INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON THEORY AND PRACTICE

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GLOBALIZATION AND GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE

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INTRODUCTION

How can we create new models of practice that will help us to build a more just and peaceful global world? In a time of rapid and unpredictable change, how can we prevent communities from fracturing and societies from tearing themselves apart? How should we prioritize economic, social and cultural demands for resources and opportunities? Innovatively, this book explores responses to these questions by adopting practice-oriented and practitioner-first perspective. 'Development' remains a fiercely contested idea and yet development, as a professional endeavour, is dynamic and expanding in scope. Distinctively, this book conceives 'global development' holistically as something constituted by the myriad aspirations, social circumstances, happenings, and daily routines of people grappling with the consequences of globalization in localities across the globe. It does not presume a single model of practice; rather, it envisages interconnected fields of social action evidencing complementary, competing and contradictory priorities. This 'globality' we argue demands a new mindset – new 'mental models' – and a new set of 'global' thinking skills. Globalization is thus employed as the principal connecting idea, and framework for analysis and action, because it is sufficiently broad to capture the cross-sectoral and trans-disciplinary qualities of 'development practice'.

Modern development challenges are increasingly framed in global terms, with globalization cited as the imperative for intervention (Annan, 2000; Ki-moon, 2014). These challenges are multifaceted, multi-level and multi-sector, and hence today's development professional must assimilate to a lengthening list of issues and agendas that span multiple knowledge domains, regardless of organizational role or geographical location. Importantly, development practitioners are also agents of globalization as they are actors

caught in a world of rapid and unpredictable change. As bearers of ideas and values, development workers can influence in subtle ways the private and public norms that govern the strategies and means by which organizational priorities are pursued. As humanitarian advocates, they play a part in defining, through practice and debate, international rules governing aid allocations, armed humanitarian interventions, the treatment of refugees, and the management of liberal globalization. As educators and mediators, they can shift the ways in which development work is perceived and approached to, in terms of 'best' or 'sustainable practice', include the voices of intended beneficiaries. This highly diverse field of social action both generates and diffuses global norms, pertaining to social and economic progress, justice, human rights and the rule of law. As the contributors to this collection make explicit, sensitivity to the normative context of practice is essential if development is to be sustainable, anywhere.

GLOBALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon that encompasses, writes Roland Robertson, the material 'compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' (1992: 8). Indeed, the increasing range and frequency of development interventions reflects as much the globalization of public concern for human welfare (subject to periodic 'compassion fatigue') as it does the proliferation of interventionist state, intergovernmental and non-state development actors. Conceived as a set of dynamic and interrelated processes of social, economic, technological and cultural change, globalization is most commonly associated with instantaneous communication, shrinking travel times to distant destinations, rising trade interconnectedness, footloose capital and global consumer markets. Globalization both accentuates the connections between peoples and states in the developed and the developing world and accelerates the global impact of local events from natural disasters to financial meltdowns. We are living in a world of intensifying 'disjuncture', where structured linear explanations of change are no longer adequate, if they ever were, because this multiplicity renders organized social action more complex, both in terms of the range of motivations, alternatives, and possible aberrant consequences that could arise from a single step (Appadurai, 1990, 1996). Few can escape or evade the implications of these transformations for thought and practice.

Development, in its contemporary sense, is conceived as something that is 'done to' people in need of improvement or benevolent assistance. Conventionally, development work is imagined to occur at the margins of globalization, where peoples are presumed to desire, but have not yet secured, the means to prosper in a market society. Indeed, popular notions of development crystallize around images of assistance rendered to those living in conditions of poverty, or in conflict zones, or to those affected by environmental catastrophe. Outcomes are demonstrably unequal, which leads critical scholars and practitioners to seek to 'empower' the voiceless, by exposing and then challenging existing global power structures. Prescriptions range from the wholesale reordering of global society through a resurgence of popular democratic politics, to the more incremental development of human capacities through education, economic opportunity. Post-colonial and feminist critiques of global order stress the dominance of Western and 'masculinist' discourses in the

upper echelons of global (and still) largely male executive authority (Enloe, 1990, 2007). The unequal and resilient disposition of power and wealth in the global system, however, means that aspirations for universal justice remain largely unrealized.

A global approach enables us to navigate between the many different and distant grid reference points that define this terrain of contested development, from the power centres of the 'global North' to the remote edges of the 'global South'.[1] Global history brings to the foreground the long trajectories of change that shape present dispositions. The institutional and ideological foundations of official development were laid in the aftermath of the Second World War. The United Nations System, which includes the Bretton Woods Institutions, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (after 1994, the World Trade Organization or WTO), offered a blueprint for international order. 'Social progress and better standards of life' were bound conceptually to 'international peace and security' in the wording of the UN Charter, 1945. The authorship of this current phase of development as broad-ranging technical assistance to an 'underdeveloped' and decolonizing world is widely attributed to US President Harry S. Truman (Truman, 1949; Schafer et al., 2009: 5). Yet, Truman's prescriptions were a logical extension of aspirations shared by his predecessor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose last, if 'undelivered' address, stressed the urgent need for a new 'science of human relationships' to put an end to 'the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed' that led to the cataclysm of war (Roosevelt, 1945).

The institutionalization of international development undoubtedly complemented the aims of US post-war foreign policy, which included the geographic and economic expansion in capitalist-oriented as opposed to socialist-style development. While the most senior positions within the United Nations have been held by professional diplomats from Africa, Asia and Latin America, northern dominance persists in the ways in which power is structured and exercised within the UN system, which includes the Bretton Woods Institutions, albeit with some recalibrations in the latter to accommodate the rise of the so-called BRICS economies (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa).

Official interventions are planned with a mixture of social altruism and strategic and commercial self-interest. Foreign aid budgets are, after all, instruments of state foreign policy, justified to taxpayers as being vital to the pursuit of national interests abroad. At the intersections of policy and practice, however, individual agents of official development can accord a higher priority to their social role as opposed to their overarching organizational mission.

The development 'profession' accommodates policy and programme officials from the development 'establishment' – the United Nations, the World Bank and associated regional multilateral banks, and regional institutions such as the European Union, and government officials working for state-level institutions. Development assistance is widely perceived as a central function of governments and intergovernmental agencies. Yet, there are significant limits to the willingness of governments and intergovernmental

[1]These political-geographical terms appear with varying forms of capitalisation, as global North and global South or without any capitalization. The terms *global North* and *global South* are used throughout for consistency to distinguish between industrially developed and affluent societies, largely in Western Europe, North America and industrialized Asia, and developing societies in Asia and Africa.

organizations (IGOs) to fund global welfare gaps, and to listen and learn. The category 'development practitioner' thus necessarily encompasses those who work in and for the myriad non-governmental organizations (NGOs), orientated to development, humanitarian assistance or both, and which continue to grow in number. It is the non-state sector that has historically led the way in providing aid to people that governments choose to ignore or who are afflicted by natural and human-made disasters, especially conflict. Save the Children, Oxfam, CARE, World Vision, are global actors and frequently among the international 'first responders' when a humanitarian crisis erupts. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which is neither a state nor a non-state actor but a hybrid global humanitarian entity, pre-dates the UN by nearly a century in providing humanitarian care to those caught up in the horror of war. Bridging the differences in organizational forms, norms and missions between state and non-state actors often requires careful diplomacy. Managing, or more precisely, negotiating assistance efforts where, in an ideal case, national government bodies, intergovernmental agencies and local communities seek a broad collaborative approach, is a complex task requiring sophisticated professional skills.

New generations of development workers grew up in newly independent countries created through successive waves of decolonization in Asia and Africa. Their professional training was informed by developmentalist ideas received through domestic or international educational experiences in an era where education and technical assistance formed the substance of human development programming. Working with international aid agencies, or starting local NGOs in cooperation with developed country donors, partners and benefactors, global South NGOs today vastly outnumber their Northern counterparts. The microfinance pioneer, the Grameen Bank, is one of the better-known southern development transnationals that applies principles of market finance to enable the disadvantaged. This expansive pattern of inclusion extends, at the micro-level, to the involvement of local community leaders recruited by the development establishment to help translate social development policies and multiply social gains from welfare spending. Movements for social and political change draw upon the skills, knowledge and networks of these new classes of professionals and leaders to bridge social divisions and mobilize campaigns to claim political rights from oppressive authoritarian regimes.

Development defined as justice sits uncomfortably alongside the security and commercial imperatives of major international donors of development assistance, the majority of which are nation-states. Discomfort is most acute where humanitarian values are overridden in the name of security or economic development cast as 'progress'. But the development profession does not escape criticism for self-interestedness and error. Aid workers can quickly find their presumed 'neutrality' challenged, by shifting political alliances or moving battlefronts in countries wracked by poly-sided armed conflicts. In working towards the social inclusion of culturally diverse peoples, practitioners can, unwittingly perhaps, find themselves complicit in policies of cultural assimilation. Then there are the more egregious exhibitions of wealth and privilege by the affluent international development professional, a bright shining new four-wheel drive for example, emblazoned with corporate logos, symbols of cultural and economic distance and a trigger for sometimes violent resentment among those resentful of their own relative and

immediately apparent deprivation (Kapoor, 2013). Manifestly, development practice, at the point of contact between practitioner and intended beneficiary at least, is not simply a matter of politically neutral and routine programme or project implementation.

DEVELOPMENT AS PRACTICE

Development interventions encourage cooperation or provoke conflict depending upon the purposes of development agents, their attitudes towards intended beneficiaries, and the responses of those who either accept or reject external development agendas. Unravelling the tangled imperatives that guide policy, planning and the implementation of development projects and programmes is thus vitally important if there is to be meaningful dialogue between different communities of practice within the broad development field. Arthur T. Denzau and Douglass C. North's (1994) seminal piece on 'shared mental models' (SMM) offers a conceptual framework of analysis to help us assess different and often divergent conceptions of development practice. Drawing on their heuristic, we argue that development as social action is conceived and shaped by a person's models of social reality and the shared mental models of practitioners. This approach paves the way for critiques of linear notions of change that are framed by grand narratives of social progress. According to Denzau and North (ibid.: 4), mental models are shared cognitive frameworks (or beliefs systems) that groups of individuals possess and use to interpret the political and economic environment in which they operate. They also involve prescriptive lenses as to how that environment should be structured.

Not all mental models, however, are similarly accurate or equally valid. The behaviours of development actors are directly informed by what they 'believe' their interests to be in the first place. In other words, 'rational actions' stem from actors' beliefs about what will maximize their gains and minimize their losses. Denzau and North argue that 'the performance of economies is a consequence of the incentive structures put into place; that is, the institutional framework of the polity and economy' (ibid.: 27). 'Practice' as praxis is therefore interwoven with the subjectivities of practitioners which form and reform in varying degrees of tension with institutionalized frameworks of order and control.

Complexity confronts the development practitioner at many levels but many are ill equipped to decode and manage competing demands and conflicting points of view, or to reflect upon their possible misconceptions. Current development mental models are shaped and reinforced within narrowly developed organizational cultures. Consequently, the mental models many development actors hold may prevent them from seeing problems and issues as shared concerns with others outside their own organizations. Hence, cooperation is evaded or ignored because it does not serve their expected utility to seek-out cooperative solutions. Indeed, the various agencies and actors participating in the delivery of development-based aid services (whether they are government sponsors or NGOs), or the independent consultants who underwrite the grant proposals, appear to work in discrete silos in isolation of one another, proceeding on the basis of their own discrete interests and subjective interpretations of the world. That said, if organizations are to cooperate and learn to work in partnership with one another, it is essential that they adopt shared interpretations regarding common problems and challenges.

Can developmental institutions and practitioners learn from their mistakes? Only if learning is embedded as part of the skills set of any development practitioner, as part of the values and practice of every development organization and as part of the implementation and evaluation of every development programme or project. Denzau and North (ibid.) and others explore how shared learning resulting from communication over shared experiences can lead individuals to adopt shared interpretations of what happened and what should happen next. Indeed, research confirms that different players engaging in a common game, who may start out possessing different interpretations of the interactions they are facing, can end up developing similar interpretations as they continue to play and interact with one another for extended periods of time. Denzau and North assert, therefore, that ideas or cognitive constructions matter significantly in building cooperation through shared understandings and learning. Surely, then, learning through collaborative engagement is the ideal towards which all practice should converge.

This brings us inevitably to the consideration of differences between development cultures and between peoples from different cultural groups. Culture is, in simple terms, the accumulated and embodied knowledge of a social group, upon which social norms are based and adhered to in the interests of order, and which define group identity. Culture can be overt or it can be hidden, but countless studies of cultural practices suggest that cultures exist, however much they are socially constructed. Culture was once viewed as an obstacle to liberal modernization, something to be diluted and then drained away by the acquisitive individualism of competitive and merit-driven market economies (Rostow, 1971). However much constructed or imposed by hegemonic social groups, culture and identity matter in practice. The culture of a social group is as much a site of negotiation between identities, values and social practices as it is a space for the assertion of a singular community identity (James et al., 2012). Development practitioners will therefore tread warily in intercultural contexts where a hegemonic national culture presses down upon local communities that subscribe to a different set of values and practices.

Cooperation in the social development space therefore requires some accommodation between differing mental models, or imagined social realities. Consideration thus needs to be given to the intellectual thrust of professional practice theory which points in the direction of more participatory and inclusive modes of leadership. Critical reflection, openness to new ideas, creativity and above all the ability to listen and respond to evidence, are essential leadership and managerial qualities without which organizations struggle to learn. Participatory development approaches stress the need for all participants, local communities and international institutions, to participate in learning. To date, most participatory approaches have focused on technique rather than on the underlying reason for participation, namely the need for the traditional development establishment to learn and transform itself. While there is evidence of reflexive capacity in international bureaucracies, there is also much resistance to time-consuming deep engagement.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

Global development practice is, then, a synthesis of theoretical ideas about globalization and global change with the study of practicalities that foreground relationships between

theory, place, policy and social action. Written from a practitioner standpoint, this book presents a roadmap for exploring the interconnections between different domains of knowledge and practice maps across the fields of public policy, economics and finance, governance, security, law, environment, gender, corporate responsibility, ethics and education and learning. Chapter 2 introduces readers to key actors and to innovations in approaches to development and provides an introductory survey of the structures, policies and roles of development actors with explanations of the language or terminology of official development polices. Arthur T. Denzau and Ravi K. Roy revisit the concept of mental models, tracing its influence on public policy over the past two decades.

Part I, 'Models of Governance', examines key theories and approaches that shape practices of governing, with examples from Vanuatu, Thailand, the Philippines and Timor Leste. Richard P. Appelbaum maps out the main economic mental models that have influenced development planning and contemporary development policy. Paul Battersby, Thunradee Taveekan and Gregoire Nimbtik review the course of democratization and the status of governance through the lens of social and political change in Vanuatu and Thailand. Cirila P. Limpangog, Lesley J. Pruitt and Julian C.H. Lee examine interrelationships between gender issues, socio-economic status, economic disadvantage, and patterns of socio-economic development, focusing on the role of women in particular in multiplying the benefits of development assistance. Damian Grenfell reviews the meaning and relevance of human-centred global security, 'human security' in discourses of development.

Part II, 'Models of Justice', moves discussion of holistic and context-sensitive development into the normative realms of ethics and law. The place of law in international development has tended to be seen primarily as a matter of human rights and humanitarian protection. Paul Battersby and Rebekah Farrell explain how and why many spheres of law are now directly relevant to development, from humanitarian and war law to trade agreements, corruption, transnational organized crime and international telecommunications. Vandra Harris draws attention to the invidious choices that often confront development workers in the field – particularly in conflict zones – providing ethical frameworks to help clarify and overcome stark moral choices. Desmond Cahill illustrates the connections between organized religion and global development practice, highlighting the place of faith-based entities in secular development agendas. Robert Klitgaard exposes the root causes of corruption and those patterns of social behaviour that have become synonymous with corruption as a transnational crime.

Part III, 'New Models of Practice', returns attention to development as constituted by differing models of action. Anil Hira assesses the meaning of sustainability as idealized within the global environmental movement, and as alternatively conceived by states and private corporations as 'economically responsible' socio-economic development. Jose Roberto Guevara, Kent Goldsworthy and Alexander Snow, building on the ideas of Paulo Freire and Robert Chambers, exemplify the embedded learning process, which they argue should be at the centre of all development practice. Learning for sustainability is a challenge that reaches beyond the development establishment and into the global social, political and economic spheres.

Sustainability, responsibility and effectiveness are today's development buzzwords but what do they mean in practice? As Louise Coventry details in her study of organizational

change in Cambodian NGOs, sustainable practice in developing country contexts presents many challenges that are best addressed through cooperative frameworks of practical engagement. Social change can be frustratingly but also necessarily slow – if speed is to be measured according to Western principles of time and efficiency that is! The private sector has been excluded from much of the discourse on international development because it is widely seen to be part of the problem rather than part of the solution. In development studies, the dominant image of the private sector is that of a foreign-owned multinational corporation exploiting local populations for profits that are expropriated and repatriated to the global North. Yet, the global private sector contributes much to development and is a source of valuable technical and financial resources. Marianne D. Sison assesses the roles of corporate actors in communicating development priorities including the use of new communications technologies (ICT) to mobilize local social action for sustainable development. The traditional or conventional subjects of development assistance, being peoples at the margins of globalization, are learning how to make their voices heard. Capital and technology are opening up new avenues for wealth accumulation. As Supriya Singh explains, development finance means much more than overseas development assistance (ODA) or intergovernmental programme funding. Mobile technologies have enabled some at the 'bottom of the pyramid' to harness the power of 'mobile money' to manage micro-financial flows.

There are many approaches to sustainability. Viewing climate change through the lens of human rights law, Scott Leckie explains how legal innovation can address the far-reaching consequences of climate change. If law is more malleable and effective that hard-headed political realists permit, then what other steps can we take to shake established verities? How can health, for example, be redefined and health professionals prepared for a world of social, cultural and biological complexity? Debbi Long, Paul Komesaroff and Elizabeth Kath examine the ethical and cultural dimensions to public health in international development, reminding us that there is no single or universal mental model of *good* health. In the concluding section, Jonathan Makuwira assesses new directions in international development thought and practice since the beginning of the 'post-development turn' during the 1980s and 1990s. Writing from an African perspective on the evolution and the future of development theory, Makuwira questions the UN's post-2015 agenda and asks if global institutions have learned anything at all about the need to build global frameworks of development and governance from the ground up.

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