

Development
Studies: Past,
Present &
Problematic Future

Victor T. King

Intransitive &
Transitive
Development

Oscar Salemink

Design Thinking
Approach to
MA Internships

Carl Middleton

The (im)possibility
of Korea's
Development
Studies

Soyeun Kim

Urbanisation,
Regionalization &
Climate Change in
the Mekong

Richard Friend



Rethinking
Development Studies
in Southeast Asia:
State of Knowledge and Challenges

Rethinking Development Studies in Southeast Asia: State of Knowledge and Challenges

Regional Center for Social Sciences and Sustainable Development
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Foreword

In March 2015, the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University in collaboration with the Center for ASEAN Studies of Chiang Mai University (CAS) hosted “Rethinking Development Studies in Southeast Asia: State of Knowledge and Challenges.” The aim of the conference was to reflect on the current state of development studies within and outside of Southeast Asia. The region has undergone great transformations in recent years, and just ahead of the implementation of the AEC (ASEAN Economic Community), it makes sense to reflect on the current state of knowledge and possible challenges in the field. The AEC will most likely add to the already incredible speed of transformation across the region. And while each state might face very particular challenges for development, many of these challenges transcend national borders: climate change, river management, smog, human rights, human trafficking, environmental issues, displacement, land grabbing and many others.

Hence, RCSD is very pleased that so many scholars found their way to the conference venue in Chiang Mai. The conference hosted a diverse field of scholars which provided for lively discussions on the state of knowledge and challenges in development studies. One aim of the conference was to make these

discussions available to a broader audience of scholars, students and practitioners. To do so, we planned to wrap-up the findings of the various presentations and papers in a publication. We are very happy that we can finally provide you with this publication.

The publication is divided into two sections. The first section consists of an assembly of articles: Victor King gives an overview on the development of development studies while Oscar Salemink reflects upon the current state of development studies. Richard Friend specifies the challenges of development studies in Southeast Asia, while Kim Soyeun offers great insights into South Korean approaches to development. Finally, Carl Middleton’s paper offers various ideas on how development studies can be better linked with development practice, hence closing the circle from reflection to outlook. The second section presents the various programs that attended the conference and discusses the various themes that developed through the conference. RCSD would like to thank all presenters, contributors, participants and staff that helped make the conference a success. We are looking forward to meet you all again and hope that the conference helped to establish long-lasting ties for cooperation.

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Introduction

Introduction to the Report

Southeast Asia has experienced a vast amount of changes in the last twenty years. Key components to these changes are diverse forms of integration: amongst them globalization and regionalization processes. Processes of regionalisation have gained more attention in recent years as ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) has worked towards the introduction of the AEC (ASEAN Economic Community). Questions that arise from these changes are, amongst others: 1. What kind of research agenda is needed to address these changes? 2. How are these changes reflected in development studies so far? 3. Which new challenges/issues arise from these processes of integration? This publication aims to present answers that had been given and new questions that had been raised at the conference “Rethinking Development Studies in Southeast Asia: State of Knowledge and Challenges”. Despite the growing integration, especially in economic terms, Southeast Asia remains very diverse culturally, politically and socially.

This diversity results in differing demands on development studies. Conceptual frameworks and methodologies need to address specificities as

well as cross-contextual commonalities. Therefore, the conference followed two main objectives:

1. To reflect upon our experiences with the involvement in Development Studies, e.g. what did we learn from our experiences and can we compare them across contexts? Can we facilitate exchange, and how can we collaborate in the future?
2. To identify new challenges and emerging issues in face of the ASEAN and the changing context of regional integration.

The following paragraphs will give an overview on how the publication is structured, before turning to the findings of the conference.

Overview of the Structure of the Paper

The conference “Rethinking Development Studies in Southeast Asia: State of Knowledge and Challenges” allowed various programs on development studies from all over Southeast Asia and beyond to represent their respective programs and ideas on development studies in Southeast Asia and what could be done to further increase the body of knowledge. The result was a collection of inspiring papers on

development studies and its diversity in Southeast Asia. While this diversity can be a challenge, it also offers great opportunities for exciting new research and the development of new ideas.

The following paragraphs will give an overview of the structure of this work. This piece wants to accomplish two things. First, it will give an overview of the diverse programs presented at the conference. Second, it will attempt a synthesis of the knowledge and ideas presented and how these could further the state of knowledge of development studies in Southeast Asia. The first paragraphs will outline the theoretical debates presented at the conference. These debates form a framework that links the more specific issues of development presented. Having accomplished that, it will give a short overview of the programs represented at the conference, allowing the interested reader to gain a quick overview of the diversity of development studies in Southeast Asia. This procedure will allow the identification of possible areas for cooperation and improvement to enhance the state of knowledge of development studies in Southeast Asia.

Theoretical Debates

The conference offered an opportunity for various speakers to discuss development studies in Southeast Asia. It is interesting to note that one can identify a few distinct theoretical angles to development studies. While some highlighted that development studies needs a stronger theoretical background, others stressed the importance of empirical studies. Others highlighted the importance of the historical, while yet others did so with spatial approaches. Some presenters focused on secular versus religious approaches to development. These dichotomies, however, should not be

and have not been understood in absolute terms. Far more they represent different corner stones of the same building of development studies. No approach amounts to anything without the other. The conference has been very constructive in this manner, bringing together various angles and ideas on development studies.

History and Development

Embong (2015) and King (2015) both give good overviews of the history of development. Both present a timeline of the development of development studies. Embong (2015) argues that the emergence and development of development studies following the events of World War II can be divided into separate historical waves. He argues that approaches to development studies diversified extremely over time. While he acknowledges that disciplinary diversity is still needed, he also argues that it is quite difficult to link the diverse approaches again. Additionally, he argues that most of the approaches to development studies are based on Anglo-Saxon models. Scandinavian models or distinct SEA models are missing. Also, according to Embong, approaches often tend to be ahistorical. He therefore argues for more historical and comparative models, combining dimensions of space and time. King (2015), on the other hand, stresses that it is important that empirical and conceptual studies complement each other. Furthermore, he states that the range of issues covered by development studies is far from being fixed, and is ever evolving.

Space and Development

In this regard, Kim (2015) offers interesting insights into development studies in South-Korea. She explores the two distinct meanings of development through the



Martin Saxer

socio-linguistic context of its Korean translation: first *bahl-jeon* as an immediate and spontaneous process, and second, *gae-bal* as intentional intervention. Further, Kim problematizes the self-exoticization of Korean development researchers. This group of scholars heralds the ‘Korean’ or ‘Asian model’ as an alternative to the ‘Western’ way, while homogenising diverse and heterogeneous development approaches in both the East and West. She therefore highlights the importance of critical stances towards development and local knowledge into their work.

Cohen’s paper (2015) fits very well between these two papers. He contrasts Western and Chinese development models in the China-Lao borderlands. While the Chinese emphasize a business-cooperation model, Western agencies, says Cohen, emphasize local, small-scale responses. The question that Cohen wants to see answered is the response of local communities to these development approaches, highlighting the important question of power relations in development.

Development Studies and Theory

Korff (2015b) addresses this issue, pointing to sociological perspectives of development. He argues that (under-) development studies are based on ideas of modernity, meaning that issues of (under-) development are identified as being “manageable” and that through rational planning and calculated interventions anticipated effects are thought to be achievable (e.g. opium-eradication in the Lao-Chinese borderland with either Western or Chinese models of development). This perspective needs to be addressed critically as views of what is a “positive outcome” are highly embedded in power relations. Hence, the “de-politicization of development needs to be problematized,” according to Korff (2015b). He argues for a general theoretical view of development, a critical assessment of the analysis of empirical development and its methods and methodologies, as well as a discussion and creation of alternative developments. Jakkrit (2015) supports this claim in his critique of SEA



(Thai) development studies. According to him, SEA and Thai development studies are often too empirical and fail to embed their findings into a theoretical debate and a conceptual framework.

Development Studies and Empiricism

While Korff and Jakkrit argue for better implementation of theoretical debate into development studies in SEA, Zawawi and Chusak highlight the importance of continuous empirical work. Zawawi (2015b) argues that discourses of development implement a “regime of truth” which needs to be contested and de-constructed. To do so, he proposes awareness of the need to link empirical ethnographic fieldwork with “development from below.” It is important that these lived experiences find recognition in the discourses of development defined by authority. These ideas are shared by Chusak (2015) who identifies RCSD’s position in the field of development studies as having developed

from a perspective of “environment and development” to one that includes ideas of political ecology. This shift helped to link local knowledge and ideas of ethnicity, gender and health with a broader development discourse. This, however, should not be seen as opposed to an increase of theoretical discussion. It is more of an argument of linking local knowledge with theoretical debate, overcoming or at least lessening the gap of power, as described in Korff’s paper.

Inclusion and Exclusion

Inclusion and exclusion are important issues for development studies. Sciortino (2015) argues that throughout ASEAN, while promoting inclusive growth, inequality is still widespread and it is especially women who work in low-skill and low-pay jobs. Hence, says Sciortino, inclusive growth is a major challenge for development studies in Southeast Asia, amongst others: the protection of

vulnerable groups, preservation of natural resources, demographic and health transition and a pluralist ASEAN identity. Surichai (2015) on the other hand argues that development and development studies have become problematic, as they have often been co-opted. Development reports often present a much rosier situation than is experienced on the ground. Academic institutions could provide new knowledge systems to address this issue. Aung Myint (2015) shows how academia could address this issue: BA and MA students could undertake internships within NGOs during their studies. This would allow for knowledge sharing and bottom-up participation in the creation of academic knowledge. Hirsch (2015) argues as well that development discourses today mainly focus on issues of “inclusion” and “exclusion”. However, he argues that despite the importance of urbanization for development in SEA and its related issues of “inclusion” and “exclusion,” “rural studies” still play an important role; especially considering issues of land-grabbing. Nonetheless, he does not make a case for a split of “urban” versus “rural” studies. Rather, he argues, as does Embong, for a historical reflection on development thinking.

Religious and Secular Approaches to Development

Religion is another important angle to look at in development, following Fountain (2015) and Salemink (2015). Religion remains too often a blind spot, says Fountain. He argues that conceptions of religion often remain ahistorical and are not put into context. Furthermore, religion and humanitarianism are not separate realms, but more often than not are intertwined. Hence, the relationship

between religion and development is highly complex and fluid. Salemink supports this argument and criticizes that religion is often seen as an obstacle to secular approaches of development. He further argues that secular approaches in development can be successfully studied in religious terms. The “Myth of Modernity,” says Salemink, follows the logic of biblical messianism. Development, therefore, can be understood as a secular conversion to capitalism. This practice fails to address historical and structural causes for poverty. Hence, it is necessary to critically assess the impacts of development projects. Conceptual tools from the study of religion can support such critical assessments, according to Salemink.

The theoretical debates showcase some of the diversity of the field and the discussions at the conference. As outlined in the introductory paragraph, the arguments of the presenters do not represent distinctive and separate entities of development studies. Rather, they should be considered different corner-stones of the same, imagined house of development studies. Historical, spatial and cultural debates need to complement each other to improve our understanding of development studies. Therefore, empirical studies are needed to highlight the distinctiveness as well as similarities of spatial and historical events. However, the findings of these empirical studies need to be linked to the conceptual body of the current academic debate. Only in this way can current development discourses be scrutinized.

Development Studies:

the Deep Past, the Complex Present
and the Problematical Future

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Introduction

The main focus of the paper is to argue that there is very little in current Development Studies (DS) thinking that is new and that the major ideas and concerns were formulated and elaborated a long time ago from the mid-seventeenth century (the European Enlightenment) onwards. They emerged in the context of the development of capitalism in the West and progressive economic, political and socio-cultural globalization. However, development thinking and practice at the present time have to address a much more complex world situation as globalization through the communications revolution has gathered in pace and we have entered into a period of consumerism, uncertainty, risk and fluid social forms. If anything the future looks increasingly problematical with regard to development interventions, responses and consequences in an increasingly unequal world and mobile or 'liquid' world.

What is Development Studies?

This field of study and practice is multi-disciplinary and seeks to understand social, economic, political, technological and cultural aspects of societal change, particularly in developing countries. It is characterized

by normative and policy concerns. It aims to contribute to possible solutions to societal problems that development or its absence may produce. In pursuit of these objectives, DS is context sensitive. It examines societal change within a historical, comparative and global perspective. It aims to take into account the specificity of different societies in terms of such dimensions as history, ecology, society, culture, and technology, and how these differences both can and often should translate into varied 'local' responses to regional or global processes, and varied strategies of development and methods. Development studies is a changing and evolving field of study, at present covering topics and concerns such as poverty, environmental and socio-political sustainability; women's empowerment and gender equity, globalization, sustainable development and human development. The range of topics it covers is, however, by no means fixed as witnessed by the evolution of the focus of the field of study over the last decades, and the emergence of new topics such as development issues and poverty in the industrialized countries. The main disciplines and subjects comprise anthropology, cultural studies, natural sciences and engineering, agriculture, ecology, economics, history, geography, management/

planning/administration, politics, and sociology.

Partnership

Education in DS in the North is based on a genuine partnership with sister organizations in the South; enhanced complementarity, building on respective comparative advantages, and increasing North-South multi-locational delivery of teaching programmes which pave the way for a movement from northern supply-driven DS education to more demand-driven cooperation in education between the North and the South.

However, if we key in ‘Development Studies in Southeast Asian Universities’ in Google, then we could be forgiven for assuming that this is still a primarily Western preoccupation. On the first two web pages there are entries for the Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia (CDSSEA) advertising scholarships for Masters programmes in Thailand (Chulalongkorn, Chiang Mai and AIT) and a separate entry for Chulalongkorn. But overwhelmingly the programmes are Western-based (for example, SOAS [London], Passau, Freiburg, Vienna, Leiden, Ohio, Cornell, Michigan, Washington).

Issues

(1) What precisely do we need to rethink in DS? There have also been moments of crisis (the impasse in the 1980s for example) or a concatenation of factors which urged the need to rethink in a more radical fashion. Are we at that stage now? I don’t think so; DS has a momentum which will be sustained for the foreseeable future, but it does not follow that it has a rationale to underpin this momentum. There are

no specific methodological issues to think through; the methodologies are well-established but I would stress the importance of conceptually informed empirical work on particular projects, obviously within the context of larger and wider processes of change at the national, sub-regional and global level.

(2) What is the relationship and balance to be struck between theory and practice? I posed this question some 15 years ago in a consideration of the position and role of what was referred to as ‘applied studies’ within anthropology (practical, relevant, committed, policy, action, advocacy, administrative, management); in more specific terms it also embraces what is referred to as community development and brokerage. I think I would now rephrase my involvement in those debates away from ‘theory’, grand narratives or paradigms as such to a focus on lower level concepts. My argument still stands that it is unwise to separate applied studies or practical studies (involving some notion of the professional value or utility of academic research; case-oriented,

project-oriented, issue-oriented and policy-oriented) from those which involve conceptual issues. The two dimensions cannot be separated and empirical work is not possible without a conceptual frame of reference and knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of particular

methodologies. And we are well past the days of the grand theories so that ideas, approaches and perspectives need some kind of anchor in on-the-ground issues. I return to my middle range of ‘jobbing’: as well as the need to dissect and analyze the business, bureaucratization, policy and practice of development.

A UK Development Studies Association report (‘Cracking Collaboration’, 2009) examined the value-addition of DS; it focused especially on development work carried out with users of academic research. Very few cases of collaboration were driven by NGOs/CBOs setting the research agenda or co-producing knowledge. The report proposed the deepening of collaboration with NGOs to improve contextual evidence and knowledge to inform policy and practice. Local knowledge was needed to be able to adapt programmes to local dynamics, for increasing our attention to general skills and to develop tools for use in problem analysis, objectives analysis, concept mapping, participatory methods and evaluation, and broad-based assessment methodologies. A gradual shift from ad hoc case study work towards more comparative and integrative approaches is occurring. DS researchers must also be able to communicate the results of their analyses to a variety of audiences ranging from professional (research-oriented as well as policy-oriented) to non-professional stakeholders, and other users.

Global discourses were being conducted on partnerships and programmes, but local associations and communities were not being sufficiently drawn into these. National programmes have often been poorly implemented because of lack of a local input. There needs to be more intensive cooperation between local researchers at colleges and universities and local people. Instead often the bureaucracies of

development and development aid are preoccupied with making global partnerships more efficient and sustainable; making aid more effective; taking on risk management; improving public finance management; improving procurement systems; improving the predictability of aid flows and monitoring the results to report to donors’ parliaments.

(3) Is there an identifiable dominant paradigm in DS that, in spite of criticism, has managed to retain a degree of authority and support?

We are all familiar with the major stages of conceptual development and the identification of issues since the emergence of DS or rather of the concerns about development since the second half of the 1940s: we are covering over 60 years of academic and policy endeavour during which time the form and content of global interrelationships have changed considerably and therefore there has been a need to respond to these changes, but also to address issues which hitherto had not been identified as significant (gender, environment, security, for example).

The Historical Context

(i) We can establish a sequence for the post-war period, but I would go back to at least the mid-seventeenth century to the beginning of the European Enlightenment if we want to really rethink what we are doing now. I argue that many of our main ideas about human behaviours, structures, nations and wealth can be traced back to the Enlightenment during which moral, social and political philosophers debated and developed their thinking about how the human condition and well-being could be improved. But there were marked differences in thinking among them just as there are today; it was not a unified movement.

“We are well past the days of the grand theories. Ideas need anchoring in on-the-ground issues”

This in itself would demand an even more complex and extended sequence but it would start around 1650 with the beginning of the Age of Reason: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Isaac Newton, Adam Smith, David Hume, David Ricardo (the emergence of philosophies to address and explain the human condition, and for thinkers like Adam Smith, to contemplate how that condition can be improved in the context of the relationship between the nation-state and the economy [the birth of political economy]); and in France Charles-Louis Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire (Francois-Marie Arouet), Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

(ii) We must also take into account another stream of work which was in part a reaction to the problems engendered by industrialization, but it nostalgically looked back to preserve or re-create a lost, ideal, imagined society. Plato's work, but more politically Thomas More's early seventeenth century treatise on Utopia (this coincided with the increasing encounters with other cultures after the first hundred years of European exploration and conquest of other territories and populations). It was formulated in a more social science frame in the work of Charles Fourier and Robert Owen in the early nineteenth century and then in a wide-ranging cultural frame in William Morris's later nineteenth-century endeavours. One can see in this the seeds of later reactions to capitalism, imperialism and economic growth models.

The central preoccupations of what has come to be called DS can therefore be traced back to 150 years of Enlightenment debates and deliberations concerning the need to transform traditions and the established political order; to apply science and technology, rationality, reason in the pursuit of improvement and wealth; how

wealth (and economic growth) can be achieved; to understand the relationship between politics and economics; and the possibilities of a global community and the notion of a shared humanity in the Age of Exploration.



Joseph Wright

(iii) However, the modern study of socio-economic/cultural/political change was rooted in the historical study of transformations in the West following the Enlightenment in the work of Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Fredrik Engels, Max Weber and the nineteenth-century evolutionists (Auguste Comte, Lewis Henry Morgan, Herbert Spencer, Edward Burnett Tylor); another central concern was the limits of growth (Thomas Malthus); it was glossed by other terms: social change (the practices and processes of change), economic change/growth, capitalist development, evolution. Out of this concern emerged sociology, anthropology and political economy.

Weber's concern with the role of religion/culture, ethical considerations and economic motivations was part of this set of enquiries (and his work on the religions of India, China and Islam); Marx's concerns with class struggle, power, inequality,



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accumulation and commoditization went to the heart of the relationship between economic change, social structures and ideas (and his work on India, China and the Asiatic Mode of Production/Oriental despotism). And then in the early twentieth century came the Marxist-inspired work of Vladimir Lenin, Rudolf Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg and Nicolai Bukharin on imperialism, which extended the reach of European scholarly concerns to other parts of the world. This for me was crucial in the emergence of DS in the post-war period with the underlying notion of the capitalist exploitation of the dependent and dominated periphery and issues of unequal exchange.

But for Southeast Asia there were other crucial developments in the first part of the twentieth century which fed into the expanding European study of the encounter between the West and the East in the work of John Furnivall on Burma and Indonesia, Bernard Schrieker and his sociological work on Indonesia, Julius Boeke on dual economies, and Jacob van

Leur on Asian trade and socio-political organizations. These built on Weberian traditions, but in Furnivall's case there was certainly a more political economy approach. They were also more structuralist in orientation.

Therefore, sociology was deeply involved in the issues and processes which came to be embraced by the multidisciplinary field of DS.

The Post-war Period

(i) Modernization theory (1950s-60s) (the regnant paradigm) was characterized by the following elements: evolution from tradition and backwardness; stages, growth poles (GNP per capita); enrichment; simple to complex; diffusion and trickle-down with international aid, emulation (West the capitalist blueprint/template/model), the replacement of one set of characteristics, behaviours, structures and processes with another set which was deemed to be more desirable (in terms of flexibility, mobility, risk-taking, innovation, entrepreneurship); nation-state

the unit of analysis; state building and state-centred focus (though signs of globalization); it required state action of some kind.

The paradigm was fully explicable in terms of what was happening in the changing world order: the post-war reconstruction of Europe, decolonization, the Cold War (a bi-polar world), the reconfiguration of international relations after the end of colonialism; the emergence of development economics, the concept of security being dependent on international development cooperation, aid and credit/investment; based on an emerging world order dominated by the US (UN/IMF, WB/GATT, Bretton-Woods and fixed exchange rates underwritten by the dollar against the gold standard); 1960-1970: 'the First Development Decade'; development as security; other donors moving in UN/WB/Sweden; aid becoming uncoordinated.

(ii) Underdevelopment and dependency (1960s-70s): pre-dated by structuralist economics (Hans Singer and Raul Prebisch: state action, lessen dependency on the West [ISI] and trade amongst developing countries); an unequal, global, world system (rather than the nation-state as a focus) with winners and losers (core, semi-periphery and periphery); unequal exchange; external structures (global integration) rather than internal constraints prevent successful independent development; state socialism; limits to growth; in practical and policy terms, underdevelopment seems to be much less of a paradigm; it challenged but did not replace modernization theory. It had to make some practical contribution; it did not, nor could it address successes in the so-called periphery. It was a reactive rather than a regnant paradigm.

In the mid-1970s, the ILO promoted basic

needs, focusing on absolute poverty and the poverty line.

(iii) Neoliberalism (late 1970s-80s): the modernization paradigm adjusted to a more disparate, practical approach; the defining feature the free market, the retreat of the state (with privatization, fiscal austerity, structural adjustment, trade liberalization and deregulation). Further adjustments to neoliberalism in response to criticisms from more dependency-oriented perspectives (1980s): alternative development; grassroots, basic-needs, people-centred, participatory approaches, indigenous knowledge; localization; gender. 1985 paper by David Booth identified an impasse; failure of development, continuing inequalities; globalization and the problem of the nation-state as a unit of analysis; only grand narratives and disillusion with them.

(iv) Alternative/sustainable development and post-development (late 1980s-1990s): appropriateness of Western development questioned; need local solutions, based on local cultures and ways of doing and knowing; solidarity, reciprocity; question arbitrary claims based on ethnocentric Western assumptions and perspectives; environment, eco-concerns. Sustainability inevitably focused increasingly on environmental issues in the later 1980s: the Brundtland Report, Our Common Future, 1987, the 1992 Rio Conference, Agenda 21; Kyoto Protocol 1997 for reduction of greenhouse gas emissions;

(v) Globalization (1990s-) (it is very difficult to periodize it because there are so many dimensions and 'theories': world-systems [Immanuel Wallerstein]; global capitalism and capitalist evolution [Leslie Sklair]; space-place compression/post-late-modernity [Anthony Giddens, David Harvey]; global culture/planetary

consciousness [Arjun Appadurai, Roland Robertson]; network society, information capitalism [Manuel Castells] (it links up various processes around the world: growth of China and India; scramble for resources in Africa; debates on climate change; concerns about globalization from socially conscious movements; the global justice movement; concerns about the effects of neoliberal globalization (poverty, inequalities, unemployment, environment; after over 60 years of DS there is still a recognition of inequalities and various solutions offered to address them); Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change; World Summit on Sustainable Development; World Social Forums; transnational action/classes and increasing economic interdependence; the effects of global communication technology; the increase in sub-regionalism; micro-level action; poverty and security;

(vi) Did/do any of these approaches handle complexity?: the differentiation of what was once called the Third World, the break-up of Bretton-Woods and deregulation: Human Development Report (1992); enormous inequalities; emergence of a Fourth World (Africa, marginalized rural districts and urban ghettos in Asia and Latin America; urban ghettos in the North; Complications of the introduction to the world of development and aid of new players: Brazil, Russia, China and India; and also Mexico, Turkey and even Indonesia; and that development is possible but may take different courses and be achieved differently?

We should not be seeking a paradigm shift, if that is indeed possible. No perspectives seem to be sufficiently coherent, all-embracing, agreed upon, to capture, comprehend and provide development solutions to an increasingly complex global order.

It seems that in spite of the criticisms of economic growth models and policies from the dependency theorists, basic needs protagonists, environmentalists, limits to growth supporters, alternative development proposers, global players and transactional actors, the need to secure economic growth in order to enable various kinds of social development, and material and human well-being are still priorities. The break-up of the Soviet bloc, the reorientation of China's approach and that of other 'socialist states' (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) and the more maverick

“We should not be seeking a paradigm shift. No perspectives are enough to provide solutions to an increasingly complex global order”

state-centralized systems (Myanmar) demonstrate the overriding need to promote economic growth through market-oriented means. But periodic financial/economic and political crises (and in some cases ongoing crises) will continue to occur in different parts of the world system.

The Future

1. increasing complexity and an overpowering number of ideas, issues, views, interests;
2. the state as the primary agent of development; but development now has a large range of stakeholders (states, local

governments, civil society organisations and pressure groups; research/academic institutions; consultants; market actors and business; international organizations; local communities); there have been qualitative/quantitative improvements in development terms, but some always benefit at the expense of others.

Is development ‘immanent’ in Hegelian terms or engineered, and if engineered is it best done by the state or the market? What kind of engineering should development practitioners indulge in? The ideas go back to at least Ferdinand Tönnies in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century and to the Utopian socialists of the nineteenth century. And keep in mind Karl Popper’s distinction between ‘piecemeal/democratic’ and ‘utopian’ social engineering in his work on the ‘open’ society; he favoured piecemeal reasonableness; identifying specific problems which require urgent solution and not the pursuit of a grand scheme.

3. Multi-level analysis is needed (global, macro-regional, national, micro-regional, local individual);

4. Simple dichotomies are no longer viable: developed-underdeveloped, modern-traditional; North and South; West-East;

5. Development aid/assistance is no longer sufficient to solve development problems; there are multiple relations between rich and poor; what do we do about exclusion rather than the negative effects of inclusion?

6. Improvement; can we agree what we mean? Probably not? And can we agree on a set of shared human values? Probably not.

7. Do we incorporate development studies into something larger (like globalization studies?) along with other studies: gender,

cultural, international, environmental, tourism; or scale it down to something more disciplinary-focused and manageable with a direct relationship to on-the-ground problems?

8. The market still has the upper hand; some proponents claim that the state is still vibrant but no longer the development guarantor; civil society organizations are growing in importance; more levelling of different actors; all actors are important; market needs more regulation and embedding; but there has to be a recognition of the continuing relationship between the state and the market;

9. Our thinking about the quality of economic growth has deepened following criticisms of modernization theory; economic growth should give greater freedom and equity (political freedom; economic facilities including basic needs; social opportunities; transparency guarantees; protective security; life expectancy and physical wellbeing; literacy; education);

10. The Millennium Development Goals: meeting in 2000 to plan for the future:

The Millennium Declaration by 2015 (under UN, meeting of 189 heads of state)

Halve poverty; universal primary education; empower women/gender equality; reduce child mortality by two-thirds; reduce maternal mortality by three-quarters; reverse the spread of diseases (HIV/AIDS, malaria); ensure environmental sustainability; global partnership for development (aid [more aid], trade and debt relief);

11. Some of this maps onto The World Bank’s World Development Reports (1978 and continuing): 2010: Development and Climate Change; 2011: Conflict, Security and Development; 2012: Gender Equality and Development; 2013: Jobs; 2014: Risk

and Opportunity; 2015: Mind, Society and Behavior; 2016: The Internet and Development.

Much of this can be read in terms of modernization frames of reference with suitable modification: economic growth and development and how it affects particular dimensions of society and culture; the obstacles to and facilitators of development; the risks and threats posed for development.

In the UNDP (Global Reports published since 1990) on Southeast Asia the objectives up to 2020 are as follows: the value of regional cooperation in development, closing gaps, benchmarks for progress, reliable data, identifying good practice, policy recommendations and policy tools, cooperation between stakeholders and interest groups (including academe, research institutions and civil society groups).

one with terrorism a major priority, inter-ethnic violence and genocide, human and drug trafficking; gun-running and other transnational criminal activities, complicated by migration and labour mobility, refugee problems; and the notion of pre-emptive action (by the USA and some of its allies, and Russia) how do development practitioners accommodate these issues into their thinking and work?

14. Does DS have the solutions to the problems and who determines the problems to be solved? Is it a means of control, symbolically constructed with a right to intervene? Development practices and plans should be seen as relative and contingent, not as all-powerful, all-knowing scientific devices which embody and express on-the-ground realities. We should keep in constant mind the relationships between what we tend to count as expert knowledge and that which is considered local or indigenous, and the complex relationships between the two.

“Is it aid/trade/foreign investment?; and aid in return for what? Who owns it?”

12. All kinds of debates continue on aid: is it aid/trade/foreign investment?; and aid in return for what? Who owns it? Donors should channel aid according to recipients’ national development plans; donors should harmonize more with recipients and be transparent and collectively effective; improved management for results; donors and recipients are mutually accountable.

13. But in an increasingly security-conscious world and an increasingly uncertain

Development Subjects and Intransitive and Transitive Forms of Development

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Prelude: A Post-World War 2 Historical Sketch of Development

”Development” as a field, discourse and practice emerged in a post-WW2 Europe in need of reconstruction. Europe’s industrial, agricultural and logistical infrastructure were partly destroyed, and tens of millions of Europeans were in dire poverty, malnourished, or even on the verge of starvation. An investigative trip by former president Herbert Hoover pleaded for US support for western Europe’s reindustrialization as an economic accompaniment to rearmament during the nascent Cold War. The support came in the form of the European Recovery Program, better known as the Marshall Plan, which put Europe at the receiving end of development aid. With European economic recovery and post-war decolonization, however, the target, object and locus of development was transposed from Europe to its former colonies; from territories and populations to be conquered, missionized, economically exploited and civilized, the latter found themselves the object of a radically different endeavor, namely development.

But there was a continuity with these previous endeavors of the civilizing mission and Christian missionization, namely



World Bank

that both colonies and former colonies were the object of willed change from the outside, now expanded to include the economy, military affairs, politics and governance, education, health care, etc. In what was the developing countries, the Third World, and now the Global South, development included all these vastly divergent domains, and came to be seen as a desirable good, equated with the wealth, health, knowledge and modernity associated with the powers of the Global North –both former and neo-colonizers. For the Northern powers as possessors of those desired qualities development thus became a handle to continue their influence in the Global South, albeit indirectly,

often covertly, and under the umbrella of international solidarity.

In this paper I reflect on development as field of practice and as field of study, starting from a linguistic unpacking of the notion of development itself, and its shift from intransitive to transitive meanings and uses in connection with the emergence of the field of international development practice and discourse as we know it today. I follow this up with reflections on the—quasi-religious—implications of development as transitive practice. In this framework I emphasize the problematic aspects of studying and teaching international or global development in the Global North, which inevitably involves transitive moments and motivations, and which should make both scholars, students and practitioners of development in the Global North more modest than we usually are.

Etymologies of Development

If development comprises so many different fields and types of endeavor—from humanitarian support, via sanitation and infrastructural projects to public administration reform—then what does the word development mean and denote, if its current meaning—international development as a field, discourse and practice—as discussed here emerged in a post-WW2? In English, the verb “to develop” is much older than “development” as practice. It was adopted in the 17th century from the French word “développer”, which itself hailed from a middle French combination of the Latin words *dis* [non- or un-] and *velare* [to cover], which combined as *développer* yielded the meaning of “to unwrap” or “unfold”. Initially, the verb “to develop” was intransitive, as in “something developed” (which meant that something unfolded), but in the course of the 20th

century a new meaning was acquired which gave “to develop” (and its derivative noun, “development”) a specific direction and finality, and with that an object that could be developed; in other words, “to develop” could be used both as transitive and intransitive verbs.

As an intransitive verb, “to develop” denotes a quasi-autonomous process, lacking an apparent direction or telos, and lacking a specific object: “something develops” or “somebody develops” denotes a more or less autonomous, neutral process of unfolding, without an implicit teleology as to the direction of that process of developing. With the emergence of a field of development as willed and/or planned change, however, “to develop” acquired a transitive meaning, targeting a specific object: as in “we develop something” (to develop Thailand’s agricultural sector); or in “we develop somebody” (to develop Thailand’s hill tribes). As transitive verb, “to develop” implies a subject (that is developing something/somebody) as well as an object (which is being developed), and postulates an agentive, causal, and hierarchical connection between the subject and object of development. To illustrate the implicit causal and hierarchical relationship, one could say that the World Bank [subject] develops Nigerian infrastructure [object] and make sense; conversely, it would be either senseless or outrageous to claim that Nigeria [subject] is developing the World Bank [object].

In other words, development is not a neutral concept within the field, discourse and practice of development aid, development cooperation respectively international development; as a transitive verb—to develop—it presupposes a development subject and a development object, which are entangled and hierarchically

connected in a directed and directional, teleological movement, where the telos for the development object is to become like, or at least resemble, the development subject. But what’s in a word? In the following paragraphs I seek to unpack development further and connect it to specific practices.

A Quasi-religious Duty

In a recent article I analyzed the post-World War II development in the Global North—arguably the development subject in the transitive relationship—as a quasi-religious endeavor (Salemink 2015a). Below I briefly summarize some of the

“Development thinking shares with religion a naïve belief in the possibility of the realization of utopian dreams”

main points in that article, without elaborating further. Some scholars (Koselleck 2002; 2004; Gray 1998; 2007) have persuasively argued that the secularization of time in Europe’s early modern period went hand in hand with the secularization of soteriological expectations, that projected paradise not in an afterlife, but in this world (albeit in some later period of time, often after some disruptive revolution). Time was thought of in unilineal terms—a line connecting past, present and future—characterized by precursory and kindred notions of development, namely progress, evolution and civilization (understood as process). With the secularization of

soteriologies, religious expectations of an afterlife were replaced, doubled or combined by often utopian political ideologies like socialism, communism, anarchism, but also—as John Gray (1998; 2007) showed convincingly—liberalism and certain aspects of capitalism, especially when assuming neoliberal qualities. Where religious and secular (political) soteriologies often come together is in millennial beliefs of rupture and subsequent redemption.

As Gilbert Rist (2002) pointed out, what development thinking shares with religion is a naïve belief in the possibility in the realization of utopian dreams—a belief that was institutionalized and globalized but never realized. As Paul Basu and Ferdinand de Jong put it in a recent text, “while they are not exactly inverses of present-day dystopic situations, utopian expressions are at least indexical to the circumstances for which they present an ‘answering image’ of escape” (Basu and De Jong 2016: 8)—or in other words: both remembrances of the pasts and imaginings of futures occur in the present. Similarly, lofty ideals like Human Rights, Millennium Development Goals or Sustainable Development Goals are utopian in nature, born from real-life situations that exactly do not conform to these ideals, just as the Ten Commandments) are necessary because people neither did nor do realize them in their lives. It is precisely this non-everyday quality—or, as Émile Durkheim would say, this non-profane quality—that sacralizes such goals; and to the extent that they are formulated in such a way that nobody can really be against them, such goals tend to become unassailable and sacrosanct. With reference to Human Rights, Kirsten Hastrup formulated it as follows:

“Even when governments subscribe to

them with a good deal of hypocrisy and reservation, few would openly question the basic assumption that they can further justice between people. In that sense, the universal declarations of human rights have come to represent ‘common good’, something that we should actively strive to realize on a global scale. They have taken root in the collective imagination of the global order.” (Hastrup 2001b: 9)

Not just Human Rights constitute a sacralization (of political rights, cf. Ignatieff 2001), but the MDGs have also been interpreted in terms of “consenting to Heaven” (Gabay 2011).



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Another form of sacralization of development occurs through the involvement of saints. In the past these were practitioners like Mother Teresa and Albert Schweitzer; more recently they were scholars like Paul Farmer, Elinor Ostrom and Jeffrey Sachs; and currently they are celebrities such as Bob Geldof, Bono, and all the actors and singers posing as ambassadors of this or that development organization or humanitarian cause—from Angelina Jolie to your local celebrity. The present-day

public veneration of celebrities and the global mourning when they die—such as Elvis, Lady Di, or Michael Jackson—have been analyzed in terms of a secularization of the worship of saints and deities, and oftentimes (dead or alive) celebrities are attributed powers that are larger than life. Ever since entertainer Danny Kaye’s 1954 appointment as “Goodwill Ambassador” for UNICEF, development organizations have been increasingly keen on recruiting celebrities to promote their cause by basking in the charisma of their affiliated celebrities. As already pointed out by Max Weber (1922), charisma must be understood as the secularization of heavenly bliss, while more contemporary analysts noted that celebrities tend to assume and embody a quasi-religious status, thus to some extent following in the footsteps of saints (Berenson and Giloi 2010; Turner 2004). Numerous scholars and commentators have already from a variety of angles analyzed the emergent celebrity involvement in PR and campaigns for development endeavors—most commonly from the angle of commoditization, commercialization, and popular culture (cf. Biccum 2011; Kapoor 2013; Richey and Ponte 2008)—but so far few have made the connection between celebratization and sacralisation (cf. Saleminck 2013).

Not only development goals and public relations campaigns, but also development practices tend to assume quasi-religious qualities, especially through processes of ritualization that pervade development. Development interventions are marked by a strong emphasis on specific procedures which are associated with specific feel-good terms, like bottom up, participation, sharing, gender equality, sustainability, efficiency, etc. The repetitive invocation of such terms—regardless of their application, applicability or relevance in actual

practice (Mosse 2005)—is largely ritual in nature, and it is this ritualized character which lends efficacy to the development project or intervention, albeit not so much in its dealing with local communities and constituencies in the Global South (the objects of development) but with donor constituencies in the Global North (the subjects of development). Moreover, these invocations serve as ritual expressions of belief in the intended outcomes of the development intervention, through sheer repetition. When projects or interventions are evaluated as not meeting the objectives, or are criticized by “target groups” (development objects) or outsiders, such invocations testify to the good intentions of the development subjects and hence serve to legitimize the effort, regardless of the results or consequences.

Finally, as I argued recently (Saleminck 2015a), the sacralization of goals (Human Rights, MDGs or SDGs), the blessing of present-day secular saints, and the ritualization of development procedure produce the combined effect of purification (cf. Latour 1993) of the development practice from the messiness of global and local political economic vicissitudes, from wars, conflicts and catastrophes, from geopolitical realities. Development discourse does not take geopolitical situations into account when prescribing and proscribing particular actions—for instance by treating Vietnam as comparable to Chad, in spite of the highly favourable location of Vietnam with reference to China, Japan and the South China Sea, in comparison to land-locked, desert-like Chad. This purification makes it possible for countries and actors in the Global North to pretend that (lack of) development in the Global South has nothing to do with their own past and present economic and political actions, in spite of abundant evidence to

“the Global North pretends that (lack of) development in the Global South has nothing to do with their own past and present economic and political actions, in spite of abundant evidence to the contrary”

the contrary—think only of the globally uneven effects global warming. After all, the lofty goals of the MDGs and SDGs confirm the good intentions and hence the lack of culpability of countries and actors in the Global North.

What is Obscured from View?

In the previous section I argued that from the Global North, development tends to be sacralized in a variety of different manners, thus setting it apart from everyday, profane practices, discourses and experiences, and exculpating development subjects from the Global North from any responsibility for the predicament of the people who find themselves the objects of development in the Global South. In other words, transitive development as sketched above—involving and connecting development subjects and development objects in a hierarchical relationship—is imagined, narrated, attempted and practiced alongside rather “intransitive” realities that bear heavily on the development equation but that operate on completely different



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principles. Intransitive development is to do with political economy, geopolitics, profit, greed and (consumerist) desire for commercial goods and commercially driven services and experiences.

Consumerist desire is also a common motivation for many "objects" of development—poor populations in poor countries, those who are typically the "target groups" of development—who thus become subjects of intransitive development, meaning development directed at themselves instead of others. A number of recent ethnographies (High 2014; Li 2014; Salemin 2015b) have described how poor, indigenous groups in "remote" areas themselves desired to be part of a developed world; to have the things that capitalism affords; to have the knowledge and abilities to navigate this world. More importantly, these studies describe how such people who have acted on this desire thereby become subjects of development themselves, but all too often without being able to realize their desires. Since the subjects of development were the very same as the objects of development, these attempts at development can be called intransitive development—or development targeting

the self. This stands in contrast with transitive development which is to do with the international desire to combat poverty and generate economic growth targeting specific population groups other than the subjects of development. As Tania Murray Li (2007) argues in her *The Will to Improve*, transitive development is politics rendered technical, effectively functioning as *The Anti-Politics Machine* (Ferguson 1994). Even those initiatives that were directly aimed at *Putting the Last First* (Chambers 1983) did so from an external vantage point, where the development subjects (Chambers and his associates) would put the last (the poor development objects) first.

"Poor, indigenous groups desire to be a part of the developed world; to have the things that capitalism affords. They become subjects of development—all too often without being able to realize their desires."

Development studies are usually connected up with this desire on the part of development subjects to produce specific, desired effects in the situations and possibilities of the objects of development, and hence with development as a transitive action, directed at others than themselves. But the distinction and connection between



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transitive and intransitive development is often obscured from view, or hidden behind a smokescreen of good intentions and solidarity. Nowhere is this clearer than in the teaching of international development in the Global North.

Teaching the Global Development Paradox in the Global North

I co-teach Global Development, with anthropology and economics as the core disciplines undergirding this interdisciplinary program. These disciplinary points of departure in economics and anthropology are not just different but oftentimes diametrically opposed, in terms of what constitute valid and/or representative methods and knowledge claims. By and large, economics operates from within the existing political-economic paradigm (of the neoliberal market); development is almost tantamount to economic growth which is predicated in improving efficiency through the market, at least in

theory. Anthropology—or at least the anthropology that I stand for—does not take the current global political economy for granted, and focuses on diverse experiences of people within that system, while imagining different political-economic possibilities; these can be indigenist, neo-Marxist, or anarchist—think of James Scott's recent work on "Zomia") (Scott 2009). My co-teacher Henrik Hansen (the economist) and I (the anthropologist) acted out our disciplinary differences in the classroom knowing that this may be confusing as it does not come across complementary knowledge, but knowing also that this is the world into which we send our graduates.

Many—if not most—of the students themselves come from the Global North, and choose to study Global Development because of its association with the field of international development, usually motivated by the desire to contribute to the alleviation of global poverty—with "global" being a coded term for elsewhere



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than north-west Europe. My choice of the textbook (Gibert Rist's *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*) as well as my lectures caution students for too much faith in and reliance on good intentions, but highlighting the frequent unintended negative effects of interventions based on good intentions but insufficient knowledge and—worse—at odds with the development desires of the objects of development. Needless to say, such cautioning creates confusion as to what positive role they could play as future subjects of development. In order to ameliorate that, a clearer picture of global development is called for, namely as encompassing both transitive development (=development studies) and intransitive developments (=unplanned developments involving economic, political and ecological connections between the Global South and Global North beyond the field of development).

Both economics and anthropology deal

with transitive and intransitive development, and both have subdisciplines dealing specifically with the field of development. But the subdisciplines where “development” is the prefix to the discipline—development economics and development anthropology—tend to be interventionist and hence part of a transitive development endeavor that targets others as objects of development. Both economics and anthropology, however, also have critical approaches to development, but these critical voices tend to be more muted within economics. Mainstream economics is a much more successful discipline in influencing the world than either anthropology or critical economics are, for the simple reason that the economics discipline serves as the universalist discursive paradigm of the (currently neoliberal) market, and hence largely operates within these discursive parameters. This skewed equation inadvertently turns the co-teaching of international or global development into

a disciplinary struggle between economics and anthropology.

Alternative Visions of Development

Whereas economics seeks to universalize (on the basis of) highly specific ideas about market efficiency, anthropology tends to localize—even when its research subjects are traveling or otherwise all over

“How can people who are now objects of development become subjects of development—of their own development?”

the place—and focuses on the experiences of people within the dominant political-economic system: as winners, losers, survivors, victims. But anthropology also sketches alternatives to mainstream—both transitive and intransitive—development; alternatives that may be experienced, remembered, or imagined. In other words, mainstream economics construes development as a more effective continuation of capitalism (e.g. through “access to markets”), while anthropology—especially critical anthropology—tends to look at the countermovements. When overlooking the field of development as I have just done, development subjects can be understood in multiple ways. Development subjects could be understood as the fields in which development practice is played out; or as the topics that should be studied in order to understand development as a transitive process. But subjects of development

can also be understood as the people and institutions doing development to others, with these others becoming the objects of development (e.g. target groups; the poor; backward groups; remote areas). The predicament of these objects of development constitutes the rationale for development, but they are simultaneously instrumentalized as objects of development.

How can these groups or categories of people who are now objects of development become subjects of development—of their own development? From the vantage point of (global or international) development studies in the Global North, development takes place in the Global South, thus making development inherently transitive, with the subject in the North, and the object in the South. In the present global system the “target groups” of development can become subjects of development if they integrate their desires into the national and global political economy and conform to its requirements. This follows the process motivated by a desire for development, a desire to belong, a desire to have, a desire to experience—as described by Tania Li (2014), Holly High (2014) and myself (2015b). But the outcome often does not match the expectations as the insertion into local and global markets often disempowers rather than empowers, and produces unintended consequences. Hence, the search remains open for alternative developments beyond the dominant political economy, in which the objects of development are simultaneously the subjects of their own development. That should make development agents and scholars from the Global North, as subjects of the development of others than ourselves, modest.

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The Future of Urbanisation, Regionalization and Climate Change in the Mekong

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Introduction

Like many others with a background in development studies in this region, I began my career focusing on rural development, and the transformations occurring in rural society. While the city was always present it was viewed from the village. I have the sense that even though many of us have been living in cities we have felt somehow uncomfortable with urban life as a subject of study and have often maintained this focus on the village. I cannot help but feel that for many of us, the urban represented the modernist antithesis of what we ourselves imagined in the rural, and we held urbanization to blame for the gradual collapse of the rural society that we had first encountered, idealized and sought to support.

Similarly, like many other people in the region, for professional and personal reasons I have ended up in the big city. It has become apparent that urbanization is a phenomenon that is inescapable and that is both a driving force, and requirement of the most profound social and ecological transformation, perhaps of human history. We all know the facts and figures of global urbanization, and even though this is one of the fastest urbanizing areas in the world, I feel that development studies has been rather slow in rising to this challenge.

There is another dimension to urbanization that we must recognize; the direct linkage between urbanization and global climate change. Urbanisation along with associated land use change and industrialisation contribute directly to greenhouse gas emissions and climate risks, both locally and globally (McGranahan, Balk et al. 2007). Changes in land use that accompany urbanisation alter natural hydrology, often exacerbating and redistributing flood risks. At the same time, urbanisation occurs in locations that are already vulnerable, situating social and economic assets in places exposed to climate change. With a greater concentration of people and assets in vulnerable space, the impacts and consequences of climate change related impacts are likely to become all the more severe. These vulnerabilities transcend spatial and temporal scales of local to global, with the effects cascading well beyond the geographical location of a specific climate event. The impacts of shocks and crises in one part of the world can be felt in different places and different times, creating 'nested and networked vulnerabilities' (Adger, Eakin et al. 2008, Eakin, Winkels et al. 2009). For development studies there needs to be a special emphasis on the ways in which urbanization creates new climate related vulnerability and risk profiles.

This presents particular challenges for

development studies. The transition from agricultural and rural economies has been a core element in many schools of development studies; from a Marxist tradition as well as a neo-liberal perspective. Seeing urbanization as a transformative process also raises the significance of the rural, and the increasingly complex relations between two inter-linked and inter-connected territories and social arenas. Urbanisation is as much a transformation of rural landscapes, society and economy as it is of the urban.

“Urbanisation is as much a transformation of rural landscapes, society and economy as it is of the urban.”

The last twenty-plus years have witnessed both the rapid urbanization of the world, unprecedented economic growth as well as significant reductions in poverty and improvements in wellbeing (according to a range of criteria). At the same time there is growing recognition that this has occurred with enormous ecological consequences and the notion of an approaching global ecological crisis of reaching planetary boundaries is gaining ground. Similarly the extent to which economic growth has been genuinely beneficial, or evenly distributed remains a contentious issue of debate. By many sets of indicators, inequality, whether measured in terms of wealth, access to services or political power, has also intensified to unprecedented levels.

Looking back, development studies appears to be facing a similar impasse as

in the early 1990s (cf. Schuurmann 1993); in the face of a neo-liberal agenda that appears stronger than ever with still only a limited political alternative (although Greece and Spain may spark such an alternative) even while capitalism stumbles through one of its most serious crises, and while the global ecological crisis steers us towards possible catastrophe. Within the literature there are at least growing calls for transformative change; that current political and economic models that have led to this crisis cannot be relied on to lead us away from such a catastrophe. There are dangers here as well in this kind of narrative. There is an enduring narrative from Malthus through the Club of Rome, often endorsed in conservation arguments, that concerns for global ecology and survival of the species take precedence over concerns for equity and social justice. Debates around planetary boundaries, and despair over the calamitous trajectory we are on, can often lead to calls for decisive action, global compacts, and strong rulers.

As is now often observed, much of the struggle against global ecological catastrophe will be played out in the increasingly urbanizing world. For some commentators, the potential for cities,—with their alliances of mayors and private sector investment, arguably better placed to deal with the failures of nation states is greater in creating and reaching international agreements on climate change. The models for this kind of urban leadership come mostly, though not exclusively, from the ‘successful’ economic city centres of the world.

At the same time, there are opportunities for a more radical agenda to emerge and a more overt critique of ‘capitalism’ (eg. Klein 2015, Pelling et al., 2012); although in Klein’s case not as yet from an overtly Marxist perspective. Historically,



urbanization and associated changes in modes of production and social relations, have been associated with the organization of labour, emergence of radical ideas and transformative collective action with new opportunities for global alliances across urban centres.

The Process of Urbanisation

As I began my (recent) work on urbanization in Thailand, one of the first challenges was of determining exactly what it is we are talking about. There are conceptual challenges that are manifest in language and terminology that are then translated into statistics and administrations.

The extent of this challenge is apparent in official statistics. Remarkably in UN statistics, based on national statistics, Thailand is placed in the global rankings of urbanization one place behind Laos. This is astounding. Of course there are clear problems in how statistics are collected, related

directly to house registration and the classification of different administrative tiers as municipalities (and therefore urban) based on population size and density.

Increasingly in our work we have come to approach urbanization as a historical process of transformation of social-ecological systems, rather than focusing on the territorial or administrative unit of the city. This is a process that transforms the rural as much as the urban to the point that these terms are being replaced by concepts such as *rurban* and what others have referred to as *desakota* systems. While place is still important it is not the organizing focus of our work. With patterns of migration and prevalence of ‘stretched livelihoods’ (Winkels et al., 2009) rural and urban households are increasingly linked. Urbanisation is less defined by territory, with the gaps between rural and urban less clear. Seeing urbanization as a transformative process also raises the significance of the rural, and the increasingly

complex relations between two inter-linked and inter-connected territories and social arenas.

From a historical perspective urbanization is intimately linked to patterns of global capitalism and colonialism; to processes of capital accumulation, modes of production and exchange, and to what Harvey has termed the spatial fix. Capitalism depends on modes of production and exchange, supported by technologies that concentrate labour and land in specific locations, linked across different geographies. Moreover, the concentration of investment in physical infrastructure and the new markets that these create, allows capital to flow, accumulate, and to create new markets for further accumulation beyond reinvestment in production.

We have witnessed similar process of transformation of rural, pre-capitalist societies across the world but never on the scale and intensity of contemporary urbanization, and never with these truly global inter-linkages and networks, that tie capital and labour together in complex dependencies. In many ways concepts of pan-urbanism (Moris 2014) and global urbanism, fit with Wallerstein's world systems anew; but one in which class is not bound by geography, with neither the core or periphery of dependency theory being located in any specific territory.

The significance of the ecological and technological dimensions of urbanization requires special consideration. Contemporary urbanization is characterized by dependence on complex systems of infrastructure and technology, managed by complex institutions. Again these are networked and inter-linked in often unimaginable ways—but in ways that constrain the ability of any one individual, household, community or

even administration to access, control or manage effectively. Access to and control over these systems, and the services that they generate is highly differentiated, and are critical factors in people's wellbeing, poverty or vulnerability. But it also creates a whole new set of vulnerabilities and risks, that are directly associated with the inherent fragilities of such systems, and the ways in which the effects of shocks and crises, whether economic or ecological, cascade across different locations.

“We are witnessing a round of investment in urban infrastructure that will lock us further into dependency on fossil fuels, urban sprawl, and privatized space, systems and services.”

There are important historical dimensions again in how these systems have been designed and located, and for how social and economic benefits. In many cases these can be traced back to colonial periods. I have just come back from South Africa where the urban landscape is still visibly a product of the apartheid era. In particular, the location of housing which goes back to this era, but which now shapes urban mobility, a critical factor in urban people's wellbeing. Less dramatically, we see these issues of urban architecture shaping patterns of mobility even in a city like Chiang Mai, and the convergence of political



and economic interests around land and property investment, promotion of private transport and construction of roads.

It is in the historically situated urban context that we see a high degree of path dependency that creates a whole set of social relations and inequalities that is enormously difficult to reconfigure. If we take on board concerns for global climate change and planetary boundaries, then we must also address these challenges. Addressing the combined challenges of global climate change and social justice will require reconfiguring, or breaking, this path dependency.

This presents huge political and institutional challenges to shape alternative urban futures that are ecologically sustainable, and also equitable and socially just. All the more so in Southeast Asia, as it is in this region, drawing in enormous amounts of loose capital looking for an investment location, that we are witnessing a round of investment in urban (as well as industrial,

manufacturing, services) infrastructure that will set a development trajectory for the next 20-50 years, and lock us further into a dependency on fossil fuels, urban sprawl, privatized space, systems and services.

We see this path dependency in response to climate related vulnerabilities. The 2011 floods in Thailand are a fine example. The whole history of urbanization and industrialization in the Chao Praya basin and the conversion of agricultural, flood-prone land is of course a critical factor in creating the kinds of flood vulnerabilities that were so clearly exposed in 2011. This occurred against scientific and local knowledge (indeed against the glaringly obvious) and against earlier land use planning guidelines and regulations. Yet the core response to the 2011 floods has been to follow the very same pathway that had created these risks in the first place by investing in hard infrastructure solutions to protect existing infrastructure, and



Udon Thani Rajabhat University

thereby redistributing risk. And of course this drive to mobilizing capital to deal with an ecological crisis for capital itself speaks volumes. As one factory owner whose premises had been devastated during the floods told me; the flood crisis would all be resolved as the government provides additional funding, that in its own turn trickles down (or ‘leaks’) and provides additional investment opportunities. This also reveals a whole different calculation of risk that is more often based on hedging—again a very different set of values, and the importance of disaster capitalism—creating new opportunities out of crises that have been created by patterns of investment, production and trade.

Regional Dimensions of Urbanisation in the Mekong

From our own engagement we see a process of urbanisation that is set to accelerate. Thailand is the largest industrialised economy within the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS). With the ASEAN Economic

Community (AEC), urban centres along key transport routes are expanding at a rapid rate, with further support from central government investment in transport and communications infrastructure that will connect Thailand to the GMS region.

Much of the growth in urban areas is set to occur in medium-sized cities, particularly those in critical border regions, with significant labour migration from neighbouring countries. The capital flows to the region from China mirror much of its own experience in urban development on the back of investment expansion that targeted natural resources extraction and energy (Harvey 2012). Again, it is the secondary cities that lie on regional infrastructure crossroads—such as Udon Thani and Khon Kaen in Thailand, but also Danang in Vietnam—and close to international borders that are attracting the greatest capital speculation around land and urban development (Friend and Thinphanga 2014). A city such as Udon Thani in Northeast Thailand expects to

double in size and population over the next ten years, building its expansion on regional transport and communications links with Laos, Vietnam and China, aiming to attract industrial investment. Recent Thai governments have all continued with a commitment to invest in infrastructure that strengthens and accelerates this regional economic integration.

Thailand’s own planning around infrastructure development to strengthen regional linkages for example, with high-speed train networks linking the north and North East Thailand with China, will also drive certain patterns of urbanization. Again this type of urbanization is driven by political forces and a dependence on capital flows and associated credit mechanisms. This wave of investment is closely associated with the growing commoditization of land, and the speculative investment in and conversion of land across the region. A familiar pattern occurs in which low value land, often agricultural and/or flood prone land, is targeted as offering the greatest returns for speculative capital.

The investment flows also move within the region. Thai capital is also investing heavily in what are seen as new opportunities that would benefit from linkages between Vietnam and Myanmar. For example, PTT Public Company Limited is the lead investor in the Non Hoi Oil Refinery Complex, with a total budget of US\$ 28 billion dollars. With its location in Quy Nhon, there will be easy access across the GMS to the port that is planned for development at Dawei in Myanmar. There are also market-based risks associated with speculative capital flows based on rapidly accelerating land and housing prices, as we see emerging in some of the Vietnamese cities such as Danang (Friend and Thinphanga 2014).

Urbanisation is a process, and the urban centres that it creates must also be seen as a symbolic process. Urbanisation has come to represent a core set of values that are founded on consumption and life-style patterns, and a whole set of aspirations that attract young people from far and wide. Urban architecture is itself a physical manifestation of values and political-economic relations. Alongside the administrative and power centres of the state, increasingly urban centres are dominated by the architecture of commerce and finance, with banks and shopping malls dominating the urban landscape.

The importance of this shift in values is well recognized within the banking sector itself. A recent report from the Siam Commercial Bank sought to address what it called the crisis of slow rate of urbanization in Thailand. The importance of urbanization was succinctly explained; urban people consume more and borrow more to be able to consume. The type of consumption is also different from rural counterparts, tending towards high cost goods (demanding higher levels of credit) such as washing machines, air conditioners, and cars. Such levels of high consumer demand are argued to be

“Patterns of consumption are linked to both climate change and inequality. This is a future in which urban people are labour and consumers—but not citizens”

necessary for continued economic growth. But at the same time these patterns of consumption can be directly linked to both climate change and inequality. This is a vision of an urban future in which urban people are labour and consumers—but not citizens.

Political and Governance Challenges of Urbanization and Climate Change

Much of the new concern around urbanization and climate related risks is framed around the need to strengthen planning and governance, and the argument for ‘mainstreaming’ climate into urban planning. At the same time there is a discursive shift towards notions of ‘green cities’, ‘smart cities’ and in Thailand, the widespread policy rhetoric of ‘liveable cities’.

The core problem is a lack of vision beyond capital and industrial interests and the domination of powerful political and economic interests in shaping public space and life.

The core problem is one of governance; not a governance gap that can be filled through technical or managerial interventions, but a fundamental problem of a lack of vision beyond capital and industrial interests, the lack of effective planning and implementation, lack of public dialogue or access to information, and the domination

by powerful political and economic interests in shaping public space and life.

Local authorities increasingly play both a managerial role in planning and setting standards, but also an entrepreneurial role in attracting investment (cf. Harvey 2008). With poor transparency and accountability these competing roles can be difficult to reconcile. Land use planning has been widely critiqued as failing to zone adequately, failing to protect green and public space, and with poor consideration of risks and hazards (Srisawalak-Nabangchang and Wonghanchao 2000).

Public participation and the kinds of checks and balances on urban governance are extremely limited. This becomes all the more problematic when we look at how urban governance operates. Indeed some would argue that the main purpose of formal planning processes is not what is stated; that the ‘failure of planning’ is itself what is planned (Friend and Jarvie 2012). Being able to circumvent and obscure planning processes creates political capital, and means that knowledge and information has a commercial and political value (Ribeiro 2005). Informality in governance, access to systems and services, and in employment, becomes a key feature of urbanization.

This then also draws attention to distributional dimensions of how urban vulnerabilities and risks are created, reinforced and spread at different scales and among different actors. These dimensions of poverty, equity and rights are often most apparent in discussions of shelter. Informal settlement growth and insecurity that many urban residents in Asia experience is well documented as a feature of inequality. Many of the world’s poor now live in cities as defined by multi-dimensional criteria, with insecure tenure and

poor housing, informal employment with limited labour rights, and low incomes, and many without access to reliable, affordable basic services and systems, whether water, energy or transport. The definition and measurement of such urban

“The urban future will need to be fundamentally different from the urban past and from current trajectories of urbanization.”

poverty has failed to take on the specific circumstances of urban living, or on urban people’s own indicators of wellbeing and poverty. Approaches based on income and consumption, applying standardised poverty lines, do not reflect the resource needs of and financial implications for urban people, particularly those in informal settlements. Nor do these approaches provide insight into the ways in which people navigate social relations that are often highly exploitative. But urbanisation and globalisation also produce new fault-lines of risk and vulnerability beyond the boundary of any one particular city, and beyond those characterised as being in informal settlements.

Similarly, poverty and vulnerability might not be the best framings of these kinds of problems (Friend and Moench 2012). When the policy imperative is about reducing vulnerability and enhancing people’s vulnerability, this can be seen as a rather ‘negative freedom’, that is very much structured around welfarist approaches to

alleviation and prevention of poverty, and to targeting the deserving poor, rather than notions of development that are enshrined in values of freedom, entitlements and capabilities.

Within the climate change community there is growing recognition that the urban future will need to be fundamentally different from the urban past and from current trajectories of urbanization. There are growing calls for transformation, that have special resonance in the urban context, if we take the view of urban as a collective endeavour and the critical importance that has been attached to rights. The role of rights is especially important. The concept of the ‘right to the city’ has a long intellectual tradition founded on regarding the city both in terms of space and in terms of social and economic relations, as being collectively co-produced and recreated, and urban life as inherently collective, and interdependent. As Harvey argues of the right to the city, as being ‘the right to change ourselves by changing the city; the kind of city we have is linked to the kind of human beings we are willing to be (Harvey 2012). This is fundamentally a right of access and control in shaping an urban future—and thus going beyond reducing negative impacts and vulnerabilities arising from climate change.

Re-imagining Urban Futures for Transformative Change

Urbanisation will be a critical arena in which the global future will be fought out. Within development studies in this region, we have often overlooked the significance of urbanization—and also of how influential economic development and social change has been across the region, often lost in our own discomfort

with 'development' that in turn has often romanticized the rural, and felt uncomfortable with the urban space.

Similarly, the experience of Thailand and perhaps Vietnam, in line with the SE Asian "Tigers," has demonstrated urbanization and industrialization spurring modernization, and dramatic shifts in values. As South Asian colleagues have reminded me, this has not occurred elsewhere in the world, even where there is a longer urban history and higher rates of urbanization.

Where we have engaged we have tended to focus on the interface between the rural and urban—the territories at which they interact and connect. Of course this makes sense, but it has remained a largely territorial approach to urbanization. This means we need new conceptual and methodological approaches—addressing the special significance of complex systems, the inter-linkage of political-social-economic processes that define urbanization, but also the reshaping of social relations of production, exchange, and values (and thus of class). In doing so I find myself increasingly going back to the radical theory of my younger days but with the combination of on one side, political economy (and world systems theories) but also actor-oriented approaches that highlight contestations of knowledge and power at critical change interfaces (Long and Long, 1992), alongside complex social-ecological systems approaches (cf. Leach et al., 2007).

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The (im)possibility of Korea's Development Studies

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The Big D-evelopment Without the Small d-evelopment?

At the Japan Society for International Development (JASID)'s 25th Anniversary International Symposium titled “how much Japanese scholars and their research on international development have contributed to the global field of development studies and consider the way forward” on 22 November 2014, the JASID president has started his keynote as follows: “for the Westerners, development is for others while for the Easterners, development is about ourselves. We distinguish spontaneous development (*hatten* 発展) from development as external intervention (*kaihatsu* 開発). Development is intrinsically for local people, so we as outsiders only support ‘hatten’ of local people. Therefore we East Asian donors prefer ‘international cooperation’ to international development.” Sato's words indeed echo various discourses and rhetoric on international development by and of Korea as an emerging East Asian development partner—for example, the ample emphasis on non-interference, local ownership, request-based approach, and self-help (Mawdsley, 2012). Simultaneously, this discursive shift shed a light on how international development has been conceptualised in Korea.

Indeed, development itself is perceived as not a business of ‘distant others’—but as more of its own critical tasks to either to achieve socio-economic changes under capitalism or to catch up with the advanced capitalist countries in the West. Almost identical discussion can be also found in Korea - due to the two words *kaihatsu* (*gae-bal* 개발 in Korean) and *hatten* (*bahl-jeon* 발전 in Korean). For example, “the English term, [development] depending on the context, translates into either “kaihatsu” [*gae-bal*] (with its origin as a transitive verb) or “hatten” [*bahl-jeon*] (with its origin as an intransitive verb)

“East Asian donors prefer ‘international cooperation’ to international development.”

that connote two different meanings. The former “kaihatsu” [*gae-bal*] is generally used to indicate political economic activities that advance industrialization or improve material existence by making use of (exploiting) natural resources (Nishikawa 2004). The latter “hatten”

[*bahl-jeon*] involves a more explicitly value-laden conception by embracing such issues as human and social development by placing more emphasis on improving quality of life” (Kim 2009: 29-30).

Although the above socio-linguistic explanations emphasise the peculiarity of the East Asian context, the essence of such discussion conceptually resonates works by Hart (2001) and also Cowen and Shenton (1996). Cowen and Shenton’s (1996) deeply historicised account defines development as both 1) an “intentional practice/... intervention that was present at the very birth of industrial capitalism to confront the depredations wrought by ‘progress’”; and 2) an imminent process that is the unintended (but not unpredictable) outcome of such capitalist progress. Hart (2001: 650) has elaborated this discussion further by exploring ‘big D-evelopment’ and ‘little d-evelopment’ with incorporating Polany’s ‘double movement’: therefore, defines “‘big D’ Development as a post-second world war project of intervention in the ‘third world’ that emerged in the context of decolonization and the cold war, and ‘little d’ development or the development of capitalism as a geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of historical processes.” Therefore, the big D - as an intentional intervention- resonates the meaning of *kaihatsu / gae-bal*, and the small d - as an immanent process-relates to *hatten / bahl-jeon*.

The ‘mainstream’ Korean and Japanese international development studies’ debates have been largely influential in the policy arena of official development cooperation. Yet their discussion has been relatively silent on the discussion of immanent process and small d-evelopment, while the big D-evelopment has been widely picked up to refer to how and why western aid

has failed or been successful. In doing so, discussion on what Cowen and Shenton’s word ‘trusteeship’ of the state to rectify such depredation (subsequent society wide public bads and personal sacrifice) has been particularly muted. Alden (2012) contrasted such feature (silence on the small d) of ‘emerging’ ‘industrialising’ societies (here he talked of China mainly) with the Western post-industrial and post-modern societies amid deepening budgetary austerity as well as changing



conceptions of risk, modernity and the concept of “do no harm”.

It is indeed a curious case as the researchers of mainstream IDS in both Korea and Japan are largely silent on the small d issues. Such development mindset locks both countries into their developing country mode (Kerr, 2002, pp. 34–35)—therefore hindering digging deeply into the small d discussion. While the countries’ systems are still configured to benefit industry by socialising risks, their national policies are filled with pre-industrial goals (Kerr, 2002; Woo-Cumings, 1999). Some argued that the tendency derives from memories of the ‘development generation’ in their fifties or older who are now

important decision-makers in Seoul’s IDS and international development industry (Han, 2010; Kim & Kang, 2015). They “claim to have personally experienced the range of bitter hardship and sweet success of modern Korean history, having born the fruit of economic development through their own sweat, tears and blood” (Han, 2010, p. 147). Therefore, such narratives of Korean exceptionalism and the ‘Can-Do’ spirit to ‘catch up’ have dominated the knowledge production within IDS.

“KIDS researchers are largely silent on the historical roots of development—the colonial and imperialist past, and the cold war”

International / National Binary in KIDS

KIDS researchers—both policy and academic circles - relatively lack the awareness and understanding of development as a tool of external intervention. When discussing the ‘development’, they are relatively quiet on the historical roots of development—colonial and imperialist past along with the cold war containment policy. But the fundamental notion of ‘development’ seemingly comes from its modernist and rapid economic development under authoritarian regimes—which largely relates to the domestic mobilization for industrialisation and modernisation. Such conceptualization of development

itself has a knock on effect on the way ‘development studies’ has been shaped and practiced. Activities of some key scholars have focused on 1) building of Korea’s historical development experience as knowledge; 2) application of the knowledge to the ODA policy and practices. In their mission to generate Korea specific development knowledge, international and national binary has emerged as a result—how to universalise a uniquely national experience to the international development norm making process.

Striking a balance between universality and peculiarity has been the key. For this, both the policy and academic circle of KIDS have been curiously ambiguous. The KIDS actors, especially those in policy making circles, emphasise Korea as an empathetic post-colonial development partnership—in contrast with the traditional donorship. As much as the cultural explanation is used by Western scholars as a convenient tool to explain those un-explainable Asians (e.g. exoticising Asian exceptionalism), the KIDS policy circle also utilises such an ambiguous term—Asian development model—as an alternative to the Western model. This self-exoticisation is problematic especially in two ways: because it homogenises both the diverse and heterogeneous Western and Asian development paths; and simultaneously it indeed begins to sound like the same old one size fits all type of model—instead of showing ‘empathetic’ solidarity to support the developing countries with similar problems.

Further, the political nature of producing knowledge on Korea’s past development experience has a significant link to the way in which Korea’s international development studies (KIDS) has been set up. As above, the history of KIDS is relatively

young—which can be also observed from the fact that the Korean Association of International Development Cooperation was established in 2007. But it has grown over the past few years and has now built a rapidly expanding development industry where the academics have been proactive bidders and participants. The timing was due to Korea's ever increasing foreign aid budget. But the reality was that Seoul's

“More philosophical and ethical debates are needed to improve and reform the current messy and confused landscape of KIDS.”

international development industry was in its embryo stage—and more importantly was suffering an acute shortage of international development experts, as well as lack of institutional capacity (aid agencies) to handle the increasing aid budget and expanding operations.

In this situation, many academics have been involved in government-commissioned projects—therefore ultimately dictated by government policy/ preference. Both academics with ‘sector-specific knowledge’ as well as international development expertise have joined Seoul's aid mission. But during implementation, they found that the sector experts without understanding of the international development context could jeopardise the aid operation as a whole. It is because often the experts with the sector specific knowledge are rarely trained in the field of international development—therefore, largely unaware

of or inexperienced in the operation and programmes of ODA. The recently introduced certification system ultimately was to ensure a minimum standard for any development worker to join Korea's ODA operation. Therefore, the government introduced an annual exam system with ODA expert certificates—level 1 to 3—in 2012. A Korean citizen who completed four or more modules at the KOICA ODA education centre is eligible for an annual exam for the ODA expert's certificate. This particular certificate system was borne out of the Korean government's need to both promote the understanding of international development among the Korean companies participating in the ODA projects; and to provide some standards for hiring the experts for international development while enabling young job seekers to build/plan their career in international development.

KIDS lacks the depth and width of epistemological debates in development studies as well as local knowledge of developing countries. More fundamental philosophical and ethical debates are urgently needed to improve and to reform the current messy and confused landscape of KIDS. This is critical as they ultimately shape the way Korea's aid is provided and economic cooperation is performed. For this in particular, KIDS needs to reflect on Korea's own past in a more critical and reflexive manner by bringing various KIDS actors from all political spectra. Without such open fora, it would be indeed almost impossible to overcome the politically motivated academic operation of KIDS. Further, KIDS needs to move more towards ‘academic research’ and ‘thinking’ by incorporating the post-colonial approach and the existing epistemological discussions on development. Such critical exercises will in turn

bring better understanding of both the current status of development and developing countries in a more historicised and nuanced context.

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Innovation for Inclusive Development:

A Design Thinking Approach to
MA-level Internships

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Introduction

In Southeast Asia, despite general trends of rising human development, economic growth and dropping proportions of people living in extreme poverty, inequality is rising and for those at the base of the pyramid poverty appears to remain entrenched (ADB, 2012). New ways of thinking about and tackling poverty are needed (iBoP Asia Project, 2012). One approach that has been proposed is Innovation for Inclusive Development (IID), which has been defined as “innovation that reduces poverty and enables all groups of people, especially the poor and marginalized, to participate in decision making, create and actualize opportunities, and equitably share in the benefits of development” (IDRC, 2013:5).

In this paper, I briefly map out approaches towards and the relationship between inclusiveness, innovation and development. I then introduce a new Master-level module titled “Principles, Tools and Practices for Innovation for Inclusive Development (IID) in Southeast Asia” taught on the MA in International Development Studies Program, Chulalongkorn University since 2015, and offer some reflections on its implementation to date.

Conceptualizing Inclusiveness and Innovation

Exclusion—and its inverse, inclusion—is a recurring concern of development studies. People may be excluded from many things, including: a livelihood; property, credit, or land; housing; minimal or prevailing consumption levels; education, skills, and cultural capital; citizenship and legal equality; democratic participation; and humanity, respect, fulfilment and understanding (Silver, 1995). Social exclusion occurs for many reasons, including: market social, policy and political structural barriers.

Inclusive growth has become increasingly discussed in the context of ever-expanding and deepening global capitalism. In the sphere of regional inter-governmental policy-making in Southeast Asia, for example, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has set as a goal the need for inclusive growth within its process of regional economic integration (ASEAN, 2011), although in practice this appears ambitious and unlikely to be attained.

Conceptually, inclusive growth may be defined as “such growth as improvements in the social and economic wellbeing of

communities [occur] that have structurally been denied access to resources, capabilities, and opportunities.” In this sense, it is both a process and an outcome, and is framed by Amartya Sen’s conceptualization of poverty that it is not just a lack of income, but in fact a lack of capabilities (Sen, 1999). Sen offers an “agent-oriented view on development and inequality” (Hartman, 2012), reasoning that as the marginalized acquire more capabilities and as unfreedoms are removed, they may be able to take advantage of economic and social opportunities. Thus, Sen re-conceptualizes development as the expansion of peoples’ capabilities, in other words their ability to do things that they have reason to value.

Innovation can be defined as the development and implementation of new ideas. These may include: new ideas related to services, processes, institutions, business models, or supply chains; and can be entirely new inventions or novel re-combinations or new to the context. Innovation may be technological, social or political. In fact, they are inter-linked as, for example, technological innovation entails reorganizing social relations around a new technology and political agreements on its use and disbursement. In a business sense, innovation is often interpreted as generating commercial value. From the perspective of IID, however, innovations relate not only to creating material wealth (or reducing material poverty), but social or political innovations that expand people’s capabilities.

Related to innovation, Governments in many countries of Southeast Asia nowadays have science, technology and innovation (STI) policies and management strategies (Ratanawaraha et al, 2013). Many of these policies have been critiqued, however, as: being supply-side led, with an

emphasis on university and research institution production of knowledge; being fragmented from the production structure of the economy; and receiving little investment and with limited numbers of skilled engineers and R&D scientists (Wong, 2011).

Furthermore, from the perspective of inclusive development these national innovation systems are principally for business-orientated innovation aimed

National innovation systems are business-oriented to the formal sector and national economic growth. They do not address innovation by marginalized communities in the context of an informal economy.

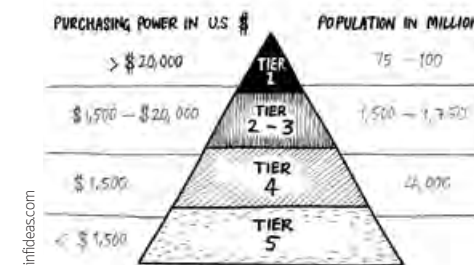
towards the formal sector and national economic growth. They do not address innovation for and by marginalized communities, their situational or community knowledge, and the context of a predominantly informal economy. In the worst case, such national innovation could even further marginalize these communities. Thus we should ask a number of questions towards innovation policies, including (adapted from Paunov, 2013):

Do policies aimed at supporting innovation reward only those with access to resources?

Does innovation and the resulting technological/ social change lead to increased inequalities?

To what extent can innovation be mobilised to improve the life conditions of the lower income groups (“inclusive innovation”)?

Approaches Towards IID



Some have proposed that the demographic at the “base of the pyramid” is a huge marketing opportunity, if only it can be reached. They propose new or redesigned products, and new marketing and distribution methods. Those in favor of such an approach argue that they provide reduced costs for higher quality products/ services, and provide jobs within the communities. In term of consumer goods, a well-known example is Nestlé’s “Popularly Positioned Products,” (PPPs) which range from chocolate bars to nutritionally enhanced dried milk.

Not everyone consider PPPs as beneficial however. According to GRAIN (2012) these products use cheap ingredients and are marketed to entice people away from locally-sourced produce (such as fresh milk), with impact on local economies and infringements on food sovereignty. Shahzad et al (2012), meanwhile, points out that for marginalized communities,

their social capital is an important asset for community resilience, yet as BoP businesses enter into such marginalized communities this social capital can become diminished even as material poverty reduces. Thus, even when “income” increases, poverty in Sen’s sense of the concept may not reduce.

Others have emphasized the role of appropriate technology. E.F. Schumacher, in his book *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* argued that high-income economies innovated to produce capital-intensive goods, but that these were inappropriate for low-income countries. Schumacher called for intermediate technologies, operating at smaller scales and that minimally disturbed natural systems. This call was mainly taken up by NGOs within the “Appropriate Technology” movement in the 1970s, which subsequently evolved into the “Practical Action” movement.

More recently, Kaplinsky (2009), in a paper titled *Schumacher meets Schumpeter: Appropriate Technology Below The Radar*, argues that capabilities for innovation are spreading globally, with implications for the products that are produced - including displacing Northern exported products, for example cheaper engines and rice mills. He writes: “The very large size of China and India, coupled with their growing technological capabilities and the rapid growth of low-incomes, makes it likely that they will become the dominant sources of innovation for the poor.”

Finally, a different approach has emphasized “Grassroots innovation” which is community-led. These are solutions that respond to the local situation and the interests and values of the communities involved. They empower, and often seek to create new social institutions and systems



of provision based upon different values to those of the mainstream. Examples include: community energy projects; complimentary currencies, such as time banks; local (organic) food production; and low-impact eco-housing (Seyfang and Smith, 2007). They can offer promising new ideas and practices, but may struggle to scale up and spread beyond small niches (Fressoli et al, 2014).

Teaching Innovation for Inclusive Development

MAIDS introduced the new module “Principles, Tools and Practices for Innovation for Inclusive Development (IID) in Southeast Asia” for its 2014-2015 course. Given that IID should be inclusive in both outcome and process, and that when IID is catalyzed by intermediaries such as civil society groups or research institutes problems should be co-diagnosed, and solutions co-designed, and co-deployed, the course intended to

introduce new pedagogic methods for teaching “design thinking” and “co-production of knowledge.” The specific objectives of the course were to: problematize and encourage critical thinking on IID; equip students with the skills and techniques to be able to work with communities in utilizing the tools of IID; and foster students’ passion for working with communities, and link the concepts of IID to its practice.

Five three-hour classes are allocated to teaching theories of IID. These classes: link macro processes of international development to micro-processes of the household; define and understand the situation at the “base of the pyramid”; focus on processes of inclusion and exclusion from the perspective of market, technology and social systems; and explore processes of technological, social, and political innovation. Practical approaches and tools for IID and design thinking are also taught, including situational analysis, problem analysis,

solution analysis, and innovation project design (IDEO, 2011).

The praxis component of the course entails a 100 hour mentored internship with a local organization. Working in a team or individually, the student is asked to move through a design thinking process of co-diagnosis of problem and co-design of a solution. This contributes ultimately towards the organization’s co-delivery and co-deployment with local communities. Thus, the course adopts an experiential learning approach, supporting the development of necessary skills including of facilitation, observation, communication, and relationship-building. At the end of the internship the students present their findings back to the host organization and community groups, together with the course lecturers.

In the first year of the program, one student undertook an internship with Raitong Organics Farm, where he co-designed and piloted survey tools for the participatory certification of organic food production. The app developed enables farm-level data to be collected via a smartphone, stores the data in an online database, and ultimately will enable food consumers to view where

their food has been sourced from and the processes behind its production. It is intended that consumers also be involved in the certification process thus linking production to consumption, and that ultimately the peer-to-peer certification scheme will be available to all interested organic farmers in Thailand.

Four other students have undertaken an internship with the “HomeNet” Foundation for Labour and Employment Promotion. Three students have worked with HomeNet and its partners, including Bronze Craft and Dignity Returns, to help develop a strategy to promote the manufactured products of these organizations whilst also raising the profile of the issue of labor rights through these manufactured goods. They also organized a “Demo Day” for Bronze Craft to help the community-based organization prepare for the opening of their visitor’s center in late 2015. The fourth student has supported HomeNet’s work with Myanmar domestic workers in Bangkok, with a focus on access to health care. In particular, she researched and prepared case studies on the barriers to accessing health insurance.

In each case, the students approached their internship with an open mind to the project that they would undertake. They discussed with their host organization and explored various challenges faced, and considered how their knowledge or skills might contribute towards a solution. Once the problem was understood, a project was co-designed to be manageable within the timeframe of the internship. The mentored internship approach adopting principles of design thinking produced a fruitful engagement for both the host organization and the student.



“A mentored internship approach adopting principles of design thinking produced fruitful engagement for both the host organization and the student.”

Conclusion: Towards Co-produced Knowledge

According to Dr. Segundo Joaquin Romero, Jr., co-lecturer on the MAIDS course for 2014-15, “inclusive innovation’ is innovation by and with the poor, the vulnerable, the disadvantaged, and the marginalized.” In teaching and practicing IID, the crux of the challenge is that power inequalities presently exist in the creation and deployment of knowledge, even when intended for poverty reduction. Therefore, to redress this situation any course that seeks to teach IID must co-create knowledge between university lecturers, students, other intermediary organizations, and the communities themselves, and remain sensitive to these power inequalities.

The experience of the MAIDS program in teaching IID affirms that design thinking when complimented with broader development studies theory can equip students with pragmatic and creative approaches to development challenges and poverty reduction. More broadly, IID has the potential to be a national and regional policy framework and research agenda, as well as a community strategy at the grassroots level.

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Programs & Institutions

Presentation of the Programs

The conference hosted a broad variety of programs from all across SEA and beyond. The following section will present each program with a short paragraph so that the main focus of these programs can easily be identified. The summaries are ordered into a first section, introducing the programs from SEA and Asia, and a second introducing the programs based in the West; all in alphabetical order. At the end of this chapter, a table lists all presented programs and their main interests of study. This will allow quick identification of common interests between the programs. The next chapter will give a short overview of these common interests.

Programs Based in Southeast and East Asia

University of Brunei Darussalam

Institute of Asian Studies

Zawawi presents the approach of the Institute of Asian Studies to development studies as being influenced by anthropology and area studies (Asian Studies). An important focus of the program is to answer questions raised by the deterritorializing effects of development with insights from

indigenous and local knowledge. These, says Zawawi, need to contest the “regime of truth” inherent in institutionalized development discourses. Nonetheless, he argues, the main problem that remains is the need for a fitting translation of these “lived experiences” into something that could become part of the otherwise “authority-defined discourse of development.”

City University Hong Kong

Communication for Sustainable Social Change (CSSC)



Servaes and Malikhao present CSSC, Communication for Sustainable Social Change, as an important perspective for development studies. The importance for CSSC derives from the importance of information and communication in development. Communication, say Servaes and Malikhao, is crucial and is contributing to a diverse set of development factors. It plays a key-role in sharing knowledge and information and is encouraging participation. The main goal of CSSC according to them, is equal and meaningful access to information, while acknowledging that “communication cannot substitute structural changes.”

Hoa Sen University

**Gender and Society
Research Center**



Thai Thi Ngoc Du (2015) highlights the importance of the economic, political and social integration driven by ASEAN as an important process that needs to be observed and investigated. The introduction of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) will have great implications for all member states and their societies. To strengthen development programs in SEA to better understand the challenges of the AEC, he argues for improved critical thinking, a better understanding of the social and cultural diversity across ASEAN, protection of the environment and more democracy and social justice. Field-trips, exchange of lecturers, and improved language skills could address these problems, while a joint regional MA program in development studies could address the issues brought by ASEAN/AEC and bring lecturers and students together.

National University of Laos

International Development Studies



The International Development Studies Program at the National University of Laos (IDS-NUOL) focuses on Laos' role in ASEAN. The approach of the program is multi-disciplinary and includes political analysis of Laos in relation to its neighbours and overseas, as well as the analysis of socio-economic indicators of development. IDS-NUOL cooperates with RCSD to achieve a greater output of multi-disciplinary graduates. Nonetheless, the University would like to increase the quality of the program. Language skills have been identified as one of the key elements to further improve the curriculum.

Mae Fah Luang University

International Development Studies



The International Development Studies program at Mae Fah Luang (IDS-MFL) is taught in English and aims at international students from all over the region. The focus of its research lies on Northern Thailand and the Greater Mekong Sub-Region (GMS). Of special interest are cross-border and area based studies. While the program draws mostly from political science and related fields from international relations/development, the curriculum also includes ideas from sociology, anthropology and from economics. IDS-MFL intends to achieve a better inclusion of economics and finance into the program to improve the employability of its graduates.

Universiti Kebangsaan

**Institute of Malaysian
& International Studies
(IKMAS)**



Embong (2015), as mentioned previously, criticized the insulation of many SEA-development studies that are focused only on specific loci like nation-state or specific times (leading to ahistorical studies). This conclusion draws him to acknowledge the importance of historical-comparative studies. While he reflects in his paper on the "Malaysian development of development" he embeds his analysis in the broader developments of the field following World War II. While a diverse field is needed, different approaches need to be brought together again, says Embong.

Institute for Social and
Environmental Transition,
Bangkok



An important field of study for development studies, says Friend (2015), is urbanisation. He suggests that important issues in development studies, e.g. climate change, are heavily linked to urbanisation. The regionalisation in ASEAN is another driver for urbanisation as can be observed by the implementation and construction of Special Economic Zones in Nan Hoi (Vietnam) and Dawei (Myanmar). The unequal distribution of vulnerabilities and risks in development is reinforced by urbanisation, according to Friend. Hence, urbanisation is a field that needs to be addressed in SEA development studies.

Southwest University, Chongqing

**Institute for Rural
Reconstruction of China**



The Institute for Rural Reconstruction of China aims at "promoting innovation and evolution for re-building a positive social and economic structure for rural sustainability," Sit Tsui (2015). The program focuses on close co-operation with farmers in the form of training courses and students working in the agricultural sector. The program's ideas are based on the so-called "3P": 1. people's livelihood 2. people's solidarity and 3. people's cultural diversity. The close relationship between the University and rural areas is also aimed at fostering a better understanding of rural-urban relationships. By doing so, answers should be found as to how the impacts of the global market system could be mitigated.

Lingnan University

Department of Cultural Studies



The Department of Cultural Studies at Lingnan University, Hong Kong, is home to three different approaches to development studies. While one is reflected by the Department of Cultural Studies itself, another is put forward with the "Global University for Sustainability" (GUS) and another one with the South-South-Forum on Sustainability" (SSFS). The Department of Cultural Studies provides critical perspectives on pedagogy as well as contemporary cultural production. Furthermore, it provides a link to urban-farming through courses on food crises and food sovereignty. It also links the theory with the practice, by running three sites of urban-farming on campus. The GUS fosters co-operation between academia and grassroots and identifies possibilities for direct action. The SSFS on the other hand provides students and lecturers with possibilities of exchange, either through a website or short courses, study tours and youth exchange.

Chulalongkorn University

**MA International Development
Studies (MAIDS)**



The MA in International Development Studies (MAIDS) in the Faculty of Political Science at Chulalongkorn University mainly focuses on the following subjects: 1. human security; 2. democracy, policy, governance and social movements; 3. migration and human trafficking; 4. environment, water and natural resources; 5 human rights and gender; and 6. peace and conflict studies. MAIDS approaches these issues based mainly through a political science lens, and hopes to expand its scope to issues of border and cross-border

studies, commercialisation/industrialisation and urbanisation as well as the implementation and circulation of technological knowledge. Jakkrit (2015) argues for a better co-operation between institutions and to examine the vast set of empirical studies and put them into the wider context. Middleton (2015) presented a new module at MAIDS that is aimed at improving cooperation between academics and development practitioners, namely “Innovation for Inclusive Development”. It embeds MA-students into local development organizations, allowing for not only experiential learning for the students, but also providing the organizations with up-to-date insights from academia with the goal of strengthening the organizations’ capabilities.

National University
of Singapore



Asia Research Institute (ARI)

While none of the Singaporean universities run any program dedicated to development studies and Singaporean financial contributions to international aid and development are supposedly small in comparison (Fountain 2015), the Religion Cluster at the Asia Research Institute of the National University of Singapore explores the intersections of religion and development that are often overlooked by Development Studies. The Religion Cluster hosts scholars from various disciplines ranging from anthropology to political science and organizes conferences on issues of religion and development. According to Fountain (2015), the study of religion and development in Asia is incomplete if one does not consider insights from both.

Chiang Mai University



Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD)

The Regional Center of Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) aims to foster critical thinking among its students. Processes and impacts of development are critically examined. While the program started with a focus on “environment and development” in conjunction with questions of ethnicity, gender and health, it increasingly embeds these analyses into a framework of political ecology (Chusak 2015). Mega-infrastructural development projects are analysed regarding the context of regionalization processes set in motion by transnational bodies like ASEAN or GMS as well. Transborder Studies, like examination of transborder flows of goods, people, capital and knowledge are another area of increasing interest. To address these new issues appropriately, RCSD has restructured the MA program, which now offers a MA Social Science (Development Studies).

Royal University of Phnom Penh



Faculty of Development Studies

The Faculty of Development Studies at the Royal University of Phnom Penh offers three distinct MA programs. One is focused on Community Development teaching on community organizations, civil engagement, governance, human rights, responses to natural disasters and research methodology. The second MA program, Economic Development, teaches linkages between development and economy. Emphasis is given to compliance of economic growth with sustainability. Fundamental economics are taught and how the acquired knowledge

can be applied. The third program, Natural Resource Management and Development, offers a multidisciplinary approach to Natural Resource Management (NRM) including social and natural dimensions on resource management. The program has an emphasis on application linking local communities with practitioners, policy developers and decision makers.

Sogang University



Sogang Institute of East Asian Studies

Kim (2015), presents the three development studies programs of South Korea. Kim describes the programs (1. Ehwa: development co-operation, IR, trade, sociology; 2. Khyanghee: implementation, program management; 3. Korea University: economics, IR) as being heavily influenced by Japanese development models (*hatten*: development for local people; *kaihatsu*: development as external intervention). Kim identifies a tendency in Korean International Development Studies (KIDS) to “self-exoticization” and homogenization of Eastern and Western development models, resulting in another “one-size-fits-all”-model. Kim urges KIDS to employ a more critical stance towards state-sponsored aid-programs. The research agenda in KIDS should not be dictated by the state, said Kim.

Vietnamese German
University



MA Sustainable Urban Development

The Vietnamese German University (VGU) provides, in co-operation with Technical University Darmstadt, a MA program in Sustainable Urban Development. The MA covers a technical and engineering perspective on Urban

Development where sustainability plays an important role. Sustainability is thereby defined from three directions: physical sustainability (technically sound, resource-saving), economic sustainability (cost effectiveness/opportunities) and social sustainability (coherence and harmonic implementation). The basic modules cover Vietnamese property laws and planning, basics in GIS and CAD and methodologies of empirical analysis. The main courses are 1. Urban Planning and Architecture of Cities; 2. Water in Urban Development; 3. Urban-Rural Partnership; 4. Spatial-Data Modelling and Analysis for Urban Development; 5. Transport Planning and Traffic Engineering; 6. Economics of Urban Development; 7. Instruments of Spatial Planning; 8. Ecological Management in Urban Development.

Programs based in Europe/Australia

University of Copenhagen



Department of Anthropology

The University of Copenhagen’s Department of Anthropology has a very broad approach to anthropology. The department teaches and conducts research on various issues, regions and methodologies. This variety of topics is reflected by the diverse set of research groups hosted by the university: 1. Business and Organisation; 2. Conflict, Power and Politics; 3. Globalisation and Development; 4. Health and Life Conditions; 5. Migration and Social Mobility; 6. Nature and Environmental Change; 7. Religion and Subjectivity; 8. Technology and Political Economy. The research group on Globalisation and Development’s main focus is on the “[...] key junctures [globalization and development] in processes involving large-scale schemes of social transformation, accompanied by the

Common Ideas and Interests of the Programs

The conference showed that even though the programs apply very different approaches to development, there are areas of common interest and opportunities for cooperation. Following the presentations at the conference, one can identify nine major areas of interest. This following list is far from being comprehensive. However, it represents a good overview over the main issues tackled and should be seen as an attempt to order the tremendous diversity of the work presented. The nine areas of common interests as identified are: 1. Discourse and History of Development; 2. Regionalization and Area Studies; 3. Urbanization; 4. Rural and Agrarian Studies; 5. Political Ecology, Governance and Natural Resources; 6. Economy, Management and Organization; 7. Education and Communication; 8. Technology and Development; 9. Religion and Identity. An overview of the programs and their approaches according to these fields of interest can be found in the preceding chapter.

Discourse and History of Development

The chapter on theoretical debates gives a good overview of the discussions at the conference. The aim here is to point out some of the main debates regarding the history and discourses of development. In some ways one can understand the history of development as a history of the discourse of development. Nonetheless, regarding the conference, an importance for comparative studies becomes apparent. This includes comparisons in historical as well as spatial dimensions. It is suggested that ahistorical analyses, or analyses restrained to national scales will not be sufficient to further develop the theoretical debate of

development studies in Southeast Asia. Studies should employ a comparative approach to highlight differences as well as similarities of development studies. This can be especially true for analyses of discourses of development. Some papers discuss the differences of developmental debates and approaches in the West and the East, while others put national approaches in relation to other approaches within Asia (e.g. Korean/Japanese). Apart from discussions on difference of approaches of East/West, North/South, comparative studies can highlight differences of bottom-up versus top-down models, as is shown in various empirical studies undertaken by several programs. Cooperation between the programs should be encouraged to increase the output of comparative studies as outlined in this paragraph.

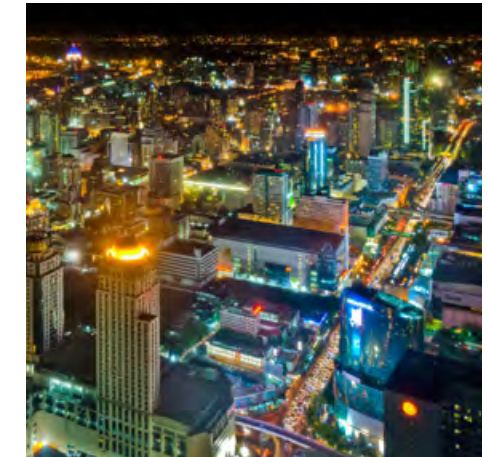
Regionalization and Area Studies



Various programs (RCSD, Hoa Sen, Laos IDS, Lingnan University) run programs that focus heavily on processes of regionalization and/or employ area study approaches. Unifying fields of interest are the impacts of ASEAN and the economic integration through the

AEC. Economic integration is one of the main goals of ASEAN. However, market liberalizations and large-scale infrastructure projects funded or supported by ASEAN institutions affect local communities. Globalization processes are also of interest as these affect the populations as well. To study these impacts is of major interest to mitigate negative and enhance positive impacts. Many of these impacts caused by economic integration and other regionalization and globalization processes can be best observed in border areas. Several programs (e.g. RCSD) have identified transborder studies as a field that promises to give interesting insights into regionalization processes. Approaches like transborder or regionalization studies acknowledge the increased fluidity of goods, capital, ideas, knowledge and people due to aforementioned regionalization and globalization processes. It does not come as a surprise that various programs intend to undertake research in the field in the future (IKMAS, MAIDS, Sogang).

Urbanization



Mathias Krumbholz

Closely linked is another field of interest, “urbanization”. Due to processes of globalization and regionalization, urbanization will play an increasingly important role in Southeast Asian development. While large parts of Southeast Asia’s population still rely on agriculture as the main source of income, an increasing number of people replace their rural livelihoods with wage-labour in the urban centres of Southeast Asia. Urbanization, hence, poses a vital challenge to the future of SEA. As done by the programs of ISET, IRRC and Ligan, the field has a close relationship to rural studies as urban-rural relations are vital to understand the challenges of modernity. Korff (2015a) points out that modernization can be identified as a process of urbanization. Hence, technologies are applied to deal with problems that arise from rapid urbanization. The Vietnamese-German University offers a program that tries to find technical solutions to these problems.

Rural and Agrarian Studies



ADB

As Hirsch (2015) points out, while urbanization plays an increasingly important role, agriculture still remains to be an important field of inquiry. As mentioned under the last paragraph, rural and agrarian studies share close ties to the phenomenon of urbanization nowadays. The livelihoods of the rural population are heavily altered by the demands of urban populations, through land-grabbing, pollution, speculation, industrialization of agriculture etc. Issues of livelihood and concerns regarding land-grabbing are issues that are at the centre of interest at the RCSD as well as the University of Sydney. Lingnan University (urban farming), IRRIC and ISET's focus is more on issues of food security. Sogang will most likely join the field by conducting field-research on the issue in the future.

Political Ecology, Governance, Natural Resources



ADB

While this header might be considered very broad, it still makes sense to bring these different areas together. Looking at the papers and presentations at the conference, one can divide this issue into four distinct sub-headers: 1. Resource Management; 2. Issues of Governance; 3. Social and Environmental Dimensions and 4. International Perspectives. While Resource Management might relate more closely to sustainable use of resources, issues of governance include issues of democratic participation. RUPP has a distinct program for Natural Resource Management that addresses questions of sustainability, while it also runs a program on community development concerned with community participation in decision-making processes. Questions of democratic participation are also part of the MAIDS and RCSD programs. While MAIDS' focus might be located closer on the political science dimension, RCSD applies a more ethnographic approach to address issues of mega-infrastructure

development and resource extraction, as well as repository land-issues regarding forest, land and water resources. Furthermore, one can draw another link to issues of regionalization and globalization processes as accelerators of these issues.

Economy, Management and Organization



ADB

Economic indicators play an important role in the assessment of certain development goals. Indicators such as GDP, or Foreign Direct Investment are key-elements in governments' and aid agencies' reports. ASEAN, for example, justifies policies introduced by the AEC as they are expected to have positive impacts on these indicators and, therefore, would aid the development of the ASEAN member states. Several programs present at the conference apply economy approaches to understand development in economic terms. Hoa Sen, for example studies the economic impacts of the AEC, for IDS of NUL economic indicators play an integral part to their research. RUPP runs a

MA program in economic development, specializing on this approach, but management and organization play a vital role in its two other development programs (community development, Natural Resource Management) as well. The IDS program of Mae Fah Luang University intends to integrate economic and finance to its program in an attempt to improve the employability of its graduates.

Education and Communication



ADB

Education and Communication both play an important role in development. As institutions of education, all university programs are familiar with the importance of education to enhance and spread knowledge of and about development issues. Exchange of knowledge between academics, practitioners, decision-makers as well as the public is an important goal for all programs. The Lingnan University aims to enhance this exchange with the installation of the Global University (GUS) and specific programs for teachers

to increase knowledge of development at young ages. The City University Hong Kong applies another approach aimed at Communication itself: Communication for Sustainable Social Change (CSSC) aims to improve knowledge on communication. Servaes and Malikhao (2015) highlight the importance of communication. Communication is crucial, say Servaes and Malikhao, to address development problems. Only by increasing comprehensibility of development ideas can exchange of knowledge be fostered and meaningful participation of all stakeholders be guaranteed. This is important if one considers the earlier contributions on discourse: exchange of differing ideas on development need to be communicated. Communication therefore plays a crucial role to foster exchange of ideas.

Technology



ADB

Technology and its applications in development are an important area of expertise

for development studies. The Vietnamese-German University runs a program that teaches and researches urban-planning and the use of satellite data and GIS to enhance urban planning. While this is only one example of the use of technology in development, it still showcases the opportunities that arise from the use of modern technology to examine possibilities and constraints of development. Cooperation could be very promising in this area to enhance a better understanding between researchers of a social science background with researchers from engineering. MAIDS intends to foster such an understanding in the future by applying actor-network theory to the implications of technical solutions to development problems. This could narrow the gap between different sides of the very diversified field of development studies and provide exciting new insights into the identification and solution of development problems.

Religion and Identity



ADB

Another important field of inquiry for development studies is religion and identity. RCSD has continuously produced work on issues of identity and religion regarding development and

ethnic minorities in the Greater-Mekong-Subregion (GMS). Works ranged from local knowledge and arts to tourism as well as a link to issues arising from land-grabbing and impacts on local identities and/or religious practices. The short paper of Suwannarat (2015), for example, gives a good first impression, on how issues of identity are related to development. Zawawi's (2015a) paper highlights the importance of narrative and identity in re-claiming space for the Penan. The NUS, as mentioned earlier, has established a Religion Cluster that highlights various issues of development/aid and religion and the interrelations between the two. Fountain (2015) rightfully states that one can find in Western development not only a heritage of Enlightenment, but Christian thoughts on philanthropy as well. Salemink (2015) expands on that idea by highlighting the similarities of religious and secular messianism, criticizing that this practice removes projects like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) from political debate.

Outlook

Challenges

Jakkrit named several challenges to development studies that had been identified during the conference. First, development studies is an incredibly diverse field. This diversity asks for answers to the following questions: where to draw its boundaries? What is development studies about? About actors? About methodologies or concepts? About histories or spaces? Is development studies in Southeast Asia distinct from development studies elsewhere? While these questions are often formulated in dichotomies, it is less about dichotomies as many participants pointed out. Development studies is more about interconnectedness. Interconnectedness increases complexity and therefore demands a diverse set of approaches to identify these relations. But how to deal with this diversity, the constant flow? Shall we cherish it or harmonize it? This poses another question: how do we deal with orthodox ideas on what should be included or excluded from development studies? This question shows that power-struggles are closely knit to development studies itself. While development studies is still possible in the aftermath of the de-construction of modernity, says Jakkrit, development studies should not be considered a discipline, but a

process and network of knowledge sharing. Furthermore, it is important, according to Jakkrit, not to allow anyone to discipline development studies.

Second, to refuse to be disciplined has implications for the practical implementation of development studies as well. What shall be taught in the programs? How should it be taught? How to critique donors and funders of development and development studies? Is development studies the study of victims or actors? The conference provided some ideas on how these challenges could be addressed. For one, development studies programs could include internships. These could improve the links and knowledge exchange between development actors in the field and academia. However, such an approach would put further pressure on an already ever-expanding work-load for students. Hence, one big challenge for development studies is to balance course-work, practical experiences, research and students' future professional needs without sacrificing critical thinking in the curriculum.

Rethinking Development Studies

One of the main insights of the conference is that the field of development studies in Southeast Asia is extremely diverse.

This gives cause to the need to bring the diverse approaches together (without harmonizing them) to create exciting new findings based on approaching issues from various angles. It has been proposed to introduce more comparative studies. This should allow making better sense of the rich treasures of empirical studies undertaken in Southeast Asia. It is necessary to transcend the boundaries of the nation state, either through transborder studies or through spatially and historically comparative studies. It is important to include both spatial as well as historical perspectives on development studies to lay a firm foundation for the newly established knowledges. This should also support the establishment of a stronger connection of empirical studies with theoretical debates, advancing the recognition of Southeast Asian development studies. However, it should not be the goal to unify development studies as a whole in Southeast Asia. Nonetheless, Southeast Asia experiences processes that are of high interest for development studies as a whole: processes of integration; either through regionalization or globalization processes, or both.

The introduction of the AEC among ASEAN member states has impacts on all fields of expertise. The challenges for development are significant and hence, development studies needs to identify the right tools to find answers to them; some of these have been brought forward during the conference: internships, increased co-operation between universities and actors involved in development on the one side, and on the other theoretical debate on empirical research (as outlined in chapter 4). Though the economic integration has, as outlined by various participants, the potential to be exclusionary. Land-grabbing and dispossession, environmental degradation, urbanization

and increasing de-regulation through a neo-liberal driven economic integration, have the potential to increase conflicts, human trafficking, human rights violations and abuses of vulnerable groups. While the conference addressed many of these issues, it was not comprehensive: gender issues and demographic challenges, as well as questions of underlying power-structures and re-distribution, for example, have only been marginally addressed. As pointed out earlier, many of these issues are strongly linked to each other. Co-operation between different programs and across disciplinary boundaries is recommended to find answers to these issues.

It should not be enough to publish findings only in academic journals or books. Findings should contribute to the work of development actors

Yet, it is not enough to only find answers. These answers need to be communicated broadly. As Ajarn Amporn pointed out, it should not be enough to publish findings only in academic journals or books. Findings should contribute to the work of development actors. They should be an integral part of policy-making increasing the impact of development studies. While increasing the impact of development studies can be considered another challenge it should also be an integral part of re-think-



ing development studies in Southeast Asia. The papers included in this volume give insight into the development of development studies (King); a reflection on today's development studies by Salemin; Friend's paper specified the issues of development studies in Southeast Asia, while Kim's paper present the specific approaches to development in South-Korea. Finally, Middleton's paper linked development studies with the teaching of development studies by actors across the field. It is hoped that these papers provide a good summary of the ideas and outcomes of the conference: laying the grounds on where we as development academics and practitioners

in Southeast Asia come from, where we stand now and where we might be heading to in the future. May the interested reader find the ground on which to rethink development in Southeast Asia in these papers and the proceedings of the conference.

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Appendix I

Conference Program and List of Participants

Rethinking Development Studies in Southeast Asia: State of Knowledge and Challenges

7 - 8 March 2015

UNISERV (University Academic Service Center), Chiang Mai University

Host organizations

Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University

Center for ASEAN Studies (CAS), Chiang Mai University

Background

Development studies as a distinctive academic subject proliferated after World War II in response to the need to understand, interpret, induce and question social transformation occurring in developing countries. The social transformation that we have observed is quite complex, comprehensive and dynamic, and is commonly described as “development” or “modernity”—a trajectory which transforms developing countries to be like the Western world. To understand and interpret the global phenomena of development and modernity, a multi-disciplinary approach is required, particularly in the social sciences. Academics and practitioners of development and modernity have subscribed to—as well as reflected upon—different paradigms, such as dependency theory, Marxist and Neo-Marxist development theories, and postmodernism. While these meta-theories tend to analyze the causes and consequences of social transformation, the postmodern turn suggests that emphasis should be placed on a wide range of possibly discordant and even contradictory views, voices and discourses.

Thus, “development” is one of the very meta-narratives that is to be questioned. How postmodernism would lead to disentangling the malaise of development still needs to be discovered.

It is interesting to see how the subject of development studies has generated multiple sub-fields of study allowing scholars from different disciplines to look into development phenomena. The conventional rural development approach is gradually replaced by community-based, participatory development, while environment and resource management and agrarian transformation have become a new terrain for investigation. The crucial role of the nation-state in the context of globalization in the control of natural resources and citizens still receives great attention. Lately, some scholars have taken a “cultural turn” in approaching development, paying attention to representation and power leading to an increasing interest in governmentality. They also pay attention to the way in which countries mobilize cultural power to create their imageries to rebrand themselves. Development studies also encompasses the intersection between development and various aspects of society, such as gender and development, ethnic conflict and state, civil society, social capital, globalization and localization, religion and development, media and consumption, urbanization and climate change, etc., to name a few. To a certain extent, this evolution of development studies tends to unnecessarily create departmentalization and boundary maintenance.

At the emergence of increasing regional integration in Southeast Asia as a result of neo-liberal economic reforms, the region has encountered an era of development that is characterized by an accelerated rate of economic change and investment,

transborder/boundary migration and mobility, growth in extractive industries, environmental degradation, land and water grabbing, an increased flow of culture and ideas, human rights violations, and so forth. In light of this, there is an urgent need for ‘rethinking’ development studies—that is, how the subject should expand or refocus in order to better address the emerging issues in the region, regional integration and its inclusion and exclusion.

This seminar will involve those who work in development studies throughout Southeast Asia in order to show the variety of programs available. It will ask questions of how development studies in the region is conceptualized, positioned and planned. Furthermore, the seminar will address the future direction of development studies in the region and how a collaborative network can be fostered in Southeast Asia and beyond to better address the challenges mentioned above.

Objectives

- To reflect, share, and exchange experiences in teaching/research with regard to development studies in Southeast Asia
- To identify new challenges and emerging issues in development studies in the changing context of Southeast Asia

Format of the seminar

Format of the seminar will be a roundtable discussion based on short paper presentations by representatives of development studies programs. A number of invited scholars of the field will be asked to add comments and share their experience. The issues of each presentation include:

- 1) The orientation of the program and the thematic issues which each program emphasizes or specializes;
- 2) In light of integration of ASEAN Community, how each program redesigns its program and curriculum, revises courses, and evaluates methodologies or refocuses upon new emerging issues and debates. Also how the program of study envisions collaboration to be forged to encourage exchanges and mutual learning among faculties and students.
- 3) Recommendations for academic collaboration, information sharing, as well as staff and student exchanges.

List of participants and observers

1. Dr. Philip Hirsch, School of Geosciences, The University of Sydney
2. Dr. Ruediger Korff, Southeast Asian Studies, University of Passau
3. Dr. Oscar Salemin, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Copenhagen, Denmark
4. Dr. Victor T. King, University of Leeds/School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
5. Dr. Paul Cohen, Macquarie University
6. Dr. Philip Fountain, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
7. Dr. Carl Grundy Warr, Department of Geography, National University of Singapore
8. Dr. Peter Vail, National University of Singapore
9. Dr. Gary Suwannarat, RCSD Board of Trustees

10. Dr. Naruemon Thabchumpon, Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS), Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University
11. Carl Middleton, Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS), Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University
12. Dr. Jakkrit Sangkhamanee, Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS) Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Political Science Chulalongkorn University, Thailand
13. Associate Professor Surichai Wungao, Director, Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Chulalongkorn University
14. Dr. Nalinee Tantuvanit, Thammasat University
15. Dr. Soimart Rungmanee, Thammasat University
16. Dr. Richard Friend, Institute for Social and Environmental Transition
17. Dr. Rosalia Sciortino, Mahidol University
18. Dr. Buapan Prompakping, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Khon Khen University
19. Dr. Patcharin Lapanun, Khon Khen University
20. Dr. Romyen Kosaikanont, Mae Fah Luang University
21. Dr. Thai Thi Ngoc Du, Gender and Society Research Center, Hoa Sen University, Vietnam
22. Dr. Truong Thi Kim Chuyen, Geography Department, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, National University of Vietnam
23. Dr. Spoann Vin, Lecturer/Researcher, Department of Economic Development, Faculty of Development Studies, Royal University of Phnom Penh
24. Dr. Mak Sithirith, Royal University of Phnom Penh
25. Dr. Kabamanyvanh Phouxay, Faculty of Social Science, National University of Laos
26. Dr. Bounlouane Douangneune, National University of Laos
27. Dr. Aung Myint, General Secretary, Renewable Energy Association Myanmar (REAM)
28. Professor Saw Win, Renewable Energy Association Myanmar (REAM)
29. Dr. Abdul Rahman Embong, Institute of Malaysia & International Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
30. Dr. Wan Zawawi Ibrahim, Institute of Asian Studies & Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, Universiti Brunei Darussalam
31. Dr. Lau Kin Chi, Lingnan University, Hong Kong
32. Dr. SIT Tsui, Margaret Jade, Associate Professor, Institute of Rural Reconstruction of China Southwest University, Chongqing, China
33. Dr. Soyeun Kim, Sogang Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University, Seoul, Korea
34. Dr. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, RCSD/CAS Director, Chiang Mai University
35. Dr. Anan Ganjanapan, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University

36. Dr. Yos Santasombat, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
37. Dr. Jamaree Chiengthong, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
38. Dr. Thapin Patcharanurak, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
39. Dr. Chusak Wittayapak, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
40. Dr. Amporn Jirattikorn, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
41. Dr. Prasit Leeprecha, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
42. Dr. Mukdawan Sakboon, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
43. Dr. Alexandra Denes, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
44. Dr. Rungsima Wiwatwongwana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
45. Dr. Santita Ganjanapan, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
46. Lecturer Ekamol Saichan, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
47. Lecturer Phrek Gypmantasiri, Faculty of Agriculture, Chiang Mai University
48. Dr. Shirley Worland, Department of Social Science and Development, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
49. Dr. Nguyen Ngoc Hieu, Social Science of Sustainable Urban Development Program, Vietnamese-German University

50. Dr. Ploysri Porananond, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University
51. Dr. Suriya Smutkupt, RCSD, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
52. Ms. Charlotte Trenk-Hinterberger, RCSD, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
53. Ms. Elizabeth King, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
54. Ms. Meg Youdelis, Department of Geography, York University
55. Dr. Nattakant Akarapongpisak, College of Politics and Governance, Mahasarakham University
56. Mr. Tanasak Phosrikun, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
57. Ms. Thao Thi Anh Le, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
58. Mr. Tran Khanh An, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
59. Ms. Wimonsiri Hemtanon, Mahidol University International College
60. Lecturer Chirada Na Suwan, School of Social Innovation, Mae Fah Luang University
61. Dr. Rosalia Sciortino, Mahidol University
62. Lecturer Supitcha Punya, Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, Chiang Mai University

63. Mr. Autsadawut Mongkolkaew, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
64. Dr. Bharat Dahiya, Social Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University
65. Ms. Ja San Ra, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
66. Ms. Mom Sary, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
67. Mr. Yeath Yong, Student, MA in Social Science (Development Studies), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
68. Assoc.Prof. Rome Chiranukrom, Vice President, International Relations and Alumni Affairs, Chiang Mai University
69. Dr. Chris Joll, Center for Ethnic Studies and Development (CESD), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
70. Ms. Kesone Kanhalikham, Ph.D. in Social Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
71. Dr. Arratee Ayuttacorn, Department of Social Science and Development, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
72. Mr. Sivilay Keobountham, Ph.D. in Social Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
73. Dr. Malee Sitthikiengkrai, Center for Ethnic Studies and Development (CESD), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University

74. Dr. Shigeharu Tanabe, Center for Ethnic Studies and Development (CESD), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
75. Ms. Chanjittra Chanorn, Student, Ph.D. in Social Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University
76. Mr. Daniel Hayward, Master's student, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

Appendix II

Conference Schedule: Sessions & Topics

Tentative Schedule
Rethinking Development Studies in Southeast Asia:
State of Knowledge and Challenges
7 – 8 March 2015
UNISERV – University Academic Service Center, Chiang Mai University

7 March 2015	
8.30-8.45	<p>Welcome address by Associate Professor Puangpetch Dhanasin, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University</p> <p>Introduction of the objectives of the Seminar by Dr. Chayan Vahddnaphuti, Director, Center for ASEAN Studies (CAS), Chiang Mai University/ Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University</p>
8.45-10.30 (1.45 hrs)	<p>SESSION I Overview of development studies <i>Development Studies: the Deep Past, the Complex Present and the Problematical Future</i> by Dr. Victor T. King, Emeritus Professor, University of Leeds/School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</p> <p>SESSION II: Experiences of teaching development studies and related fields & discussion (roundtable) Representatives from the program of study Dr. Narumon Thapchumpon, International Development Studies (MAIDS), Chulalongkorn University Dr. Spoann Vin Development Studies, Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP) Dr. Chusak Wittayapak, Social Sciences (Development Studies), Chiang Mai University (CMU) Dr. Bounlouane Douangneune, International Development (IDS), National University of Laos (NOUL)</p> <p>Moderator: Dr. Surichai Wun'geao, Chulalongkorn University</p>
10.30-10.45	Coffee break
10.45-12.30 (1.45 hrs)	<p>SESSION II: Experiences of teaching development studies and related fields & discussion (continued)</p> <p>Dr. Buapan Prompakping, Khon Kaen University Dr. Lua Kin Chi, Lingnan University Dr. Romyen Kosaikanont, Mae Fah Luang University</p> <p>Moderator: Dr. Abdul Rahman Embong, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia</p>
12.30-13.30	Lunch
13.30-15.00 (1.30 hrs)	<p>SESSION III: Research Agenda <i>Inclusive and Exclusive Development: Regionalization of Land Issues and the Agrarian Studies Agenda</i> by Dr. Philip Hirsch, The University of Sydney</p> <p>SESSION IV: Research in development studies in/on Southeast Asia & discussion (roundtable) Prof. Dr. Anan Ganjanapan, Chiang Mai University Dr. Jakkrit Sangkhamanee, Chulalongkorn University</p>

	Dr. Mak Sithirith, Royal University of Phnom Penh Dr. Rosalia Scioritno, Mahidol University Moderator: Dr. Peter Vail, National University of Singapore
15.00-15.15	Break
15.15-16.45 (1.30 hrs)	SESSION V: Research Agenda <i>Regionalization, Urbanisation and Climate Change and the Challenges for Development Studies</i> by Dr. Richard Friend, Institute for Social and Environmental Transition SESSION IV : Research in development studies in/on Southeast Asia & discussion (continued) Dr. Truong Thi Kim Chuyen, USSH, National University of Vietnam Prof. Aung Myint, Renewable Energy Association Myanmar (REAM) Dr. Carl Grundy Warr, National University of Singapore Dr. Kabamanyanh Phouxay, National University of Laos Prof. Dr. Surichai Wun'gaeo, Chulalongkorn University Roundtable: Research in Development Studies in/on Southeast Asia Moderator: Dr. Rosalia Scioritno, Mahidol University
16.45-17.15 (45 mins)	SESSION VI: Wrap up and discussion Dr. Carl Middleton, Chulalongkorn University and Dr. Mukdawan Sakboon, Chiang Mai University
18.15	Dinner
8 March 2015	
8.45-10.30 (1.45 hrs)	SESSION VII: Theoretical debates in development studies <i>Development from a Perspective of an Urbanized Global Society</i> by Dr. Ruediger Korff, University of Passau SESSION VIII: Theoretical debates & re-conceptualization of development studies & discussion (roundtable) Dr. Philip Fountain, National University of Singapore Prof. Dr. Wan Zawawi, Universiti Brunei Darussalam Prof. Dr. Paul Cohen, Macquarie University Dr. Alexandra Denes, Chiang Mai University Prof. Dr. Oscar Salemink Moderator: Dr. Amporn Jirattikorn, Chulalongkorn University
10.30-10.45	Break
10.45-12.30 (1.45 hrs)	SESSION IX: Theoretical debates in development studies <i>Development subjects: Intransitive and transitive (willed) aspects of development as process and as discipline</i> by Dr. Oscar Salemink, University of Copenhagen SESSION VIII : Theoretical debates & re-conceptualization of development studies & discussion (continued) Prof. Dr. Philip Hirsch, the University of Sydney Dr. Soyeun Kim, Sogang Institute for East Asian Studies

	Prof. Dr. Abdul Rahman Embong, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Dr. Jamaree Cheingthong/Prof. Yos Santasombat Dr. Carl Middleton, Chulalongkorn University Dr. Ruediger Korff, University of Passau Dr. Peter Vail, National University of Singapore Moderator: Dr. Victor King, University of Leeds/School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
12.30-13.30	Lunch
13.30-15.15 (1.45 hours)	SESSION X : General discussion - Challenges for issues on development studies in Southeast Asia Moderator: Dr. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti and Prof. Dr. Oscar Salemink
15.15-15.30	Break
15.30-16.30	SESSION X : General discussion - Challenges for issues on development (continued) studies in Southeast Asia (continued) Moderator: Dr. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti and Prof. Dr. Oscar Salemink
16.30-17.00	SESSION XI Wrap up and discussion Dr. Jakkrit Sangkhamanee, Chulalongkorn University and Dr. Alexandra Denes, Chiang Mai University
17.00-17.20	Concluding remarks



Rethinking Development Studies in Southeast Asia:
State of Knowledge and Challenges

