFID, despite the methodological challenges they present. The majority of projects worked in both rural and urban locations. In the Norwegian sample only 24% of projects said where they were working and the majority of these were in rural areas (88%). Due to the amount of missing data, we cannot judge whether this represents a neglect of urban areas, or a feeling that many settings are experiencing 'rurbanity' (Woods 2009) where these categories become less important.

In the UK sample 51% of projects analysed secondary data, often alongside generating primary data, and this was also true for the Norwegian sample (48%). Although the majority of these projects were quantitative or mixed methods, over a third of qualitative projects in the UK sample also made use of secondary data (in the Norwegian sample this was 54%). Twenty-one per cent of studies in the UK also archived at least some data (i.e. they deposited it in a public repository accessible online), which is a growing expectation of development research funders. This enabled a more comprehensive assessment of their contribution, and, in the case of the quantitative studies, replication (see Attanasio et al. 2009).

Within the UK sample, few studies had an overarching theoretical framework. This suggests a more practice-focused orientation, as might be expected in DS. Within the UK this would be described as 'applied' (something that supports the direct realisation of development goals), although strictly speaking applied research is research that applies theory in empirical analysis.[7] The Norwegian sample also showed a practice orientation as 45% of projects were coded as 'completely applied' and another 43% as 'partially applied'.[8] Nonetheless, 41% referred to theory in the project summary, which may suggest a higher level of theoretical engagement than in the UK sample. Differences in use of theory appear to be much smaller at the level of outputs[9]: a quarter of outputs from the UK sample—discussed in Sect. 3—used theory to do what the UK Research Excellence Framework (REF) 2014 panel for Anthropology and Development called 'situat[ing] the analysis in a wider contextual frame'. The overall figure conceals striking differences between outputs from different research designs: less than one in ten of the quantitative outputs used theory.

Nearly two-thirds of the qualitative approaches in the UK sample do not specify an analytical approach. Of the six who do, almost all use content or framework analysis (5), an approach that originated in applied research on health and social policy to support easy extraction of 'relevant' information. This choice of analysis method strengthens the argument around the applied nature of funded development research. The proportion of qualitative approaches specifying an analytical approach was even lower in the Norwegian sample—just 3% (although to put this in context only 6% of projects containing quantitative methods specified an approach). The analytical techniques used by quantitative projects in the UK and Norwegian samples were sophisticated—mostly econometric or multivariate—although mixed methods studies mainly used descriptive analysis.

One of the most striking findings in relation to the UK sample was the dominance of projects using both qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods). These increased from 43 to 64% of projects between the first and second phases of research funding and remained at 57% in phase three. The dominance of mixed methods was less obvious in the Norwegian sample where only 27% of the projects that specified a research design[10] were mixed methods. However, given that 54% of the qualitative studies used secondary data, which is usually quantitative, it is possible that this is an underestimate. The reorientation towards mixed methods studies, in the UK at least, reflects broader changes within DS. For example, there is increasing pressure on researchers seeking funding to present their research and research design as innovative (Travers 2009, in Wiles et al. 2010). It may also reflect a fear among qualitative researchers that their methodologies will be considered insufficiently rigorous without a quantitative component. As Sumner and Tribe (2004: 14) put it 'typically combinations or triangulation are proposed to overcome the validity weakness in quantitative methods and in the reliability and representative weakness in qualitative methods'.

Within so-called mixed methods research designs, basic surveys, interviews and focus groups predominate. This suggests that the majority are not mixing methods in a particularly innovative way. For example, one-third of mixed methods grants in the UK sample used surveys as the only quantitative method with interviews and/or focus group discussion as the only qualitative method(s). This was also true of the majority of mixed methods grants within the Norwegian sample who had specified a research method. It suggests that lack of ambition in mixed methods work may be a common problem. Another common problem

is lack of integration of qualitative and quantitative components (Roelen and Camfield 2015). While it wasn't possible to explore this in the Norwegian sample because there wasn't a requirement to archive data, in the UK sample only two of the nine mixed methods studies that archived data archived both qualitative and quantitative data.[11] This suggests that they might not be perceived to be of equal value, although the time and cost of qualitative data archiving might be another factor (Irwin and Winterton 2011). Within the UK sample fewer than 20% of sampled outputs and 11% of final reports[12] contained a reflection on limitations. While word limits could explain the lack of reflection in journal articles, the fact that limitations are not examined in reports either suggests that DS researchers may not be as critical as they could be. This is problematic for two reasons: researchers new to the field are presented with a sanitised account of fieldwork that does not prepare them for the challenges they will face and data users do not realise the need for caution in making generalisations. Similarly, only 30% of outputs discussed the ethical implications of the research, with marked differences in the level of reflection between qualitative and quantitative papers. While this does not mean that the researchers were unethical, it suggests a lack of attention to the effects on the data of imbalances of power and positionality.

4 Publications from the UK Sample

The review of the UK sample included examination of a random sample of 159 quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods papers.[13] This was particularly important in assessing the commitment of projects to the use of mixed methods—something the EADI International Accreditation Committee[14] sees as a key element of development research—as while a study may collect data using many different methods, not all of this will be published, or even analysed. In this sample I used the same criteria as when examining the projects: theory and theoretical frameworks, attention to ethics, whether the analytical approach was specified, and discussion of limitations.

4.1 Use of Theory and Theoretical Frameworks

Approximately one-quarter of the outputs (38) used theory[15] in their analysis. This was much lower than expected, given that engagement

with theory is normally required for publication in top journals, particularly for qualitative and mixed methods studies. There were differences between the frequency of theory use in quantitative (8%), qualitative (37.5%) and mixed methods papers (41%) which partially supports this proposition. The most popular theories were gender/feminism (4),[16] the capabilities approach (3), tipping point (3, used by a single study on urban violence), and livelihoods (2). Without the use of even middle range theory,[17] it is hard to see how studies can situate themselves in a broader frame or build on the knowledge of other scholars.

4.2 Mixed Methods Outputs

Within the papers a range of methods were combined: semi-structured interviews (85%, 41), basic (79%, 38) or panel surveys (13%, 6), focus group discussions (33%, 16), narrative or life histories (29%, 14), ethnography (12%, 6), visual/participatory methods (10%, 5), behavioural and experimental games (6%, 3), and documentary analysis (4%, 2). However, as in the project level analyses, the main design appears to be a basic survey (79%, 38) plus semi-structured interviews (85%, 41) and/or focus groups (33%, 16). Methodological innovation is not necessarily an indicator of quality, however, it could signify a more solid or reflexive methodology. The standard approach to mixing methods does not seem either exciting or likely to produce diverse responses—a survey is just a more structured interview.

In relation to the sequencing of qualitative and quantitative methods, which is one indicator of the genuineness of the mixing of methods, the findings are more encouraging than at the project level as nearly half the mixed methods outputs (21) discussed this. Seventy-three per cent (35) of outputs from mixed methods projects reported both qualitative and quantitative data. However, 20% (7) of these reported them separately with minimal attempt at integration. Not having the methods in 'dialogue' with each other reduces the value of a mixed methods design.

4.3 Ethics

Few outputs provided information on ethics (approximately 30%), as was the case at project level. Qualitative outputs were twice as likely to provide information on ethics as quantitative ones, perhaps reflecting a

greater sensitivity to ethics among qualitative researchers. One-third of qualitative outputs discussed ethics (32%, 21) compared to one-seventh of the quantitative (14%, 7) and one-fifth of the mixed methods project (19%, 9).

4.4 Analytical Approach

As with the analysis at project level, the majority of quantitative outputs use regression or econometric forms of analysis, although three outputs also use descriptive statistics. Eighty-two per cent of the qualitative outputs (45) do not specify their analytical approach, compared to 4% of quantitative outputs (2). Of those who do, the majority use content or framework analysis (7), as was the case at project level. The majority of mixed methods projects (71%, 34) describe the quantitative analysis method, which is predominantly descriptive statistics (67%, 23 of the outputs that specified a quantitative approach). However, only 12.5% (6) describe the qualitative analysis method, which is always content analysis (as with the project level, where this approach predominated). This conveys the impression of a less systematic approach being taken for the qualitative analysis than the quantitative. However, this impression may be misleading if we consider that PIs were typically also the lead authors and the average age of a PI was 56. Over the last 15–20 years there has been a reflexive turn within the social sciences and a growth of interest in methodology reflected by specialist journals, organisations, and centres (e.g. within the UK the ESRC-funded National Centre for Research Methods). However, this was probably not the case when this cohort of researchers started their research careers. While their work is undoubtedly equally systematic and rigorous, they may not see the need, or have the language to describe the process of analysis in the detail that would now be expected.

4.5 Limitations

The final point of the preceding section may apply to discussion of limitations. This is now considered a mark of quality, indicating a critical and reflexive approach to research, but was not always thought to be necessary. As with the project level analysis, few outputs mentioned limitations

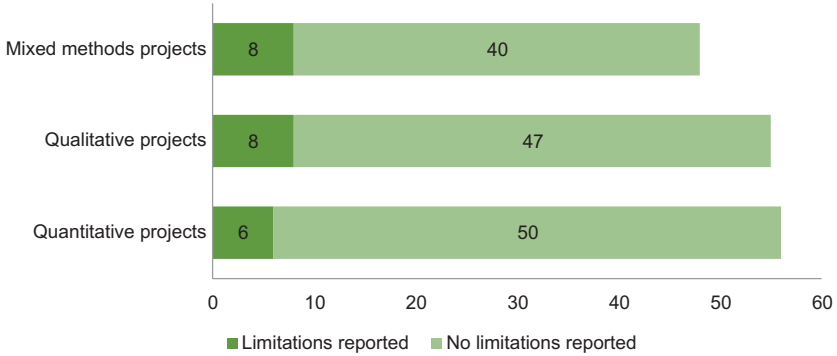


Fig. 1 Number of outputs reporting limitations ($N = 159$)

(less than 20%) and this omission was particularly visible in quantitative outputs (12%, 6) (Fig. 1).

There may also be institutional pressures that militate against complete transparency; Prowse (2008: 3) describes how 'much poverty and development research presents a smooth ex post account of research methods (often airbrushing dead ends and false starts)' and Wiles et al. (2010: 17) note that 'few authors in our sample identified failures'.

A final point, which it was only possible to explore in the UK sample, was the extent of participation from partners based in the global South. While there was evidence of collaboration with Southern partners in analysis as well as data generation, lead and co-authorship were less common on peer-reviewed publications. For example, one study with 24 papers had the PI as lead author for every paper. This is despite the fact that Southern partners were generating an impressive level of impact—a key criterion for most development research—through creatively tailoring forms of communication to the interests of stakeholders (for example, feeding information into the storylines of television dramas or creating learning resources). Cummings and Hoebink's (2017) study of authorship and membership of editorial boards confirms the marginalisation of Southern scholars: of 2112 articles identified, only 14% were from developing countries (in the analysis of abstracts discussed below, 14.6% were from the global South, mostly India and South Africa, with a growing number from China).

5 Publications from a Broader Sample

To cross-check the findings in Sect. 4 on a larger and more cosmopolitan sample, 151 abstracts were analysed from a representative sample of development journals. Unlike the outputs of the UK sample, only 24% generated primary data. This might be because the majority were quantitative (43%) and/or used secondary data (60%). However, it might also be a bias within the UK sample, which was largely comprised of empirical research projects (only two were purely theoretical). Although good use was made of secondary data, the expectation of the funder (DFID-ESRC) was that projects would generate their own data as well.

In relation to the research designs, only 25% were qualitative and 5% mixed methods, which presents a very different picture to the preceding Section.[18] This may represent the preferences of the three selected journals; for example, World Development is known to be highly quantitative. In support of this, 84% of the World Development papers used secondary data and only 14% were qualitative (compared to 38% for Development and Change). It may also be because in order to quickly reach a large audience (and meet funders' 'milestones'), the outputs from the UK sample were published across a range of journals. Some of these were international, some regional; some had high impact factors, some didn't have an impact factor at all. This heterogeneity may have meant the papers from the UK sample could use research approaches that might be seen as less prestigious. While not possible within the scope of this study, it would be interesting to see whether as DS journals have acquired impact factors and increasingly high rankings, they have become more cautious in their methodological preferences. This may represent a turn towards the quantitative within development research, as has been seen in the evaluation of development programmes (Eyben 2013; Bedecarrets et al. 2015; Gujit and Roche 2014).

Given the widespread use of secondary data, the main quantitative method was various forms of cross-sectional survey analysis. However, there were also 11 analyses of longitudinal/panel data, two social network analyses and one structural equation model. There were examples of newer forms of analysis used in impact evaluations such as Propensity Score Matching (3), Instrumental Variables (1), and Difference-in-Difference (1), mainly in World Development. The main qualitative method was documentary analysis (10, of which 2 used discourse analysis), a form of qualitative secondary analysis. However, at least 46%

of the qualitative papers generated their own data using interviews (8), ethnography (3) and focus groups (2).[19]

Where abstracts specified a location, the majority (88%) worked in rural areas and 51% worked in a single country. Ten per cent of papers drew on data from the global North, which is higher than the proportions for the projects sampled from the UK (1%) and Norway (6%). This may indicate a growing interest in this area within DS. The majority of papers (59%) used theory to some extent, which is a higher proportion than in the UK (25%) or the Norwegian (41%) samples and 37% of these were characterised as more theoretical than applied.

While difficult to draw strong conclusions from this exercise, it seems as though quantitative studies predominate in high impact factor journals and the majority of these use secondary data. There is anecdotal evidence that mixed methods papers are hard to publish that seems to be confirmed by this data. The finding of low representation from the global South is also confirmed, with some indication that this might be journal specific: only 6% of Southern authors were published in Development and Change versus 18% in World Development and 19% in EJDR. While this may not be typical—I only have data from one year—another explanation might be that published Southern authors are more likely to have written quantitative papers (68%) than the qualitative and mixed methods papers that predominate in Development and Change. Hopefully the increasing support offered to Southern authors by journals keen to expand their markets will start to address these imbalances.

To provide a more detailed analysis of the issues emerging through this comparison, I now describe three research projects, drawn from the 122 DFID-ESRC projects described in Table 1. These were led respectively by economists, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists and language and communication specialists, highlighting the interdisciplinary nature of DS.

6 Conclusions

In concluding I return to key elements of EADI's revised definition of DS[20] to see the extent to which these are evidenced by the methodological trends I have outlined above. The definition emphasises that DS 'is a multi- and interdisciplinary field of study rather than a single *discipline*' which seeks to understand the interplay of different types of change at 'local, national, regional and global levels', acknowledging the 'varied

local responses to regional or global processes, and varied development strategies'. This prompts two questions of the datasets—do we see multidisciplinary collaborations in both funded research and training, and does research operate at multiple scales, with appropriate attention to the specificity of different contexts?

In answer to the first question, multidisciplinarity is evident within the datasets—in the Norwegian sample 36% of projects were multidisciplinary and nearly half of these drew on more than four different disciplines. Having said that, multidisciplinarity is still largely confined to the social sciences, with limited engagement with the humanities (the literary scholars in Walker et al.) or the natural sciences. This impedes its ability to 'take into account the specificity of different societies in terms of history, ecology, institutions, culture, knowledge, technology, etc.' It is, however, operating at multiple scales, often within the same programme or paper, and the increasing use of secondary data alongside primary facilitates this larger perspective.

A second element is its applied nature—do we see development research and training that 'is increasingly applied in focus and engaged with policy and practice'? Despite the academic focus of the funding schemes and papers reviewed, there is a strong commitment to applied work, accounting for 45% of the Norwegian sample and 41% of the papers reviewed. The engagement with policy and practice is illustrated by the impact strategies described in Sect. 2.1.

Thirdly, do we see how 'the range of concerns it addresses and the methods it uses evolves over time, as witnessed by … the emergence of novel concerns such as … poverty and social exclusion in industrialised countries'? While we see evolution in methodology, for example, an increasing emphasis on mixed methods, the interest in the global North has been slower to develop (only 1% of projects in the UK sample and 6% in the Norwegian one had sites in the global North). Nonetheless, 10% of papers from the 3 major journals drew on data from the global North, which suggests that this is growing in importance.

Fourthly, in terms of research collaboration, including the production of outputs, do we see 'genuine partnerships and cross-fertilisation between institutions and individuals … working in different parts of the world'? This is an area in which DS may have more work to do, as discussed in Gaventa and Oswald this volume. While all the research projects involved Southern collaborators, the extent to which this is reflected

in authorship is limited, and appears to vary across types of output. Not all examples are as striking as the PI with first authorship on 24 papers; however, clearly more could be done to break down barriers to publication for Southern team members (Camfield 2014).

Fifthly, in looking at the projects and articles, do we see that 'in most cases, [these] are multidisciplinary and use mixed methods', but that within this orientation 'positivist and quantitative approaches tend to be most influential'? This does seem to be the case, with the proviso that multidisciplinarity is confined to the social sciences. However, we do not see the same bias towards the quantitative that we do in (certain) publications. While specialised research funding—the UK and Norwegian samples—may be more pluralist in its orientation, the influence of the quantitative is certainly evident within the sub-field of impact evaluation and the higher levels of policy-making (cf. Attanasio et al. 2009).

Sixthly, to what extent does development writing 'enable students to reflect on their own experience and to learn from each other's diverse experiences and backgrounds' and 'operate intelligently and ethically in situations of incomplete or inaccurate information'? The analysis of research projects and outputs shows limited critical reflection and ethical sensitivity—fewer than one-fifth of outputs mentioned limitations and only 30% provided information on ethics. This may be due to a reluctance to admit to limitations in the research in an increasingly competitive environment for both research funding and the attention of policy-makers.

Finally, to what extent are development practitioners 'able to communicate the results of their research (and their methodology) to audiences ranging from academics and policy makers to local communities and civil society organisations [… and] engage these stakeholders in following up the research'? Section 2.1 in particular illustrates creative ways of ensuring impact, for example, feeding story lines to popular soap operas. It also provides evidence that these have been successful—the ban on the sale of customary land in Zambia and the addition of a principle around respect to the ILO Recommendation 202. This chapter has tried to convey some of the granular detail of development research across a range of settings. However, this final question reminds us that we should not lose sight of its ultimate goal—to foster 'inclusive and sustainable development [… and] contribute to possible solutions to societal problems'.

Notes

1. http://www.hefce.ac.uk/media/HEFCE,2014/Content/Pubs/Independentresearch/2017/REF,201701/REF2017_01.pdf. Downloaded 16 November 2017.
2. Location of first degree was used as an imperfect proxy for country of origin.
3. Their respective impact factors are 2.848 for World Development, one of the top journals in DS, 1.353 for Development and Change and 1.11 for the European Journal of Development Research. The impact factors show that work published within these journals is highly cited, indicating their influence on this field. See also Tezanos et al., this volume.
4. Unfortunately I only have information on the proposals that were funded.
5. AIDEFFECT: Effect of Aid, MALAWI: Democracy and Governance in Malawi, Gender-eq: Women's Rights and Gender Equality, TaxCapDev: Tax Havens, Capital Flows and Developing Countries, CGIAR-stip: CGIAR Fellowship Programme, GLOBMEK: Globalisation of the Environment, Energy and Climate Research, HUMPOL: Research on Humanitarian Policy, ECONPOP: Research on Economic Growth Poverty Reduction, Reproductive Health and Population Dynamics, POVPEACE: Poverty and Peace Research, W-Balkan: Wester Balkan Countries Development Studies.
6. https://www.forskningsradet.no/en/Funding/NORGLOBAL/1253978603583. Accessed 16 November 2017.
7. My thanks to one of the reviewers for this point.
8. The criterion for 'partially applied' was whether the summary made any reference to debates in the literature.
9. Unfortunately it wasn't possible to also look at outputs from the Norwegian sample due to the structure of the database and the fact that many were funded quite recently.
10. It was not possible to identify the type of research design for 28 of the 110 Norwegian projects.
11. For example, Rea-Dickens's study of student performance in national examinations archived data from classroom observations, ethnography, surveys, and tests/examination results.
12. Unfortunately the final reports for the Norwegian sample are not publically available.
13. The review took a random sample of 20% or no fewer than three empirical outputs for all projects that had empirical outputs. Six projects were excluded as they either had no outputs or only briefing or conference papers which were not comparable to the other outputs reviewed.
14. A body established to accredit DS masters courses worldwide.

15. Theory was defined in the context of the review as an idea or set of ideas that is intended to explain facts or events, such as the theory of relativity or an economic model. Theoretical frameworks such as the capability approach were included within this category.
16. 42% of the Norwegian sample project summaries mentioned gender, although this is surprisingly low given that gender-sensitivity is an explicit criterion for funding.
17. Middle-range theory explains a specific set of phenomena, e.g. Sen's concept of entitlements in relation to famine, as opposed to grand theory, which explains phenomena at a societal level, e.g. Marxism.
18. 27% didn't provide enough information for their research design to be classified.
19. There were also six case studies, but the methods, and the extent to which they were using primary rather than secondary data, were not specified.
20. This was mandated by the EADI directors meeting in Olomouc, 29 Oct 2015.

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PART IV

Southern (Challenging) Voices and Themes in Development Studies

CHAPTER 12

Knowledge Production, Ownership and the Power of Definition: Perspectives on and from Sub-Saharan Africa

Henning Melber

> Most of that which is received as knowledge about Africa is produced in the West.
>
> (Mama 2007: 4)

1 Introduction

The pitfalls of efforts entangled in the complexity of scholarly engagement in a real world characterized by inequalities, asymmetric structures and corresponding hierarchical realities are the focus of this chapter.[1]

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These have a particular impact on Development Studies (DS) and its sibling African Studies, as they are both academic disciplines, whose genesis is directly related to colonialism, decolonization and more recently to debates triggered by and related to Postcolonial Studies (Ziai 2012). Deliberations on the state of the art of DS therefore suggests a massive task in coming to terms with its place and role, since it is "founded on the very dichotomies that it seeks to overcome—of North and South and the massive imbalances in access to resources that produce 'haves' and 'have-nots' in the knowledge economy" (Standing and Taylor 2016: 169).

The immanent nature of DS also relates to the changing concepts and conceptualizations framing 'development'—traced in its evolution of ideologies and narratives since World War II by Jolly and Santos (2016) and in-depth since the days of the 'civilizing mission' by Aram Ziai (2016). With the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a significant marker and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as the latest reference point on which much of DS funding depends, the discourse and its focus has entered a new stage which directly affects the role and scope of DS (Melber 2017). Not only does it shift the premises from a North–South perspective towards one viewing global challenges as a necessary and long overdue adjustment. While the SDG-triggered agenda opens new windows of opportunity, it also closes others, by reducing the notion of development and its goals to a checklist. But DS should not be defined or instrumentalized by policy-makers and practitioners who engage in 'development'. In their efforts to contribute to an understanding and effect of 'development', which does not victimize and take place at the expense of future generations, the institutional and individual members of EADI face a massive challenge and daunting task.

The following analysis and arguments are in support of a "renegotiation of the terms of knowledge production" (Horáková 2016: 47) in the related disciplines of developmental and area studies. By doing so, this chapter sides with demands by others (e.g. Keim et al. 2014) that "the need to move towards non-hegemonic forms of cooperation between academic realms and forms of knowledge is a practical-material as well as an intellectual task", while "no success can be achieved without relentless criticisms on inhered spurious certainties" (Lagos 2015). Last but not least, this reasoning is influenced by the conviction that 'neutral' knowledge in a value-free vacuum detached from social interests does not exist: "ways of knowing and resulting bodies of knowledge are always historical and they are deeply political" (Bliesemann and Kostic 2017: 6).

What this chapter is not able to do, is to engage in a deeper sense—as for instance Obrecht (2014)—with the fundamental question of what knowledge is in a more principled understanding, over and above knowledge and knowledge production related to DS and African realities. But by pointing to the relevance of hierarchical structures and power, this chapter concurs with Halvorsen (2017: 303) that, "the academic profession must rid itself once and for all of the notion that knowledge is invariably 'positive', that every question has one correct answer (the truth), and that this is to be obtained through one correct method". What is problematized instead is the current discrepancy between claims for true partnerships in research collaboration and the factual circumstances which permeate knowledge production on (not by) Africa. After all,

> … knowledge of Africa has been produced within what we might define as a Western episteme. The theoretical, conceptual and methodological resources through which Africa is to this day rendered visible and intelligible speak from a place, about that place and in accordance with criteria of plausibility that use that particular place as the normative standard for truth. (Macamo 2016: 326)

Such diagnosis, if taken seriously, demands a closer self-reflection by scholars who identify with the aims of EADI in search of an honest assessment of our understanding of and role in DS and the forms of interaction with African realities and scholars in and from the continent. We should, after all, agree with Smith (1999) that true decolonization is supposed to be concerned having a "(m)ore critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices" (Wilson 2001: 214). This is a necessary reminder that we should always include critical reflections interrogating our own internalized value systems, which we often tend to understand and apply unchallenged as the dominant (if not only) norm.

2 Mapping Asymmetries

Global asymmetric relations have many faces. They are not only manifested in unequal terms of trade, a dominance of the world market by industrialized countries and their economies, worldwide growing inequalities and the continued control over and exploitation of natural resources in so-called less developed countries mainly serving the interest

of various external agencies (largely in the private corporate sector) and local elites. Structural dependencies and their effects on current societies are visible in production and ownership of knowledge too, similar to many other forms of open or hidden dominance in the past still existing in the present.[2] The slogan that "knowledge is power" is visibly reproduced in the landscape in which we navigate as scholars and practitioners engaged in or with DS or related, increasingly intertwined disciplines such as, in the case of this chapter, African Studies. While this dictum is not new, it has a more pronounced meaning nowadays through the new information technologies and media reinforcing comparative advantages among those who apply knowledge as power (Davies 2016). But there is a flip side to this widely accepted truism. As Broadbent (2017b) alerts us, academics "are much happier asserting that knowledge is power than they are conceding that power is knowledge". But if we are serious about partnership and emancipation, we have to carefully scrutinize not only how knowledge is power, but also how power is effective in terms of knowledge—not least also in the definitions and framings applied.

"Knowledge Divides" was not by accident the sub-title of the World Social Science Report (UNESCO/ISSC 2010). Its chapters four and five provide sobering evidence to the fact that the current internationalization—like its preceding stages—tends to reinforce the dominance of the North. In as much as economic disparities were integral parts of the unequal development on a global scale (re-)produced since the days of colonial-imperialist expansion, the world of science and knowledge production displays similar characteristics of inequality. As a result, "differences in the research methods and funding between Western and Africanist academia highlight the presence of severe global inequalities in the knowledge economy" (Cheeseman et al. 2017: 4). Scientific dependence in Africa, dubbed as "extraversion" (Hountondji 1990), refers "to the fact that African scholarly production is oriented neither towards the local peers nor to one's own society, but towards the overseas public" (Keim 2008: 32). It corresponds with and is an integral part of the structurally anchored socio-economic imbalances (cf. Weingart 2006). Foreign perspectives were imposed upon the continent and its people and are in mainstream African academia reproduced as part of the "North-South asymmetries in international knowledge production" (Olukoshi 2007: 17). As summarized on occasion of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA):

> That knowledge has been colonized raises the question of whether it was ever free. The formulation of knowledge in the singular already situates the question in a framework that is alien to times before the emergence of European modernity and its age of global domination, for the disparate modes of producing knowledge and notions of knowledge were so many that *knowledges* would be a more appropriate designation. (Gordon 2014: 81, original emphasis)

How global asymmetries are manifested in our contemporary academic settings is illustrated by the world's ranking of universities offering DS as a subject. While reservations about the relevance of such exercises are justified (Teferra 2016), the current parallel lists compiled by QS and the Times Higher Education speak for itself. The QS survey for 2016 ranks the University of Cape Town (9), the University of the Witwatersrand (14) and Makerere (30) among its top 50. African universities ranked 50 to 100 include Cairo, Stellenbosch, the University of Johannesburg, Nairobi and Pretoria (QS 2016). The QS survey for 2017 (*The Guardian* 2017) records a decline in the ranks for most African universities with Cape Town at 10, Wits University at 18, Makerere at 36 and—advancing on the ladder—Stellenbosch at 42, followed by Cairo and the universities of Ghana (new), Johannesburg and KwaZulu Natal (new) in the 50–100 rankings (in which Nairobi and Pretoria do not feature any longer). The rankings not only underline the marginalization of African universities, but also the intra-African asymmetries: two, respectively 3, of the universities in the top 50 are from South Africa, and 5 of the 8 African universities ranked among the top 100. The World University Ranking (2017) by the Times Higher Education[3] in contrast, groups universities only under the category "politics & international studies (including development studies)"—with not a single African university in the top 100.

According to a concept paper for a continental summit on higher education in Africa,[4] less than 0.5% of GDP is invested on the continent in research, with less than 1.5% of the annual global share of research publications as a result. This quantitative dimension is far from being only the result of a lack of political will by those who govern. It also illustrates the impact and consequences of a historical process, which had its origins in the colonial-imperialist expansion of central Europe and the imposition of its forms of reproducing societies (including mind sets, ideologies and knowledge) for centuries to come in a global project

claiming (misleadingly so) universality in character. Summarizing his longer research report on "The Social Sciences in Africa: A Perspective on trends and Issues", prepared for the Social Science Research Council in New York 2001, the later Executive Secretary of CODESRIA concluded: "Making Africa a major site for the production of knowledge by and about itself … means evolving from the position of a mere object and a 'consumer' of social science research to that of an effective producer of social knowledge" (Sall 2002: 63f.).

It would be wrong to assume, that African universities and scholars remain passive and are not engaged in searching for and establishing their own true meaning (cf. Zeleza and Olukoshi 2004). The international rankings only show that the performance of African universities is based on criteria, which are developed and applied elsewhere. The same is true for the discipline of DS. Which development is studied, by whom, for whom, and where? To answer such questions, a critical look at the definition and production of knowledge is necessary (Broadbent 2017a).

Even those with a self-reflective approach enter the trap of selecting indicators and criteria contaminated with a Eurocentric or Western bias. The EADI related "Renewed Vision of Development Studies" (Mönks et al. 2017) testifies to the risk of methodological limitations (if not flaws) when it gathers impact factors of nine journals published in industrialized Western countries as well as exploring catalogues of five Anglophone main publishers in the UK and the US to evaluate any potential modifications in development studies related paradigms. While this seems appropriate to assess potential shifts in the dominant discourse, it indirectly reaffirms the dominance of such discourse and misses out investigating, if and how discourses elsewhere differ (or not).

Consulting also journals such as "Development Southern Africa" published by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), the "Eastern African Social Science Review" by the Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) and CODESRIA's "Africa Development" and "African Sociological Review" (a few obvious examples) might have added a relevant additional perspective (as would including journals and publishing houses from other parts of the world). The vested interests and networks rooted in a Northern hemisphere ensure that citation gaps result in further marginalization and gatekeeping: "certain voices do not command attention" (Briggs and Weathers 2016: 5). International bibliometric databases document the bias as "indicators of marginality and instruments of

marginalisation" (Keim 2008: 28), testifying to "the common ignorance of the African publication sector in Philadelphia, Cambridge and Paris alike" (Keim 2008: 30). Meanwhile, Africa-based journals in the social sciences disclose a vast interdisciplinary and multi-faceted world of discourses representing a wide panorama of locally based reflections. These are not confined to some kind of irredentism but add insights to a relevant African as well as to a globally (or universally) relevant debate (cf. Krenceyová 2014).

The asymmetries, however, are also reproduced in African societies. The South African system of higher education offers a prominent example. Despite many flaws and a current crisis of massive proportions documented through the ongoing large-scale student protests against the limits of a deeply unfair and unequal system, it indeed compares favourably with most other African state policies.[5] Academic indicators for the period 2005–2014, presented by Ishengoma (2016: 158) show, that with an average expenditure on research as percentage of GDP at 0.73% (rank 2), 405 full-time researchers per million citizens (rank 3) and 3125 published articles in scientific and technical journals in 2011 (rank 1) South Africa is on aggregate highest ranked among the 22 African countries compared (including Egypt and Tunisia). In social and human science publications on inequality and social justice in the periods 1994–2003 and 2004–2013 South Africa produced the 6th largest number of articles of all countries included and was the 18th largest producer in the social sciences altogether (Callods 2016: 283f.).

South Africa promotes academic knowledge production through a material reward system for published articles in accredited, peer-reviewed journals. Such publications are reported annually by institutions of higher learning to the Ministry's Department of Higher Education and Training (DoHET) and receive financial rewards. While this is a laudable support mechanism, current practices by some South African universities reinforce the structural distortions: they consider publishing in Western academic periodicals to be of highest repute and hence allocate more money for such publications to the individual research budgets of their academic staff, notwithstanding the fact that the Ministry itself makes no such distinction and allocates the same subsidies to articles in all registered journals. As a result of such university policies, internationally accredited journals are considered as first choice for authors seeking to maximize their research budgets. This is an invidious vicious cycle that reinforces Northern dominance. Many of the 'international' journals

(and indeed a wide range of local South African journals) are marketed by only a handful of commercial publishers at relatively high costs for readers while individual free access to articles is usually very limited. Therefore knowledge production by the very institutions of local higher education is encouraged to remain an external domain by being linked mainly to prestigious fora abroad and not measured against criteria of 'endogenous' knowledge produced and disseminated locally.

Jonathan Jansen, praised for his role as vice chancellor at the University of the Free State until 2016, illustrates that origin is by no means a panacea that protects from the virus of internalized Western supremacy as the exclusive standard-setting reference point. At a public launch of his book "As by Fire: The End of the South African University" he disclosed a surprisingly uncritical admiration for the US-American higher education system. He repeatedly referred positively to Stanford University as his alma mater (where he obtained a Ph.D. in education after undergraduate studies at the University of the Western Cape). Comparing this institution with South African tertiary education, he dismissed the challenges articulated by the current student protests, "advocating an elitist schooling model in a post-apartheid context, all without so much as mentioning race, save for selectively denigrating the very concept" (Levenson 2017). Such dismissal of what motivates social protests on the campuses in one of the most unequal societies with an ongoing racial (and at times racist) bias linked to class, is a reminder that pigmentation and the place of birth are important but far from decisive factors pre-determining perceptions and views. They do not protect individuals from perpetuating a distorted world of knowledge production.

It therefore should not come as a surprise that (self-)critical examination suggests that the mainstream academic community is not yet close to overcoming the dichotomies existing in current forms of knowledge production and the specific focus and nature of such joint knowledge production within North–South interactions. This manifests in the continued power of so-called impact factors in scholarly production measured by indicators such as the number and ranking of publications. These criteria, void of any concept of practical social or political relevance, are increasingly applied not only by those holding the power of definition over academic advancement and career but also by Northern funding agencies.

Meanwhile, the meaning of relevance must be interrogated. Adebayo Olukoshi, then regional director for Africa and West Asia at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, questioned at the Times Higher Education Africa Universities Summit the notion of "world class" as seemingly global currency. According to Bothwell (2016) he argued:

> The mistake which we made over time has been to assume there is a defined standard of excellence, by which we must measure ourselves. Excellence itself is a changing concept and today's universities in Africa must speak to the goals of transformation. We have an opportunity to establish a much more nuanced and considered definition of ambition that speaks to our context.

By engaging with both northern and southern development discourses, Ndhlovu (2017: 11) suggests that, "perhaps the answer might as well lie in a judicious and innovative combination of previous and emerging theoretical traditions from both the Global North and the Global South". This, however, although it seems to be common sense, should not loose sight of who acts in which capacity in the process of seeking new ground and drawing the demarcations. There is a need to challenge the established ranking system indicators guided by purely Western criteria. These overlook that,

> … co-operation across the globe, *including* with institutions that are rated poorly in existing ranking systems, holds the potential to open up and renew global knowledge systems. Rather than increasing standardization and uniformity, we need to harness the creativity to which a multitude of experiences allow us access. (Halvorsen 2017: 280f., original emphasis)

3 North–South Collaboration Revisited

Current collaboration between policy-makers, development agencies, and funding institutions in the spheres of research, including the involvement and role of scholars, offers differing results and conclusions. The tricky part—often not explicitly reflected upon—is actually the (self-)critical exploration; to which extent European or Western frameworks are considered universal and/or taken simply for granted as being hegemonic when it comes not only to applied science but also to best practices.

This at times is the invisible hand shaping exchanges within the frame of an interaction guided by mindsets not (yet) emancipated from or even aware of the paternalistic and patronizing undercurrents of what is considered our world of knowledge. Paul Collier (1993: 58) has bluntly expressed the predatory view, considering the raw data in Africa as a matter for harvesting and culling for the main benefit of those from the outside (as quoted in Keim 2008: 38f.):

> Africa is a gold mine to economists, because its economic history has been so extreme. Booms, busts, famines, migrations. Because there are so many African countries, often following radically different economic policies, Africa offers a diversity ideally suited to the comparative approach which is the economist's best substitute for the controlled experiment.

It seems difficult to disagree with the subsequent suggestion by Keim (2008: 39), that "(a)ny assumptions of an integrated, homogenous, international or global community of equals seem to be premature and lacking reflection on the distortions within international sociology". A survey compiled by two members of the EADI Executive Committee reconfirmed what many (though far from all) involved in these processes have realized. Based to a large extent on interviews with practitioners, the findings document that research partnerships "are far from immune to the tensions and conflicts permeating unequal power relations accruing from unequal access to funding, knowledge and expert networks" (Carbonnier and Kontinen 2014: 3). This is a reminder that international cooperation—even with the best of intentions—is far from being per se good. Well-meaning engagement does not protect from flaws, setbacks and failures in terms of asymmetric forms of cooperation. "North-South partnership" (seldom called South–North partnership) in the true sense of the word requires careful and critical self-reflections especially (though not exclusively) by those from the North entering the minefield but trying to avoid being trapped on all sorts of common devices related to paternalism or racism (and, for that matter, gendered discrimination). These include the often-praised Nordic or Scandinavian forms of development cooperation considered for quite some time as positive examples (Baaz 2005). Even its critical analysis is prone to flaws. In this case, the empirical research revealing limitations in Nordic interaction with African partners relies almost exclusively on interviews with locally based Nordic "development experts" and practitioners. Through such a reductionist approach the

method (unintentionally) again marginalizes the view of the partners in the "recipient countries", who remain—nomen est omen—on the receiving end (cf. Goodhand 2007).[6]

Not deliberately and consciously considering structural asymmetries underpinning DS and practice as a core obstacle and challenge for any meaningful partnership in the true sense of the word, risks failure. Being international in nature, outlook and practice does not mean being automatically safe from or immune to bias. Something international in nature and organization is far from necessarily all-inclusive, securing adequate representation. All too often inter-nationalism in its basic characteristics and with regard to its main beneficiaries is confined to countries and people inside the circle of power—in contrast to those remaining at the margins or outside and on the receiving end. For the EADI paper by Carbonnier and Kontinen (2014, 2015) the structural constraints often lead to an instrumentalization of southern partners, tasked to become implementers of a northern agenda. Put differently: if European or Western or Northern or any other type of internationalism exercises a power of definition over others and imposes its values, norms, mindsets and views as particular (in this case Euro-centric) project on the rest of the world—as done far too long in the history of European colonial and imperialist expansion— then this international dimension of European frameworks is of dubious value at least for others. So-called progressive political-philosophical ideologies and perspectives rooted in Western trajectories are by no means secure scaffolding, which avoids falling prey to "the discrete charm of European intellectuals" (Dabashi 2009).

This does not exclude challenges also from within the belly of the beast, as already articulated by representatives of the 'Radical Enlightenment' (Israel 2001, 2006, 2011). The Enlightenment always had the ambiguity to establish on the one hand a rationality, which promoted a pseudo-scientific belief in mono-causal, linear progress and development as all-embracing concept to explain and master the world, while at the same time providing the tools and instruments for emancipation based on questioning this claim. The era of Enlightenment to a large extent established a smokescreen to cover Euro-centric dominance through claims of universality. But the legitimizing humbug of such claims has been questioned not only by those raised at the receiving end of such an introvert, self-centered mindset, but also by some people socialized within the system and supposed to be an integral part of its reproduction. Emancipation from hegemony, power and subjugation is a collective effort, which crosses boundaries and is in itself internationalism in practice.

Being European or Northern or of any other descent therefore does mold but not pre-determine worldview and convictions in an irrevocable manner, even though cultural and religious factors, gender and pigmentation (and the privileges accompanying the social positioning of many scholars in the Northern hemisphere) should not be dismissed lightly in forming identities and mindsets. But primary experiences and socialization do not exclude or deny processes of learning, changing, adapting and re-positioning. A continued supremacy of American-European social sciences does not offer scholars any excuses to abstain from joining counter-hegemonic strategies also from within the dominant spheres of influence and knowledge production. True partnership in research and knowledge production should in principle be able to overcome boundaries, notwithstanding the sobering overview by Ishengoma (2016: 168ff.), presenting reasons why and evidence that "North-South research collaborations are still ineffective".

The perpetuation of such a system degrades the so-called global South and its academic realities to second grade juniors. African sites tend to be considered as laboratories or test cases for exploring or verifying general theories created in the Northern hemispheres (Keim 2008). As a result, the Euro-centric hegemony produced a locally embedded dependency culture, intertwining with elites exercising political and administrative control over societies predominantly in their self-interest as a kind of satellites feeding—despite all occasionally radically different populist rhetoric—into the further entrenchment of the globally dominant systems. This unfortunate constellation of a "combination of domestic repression and financial strangulation" affected tertiary education and research in African countries shaped by a toxic blend of an "incontinent insistence of conformity and sycophancy by authoritarian rulers" (Mkandawire 2011: 15). The late Joseph Ki-Zerbo captured this in the image of a sign hanging on the entrance to Africa saying "Silence, Development in Progress" (Mama 2007: 10).

Despite laudable efforts by CODESRIA and OSSREA, the so-called postcolonial sphere of local science, research and academic knowledge production (and its dissemination) continues to face an uphill battle. While the organizations have achieved a remarkable expansion of independent research and knowledge production owned locally, the academic domain has so far—if only for purely economic reasons—remained largely defined by external factors. Far from being home grown, scholarly efforts were often restricted by global economic disparities and

structures, permeating all other spheres of social organization of life and work. African scholars facing the challenge are engaged in uphill battles to reduce such distortions (cf. Mkandawire 2002). Despite their efforts, ownership remains in many cases outside the African realm or firmly under the control of government and "academics and technocrats who uncritically served" these (Mama 2007: 10), also with regard to the power of definition what is considered to be "truly" academic and scholarly, or relevant. The triumph of neoliberalism during the last decades has not eased the challenge. Rather, "the proliferation of neo-liberal practices in the institutions … force academics to pursue short-term goals without any connection to the public interest in their teaching", thereby "contributing to the emergence of a new 'crisis of quality' engineered from within the institutions" (Ogachi 2011: 44).

The authors of the EADI paper identify the notion of power as a necessary challenge in efforts to transform research into "transformational" research on global issues. Arguing that "there is no such thing as a-political research" they suggest: "Partnerships are embedded in a web of power relations while development-oriented research often implies conflicting and contesting objectives between scholars, aid agencies and development practitioners" (Carbonnier and Kontinen 2015: 159). This requires efforts creating an enabling environment for more equal partnerships, guided by the need to deconstruct an agenda claiming to be global, but in actual fact still being largely driven by actors in the North. All too often, such efforts remain confronted with the dilemma, that even with the best intentions, these are still based on and dependent upon Northern funding and scholars. They might try to overcome structural constraints, but remain confined to operations rooted and embedded within a Northern setting. These undertakings often have hardly any direct Southern participation—neither in terms of funding nor through individual and institutional representation. Hountondji (1983) bemoaned "the intellectual division of labour that devalues the work of African scholars to the condition of mere hunters and gatherers of primary data that more intellectually sophisticated scholars and research programmes from the North translate into intelligible accounts of the human condition" (Macamo 2016: 327).

Little has changed in the substance of such relations since then. Southern partners—individuals as well as institutions—remain at the receiving end as implementing agencies, often added on after decisions are taken without adequate consultation during the process. At best,

they are invited to indicate their willingness to enter such forms of cooperation in funding applications, in which they had no say during the drafting process, to create the impression that this is about true partnership—while it clearly is not as long as ownership is one- or lop-sided. This brings back the issue of "scientific power", which Macamo (2016: 331) problematizes as "the power to define what Africa's problems are and to claim the supremacy of the solutions that science suggests while, at the same time, undermining local problem definitions and solutions."

4 Concluding Reflections

As suggested, declared awareness of the asymmetrical North–South relations does not eliminate the risk that these are perpetuated even within the settings of those claiming to be aware, as long as historically rooted animosities and structural legacies as well as internalized value systems and behavioral patterns prevail. The EADI survey identified in conclusion

> … large gaps between stated ambitions and actual practice regarding research partnerships. Under the drive of 'global studies' and the global public goods agenda, research organizations with no previous exposure in North-South collaboration are joining in and face many of the traditional pitfalls well-known in international development cooperation, such as basic contextual understanding, cultural sensitivity and a need to explicitly address the issue of power relations, all of which remain central to the success of such research collaboration. (Carbonnier and Kontinen 2015: 160)

Some European-based funding institutions have not only realized such hampering impacts (which also limit the insights created) but are actively taking initiatives to counteract continued reproduction of biased and lop-sided collaboration, which often hardly merits the name. The Norglobal program of the Norwegian Research Council has some calls for research applications in which funding has to be equally shared with Southern partners and where their involvement must go beyond tokenism. Similarly, the Dutch NWO-WOTRO Science for Global Development programmes fund research projects at times on a equally shared North–South basis, which secures much more adequate Southern involvement than before, including the funding of workshops with Southern partners in preparing joint proposals.[7] Such examples indicate

that funding structures and policies not only matter but can be changed. If North–South partnerships are taken seriously, benefits must be allocated to all involved in a fair manner. This includes the need to ensure that the accumulated knowledge does not only end up in Northern domains and for target groups with privileged access.

Bridging the North–South divide more fundamentally, however, remains a challenge. Academic criteria guiding career planning in a scholarly environment—such as the infamous "impact factor" of publications—often overrule practical or even policy relevance, and North–South cooperation remains all too often in the hands of Northern partners with Southern counterparts as a fig leaf or a junior partner reduced to an implementing agency for local empirical studies and data collection, which after completion of the local services are owned by the Northern "big brother/sister".

As a result, relevant insights for local policy-makers and communities in the South generated by new research end up in peer-reviewed journals, whose commercial publishing priority makes access prohibitively expensive for those who might benefit most from it. Often, funded research projects are not even tasked or expected to share their insights with a wider audience as the potential beneficiary of the new knowledge created. Instead, one could make provisions that research results are published in accessible ways in a local context, and provide the necessary funding for this as an integral part of the project. This would be a deliberate effort to address the imbalances by putting money where the mouth is and seeking out locally institutionalized, interactive fora.[8]

While this emphasizes the need to mobilize for further resources allocated by governments to enable such true collaboration, it also reminds the actors engaged in such cooperation to live up to the proclaimed goals:

> … the academic community must support their counterparts in Africa as they struggle against the ravages of the consultancy syndrome that rewards reports over refereed academic papers, against the repressive practices and criminal negligence of their respective national governments and against the pressures for the commercialization of educational systems. Universities should not wait for the initiatives of governments and donors. Instead, they must seek ways creating autonomous spaces for interacting with each within a 'commonwealth of scholars'. This will entail changes in the current relationship between African scholars and the university communities elsewhere. (Mkandawire 2011: 25)

Such interaction would also require a paradigm shift towards the plurality of theories, including a 'Theory From the South' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012). Such "new theoretical currents, grounded in deep knowledge of and engagement with the realities of life in Africa, will be able to fill in the current void of theorization in the 'Euro-America' and to stimulate a global return to Theory" (Robbe 2014: 259). Over and above such fundamental shifts, there remains a need to equate sustainability with notions of justice, equality and civil as well as political and socio-economic rights for individuals and collectives within a world of cultural and religious diversity, impacting on and shaping norms and values as well as life perspectives. This requires pursuing the same goals with different but complementary responsibilities to transcend not only geographical borders but also mental and narrow disciplinary confines, while paying respect and giving recognition to diversity and otherness when seeking and establishing common ground.

Hamid Dabashi (2013) criticizes dominant forms of Western knowledge executing the power of definition. Challenging the uncritical admiration and celebrity status of almost exclusively European thinkers elevated to the commanding heights of universal philosophy and history, he wonders "what happens with thinkers who operate outside the European philosophical 'pedigree'?" and points to "a direct and unmitigated structural link between an empire, or an imperial frame of reference, and the presumed universality of a thinker thinking in the bosoms of that empire". While his further challenges (Dabashi 2015) do not present simple answers to a complex reality, they invite further fruitful and stimulating (controversial) exchanges. After all, as Pankaj Mishra (2014) maintains: "that old spell of universal progress through western ideologies—socialism and capitalism—has been decisively broken", since "Europe no longer confidently produces, as it did for two centuries, the surplus of global history" (Mishra 2015).

Maybe this is a significant part of the ultimate challenge to what is called DS: to question our preconceived ideas and values moulded in Euro-centric and other forms of ethnocentric, in the end anthropocentric socialization and perception, guiding—often unconsciously—our interaction also in scholarly endeavours. We need to "trouble problematic narratives and discourses that are pervasively shared in the West, as well as within Africa", deconstruct discourses to challenge and stop "gatekeepers of knowledge … viewing the exogenous and endogenous models of knowledge production as monolithic (…) to move the debate beyond the

binary of Western knowledge vs. local, or indigenous knowledge/worldviews" (Horáková 2016: 46). This would contribute to eroding orthodoxy and fundamentalisms in their diverse forms of articulation, impacting social and political realities in all parts of our world. At the same time, this is far more than a cognitive challenge: "an alternative epistemology cannot solve the structural symbolic violence displayed among worldviews and forms of knowledge by itself; therefore, any dialectical hermeneutic needs to be combined with a critical theory of society and power" (Lagos 2015).

African scholars, aware of and sensitized by the history of marginalization and dehumanization inherent to our dominant worldviews also penetrating academic discourses and paradigms, might have even more to offer than many scholars from other parts of the world. Interaction by listening and learning might help us to become more aware in creating a social contract also in academia, which pursues the ultimate justification of scholarly engagement: to find ways and means to generate and apply knowledge (at times also in the form of simple insights) that is able to contribute to a better world.

Development needs to be reframed from narrowly tackling poverty and vulnerability, to navigating complex challenges in ways that reduce inequalities and build more sustainable, inclusive and secure futures for people and societies.

We need a universal framing of development that recognizes these challenges as matters for everyone, everywhere, from London to Lagos, from South England to the sub-Sahara, and Brighton as well as Beijing (Aghajanian and Allouche 2016: 6).

What could be a nobler goal for DS, than to promote a kind of development, understood as a way to redirect and ultimately stop the race to the wall in a cul-de-sac? A rat race, which based on an anthropocentric obsession reduces the totality of our world to the status of an environment suiting some more privileged members of humanity—ultimately not only promoting rather sooner than later the extinction of the human species, but contributing to the end of all life on Earth.

After all is said and done, EADI might play a role as mediator and facilitator to provide a forum for such efforts, by encouraging robust individual scrutiny among Western (and other) scholars to explore, investigate and question our socialization, mindset, values and practices, if these are indeed compatible with such a new social contract—and if not, to dare contributing to change by changing our own perceptions and activities in the first place. That is "development" in a very fundamental and personal way.

Notes

1. Passages of this text include revised parts of an earlier work, which engages in more detail with some of the aspects mentioned here only in passing (Melber 2014, 2015, 2016). I thank the editors for their helpful suggestions for final revisions.
2. The challenges and ambiguities how best to handle such history might be reflected upon in the UNESCO World Heritage Centre's decision of July 2017, to describe Asmara as "a Modernist City of Africa" and declare it a world cultural heritage site for being "an exceptional example of early modernist urbanism at the beginning of the twentieth-century and its application in an African context" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1550/documents/). Accessed 12 July 2017.
3. https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2017/subject-ranking/socialsciences#!/page/3/length/25/subjects/3090/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats. Accessed 10 July 2017.
4. Published on 17 March 2015 as: "Africa Focus, Africa: Higher Education Must be Higher Priority" at http://allafrica.com/stories/201503190891.html.
5. This is however neither uncritically acknowledged nor praised both at home and abroad. The South African dominance in sub-Saharan Africa also in terms of scholarly activities and performances, in combination with a certain resilience to acknowledge other realities on the continent as similarly relevant and important, provokes many sentiments. The positive assessment of DS made in South Africa in the EADI related Vision Paper (Mönks et al. 2017) in this regard overlooks resentments elsewhere on the continent. It also ignores that the subject is contested in terms of its definition and priorities among scholars in South Africa of different backgrounds, as documented by the fundamental controversy around African Studies, which shook the University of Cape Town at the turn of the century (Centre for African Studies, n.d.).
6. For a general, critical assessment of the developmental discourses in current forms of cooperation see i.a. the special issue of *Progress in Development Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2006, guest edited by Uma Kothari as well as chapters in Duffield and Hewitt (2009) and Hodge et al. (2014).
7. For more information on both institutionalized practices see the web sites: https://www.forskningsradet.no/prognett-norglobal/Home_page/1224698160055 and https://www.nwo.nl/en/about-nwo/organisation/nwo-domains/wotro.
8. The Municipal Learning Institute (MILE), in which the University of KwaZuluNatal in Durban/e Thekwini is involved, can be considered as a

good example. It undertakes urban research in close interaction with local municipalities and citizens, transcending the usual structural barriers and dividing lines between scholars and practitioners—and those at the receiving end of the research results applied.

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CHAPTER 13

Working Towards a Shared Vision on Development Studies in India and The Netherlands

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1 Introduction

In this chapter we share the perspectives on Development Studies (DS) in India and The Netherlands emerging from an exchange on DS between scholars in five Indian universities/institutions[1] and the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University (ISS), in The Hague, The Netherlands in July 2016. The idea for such a workshop emerged from discussions between colleagues at ISS and the Centre for Development Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, about

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the changing context and future of DS. The objective was to reflect on development and DS in both Dutch and Indian institutions to understand the changing context and current challenges.

Linkages between ISS and India follow a long tradition of Indo-Dutch collaboration in research, most notably embodied in the international collaborative research program the Indo-Dutch Programme for Alternatives in Development (IDPAD), which spanned 25 years, ending in 2006. Since then there have been major changes globally in geo-political and economic configurations: the emergence of BRICS; a new 'geography of poverty' challenging hitherto distinctions made between developed/developing, North/South/Third World; neoliberal globalisation based on market fundamentalism and the undermining of the developmental state, to mention a few, which generated new questions and issues for DS. Development policy and aid is increasingly aligning concerns of development with diplomacy and defence, leading to a 'securitization of development', narrowing development goals, with 'mainstreamed' policies focusing only on particular issues such as water, environment, the urban agenda, sexual and reproductive rights. At the same time, wider global concerns are now concentrated on the Sustainable Development Goals. These changes have affected funding of research programmes and support to academic DS. There has been a strong critique articulated against the very concept of development by post-development/post-structuralist scholars.

The core concerns of DS—poverty/inequality/social exclusion/ecological crisis/sustainable and inclusive growth—are still relevant. DS scholarship is thriving despite changing contexts, expanding into crosscutting themes on gender, sexuality, labour, children and youth, conflict, knowledge and technology, human rights, and climate change. However, the present context poses many challenges to the conceptualisation, content and objectives of the academic field of DS. The field has always been pluralistic, with one stream aligning closely with mainstream development policies and aid imperatives, while another stream maintains a critical stance, posing alternatives to hegemonic models of development. Recent discussions have called for a rethinking of the conceptual, methodological and normative frames of reference and the emancipatory vision of DS with implications for the scope and content of research and teaching in DS institutions (Arsel and Dasgupta 2015).

Located within this broader debate on DS, the workshop became a space for sharing how major institutions in India and The Netherlands/ISS practiced DS and approached these changes and challenges to DS—analytically and methodologically—to understand the complementarities and divergences across institutions. The discussions presented here are part of a continuing dialogue aiming at a shared understanding of current DS which would be further concretised into specific research and teaching collaboration between Indian universities/institutions and the ISS. This chapter extends the discussions started by the 10-year anniversary of the 2005 EADI Vision Paper, by presenting an Indo-Dutch dialogue towards a shared vision on DS.

Discussions on DS are often framed around the assumption that both European institutions and Southern institutions each have homogeneous perspectives on DS. This chapter challenges this assumption; there was far more pluralism and convergence across and within the institutions represented than an assumed clear-cut Northern versus Southern polarisation. We have therefore structured this chapter to reflect the stimulating, intense exchanges, imbued with self-reflexivity, highlighting emerging viewpoints on conceptions, issues and dilemmas, related to practising DS in the current context. The first section contextualises the evolution, content, scope and boundaries of the field of DS in India and The Netherlands/ISS addressing key questions on the ontological positioning and geographical scope of DS. In the second section participants in the dialogue personally defined the meaning and content, which DS held for them.[2] The third section addresses approaches in DS and the vexed question of multi/interdisciplinarity and how each institutions practices it. The fourth section engages with the debate on North–South dynamics in knowledge production and decolonisation processes. The final section presents new directions—thematic, conceptual and methodological—and reflections on a new geography for DS in India and The Netherlands/ISS.

2 Ontologies and Geographies: Scope and Boundaries of the Field of Development Studies

This section contextualises the evolution, ontological positioning and geographical scope of the field of DS in India and The Netherlands/ISS. As Gasper notes:

> DS is an intersection/interface space. Such intersections can and will happen in many different ways. The ontologies and geographies that are of primary interest can be partly different in The Netherlands, Turkey, Iraq, Delhi, Ranchi ….; and in different types of institutional and educational settings. (IDW Gasper 2016)

2.1 Indian Development Studies

> India has a long tradition of research in development, but that has not been named DS. The focus in India has been on looking at development within disciplinary boundaries. (IDW Ray 2016)

India offers an unusual and interesting case with a substantial and rich production of knowledge on development processes since the 1950s *without* the nomenclature of DS. This apparent paradox reflects the specific knowledge ecology within which Indian DS evolved and continues as part of the modernist project of nation state building in the postcolonial era.[3] Development issues were covered in almost every discipline, particularly in development economics, but also other social sciences as well as in the fields of science and technology (especially at postgraduate level). In most universities, including JNU and SAU, there is no department or Centre labelled DS, although most disciplinary departments deal with developmental issues in India generating a rich fund of knowledge on the trajectory of Indian development.

> … no DS program in India can ignore the fundamental – theoretical and empirical – contributions to the field of development made by individual disciplines like economics, sociology, political science or history. One can think of many examples: the contributions of heterodox economists to the study of the state capitalist path of India's development; the contributions of sociologists to the study of India's caste system; and the contributions of political scientists to the study of the nature of the Indian state. (IDW Ramakumar 2016)

The Nehruvian model of national development, which was concerned with economic growth as well as providing every citizen the enabling opportunities to develop their capacities, provided a framework for Indian scholars in the postcolonial context. India's position as a leader of the non-aligned movement also led to greater political importance of alternative development pathways. Harriss argues that Indian DS

is distinctive in following its own path, infused with the idea of being a flagship of the Third World, with planned development as the engine to make India a modern developed nation (Harriss 1998: 290). Imbued with this spirit, Indian scholars from various disciplines made original contributions to development theory by their innovative analysis of the agrarian economy, poverty, specific characteristics of the Indian developmental state, and strong criticisms of western conceptions of 'democracy' and 'development'.

Journals like *Economic and Political Weekly* (EPW) provided space for contentious debates and research dissemination, cross-cutting disciplines and reaching a wide constituency of academics, activists and policy-makers. EPW occupies a unique role in the field of DS in India with key articles on development issues published by Indian and international scholars. Compared to many other countries in the South, Indian DS already had a well-established academic community by the 1970s.

Three strategic moments mark the evolution of the field specifically named DS in India.[4]

The Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) and state governments initiated the first moment by establishing DS research centres in 1971. The Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Trivandrum, is one of the oldest institutions with the nomenclature.[5] Established by the respected economist late Professor K. N. Raj, CDS is internationally known for pioneering research on the Kerala model of development.

Research centres for women and development established in the next decade significantly contributed to gendered analyses of development in India. The Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS) is the best known, set up in 1980 as autonomous research institute, recognised by the ICSSR in 1985. It sees "women's studies as an interdisciplinary, problem-oriented field of rigorous research and policy intervention" (CWDS website). It now offers an M.Phil. and Ph.D. in Women and Gender Studies jointly with Ambedkar University, Delhi.

In 2006 a second moment was initiated when the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) became one of the first institutions in India to start a Master's program in DS. The program continued the India specific focus, as, despite high economic growth, issues of poverty, deprivation and rising inequality persisted. Key social indicators show India's slow progress on basic human development entitlements. It

ranked 131/188 countries on the Human Development Index 2016 and faces major nutritional deficits with 14.5% of the total population undernourished, 38% of under-five children stunted and 51.4% of women in reproductive ages anaemic (Development Initiatives 2017). This situation is compounded by social exclusion and discrimination of lower castes, minorities and women (Ramakumar 2016).

A third moment was the establishment of Ambedkar University Delhi (AUD) in 2007. AUD as an institution is deeply committed to fighting social exclusion and discrimination, aiming to fulfil the legacy of Dr. Ambedkar: "the visionary Indian reformer, who believed in education as the right weapon to … enlighten the downtrodden masses to come up and gain social status, economic betterment and political freedom". (AUD website). Given this mandate to analyse issues of discrimination, particularly caste in India's current political context, the key issue was how the curriculum and structure of the DS programme could reflect this.

In developing the curriculum of the DS programme, AUD engaged with the broader field of DS as well the specific Indian context and needs of the students.

> It is not possible to talk about an ideal DS program without talking about the larger politics in which this field in general and, more specifically, the DS programme at AUD has emerged. The program has been strongly influenced by curricula from IDS/Brighton, ISS and other institutions in the North, but it was also clear that we could not just replicate this in the Indian context. Lots of consultative meetings involved battles between different views about how to structure the curriculum, keeping international developments in the discipline as well as AUD's own mandate to foreground discrimination and social justice, on the one hand, and ensure employability of students, on the other. (IDW Damodaran 2016)

DS in these institutions focuses primarily on India and issues related to national development and global dynamics affecting this process. Each has made specific contributions, with CDS producing a rich regional account of the Kerala model of development and TISS and AUD focusing their research on the cities of Mumbai and Delhi. Currently, several public and private universities have started master's and research programmes in DS.[6]

Indian DS is characterised by the contributions to knowledge of Indian society and its development debates by in-depth field research undertaken by Indians and international scholars. ICSSR established international collaboration through various means, including joint research programmes with other countries, introducing a cross-border perspective in DS research. An early long-standing example was IDPAD (1980–2006).[7] The ICSSR and Dutch government set up a Joint Programme Committee of Indian and Dutch scholars who together determined the main themes chosen, selected research projects and organised conferences presenting project results. The rationale was to give more prominence to Indian perspectives on development vis-à-vis the international research community, and develop empirically based research results concerning development alternatives including possibilities for implementation.

The Programme built up a North–South knowledge production dynamics based on greater equality than usual in that period. As it matured, it changed in thematic focus, processes of choosing themes and selecting project proposals. Starting from a fairly classic model of jointly proposed projects by senior academics from both sides, built up through Ph.D. research, it evolved over time to research projects where each institute had its own budget, providing greater institutional autonomy to Indian institutes. Joint programme committees which became more multidisciplinary, determined themes; these were set out in conferences before a new phase, to be discussed and chosen by wider academic and policymaking communities from both countries. Proposal selection also evolved; the joint Indo-Dutch committees assessing them included policy-makers, NGOs and academics; assessment criteria included scientific merit as well as societal relevance (unique at that time).

The boundaries of what was considered DS expanded within IDPAD including themes from women's studies, environmental studies, mega-cities and governance issues, and religion/communal conflicts. A value-added of this collaboration was the trusted relations built up between several generations of Indian and Dutch academics, given the continuity and exchange of ideas through the network. ISS was one of the premier institutions involved in IDPAD from the Dutch side, as well as Amsterdam University, Erasmus University, and Tilburg University; JNU, CWDS, TISS, and MIDS, and CDS were premier institutions from the Indian side. These collaborations continue as evident in the workshop on which this chapter is based.

2.2 Development Studies in the International Institute of Social Studies/The Netherlands

The ISS was established in 1952 jointly by the Dutch government and Dutch academe. The initial impetus, still framed within the colonial project, was to set up a training institute for civil servants from Indonesia—the former Dutch colony—that would adopt a policy-oriented, multidisciplinary approach to the needs of developing countries. Subsequently the ISS evolved into broader areas of research and teaching and was considered a vanguard of DS in Europe. From the 1970s the "the ISS became less supply- and much more demand-oriented. Less concerned with training administrators it concentrated on 'training the trainers', such as NGOs, universities, trade unions, women and other organised groups, rather than just civil servants" (D. Dunham, ISS Website).

ISS became an institution generating research as well as policy advice, and a site for teaching international DS through a postgraduate program (1960s), later gaining the legal right to award Ph.D.s (late 1980s). Capacity-building projects continued, but were no longer cast in terms of the colonial project. For example Women and Development projects in collaboration with the University of West Indies, University of Namibia and University of Dhaka were formulated, aiming at developing expertise and autonomous centres of knowledge production in the South. Its international faculty and student body provided space for producing new knowledge and critical thinking—the research on women and development was path-breaking (providing Southern perspectives on feminisms with work by Kumari Jayawardena, Maria Mies), as well as studies on finance and local regional development. A comparative curriculum developed, with a special focus on Africa, Asia and Latin America, addressing development from critical perspectives on a range of key issues. Students from the South were offered both academic and professionally relevant DS training in theory and methods.

Since the late 1990s, ISS has redefined itself, restructuring at all levels of administration, teaching and research programmes. From 2005, ISS became more research oriented, and in 2009 joined the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. It is now a global research-intensive university faculty with an interdisciplinary research programme on Global Development and Social Justice, focusing on the four themes of migration and diversity, social protection and inequality, conflict and peace,

environmental and climate change. The high societal relevance and impact of its research remains significant, as a recent research evaluation indicates (2017).

ISS offers postgraduate education via the international MA programme in DS (students have more than 50 nationalities from the global South), with specialisation in five Majors. The ISS is present in the global South through (joint) degree programs in Surinam, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Japan. It has a growing Ph.D. program in DS with around 125 researchers from 53 countries, embedded in four research groups: Development Economics; Governance, Law and Social Justice; Political Ecology and Civic Innovation.

ISS remains international in orientation, environment and composition. Sixty per cent of its academic staff and over 95% of its students and Ph.D. researchers are non-Dutch. Its core values include a strong commitment to social justice. Research and teaching that in earlier years focused on the South, are moving towards analysing global issues of development from multidisciplinary perspectives.

3 The Meaning of Development Studies

Institutional contexts are clearly different between India and The Netherlands/ISS, and between Indian institutions themselves with differing formations, structure and content of DS programmes. The question was whether this also implied sharp differences in conceptions of what constituted the field of DS. In the 2016 workshop personal conceptions of what DS meant to participants and how such visions were incorporated into research and teaching elicited the following responses.

> An attempt to understand the processes and implications of societal change and transformation for the betterment of all its individuals through the lenses of multiple disciplines, applying methods which transgress dominant approaches. (IDW Ray 2016)

> DS is to do with social change and empowerment. (IDW Hutter 2016)

> DS is broadly about how to traverse the long and torturous path towards the utopia of self-realisation of men and women. It is a utopia but one worth moving towards constantly. (IDW Ramakumar 2016)

> DS is about transformation and change processes and struggle for normative and contested changes needed to have stronger positions for marginalized groups in society. (IDW Knorringa 2016)

> Trying to understand the processes of global capitalism from the point of view of the global South. Strongly believe that the global South is still relevant as a category. (IDW Dasgupta 2016)

> Trying to look at the politics of what is happening on the ground, through a theoretical perspective which goes deeper than the empirical and looks at issues that inform structural changes and power relations. (IDW Harcourt 2016)

> Multidisciplinary or Interdisciplinary analysis of socio-economic transformation processes with a normative objective in mind. (IDW Bhaduri 2016)

> The role of DS is to bring the 'one-eyed giants' of the disciplines together, and to consider the real lives and interests of diverse, real, ordinary people in a better integrated way, with the intention of contributing towards helping the lives of the disadvantaged and vulnerable people. (IDW Gasper 2016)

> The study of the way in which people are able to challenge power structures. Of power, power relations and empowerment. (IDW Schiphorst 2016)

> The interaction between power and change, how they interact and influence each other. (IDW Sethia 2016)

Social change, transformation and addressing power relations were clearly central to the conceptions outlined, but personal visions encapsulated much more in specifying issues and the constituency towards whom DS needed to orient itself. DS should:

> Focus on what works for disadvantaged and excluded groups, rather than for the researchers themselves. (Shah 2016)

> Involve a concern on issues of inequality and deprivation, and more recently, of social exclusion and discrimination. (IDW Kurian 2016)

> The key concrete yardstick as indicator for 'development' to me is reducing misery and suffering and poverty for as many people as possible. (IDW de Wit 2016)

The stated normative mission of DS emphasises its unique multidisciplinary character, necessarily going beyond 'economic' dimensions of development and consciously incorporating other disciplines.

> Used to see DS as development economics light. But it is an area of study, which is open to other disciplines and methodologies (perhaps more in theory than practice). DS also has a much broader sense of development than

> just the economic. It also looks at human and social development aspects, at concerns around inequality, poverty and deprivation. (IDW Bedi 2016).
>
> What is key to DS is the study of political economy, but also political sociology (an area which has generally not been much of a focus in the past). Also important is the study of development as process. (IDW Nayak 2016)
>
> DS has a normative objective oriented towards emancipatory social transformation at multiple levels. In addition to material conditions and structural transformation, we need to simultaneously work on other freedoms especially identity. DS for me provides a space for an approach that combines political economy and culture with a focus on how to create enabling conditions for redistribution plus recognition via citizenship in practice. (IDW Chhachhi 2016)
>
> A genuine understanding of DS needs methodologies and a focus also on including issues that are usually seen as part of the humanities, such as the arts. While anthropology might enquire into lived culture and art traditions of groups of people, it is necessary to bring these into DS. (IDW Damodaran 2016)

The personal conceptions of all participants shared the understanding that DS is a normative, multidisciplinary field dealing with poverty, vulnerability, social exclusion and inequality with a commitment to transform power relations and ensure social justice. If the point of departure for DS is to 'change/transform for the better', what does this entail and how does it differ from 'normal' social science?

3.1 Transformative Dimensions of Development Studies

A key tension in DS is between critical scholarship, policy-oriented work and direct development interventions. Policy-driven research need not be action-oriented beyond making recommendations. In part the approach chosen depends on "*who the client is—a funder or people in difficulties. An interface with ordinary people requires skills outside policy relevant research*" (IDW Gasper 2016).

This interface is explicitly adopted in TISS and AUD who take an interventionist problem-solving approach. Evidence-based activism is integral to their DS programs. More than 50% of the curriculum of the MPhil in Development Practice in the AUD (offered jointly by the School of Development Studies and the School of Human Studies) is through a process of 'immersion' in the field and students produce

a dissertation involving action research. The aim is to institutionalise socially meaningful professionalisation and to change the academic urban elite orientation in universities, towards one oriented to grassroots change in the rural sector (AUD website). TISS is socially embedded in Mumbai, registered as a trade union and active in social movements, with more direct involvement in the everyday lives of poor. Although understanding and changing structures is its long-term goal, engagement with the poor sometimes requires addressing immediate problems, if needed (IDW Ramakumar 2016). This issue remained highly contested. Mentioning the difference between an MPhil on Development Practice and the MA in DS at the AUD, Nayak saw this as a tension between theory and practice.

> …we need to be able to address immediate problems and also think about policy but while teaching one finds there is an argument to be made for keeping Development Practice and theory slightly separate. In the practice of doing action research for instance, there is an immediacy to do something – the inevitable consequence is that sometimes the critical social sciences perspective goes missing and the narrative becomes more managerial and technical. This is a constant tension that cannot be fully resolved. (IDW Nayak 2016)

One way to deal with this tension is to maintain a clear defined boundary between the domain of DS, which concerns critical scholarship, and the domain of Development Practice, which deals with more immediate problems, despite the continuum between the two. Some felt that this distinction would make DS a more viable project with clear deliverables (IDW Knorringa 2016).

This discussion emphasised the need for retaining a commitment to critical knowledge production and providing the 'larger picture'. The normative aspect of DS and professional location as critical scholars in the social sciences simultaneously requires commitment to change plus analytical rigour (Dasgupta 2016). This was further highlighted by distinguishing a narrow focus on immediate problem-solving (work within a given power structure and social arena), and a broader focus on critical theory (theory questioning existing reality). Analysing the genesis of a problem is never neutral since it implies questioning larger power structures, so "*an immediate problem-solving framework [is limited] as it may lead you to stop and not question where the problem comes from*" (IDW Hout 2016).

Across different institutional locations, it was agreed that there was a need to build bridges between theory and practice, thinkers and doers, and to give importance to scholar-activism as a central component of DS. The normative content of DS necessarily implies such a commitment from individual DS scholars. As ISS colleague S. M. Borras stated in his Inaugural address:

> By scholar activism, I mean, rigorous academic work that aims to change the world, or committed activist work that is informed by rigorous academic research, which is explicitly and unapologetically connected to political projects or movements. (Borras 2016: 1)[8]

Scholarship and activism need not be mutually exclusive. The need for transformation as the objective of enquiry and a critical reflection on the nature of transformation are important aspects of 'doing' development; those engaged with 'development practice' are often aware of such perspectives in India. Commitment to scholar activism was evident in the ISS especially in the 1980s, when its faculty included several scholar activists. After an intervening period when activism was derided, today there is a re-emergence of this approach in the institute, where staff share the same commitment expressed by colleagues from Indian institutions. Although not every individual scholar can do everything, DS scholars can and do make their work socially relevant in several ways at multiple levels—participating in public policy debates, co-producing knowledge with research subjects, disseminating research results in a popular accessible form, including via social media. The significance of societal impact, as a measure of research output in the Dutch academic system, provides legitimacy to this central component of DS.

The shared and contested meanings of DS objectives presented above led to further elaboration and deliberations on the actual practices of DS in the participating institutions, opening up a further debate regarding the broader question of multi/interdisciplinarity.

4 Multidisciplinarity/Interdisciplinarity

Although multi- and interdisciplinarity is seen as a *conditio sine qua non* of DS, this is easier said than done in practice, as in most DS programmes the discipline of development economics remains dominant. Several institutions in India retain this feature.

> There is a dominance of economics within DS in India. This domination has a history, because DS emerged in England post-world war II looking at newly independent colonies and it emerged as a sub-branch of economics. Later on it has expanded to have a more inclusive view on DS. Despite CDS's pioneering work on development studies the teaching programs are still called applied economics. How do we overcome this tension? (IDW Ray 2016)

This tension was consciously debated in AUD.

> Given the long history in India of looking at developmental issues from different disciplinary positions it would have been an easy option to set up a DS school to bring all this scholarship together. However we had to push back on the idea of conceptualising DS as 'development economics bringing in the social', which was a big debate since there was a lot of pressure to maintain disciplinary silos. (IDW Damodaran 2016)

The present curriculum in AUD is multidisciplinary with a commitment to challenge the dominance of Development Economics. However Development Economics itself is not homogeneous, incorporating multiple approaches, with neo-classical economics at the top of the hierarchy.

In TISS this hierarchy was debated and consciously challenged. Prof. R. K. Sharma, first Dean of the School of Social Sciences at TISS, proposed that "*DS can be a combination of learning from development economics and bringing social sensitivity towards the process of development*" (IDW Ramamkumar 2016). Linking development economics and social sensitivity connected two processes: combining findings of the heterodox/classical tradition of economics with insights from other disciples and unifying these within a common analytical framework, restoring the unity of social sciences to understand 'development'.

> In TISS the premise is that an understanding of what "development" entails requires a grasp of what "capitalism" is along with a historical perspective. At TISS, all students of DS take a compulsory course called "Concept, History and Theories of Development", which acquaints them with this political economy framework. (IDW Ramakumar 2016)

The ISS has been multidisciplinary in its research and teaching, reflected in the diverse disciplinary backgrounds of the research and teaching groups. However, a separate disciplinary economics section remains in the research group titled Development Economics and Major on Economics for Development.

Multidisciplinarity raises serious concerns about the solid grounding provided in disciplines and the dangers of superficial eclectic learning through 'light' exposure to multiple disciplines. Balancing disciplinary diversity (understanding multiple problems), while ensuring depth (rigorous analytical tools and in-depth understanding of issues), remains a dilemma, but also provides a productive tension (Ramakumar 2016). TISS teaching programmes employ a combination of compulsory courses (for diversity) and electives (for depth). Similarly, ISS students take disciplinary foundation courses, before moving into five multidisciplinary Major streams.

Overall participants agreed that multidisciplinary DS should be taught preferably only at a postgraduate level, ensuring a solid disciplinary foundation. While research teams are often interdisciplinary, in both India and the ISS a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach is still not mainstreamed.

4.1 Methodologies: Reconciling Multiple Epistemologies?

Issues around multidisciplinarity connect with a broader concern/tension related to methodologies and epistemologies deployed in DS. Just as interdisciplinarity remains an objective, commitment to methodological pluralism is not yet fully achieved in all institutions. One view stressed that qualitative and quantitative methodologies represented different paradigms and different kind of skills. Combining them, especially for evidence-based research, could mean that "*you could end up with nothing*" (IDW Hutter 2016) and "*in the name of pluralism something often emerges which is inadequate in any methodology—neither good ethnography nor good econometrics*" (IDW Ray 2016). Others emphasised the incompatibility of methodologies (in terms of assumptions, deductive versus inductive reasoning, resulting in different conclusions). It was proposed that multidisciplinarity in methodologies could be reached by including scholars from different disciplines in each research team, with students exposed to multiple methods taught by the institution as a whole (IDW Bhaduri; Bedi; Knorringa 2016).

A second position was articulated across the institutions, (predominantly by non-economists!) which argued that the distinction between qualitative/quantitative was a false dichotomy, especially when assumed to reflect disciplinary differences between sociologist/anthropologists and economists. This separation and 'purity' in the choice of methodology was seen as inimical to the spirit of "*DS restoring the unity of social science*" (IDW Ramakumar 2016).

Power relations are implied in recognising and prioritising certain methodologies, while dismissing or compartmentalising others. The ISS is committed to apply and teach multidisciplinary approaches. However, ghettoisation remains. Although several research methodology courses exist, very few incorporate the major contribution from feminist epistemologies, which raise issues not just of positionality and situated knowledges, but also of taking an ethical and political standpoint. The androcentric power–knowledge nexus and the continued hegemony of positivism lie behind the limited conversations taking place between methodologies. The hierarchies between so-called hard and soft sciences, objective/subjective remain despite many alternative methodologies. The same is true in many Indian DS institutions (IDW Chhachhi 2016).

Questioning standard binaries[9] between disciplines, Harriss notes that there is often 'qualitative hardness' in anthropological research and

> the economics discipline does not have a monopoly on quantitative work, nor of "macro" studies nor of "hardness" or rigor…. and economics has its own kind of softness, when analytical rigor involves such oversimplification as to misrepresent reality, or (even more crassly) when analysis is allowed to be dictated by the availability of data sets. (Harriss 2002: 488)

Similarly the case for the significance of feminist epistemology for DS is not just the value of knowledge generated from lived experience (seen as subjective) but that acknowledging the researcher's subjectivity and location allows 'stronger objectivity' (Harding 2005; Jackson 2006).

The issue of incommensurate epistemologies becomes even more complicated when blurring boundaries between disciplines to deal with contemporary complex issues. Participants noted there is more cooperation today between the natural and social sciences, despite different epistemological standpoints, and no questions are asked about epistemological coherence (Bhaduri 2016; Damodaran 2016). Yet the charge of lack of coherence and rigour is often levelled at cross-disciplinary research in the social sciences and attempts to develop a common epistemological approach. Pooling multiple abilities would bring synergies that can lead to a common epistemological basis and DS should provide space to develop this further.

Although the two positions presented were not reconciled, reflecting differing worldviews and epistemological assumptions, the debate connects with ongoing discussions about how to overcome such obstacles

to move towards inter- and trans-disciplinarity (see Chapters 2 and 7 in this volume). These require more conversations across disciplines as well as challenges to the current hierarchical structure of knowledge claims, which are also replicated in publication outlets. A significant barrier to integrating methodologies occurs when performance-driven metrics put immense pressure on researchers to publish in high-ranking specialised journals, which determine what can and what cannot be published also on methodological grounds. [10]

> Publication outlets for research produced by multiple methods are limited. There is often a double standard: multiple methods can give greater credence to qualitative research by tacking on some quantitative methodologies, but not the other way around. The rigour and methodological grounds of such qualitative work is often critiqued without going into the merits of the arguments, especially when the research questions existing power dynamics. (IDW Tankha 2016)

Deeper issues underlie this discussion, relating to the political economy of global knowledge production and challenges to the hegemonic dominance of Northern knowledge institutions.

5 North–South Dynamics in Knowledge Production and the Process of Decolonisation

North/South categorisations are clearly inadequate in the contemporary world, yet, although acknowledged, many participants from India and the ISS used this terminology to point out that: *"the South remains a goldmine of data but the interpretation done by international organisations is within their own frameworks", "data collection continues to be done by researchers in the South and is processed in the North", "there are clear ways in which Northern funders have framed a given problem and the agenda is already set: we need to be vigilant about how we buy into this", "global conferences often have developing countries as add-ons: all big examples and quandaries were from the North"*. These statements indicate the continued legacy of colonialism in the division of labour that marks the global production of knowledge, where data are collected from the South and theory constructed in Northern institutions and this processed (often biased) knowledge then returned to the South in the form of sciences and disciplines (Hountondji 1997).

The decolonisation issue has received global attention with recent student-led movements started in South Africa and now spreading globally, but the project of decolonising colonial legacies has been an ongoing process in many postcolonial countries. Decolonisation in DS has to be seen as a process tackling multiple levels: challenging unequal divisions of labour in the global production of knowledge; redesigning the curriculum and including diversity in representation and composition of DS institutions. Some key points emerged in the workshop discussion on this contested topic.

Indian DS has been characterised by a focus on the specific trajectory of national development. Scholars have applied broader frameworks (Western and non-Western) to the Indian context critically, generating new knowledge that not only highlighted limitations and gaps in these frameworks but also generated new conceptualisations with more universal relevance. The best-known figure epitomising this in DS is Amartya Sen.[11] His work is truly interdisciplinary, combining economics and philosophy, Indian philosophy and the poetry of Tagore. The Gandhian model of development has remained a constantly discussed alternative pathway, with contemporary scholars linking its basic vision with the MDGs. Rather than a crude and false western and non-western dichotomy that recreates racial binaries, Indian development scholars have moved towards 'decentering' and 'deterritorialising' western knowledge systems.

Decolonisation of knowledge production and the validation of epistemologies of the South can take different forms and must be linked to specific political contexts. Multiple discourses in India today call for decolonisation: from those Indian scholars who are engaged with De Sousa Santos (2014) in the project to resurrect 'epistemologies of the South' from the perspectives of those who suffered systemic injustices under colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy, contributing intellectually to the notion of global emancipation, for instance through the concept of 'cognitive justice',[12] to those who reject all western and Islamic knowledge, ideas, values and seek to impose a exclusivist, narrow, selective interpretation of a particular religiously defined tradition and culture as the only authentic knowledge system in India. Calls for 'indigenity' hence raise alarm bells since the attempts to 'decolonize' today are not just academic debates but affect research institutions and universities, the curriculum (especially history textbooks) and spheres of everyday life.

Indian scholars have not just critically interrogated 'western' concepts', colonial constructions and provincialised European knowledge, but also strongly criticised narrow, exclusive nationalism, internal inequalities and brahmanical hegemony, which also silence the 'subaltern' in India.

5.1 Decolonisation in the Institute of Social Studies

The ISS, itself a product of the colonial project, has evolved significantly over the years to decolonise itself. Although not a self-conscious process, the presence of numerous staff members and a majority of students from a non-western background have meant that the curriculum has been multi-cultural. The compulsory foundational General Course on Development includes classical texts (western and non-western) as well as sessions on alternative modernities, epistemologies of the South and post-development. Courses include academic writings on and from countries of the South.

A significant challenge to global knowledge production comes from the students themselves. International DS have been seen as a starting point for the emergence of a 'global civic epistemology' (Gaventa and Tandon 2010: 24). The ISS is unique in providing an international 'contact zone' for cross-cultural and critical pedagogy, with students mainly from Asia, Africa, Latin America. Shanti George's in-depth study of 124 ISS students from 27 countries from five continents illuminated the informal learning among students themselves through 'polylogues' and 'conversations of cultures' and global friendships which planted seeds for global citizenship. "In a setting where the major regions of the world were directly represented by people who possessed first hand familiarity with various local realities, the formal curriculum could be affirmed, refined, modified or challenged" (George 2014: 250). Although the student composition is changing at the ISS, most are still 'citizen professionals' with a wealth of experience and engagement with development, which makes for a mutual learning process between students and faculty and amongst students themselves. ISS has recognised this with the concept of the global international classroom.

The ISS has actively participated in the current move to introduce diversity in Higher Education institutions in The Netherlands by establishing its own Diversity Task Force in 2015 and by engaging on this issue with other universities in The Netherlands. An ISS colleague

was part of the Diversity Commission of the University of Amsterdam, which highlighted not just the need for diversity in representation of people from different backgrounds but also decolonising knowledge through introducing diversity in knowledge production and reproduction (Wekker et al. 2016).

Finally decolonisation implies diversity representation at all levels of an institution. In India caste-based and minority reservations allow inclusion. Dutch universities are far behind other European countries in diversity representation. In the ISS the Diversity Team 2017 is working on recommendations to ensure diversity in recruitment and promotion to reflect better the international character of the institute.

The process of decolonisation at multiple levels is still a project in the making. Yet DS in its content, methodologies, pedagogies and constituencies has the best potential to develop alternatives to colonial legacies. This project now also needs to take into account the changing configurations of poverty and inequality globally.

6 A New Geography for Development Studies?

A key issue facing DS today is the collapsing of its analytical focus on 'poor', 'developing' regions/countries, given the rapidly changing geography of poverty and inequality. So how should the geographical focus of DS in the contemporary world change? Should DS be renamed 'global studies' or 'international studies'? In its initial conceptualisation there was a view regarding its self-evident global domain.

> Development Studies is not the same as 'Third World Studies' because it is taken as axiomatic that processes of social change and of 'development intervention' are as relevant to Middlesbrough as to Mumbai, or to New York as much as to New Delhi. (Harriss 1998: 287)

Yet this remains contested. A strong argument was put forward in the workshop to retain the focus on the Global South despite acknowledgements that globalisation is integrating the world and the classic distinction of developed versus underdeveloped is no longer valid. It was argued that although DS implies understanding the working and interconnectedness of poverty, inequality and social exclusion at the global level, this does not mean that the distinction between underdeveloped and developed/North and the South should disappear. Structural

differences remain between the two, and conflating them opens us up to a-historicity and other problems (Dasgupta 2016). Global imbalances of power and privilege remain, with countries of the North still able to dictate 'the rules of the game'. Countries in the South still experience far greater levels of poverty, deprivation and inequality.

While acknowledging structural imbalances in power, others argued for a move towards global studies.

> Global environmental change and well- and ill-being studies provide a new direction for DS. Such issues move us away from South-only studies and towards a neccesarily global agenda. For researchers located in the North, the global framing of issues and methodologies seems more appropriate. (IDW Gasper 2016)

Despite varying perspectives all agreed that DS scholars have to move beyond essentialist geographical restrictions and that new issues of climate change, social exclusion, and well-being studies were globally relevant. In the special conditions prevailing in India, an additional challenge was to absorb specific lessons from Dalit and Adivasi (tribal) studies into the analytical framework of DS. It was also asserted that the boundaries of DS needed to be pushed to include legal studies and the humanities.

6.1 Towards a Reverse and Mutual Gaze

While context-specificity would determine the choice, the way forward in this contested discussion was to build bridges. The first step was to 'reverse the gaze' "*quite literally, with more South Asia scholars studying North America and Europe*" (IDW Nayak 2016). DS research on the global South is also increasingly relevant for the North given its current developmental challenges.

The second step was to develop a 'mutual gaze' through comparative studies, involving combined teams of researchers from the South and the North to study development issues in both contexts. A significant outcome of this dialogue was the formulation of collaborative, comparative, multidisciplinary research proposals, such as Aging in the City: Delhi-Den Haag, with researchers from India and the ISS who would study issues in both research sites[13] This would embed the participating institutions more closely into the cities where they were located.

7 Conclusion

This encounter punctured the notion that radically different conceptualisations and practices of DS existed in India and The Netherlands/ISS, although context-specificity was acknowledged. The main difference was the national focus in India while in the ISS the focus was international with a commitment to study global issues. There was a shared commitment to normative objectives and the core content of DS. On issues related to multidisciplinarity, there was a continuum of opinion with some institutions incorporating this aspect more fully in research and teaching than others. The dialogue stressed the importance of going beyond an additive approach in incorporating new areas of developmental concern. Current challenges call for renewing/rethinking the boundaries, epistemologies and methodologies of DS. This dialogue laid the first steps towards forming an epistemic community of critical DS in India and The Netherlands.[14] Such self-reflexive encounters are needed to further the agenda of a renewed DS built on dialogues across borders, a mutual gaze in collaborative projects, co-production of knowledge and a commitment to scholar activism. These could generate new insights into reframing the content and reasserting the commitment of DS to social justice and transformation globally.

Notes

1. Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Ambedkar University Delhi (AUD), South Asian University (SAU).
2. This chapter is based on the rich contributions of workshop participants (IDW—Indo-Dutch Workshop 2016). We have quoted directly and extensively as far as possible, to acknowledge each person's contribution and convey the flavour of the workshop.
3. This was a characteristic feature of most postcolonial countries. As Bernstein put it "At one time to be an economist, say, in India or Tanzania or Chile was, in effect, to be a development economist" (Bernstein 2006: 59).
4. This analysis draws on presentations at the workshop and is not a comprehensive review of DS in the Netherlands or India as a whole. However given the histories and trajectories of the five Indian institutions that participated, it is a fairly representative assessment of Indian DS.

5. In the same period the Madras Institute of Development Studies, was also established and similar centres of DS have been established in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa.
6. Some public universities now also offering MA programmes in DS in India include Central University of South Bihar, Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati, National Institute of Technology, Rourkela, Annamalai University, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala, and University of Mysore. Azim Premji University and Amity University are private universities offering MA DS programmes.
7. IDPAD stood for Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives to Development.
8. Borras makes a significant point about the importance of institutional settings that can enable or disable the negotiation of such 'dual loyalties'. "An institution committed to social justice run by academics rather than technocrats would provide an enabling environment for such an approach" (Borras 2016: 31).
9. The standard binaries which are seen as self-contained oppositions are "Economics: Social Sciences; Quantitative: Qualitative; "Macro": "Micro"; "Hard"/"Scientific": "Soft"/"Journalism"; Sampling: Case study" (Harriss 2002: 488).
10. It is worth noting that SCOPUS ranking places EPW first in India and second among 187 journals in Asia, and ranks it globally in the upper quartile of disciplinary journals in "Sociology and Political Science", and "Economics, Econometrics and Finance". However EADI/CERES ranks EPW as a C journal, which receives lower credit points.
11. R. Connell mentions three "knowledge systems intended to have general and not just local application, whose logic and authority do not derive from the Eurocentric knowledge economy"—Islamic knowledge (Alatas 2014) knowledge generated from the Indian experience including Gandhi (Lal 2002) and Southern theory represented by Prebisch and Furtado's CEPAL school of development economics, and the *Subaltern Studies* project in Indian history launched by Ranajit Guha (Connell 2016: 3–4).
12. "The search for cognitive justice is a step in that direction, an attempt to realize that while the West is a part of us, the words we borrowed from it may have different career graphs. We need 'thought experiments' that disturb both worlds and allow both the self and other to confront each other in a kaleidoscope of new experiences" (Vishvanathan 2009).
13. Such comparative research was also carried out under the IDPAD program.
14. In February 2017 AUD organized a colloquium on 'Doing Development Studies in India', as a follow up of the ISS workshop. A resolution was adopted to establish an Indian Association of Development Studies.

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CHAPTER 14

Development Studies in Tanzania: Historical Trajectory and Future Visions

Adalgot Komba, Tiina Kontinen and Colman Msoka

1 Introduction

There is a tendency to reflect the history and identity of Development Studies (DS) from the point of view of the global north rather than from the perspective of the global south (Melber, this volume). The standard history locates the birth of the discipline in the post-World War II era, parallel to the emergence of international development practices, whose starting point is often seen in President Harry Truman's inaugural address in 1949. However, it is also argued that development as an idea of intentional intervention in order to address negative consequences of economic and social processes has a much longer history manifested both, for example, in the nineteenth-century European social policies and colonial practices (Cowen and Shenton 1996). Nevertheless, debates on DS have long emphasized northern academia. DS has an "uneasy" image as a field that reconstructs the very dichotomies it claims

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to address; in which the so-called developed countries, or global north, theorize about and analyse dynamics of change in so-called developing countries, or global south; and where academic collaboration is frequently perceived as capacity-building of the latter (Standing and Taylor 2016: 169; Carbonnier and Kontinen 2015; Komba et al. 2015).

Recently, this ambiguous set-up has been challenged by the changes in the global geopolitical architecture, modification of global development goals, and the nature of international academic research (Basile and Baud, this volume). In a modest way, this chapter challenges these tendencies, first, by the single fact that the majority of the chapter authors are located in a southern university where they have pursued their career in DS; and, second, by presenting an account of the discipline of DS from the point of view of a southern academic institution, in this case the *Institute of Development Studies* (IDS) in the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Whereas critical development scholarship from Latin America has gained much currency (Madrueño Aguilar and Martínez-Osés, this volume), African DS have received less recognition despite their 50-year history; in Kenya, the oldest African IDS was established in 1963 in the University of Nairobi. Similar institutes were founded in various countries: Zimbabwe Institute of DS, University of Zimbabwe; School of DS, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa; University of DS, Ghana; whereas in some African countries DS became one of the disciplines within other departments. The Institutes of DS in varying universities have played a particular role where research, teaching, and policy relevance have been intertwined in various ways. The universities in general and DS as an academic field of study have often been closely connected with postcolonial nation building, state ideologies and national development policies (Block 1984; Nyerere 1971). The contents of the teaching curricula and research agendas have been strongly affected by the national political environments, global changes, and international development policy and research trends (Standing and Taylor 2016). Therefore, maybe more than in many more conventional disciplines, the history and future visions of the DS should be reflected vis-á-vis all these contexts.

In this chapter, we discuss the history, current debates and future visions of DS in Tanzania. This is done mainly through the example of the IDS in the University of Dar es Salaam. The IDS in Dar es Salaam is the oldest and currently most influential location for DS in Tanzania, although, today, DS is widely taught in universities and other educational

institutes all over the country. The chapter is based on the authors' long-term experience in Tanzanian DS, and thus, is more a critical self-reflection than thorough empirical analysis of the development of the field. Our reflection was supported by a review of the papers published in the *Tanzania Journal of Development Studies* (TJDS) between 1998 and 2014.

In what follows, we will first provide a short historical trajectory of DS in Tanzania as an area of both academic teaching and research, mainly following the path of IDS at the University of Dar es Salaam established in 1973. Since then, the Institute has grown from a small establishment of about a half-dozen teaching staff, to 30+ teaching staff, the majority with PhDs, offering both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, with the latter starting already in 1974. Second, we revisit some of the pertinent debates concerning DS over the years, in general and in Tanzania in particular. These include the debate on the academic status of DS, the connections between theory, ideology and practice, and the relationship with international donors. Third, we suggest some future visions concerning Tanzanian DS in particular and African DS in general.

2 History of Development Studies in Tanzania

The historical trajectory of DS in Tanzania has been closely related to the country's social and political development. On 26 April 1964, the United Republic of Tanzania was established through a union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar; having experienced some 40 years of British colonial rule after having been part of German East Africa. The first President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922–1999), not only played a central role in the struggle for independence, but also had a strong vision of the development of the newly independent nation. His agenda, and the agenda of the ruling party *Tanganyika African National Union* (TANU), later *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) included nation building within a framework of a particular brand of socialism.

The principles of this peculiarly African socialism or *Ujamaa*, presented in the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967, included policies of self-reliance, of rural socialism implemented through resettlements and villagization, nationalization of industries, and being cautious about foreign aid (Nyerere 1967, 1971, 1974). One-language policy and priority for universal basic education were important parts of the nation building

agenda (Aminzade 2013; Jennings 2008). President Nyerere was also a very strong proponent of African unity and played an important role in forming the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was to form a strong anticolonial body with regard to African economics and politics (Shivji 2009; Mwakikagile 2006).

At Independence, there were no significant higher education institutes in Tanzania. The first institution, University College in Dar es Salaam, under the University of London, was established in 1961 with one Faculty of Law and 13 students. It later became a constituent College of the University of East Africa. President Nyerere recognized the importance of these for national development. In July 1970, the University of Dar es Salaam was established as an independent institution. The speech of President Nyerere at the inauguration of the University of Dar es Salaam stressed the significant role of universities with African perspectives; they should not be 'intellectual apes' neither of the global right nor of the global left. He also emphasized how the university was an important actor in the "service of the development of socialist Tanzania" (Nyerere 1971: 110–111).

Not much later, the IDS was founded. Since then, the entire landscape of universities and teaching in DS programmes in Tanzania has grown and changed in many ways. To analyse these changes, we have divided the historical trajectory of DS in two main phases: the Tumultuous Era of the 1970s and 1980s, and the Era of Sustained Progress in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s.

2.1 The 1970s and 1980s: The Tumultuous Era

The teaching of DS at the University of Dar es Salam is linked to developments during the second half of the 1960s when the University of East Africa expanded with two more faculties: the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, and Faculty of Science. There was a growing interest in interdisciplinary courses. In 1969, a course known as *Common Course* was introduced in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, which was a precursor to a DS course created in 1970. The content of the Common Course was inspired among others by Walter Rodney, the author of "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" (1972) who taught in Dar es Salaam in 1966–1967 and 1969–1974. The course was later made compulsory for all undergraduate students. The main argument for this was that DS was a unique course, which offered two important insights to

students of all disciplines. First, it allowed students to reflect about their own community, and, second, it challenged them to give back to their community and use their newly acquired skills and knowledge. DS was considered to be a bridge that connected the privileged and educated with those less privileged. Students were challenged to critically study their society and look for ways of addressing challenges confronting them. Typical of the period, the course dwelt mostly on issues of African history including slave trade, colonialism/neocolonialism, struggle for independence and ongoing liberation movements, nation building process, economic development including poverty issues, agricultural transformation and rural development, industrialization, and use of 'modern' science and technology.

During the 1960s and 1970s the international community was concerned with development challenges facing most developing countries, with the UN declaring the 1960s as the *First Development Decade*. For most newly independent African states, the era meant nation building under conditions of extreme poverty. In Tanzania, the situation was well articulated by president Nyerere (1967, 1968, 1974) when he talked about three national enemies: poverty, diseases and ignorance. The nascent higher education was seen as elitist and for the privileged few. Therefore, National Service was introduced so that the educated, political and bureaucratic elite could be exposed to the situation of the entire nation. National Service included military training, agricultural activities, and production activities in small-scale industries. The training centres, mostly in rural areas, allowed the trainees to participate in communal activities, and thus be exposed to development challenges facing rural populations. Although most elite students had a rural upbringing, years of schooling were seen to alienate them from life in rural areas. Service men and women worked not only on farms and projects but also in community initiated projects, such as school building, road clearing, water schemes, or health centres in rural and urban Tanzania. However, the National Service was not smoothly welcomed. For example, in 1966 university students resisted the call to participate, leading to closure of the university and expelling of the students with request to report to the authorities in their respective villages.

It is under these circumstances that DS as a multidisciplinary course was introduced in order to equip students with knowledge of Tanzanian society and its interaction with other societies both in Africa and globally. In Tanzania, this was the era of socialist experimentation following

the *Arusha Declaration* of 1967, as the government struggled to address economic underdevelopment characterized by widespread poverty, high levels of illiteracy and diseases. The government envisioned an egalitarian society where people lived in peace and harmony and characterized by communal/public ownership of properties. Globally, it was the 'cold war' era, pitting the capitalist West against socialist East fuelling both arms and space races. President Nyerere's concerns with the existing development gap and his emphasis on rural development were reflected in catch phrases such as "we must run while they are walking" or "while they are going to the moon let us go to the village" (Hyden 1979). In regard to the cold war, Tanzanian strategy articulated in the Arusha Declaration was seen as something in between the capitalist West and the Soviet bloc (Jennings 2008: 37).

Teaching of DS during 1960s and 1970s was influenced by both internal and external development dynamics and intellectual discourses. On the one hand, there was an unmistakable strong socialist ideological orientation with a focus on the political economy of socialism. Socialist construction became a subject of contentious arguments and counter-arguments. Concepts such as class struggle, the proletariat and petty bourgeois were all very familiar in development discourses. On the other hand, efforts to explain underdevelopment were influenced by both modernization theories and the dependency school of neo-Marxists thinkers such as Walter Rodney and Andre Gunder Frank. The research conducted revolved strongly around *ujamaa*—the policy and experimentation of villagization (Kim et al. 1979). Despite the tumultuousness of the era, the 1970s were the days of the so-called *Dar es Salaam School* as academic community that preoccupied with socialist construction in Africa, especially the debate between African socialism vs. scientific socialism of Marxist-Leninism. The Dar es Salaam School consisted mostly of scholars in political sciences, history and sociology, and became immersed in post-World War II and post-independence development debates, including anti-imperialism and dependency. Unfortunately, while during these debates the human resources of the IDS Dar es Salaam were scarce and inexperienced, and it depended much on part-time staff from other academic units, the debates were dominated by scholars in other disciplines such as law, history, sociology and political science. As a consequence, despite 'development' being in the centre of discussion, the debates did not contribute strongly to the academic identity of DS.

The ideological orientation of DS at the university during those early days raised concerns not only about its relevance but also about its theoretical and methodological foundations as field of study. It was not well received by other established disciplines like law, political science and history. Making the subject compulsory for all undergraduate students only worsened the situation. Of course, the available literature shows that questioning the relevance and or theoretical basis of DS was not limited to Tanzania (Liu and Sum 2007). Fortunately, despite the distractions from various sources, teaching of DS managed to fulfill the goal of making university graduates appreciate the complexity and dynamism of development and interrogate it, as a tracer study later on showed (Mkude and Ishumi 2004: 136).

Internal and external political and economic developments during the 1980s further challenged the research and teaching of DS. First, the socio-economic reforms led to cuts in teaching resources. Second, the changes in policy environments made it harder to provide answers to development issues with the prevalent Marxist analytical frameworks. The image of IDS in general was at stake, calling for drastic re-examination of some core values and beliefs. First, the economic crisis that started during the second half of the 1970s and expanded in the early 1980s raised serious questions about the effectiveness of African socialism, *Ujamaa* as development strategy, and, with it, the public sector-led development was challenged. The State's control of 'commanding heights' of the economy came under fire and subsequently led to adoption of liberal policies, with liberalization and privatization topping the agenda. Second, developments in Eastern Europe and subsequent disintegration of Soviet Union complicated development trajectories of left-leaning African countries, Tanzania included, who looked to the socialist east as model for socialist development strategies, and had received economic assistance from the Soviet Union.

These developments had very serious implications on teaching of DS, necessitating rethinking of not only what to teach but also how to teach it. As the result, the DS curriculum was questioned by those who had earlier raised doubts about the relevance and/or usefulness of such courses. Internally, two camps emerged. On the one hand, there were 'traditionalists', who advocated adherence to the original aims and objectives, and on the other hand 'reformists' arguing for radical changes as far as the contents of DS were concerned (Komba 1990). Staff meetings and seminars were increasingly dominated by often contentious debates,

concerning, for example, the centrality of Marxists writings in teaching. In addition to the ideological orientation of DS, a number of other issues concerning the study contents emerged in internal discussions. For example, the question of whether or not to tailor DS courses in accordance with students' professional orientation, that is, to have courses designed for students in engineering, law, science, or business. There was also argument about DS being too 'general', and the need to become more 'specific' in line with evolving development practices. All in all, the debates of the 1980s provided the basis for developments in the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century.

2.2 The 1990s and 2000s: The Era of Sustained Progress

The 1990s ushered in a new era for the University of Dar es Salaam, characterized by university-wide transformation and restructuring with lasting impact on the provision of higher education in Tanzania. Nationally, the period witnessed unprecedented growth in both public and private higher learning institutions, which meant that new institutions tended to adapt DS as what had been taught at the IDS for years. This section highlights issues that emerged during the period relevant in visioning the role DS should be playing in development agendas of the twenty-first century in Tanzania and elsewhere in the region.

The most noticeable development of the period, perhaps with far-reaching consequences on teaching of DS, was the expanded student enrolment. The period witnessed sustained high enrolment rates for both undergraduate and graduate students. By mid-2000s the total enrolment had increased to more than 20,000, almost double the number during the mid-1990s. Unfortunately, the increased enrolment did not go hand in hand with an expanded staffing situation during the 1990s and early 2000s, following the decisions by the government to freeze the hiring in the public sector, including universities. As a result, higher learning institutions were forced to deal with more students while staffing numbers remained more or less stagnant.

The institutional transformation process also involved restructuring of academic units leading to the establishment of campus Colleges and Schools. The IDS was spared drastic changes and its mandate of teaching DS across the university remained intact. However, the consequences of restructuring coupled with increased enrolment called for serious rethinking about what DS should look like and how it could be

made more meaningful to new generations of students born during the 1970s and 1980s and faced with fast-paced globalization. Teaching of DS focused on giving meaning to developments in the preceding one and half decades such as national and regional economic crises, economic and political reforms including emerging market economies and democratization processes. Such developments during the second half of the 1980s and 1990s made the IDS scramble for measures to cope with fast-changing situations. The contents of compulsory undergraduate courses could not ignore the important changes taking place. The consensus was to make one part of the programme more theoretical in its coverage, exposing students to the theories of development and political economy, and the other part more practice-oriented. During the period several development issues, such as globalization, gender, environment, political conflicts and (good) governance became topical and were included in the programmes.

During the early 2000s, the University of Dar es Salaam decided to adopt a semester system and course modularization. Other academic units embarked on reviews of their programmes to make them more appealing to their 'clients', including both students and potential employers, and questions were raised about the relevance of DS. Once again, the IDS came under pressure to re-examine and restructure its courses to accommodate changes taking place in other units, to make them more appealing and 'client-friendly'. The exercise culminated in an important decision of scaling-back the compulsory programme from two to one year including the courses of Development Perspective I (DS 101) and Development Perspective II (DS 102) for first and second semesters, respectively (Mpangala 2014). In terms of contents, DS 101 included issues of social development theories, Pan-Africanism, gender and development, ethics, democracy and governance, and DS 102 discussed rural and urban development, science and technology for development, industrialization, entrepreneurship, social service delivery and regional integration.

While the Institute's Master's programme has existed since 1974, there was no BA programme. This was seen as a downside for the oldest IDS in the country. The idea became more appealing in the early 2000s when multi- and interdisciplinary programmes became more attractive to students. Increased enrollment, unfavorable staffing situations and the competition for time and space necessitated a re-examination of the role and place of multidisciplinary DS. A team was formed to explore the

potential for introducing bachelor degrees and elevate DS to the next level. Although the idea never came to fruition it provided impetus for subsequent efforts that culminated with the start of a three-year bachelor degree programme, the Bachelor of Arts in DS during 2015/2016 academic year, as an earmark of recognized maturity of the discipline. In the course of three years, six semesters, a total of 30 core and electives courses are offered in the theory and practice of development. Courses in areas such as theories of development, political economy, gender, poverty, environment governance and policy analysis are fundamental.

The long-running Master of Arts in DS also needed a critical review to make it more relevant and reflective of the development challenges of the twenty-first century. Increased enrolment in undergraduate programmes extended to postgraduate programmes as those finishing their first degree, in absence of immediate employment opportunities, enrolled for further studies. In the context of limited capacity and the competition for space, the increased willingness to enroll necessitated raising entry qualifications far beyond the minimum. A review undertaken in the late 2000s led to an additional milestone in DS at the University of Dar es Salaam, establishment of two MA degree programmes: a MA in Development Management and a MA in Gender Studies. Additionally, the IDS has offered PhDs since the 1980s. A good number of graduates are now working in universities within the East Africa region, in government and civil society, and the IDS itself has benefited from the human resources developed.

DS focused on teaching in the early decades. At the same time, however, the process of sharing knowledge on development endeavours was at the centre of development discourse. In the early years of teaching DS, the need for a forum to allow development scholars and practitioners to communicate with each other became very clear. The findings of development research undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s ended up as workshop proceedings, unpublished manuscripts, monographs, books, or journals of other disciplines such political science, sociology or history inside or outside Tanzania. The infancy and unique role of DS in informing development processes called for new approaches of sharing development ideas and results of development research.

In January 1991 that goal became a reality when the DS Institute (DSI) at the Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) launched *Tanzania Journal of Development Studies* (TJDS). In the words of its Chief Editor the journal "reinforces our commitment to the

interdisciplinary approach to studying and understanding development problems, and seeking their solutions". Typical of the era the journal was partially funded by the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SIDA-Sarec). Unfortunately, the journal became another victim of 'vol 1, no1 syndrome' as it went silent for the next 7 years only to reappear in June 1998 as another vol 1, no 1, jointly produced by 3 institutes of DS: IDS, University of Dar es Salaam; IDS, Muhimbili College of Health Sciences (now Department of DS of Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences) and DSI, SUA. Later the IDS, Mzumbe University joined.

Despite some production bottlenecks TJDS has remained a flagship of development discourse in Tanzania. During the period of 1998–2014, a total of 25 issues were published including 2 special issues; one on participatory development in 2005 and the other on gender in 2011. Slightly over 160 papers by 199 authors have been published. Of the 199 authors who have contributed to the journal over the years, 68% are based in 4 Institutes of Development Studies in Tanzania, 15% from other academic units of the University of Dar es Salaam, 11% foreign researchers and 5% from other institutions within Tanzania. In addition, 26% of the papers were co-authored, some between local and foreign scholars.

3 Ongoing Debates in Development Studies in Tanzania

As our analysis of the history of DS showed, certain debates have emerged at different stages. These contested issues characterize not only Tanzanian DS, but also the field of development research more generally. In this section we identify a few common debates. These relate to the identity of DS as a discipline, its main contents in teaching and research, the ideal of a discipline that contributes to solving societal problems and its close global connections.

3.1 The Academic Status of Development Studies

The first debate concerns the academic status of DS as a multidisciplinary field whose borders with the more traditional disciplines are continuously negotiated: For example, it is asked whether one does research

on development in sociology, or research on development from a societal perspective. In teaching, there is an argument that DS is supposed to be 'integrative'. This means that development should not be taught as economics, history, political science or sociology as these provide 'competing', often incomplete, perspectives. With nearly all higher learning institutions teaching DS, at least as compulsory undergraduate courses, one could think that the debates of the 1970s and 1980s about its relevance should no longer concern stakeholders. However, the introduction of a BA degree programme at the University of Dar es Salaam and an association formed for institutions teaching DS have again raised the stakes for DS in Tanzania.

Since the 1950s DS emerged as a field to study development in developing countries and was embraced by academic communities in both global south and north. This has not abated criticism from the so-called mono-disciplinarians whose perspective of development has tended to devalue multidisciplinary approaches (Msoka 2015). The debates about the multidisciplinary status of DS have included arguments concerning the lack of integration of DS teaching staff with their background disciplines, and claims that research in DS deals too much with generalities, and thus lacks rigour. In practice, for example, the newly recruited members of teaching staff are being encouraged to do their MA in their previous disciplines rather than in DS.

Another contentious issue is the question of whether to teach DS to all students or to devote limited human and financial resources to its own undergraduate and postgraduate programmes (MA and PhD). There is no doubt that teaching DS to all students has served the academic community and nation well in terms of raising awareness about national, regional and global development challenges. However, with the increasing complexity of development problems coupled with globalization, more specialized knowledge on development dynamics is needed. Hence specialized education and training with focused resources is needed. Such new perspectives on DS allow an in-depth understanding of development as a process, and the need for evidence in related decision-making. In this context, the new role for DS is to provide theoretical and intellectual frameworks for solving development problems. Today, influencing policies with view of making development inclusive and sustainable has become a new focus for DS.

One of the international academic trends also affecting DS is the rising emphasis on results and quality. Academic institutions all over

the world have adapted more corporate management models and are measuring results by degrees and publications. However, in measuring results, not only the quantity of publications counts but also the quality, evaluated on the basis of journal rankings (Tezanos and Trueba, this volume). In this race, national journals such as the Tanzania Journal of Development Studies do not have much currency, as the leading journals are those published by international publishers and following a strict blind review process. This global trend has affected the audience and publication forums of DS. While previously it was very common for both Tanzanian and foreign scholars researching on Tanzania to publish in local publishing houses (e.g. University of Dar es Salaam Press), the trend is now to submit to international journals, often behind paywalls preventing access to academics and interested public in the countries the results concern.

3.2 The Relationship Between Theory, Ideology and Practice

The academic status of DS is also closely related to its ambiguous position between theoretical rigour and practical relevance. In relation to teaching, in the example of the IDS Dar es Salaam, this was clearly reflected in the two courses offered to all university students where the first course was a theoretical one while the second one dealt with practical challenges. For example, the module on industrialization and development in the first course discusses the theoretical models concerning connection between development of industrial and other sectors such as agriculture, finance and transport. In the second course, the industrialization module focuses on the practical experiences of industrialization.

More broadly, as DS deals with societal change, its theoretical choices are at risk of being inherently ideological and political. For example, in the early days, the choice of the theoretical base proper was easy as DS was tied to the socialist ideology, and relevant theories included mostly those of Marxist-Leninism and dependency theory. During the socialist period, a development approach was viewed as state or community led process and the individual/private sector was not emphasized. Public ownership of major means of production, state sanctioned prices, rents and wages were a commonly accepted view and approach. Since the post-1985 period when Tanzania began to liberalize its economy and in 1992 when the country opted for multiparty politics, the teaching orientation has changed. Neoliberal ideologies and values are increasingly

taking central stage in teaching as the political economy of the country evolves. Theoretical trends ranging from early modernization and dependency theory to more recent Foucauldian governmentality, and themes such as rural development, democratic governance, extractives and the like, all provide different perspectives on how economic development and societal change are understood.

Further, DS is not only about theories and empirical research of existing situations, but has an inbuilt idea of being able to suggest interventions in order to improve things. Widely understood, DS is almost unavoidably political. Recommendations with regard to fighting poverty, for example, can utilize different strategies, aligned with different political perspectives such as postcolonial, socialist, neoliberal or a developmental state. Our reive of the papers published in the Tanzania Journal of Development Studies between 1998 and 2014 showed how a wide range of issues were covered both at macro and micro levels. However, a few areas are quite predominant including gender, agriculture, poverty reduction and social services, especially health. Other issues such as globalization, peace and conflicts, democracy and civil society have also received increased attention in recent years. Moreover, in contemporary DS in Tanzania, there are recurring debates about the role of foreign direct investments and their implications to communities and society. Claims over resources such as land/mining rights or ownership, labour rights, local content and royalties are at the centre of such debates. Our review also showed that most papers published in TJDS were products of research pieces, such as case studies of projects implemented. While these provide important insights in the development dynamics, the lack of development research on national and global development agendas, and on forces influencing them, restricts the analytical scope and potential for new theoretical openings coming from Tanzanian DS.

However, there has been a common agreement that DS should deal with inequalities in some way. Such moral ideals have affected, for example, methodological debates in Tanzanian DS. Participatory knowledge production, inspired by the critical pedagogy of Paolo Freire and Nyerere's ideals for knowledge of the poor, was a cornerstone of development research from the early days (Swantz 1975). The particular action-research community active in the University of Dar es Salaam was gradually co-opted by international development agencies and conducted technical participatory exercises for projects rather than transformative research (Green 2014: 83–84). The former came with good budgets for

emolument and supplies plus a predetermined research agenda. Homegrown research agendas were resource-strapped and, until today, depend on scant resources from the global north and are realized in short-term cycles that do not allow in-depth investigation. Funding of development research locally is still a challenge, as the main source remains the government with its meagre resources.

3.3 North–South Relationships: Research, Development Policies and Donors

The example of action research above describes well the ambiguous relationship between DS and international development. While all academic research is international in circulation of knowledge, there are specific connections between DS, international development policies and north–south relationships (Melber, this volume). This relationship is characterized by the extensive funding available for the so-called policy relevant research in the context of frequently changing policy agendas, and huge demand for short-terms studies and consultancies to serve the development industry. This affects the division of time of university staff between academic research and commissioned studies. Institutions such as Research of Poverty Alleviation (later Policy Research for Development) (REPOA) formed in 1994, focus predominantly on conducting policy relevant research with funding from development partners.

Consultancies and commissioned studies provide resources for individual and institutions, while funding for basic academic research is usually channelled through northern research funding agencies. This structure easily leads to a situation where southern researchers realize the agendas of their northern counterparts. Until today, there is a systemic bias in the discipline itself as a result of which the prominent development scholars, typically from the previous colonial powers, conduct research on the developing world. In these research endeavours, the northern researchers are often the ones to set the agenda and conduct analysis, while the role of collaborative local remains often that of data collectors rather than co-authors (Carbonnier and Kontinen 2015). A quick look at the academic articles and books published *on* Tanzania by international publishers indicate a prevalence of authorship of northern academics.

However, the north–south power relations are multifaceted. Historically, northern scholars have widely contributed to establishing the discipline

of DS and increasing the academic quality of the research conducted. In Tanzania, Marjorie Mbilinyi (1972), originally from the USA, did a lot to strengthen the research and teaching on gender and development, and Marja-Liisa Swantz from Finland was influential in participatory action-research. Other early influential scholars included Göran Hydén, John Saul, Lionel Cliffe, Andrew Coulson and Mahmood Mamdani. Recently, partly because of the pressures for international academic publishing and requirements by some donor agencies that fund development research, research collaboration has moved towards more equal contributions and responsibilities, and co-authorship of publications.

More equal north–south collaboration, however, does not eliminate the dependency deriving from international policy trends and the consequent research agendas with which the funding is attached. This tendency applies to researchers engaged in DS anywhere across the globe. A large part of this funding is allocated to the "hot", and ever-changing, topics—development buzzwords (Cornwall 2007)—that have included rural development, gender, social capital, and inclusive development, to name but a few. In the Tanzanian case, much of research has followed these trends, strengthened by its own political phases; for example in the 1990s during the transition from one-party to multi-party democracy research on democracy was a priority topic. Later, issues such as decentralization, urbanization, health, climate change and extractive industries have gained currency. The most recent framework for development research is provided by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), illustrated by a call for research proposals from the Danish aid agency that emphasizes SDGs as an overall framework (Danida 2016). Without doubt, the SDG-framework will affect also the future direction of Tanzanian DS.

The relationship with international development aid also has implications for the quality of research. As the international aid machinery is in continuous need of information on different topics and requires baseline studies, evaluations and impact assessments, it contracts out huge numbers of consultancies often conducted by development scholars. The studies commissioned by the donors might hamper the quality of academic research in two ways. First, the habit of conducting studies with little theoretical rigour and short time frame can gradually lower the overall criteria for academic research. Second, undertaking commissioned research limits the time academics can allocate to teaching and

independent research. Resource-scarce universities encourage institutional contracts, and often have coordinators for consultancies under the banner of 'public service'. The wealth of so-called institutional capacity-building funding available is another aspect that ties DS as an academic field to the international development community. Whilst some of this funding has had significant outcomes for individual institutions, its challenges are in combining the logics of academic collaboration with that of development practice, for instance, often excluding research or teaching from eligible activities to be included in 'capacity-building' (Kontinen et al. 2015).

3.4 Future Visions for DS in Tanzania

In March 2015, a first National Conference of *DS Institutions in Tanzania* was held under the theme *The future of DS or DS of the future* and attended by 38 participants from 20 academic institutions. The need for such a conference reflects the current situation where the number of both public and private higher education institutions has grown rapidly, and almost all these institutes have DS in their academic programmes. In such a situation, debating a shared vision for 'future DS' became necessary.

In the conference, concerns were raised about what is taught in the name of DS, and how this should be done. After more than 40 years since DS was introduced, it was not clear whether there is a common understanding of the subject matter. Thus, following questions were discussed: who is qualified to teach DS and at what level? What kinds of knowledge and skills do students of DS need to acquire? Do our institutions have the capacity to impart them? The consensus was that there is an urgent need to have a forum where stakeholders can discuss/debate issues that affect DS as a field of study and develop a common understanding—hence the *Tanzania Development Studies Association* (TDSA) was established.

In Tanzania, like in other countries, research in DS has evolved over time reflecting changing socio-economic and political landscapes, nationally and globally. During the 1960s and 1970s the research agenda was driven by socialist experimentation followed by decentralization and public sector performance. The economic crisis of the 1980s and ensuing reforms, such as structural adjustment, became subjects of academic research trying to inform donors and development practitioners on the

costs and/or benefits of interventions. In the 1990s the research agenda was driven by political reforms and democratization processes, divestiture of public enterprises and privatization, all signalling the end of Nyerere's socialist enterprise.

Over the years research in DS has provided valuable insights into development dynamics, trends and trajectories which have shaped policies and practices in development. Emerging from the conference was the consensus that in the twenty-first century more efforts are needed in generating and advancing knowledge in DS given its multifaceted nature and the complexity of development processes. Rapid flows of information globally have made it essential to advance ways of reaching out for research. More now than in the past, research teams, clusters and networks are the approaches utilized in development research. Mounting substantial evidence and comparing facts requires coordinated efforts to make compelling and comparable arguments. Therefore, there was consensus that there is an unmistakable role for 'development research' in developing countries like Tanzania to support evidence-based development policies. However, there was uncertainty about the kinds of questions that need to be asked and how to answer them, including the setting of research agendas, the role of governments and donors in the process and how the outcomes of such research can be translated into development practice.

More often the rationale or relevance for DS is couched in its ability to address or solve development problems, that is, in its societal impact. Therefore knowledge generated and skills developed should be of use to development policy-makers, civil society and communities. It must make significant contributions in bringing about desired societal changes, however defined. Simply put, DS of the future must reach-out and effectively engage partners-in-development.

Since December 2015, President John Magufuli's administration has introduced new trends in Tanzanian development policy. The introduction of anticorruption strategies, cutting public spending on meetings and celebrations, and the general "only work matters" (*hapa kazi tu*) ethos has resulted in some changes in the government and its work ethics, while simultaneously, there are increasing critiques about the shrinking space of freedom of expression by politicians and civil society representatives. While it is too early to present any concise analysis, it can be said that for Tanzanian academic institutions and DS professionals,

the new political culture has meant an urgent need to prove their relevance amidst dwindling human and financial resources.

A good number of academics have joined the political class and direct government service in various capacities such as Ministers, Permanent Secretaries, Governor, Commissioners and (Managing) Directors in government institutions. It is not yet clear how such moves will benefit universities or research institutions. Should it be a two-way street, with people moving in and out of politics and government, academia will experience long-term benefits as returnees bring back not only a wealth of experience in formulating and implementing development policies but also the networks they have built up while being in government. Should it be a one-way street, as it often is, the resulting 'brain-drain' will cause hard-to-repair losses to most universities and research institutions. However, ongoing efforts to curb losses and unnecessary expenditures can mean more resource allocation to the education sector in general, and universities and research institutions in particular, raising hopes for quality output and enhanced societal impact.

4 Conclusions

In this chapter we have reflected on the history and current situation of DS in Tanzania. As in many other African countries, the establishment of DS in Tanzania was closely connected with postcolonial nation building and emerging socialist state ideology. DS taught in the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1970s and early 1980s, was characterized by Marxist theories and political economy perspectives. It provided compulsory courses for all university students in support of the socialist state ideology, and research on rural development. Over the years and with changes in the regime, DS in Tanzania has distanced itself from state agendas and built academic study programmes in most higher learning institutions in the country. In the beginning of the New Millennium, DS research increasingly aligned with international policies and donor agendas rather than state priorities. The implications of the current, perhaps more nationalistic policy environment to DS are yet to be seen. Recently, DS scholars in Tanzania have started to search for a new, common identity, for instance through establishing a Tanzanian DS Association in 2015. The Association plans to address the pertinent issues related to the academic identity of DS vis-á-vis traditional disciplines, and its need to serve

academic students as widely as possible versus focusing its resources to teaching in its own BA, MA, and PhD programmes.

The chapter illustrates how the historical trajectory of DS differs in Dar es Salaam from, for example, IDS Sussex in the UK. While DS in Tanzania, from the start, has aimed mainly to contribute to the development of Tanzania itself, IDS Sussex, like any other northern development research institutes and departments, focused on the development of others. Gradually, global development policies, the overall changes in the landscapes in development industry, the global managerialism and output measurement in academia, have narrowed the gap between north and south. Given the kinds of questions which scholars in this subfield pose and the unfolding global and local political economy, DS is needed more than ever. DS scholars in Tanzania and in other African countries need to chart out pathways to new grounds which will raise the status of the field and consolidate its future.

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CHAPTER 15

The Relevance of Environmental Research for Development Studies

Imme Scholz

1 Introduction

In 2015, the international community adopted two agendas with the potential to redefine the relationship between human and economic development on the one hand, and the natural environment on the other: the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development, and the Paris Agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The 2030 Agenda specifies 17 goals to improve human development and simultaneously protect the planet's ecosystems. The Paris Agreement aims to keep average global warming below 1.5 °C and to achieve global zero net emissions by the middle of the century. Both agreements are universal, valid for rich and poor countries; their implementation requires fundamental changes in development pathways and patterns of production and consumption. The principle of the 2030 Agenda to "leave no one behind" and the commitment of the Paris Agreement to human rights mean that transformation processes

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have to be designed so that they not only avoid future harm to climate and ecosystems, but promote improvements in human prosperity.

Both agendas are ambitious normative statements. Making them meaningful for development processes and international cooperation requires considerable investment in research: for a better understanding of the interactions between social and ecological systems and their co-evolution, of transformation processes and pathways, and how national or local action towards human well-being is linked with protection of the global commons and provision of global public goods. Such research has to cover several areas, including the biophysical dimensions of ecosystems, natural resources and sinks and of their human use, social rules and institutions that define human use of the environment, and the social practices and power relations at the root of these rules and institutions. Environmental studies and social environmental research thus offer insights and avenues of research that are crucial for Development Studies (DS) in the twenty-first century.

This paper puts special emphasis on "socio-ecological inequalities" to link thinking on societal nature relations with research on inequalities. This is not only warranted by the new normative horizon described by the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement, but also by the reliance of most poverty reduction policies on economic and income growth and productivity increases. From this perspective, environmental problems are intrinsic to social relations.

This paper is organized as follows: the first section briefly summarizes current global trends at the level of the earth system and puts them into the context of human development, showing the indeterminacies of the relationship between society and nature. The second section describes how this relationship is theorized in current thinking on sustainability and development in different disciplines. The third section applies this thinking to socio-ecological inequalities. Finally, some conclusions are drawn for future development research and teaching.

2 Global Trends in Earth System and Society

Since a few decades, environmental research is making efforts to understand the human impact on the earth system as a whole by measuring the increasing human share in overall energy and material flows and their impacts on ecosystems and their functions.

In its 2011 flagship report *World in Transition: A New Social Contract for Sustainability* the German Scientific Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU 2011: 31) states that environmental changes caused by humankind reached an enormous extent due to industrialization, population growth, and a massive increase in material use and energy use based on fossil fuels. Consequently, the planet's ecosystems and their ability to sustain human life on earth are under stress (MA 2005; Vitousek et al. 1997). Half of the world's land surface has been changed by human activity, global energy and material flows exceed any natural flows, and water resources, soils, forests and oceans are overexploited, and biodiversity drastically reduced. The notion that the relationship between human society and nature has reached a new, unprecedented quality with far-reaching consequences for both led Nobel Prize winner Paul Crutzen to define the present period since industrial revolution as a new geological epoch, calling it the anthropocene (Crutzen 2002; Steffen et al. 2007). The Anthropocene "marks the beginning of a new era of responsibility, as in terms of technology, humankind has by now advanced so far that it could unbalance the Earth system to an extent that would have dire consequences for human socie-ties and ecosystems" (WBGU 2011: 31).

Six observable phenomena illustrate the enormous impact of human use of the environment on the earth system (WBGU 2011: 33–45).

Climate change and its impacts: According to the IPCC, impacts of global warming can be observed on natural and human systems across all continents and oceans. They affect the availability and quality of water, the reproduction of flora and fauna, and lead to more negative than positive changes in crop yields. Projections of further warming by 2100 calculate a range of beyond 4 °C in the absence of mitigation policies and little below if we consider current policies. Such rapid and unmitigated processes of climate change are new for human civilization as in the last 2000 years, natural fluctuations of global average temperature stayed within 1 °C (WBGU 2011: 33).

Loss of ecosystem services and habitats: Ecosystem services are fundamental for human well-being. They provide food and freshwater, support life through soil formation, offer aesthetical and recreational spaces and regulate the climate, floods, and disease (MA 2005). However, about one-third of the ice-free landmass has been cleared for human land use, and natural habitats are under pressure due to the expansion of human settlements and infrastructure, excessive fishing, and waste.

Soil degradation and desertification: According to UNEP (2007) about 20,000–50,000 km^2 of land are lost annually for agricultural production, mainly due to soil erosion. Although improvements in land cover, soil quality and biomass production are also detected, the dominant global trend remains degradation.

Water scarcity and pollution: Currently, more than 40% of renewable accessible water resources are subject to human use or regulation (MA 2005), and the rate of human freshwater use is still increasing, with population growth, rising incomes and increasing food demand. High use rates and water pollution threaten water resource regeneration and wetlands (IWMI 2007).

Raw materials: Industrialization has led to an enormous increase in the use of raw materials. Environmental impacts occur along the whole lifecycle of exploitation, processing, use and disposal, increasingly in remote and ecologically important areas such as tropical forests, the bottom of the sea and the Arctic (UNEP 2016).

Flows of nutrients and pollutants: Increasing flows of nutrients (such as nitrogen and phosphorus) and of pollutants characterize agricultural and industrial production. Pollutants are dangerous because of their persistence, their accumulation in food chains, toxicity and mobility, and their cumulative effects on living organisms and impacts on vital Earth-system processes or subsystems (UNEP 2007; Steffen et al. 2015).

An important characteristic of these dimensions of global environmental change is that they are linked to each other in complex ways. In most cases, linked impacts reinforce each other so that total impact is larger than the sum of all single impacts.

This description looks at trends of environmental change as global phenomena and does not consider the social practices that cause them. Causes and impacts of global environmental change are distributed very unevenly across biomes, geographical regions, continents and oceans, and even more so, if human societies are considered, among and within countries (for impacts of climate change and vulnerability, see IPCC WG II 2014; O'Brien et al. 2007; Ifejika Speranza and Scholz 2013). Social environmental research shows, however, that it has become increasingly difficult to empirically disentangle nature and society. The six trends are produced and shaped by specific social practices embedded in and constituting economic and social subsystems (agriculture/food systems, cities, transport). These subsystems in turn are linked to these environmental trends in various ways. Social practices vary with local historical,

socio-economic and institutional conditions, and are influenced by global production and consumption networks to which they are connected. Therefore, there is no uniform pattern in the way levels of human development and environmental use are linked with each other.

Countries show important differences in human development among (and also within) themselves, in institutions and political order, patterns of social organization, evolving production and consumption over time and influences shaped by different forms and degrees of articulation with regional and global markets. These societal differences together with historically specific ways of adapting to geographic conditions are important in explaining differing degrees of environmental impacts that exist across high-income and upper middle income countries in Europe, the Americas and Asia.

That there is no predetermined relationship between prosperity and environmental damage becomes clear when comparing the levels of human development achieved by countries with their ecological footprints (Wackernagel et al. 2017). First, countries with a high level of human development have ecological footprints of nearly all sizes. No rich country, however, has a footprint whose size could be qualified as ecologically sustainable.[1] Second, the vast majority of countries whose ecological footprint is compatible with global sustainability as defined by the Global Footprint Network (GFN)—mostly from Africa—have low levels of human development. However, there are also poor countries with high environmental consumption. Third, no country clearly achieves high levels of human development within the GFN-defined environmental limits. As a trend, improvements in human development are linked with increasing environmental consumption.

This trend, together with the large variations documented between countries, requires deeper analysis of the relationships between human society and nature, and how they are connected with and shaped by social inequalities, in order to explain both reinforcing linkages and pathways where decoupling between improved prosperity and environmental degradation is seen. This is relevant for analytical and normative reasons to better understand current dominant development pathways and the changes required in their relationships with social organization, political and economic institutions for making human prosperity sustainable and universal.

3 Current Thinking on Sustainability and Development[2]

The concept of sustainable development proposed by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 (WCED 1987) has inspired many researchers to study the interface between development and sustainability. Much research remained within the limits of modernist thinking that saw environmental problems as discrete, 'out there', caused by incomplete understanding of natural processes and deficiencies in cognitive, technological and institutional capacities, thus requiring better managerial and technical approaches for solutions. But both research and political practice experienced increasing difficulties, as "the formula that science reveals, states coordinate and incentives push private actors to enact solutions to environmental problems (…) proved incapable of achieving its goals" (Berkhout et al. 2003: 6). Since the 1990s, the process of rediscovering societal ties with nature has become important in social sciences and economics. Natural sciences concerned with problems around natural resource use are realizing that theoretically informed knowledge of societal practice is helpful for their endeavours.

Social and economic environmental research refer often to theories that focus on the properties of ecosystems and make them resilient. First, they focused on the abilities of ecosystems to bounce back from shocks and stresses and return to stable equilibrium states (Holling 1973). These rather static approaches were replaced by a new view on ecosystems as complex non-equilibrium systems with multiple stable states whose biophysical dynamics are characterized by variability, disturbance and unpredictability (Holling 1987; Botkin 1990). Ecological resilience is seen as the capacity of systems to absorb external shocks and disturbance while maintaining its populations. As disturbance more often than not originates from human systems, interactive dynamics between social and ecological systems became pivotal and helped generate the concept of socio-ecological systems (SES) by ecological, economic and social sciences (Berkes and Folke 1998).

The SES concept focuses on the interactive dynamics of human–environment relations and does not consider them as separate or conflicting; it rather understands human systems as part of ecological ones which also are able to shape them. Adaptive capacity is a central property of SES that depends on local knowledge about the specific ecological conditions of the system and its disturbances that then leads to changes in

practices of resource use and management. This dynamic understanding of socio-ecological relations differs from more conventional approaches that aim at quantitative parameters for managing resources such as maximum sustained yield and carrying capacity.

In economics, theories integrating environmental protection and resource conservation into economic decision-making and cost calculations through either market transactions or regulations and taxation were developed (Pearce and Turner 1990). Natural resource and environmental economics developed instruments such as input/output tables that include natural resources, economic valuation of ecosystem services and specifying conditions under which natural capital could be substituted (or not) by man-made capital. Proponents of "weak sustainability" maintain that substitution options are extensive, due to advances in science and technology, and should be used for increasing human prosperity (Pearce and Atkinson 1993). Proponents of "strong sustainability" (Daly 1991) are more cautious due to the uncertainties connected with cumulative negative effects of ecosystemic disturbances in the long term, and the risks of reaching tipping points where ecosystems flip into another state (Lenton et al. 2008).

Ecological economists go beyond the analysis of market failure to understand the ecological embeddedness of economic activity. They see the economy as a system that is thermodynamically open (to the entry and exit of materials and energy) that dissipates energy and produces waste in production and consumption processes. This open economic system is simultaneously embedded in the ecosystem and in structures of property rights, social distribution of income and power, social structures of class, gender and ethnicity. Ecological economics is concerned with the effects of an economic system whose scale is too large and its growth too rapid so that it overstretches natural cycles and thus reaches planetary boundaries (Martínez-Alier and Muradian 2015).

In sociology and political science, research has focused on the importance of socially constructed differences which lead to unequal distribution of environmental harm and impacts, unequal access to natural resources and the various types of ecosystem services, and the enjoyment of a safe natural environment (see also Sect. 3). Environmental justice research shows that environmental problems are not socially neutral but permeated by social inequalities and power asymmetries (Szasz and Meuser 1997; Newell 2005).

Social science has also criticized SES research where it applies a functional perspective on social agency in natural resource management and ignores historic and place-specific cultural, social and political contingencies of social responses to disturbances in ecosystems and the values related to them (Cote and Nightingale 2012: 479). Adaptive capacity cannot be understood if framed as outcome of functionally designed institutions and structures, as this ignores power relations, cultural values and normative factors that mediate social change and human environment relations. Analysis of transformative agency based on system dynamics may fail to grasp the diversity of values, interests and power differentials that shape social systems and the dynamics and direction of transformation processes.

In political science, two areas of research are prominent. In international relations, most research has focused on global environmental governance and the multilateral environmental regimes which sustain it, their characteristics, legitimacy and effectiveness in global norm setting and implementation, and the diffusion of environmental policy institutions, norms, and practices across countries (Andresen 2015; Bernstein 2012; Zelli and Van Asselt 2013). Others are interested in analysing environmental polities at national and subnational level, the role of cooperation between state and non-state actors, and of coordination or even integration with other policy fields (Vogler and Jordan 2003; Lenschow 2002; Scholz 2017). A specific area of research focuses on different aspects of policy coordination at the nexus between water, land and energy. The nexus allows a better understanding of the obstacles to effective and sustainable management of interlinked resources, and the normative and conceptual divides between sectors and their ability to design and implement integrated or coordinated policies (Weitz et al. 2017; Bhaduri et al. 2017).

An important feature of social environmental research is its ambitious efforts towards theoretically and empirically grounded disciplinary innovation. Usually, these efforts include research in poor countries. Social environmental research also generated insights that need to be taken into account by mainstream development economics, with a view to the long-term social and environmental benefits and costs of catching-up development strategies. The minimum recommendation which can be drawn from analysing the economics of climate change is that decarbonizing the economy matters for all countries including least-developed countries, and high-carbon lock-in needs to be avoided (New Climate

Economy Report 2014). Another contribution to development research refers to the inclusion of the environmental dimension into concepts of human prosperity (Jackson 2017; Martínez-Alier and Muradian 2015). Much of this work builds on an analysis of 'what went wrong in rich countries' leading to the conclusion that they cannot provide a blueprint for successful development.

Political ecology encompasses very diverse research based on Neo-Marxian, feminist and post-structural critical social theories. Motivated by their interest in relations of power embedded in social structures and practices, political ecologists developed special interests in how these power relations reach out to remote and marginal spaces and shape access to and control of natural resource use and distribution of benefits and costs. In line with the 'spatial turn' in social sciences, these approaches showed "the power of 'non-place-based' forces (practices of transnational corporations, instruments and functions of the global [financial] market) over 'place-based' activities (e.g. small scale agricultural production)" (Dietz 2014: 11).

As the awareness of the immediate and long-term costs of unsustainable SES increased, strategies and policies for correcting course emerged. Researchers from the fields of enquiry already described therefore also started to move towards the analysis of transformation pathways (Westley et al. 2011; Leach et al. 2010, 2012). Social transformation has been a major interest of development research as inspired by modernization theory (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012) or dual economy approaches used for understanding rural economies (Lewis 1954). However, development research usually did not refer to human–nature relationships. Development economics and political science produced an extensive literature on the abundance of natural resources as a curse for economic development and effective public institutions (Di John 2011) but the management and sustainability of natural resources were not considered in their analysis.

The combination of normative concerns and analysis is characteristic of the research describing alternatives to the picture drawn by environment studies, centred on the increasing risk of irreversible environmental change associated with current patterns of production and consumption. Human existence might become impossible in many areas where human population and economic production are concentrated today. The relationship between science and policy has therefore attracted new attention. In the German debate, two approaches are distinguished (WBGU

2011): transformation research and transformative research. While the first aims at understanding the patterns, factors and dynamics of transformation from the position of an external observer, the latter sees itself as actively contributing to the transformation process, with the elaboration of (technological, institutional, economic) solutions, participation in deliberative processes and the like. Cooperation with transdisciplinary actors (from different areas of practice) and integration of their varieties of knowledge is an important element of transformative research. Both approaches are useful for promoting sustainability transformations; their differences rather reflect different roles of science in society. Defenders of science committed to 'objectivity' and 'truth' would emphasize its freedom and independence from societal demand for generating 'useful' results. Others would criticize the whole idea of objective science and emphasize the embeddedness of science as such in social structures, practices and objectives (Latour 1995; Jasanoff and Wynne 1997), localizing its possibilities of generating knowledge in the transparency of assumptions, objectives, and data used and methodological plausibility. This debate is very relevant to development research as development policy is driven by normative positions and practical objectives, often without reflecting on the political economy conditions under which it operates.

In the context of climate policy and the UN-led 2030 Agenda, a specific approach for transformation research has emerged that uses modelling and scenario techniques for understanding how different options (e.g. related to technologies, investment priorities, etc.) for reaching specific objectives play out over time. This back casting approach requires decisions with strong normative implications at several points in the research process: when defining the objectives to be reached, when considering the range and choice of technology and policy options, and when calibrating the parameters of the model (i.e. the probability for missing the goal). Specific decisions lead to different results; back casting can be done with a purely technological approach or by explicitly combining policy objectives (e.g. emission reduction and job creation) in specific historical and social contexts (Altieri et al. 2015). When back casting and scenario-based modelling explicitly reflect on these normatively laden decisions and their methodological and theoretical implications, they can make important contributions to better integrating development and environment research.

4 Three Perspectives on Socio-Ecological Inequalities[3]

A major motive of DS is to understand the root causes of poverty and its reproduction as foundation for recommendations to address them effectively. Understanding how social inequalities emerge and stabilize is important to such research. The concept of inequality refers to normative considerations, i.e. that all human beings are equal in their right to flourish and obtain the necessary capabilities to do so (Sen 1999). Based on Sen's concept of development as freedom, Göran Therborn (2011: 17–18) distinguishes three dimensions of inequalities that need to be understood: (i) vital inequality, i.e. socially constructed unequal life chances and humans as "bodies susceptible to pain, suffering and death", (ii) existential inequality, i.e. the different degrees of freedom allocated to humans as persons that live a life with social meaning, and (iii) resource inequality, i.e. humans in their capacity to act and reach own goals; this includes inequalities in the ability to draw on specific capitals (income, wealth, education, culture, social contacts) and to use opportunities over a lifetime for social mobility.

A first perspective on socio-ecological inequalities takes socially constructed inequalities as starting point, described in the previous section. Most research on social inequalities today, however, largely ignores the dimension of environmental changes in human development (Milanovic 2013; Beck and Poferl 2010). Therborn comes closest to including the environmental dimension of human life and societies in his first dimension but omits it completely in the other two. This is at least surprising.

Analysing Therborn's vital inequality, two further areas of research are relevant: on the interaction of physical and social factors at the level of the body and behavioural economics. Research on under-nutrition and malnutrition and other forms of physical stress has shown that they have physical impacts on the body, the brain and cells. Reflecting on such research, Stefan Beck developed a new relational anthropology that reformulates the old ideal of a dense description of human culture embedded in its relations with nature at the level of the body and its cells. Social reality that reflects discrimination related to class, ethnicity and gender penetrates "under our skin" and establishes fixed and structured reactions that shape behavioural patterns and are transmitted to the next generation (Beck 2008: 191–195).

Behavioural economics offers new insights by applying psychological and cognitive theories to economic decision-making in order to understand their often-limited rationality (Tversky and Kahnemann 1992). Through experiments, new cognitive explanations are found for risk aversion (people rate possible losses higher than eventual gains), for changing preferences over time (people prefer small rewards if they can be consumed immediately), for the role of worldviews, mental structures and information (the influence of information on decisions depends on how it is presented), and of social preferences (considerations of justice, altruist motives and trust influence people's decisions and make them deviate from utilitarian paths). Behavioural economics has started to analyse the impact of poverty on patterns of attention and behaviour in order to understand why people often make decisions that reinforce their conditions of poverty (Shah et al. 2012), and why information on the costs of climate change seem to be so irrelevant for individual and collective decision-making (Galbraith 2013).

A second perspective of socio-ecological inequalities looks at the exploitation of natural resources in marginal and/or fragile areas and the multiple relationships between social and geographical marginality (Braun and Gatzweiler 2014). This perspective combines aspects of Therborn's three dimensions of vital, existential and resource inequality.

People living in geographically remote areas still largely covered with original vegetation have increasingly come under pressure for two reasons: increasing demand for raw materials that can be found there and policies for nature protection. Both can exclude local populations from access to land, forests and water (Pokorny et al. 2013; Hein et al. 2015). Remote and marginal areas are often characterized by fragile ecosystems, and by forms of mixed land and resource use adapted to these ecological conditions and shaped by the specific ways in which these local economies are integrated into regional and transnational markets. Local population growth due to advances in health coverage is important, too. By 2003, the population living in fragile rural areas had doubled since 1950 and poverty is concentrated in these areas (WDR 2003).

The Brundtland Report explained the overexploitation of natural resources in poor rural areas: the poor are "forced to overuse environmental resources to survive from day to day, and their impoverishment of their environment further impoverishes them, making their survival ever more uncertain and difficult" (WCED 1987: 27). Elinor Ostrom et al. (2002) shows, however, that in the case of common-pool resources,

overuse can be avoided in contexts where resource users can communicate with each other and thus develop rules for the use of common resources, enforce them and create trust in these rules and practices.[4] Social environmental research on remote areas in developing countries shows that in many cases resource users do not have the autonomy to define and implement their own use regime, that communication is difficult, and that communities live by using several resources of varying importance simultaneously, making management a very complex endeavour. The form of such a management system and the quality of its implementation, following Ostrom, depends on multiple factors such as the characteristics of the resource, the users and the rules forming the system. Social and biophysical factors are considered in their interaction, but the success of the use system is measured from an anthropocentric perspective, with a view to income generation and prosperity, and less to maintaining the resource as such.

In this school of thought, socio-economic inequalities are referred to as heterogeneity among resource users relating to an unequal distribution of income and wealth, the dependency on the resource, and social and ethnic inequalities. Empirical analysis shows that conflicts around values and interests are "most severe when groups are economically and culturally heterogeneous, when members are heterogeneous in their relationship to the resource (e.g. downstream and upstream water users) and when members differ in their degree of dependence on the resource" (Stern et al. 2002: 464). Bardhan and Dayton-Johnson (2002) analysed this question by synthesizing the results of empirical large-N studies on irrigation systems with different types and degrees of heterogeneity in India, Nepal, the Philippines and Mexico and a few meta-evaluations of case study literature and came to the following conclusions (ibid.: 102–103): (i) heterogeneity either has clearly negative effects on cooperation in the use of common goods or no effect at all; (ii) social and economic heterogeneity weakens social norms on which the rules of the management system are based, and the capacity to enforce cooperative behaviour and collective agreements; (iii) the effect of high income heterogeneity is clearly negative and independent from social inequalities; and (iv) heterogeneous communities not only have difficulties enforcing rules but also to establish and implement institutions that effectively regulate access to and use of resources. Summarizing, heterogeneity affects the efficiency of the management system because it influences the choice of rules and the obedience to them.

This situation of high heterogeneity and conflicts over values and interests between actors with highly unequal political and social power[5] is common for fragile rural areas affected by the entry of highly capitalized economic actors who connect the area with global resource market demand and introduce objectives not shared by the local community and rules alien to it (Bebbington 2012). With the entry of new powerful capitalized actors and their claims on land and water, the survival of communities and the sustainability of natural resources is threatened as existing management systems are disrupted and communities fall back on overusing the few resources left to them.

The third perspective on socio-ecological inequalities focuses on global processes of environmental change, the policies adopted to address them and their local distributive impacts. These inequalities are paradigmatic for the twenty-first century as they are characterized by discrepancies between the spaces and actors that cause these processes and policies of global environmental change and the geographic and social spaces where most of the impacts occur.

Global warming is caused by large emissions from a few countries whose impacts will be felt most strongly in regions, especially in Africa, which hardly participate in causing it and have low capacities to adapt and prevent or mitigate local damage. Agricultural production will be mostly harmed by global warming in the US, China and Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank 2012). While the US and China have the knowledge resources to adapt agricultural practices on time, and the financial resources to increase food imports, poor countries cannot and face situations of need and hunger worse than those following the financial crisis in 2008/2009. Policies to mitigate climate change affect the use of natural resources on which poor people depend, such as land, forests and water. Protection of tropical forests is important to avoid the release of enormous amounts of CO2 stored in the biomass and the soil; this may reduce access to them by local communities. All scenarios elaborated by the IPCC for emission reductions to avoid crossing the threshold of 2 °C globally include the application of biomass-based energy combined with carbon capture and storage (BECCS) which as a "side effect" creates competition for land and water resources (Fuss et al. 2014).

This spatial dimension of socio-ecological inequalities is compounded by the time dimension: future generations across the globe will bear the consequences of decisions made (or avoided) in the next few years with regard to greenhouse gas emissions, biodiversity protection, and

other planetary boundaries. Their capacities to absorb and prepare for them can be improved if factors that strengthen resilience to climatic and other environmental changes are considered in social, economic and environmental policies today. Both positive and negative effects of these decisions will not appear immediately, which creates specific cognitive, emotional and political obstacles for their adoption.

5 A Short Outlook on Prospective Research and Teaching

Global environmental change is threatening human prosperity already today, and if continued unabated, future generations will live under climatic conditions unknown to humanity. The resilience of ecosystems and social systems will be reduced due to the cascading effects of and interactions between global warming, biodiversity loss, water scarcity, soil degradation and pollutants. While nature as a whole will adapt, the existence of human societies may become impossible. Avoiding this scenario requires a drastic reduction of the environmental damage associated with human prosperity in high and middle-income countries, and prospectively also in poor countries where 'catching-up' development based on conventional technologies cannot be relied on anymore. Strategies to address poverty and inequalities cannot ignore the sustainability of ecosystems and natural resources. At the same time, strategies for protecting the environment and the global commons cannot ignore the needs of poor people and countries (Raworth 2017).

For DS, this means that close interaction between environmental studies and social and economic environmental research is paramount. Three areas can be emphasized for research and teaching but certainly there are more:

Transformation pathways: Scoones (2016: 299–304) distinguishes four intersecting processes that shape transformations, each with their own theoretical approaches, politics and dynamics: technologies, markets, governments or states, and citizens. The recent success of renewable energy technologies is an example of the many intersections between these processes: these technologies were developed thanks to long-term support by public research budgets; their rapid diffusion was promoted by climate and energy policies creating legal and pricing instruments and market incentives and thus helped to achieve cost competitiveness

with fossil fuels. Policies and intersections differ widely across countries, including combinations of bottom-up and top-down elements, and citizens' movements that embrace and oppose them (Altenburg et al. 2016; Geels et al. 2016; Leach et al. 2012). While the analysis of policies and politics is important, non-state actors also need to be considered (Chan et al. 2015), as well as the governance networks that include actors from both the public and private spheres.

To understand opportunities and blockades of change, it is paramount "to go beyond the simple state/market/society triad and look at intersections, alliances, and coalitions, as well as fissures, dissonances, and conflicts" (Scoones 2016: 307). Research on the role of governance institutions and normative political orders for facilitating equitable transformations to sustainability are important. As transformation spans rich and poor countries, comparative research should encompass a range of countries to understand path dependencies and opportunities for radical change, as well as distributive impacts. Transformations towards sustainable development require qualitative changes in institutions and procedures for policy coordination and integration in order to avoid cancelling feedbacks between different policies and promote synergies (Nilsson et al. 2016; ICSU 2017; Müller et al. 2015).

International cooperation: International regimes and international cooperation in all relevant policy fields (e.g. foreign affairs, development, trade and investment, climate policy, agriculture, research, health) are challenged to contribute to transformation and address inequalities preventing it (Klinsky et al. 2017). Research on the theoretical foundations and empirical manifestations of the capacity to cooperate under conditions of inequality and high time pressure, is therefore an area of the utmost importance (Messner and Weinlich 2016). Research is also needed on how the current system of international cooperation in the various policy fields can be oriented more effectively towards the protection of global commons while simultaneously facilitating domestic prosperity. This refers to multilateral environmental agreements, global economic governance (covering trade, investment, financial markets, and taxation) and other areas of international cooperation, which increasingly need to consider distributive and environmental impacts in their design and implementation arrangements, within and between countries.

Inter- and trans-disciplinarity: Research and teaching in DS should promote sustainability research. For this purpose, it should support

students in obtaining a minimum knowledge on sustainability research by the natural sciences, including their assumptions and methods. Teaching programmes in natural sciences should take similar initiatives towards the social sciences. This would facilitate joint research between natural and social sciences on socio-ecological systems or nature–society relations. Similarly, methods for a productive transdisciplinary cooperation in research projects with actors from various sectors of the economy, civil society and public administration would also be helpful in incorporating their practice-based knowledge on resource use and management, and other areas of production and consumption of goods and services (Jahn 2013).

Notes

1. The Global Footprint Network created by Mathis Wackernagel measures how much land and water area a human population requires to produce the resources it consumes and to absorb its waste. It also tracks how much productive area—or biocapacity—is available. See http://www.footprintnetwork.org.
2. The title of this section is borrowed from Ian Scoones (2016). The content of the section is indebted to his excellent review as well as to Dietz (2014) and Berkhout et al. (2003).
3. This section is based on a paper (Scholz 2014) written within the DesiguALdades network which focuses on inequalities in Latin America.
4. Ostrom analyses cases of resources that (i) are important for their users, (ii) to which several users have access, and (iii) which degrade when overused. They all qualify as *common-pool resource* in the sense that the exclusion of other users is difficult and costly and that the use by one person reduces the possible use for others (Ostrom et al. 2002: 18).
5. Ostrom and her group do not use the concept of power in their work; this is one of the strongest differences with research based on political ecology and environmental justice. Still, Ostrom's work gives insights about the impact of differences in economic and political power on management systems and institutions. For a deeper reflection on the impacts of globalization and the vertical and horizontal articulations between institutions see Stern et al. (2002: 475–479).

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CHAPTER 16

What a Gender Lens Brings to Development Studies

Wendy Harcourt

1 Introduction

Development Studies (DS) is marked by rifts and tensions as the field addresses the continuing systemic inequalities that inform development processes. In this chapter, I look at how applying a gender lens helps to understand and address these tensions with a discussion on how gender scholars, experts and advocates are able to unpack in useful ways the underlying, and for some invisible, gendered assumptions of development. I argue that gender is therefore a profoundly important concept for in DS.

Much has been written in the last three decades of scholarship on gender theory and practice in development (Kabeer 1994; Bergeron 2006; Walby 2009; Visvanathan et al. 1997 [2010]; Cornwall et al. 2006; Connell 2014; Connell and Pearse 2015). I have chosen to reflect on four main conceptual contributions of gender and development scholarship and advocacy to DS. After describing a gender lens, I discuss why

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it is important in DS to apply a gender lens in relation to diversity; body politics; post-development and sustainable development.

Methodologically, I have drawn from studies that have guided academic analysis in gender and DS (Baksh and Harcourt 2015; Connell 1987, 2009; Cornwall 2007; Kabeer 1994; Rai 2008; Harcourt 2016a, b, c). The chapter is particularly informed by recent writings of gender and development experiences in the 'doing' of gender and development as consultants, advocates as well as academics (Ferguson 2015; De Jong 2016; Harcourt 2017). Gender and development scholarship is strongly marked by feminist theorising about how they are positioned in the practice of development as well as the production of knowledge, described as situated knowledge (Haraway 1988; Harding 1991). Gender and development analysis is informed as much by practitioners and advocates as by scholars, with a very strong interchange among them, through the transnational solidarity and alliances forged in efforts to ensure that gender is part of development processes and DS.

This observation, discussed in more detail below, reflects my understanding of gender and DS along two lines. The first line is about the professional study of different development processes, analysing and measuring what has improved due to development interventions. This line of scholarship analyses how power relations operate in development processes and studies the gendered impact of development politically, socially and economically. The second line of scholarship on gender in DS looks at the experience of people living the changes brought about by development in different locations and institutions. This includes people who are the subjects of development processes, but also analyses the lives of development practitioners and scholars whose careers are forged by engaging in development. I argue that gender and development emerges as a powerful mix of both lines of analysis and practice. In both approaches, gender and development belongs to the school of thought that reflects on how development is a set of aspirations for change, one that implies a sense of engagement in trying to make those changes happen by writing about it. Given this open engagement, gender and development scholarship reflects some of the frustrations that development, despite its promises and hopes, is not able to achieve gender equality nor succeed in the broader goals to end poverty, conflict and injustice of which ending gender inequality is a part. In essence, gender and development scholarship is imbued by both personal as well as political engagement in development as transformation.

2 What Is a Gender Lens?

I use the term gender lens as a metaphor; by figuratively 'putting on gender lenses' you can see how gender is suffused throughout all arenas of DS, policy and practice. It is not about adding in women, or studying gender as separate to other development processes, nor simply biological difference based on women's reproductive role nor about ending sexual violence. It refers to systemic structures that institutionalise male power over women on multiple scales that are economically, culturally and socially determined (Connell and Pearse 2015). Gender operates at every level of human experience, from economic arrangements, culture and the state to interpersonal relationships and individual emotions. This does not mean every person experiences gender in the same way. Gender is lived differently in diverse places, bodies and locations. Gender and development looks at how gender relations occur on a local to a world scale, as local gender relations interact with the global arena.

A gender lens allows us to see the ways in which gendered power relations permeate structures and institutions so that gender is never absent. Applying a gender lens is necessary to untangle the gender bias that informs social, political and economic practice in development (Kabeer 1994; Jackson and Pearson 1998; Connell 2009). In development practice gender issues have often been reduced to ticking the gender box to show how many women and men are involved in development projects. But understanding gender is not as simple as differentiating which gender does what in economic and social programmes or even measuring data for gender bias and evidence of gender inequalities (Cornwall 2009; Richardson and Robinson 2008). This may be necessary, but it is not enough. Applying a gender lens also goes beyond observing gender roles in the field to analyse how resources are distributed among different members of the household.

A gender lens notes such distribution but also reveals how gender hierarchies that are often seen as 'natural' operate in households and other institutions through economically and socially determined relations, which are culturally based and evolve over time. Kabeer's (1997) study interviewed women workers in the first export-oriented garment factories in Bangladesh assessing what the 'everyday lived realities' described by the women workers revealed about the workings of power within family-based households in urban Bangladesh. Her later studies revealed how this evolved overtime (Kabeer 2001; Kabeer and Mahmud

2004). She monitored the significant effects in women lives, 'including their capacity to negotiate with dominant family members, to postpone their age of marriage and to exercise greater choice in who they marry, to contribute to their families and thus to be perceived and valued as earning family members' (Kabeer and Mahmud 2004: 133).

As Kabeer's studies show, applying a gender lens reveals that economic and social development is determined by power relations between men and women. It highlights how gender bias can lead to systematic, unfavourable treatment of individuals based on their gender, which denies them rights, opportunities and resources. Such analysis informs gender and development policies that aim to redress gender imbalances through a redistribution of power and resources and transformation of gender power relations. It also shows the gaps when because of disability or sexuality orientation individuals are excluded from development processes, and experience exclusion, oppression and violations. For example understanding how to include hijras in India has become part of the gender and development discourse looking at inclusion in health policies around HIV and AIDS (Chakrapani 2010).

A gender lens also opens up ways to engage with culturally embedded normative beliefs, understandings and ideas about gender, power and change (Cornwall and Edwards 2014). It is then possible to view gendered assumptions that inform development texts, projects and policies, as well as interactions among development actors, including the representation of gender in development policy. A gender lens points to what is represented in the images of women and girls, boy and men on UN websites and reports of development projects. It reveals the power plays in development meetings, indicating how women development experts have to dress and behave to ensure a gender analysis is taken seriously. A gender lens shows how we all perform gender in the way we behave, act, dress and speak to others in development settings (Butler 1993; Harcourt 2017). These gendered performances are also part of what determines how policy is set and decisions made affecting women and men's access to resources in development projects.

Several studies have looked critically at how gender experts have been involved in gender and development decision-making processes since the 1995 Beijing Declaration with its goal to empower women and mainstream gender through large-scale development programmes run by UN, national gender machineries and non-governmental organisations. These studies scrutinise how gender plays out in development institutions,

policy, academy and civil society (Batliwala 2007; Sandler 2015). Analysis by insiders and outsiders reveals the difficulty of applying gender in arenas competing for resources and in environments where gender is negotiated culturally very differently by those receiving funds, than those sitting in donor agencies in Brussels or New York. Ferguson (2015) discusses her work as a development consultant and the frustrations of gender not being taken into account in data collection and then gender experts being called in order to 'fix it'. De Jong (2016) writes about 'complicit sisters' who liaise in carrying out gender and development projects which often despite best intentions end up being disappointingly apolitical and technical and fizzle out once the funds are finished. Woodward (2012) describes how in 'velvet triangles' gender power is played out in informal governance processes among gender experts and advocates in the EU context (2012: 145). Cornwall candidly raises the issue of co-optation of gender in development processes describing how gender is '[t]ransplanted from domains of feminist discourse and practice onto other … inherently hostile institutional terrains' in ways that undermine its 'radical promise' through applications such as gender mainstreaming that 'shift the spotlight away from structural issues of social and economic justice' (Cornwall 2007: 69).

Following this reflective line, a gender lens also breaks down the idea of a developed part of the world and an undeveloped world region, which requires help or rescuing, as captured by various terms: 'First World' and 'Third World'; 'Global North' and 'Global South'. A gender lens looks at how gender operates globally in different contexts, and at how gender roles are changing as more people are connected, virtually, or migrating or travelling for work or pleasure to other world regions. Latin American feminist theorists show how the boundaries of North and South America are changing (Alverez et al. 2014). Their studies describe how women travel to different places as diasporic subjects and become translators of what it means to be 'Latina'. They illustrate how these women connect across race, class and sexualities as they move around the Americas. Such connections indicate how development can be viewed as a dynamic transborder/translocal cultural formation rather than a delineated geopolitical space.

Understanding what it is to be a Latina in the changing social, economic and political contexts of the Americas reflects how gender is constantly negotiated and articulated in different social, political and economic contexts (Mohanty 2003; Harding 2008; Connell 2012).

Such negotiations occur also within development practice and DS as gender is negotiated in the varied political and cultural contexts of development projects.

This brief summary indicates that applying a gender lens is complex. A gender lens reconceptualises development from the perspective of gender power relations, introducing the understanding of gender as fluid rather than fixed (Icaza and Vázquez 2015). It requires analysis on different levels: structural and institutional, as well as recognising changes in gendering in everyday life (Petchesky 2002; Visvanathan et al. 2010; Cornwall and Edwards 2014; Harcourt 2016a). The following takes us through the way a gender lens is applied in various areas of DS.

3 Gender, Diversity and DS

Let us start with the interrogations of gender and development scholars and advocates on the term gender itself. It matters not only what gender you identify with, but also what class, race and religion you belong to, and how they intersect structurally and relationally. So, gender analysis without reference to difference within gendered experiences fails to capture the complexities of everyday realities. The term intersectionality has now entered the gender and development literature and practice in order to take into account diversity or the 'intersections' of gender with the systemic impact of other social categories (Nash 2008; Luft 2009). Diverse power relations lead to exclusion and inequalities imbued with differences of gender and race, ethnicity, class, caste, age, physical ability and sexual orientation (Crenshaw 1991; Yuval-Davis 2006). These intersections of race, gender and class (and other physical, social, economic and cultural divisions) determine whether individuals can access social and economic resources, exercise their reproductive rights, and how they can engage in political and cultural change processes (Davis 2008; Harcourt et al. 2016). These differences are more than about single identities, as differences are overlaid through systemic and structural oppressions.

To quote Nira Yuval-Davis (2006: 198), intersectionality recognises that:

> Social divisions are about macro axes of social power but also involve actual, concrete people. Social divisions have organisational, intersubjective, experiential and representational forms … we theorize the

> connections between the different levels. … expressed in specific institutions and organisations, such as state laws and state agencies, trade unions, voluntary organisations and the family. … they involve specific power and affective relationships between actual people, acting informally and/or in their roles as agents of specific social institutions and organisations.

Including both gender and diversity allows us to analyse inequalities that structure the relative positions of women and men and other genders in development institutions, analysis and practice (Davis 2008: 68). You cannot separate out the impact of poverty, race, age, physical ability, sexual orientation and gender in the search for inclusive economic and social justice for all persons.

A growing number of studies look at how gender and diversity play out in social, economic, political and legal landscapes (Parpart et al. 2002). They contribute to knowing about experiences of oppression and privilege, make visible processes of inclusion and exclusion, and show how different forms of inequality (economic, racial, gender, ethnic) overlap on both the local and global level. The local and global co-constitute how gender and diversity operate. As Mendoza (2016: 105) explain, gender, race, class and sexuality are not separate categories but are 'mutually constructing systems of power that exist in and through contradictory and conflicting relations'. Paulson (2016) shows how gender intersects with other systems of difference in experiencing economic and social inequalities with a focus on masculinities in Latin America. Connell (2005, 2012) also underlines in her studies on masculinity and transgender how gender intersects with different positions of power.

The analysis of gender and diversity has been applied in gender and development practice with the aim to improve development outcomes for marginal groups through changes in education, health and labour policy. A gender lens aware of diversity pays attention to the underlying material and emotional conditions that structure peoples' lives. Hankivsky et al.'s (2014) study of intersectionality and gender in health policy among marginal communities points to why health services should not apply essentialising categories such as 'lone mothers', 'immigrants,' 'refugees,' 'seniors,' and 'persons with disabilities' 'aboriginals' 'vulnerable' 'poor'. Instead, the policy needs to examine systemic discrimination due to sexism, racism, classism, ableism, and homophobia and the experience of minority, marginal or stigmatised positions within society. Such an approach builds a broader understanding of social inequality

and health disparities as a result of complex combinations of oppressions where gender oppression and inequality overlaps with other forms of discrimination.

Recognising the importance of diversity builds on critiques that look at the historical colonial shaping of race, class and gender and other oppressions that undergird gender and development theory and practice (Icaza and Vázquez 2015). Many of these critiques have come from women of colour and indigenous, Chicana, Black and postcolonial feminists (Crenshaw 1994; Collins 2000; Mohanty 2003). Gaytri Spivak famously wrote about colonial development as the process of white men saving brown women from brown men (Spivak 1999). Postcolonial and decolonial feminists have critiqued the dominance of white feminists views in gender and development, which continue to focus on the oppression and exploitation of women in the Global South without recognising the deeply embedded racism in the development process. There has been an exoticisation and a racialisation of non-white non-western women and men and other genders in the assumptions made about what is 'good' for or desired by others. Looking at gender and diversity reveals there is a need to go beyond (sometimes unconscious) prejudice and assumption about others and the stereotypes, which are incomplete and flatten other peoples' lives, rob people of dignity and the possibility of equal humanity (Ahmed 2012). Wilson (2012) shows how gender inequalities intersect with a latent racism in development processes which requires historical analysis of injustice and a deeper understanding of the relationship between north and south.

Icaza and Vázquez similarly draw attention to how 'the reality of non-white and non-western woman' is unseen in applying gender in development (2015: 68). They point to Maria Lugones' theory of the *coloniality* of gender that argues that gender is itself a mechanism of colonial domination over non-western racialised bodies. They propose that the colonial order and by extension development is 'a concrete mechanism of transforming and governing everyday-life through the control of the bodies and subjectivities of the colonised' (2015: 66).

4 Body Politics

Such readings of racism and decoloniality ask for further radicalisation of the notion of gender in its 'geo-political, geo-historical, geo- epistemic, and body-political contexts' (Icaza and Vázquez 2015: 68). In response

to radical critiques of gender, the embodied experience of development or body politics has emerged as an important area in gender and development (Cornwall et al. 2008). Body politics is about the political struggle of people to claim control over their own biological, social and cultural 'bodily' experiences. Bodies are understood as sites of cultural meaning, social experience and political resistance (Grosz 1994). The corporeal, fleshly, material existence of bodies is deeply embedded in political relations, from historical colonialism and agricultural practices to population control policies and the contemporary bio-politics of migration and war (Harcourt et al. 2016: 149). Topics of body politics in gender and development scholarship include making visible heteronormative assumptions around embodiment, marriage, reproductive and care work as well as desire as part of body politics in development. By studying how gendered bodies are constructed in different popular, scientific, economic discourses that inform development it is possible to challenge and change oppressive conditions (Harcourt 2009).

In development processes, body politics has been at the core of political struggles around gender equality, human rights and public health. The 1990s series of United Nations conferences consolidated gender and development practices around body politics as issues such as domestic violence, rape as a weapon of war; denial of sexual and reproductive rights; sexual oppression of women, children, homosexuals and transgender people; racism and ageism were put on the agenda (Petchesky 2002; Antrobus 2004). Applying a gender lens to issues of embodiment in development practices makes visible many previously tabooed issues challenging cultural traditions and practice that condone and institutionalise inequalities in the workplace and fail to challenge homophobia (Harcourt 2009). Body politics in the UN arena, for example, has successfully led to changing human rights and public health policy to include an awareness of bodily integrity and the right to sexual and reproductive healthcare services (Cornwall et al. 2008; Harcourt 2009).

Bringing in issues of sexuality and desire to development is highly contested because sexuality in international development is rarely spoken about unless seen as 'problem' or 'risk' or a violation of women or girl's rights (Cornwall et al. 2008; Harcourt 2009; Jolly et al. 2013). Nevertheless there are now studies that have interrogated heteronormative assumptions about sexuality that inform gender and development practice, including marriage practices; teenage pregnancy; homo and transphobia; sex work and sexually transmitted diseases.

Heteronormativity is the assumption that male and female sexual relations are the only normal expressions of sexuality. These assumptions are normalised in behaviours, values and cultural assumptions, which recognise and enforce only male and female genders. These norms are kept in place by 'patriarchy and compulsory heterosexuality as well as other systems and ideologies related to power such religious fundamentalism, casteism, the class system' (Sharma 2009: 53). Heteronormativity as practice in institutions and structures of understanding is privileged. This privilege often goes unmarked; heterosexual identity and behaviour is assumed to be natural and those who do not subscribe to heteronormative standards are denied rights and benefits. In recognising heteronormativity gender and development is concerned with how heterosexuality is institutionalised, based on gender division and experienced in everyday practice of heterosexual relations.

The discussion of heteronormativity has opened up the possibility to discuss homosexuality, third sex and transgender in DS (Cornwall et al. 2008; Lind 2010; Connell 2012). This process of queering development has enabled the inclusion of people who had earlier been silenced or excluded from DS and practice.

Body politics literature has helped DS go beyond seeing sexuality as only a problem related to risky behaviour, violations or violence (Jolly et al. 2013). It also has raised questions about why gender-based violence has become such a focus of international development policy (UN Women 2015). Though there is a valid and necessary concern around violations of different peoples' bodies and minds the same space is not given to pleasure and joy in sexual relations. Because of the rise of fundamentalist factions—from the conservative right in the US to the extremist patriarchal regimes of ISIS—as well as the powerful and misogynist global sex industry, studying sexuality can create a dilemma for gender and DS. The question of how to address sexual pleasure and sexual identity without labelling it as deviance is a topic that international DS is only now addressing, recognising that sexuality as a critical part of human behaviour, its embodiment and identity therefore need to be part of gender and DS and policy.

5 Post-development

A gender lens is also included in the post-development school of thought in DS (Escobar 1995; Ziai 2007) Post-development scrutinises development as a contested set of historical, cultural, political and

economic power relations (Sachs 1992 [2010]; Escobar 2007a, b). Post-development queries the metaphors, ideologies and premises of development, which perpetuate injustices and inequalities. Sachs (1992 [2010]) argues that technocratic processes of development have silenced other cultures' and peoples' ways of living. He looks for alternatives forms of development processes rooted in the agency of local communities who identify their own problems rather than being brought into mainstream development solutions. As Escobar phrases it, post-development is 'the unmaking of development through the intervention of new narratives, new ways of thinking and doing' (Escobar 1995 [2011]: 20).

These post-development processes question the mainstream economic development discourse focusing on growth, material progress, instrumental rationality, universality, and modernity. In looking for a different set of ethics and values which promote life-affirming experiences and knowledge it looks to people living on the margins, such as indigenous women and men, displaced urban poor and rural communities. In this process post-development brings both a gender and diversity perspective looking at the validity and importance of non-dominant forms of economic, social and cultural practices and showing the negative impact of development of those on the margins, and questioning colonial interpretations of historical progress and capital-centric explanatory frameworks of development (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006). Post-development's attention to the knowledge and practice of rural, indigenous and marginal communities has made visible how diverse gendered lives are among communities. Studies on women's defence of their homes, environment and livelihoods as well as women's organising and creative resistance for personal and community survival show how, contrary to the stereotypes of women as passive or weak, women can and do take leadership roles among subaltern resistance movements (Mohanty 2003; Escobar 2007a; Harcourt 2014). Post-development analyses how these experiences and demands for political and economic transformation can inform theoretical approaches, potentially leading to a changed agenda for development thinking and practice (Valters 2015). As community economies scholar Kathleen McKinnon suggests, this requires development scholars to give 'ethical priority to the needs, desires and perspectives of the local people' (McKinnon 2011: 39). Studies on social movement 'from below' (Biekart and Fowler 2012; Carty and Mohanty 2015) show the way forward for change: 'feminisms across the world have incited a call to re-imagine ways of being gendered that do not

presuppose the domination of women by men- and all the other axes of oppression such as heterosexism, racism and classism that intersect with this' (Horn 2013: n.p).

There is a close alignment between ideas about post-development and those about transformative practices in gender and development. Bringing a gender lens to the search for alternatives leads to a focus on searching for new values based on care which relates closely to the next area of discussion—sustainable development and the gender lens applied by feminist political ecology which looks not only at care for other persons but also for the environment.

6 Sustainable Development

A growing number of scholars are applying a gender lens to environment and development (Resurrección 2017). Feminist political ecology brings to DS a framework that sets out gendered processes informing environmental, economic and technological change. It looks not only at material changes in empirical studies, policy analysis in the management and access to natural resources, but also at the feelings and experiences of those affected, and the emotions linked to catastrophic change, displacement and loss (Harcourt and Nelson 2015). It joins post-development in questioning modern development's assumption that nature is a resource to be exploited in order for societies and economies to join modernity and progress (Rocheleau and Nirmal 2015; Agostino 2015). It shares the concern that development has led to the displacement of communities, the scarring of landscapes and the destruction of traditional agriculture. In these studies, gender power relations are explored in the changing economic and social 'life-worlds' or the intertwining of all living beings (Harcourt and Nelson 2015; Rocheleau 2015).

Applying a gender lens to sustainable development, feminist political ecology analyses how people have diverse experiences of, responsibilities for, and interests in 'nature and environments', which vary by culture, class, race, and place and are subject to individual and social change. These studies focus on understanding how local people live, feel and understand the environment looking at practices of care and well-being that make up community economic and ecological negotiations around the management of shared resources. Such studies give importance to community responses to climate, economic and environmental change

from a gendered perspective. For example, studies on the practice of commoning look at how place-based social practices of mutual support and negotiation create systems to manage shared resources. Recent studies of commoning in Japan reveal how senior women's enterprises revitalised the human and physical landscape in their organisation of food practices, making visible women's skills and care as they build on food traditions and adjust to contemporary needs in villages marked by a rapidly ageing population (Love 2010: 237).

As well as studies of community change, feminist political ecology scrutinises relations between gender, environment and development in studies of global negotiations in the decades following the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in September 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. Studies chart how gender is negotiated in governmental policy that has set the global technical and policy framework on environment and development. Resurrección (2017) describes how meanings of gender are embedded in political-economic processes as gender-planning specialists insert gender agendas into institutions. She shows how feminist political ecology builds on the 'insights from women's involvement in local environmental struggles and social movement organising in all parts of the world' (Resurrección 2017: 74). The behind the scenes politics of the insider knowledge and negotiations in the government and UN arena in what Woodward (2012) calls the velvet triangle provide rich material about the gendered processes of development.

Like post-development, feminist political ecology aims to understand how local people live, feel and understand the environment through a participatory co-production of knowledge. Through case study and narrative research, participatory action, collaborative and self-reflective problem-solving processes and engagement with the different actors determining the decisions the studies aim to translate knowledge from community experience into useable narratives that can be applied by policy makers to strategies of resilience and sustainability. The studies pay attention to practices of care and well-being that make up community economic and ecological processes fundamental to well-being and a good life.

Several case studies on environmental movements look at how gender is expressed. La Via Campesina which brings together peasant and indigenous movements in the struggle for territorial recognition and rights, addresses inequities in access, ownership, and control of resources.

La Via Campesina has promoted a 'female peasant' political identity linked to land, food production and the defense of food sovereignty in opposition to the current agribusiness model. In a highly symbolical gesture at La Via Campesina events women perform the opening mística—a ceremonial act that recognises indigenous values and ideals—and seen as nourishing the spirit of struggle. The preparation of the mística is the tangible expression of indigenous cultures and represents a challenge to and defiance of the modern economic systems that oppress and marginalise such traditions. The mística ceremony of La Via Campesina is important to the political identity of the organisation, helping to build community and redefining political behaviour to take the gendered role of women as spiritual leaders into account. A gender lens as applied by feminist political ecology sees such performative practices of gender power relations as part of the emotional and affective relations of communities with their environments and key to the resistance process.

In analyses of global environment and development a gender lens is also applied to a reading of the growing crises of climate, food insecurity, economic inequalities as well as increasing conflict and prejudice. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are central to the current development framework that aims to link economic, social and environmental justice issues. Feminist political ecology connects local gendered realities to the global picture through studies which examine how resources are embedded in everyday lives and relations, and communities' coping strategies to build resilient, equitable and sustainable futures. A gender lens contributes importantly to understanding community responses to the current climate economic and environmental crises in multiple places, probing the dynamics through which new political, economic and community innovations are possible.

A gender lens on sustainable development opens up the space for novel insights and different ways of understanding resilience and sustainability by providing evidence on how women working with men in the community confront crises as subjects rather than objects of policy. By looking at gendered and embodied everyday experiences of community's relations to nature and resources a gender lens also helps to shift the dominant narrative on sustainable development. It probes how change is experienced, examining the complexity of gendered power relations in the approaches of environmental justice movements to population growth or the gendered survival strategies of communities struggling

with climate change and ill health due to pollution and toxicity, looking at the survival mechanisms of communities living in damaged environments, depleted fishing stocks, rising waters, conflict and uncertainty.

7 Conclusion

This chapter shows how applying a gender lens to DS opens up new ways to think about development processes in response to some of the thorny issues around power and knowledge in development, and of the possibility to be reflective as well as effective in scholarly contributions to development policy. Bringing a gender lens to development helps us to identify how power operates in development on a number of scales from the intimate to the global, and how it intersects with other factors of diversity. Linking the various levels of gendered processes in development allows us to do research that can bring about change more effectively, as we become aware of the complexity and diversity in the development experiences.

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CHAPTER 17

Saving the Planet by Design: For an Environmentally and Socially Sound Development Approach to Urbanization

Pietro Garau

1 Urbanization: A Neglected Issue in Policy and Development Studies?

Those who devoted most of their professional lives to human settlements and human development always found it hard to understand the difficulties development scholars and agencies alike found in accepting that a profound change was taking place in the South of the world. This change was urbanization, defined as the "increase in the proportion of a population living in urban areas" and also as the "process by which a large number of people becomes permanently concentrated in relatively small areas, forming cities" (United Nations 1997).[1]

More surprising was that international development agencies with a comprehensive mandate also found it difficult, until recently, to come to grips with the challenges of urbanization. These difficulties had cascading effects. UNDP was, at least in the last decades of the twentieth century, a powerful reference organization for specialized development agencies and policy makers. OECD had considerable influence on donors

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through its Development Assistance Committee. Jeffrey Sachs, the brilliant scholar behind the UN implementation plan for the Millennium Development Goals known as the "Millennium Project", often reiterated his conviction that the priority was rural development and villages. His lack of interest in urban issues was so manifest that during the gestation of the Millennium Project Report, issued in 2005, those dealing with the scant urban references in the Millennium Project report never managed to have him visit an urban slum in a developing country.

Of course, the situation was not entirely one-sided. Mahbub-Ul-Haq, the visionary and far-sighted development economist from Pakistan who conceived UNDP's Human Development Reports, decided that the first report of the series (UNDP 1990) would have a special section devoted to urbanization. However, the gestation of this section was embattled and difficult. Key researchers in the Human Development Report staff were weary of giving excessive importance to this topic and always insisted on the "primacy of rural".

Attempting to recapitulate anti-urban arguments and their counter opinions might be of interest, because some still affect the policy and research agenda to this day. The first argument was of a quantitative nature: despite strong urbanization trends, the bulk of the poor lived in the rural areas. Therefore, attention had to be concentrated on the rural poor. The statistical basis for this otherwise weak argument is still valid until today, but will not continue in view of the population projections that we shall consider further on.

The second argument had a qualitative basis. The rural poor were the ones living, almost without exception, in abject poverty and suffering from landlessness and exploitation. Cities, in contrast, offered services (e.g. health and education) unavailable in rural areas. Therefore, the conditions of the poor urban minority had to be better than those of the rural majority. This argument was challenged in the Report of the Millennium Project's Task Force on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers (UNDP 2005) on the grounds that it was essential to distinguish between availability and accessibility. Cities may very well offer excellent schools, universities and hospitals, but such services were simply inaccessible to the urban poor. In fact, the report argued that this availability/accessibility discrepancy was an added element of psychological deprivation typical of the urban poor.

The third and fourth arguments, both political, possibly obfuscated the urban-rural debate. The third one was that concentrating aid

and attention on cities would have inevitably favoured the urban elites and thus reinforced exploitation and inequality, both within the city and between the city and the countryside. The fourth one rightfully belonged to a regressive category. It consisted of the explicit desire of national rulers, including elected ones, to discourage urban growth and keep people in the countryside: a policy that clearly favoured political control and manipulation and discouraged mass mobilization. Counter-arguments could be, of course, that all elites live in cities, including those who oppress the rural population. Moreover, the distribution of benefits from urban aid and development-minded policies did not necessarily have to go to the elites—it depended on the nature and quality of such policies.

A fifth argument was environmental. While the value and impact of the ecological footprint work of William Rees and others cannot be denied, this also resulted in an unwelcome ecological victimization of cities. Clearly, the ecological impact of cities reverberates well beyond their administrative boundaries. This simply happens because cities are dense agglomerations where human activity, based on resource flows into the city and waste streams outward, and its concomitant energy consumption and pollution generation, is concentrated. The same unwelcome outcomes, or worse, would take place if humans substituted cities with a non-urban world, i.e. through an even distribution of activities over the planet's surface. In addition, cities provide beneficial environmental positives, such as a low consumption of soil per inhabitant and the low-carbon collective public transport as alternative to the automobile.

A sixth argument is the complexity of urban problems. It is objectively easier to invest in large-scale infrastructure in sparsely populated areas, for example, than to try and address urban poverty and/or environmental issues where politics, land, bureaucracies, corrupt governance and competition for space and power present cumbersome obstacles for even the most persistent of development actors.

Fairness also demands a critique of the arguments that were advanced during the same period in favour of urban. For a while the strategy was to underline the economic importance of cities as "engines of growth" (Duranton 2000). But the strategy was not particularly successful. Although cities could be recognized as engines of growth, at the same time such discourses ignored all the social and environmental problems created by rapid urban growth. A look at any large urban agglomeration of the developing world as it is today and as it was 20 years ago confirms

this dichotomy. So, even the advocates of "urban" failed to situate their concerns in a developmental context. A component of this failure may be the relative neglect that the Development Studies (DS) community has shown towards urbanization in the developing world.

At the end of the second decade of the present century the urban development outlook has evolved. Although urban is still a Cinderella of most bilateral aid agencies and within international organizations, starting from the World Bank, events such as the biennial World Urban Forums and the third United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat III) have contributed to focusing the attention of policy-makers and specialized scholars alike on the global urbanization challenge. A chapter on urbanization and environmental challenges has also been included in the most recent IPCC report (IPCC 2014). Urban development advocates have welcomed with satisfaction the fact that, for the first time, a global development goal (SDG 11) was entirely devoted to urban matters.

2 The 96%: How Future Population Growth Will Concentrate in Cities of the Developing World

The question is, however, whether urban will become a growing concern of a specialized and committed audience, or evolve into an interdisciplinary or even trans-disciplinary field of interest. It will be particularly important to see if this welcome progress will take place in the field of DS.

From the late 1980s on, the world's attention started focusing on the expectation that for the first time in history its population would eventually become predominantly urban. This clarion call, which would eventually become a reality by around 2007, was motivated by a desire to highlight the growing importance of urban settlements and cities. But it was a hollow argument. Development priorities cannot be determined in purely quantitative terms. Moreover, the definition of "urban" is still uneven as its thresholds and criteria vary from country to country. What the trend was showing, however, was that the differential between urban and rural population growth was largely the outcome of rural-urban migration. Observers could quarrel over whether this was the result of a "push" or "pull" effect, i.e. the expulsion of redundant work force from rural areas or the attraction of jobs and opportunities associated to cities. But the conclusion was that this trend was irreversible, and the conclusion was correct.

Table 1 shows the world's population growth and distribution over the next 30+ years according to United Nations estimates. By the middle of this century the world's urban population will have grown more than the total population, due to a projected decrease of the world's rural population over the same period. But the stunning conclusion is distributional: of the total 2.3 billion-plus increase in urban population, 96.2% will be in cities of developing countries.

The implications of this challenge are extraordinary. First, this challenge may very well be interpreted simply as "accommodating urban growth". If this were the case, the purely physical aspects need not preoccupy us too much. There is enough space to host additional urban population, and the modalities could very well follow wise and resource-minded patterns. However, in the present context the powers and responsibilities of the State, including its capacity to guide and distribute urban growth, are being diminished and social welfare programmes are being marginalized. A corollary of this is that all urbanization requirements are to be satisfied through individual means and according to market rules. In light of this, we can expect urban growth to continue in similar fashion as it does now. With regard to housing, for example, higher income urbanites will be housed according to their means, and lower income people will live in the informal and inadequate settlements they can afford, according to the principle that "adequate housing is not affordable, and affordable housing is not adequate".[2] Developers will make enormous fortunes and little or none of this surplus value will be returned to the community.

The question to be posed to the DS community is whether there is space to generate a shift from urban growth to urban development.[3] What is meant in this chapter by "urban development" is "sustainable

Table 1 World population total, total urban, total urban in developing regions, 2014–2050

	2014	*2050*	*Increase*
Total	7,243,784	9,550,944	2,307,160
Total urban	3,880,128	6,338,611	2,418,483
Total urban, developing regions	2,899,725	5,225,111	2,325,386
% urban developing regions over total urban			96.2

Author's elaborations based on projections from "World Urbanization Prospects—The 2014 Revision", Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations

human development in an urban setting". This would imply a total reversal of emphasis. For spatial development specialists, this would mean discouraging urban growth led by the valorization of urban land for profit purposes alone, and focusing on making urban settlements more liveable, socio-economically and environmentally. A broader question then becomes how can specialists in connected areas of DS engage in such issues?

This focus opens up the agenda to a variety of actors and disciplines. One thing would be to design real estate development projects, for which architects and planners working for real estate companies may suffice.[4] Another would be to look at sustainable human development in urban settings as a goal that requires the involvement and collaboration of a vast range of disciplines working together, including sociologists, anthropologists, economists, political scientists, geographers, health specialists and environmentalists.

3 Saving the Planet by Design

Starting from the second perspective, the first interdisciplinary conversation to be taken up as a matter of urgency must be between planners and designers and environmentalists. The common ground rests on the "96% factor": the realization that the cities of the developing world will have to accommodate 2.3 billion more inhabitants within the next 30 years. The challenge is germane to that posed by climate change. We know that if greenhouse gas emissions continue at any rate similar to the present one, the planet is doomed. Hence the need for global efforts to stop this trend, or at least mitigate it significantly and adapt. The urbanization challenge requires the same approach. We know that settling new urban dwellers will require significant amounts of land, resources and energy. We also know that these processes, not to mention the needs of daily urban living, will generate more pollution and waste flows. The question is how to minimize the use of the required resources and their environmental consequences. As we shall see below, the sustainability ratio between a wasteful and a wise approach to urbanization can be in the order of ten to one.

Cities: Saving the Planet by Design was the title of a keynote address I delivered at the main global event of World Cities Day 2015. This title meant to convey two messages. The first one was that nothing short of a deliberate, global plan can deal with the current challenges to the goal

of sustainable development as defined in the "Our Common Future" report.[5] *Saving the planet by design* also meant that a fundamental part of this plan must be the way we restructure existing cities and plan and design future urban settlement of more than 2 billion more people between now and 2050.

That was three years ago. Fortunately, this vision has received influential support since then. First, the New Urban Agenda's preparatory process, as well as the final version (2016), naturally had many references to sustainable urbanization and spatial planning. Advocates of spatial planning can draw comfort from the attention that the New Urban Agenda devotes to their discipline and territorial planning. No less than 35 paragraphs of this document are devoted, or specifically refer to, spatial planning and design.

One (para. 65) is especially pertinent to my argument:

> We commit to facilitate the sustainable management of natural resources in cities and human settlements in a manner that protects and improves the urban ecosystem and environmental services, reduces greenhouse gas emissions and air pollution … through environmentally sound urban and territorial planning, infrastructure, and basic services.

And further (para. 15, c [iii]):

> Re-invigorating long-term and integrated urban and territorial planning and design in order to optimize the spatial dimension of the urban form and to deliver the positive outcomes if urbanization.[6]

However, the New Urban Agenda clearly calls for the involvement of other development scholars and actors. In the final analysis, the Agenda's "clients" are the urban poor: the growing global constituency that find it most difficult to get access to housing, education health, employment, security and to deal with social-group vulnerability—women, children, the elderly, the handicapped. They embody all the reasons we need an inter-sectoral urban development agenda.

Very recently, the International Resource Panel (IRP) of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) issued a report (2018) titled *The Weight of Cities* whose purpose was to illustrate the advantages of an environmentally sustainable approach to urbanization.

Here is a quote from the report (italics added):

> Cities are complex 'sociotechnical systems' that are not easy to change. Policy, lifestyle, political economy and resource use interrelate in complex ways. Yet there are numerous opportunities to change track and *to improve urban resource efficiency by a factor of ten*. This is known as 'urban productivity'. It is the design of cities that constitutes the greatest potential source of savings at zero or negative cost. Well-structured networks of high-density nodes make for denser, better-connected cities designed to be more open to light, sun and wind. In this way cities will improve well-being and social and economic exchanges, while economizing on the square kilometres of asphalt and the concrete, electricity and water that are currently used in the overly long and scattered networks of our sprawling contemporary cities.

Some of the report's findings draw from the research work carried out by UN-HABITAT in its preparatory work for the New Urban Agenda. However, what this particular report shows is the advantages that can be drawn from an environmentally sustainable approach to urbanization:

- higher densities and compact urban forms can reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by a factor of two or more,
- human-scale functionally mixed neighbourhoods could reduce energy consumption by a factor of two or more,
- energy-efficient buildings could reduce energy demand by a factor of two or more,
- efficient systems could achieve a further 20 per cent energy saving and
- behavioural changes could reduce energy demand by a factor of two.
- small street blocks (about 100 m. per side) with buildings aligned on the street side (and visually active facades with ground floor activity) provide flexibility and adaptive change of functions (the super block approach to land division should be avoided and small urban blocks should be further divided into a few dozen urban plots with diversified uses).

Altogether, this would result in a tenfold reduction in energy use, which significantly exceeds the factor 5 target usually referenced. Optimizing densities and reducing sprawl also improves resource sharing (e.g. shared walls and roofs in apartment blocks) and reduces the distances that infrastructure networks need to cover (e.g. shorter pipes), allowing savings in materials and costs associated with service provision.

4 Not Only a Question of Numbers: Non-deliberate Sustainability and the Magic of the Ordinary

Most, if not all, international research on sustainable urbanization places a great, and often exclusive, emphasis on numbers. Yet, the challenges of unsustainable urbanization are many, and linked to other factors. They include rapid and unplanned greenfield development in urban expansion; the intensification of social disparities in urban regeneration through gentrification, a phenomenon I describe as the spatial imprinting of growing socio-economic inequality; the prevalence and attractiveness of unsustainable urbanization models (excessive or insufficient density, high energy consumption, inordinate reliance on private motorized transport); too little attention to urban culture and history; unimaginative or regressive thinking (shrinking role of the public sector, anti-planning thinking, market reliance). Most of these issues go beyond the realm of spatial development specialists.

UN-HABITAT (2015) postulates that to achieve density, a crucial component of sustainability, the minimum population/area ratio required is 150 people per hectare. This standard is re-echoed in the UN Environment report. Another standard postulated in these two studies is a minimum percentage of street space across the total urban area. Guided by these principles alone, we would simply perpetuate the status quo, at least as far as "central city redevelopment" is concerned. Everywhere, and particularly in Asia, the prevailing urban model in central cities is very dense "tower developments" surrounded by wide urban highways and large parking spaces—the very opposite of what a really "sustainable city" should look like.

The issue is that there must be a maximum density threshold as well. Sustainability is not about the maximum feasible density: it is, and must be, an intelligent and harmonious combination of buildings, streets and open space. This is where urban planning and design need to exercise their role. But planners could greatly benefit from knowing more about the beneficial impacts that sustainable urban design can have on social and individual welfare. This is a field open to a wider range of social studies.

Resurgent planning should also re-conquer a feature lost in recent times: the capacity to learn from the city. If we confine ourselves for a moment to recent urban history, we need to recognize that in

most regions of "mature urbanization" (Europe and the Americas) an intriguing phenomenon is the increasing attractiveness of the middle-class portions of the city built between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Taking into account obvious cultural and regional differences, these neighbourhoods are characterized by diverse income levels of residents; local access to essential basic services (transport, education, health) and good quality public spaces; an average building height of four/five floors; a satisfying variety of housing solutions; a dense street network determined by relatively small city blocks, offering opportunities for parking as well as variety in pedestrian circulation; a population/area ratio sufficient to justify local commerce and public transport connections but below those excessive densities that create void spaces and bloated road infrastructure; care for a modicum of decoration and the provision of gardens and playgrounds; a variety of functions including small-scale manufacturing; and the prevalent use of ground floors for retail commerce. All these factors often lead to a pronounced sense of identity and urban values, which, in turn, lead to caring behaviour for the "local commons"—public space.

These features, taken together, tally with the recommendations extracted from the UNEP/IRC report and can be re-interpreted today by what I call "non-deliberate sustainability": sustainable neighbourhoods were being planned, designed and built long before the very existence of the concept. In earlier times individual motorized transport was a choice reserved only for the very affluent. Elevators were still considered an expensive luxury. There was a recognition that space and amenities in housing inevitably varied according to income levels, but that neighbourhoods should also harbour lower income groups, including those who needed affordable rental housing. There was pride in the quality of local public buildings, with special attention to schools of all levels. Almost a century before the advent of the internet much attention was given to public education, including public libraries. Walking medium-long distances was considered normal, and the limited purchasing power of most residents imposed lifestyles based on a natural abhorrence for waste and reliance on simplicity and frugality.

Be this as it may, these old neighbourhoods seem to be preferable even to many "sustainable neighbourhoods" newly created with a strong emphasis on energy efficiency but often ignoring these other features. They embody the qualities celebrated by Jane Jacobs in her seminal work

of the early sixties (Jacobs 1961): vibrancy, variety, social interaction, pride in place—in essence, a "sense of neighbourhood".

Jane Jacobs' book had a tremendous impact on urban planning and design, partly because it was considered a hymn to spontaneity and an indictment of city planning. In reality, there was nothing romantic about her defence of the neighbourhood, which was personified by the very one where she lived in New York's East Village, nor was her indictment aimed at urban planning as the discipline governing the spatial organization of cities. Her main battle was against the prevalent city planning ideology of her time, bent on the destruction of hospitable and improving old neighbourhoods for the sake of "urban renewal", i.e. the exploitation of the embedded profitability of centrally located urban areas. Since then she has become the darling of urban sociologists and the bête-noire of planners. But Jacobs, in fact, is a good example of a healthy convergence between planning and other disciplines. It is both important to understand the value of urban form and of good principles for the construction and management of urban space; conversely, planners and designers have to realize that sustainability is about more than applying physical parameters. Jane Jacobs is a wonderful example of liberating the city from the exclusive intellectual control of its designated experts.

The old urban neighbourhoods we recall above have a quality that we can only call "the magic of the ordinary". The architecture there is plain, bordering on the banal. There are no urban features worthy of special attention. Public spaces are unremarkable: streets, sidewalks, small gardens and playgrounds. Shops are generally modest and small. Parking is often difficult. Buses might not be as punctual as they should be. Yet they are very attractive: residents would not consider moving elsewhere, while many would love finding a place to rent or own there. By contrast, it will be difficult to find anybody equally inspired at the prospect of settling in newer urban locations better equipped with housing comfort, parking space and shopping facilities.

The apparent contradiction between these mysterious qualities bordering on the magical and the ordinariness of these neighbourhoods' features deserves investigation. Empirical research shows that most of their attractiveness derives from the quality of public space experience. In these urban places, leaving one's house does not mean stepping into the void. There is choice: an item can be purchased in a variety of shops. Even a walk to buy a newspaper can be a pleasant experience. Casual encounter is around the corner, as it were—a friend who lives nearby, another one who

happens to visit. The availability of goods and the propensity of residents to go out populates streets and sidewalks during daylight hours; while the existence of coffee bars, pubs, local restaurants and the occasional cinema or theatre keeps public spaces relatively busy after dark as well. This, in turn, is a welcome security factor. Security in turn breeds frequentation. The integration of all of these positive features is self-reinforcing.

The fact that we must search for the "magic of the ordinary" in neighbourhoods planned and designed around a century ago tells us much about how planners and other professionals have lost the art of city building. Fortunately, many examples exist for us to see and from which to learn. In addition, their structural features can be rediscovered and re-interpreted today. All you need, basically, is a simple and clear street layout, a set of rules governing height, density and distance between buildings, and provisions for mixed use, first and foremost business fronts at the ground level.

A more complete set of guidelines can include recommendations for planners, designers, urban managers, economists and social scientists. Here are nine simple rules:

1. Insert the plan into an overall city-wide scheme
2. Start with the obvious: a physical neighbourhood plan based on a clear, dense but varied street grid
3. Equip the plan with building regulations providing for appropriate and varied density (small, medium and high buildings)
4. Locate sufficient and accessible open green spaces
5. Plan for a good social and functional mix by creating incentives for social and cooperative housing
6. Adopt sustainable building materials and construction methods
7. Adopt the general rule of business frontage at street level
8. Plan for informal commerce (e.g. open air markets)
9. Allow fair competition between cars on the one hand and bicycles, buses, trams, wheelchairs and feet on the other.

There is a danger for these suggestions to be viewed as urban nostalgia, unrelated to the scale and pace of contemporary urban growth in the developing world. However, they are sensible and realistic. As argued above, they can guarantee a satisfying balance of liveability and profitability, and a wise use of resources and human scale, not to mention that physical simplicity also allows for self-building and low construction costs.

However, the liveable and sustainable urban forms advocated here will not happen by themselves. They will need to be planned and designed. But they cannot be left to the devices of planners and designers alone. The temptation to succumb to urban gigantism will be irresistible to many of them, attracted as they are by the desire to leave their own large imprint on the city. This is where the contribution of other development experts will be crucial, provided these considerations gain support beyond the confines of urban morphology.

The local planning of a basic street network on the same public lands that are often encroached upon by speculators and future landlords can create a viable alternative to slum formation. But self-help construction alone needs the contribution of a vast array of "non-spatial specialists", first and foremost, those experienced in cooperative and participatory practices. These new planned neighbourhoods can be replicated over vast areas, the same way unplanned urban development has been taking place up to now, with the added advantage of being able to ensure a rational and efficient public transport system for wider city connections. Of course, both good planning and good urban governance are fundamental. In order to realize this humane and sustainable vision of the future city there will be a need for enlightened administrators and a diversity of well educated and trained public cadres. Vision breeds enthusiasm, and enthusiasm generates participation and popular support. But inspiration comes from observation and knowledge, and knowledge from education. This is another important transdisciplinary challenge: how can we promote "urban culture" in our educational systems?

The two global agencies dealing with the built and the natural environment subscribe to this spirit for the "new city". Possibly, these principles will be ignored and we shall continue addressing urbanization challenge by means of monstrous, over-densified urban projects and sparse one-dwelling subdivisions in the extra-urban void. If this happens, we shall have ignored pressing warnings and, equally importantly, neglected the lessons of recent urban history. What we tried to demonstrate is that, however promising the dream of addressing the "96% factor challenge" through humane and sustainable planning and design solutions may be, its realization will need the validation and support of an inter- and intradisciplinary engagement on the part of all DS disciplines committed to the goal of sustainable development.

Notes

1. This may have not seemed surprising in the case of agencies like the Food and Agriculture Organization and its experts and researchers; their mandate was to draw attention to problems of agriculture and rural development in developing countries. And, indeed, not even the most rabid advocates of the advantages of urbanization could have belittled the importance of this mandate.
2. Quoted from the author, unpublished paper.
3. A clarification is required here. Ironically, in contemporary business parlance "urban development" basically means the transformation of urban land, whether greenfield or brownfield, into more valuable and profitable uses. Hence the common, and exclusive, use of the term "developer" to describe the efforts of urban transformation impresarios.
4. On the rare propensity of planners and architects at the apex of their profession to become involved to any serious degree in issues like poverty and the environment see Garau et al. (2005).
5. "[D]evelopment that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987).
6. Much of what follows addresses and expands this particular recommendation: *optimize the spatial dimension of the urban form*.

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