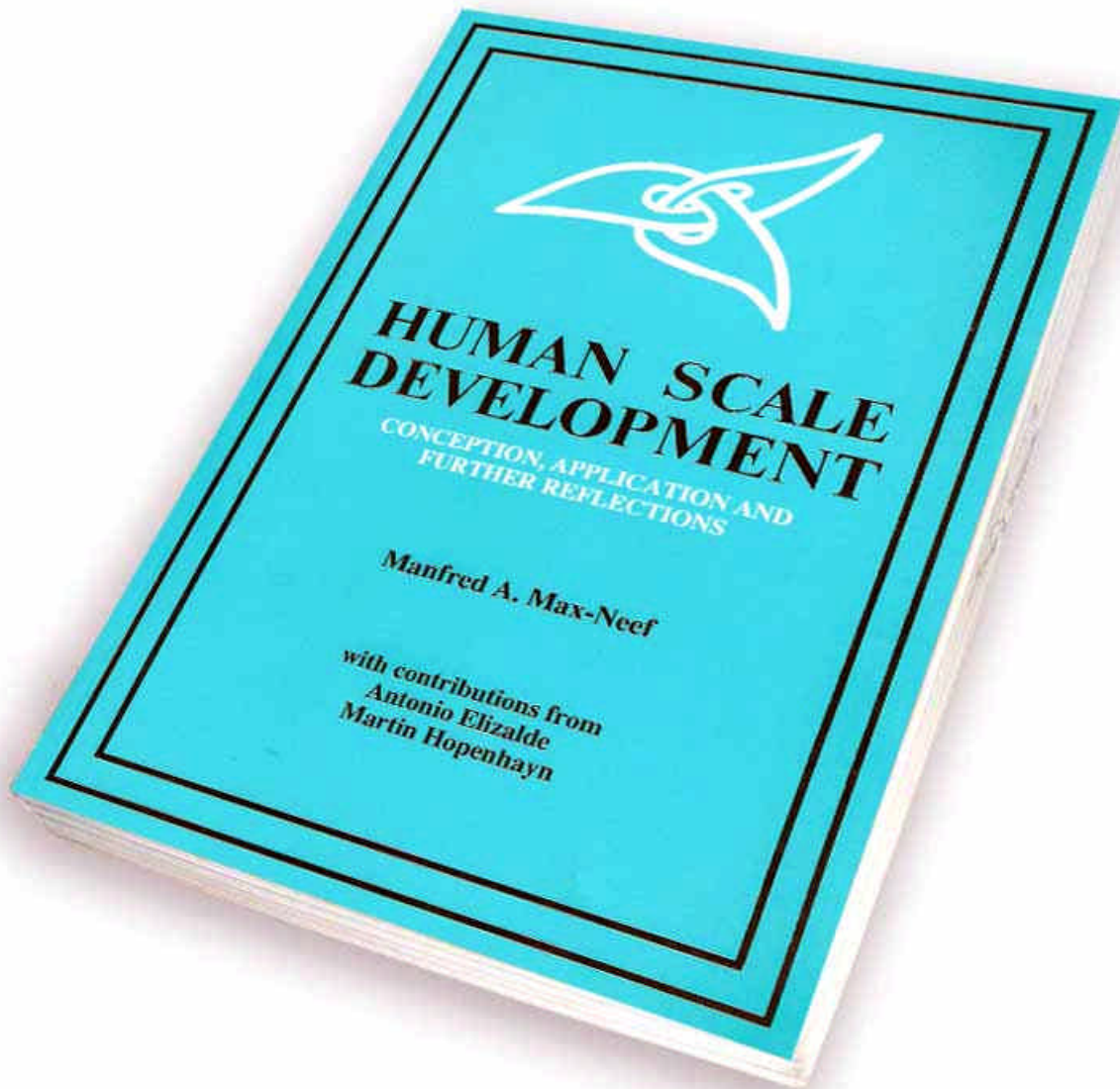


Microsoft Word - Human Scale development-Max-Neef.doc

Siri Darshan Kaur



calibre 1.43.0



HUMAN SCALE DEVELOPMENT
CONCEPTION, APPLICATION AND
FURTHER REFLECTIONS

Manfred A. Max-Neef

With contributions from

Antonio Elizalde

Martin Hopenhayn

Foreword by Sven Hamrell

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

The Apex Press

New York and London

Published in 1991 by The Apex Press, an imprint of the
Council on International and Public Affairs, 777 United Nations
Plaza, New York, New York, USA (212/953-6920) and 57
Caledonian Road, London, N1 9BU, U.K. (01-837-4014)

CONTENTS

Part One of this book was published under the title, *Desarrollo
a Escala Humana: una opción para el futuro*, by the Dag
Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden.

Foreword by Sven Hamrell, Dag Hammarskjöld
Foundation

vii

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Preface

x i

About the Contributors

xiv

Max-Neef, Manfred A.

Human scale development: conception, application and further

PA RT ONE: HUMA N SCALE DEV ELOPMENT

reflections / by Manfred Max-Neef, with contributions from Antonio

Elizalde, Martin Hopenhayn ; foreword by Sven Hamrell.

1. Re-reading the Latin American Situation: Crisis

p.

cm.

"Part One of this book was published in Spanish as a special issue of
and Perplexity, *Manfred Max-Neef*,

1

Development Dialogue in 1986 under the title, *Desarrollo a escala*

Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn

1

humana: una opción para el futuro"—P. xii.

A Crisis of Proposals and a Crisis of Utopias

ISBN 0-945257-35-X

Limitations to Our Development

4

1. Latin America—Economic policy. 2. Economic development. I.

Objectives of Human Scale Development

8

Elizalde, Antonio. II. Hopenhayn, Martin. III. Title.

HC125.M347 1991

2. Development and Human Needs, *Manfred Max-Neef*,

338.98—dc20

91-12713

Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn

13

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Reflections on a New Perspective

13

Argumentation

23

Max-Neef, Manfred A.

Foundations for a Possible Systematization

29

Human scale development : conception, application and further

A Note on Methodology

39

reflections.

Options That Determine Development Styles

47

I. Title

745.2

3. Development and Self-reliance, *Manfred Max-Neef*,

ISBN 0-945257-35-X

Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn

55

Toward a Self-reliant Development

55

On the Invisible World

65

On Micro-organizations

71

Typeset and printed in the United States of America

On Resources

76

Recapitulation

85

4. The Unresolved Problem of Micro-macro Articulation,

Manfred Max-Neef

87

FOREWORD

Seeking Solutions

87

The Problem of Aggregation

88

Articulation and Sense of Direction of the System 91

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation has since the publication of

PA RT TWO: FIRST STEPS INTO FURTHER REFLECTIONS

the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report, *What Now: Another Develop-*

ment, concentrated heavily on the sectorial aspects of the alternative

5. About the Pruning of Language (and Other

development strategies advocated in this seminal document. A long

Unusual Exercises) for the Understanding

of Social

series of seminars has been organized under the Foundation's auspice

Improvement, *Manfred Max-Neef*

93

or in cooperation with like-minded organizations to test the applicability of

the ideas of Another Development—need-oriented, self-reliant, en-

The Problem

93

ogenous,

ecologically

sound

and

based

on

structural

Manifestations of the Problem

94

Searching for Answers

99

transformations—in areas such

as rural

development, health,

Conclusion

103

education, science and technology (especially plant genetic resources and biotechnology), international monetary policy, information and

6. A Stupid Way of Life, *Manfred Max-Neef*

105

communication, and participation.

An interesting and unusual example of this is the Latin American

Insight

105

Crisis

106

project on Human Scale Development, the objective of which was lay

On Constraints of Language

108

a foundation for future action programs by analyzing the concepts of

Some Solutions?

110

human needs, scale and efficiency and by focusing on unemployment and local development financing, that is, concepts and problems

Future Scenarios

112

that had not been penetrated in depth in *What Now*. This project was undertaken in 1985 and 1986; it was organized by the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR) in Chile and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Sweden, and was directed by Manfred Max-Neef.

Ever since the results of the project were published in a Spanish edition of *Development Dialogue* in 1986, under the title of *Desarrollo a Escala Humana: una opción para el futuro*, it has attracted

needs, it is a challenging new contribution to development philosophy.

wide attention in Latin America. And it is probably not an

This book is both an English translation of the original Spanish

exaggeration to say that it is perhaps one of the most photocopied

documents of its kind, having found its way to the most unexpected

work and an extension of that work into what the author calls "Further

and remote places. According to records kept at CEPAUR, close to

Reflections." It should merit the attention of the international develop-

fifty seminars, symposia and workshops have been held on the basis

ment community as should the action programs now being worked
of the report in different parts of the continent, many of them
out by different grassroots organizations and by CEPANUR. Many of
spontaneously organized by interested bodies without assistance
them, including CEPANUR, also deserve being financially assisted. It
from CEPANUR. Thus, "Human Scale Development" has become an
is, therefore, sad to note that so far almost no such support has been
important topic of the development discussion in South and Central
America.

forthcoming; development agencies still seem to prefer to lose their
But there are also more concrete examples of the impact of the
funds in conventional failures rather than having to justify their use in
report
on
policymakers
at
the
national
and
local

levels.

unconventional successes.

Governmental bodies in Colombia, Venezuela and Argentina have taken a keen interest in the ideas advanced. In Argentina, for instance, the National Mental Health Program is being adapted to

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

Sven Hamrell

accord with the ideas set out in the report, and in the Argentine

Dag Hammarskjöld Centre

Executive

Director

Övre Slottsgatan 2

province of Mendoza, communities, schools and hospitals are applying

the

principles and

methodology

of

Human

Scale

S-752 20 Uppsala, Sweden

Development in their work.

More significant, however, is the extent to which social movements and grassroots organizations have been inspired by the report, and this despite its, in part, highly theoretical character it has, in fact, been popularized by grassroots organizations through posters and even through comic book style publications aimed at non-academic readers. Further evidence of this interest are the hundreds of letters received by CEPAUR and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, requesting not only additional copies of the report and copies of the project papers, but also assistance in the organization of seminars and workshops as well as practical and financial assistance in the implementation of Human Scale Development programs.

One can speculate about the reasons for this unexpectedly positive response, but one of them

is probably that Human

Scale

Development, with its strong emphasis on the role of human creativity in development, has provided a conceptual framework which seems

to show a way out of the sterile confrontation between traditional developmentalism and neo-liberal monetarism. Based on the principle that "the purpose of the economy is to serve the people, and not the people to serve the economy" and on a sophisticated but unavoidably controversial in-depth analysis of the nature of human

PREFACE

The essays contained in Part One of this book crystallize the work, essentially transdisciplinary in nature, carried out in various countries in Latin America by a team of researchers. It was prepared over a period of eighteen months with the collaboration of professionals from Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, Canada and Sweden. Their expertise covered such academic disciplines as economics, sociology, psychiatry, philosophy, political science,

geography, anthropology, journalism, engineering and law. The participants constituted a stable core group that guaranteed continuity in the processes of collective investigation and reflection inherent in the project. From the beginning, close working relations were established, thus nurturing an intense intellectual exchange. The participants gathered together three workshops during the project, which was conducive to a profound reflection on various aspects of the development problematique. In addition, special guests were invited to each of the three workshops and enriched the quality of the debate.

The proceedings of each of the workshops and the working papers produced by the participants form the basis of this book. The final compiling and editing was the responsibility of the CEP Aur staff, whose challenge was to integrate in a coherent manner the diverse inputs rather than just reflect the particular opinion of each of the participants. The document produced on the basis of the three workshops was then discussed at a final evaluation seminar at the Dag Hammarskjöld Centre

xii

Human Scale Development

Pre face

xiii

in Uppsala. *

The conception presented in this book is a contribution to development philosophy. As such, it offers suggestions, while remaining open to further elaboration.

1989 in Bristol, England.

Both of these additions to the present book represent, if not finished products, at least paths into new and open fields of research and reflection. They underscore the elusive and never-ending search for final answers in the quest for human betterment through development.

Hammar skjöld

Report of

1975,

entitled

What Now: Another

The Development Alternatives Centre, CEP AUR, is a non-

Development, in the Latin American context, giving special governmental organization of international scope, dedicated, through consideration to the myriad changes that have occurred in the last research of a transdisciplinary nature and action projects, to the decade. The text that follows aspires to have as interlocutors persons reorientation of development by stimulating forms of local self-reliance, involved in regional and local development, planning, politics, satisfying fundamental human needs and, in a more general sense, to academic disciplines concerned with development and, most importantly, those dedicated to the humanization of a world in crisis. promoting human scale development. Thus, the ideas presented here are an attempt to integrate fines of research, reflection and action that substantially contribute to the

Manfred Max-Neef

construction of a new paradigm of development, less mechanistic and

Executive Director, CEPANUR

more humane.

Part One of this book was published in Spanish as a special issue of *Development Dialogue* in 1986 under the title *Desarrollo a Escala Humana: una opción para el futuro*. That version was then translated into English by Joey Edwardh and Manfred Max-Neef and appeared in 1988 as another special issue of *Development Dialogue*.

A new section, "A Note on Methodology," has been added to this book version, as have the final two chapters which constitute Part Two of the book.

The first of these new chapters is an expanded version of an essay on "The Pruning of Language," which was published in 1988 in modified form in *Development*, the journal of the Society for International Development. The second chapter is an edited version of the

* The project team wishes to express its gratitude to the functionaries and academics of the University of La Serena in Chile, the Federal University of

Pernambuco, Brazil, and the Foundation for Development of the XII

Region, Chile, for their enthusiastic support for an efficient execution of the

various regional seminars held throughout the duration of this project.

Without the intellectual and material support of these institutions, the successful completion of this project would not have been possible.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

PART ONE: HUMAN SCALE

DEVELOPMENT

Manfred Max-Neef, Chilean economist, is the founder and Executive Director of the Development Alternatives Centre—CEPAUR—in Chile. During the early 1960s he taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and later served at FAO and ILO as general economist and

1.

as project director, respectively. He is the Rector of the Universidad Bolivariana, a member of the Club of Rome and the author of *From the Outside Looking In: Experiences in Barefoot Economics*. In 1983 he

RE-READING THE

received the Right Livelihood Award, frequently described as the Alternative Nobel Prize, at a ceremony in the Swedish Parliament.

LATIN AMERICAN SITUATION:

CRISIS AND PERPLEXITY

Antonio Elizalde, Chilean sociologist, is the Deputy Director of CEPAUR, Secretary-General of the Universidad Bolivariana and Professor of Development Theories at the Diego Portales University in Santiago. He was formerly an expert with UNICEF and Director of

Manfred Max-Neef, Antonio Elizalde

Regional Planning in Southern Chile before the dictatorship.

and Martin Hopenhayn

Martin Hopenhayn, a U.S.-born philosopher of Argentinean parents, taught in the School of Economics of the University of Chile and worked as a Research Fellow in CEPAL. A prolific and talented young writer of essays and aphorisms, he presently serves as an expert for

A Crisis of Proposals

the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean in Santiago.

and a Crisis of Utopias

In 1987 the three co-authors shared the National Prize for the Defense of Human Rights awarded by Editorial Emisión of Chile. Nowadays, it is almost commonplace to state that Latin America is in a state of crisis. The descriptions and interpretations of this crisis are many; hence, the diagnosis of the disease is seemingly complete. Due to the complexity of the symptoms that we are faced with, no consensus as to the treatment has been generated. Perplexity, the outcome of a situation for which we cannot recognize a precedent, has kept us in a deadend alley and barred the road to imaginative, novel and bold solutions.

However,

intuition suggests that the conventional and traditional

2

Human Scale Development

Re-reading the Latin American Situation:

3

Crisis and Perplexity

prescriptions, regardless of whoever may have proposed them, will not and meet their well-known debt-servicing obligations to the creditor work. Nonetheless, there is a kind of paralyzing fear inhibiting the countries of the industrialized world. In the face of this uncertain combination of radically different approaches that could eventually emanate us from this state of confusion.

answers and quests for alternatives to authoritarianism, to

This fear is quite understandable. It is not easy to put aside theoretical neoliberalism, to developmentalism* and to populism become bogged down in ill-considered reactions and short-term programs.

regies for action that over the years has been the basis not only of

We have dubbed this situation the "crisis of utopia" because in our beliefs, explanations and hopes but also of passions. But the fact is that opinion its most serious manifestation seems to lie in the fact that we the extent of this crisis seems to go far beyond our capacity to assimilate it are losing, if we have not lost already, our capacity to dream. We are fully, understand it and, hence, internalize it. This crisis is not just struggling in an exhausting insomnia which impairs the lucidity so economic, nor just social, cultural or political. On the contrary, it is the desperately needed to cope with our problems forcefully and imagination-convergence of all these, which, added together, become an entirety exclusively. Instead, we have become drowsy managers of a crisis which we exceeding the sum of its parts.

feel is impossible to solve by our own means. This drowsiness, a product At a political level, the crisis becomes very acute owing to the in- of the crisis of utopia, takes many forms: a sense of defeat, a loss of efficiency of the existing representative political mechanisms in coping will, an over-excessive individualism, fear, anxiety, cynicism and with the actions of the financial power elite, the increasing inter-demobilization.

nationalization of political decisions and the lack of control of the

The issues and causes of the past, for which we fought—success- citizenry over public bureaucracies. The increase in technological con- fully or unsuccessfully—seem today to be shrouded in mist. Our trol over society, the arms race and the lack of a deep-rooted democratic reasons become diffuse, and those of us who still retain a will to strug- culture in Latin American societies also contributes to the configura- gle end up, without realizing it, fighting causes that do not correspond to tion of a political universe which does not have an ethical foundation. the real development issues at stake. Thus, our first desperate effort is to come to terms with ourselves and in so doing persuade ourselves

At a social level, the increasing fragmentation of socio-cultural that the best development that we can expect—over and above any of identities, the lack of integration and communication between social the conventional indicators that often instilled an inferiority complex in movements and the increasing impoverishment and marginalization of us—would be the development of countries and cultures capable of the masses have made the conflicts within the societies unmanageable being coherent with themselves.

as well as rendering constructive responses to such conflicts impossible.

The proposal contained in this book does not purport to be a solu-

At an economic level, the system of domination is undergoing
tion to our crisis. It is, nonetheless, an option. It is an alternative stem-
widespread changes as a result of the following processes: the inter-
nationalization of the economy; the boom of financial capital with its
ming from a long process of collective thinking by a group of Latin
enormous power of concentration; the crisis of the welfare state; the in-
Americans who were supported in their reflections by a handful of
creasing participation of the military complex in the economic life of
friends from Sweden and Canada. In this book, we share our revitalized
the countries; and the multiple effects of successive technological
capacity to dream.

changes on the patterns of production and consumption.

These complex and interacting forces place Third World countries in

* We have chosen "developmentalism" as the best translation for the
Spanish a position of enormous disadvantage. They are forced, with the com-

"desarrollismo." It refers to the development philosophy promoted mainly
by plicity of government and the ruling classes, to demand tremendous

the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)
during

sacrifices at great social cost in order to "heal" their financial systems the
1950s and 1960s.

4

Human Scale Development

Re-reading the Latin American Situation:

5

Crisis and Perplexity

Limitations to Our Development

During the 1950s and 1960s, it made perfect sense to speak of an ECLA current of thought or of a philosophy of the IDB. A creative effervescence dominated these times. The positions of these organizations and observe their historical behavior in the economic and development generated debate and for the first time the centers of power in the policies implemented in Latin America over the last four decades, we North argued back, if defensively. In the decade of the 1970s, this creative energy was slowly contained. The Latin American international eventually generate financial and monetary imbalances resulting in agencies began to lose their original identity. Neo-liberal monetarism, stabilizing responses which, in turn, ultimately bring about high social which had already made its sporadic incursions—without managing to

costs leading to further expansion.

impose its character beyond the periods of stability in the economic

In this pendular tendency, we can identify clearly the two great

cycle—began to break forth with all its vigor.

economic factions which have been predominant in the Latin American

Obviously, the failure of developmentalism cannot be ascribed

context: developmentalism and neo-liberal monetarism. For different

either to a lack of ideas or to a dearth of creativity. Much to the con-

reasons, neither orientation accomplished its original objectives.

trary, its contributions in creating a rich and diversified economic struc-

However, not everything is negative in a failure so it is well worth

ture have been colossal. Its failure was due to (a) its inability to control

devoting some careful thought to the manner in which each of these two

monetary and financial imbalances; (b) the productive structure—par-

perspectives have marked the economic and socio-political history of

ticularly industry—that it generated placing great emphasis on the con-

the region.

centration of resources; and (c) the fact that its approach to

development was predominantly economic, thus neglecting other social

Frustrations

of

Developmentalism

and

Monetarism.

and political processes that emerged with increasing strength and

Developmentalism was a deeply mobilizing experience. It was a

relevance, especially after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution.

generator of ideas and of currents of thought. During its period of

The history of monetarist neo-liberalism is quite different. *If*

predominance a number of important institutions were created: the

developmentalism was a generator of thought, monetarism has been a

United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), the

concocter of prescriptions; at least this is true of the way in which it has
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Latin American

manifested itself in our countries. Within our context, it is not possible

Free Trade Association (LAFTA), the Andean Pact and important

to detect in a clearcut way a neo-liberal thought or philosophy as such.

regional initiatives such as the Alliance for Progress. Within the

This is not because this current of thought lacks foundations; it is only

different nation states many initiatives were encouraged, including

necessary to read the Austrian economists to understand this. The

planning agencies, various kinds of development organizations, problem arises from praxis where this perspective has been applied policies that nurtured industrialization, banking reforms, improvement dogmatically and without sensitivity to the Latin American context.

of statistical systems, people's movements and varied attempts at

Unlike developmentalism, monetarist neo-liberalism has had structural reforms. Also, during this period emerged the first strong

calamitous results over a shorter time period. In Latin America, it

arguments and theses advocating the need to protect our exports

has been sustained by dictatorial or pseudo-democratic regimes.

affected by an ongoing deterioration of the terms of trade.

There is evidence enough that the pressure generated by the social

Finally, it was those Latin American economists, ascribing to

costs of this model can only be kept under control by repression.

developmentalism, who became the determinant actors in the setting up

Monetarist neo-liberalism resembles a Phoenician collapse that

of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNC-

leaves nothing after it but a tremendous void, the positive appearance

TAD).

(in some cases like Chile) of conventional economic indicators

notwithstanding.

6

Human Scale Development

Re-reading the Latin American Situation:

7

Crisis and Perplexity

regardless of ethical considerations as to this solution, is clearly

No doubt, monetarist neo-liberalism should have been applied

unpayable and may increase our poverty and deplete our resources to

more congruently with the wealth of thought of its creators—especially

structurally irreversible limits.

the Austrians—but its failure in the Latin American context would have

There are also those who envisage the possibility of revitalizing

been unavoidable. This is true for at least three reasons. First, it is able

schemes that were attractive in the past by amending some mistakes.

to

encourage economic growth, but it is not a generator of

Others, including the authors of this book, perceive an immense void

"development" in the widest sense of the word. Second, its assumptions

where there is room to design radical alternatives. The second position

of economic rationality are profoundly mechanistic and therefore cannot be based not only on the perception of a worn-out historical experience, but also on an awareness that serious errors could be made if uproot poverty through the liberalization of a market from which the poor conventional solutions are applied to overcome this crisis.

are excluded. Third, in restricted and oligopolistic markets, where the economic power groups are not confronted with forces able to check their behavior, economic activity is very speculative, resulting in a perception, or of making errors of action. Concerning perception, two concentration of resources that is socially unbearable.

serious mistakes are often made. The first is to believe that the Latin American crisis can be ascribed principally to an external crisis. The We must stress, finally, that both schools of economic thought share second, stemming from the first, is to assume that our depression is just some elements, although with different intensity. Both have been a passing historical circumstance. Although it is true that external con- fected by mechanistic tendencies and have generated economies based ditions do considerably influence dependent and vulnerable economies

on concentration. From the point of view of neo-liberalism, growth is an end in itself and concentration is accepted as a natural consequence.

like ours, it is, nonetheless, also probable that a recovery of the capitalistic

As for developmentalism, growth is an economic condition which

economy in the North will not affect significantly our own recovery. As the

will bring about development. Both assume that concentration en-

following paragraphs illustrate, the reason lies in our possible errors of

courages growth — an ascertainable fact in statistical terms. However,

action.

neo-liberalism does not see any need whatsoever to check growth, while

It would be a delusion to base a strategy for future development on

developmentalism acknowledges that there are limitations to growth

the expansion of exports of primary products. Very simply, indicators

but fails to control it. The denouement of this story spanning forty years

suggest that the bulk of primary products will be affected, for different

finally brings us to the situation of perplexity in which we live today.

reasons, by unfavorable terms of trade. Moreover, others are already

being replaced by more efficient substitutes. Another strategy based on

Reactions to Frustrations. There are different reactions to the

the diversification of exports, that is, of manufactured goods, would in-

current situation. There are those, for instance, who hold that the
evitably come up against the protectionist policies of the powers in the
disaster has not taken place after all. They make their point by stating
North. Also, to assume a type of development that is nurtured by
that over the last two and a half decades income levels have more than
external' contributions of capital is ruled out altogether due to the serious
doubled, that there has been a remarkable economic growth in most of
and insoluble condition of indebtedness in which we are forced to live.
the region and exports have multiplied. All of this is true. There are,
From what has been argued, it follows that our situation is not the
however, those who unveil the other face of reality: that poverty is
result of a historical accident. In our opinion, the future lies in mustering
increasing in the popular sectors; that more than one-third of the
all our energy to design imaginative but viable alternatives. The
economically active population struggles between unemployment and
conditions for these alternatives seem to be quite clear. If the two
underemployment; that social deficits such as inadequate housing
schools of economic thought which have prevailed in the Latin
have escalated; and, finally, that the existence of a foreign debt which,
American setting have not been able to satisfy the legitimate needs of

the Latin American masses, a new perspective is called for which aims

8

Human Scale Development

Re-reading the Latin American Situation:

9

Crisis and Perplexity

at an adequate satisfaction of human needs. Furthermore, if future analysis of the models of the states in the region, it seems important, development cannot be sustained through the expansion of exports or however, to point out the historical inability of these states to create through substantial injections of foreign capital, an alternative development spaces for popular participation. The conditions that led to independence must generate a capacity for greater self-reliance.

pendence and the creation of national states in Latin America were followed by development processes which were promoted and controlled by the national oligarchies. In the realm of the political, these new states

Objectives of Human Scale Development

appeared as liberal democracies, while in the realm of the economic, their aim was capitalist development and integration into foreign

This book proposes an orientation which would enable us to create

markets. These democracies excluded the popular masses from political conditions for a new praxis based on Human Scale Development. Such a life, hence, depriving them of channels for social participation and development is focused and based on the satisfaction of fundamental access to political power.

human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance, and The crisis of the oligarchic state was triggered by the restricted on the construction of organic articulations of people with nature and character of the spaces for participation and the limited access of the technology, of global processes with local activity, of the personal with majority to social benefits. This situation generated populist regimes, the social, of planning with autonomy and of civil society with the the purpose of which was to combine increased popular participation state. *

with the formulation of homogeneous national projects geared to rapid Human needs, self-reliance and organic articulations are the pillars yet secure modernization. The policies of populism paved the way for which support Human Scale Development. However, these pillars must new forms of

political

representation—universal

suffrage—and

be sustained on a solid foundation which is the creation of those condi-

mechanisms for sectoral representation. As a form of government, the

tions where people are the protagonists in their future. If people are to

main contribution of populism was to recognize social groups which,

be the main actors in Human Scale Development, both the diversity as

until then, had been excluded from political activity. Since the state itself

well as the autonomy of the spaces in which they act must be respected.

assumed responsibility for the integration of new actors in development,

Attaining the transformation of an object-person into a subject-person

this resulted in a considerable increase in its regulating function. Greater

in the process of development is, among other things, a problem of

political participation of sectors incorporated into the sociopolitical

scale. There is no possibility for the active participation of people in

involved redistributive policies managed by the state.

gigantic systems which are hierarchically organized and where

The populist state was strong enough to gain legitimacy in the eyes

decisions flow from the top down to the bottom.

of the traditional oligarchy. However, it was compelled to consolidate homogeneous national projects under pressure from such internal forces as powerful economic interest groups and from such external forces as imperialist policies imposed by the rich countries. These homogeneous projects were unable to reflect the heterogeneous nature of the sectors and communities which make up civil society. Hence, so-called participation and popular action were undermined by the authoritarianism inherent in the "single project," and by bureaucratic and paternalistic mechanisms which strengthened vertical social relations and the concentration of power.

* By "articulation" we mean the construction of coherent and consistent
The tension between homogeneous national projects and the diver-

relations of balanced interdependence among given elements.

10

Human Scale Development

Re-reading the Latin American Situation:

11

Crisis and Perplexity

sity of social actors demanding a role as protagonists in their future is economic development more equitably. Hence, it is essential to prevent repeated in the number of progressive regimes to be found in the region. the increasing atomization of social movements, cultural identities and These regimes did not seek legitimacy through political democracy communities. To articulate these movements, identities, strategies and which makes them different from the populism constituted by universal social demands in global proposals is not possible through the programs suffrage—but via popular support obtained through the expansion of of homogenization that have characterized the Latin American political social benefits and through making corporate-type trade unions cal tradition. New institutional mechanisms capable of reconciling par- believe that they were in control of many of the functions of the state. ticipation with heterogeneity are required on the part of the state. Also

required are more active forms of representation and greater trans-

In the last two decades, regimes based on authoritarianism and neoliberalism have dominated the Southern Cone of Latin America. In these states, political power is buttressed by the physical repression and psychological repression of the civil populations. Moreover, the policies implemented have meant the systematic decimation of the empowering civil society to nurture this form of development. This is not to minimize the importance of the state but to develop further the potential protection of the populist or progressive regimes. It is in these repressive regimes that those processes of social participation and popular protagonism have been arrested. It is precisely within these regimes and day-to-day living"), which does not imply a lack of concern for "political in conjunction with the acute economic crisis that the democratic

liberal monetarism have dominated the Southern Cone of Latin

It is not the purpose of this document to propose a state model that

America. In these states, political power is buttressed by the physical

promotes Human Scale Development. Rather, our emphasis is on em-

and psychological repression of the civil populations. Moreover, the

policies implemented have meant the systematic decimation of the

empowering civil society to nurture this form of development. This is not to

socio-economic benefits which wide sectors had attained under the

minimize the importance of the state but to develop further the potential

protection of the populist or progressive regimes. It is in these repressive

regimes that those processes of social participation and popular

regimes that those processes of social participation and popular

Our preoccupation is a "social democracy" (or rather a "democracy of

protagonism have been arrested. It is precisely within these regimes and

day-to-day living"), which does not imply a lack of concern for "political in

conjunction with the acute economic crisis that the democratic

democracy" but a firm belief that only through rediscovering the

opposition is reassessing the need to establish an order based on politi-

"molecular" composition of the social fabric (micro-organizations, local democracy with real social participation.

spaces, human scale relations) is a political order founded on a

democratic culture possible. We believe that in order to avoid the

We wish to emphasize at this point the democratic nature of the al-

atomization and the exclusion of people—be it in political, social or

ternative proposed. Instead of relying on stereotyped ideological op-

cultural terms—it is absolutely necessary to generate new ways of

tions, this book advocates the need to develop processe s of economic

conceiving and practicing politics. Thus, this book attempts to open up

and political decentralization, strengthen genuine democratic institu-

a space for critical reflection on the way we live and, more importantly,

tions and encourage increasing autonomy in the emerging social move-

on the urgent need to develop a new political praxis.

ments.

The creation of a political order that can represent the needs and in-

Fads and Biases in Development Discourse. Beyond the limited

terests of a heterogeneous people is a challenge to both the state and

synthesis provided in the preceding sections, our shared thinking has

civil society. The most pressing question, not only for a democratic state

enabled us to reach some conclusions about the pressing need to modify but also for a society based on a democratic culture, is how to respect substantially our concepts and approaches to development.

and encourage diversity rather than control it. In this regard, develop-

We live and work within a historical age which ignores the sub-his-
ment must nurture local spaces, facilitate micro-organizations and sup-
tortory that makes it possible. Hence, on a day-to-day basis we observe
port the multiplicity of cultural matrixes comprising civil society. This
the serious discrepancies that exist between the rhetoric and actions of
type of development must rediscover, consolidate and integrate the
political leaders and the expectations and ambitions of the popular sec-
diverse collective identities that make up the social body.

tors. We seek to justify our actions in the thoughts ascribed to the defunct

Processes which nurture diversity and increase social participation

hero of the day. We do this without even realizing the wisdom of the

and control over the environment are decisive in the articulation of

men and the women who raise the corn, and in sharing it with those who

projects to expand national autonomy and to distribute the

fruits of

Human Scale Development

share their misery, manage to survive—not because of what we have done, but despite of what we have not done.

We live and work within models of society that overlook the growing complexity of the real society in which we are immersed.

Therefore, we watch the feverish and obsessive doings of the technocrats who design solutions before having identified where the real problems lie. We seek the justification of the models in the

2.

models themselves, so that when the solutions fail, it is not due to a failure of the model but to entrapments set up by reality. That reality, the presence of which is strongly felt, is not perceived as a

DEVELOPMENT

AND

challenge to be faced, but rather as a problem to be brought under

HUMAN NEEDS

control by re-applying the model with greater tenacity.

We live and work according to the tenets of our formally acquired knowledge. Thus, we see in so many leaders a pathological fear of people's action and of freedom. The people are to be helped and

Manfred Max-Neef, Antonio Elizalde

guided by those who arrogantly ignore what the people need and

and Martin Hopenhayn

want. Thus, programs are designed to develop "awareness,"

because for some odd reason it is assumed that those who suffer

are not aware of the reasons for their suffering.

We live and work to construct an order, without understanding

Reflections on a New Perspective

what can be ordered or what we are putting in order. We constantly

witness an obsession with form, which allows us to conceal our

Is There Anything to Be Added

unconscious fear about the uncertainties underlying the problems

at stake. We confuse law with justice and regulations with

to That Already Stated?

efficiency. We identify generosity with charity and participation with

favours granted from the top. We use words without living up to their

The literature on human needs is vast and in many cases

content and we eventually come up with caricatures instead of

has contributed substantially to our understanding of this issue.

consistent contexts within which to sustain the construction of our

It has influenced the fields of philosophy and psychology and individual and collective life projects.

has become a focus of attention in the political, economic and social disciplines in general. In recent years, international

Taking into account what has been stated, the proposal we

agencies, concerned with promoting development, have adopted

have developed is not a model. It is an open option which is justified

as their criterion for action the satisfaction of so-called basic

only to the extent that we understand it, internalize it and implement

needs. In 1975, the Dag Hammarskjöld Report, *What Now:*

it through a praxis that is in itself a process in constant motion.

Another Development, established such an aim as one of the

There is nothing in it that advocates a final solution, since we are

fully aware that human beings and their surroundings are part of a

process of a new type of development to be established urgently

permanent flow which cannot be arrested by rigid and static

models.

14

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

in order to overcome the degrading state of impoverishment that holds guide our actions and expectations.

the majority of the inhabitants of the Third World in its clutches.

Nowadays, it is accepted almost as commonplace that development and

The Need for Transdisciplinary Approaches. The purpose of human needs are irreducible components of a single equation. However, this section is to make a theory of human needs understandable and within this perspective there is still much to be done.

operational for development. This effort is not grounded in any

First, this new approach, interweaving development and human particular field of study, as the new reality and the new challenges needs, must go far beyond a simple makeshift rehashing of a paradigm inevitably compel us to adopt transdisciplinary approaches.* Evidence in a state of crisis. From the very outset, it involves creating conditions for this orientation is provided by the fact that we are rarely analyzing for a new way of conceptualizing development. It mean a substantial a specific problem but instead a web of complex issues that cannot be modification of the prevailing perceptions about strategies for development resolved through the application of conventional policies founded

ment. For instance, no "New International Economic Order" can be upon reductionist disciplines.

relevant if it is not supported by the structural reformulation of a com-

In much the same way that a disease is a medical problem, and that pact network of "New Local Economic Orders."

the same disease having become an epidemic transcends the field of

Likewise, it means acknowledging that the social and economic

medicine, our present challenge lies not only in how to deal with

theories, which have sustained and directed the processes of

problems, but also in how to cope with the tremendous magnitude of

development, are not only incomplete but also inadequate. It entails

the

problems.

Their

growing

magnitude

and

complexity

is

becoming aware that new and more disquieting frustrations will

transforming problem disciplinary contours into problem complexes of a
dominate our increasingly heterogeneous and interdependent world of
diffuse transdisciplinary character. In the throes of the terror of the
development models, based on mechanistic theories and misleading
French Revolution, Marquis de Sade uttered in dismay: "There is no
aggregate indicators, are applied.

longer any beautiful individual death." In an analogous way, in the
Human Scale Development, geared to meeting human needs, re-
midst of the present reality that overpowers us we can exclaim: "There
quires a new approach to understanding reality. It compels us to per-
is no longer any beautiful specific problem."

ceive and assess the world, that is, people and their processes in a
Only a transdisciplinary approach allows us to understand, for ex-
manner which differs completely from the conventional one. Likewise, a
ample, how politics, economics and health have converged. Thus, we
theory of human needs for development must be understood precisely
discover an increasing number of cases where poor health is the out-
in those terms—as a theory for *development*. *

come of unsound politics and bad economics. If economics policies
In much the same way that a geologist in examining a stone will

designed by economists, affect, which they do, the whole of society, see attributes other than those perceived by an architect, human needs are discerned differently, according to the ideological and disciplinary lens of the viewer. This is not to suggest that we should come up with new forms of reductionism; on the contrary, the different

* Transdisciplinarity is an approach that, in an attempt to gain greater perceptions and understandings are interwoven facets of the human understanding, reaches beyond the fields outlined by strict disciplines. needs issue. What is at stake here is a question of form and of

While the language of one discipline may suffice to *describe* something emphasis. The challenge to all of us is to internalize an approach to

(an isolated element, for instance), an interdisciplinary effort may be necessary to *explain* something (a relation between elements). By the same development based on human needs which, once understood, will

token, to *understand* something (a system as interpreted from another system of higher complexity) requires a personal involvement that

surpasses disciplinary frontiers, thus making it a transdisciplinary

* We use here the notion of theory as a deductive process evolving from a set

experience.

of postulates.

16

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

17

economists can no longer claim that they are solely concerned with the altogether. A clear distinction between both concepts is necessary, as economics field. Such a stance would be unethical, sine it would mean will be shown later, for epistemological as well as methodological avoiding the moral responsibility for the consequences of an action. reasons.

We face bewildering situations where we understand less and less. If Human needs must be understood as a system: that is, all human we do not devote considerably more energy and imagination to needs are interrelated and interactive. With the sole exception of the designing significant and consistent transdisciplinary approaches, our need of subsistence, that is, to remain alive, no hierarchies exist within societies will continue to disintegrate. We live in a period of transition, the system. On the contrary, simultaneities, complementarities and which means that paradigm shifts are not only necessary but indispensable-trade-offs are characteristics of the process of needs satisfaction.

sable.

As the literature in this area demonstrates, human needs can be satisfied according to many criteria. We have organized human needs

Three Postulates and Some Propositions

into two categories: existential and axiological, which we have combined and displayed in a matrix. (See Table 1, page 32.) This

Development is about people and not about objects. This is the basic allows us to demonstrate the interaction of, on the one hand, the postulate of Human Scale Development.

needs of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting; and, on the other

The acceptance of this postulate—whether on intuitive, ethical or hand, the needs of Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, rational grounds—leads to the following fundamental question: How can Participation, Idleness, Creation, Identity and Freedom.*

we determine whether one development process is better than another?

From the classification proposed, it follows that, food and shelter,

In the traditional paradigm, we have indicators such as the gross

for example, must not be seen as needs but as satisfiers of the

national product (GNP) that is in a way an indicator of the quantitative

fundamental need for Subsistence. In much the same way, education

growth of objects. Now we need an indicator about the qualitative (either formal or informal), study, investigation, early stimulation and growth of people. What should that be? Let us answer the question: meditation are satisfiers of the need for Understanding. The curative thus: best development process will be that which allows the systems, preventive systems and health schemes in general are greatest improvement in people's quality of life. The next question is: satisfiers of the need for Protection.

What determines people's quality of life? Quality of life depends on the
There is no one-to-one correspondence between needs and possibilities people have to adequately satisfy their fundamental human satisfiers. A satisfier may contribute simultaneously to the satisfaction needs. A third question therefore arises: What are those fundamental of different needs or, conversely, a need may require various satisfiers human needs, and/or who decides what they are? These questions need in order to be met. Not even these relations are fixed. They may vary to *be* examined before any answers can be suggested.

according to time, place and circumstance. For example, a mother breastfeeding her baby is simultaneously satisfying the infant's needs

Needs and satisfiers . It is traditionally believed that human

for Subsistence, Protection, Affection and Identity. The situation is obvious: needs tend to be infinite, that they change all the time, that they are different in each culture or environment and that they are different in each historical period. It is suggested here that such assumptions are inaccurate, since they are the product of a conceptual shortcoming.

* Although in Judeo-Christian culture, we have been told that "idleness is the mother of all vices," we strongly believe that it carries many virtues. In fact, Idleness and about human needs is that the fundamental difference between *needs*

Creation seem to be inseparable if the former is understood as "the state of mind and spirit that is inviting to the muses." A brilliant argumentation about and *satisfiers* of those needs is either not made explicit or is overlooked the subject may be found in Bertrand Russell's *In Praise of Idleness*. In any case, idleness is not laziness.

Creation seem to be inseparable if the former is understood as "the state of mind and spirit that is inviting to the muses." A brilliant argumentation about and *satisfiers* of those needs is either not made explicit or is overlooked the subject may be found in Bertrand Russell's *In Praise of Idleness*. In any case, idleness is not laziness.

18

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

19

viously different if the baby is fed in a more mechanical fashion.

oppression, exploitative relations with the natural environment, etc.);

Having established a difference between the concepts of needs and

of understanding (due to poor quality of education); of participation

satisfiers it is possible to state two additional postulates. First: *Fundamental human needs are finite, few and classifiable*. Second: *Fundamental human needs are finite, few and classifiable* (due to marginalization and discrimination of women, children and minorities); and of identity (due to imposition of alien values upon local and regional cultures, forced migration, political exile, etc.). But *poverties are the same in all cultures and in all historical periods. What changes, are not only poverties. Much more than that, each poverty generates both over time and through cultures, is the way or the mean by which the pathologies*. This is the crux of our discourse.

needs are satisfied. (See Argumentation, pages 23-28.)

Each economic, social and political system adopts different

Economics and Pathologies

methods for the satisfaction of the same fundamental human needs. In every system, they are satisfied (or not satisfied) through the generation

The great majority of economic analysts would agree that rising unemployment everywhere and Third World international indebtedness (or non-generation) of different types of satisfiers. We may go as far as to say that one of the aspects that define a culture is its choice of rank as the two most important economic problems of today's world. In

satisfiers. Whether a person belongs to a consumerist or to an ascetic society, his/her fundamental human needs are the same. What changes is his/her choice of the quantity and quality of satisfiers. In short: *What is the case of Latin America, hyperinflation should be added.*

society, his/her fundamental human needs are the same. What changes is his/her choice of the quantity and quality of satisfiers. In short: *What is*

Unemployment. Unemployment is a problem that has always existed in industrial civilization to a greater or lesser degree, but *culturally determined are not the fundamental human needs, but the satisfiers for those needs.* Cultural change is, among other things, the consequence of dropping traditional satisfiers for the purpose of adopting a new system as we know it, everything seems to indicate that we are now facing a new type of unemployment that is here to stay. It is known that It must be added that each need can be satisfied at different levels and with different intensities. Furthermore, needs are satisfied within emotional "rollercoaster experience" which involves at least four phases: (a) shock, (b) optimism, (c) pessimism and (d) fatalism. The the social group (*Mitwelt*); and (c) with regard to the environment

facing a new type of unemployment that is here to stay. It is known that It must be added that each need can be satisfied at different levels a person suffering from extended unemployment goes through an and with different intensities. Furthermore, needs are satisfied within emotional "rollercoaster experience" which involves at least four three contexts: (a) with regard to oneself (*Eigenwelt*); (b) with regard to the social group (*Mitwelt*); and (c) with regard to the environment

last phase represents the transition from frustration to stagnation and (*Umwelt*). The quality and intensity, not only of the levels but also of from there to a final state of apathy, where the person reaches his/her contexts, will depend on time, place and circumstances.

lowest level of self-esteem. It is quite evident that extended unemployment will totally upset a person's fundamental needs

Pov erty and Poverties. The proposed perspective allows for a re- system. Due to subsistence problems, the person will feel increasingly interpretation of the concept of poverty. The traditional concept of unprotected, crisis in the family and guilt feelings may destroy poverty is limited and restricted, since it refers exclusively to the affections, lack of participation will give way to feelings of isolation and predicaments of people who may be classified below a certain income marginalization and declining self-esteem may very well generate an threshold. This concept is strictly economic. It is suggested here that identity crisis.

we should speak not of poverty but of poverties. In fact, any fundamental Extended unemployment generates pathologies. But, given the human need that is not adequately satisfied reveals a human poverty. present circumstances of generalized economic crisis, we must no

Some examples are as follows: poverty of subsistence (due to longer think of pathologies as affecting individuals. We must necessarily insufficient income, food, shelter, etc.); of protection (due to bad health recognize the existence of *col lective pathologies of frustration*, for systems, violence, arms race, etc.); of affection (due to authoritarianism, which traditional treatments have been inefficient.

Although unemployment is caused by economic processes, once it

20

Huma n Scale Devel opme nt

Development and Human Needs

21

has reached critical proportions, both in quantity and duration, there is capable of overcoming an inflationary crisis are almost impossible to no economic treatment capable of solving the problematique. It has be-generate.

come an issue of transdisciplinary proportions that still remains to be

The issue of hyperinflation has economic, social and psychological understood and constructed. This, in terms of a program for the future, component. The new concept of inertial inflation acknowledges that represents the first challenge.

inflation, in part, feeds on itself. That is to say, inflationary expectations condition the behavior of individuals in such a way that the inflationary **External Debt.** The external debt of the Third World is also responsible for another set of collective pathologies. Very simply, the soundly effective way to cope with this issue is through a consistent transdisciplinary strategy.

of the health and well-being of Third World peoples. As John Gummer, President of the British Conservative Party, commented in 1985 in *The Guardian*: "The United States imports the savings of the rest of the world and exports inflation. This is a serious problem." Due to prevailing circumstances the debtor countries must initiate an era based on the necessary self-criticism in order to recognize these maladies and politics of hardship so as to maximize their revenues through exports. Only three examples have been given here. However, there are many other economic processes which, when conceived and designed in a technocratic manner and within a reductionist perspective, can generate collective pathologies. All economists should exercise the necessary self-criticism in order to recognize these maladies and politics of hardship so as to maximize their revenues through exports. This implies, of course, the willingness to

This occurs unavoidably at the expense of the irreversible depredation adjust to a principle which is almost always forgotten: *the purpose of* of many natural resources and the increasing impoverishment of people. *the economy is to serve the people, and not the people to serve the*

This process of impoverishment does not vary with the ups and downs *economy.*

of the market for it is structural in nature. To ascertain the nature of the terrible collective pathologies, which are arising in the poor countries

Politics and Pathologies

as a consequence of this aberrant situation, is the second challenge.

Persecutions that arise from political, religious and other forms of

Hyperinflation. The Latin American experience demonstrates that intolerance are as old as humanity. However, the "achievement" of our hyperinflation is a phenomenon that goes far beyond the economic field times is the tendency of the political leaders to direct their actions ac- and affects all aspects of society. During the last few years, countries, cording to such incredibly schizophrenic generalizations about "the such as Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia and Peru, have been devastated enemy" that we are heading straight toward omnicide, that is, the psychologically and socially by a currency in which their users have little

destruction of us all.

confidence. Over and above the economic consequences of daily devaluation (financial speculation, a chronic decrease in productive investments and a systematic deterioration of real wages), constant inflation of global confrontations between the big powers; it also has its counterparts (mirror images) at many national levels. They are all faith in their country and gives rise to a deep uncertainty about the future. Concern for the "health" of a currency generates collective feelings of growing pessimism in relation to the country, the state and the organized according to their origin: (a) those caused by semantic future of each individual. This acute deterioration in confidence, along with a sense of uncertainty and scepticism create a phenomenon spring from violence; (c) those caused by isolation, exile or marginalization; and (d) those that come from the frustration of

We suggest four categories of collective pathologies of fear or

alternatives

life projects. Most certainly, there are others but these seem to be enough by Gay off example

22

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

23

Euphemisms. The discourses of power are full of euphemisms.

4.

The understanding of these collective pathologies requires

Words no longer fit with facts. Annihilators are called nuclear arms, as if transdisciplinary research and action.

they were simply a more powerful version of conventional arms. We are "the free world", a world full of examples of the most obscene in-

The fourth challenge is to develop a fruitful dialogue in pursuit of a equities and violations of human rights. In the name of the people,

constructive interpretation of the issues and solutions raised in this

systems are created where people must simply comply obediently with

book. New collective pathologies will be generated within the short and

the dictums of an "almighty state." Peaceful protest marchers are

long term if we maintain traditional and orthodox approaches. There is severely punished and imprisoned for public disorder and subversion, no sense in healing an individual who is then expected to go back and while state terrorism is accepted as law and order. Examples could fill live in a sick environment.

many pages. The end result is that people cease to understand and, as Every discipline, in becoming increasingly reductionist and tech-a consequence, either turn into cynics or melt into impotent, perplexed nocratic, has given way to a process of dehumanization. To humanize and alienated masses.

ourselves again from within our own disciplines is the great challenge. Only such an effort can build the foundations for a fruitful transdiscipli- **Violence, Marginalization and Exile.** Violence directly upsets the nary endeavor that may truly contribute to the solution of the real need for Protection, thus inducing intense anxiety. Isolation, mar-problematique affecting our world today.

ginalization and political exile destroy people's identity and break up A sense of responsibility for the future of humanity along with families, destroying natural affection and creating guilt feelings which transdisciplinary action is crucial. This may be our only defense. If we

are often accompanied by suicidal fantasies or attempts. The frustration do not take up the challenges, we will all be accomplices in creating of life projects by political intolerance systematically erodes the creation and maintaining sick societies.

tive capacity of people, leading them slowly from active resentment into apathy and loss of self-esteem.

Our third challenge consists of recognizing and assessing those collective pathologies generated by diverse socio-political systems. Every system creates in its own way obstacles to the satisfaction of one or

Argumentation

more needs, such as Understanding, Protection, Identity, Affection, Creation and Freedom.

Human Needs: Deprivation and Potential

Summary

A development policy aimed at the satisfaction of fundamental human needs goes beyond the conventional economic rationale

The main conclusions we can draw are:

because it applies to the human being as a whole. The relations established between needs and their satisfiers make it possible to

1. Any fundamental human need not adequately satisfied generates

develop a philosophy and a policy for development which are a pathology.

genuinely humanistic.

2. Up to the present we have developed treatments for individual

The very essence of human beings is expressed palpably through and small group pathologies.

needs in their twofold character: as deprivation and as potential.

3. Today, we are faced with a dramatic increase in collective

Understood as much more than mere survival, needs bring pathologies for which treatments have proved

out the constant tension between deprivation and potential that is so peculiar to human

24

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

25

Needs, narrowly conceived as deprivation, are often restricted to and change.

that which is merely physiological and as such the sensation that "some-

For example, food is a satisfier of the need for Protection in much

thing which is lacking is acutely felt." However, to the degree that needs the same way that a family structure might be. Likewise, a political engage, motivate and mobilize people, they are a potential and even-order may be a satisfier of the need for Participation. The same tually may become a resource. The need to participate is a potential for satisfier can actualize different needs in different cultures and in participation, just as the need for affection is a potential for affection. different time periods.

To approach the human being through needs enables us to build a bridge The reason that a satisfier may have diverse effects in various con-between a philosophical anthropology and a political option; this ap-text s i s due to the breadth o f the good s generated , how they a re pears to have been the motivation behind the intellectual efforts of, for generated and, how consumption is organized. Understood as objects example, Karl Marx and Abraham Maslow. To understand human or artifacts which make it possible to increase or decrease the beings in terms of needs, that is, conceived as deprivation and poten- efficiency of a satisfier, goods have become determinant elements tial, will prevent any reduction of the human being into a category of a within

industrial
civilization.

In

industrial

capitalism,

the

restricted existence. Moreover, if needs are conceptualized in this way,

production of economic goods along with the system of allocating

it is inappropriate to speak of their being "satisfied" or "fulfilled." They
them has conditioned the type of satisfiers that predominate.

reflect a dialectic process in as much as they are in constant movement.

While a satisfier is in an *ultimate sense* the way in which a need is

Hence, it may be better to speak of realizing, experiencing or actualiz-

expressed, goods are in a *strict sense* the means by which individuals

ing needs through time and space.

will empower the satisfiers to meet their needs. When, however, the

form of production and consumption of goods makes goods an end in

Human Needs and Society

themselves, then the alleged satisfaction of a need impairs its capacity

to create potential. This, in turn, leads to an alienated society engaged

If we wish to define and assess an environment in the light of human

in a senseless productivity race. Life, then, is placed at the service of needs, it is not sufficient to understand the opportunities that exist for artifacts, rather than artifacts at the service of life. The question of the groups or individuals to actualize their needs. It is necessary to analyze quality of life is overshadowed by our obsession to increase productivity. to what extent the environment represses, tolerates or stimulates

opportunities. How accessible, creative or flexible is that environment?

Within this perspective, the construction of a human economy

The most important question is how far people are able to influence poses an important theoretical challenge, namely, to understand fully the structures that affect their opportunities.

the dialectic between needs, satisfiers and economic goods. This is necessary in order to conceive forms of economic organization in which

Satisfiers and Economic Goods. It is the satisfiers which define the goods empower satisfiers to meet fully and consistently fundamental prevailing mode that a culture or a society ascribes to needs. *Satisfiers* human needs.

are not the available economic goods. They are related instead to every-

This situation compels us to rethink the social context of human

thing which, by virtue of representing forms of Being, Having, Doing needs in a radically different way from the manner in which it has better and Interacting, contributes to the actualization of human needs. (See approached by social planners and designers of policies for develop- page 30.) Satisfiers may include, among other things, forms of organiza- ment. **It** is not only a question of having to relate needs to goods and tion, political structures, social practices, subjective conditions, values se rvic e s, but al so to relate them to social p racti ce s, of and norms, spaces, contexts, modes, types of behavior and attitudes, organizat ion, political model s and value s. All of the se ha ve an al I of which are in a permanent state of tension between consolidation impact on th e ways in which needs are expressed.

26

Huma n Scale Devel opme nt

Development and Human Needs

27

In a critical theory of society, it is not sufficient to specify the

social character of subjectivity. It is not impossible to advance judgments about the subjective. Yet, there is a great fear of the consequences of society. They must be understood as products which are the result of such a reflection. Economic theory is a clear example of this. From the historical factors and, consequently, liable to change. Thus, it is neo-classical economists to the monetarists, the notion of preferences is necessary to retrace the process of reflection and creation that conditions used to avoid the issue of needs. This perspective reveals an acute the interaction between needs, satisfiers and economic goods. reluctance to discuss the subjective-universal. This is particularly true if it is a question of taking a stand in favor of a free market economy.

The Vindication of Subjectivity

Preferences belong to the realm of the subjective-particular and therefore are not a threat to the assumptions that underlie the rationale of the market. To assume a direct relation between needs and economic goods has allowed us to develop a discipline of economics that presumes itself to be us to focus our attention from the outset on the subjective universal, objective. This could be seen as a mechanistic discipline in which the

which renders any mechanistic approach sterile.

central tenet implies that needs manifest themselves through

The way in which needs are expressed through satisfiers varies according to demand which, in turn, is determined by individual preferences for the

according to historical period and culture. The social and economic relationships produced. To include satisfiers within the framework of

tions, defined by historical and cultural circumstances, are concerned

economic analysis involves vindicating the world of the "subjective" over both with the subjective and the objective. Hence, *satisfiers are what*

and above mere preferences for objects and artifacts.

render needs historical and cultural, and economic goods are their

We can explain how needs are met—our own and those of others in *material manifestation*.

our milieu, family, friends, members of the community, cultural groups, the economic system, the socio-political system, the nation and so forth.

Human Needs: Time and Rhythms

We can try to understand how satisfiers and predominant economic goods are related in our environment to the manner in which we

Owing to the dearth of empirical evidence, it is impossible to state

emotionally express our needs. We can detect how satisfiers and the

with absolute certainty that the fundamental human needs are historically

availability of goods constrain, distort or enhance the quality of our lives. and culturally constant. However, there is nothing that prevents us from On this basis, we can think of viable ways to organize and distribute the speaking of their socio-universal character because people everywhere satisfiers and goods so that they nurture the process of actualizing want to satisfy their needs. In reflecting on the nine fundamental needs needs and reduce the possibilities of frustration.

proposed in this book, common sense, along with some socio-cultural The ways in which we experience our needs, hence the quality of our sensitivity, surely points to the fact that the needs for Subsistence, lives is, ultimately, subjective. It would seem, then, that only universalizing Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Idleness and Creation judgment could be deemed arbitrary. An objection to this statement could have existed since the origins of "homo habilis" and, undoubtedly, since well arise from the ranks of positivism. The identification which positivism the appearance of "homo sapiens."

establishes between the subjective and the particular, although it reveals Probably at a later stage of evolution the need for Identity appeared the historical failure of absolute idealism, is a sword of Damocles for the and, at a much later date, the need for Freedom. In much the same

social sciences. When the object of study is the relation between human way, it is likely that in the future the need for Transcendence, which beings and society, the universality of the subjective cannot be ignored. is not included in our proposal as we do not yet consider it universal, Any attempt to observe the life of human beings must recognize the will become as universal as the (other needs. If seems

Men, to

as some that fundamental human needs change with the pace of

28

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

29

evolution, that is to say, at a very slow rate. Therefore,

Foundations for a Possible Systematization

fundamental human needs are not only universal, but are also entwined with the evolution of the species. They follow a single

Classification of Human Needs

track.

Satisfiers behave in two ways: they are modified according to the

rhythm of history and vary according to
culture and

We have emphasized that what we require is a needs theory for
circumstance.

development. This poses the problem of constructing a taxonomy of
Economic goods (artifacts, technologies) behave in three
fundamental human needs which may serve as an instrument for both
different ways: they are modified according to episodic rhythms
policy and action. Undoubtedly, there are many ways in which needs may
(vogues, fashions) and diversify according to cultures and, within
be classified. Hence, any categorization must be regarded as provisional
those cultures, according to social strata.

and subject to modification as new evidence arises and calls for change s.

In summary, perhaps we may say that fundamental human

For the purpo se s of development, a multi-dimensional taxonomy
needs are essential attributes related to human evolution; satisfiers
which establishes a clear-cut difference between needs and satisfiers is a
are forms of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting related to
useful and feasible tool. Unfortunately, in formulating such a classification,
structures, and economic goods are objects related to particular

we lay ourselves open to the charge of arbitrariness. But, considering that historical moments.

the task is absolutely necessary, we can minimize the risks if we abide by Evolutionary, structural and episodic changes take place at the following conditions:

different paces and in different rhythms. The movement of history

1. The classification must be understandable. The needs listed must be places the human being in an increasingly unrhythmical and unsynchronized domain in which human concerns are neglected readily recognizable and identifiable as one's own.

more and more. In the present moment, this situation has become

2. The classification must combine scope with specificity. It must arrive extreme.

at a limited number of needs which can be clearly yet simply labeled

The speed of production and the diversification of objects have

but, at the same time, be comprehensive enough to incorporate any

become ends in themselves and as such are no longer able to fundamental felt need.

satisfy any need whatsoever. People have grown more dependent

3. The classification must be operational. For every existing or

on this system of production but, at the same time, more alienated

conceivable satisfier, one or more of the needs stated must cap
from it.

pear as a target-need of the satisfier; the classification should allow

It is only in some of the regions marginalized by the crisis, and
for an analysis of the relationship between needs and the ways in
in those groups which defy the prevailing styles of development,
which they are satisfied.

that autonomous processes are generated in which satisfiers and

4. The classification must be critical. It is not sufficient for the

economic goods become

subordinated once

again

to

the

categorization to relate satisfiers to needs. It is essential to detect

actualization of human needs. It is in these sectors that we can find

needs for which no desirable satisfier exists. Also, it is to

examples of synergic types of behavior which offer a potential

identify and restrain those satisfiers that inhibit the actualization of

response to the crisis that looms over us. These autonomous

needs.

processes, which are well worth studying and understanding, are

5. The classification must be propositional. To the extent that it is discussed in Chapter 3.

critical and capable of detecting inadequacies in the relation

between the existing satisfiers and the fulfillment of needs,

classification should serve as a trigger mechanism to work out

30

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

31

an alternative order capable of generating and encouraging

individuals or groups from diverse cultures and in different historical

satisfiers for the needs of every man and woman as integral

moments, might vary considerably.

beings. It should also replace non-inclusive satisfiers by others

An examination of the different squares in the matrix with their

of a more comprehensive nature, thus attempting to actualize

possible satisfiers demonstrates clearly that many of the satisfiers can

several needs.

give rise to different economic goods. If we take, for instance, square 15, showing different ways of Doing to actualize the need for

The categorization suggested represents one option. It is related to Understanding on page 32, we see that it includes such satisfiers as development and

we

consider it operational for development.

investigating,

studying,

experimenting,

educating,

analyzing,

Nonetheless, it must be regarded as an open proposal on which meditating and interpreting. These satisfiers give rise to economic improvements must be made.

goods, depending on the culture and the resources, such as books, laboratory instruments, tools, computers and other artifacts. The

Needs, Satisfiers and Economic Goods

function of these goods is to empower the *Doing of Understanding*.

We have already stated that within the context of our proposal,

Examples of Satisfiers and Their Attributes

needs not only indicate deprivations but also, and at the same time, individual and collective human potential. On the other hand, The matrix presented is only an example and in no way exhausts satisfiers are individual or collective forms of Being, Having, Doing the number of possible satisfiers. Because satisfiers have various and Interacting in order to actualize needs. Finally, economic goods characteristics, we suggest for analytical purposes five types that may be identified, namely: (a) violators or destroyers, (b) pseudo-satisfiers, altering the threshold of actualization of a need, either in a positive or (c) inhibiting satisfiers, (d) singular satisfiers and (e) synergic satisfiers. negative sense.

(See Tables 2 through 6.)

A Matrix of Needs and Satisfiers. The interrelationship between **Destroyers.** Violators or destroyers are elements of a paradoxical needs, satisfiers and economic goods is permanent and dynamic. A nature. When applied with the intention of satisfying a given need, dialectic relationship exists among them. If economic goods are capable not only do they annihilate the possibility of its satisfaction over time,

of affecting the efficiency of the satisfiers, the latter will be determinant but they also impair the adequate satisfaction of other needs. These in generating and creating the former. Through this reciprocal causal-paradoxical satisfiers seem to be related particularly to the need for Protection. This need may bring about aberrant human behavior to the delimits the style of development.

extent that its non-satisfaction is associated with fear. The special attribute of these violators is that they are invariably imposed on people organized within the grids of a matrix which, on the one hand, classifies (Table 2.)

needs according to the existential categories of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting and, on the other hand, according to the axiological

Pseudo-satisfiers.

Pseudo-satisfiers

are

elements

that

categories of Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Par-

generate a false sense of satisfaction of a given need. Although not participation, Idleness, Creation, Identity and Freedom. This matrix is endowed with them aggressiveness of violators or destroyers, they neither normative nor conclusive. It merely gives an example of possible types of satisfiers. In fact, this matrix of satisfiers, if completed by satisfying the need they were originally aimed at fulfilling. Their main attribute is that they are generally induced through propaganda, advertising or other means of persuasion. (Table 3.)

32

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

33

Table 1: MATRIX OF NEEDS AND SATISFIERS*

Needs according

to existential

Table 1 - continued

categories

Needs

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

Needs according

according

to existential

to axiologic al

categories

categories

Needs .

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

SUBSISTENCE

according

1/

2/

3/

4/

to ax iologic al

Phíasical health, F o o d ,

shelte r, Fee d, pr ocre ate , Living en viron -

c ategories

mental

health,

wor k

rest, wo rk

ment, social se -

e q u i l i b r i u m ,

tting

IDENTITY

29/

30/

31/

32/

sense of hu mor ,

Sense of b elong - Symbois,

lan- Commit o neself,

Sociat rh yt hms,

adaptability

ing, consistency, gauge,

religion, integrate oneself, everyday settings,

differentiation,

habits, customs,

confront, decide

settings which one

PROTECTION

5/

6/

7/

8/

self-esteem, as -

reference groups, on, get to know

belongs to, matu-

Care, adapta-

insurance sys-

Cooperate, pre-

Living space, so -

certiveness

sexualit y, valu es, oneseif, recog -
ration stages

tability, autonomía, tems, sa vings,
vent ,

ptan, ta ke cial envi ronme nt,
norms,

historical nize o nesetf , ac-

e q u i t i b r i u m, social securitía, care of, cure, help dwelling
memor y, wo r k

tualize oneseif,

solidarit y

health síast ems,

grow

r i g h t s ,

family,

wor k

FREEDOM

33/

34/

35/

36/

Autonomía, self - Equal rights

Dissent, choose ,

Temporal/spatial

AFFECTION

9/

10/

11/

12/

esteem, deter-

be different from, plasticity

Self-esteem ,

Friendships ,

Make love,

Privacy, intimacy,

mination,

pas-

run risks, develop

solidarity,

re-

family,

partner - caress, express

home, space of

sion,

assertive-

awareness, com -

spect, tolerance,

ships,

relation - emotions, share, togetherness

ness, openness -

oneself, diso-

generosity,

relationships with nature Care of, cut -

dedness, bold -

bey

captiveness, pas -

tivate, appreciate

ness, rebellious -

sion, determination -

ness, tolerance

tion,

sensuality,

sense of humor

The column of BEING registers *attributes* personal or collective, that are expressed as nouns. The

UNDER-

13/

14/

15/

16/

column of HAVING registers *institutions, norms, mechanisms, tools* (not in a material sense), *laws*, etc.

STANDING

Critical

con-

Literature,

investigate,

Settings of form -

science, reception -

that can be expressed in one or more words. The column of DOING registers *actions*, personal or teachers, method-study,

expe ri-

tive

interactio n,

tiveness, cu rio -

col ective, that can be expressed as verbs. T he column of INT ERACT ING registers *locations and* od, educa tional

ment, e ducate ,

schools,

unive r-

sity, ast onish-

milieus

p o lici es ,

com- analí ze,

sities, academies,

(as times and spaces). ht stands for the Spanish ESTAR or the German BEFINDEN, in rho ment, dis -

munication poli -

meditate

groups,

com-

sense of time and space. Since there is no corresponding word in English, INTERACTING was chosen á discipline, intuition, cics

munities, family

faut de mieux.

rationality

PARTICIPATION

17/

18/

19/

20/

Adaptability, Rights,

responsibility - Become

aff-

Settings of par-

Table 2: VIOLATORS OR DESTROYERS*

receptiveness,

abilities, duties, fidelity,

coop-

participative interaction-

solidarity, willing- privileges, work

create, propose,

tion,

parties, as-

Supposed Satisfier

Need to Be Sup-

Needs, the Satisfaction of Which it impairs

ness, determine -

share,

dissent,

sociations, church -

posedly Satisfied

tion,

dedication,

obeía,

interact, chess, commun -

respect, passion,

agreement, expressions, neighbor-

Arms race

Protection

Subsistence, Affection, Participation

sense of humor

opinions

hoods, family

Exile

Protection

Affection, Participation, Identity, Freedom

IDLENESS

21/

22/

23/

24/

National Security

Protection

Subsistence, Identity, Affection, Understanding,

Curiosity, reception - Games, special - Daydream,

Privacy, intimacy,

Doctrine

Participation, Freedom

tiveness,

im-

tacles, clubs, par-brood, dream,

spaces of close-

agination,

reck- ti es, peace of

recall old times,

ness, fr ee time ,

Censorship

Protection

Understanding, Participation, Mimosa,

tessness, sense

mind

give waía to f an-

s u r r o u n d i n g s ,

Creation, identity, Freedom

of humo r, tr an-

tasies, re mem-

landscapes.

quility, se nsualit y

Bureaucracy

Protection

Understanding, Affection, Participation,

ber, rela x, ha ve

fun, pla y

Creation, Identity, Freedom

CREATION

Authoritarianism

Protection

Affection, Understanding, Participartion,

25/

26/

27/

28/

Creation, Identity, Freedom

Passion, dete r -

Abilities,

skilis, Wor k,

i n ven t , Producti ve and

mination,

intui- method, wo r k

b uil d ,

d es ig n, feedbac k set tings,

tion,

compose, inte r -

wor kshops, cul-

* Violators or destructors are elements of a paradoxical effect. Applied under the pretext of satisfying imagination

pret

lural g roups, audi -

a given need, they not only annihilate the possibility of its satisfaction, but also render the adequate

,

ences, spaces fo r

satisfaction of other needs impossible. They seem to be especially related to the need for protection.

boldness, ration

exp ression,

tem-

ality,

autonom y,

poral fre edom

inventi ve ness,

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

35

Inhibiting Satisfiers. Inhibiting satisfiers are those that generally oversatisfy a given need, therefore seriously curtailing the possibility of

Table 3: PSEUDO-SATISFIERS*

satisfying other needs. With some exceptions, they share the attribute of

Satisfier

Need Which It Seemingly Satisfies

originating in deep-rooted customs, habits and rituals. (Table 4.)

Mechanistic medicine ("A pill for every ill")

Protection

Singular Satisfiers. Singular satisfiers are those that satisfy one particular
Exploitation of natural resources

Subsistence

need. In regard to the satisfaction of other needs, they are neutral. They are

Chauvinistic nationalism

Identity

characteristic of plans and programs of assistance, cooperation and

Format democracy

Participation

development. These satisfiers are similar in that they are institutionalized;

Stereotypes

Understanding

that is, their origins are in institutions of the state, of the private sector or of
Aggregate economic indicators

Understanding

the voluntary or non-governmental sector. (Table 5.)

Cultural control

Creation

Prostitution

Affection

Status symbols

Identity

Synergic Satisfiers. Synergic satisfiers are those that satisfy a

Obsessive productivity with a bias to efficiency

Subsistence

given need, simultaneously stimulating and contributing to the

Indoctrination

Understanding

fulfillment of other needs. They share the attribute of being anti-

Charity

Subsistence

authoritarian in the sense that they constitute a reversal of

Fashions and fads

identity

predominant values, such as competition and coerciveness. (Table

6.)

*Pseudo-satisfiers are elements that stimulate a false sensation of satisfying a given need. Although they lack the aggressiveness of violators, they may on occasion annul in the medium term the pos-Exogenous and Endogenous Satisfiers. The first four

sibility of satisfying the need they were originally aimed at.

categories of satisfiers are exogenous to civil society as they are

usually imposed, induced, ritualized or institutionalized. In this

sense, they are satisfiers which have been traditionally generated

Table 4: INHIBITING SATISFIERS*

at the top and advocated for all. On the other hand, endogenous

satisfiers derive from liberating processes which are the outcome

Satisfier

Need

Needs, the Satisfaction of Which is Inhibited

of acts of volition generated by the community at the grassroots

level. It is this that makes them antiauthoritarian, even though in

Paternalism

Protection

Understanding, Participation, Freedom, Identity

some cases they may originate in processes promoted by the

Overprotective family

Protection

Affection, Understanding, Participation, Identity,

state.

Identity, Freedom

Taylorist-type of

Subsistence

Understanding, Participation, Creation, Identity,

One of the important aims of Human Scale Development is to

production

Freedom

affect change in the nature of the Latin American State. It should

Authoritarian classroom

Understanding

Participation, Creation, Identity, Freedom

move from its traditional role as a generator of satisfiers, which are

Messianism

Identity

Protection, Understanding, Participation,

exogenous to civil society, to a stimulator and creator of processes

(Millennialism)

Freedom

Unlimited permissiveness

Freedom

Protection, Affection, Identity, Participation

arising

from

the

bottom

upwards.

Particularly,

given

the

Obsessive economic

Freedom

Subsistence, Protection, Affection,

tremendously restrictive

conditions which the

current crisis

competitiveness

Participation, idleness

imposes on us, an increase in the levels of local, regional and

Commercial television

Leisure

Understanding, Creation, Identity

national Self-reliance should be deemed a priority. This objective can

* Inhibiting satisfiers are those that by the way they satisfy (actually oversatisfy) a given need seriously be met through the generation of synergic processes at

all

ly impair the possibility of satisfying other needs.

36

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

37

Table 5: SINGULAR SATISFIERS*

levels of society. Chapter 3 of this book is concerned with how such processes can be unleashed.

Satisfier

Need that It Satisfies

The fact that several of the satisfiers offered as examples do not ap-

Programs to provide food and housing

Subsistence

pear in the matrix is due to the fact that the tables are more specific. It

Curative medicine

Subsistence

must be borne in mind that the matrix is merely illustrative and not nor-

Insurance systems

Protection

mative.

Professional armies

Protection

Battot

Participation

Sports spectacles

Leisure

Applications of the Matrix

Nationality

Identity

Guided tours

Leisure

The schema proposed can be used for purposes of diagnosis, plan-

Gifts

Affection

ning, assessment and evaluation. The matrix of needs and satisfiers may serve, at a preliminary stage, as a participative exercise of self-diag-

*Singular satisfiers are those that aim at the satisfaction of a single need and are, therefore, neutral nosis for groups located within a local space. Through a process of

as regards the satisfaction of other needs. They are very characteristic of development and cooperation schemes and programs.

regular dialogue—preferably with the presence of a facilitator acting as a catalyzing element—the group may gradually begin to characterize itself by filling in the corresponding squares.

The outcome of the exercise will enable the group to become aware

Table 6: SYNERGIC SATISFIERS*

of both its deprivations and potentialities. After diagnosing its current

reality, it may repeat the exercise in propositional terms: that is, iden-

Satisfier

Need

Needs, the Satisfaction

of Which it Stimulates

tifying which satisfiers would be required to fully meet the fundamental

Breast-feeding

Subsistence

Protection, Affection, Identity

needs of the group. As the satisfiers are selected with increasing

Self-managed production

Subsistence

Understanding, Participation, Creation,

levels of specificity, they should be discussed critically by the group in

Identity, Freedom

terms of their characteristics and attributes, in order to determine if they

Popular education

Understanding

Protection, Participation, Creation, Identity,

Freedom

are—or should be—generated exogenously or endogenously by the

Democratic community

Participation

Protection, Affection, Leisure, Creation,

community itself. Such an analysis will demonstrate the potential

organizations

Identity, Freedom

Barefoot medicine

Protection

Subsistence, Understanding, Participation

capacity for local self-reliance. The same analysis of proposed

Barefoot banking

Protection

Subsistence, Participation, Creation, Freedom

salisfiens will enable the group to asse ss not only whether their posi

Democratic trade unions

Protection

Understanding, Participation, Identity

tive effects are singular or synergic, but also whether the negative

Direct democracy

Participation

Protection, Understanding, Identity, Freedom

effects are violators, inhibiting satisfiers or pseudo-satisfiers. The next

Educational games

Leisure

Understanding, Creation

stage of reflection of the group is to determine whether access exist s

Self-managed house-

Subsistence

Understanding, Participation

to the necessary economic goods and material resources.

building programs

Preventive medicine

Protection

Understanding, Participation, Subsistence

The proposed exercise has a twofold value. First, it makes it pos-

Meditation

Understanding

Leisure, Creation, identity

sible to identify at a local level a strategy for development aimed at the

Cultural television

actualization of human needs. Second, it is an educational, creative and

Leisure

Understanding

participatory exercise that brings about a state of deep critical

*Synergic satisfiers are those that by the way they satisfy a given need, stimulate and contribute to awareness: that is to say, the method is in itself a generator of

the simultaneous satisfaction of other needs.

synergic effects. (More about this in the following section.)

38

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

39

The technique described is not restricted only to an analysis of

We should not blind ourselves, however, to the fact that unity does

local spaces. It is likewise applicable at regional and national

not mean uniformity. There may exist a sounder foundation for

levels. In local spaces, it can be a broad-based participation

real unity when a wealth of cultural potential arises freely and

processes where those representing the interests of the economic,

creatively, nurtured by opportunities, the technical back-up and political and social domains of the community may express their support for their development. ideas.

At a regional level, the exercise should be undertaken by a carefully chosen team that not only represents the different domains of endeavor, but also by virtue of its representative nature combines both public and private interests. At the

A Note on Methodology

national level, it is essential that the task should be approached in a transdisciplinary manner because of the complexity of the

The Effort to Understand

issues.

Since the publication in 1986 of the Spanish version of

Articulating and Regaining Diversity. In this way, an

Human Scale Development, considerable experience has been

alternative process moving from the local to the regional and to

accumulated about the utilization of the matrix of needs and

the

national

make s

i t

impe rati ve

to

d evelo p

suit able

sa ti sfiers (outlined the preceding section) for analytical purpo se s,
met hodologie s which allo w u s to reconcile harmoniously the
with diverse g roup s in different countrie s. The methodology
views, expe ctation s and propo sal s a ri sing from the different
developed so fa r ha s shown that it allows for the achievement of in-
spa ce s. In the third pa rt of thi s boo k, p ropo sal s a re made to this
depth insight into key problems that impede the a ctualization of
end.

fundamental human needs in the societ y, community or institution

De velopmen t gea red to t he sati sfa ction o f fun dament al

being studied.

huma n needs cannot, by definition, be st ruc tured f rom the top

Starting

f rom

the

assumption

the

author

has developed

downwards. It cannot be imposed either by law or by decree.

elsewhere (see Chapter 5, About the Pruning of Language), it can

It can only emanate directly from the actions, expectations and

be said that we know how to describe, and that we have learned

creative and critical awareness of the protagonists themselves.

to explain. However, what we often overlook is the fact that describing

Instead of being the traditional objects of development, people

and explaining do not amount to *understanding*. The methodology

must take a leading role in development. The anti-authoritarian

developed so far may probably allow for that additional step into

nature of Human Scale Development does not involve making

greater awareness.

the conflict between state and civil society more acute. On the

For

a

simple

yet

comprehensive

presentation

of

the

contrary, it attempts to prove, through the method proposed, that

methodology, we shall follow the steps of an imaginary two-day

the

state can assume a role

which encourages synergic

workshop attended by fifty people. The purpose of the exercise

processes at the local, regional and national levels.

is to allow participants to reflect on the reality of their society at

We believe that regaining diversity is the best way to encourage

large in the light of Human Scale Development theory, in order to

the creative and synergic potential which exists in every society.

design ways of overcoming or coping with the most important problems

Therefore, it seems advisable and consistent to accept the

detected.

coexistence of different styles of regional development within the same country, instead of insisting that "national styles"

Phase One . The group is divided into five sub-groups of ten should

prevail,

when

these

have

so

far

proved

to

be

people. (Experience has shown that ten seems to be an optimal size

instrumental in increasing the affluence of some regions at the

for the purpose.) The proposed task for each group is to construct

expense of the impoverishment of others. These national styles

the

matrix containing

the

destructive

elements (satisfiers)

are conceived mostly in order to strengthen or preserve national

affecting their society –that is, all those "destroyers" that impede the

40

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

41

actualization of the fundamental human needs. For the purpose, all

Phase Three. During the evening, a group of volunteers is requested to

groups receive thirty-six self-adhesive pads, numbered from 1 to 36,

consolidate the five matrixes into one. The practical way of doing this is to

each representing a blank grid of the matrix to be filled in.

take all five number 1 grids, eliminate all repetitions and synonyms and

produce only one grid representative of the whole. The same is done with

Phase Two. For the first two hours, the groups are requested to con-

all the other grids until a single matrix is produced, representing the

concentrate on filling in the grids corresponding to the column of Being;

perceptions of all fifty participants. The matrix is drawn on a large chart

that is, grids 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 29 and 33. Each point entered in the

(say, 120 by 80 cms) and placed on the wall so that on the following grid must be the result of group discussion. It is stressed by the semi-morning it can be examined by the participants.

nar coordinator that the column headed Being registers *attributes*, personal or collective (negative, in this case), that are expressed as nouns.

Phase Four. In the next session, the participants are divided into nine

For example, in grid 17, Participation, negative elements could be:

groups; one for each fundamental human need. The matrix is cut with authoritarianism, discrimination, indifference, etc.

scissors into nine strips so that each group receives one part. It should be

Once the two hours are completed, all pads are collected and pinned

clear that each strip represents one need with its four grids filled in with the

on the wall, thus representing five columns of Being, at a sufficient

negative satisfiers.

distance from one another to allow space for the other three columns to

The group is asked to start a discussion in order to select from each' of

be produced in order to complete five matrixes.

the four grids the one element they consider to be the most important and

The next two hours are devoted to filling in the grids of the column

decisive. In other words, that destroyer must be selected that carries the

Having. Participants are reminded that the column Having registered greatest weight in the lot. In exceptional cases, two can be selected from institutions, norms, mechanisms, tools (not in a material sense), laws, a grid. The selection must in each case be a consensus reached through etc. that can be expressed in one or more words. Again, examples that debate and discussion. This phase should take as long as it requires. have shown up are: national security doctrine, repressive institutions, discriminatory education laws and so on. Once the time is completed, **Phase Five.** Each group delivers the list of the four to eight negative the pads are again collected and placed on the wall next to each of the satisfiers selected. The list is now written into a new blank matrix, will be corresponding previous five columns. identified as the synthesis matrix. It represents the picture of the most A break of three hours is taken, and the participants gather again in negative elements affecting that society, community or institution (as the afternoon. A long break is important because, if properly carried out, perceived by the participants) inasmuch as the actualization of fundamental the exercise is very intense and demanding. human needs is concerned. It represents the paramount challenges that The next two hours are devoted in an analogous manner to the

must be tackled. Therefore, the discussion and interpretation of the column Doing. It is stressed that the column Doing registers *actions*, synthesis matrix must be carried out in a plenary session.

personal or collective, that are expressed as verbs. As a mere illustration, examples could be discriminate, oppress, impose, censure.

Phase Six. If time allows, or if the coordinator is able to establish a long-term relationship with the participants, an additional exercise is highly advisable. Employing exactly the same procedure as for the construction of the negative matrix, the participants are asked to produce the matrix of their Utopia; that is, of how their society ought to be for them to feel really satisfied. When carrying out this part of the exercise, the wall. The day finishes with five negative matrixes of destruction placed on the wall. During the final two hours, the column Interacting must be completed. It is explained to the participants that Interacting refers to *locations or milieus in the sense of times and spaces*.

the negative matrix, the participants are asked to produce the matrix of their Utopia; that is, of how their society ought to be for them to feel really satisfied. When carrying out this part of the exercise, the wall. The day finishes with five negative matrixes of destruction placed on the wall.

the negative matrix should not be in the hands of the participants, since

42

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

43

they might simply be tempted to find in the new one just with the opposites—perhaps impossible—to say. But in any case, what appears to be of the earlier one.

probable, is that the "disease" the patient is suffering from is fear.

Therefore, if the remedies prescribed concentrate exclusively on the

Phase Seven. Once the second exercise is completed, the participants

attempt to cure violence, one may be applying an inadequate or in-

are confronted in a plenary session with both synthesis matrixes: the

complete prescription for the wrong "disease." The result may be that

negative and the positive. What follows is a discussion about the bridging

the patient gets worse.

from one to the other. Here again small groups can be organized, the idea

The final assessment of the participants was that the methodology—

being a sort of game where the winning group finds the most synergic

regardless of whether it did or did not reveal *new* truths - allowed for

"bridging" satisfiers. In fact, the discussion will inevitably consist of the discovery of unexpected facets of a problem, thus increasing

selecting satisfiers. Hence, each one that is proposed or suggested must

awareness about what was relevant.

be jointly analyzed in order to establish its characteristics. Is it en-

dogenous or must it come from outside the community? Is it singular,

Further Examples

linear or synergic? Such a participatory discussion can turn out to be rich and stimulating and in itself represents an experience with synergetic effects. Since the Colombian experience, many additional seminars have

been carried out both in Northern as well as in Third World countries.

Although much more work has to be completed in order to confine some

The New Awareness

probable tendencies, it is already clear that unsuspected yet significant findings will come to light. One of the most interesting may be the fact

Early in 1987, a seminar like the one described was carried out in

that no correlation seems to exist between achieved levels of economic

Bogotá,

Colombia,

with

fifty

high-ranking

university

officials and

growth and relative happiness of the people concerned. The other aspect

academics from all over the country as participants. After reflecting on the that comes into light is the poverties (as defined in Human Scale destructive elements affecting Colombian society , and going Development theory) that exist in every society.

through the successive phases previously described, they selected from Without going into any analysis, the examples that follow are quite the matrix of synthesis the following list of components as the most significant: Aggressiveness, Indifference, Obedience, Censorship, Accept-negative matrix representing British society, as interpreted by a tance, Apathy , Dependence , Alienation , Neutrality (internal), group of some forty socially concerned business people and activists. It Uprooting, Ideological manipulation and Repressive institutions. can easily be seen through the sheer quantity of elements included grid This list determined the following analysis and conclusions. If one that the exercise stimulates participants to overcome any form of

asks for a description of Colombian society, the reply may well give an
modesty or shyness. In fact, our observations have shown that at Some
image of a society suffering from a high degree of violence. If one asks for
point during the exercise, the urge to unearth truly and honestly (no matter
explanations, one may be given a profile of all the different groups that are
how painful it may be) what is ailing in one's society is highly testified.
in conflict and, hence, determine that violence. But, if we look at the above
Table 8 (page 47) is the synthesis matrix of the previous one, and
list, which is the product of an intense process of introspective analysis, we
shows, to say the least, a society that fans to communicate
perceive something quite interesting and probably unexpected. There is
Table 9 (page 48) is the synthesis matrix of an experience with
violence—a great deal of violence — in Colombian society, but the deep
particip ant s simila r
to
th o se
in
the
B ri ti sh
e xample , bu t

underlying problem, as revealed by the list, was deemed to be *Fear*.
representing the Swedish Society Looking at it, one soon
Whether that fear is the result of violence or its cause (or both) is difficult
gets the feeling that one is facing a society of lonely people.

44

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

45

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

Table 7: CONSOLIDATED NEGATIVE MATRIX (GREAT BRITAIN)

UNDER-

Bigotry,

secr- Press / media,

Intellectualize, Distancing from

STANDING

tiveness, "clever- education sys-

manipulate, over- Nature, education

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

ness," u nrece p-

tem,achie veme nt plan, complicate , structu res

re-

SUBSISTENCE

tiveness, apat hy, orient ation, politi- o ve r s i m p l i f y,

move d f rom e n-

S e l f i s h n e s s ,

Maln ourishm ent, P oll u te , s te at , Disharmo ny with

prejudice, willful cal dogmatism,

ove remp hasize

viro nment ,

fast

w a s t e f u l n e s s ,

homelessness,

degra de, specu -

natur e, g ree n-

ignorance , fe ar

g a i al ess n es s,

technolog y, abdi- pace of cha nge,

d isc o nn ec t ed -

i ll -h e alt h ,

un- late, mon opoli ze, houseeffect ,po -

i nsul a ri t y,

re- specialization,

cate, de valu e in-

speed of info rma -

ness, imbalance, e m p l o y m e n t ,

adve rtise, close

llution, housin g

serve,

setfish-

the Ch urch, T en

tuitive ness,

de- tion and activi ty in

addictive ness,

moneta rism, o ve - off, ign ore , o ve r- develo pments,

ness,

e l i t i s m , Command m e n t s , p e r s o n a l i z e , m i s - h i b i t s

i n t e g r a t i o n ,

s e l f - i n d u l g e n c e ,

r e p r o d u c t i o n , p o l - e a t , g r a b , t a l k t o c o n g e s t i o n , s e p a -

c o m p e t i t i v e n e s s , B r i t i s h

i n s t i t u -

i n f o r m ,

u s e j a r - i n c o m p a t i b i l i t y o f

i n s a t i a b i l i t y , p a s - l u t i o n , e c o n o m i c

a v o i d

d o i n g ,

r a t i o n

x e n o p h o b i a ,

t i o n s , s e l f - c e n s o r - g o n , c o n f u s o , d e - l a n g u a g e s y s t e m s

s i v i t y , a c q u i s i t i v e - p o l i c y , i n e q u a l i t y , h o a r d i n g ,

d i s -

f r o m t h e l a n d ,

g o a l - c e n t r e d - s h i p , c o n d i t i o n -

v a l u e o n e s e l f , f i l - w i t h i n

the social

ness, greed, ego- c o n s u m e r i s m ,

criminate in trade, destructio n of

ness, insecurit y, ing, p rejudice, in - t e r i n g ,

getting

envi ronme nt

tism, confusion,

unsustainabilit y,

adulte rate food

wildlife

habitat,

greed , distrust, forma tion o ve r -

e m o t i o n a l l y

anxiet y,

stress, centralization, hy-

degraded environ -

cynicism, author- load, do gmatism flooded,

senti-

reg ression, d e-

peru rbani za tion

ment, o ve rpla n-
itarianism, sub-
mentalize, ignore,
pendence, pow -
health p olicy, so -
tural designs, sys-
servie nce, caste
act witho ut com -
erlessness

cial acceptance of
temic waste

labeling

passion, den y

inequalit y

PARTICIPATION

PROTECTION

Inhibition, isola- III-health, British Divide,

not tol -

Elitist clubs, ove r-

Fea r,nati onalism, T otalitarianism,

Destroy, poison,

Military

bases,

tion, snobbish-

electoral system, erate, exclude,

professionalization

hostility,

paraphernalia, exploit, absolute

degradation of the

ness, coercion,

class

system,

withdraw, censor, of sports, unsafe

anoia, secretive- Official Secrets responsibility, environment, un-

apathy, egoism, centralized gov-

impose participatory- transport, lack of

ness,

possession-

Act, Censorship, destroy

other

safe streets,

un-

facelessness,

ernment, repression -

tion, conceal, communal spaces,

siveness, representationism,

species,

dislo-

sale

transport,

laziness, disorientative domo-

ludic, deceive,

spatial discrimina-

tion, self-destructive profiteering

cate,

impose,

badly designed

mindedness, dis-crazy, food aid,

patronize,

re-

tion, p r i v a t e o w n e r -

tiveness, a g g r e s s i v e b u r e a u c r a c y,

control, d i c t a t e ,

housing, s p a t i a l

agreement, e m o t i o n a l m o n o p o l i o s, s e c - p r e s s t h e v o t e,

ship of space, f r a g

siveness, p a c e r a - a r m y,

propert y

f i g h t ,

arming,

d i s c r i m i n a t i o n ,

tionality, r a t i o n - r e t

societies,

r e l i n q u i s h

res-

mentation of hous

nalism,

selfish- "c u r a t i v o m e d i -

d a n g e r o u s d r i -

ove r c r o w d i n g,

alism,

collec-

professional as-

possibilities, opt ing, conu rbatio ns,

ness,

unpre -

cine,"

housing ving, pollute , neg - balanced de mo-

tivism, ignorance, sociations and

out, control, dis- centrali zation

dictability,

dog- policy an d ma r-

lect, o ver pro tect

graphic

distribu -

ill it e rac y, stu-

bodies, bu rea u-

trust,

withhold,

matism, dep end - ket, social accep-

tion, lack of
purity, cynicism, crats,
experts,
desire to know
ency,
racism,
tance of violence,
secure common
inexperience,
everything going
discriminating
elitism,
introvert-discrimination,
spaces,
intellectualism,
laws, mental in-
on
sion,
alienation, prejudice, van-
urbanization

c o m p l a c e n c y, stitutions, welfare

s u b s e r v i e n c e ,

dalism

d i s h o n e s t y ,

state, g r o w i n g

greed ,

indiffer -

defensiveness,

p o w e r o f g o v e r n -

e n c e, c o m p e t i -

s u p e r f i c i a -

m e n t, h i e r a r c h i c a l

t i v e n e s s, v u l n e r -

l i t y,

s t r u c t u r e s, o u t -

a b i l i t y

p r a g m a t i s m ,

d a t e d

s o c i a l

n u m b n e s s

norms, social ine-
quality, prejudice

AFFECTION

Rationality,

Education system-

Separate, isolate, Isolation in crowd-

cynicism, super-

tem, organization -

neglect,

dom-

edness,

loss of

IDLENESS

Hyperactivity, Unemployment,

To win, to run

Congestion, cor-

ruptibility, fear, nar-

row, media, fami-

ly, destroy,

feeling

of per -

apathy, utilita-

professionalism

marathons, rush

porate greed for

cissism, aggres-

ly

breakdown,

take for granted,

manence, design

rianism, addictive- in

sports, work

around, try to get space,

British

siveness, jeal -

generation gap,

abuse, rush, in -

problems, over -

ness, nervous-

ethic, criminality, results, overplan

weather, package

ousy, overp ro tec- p o r n o g r a p h y,

hibit,

moralize,

crowde d sched -

ness,inflexibilit y, Victorian values, t im e ta bl es ,

to h o li da ys, ove r-

tiveness, aliena - sexism, p rostitu - put a price o n

ules, visual

loneliness,

de- junk e nte rtain -

judge

and

re-

crowde d sched -

tion, possessive- tion, turning affec- things, trade in af- pollution,

pression,egoism, ment, Calvi nism, press, w or k too

ules,

tempo ral

ness,

English- tion finto a com -
fection, d evalue,
ove rcrow ding,
competiti veness, television, famil y/ hard,
business, paran oia, lack of
ness,
insecurit y, modity, comme r - fail to comm uni-
spatial pa ranoia,
s c h e d u l i s m ,
paren ts, te ach-
focus outside our- spaces te be idle,
permissive ness,
cialization, break- cate
break-up o f family
fatigue,
stress, ers, consum er -
selves,
ignore
envi ronme nt no t
p r o m i s c u i t y,

up of extended
environment,
Calvinism, pro-
ism, advertising, what is going on
adapted to climate,
loneliness,
dis-family, commercial-
warped time pri-
ductiveness,
telephone, ob-
inside us, act from lack of quietness
trust,
inhibition, civilization
of
orities,
climate,
guilt, confusion, gations, work,
conditioning and
and private space
reserve shyness, caring, automa-

lack of time,
unimaginative -
hostile environment -
habit, to burn out
arrogance,
tion, computer -
lack of
ness, exploitation -
ment wage
frigidity,
intellectualization
qualitative space
tion, repression,
tuality, numbness
greed,
ebriety
simia, directiveness -
ness,
load, in-
security,

fe ve rishness

46

Huma n Scale Devel opme nt

Development and Human Needs

47

radio 7 - .ntinued

Table 8: NEGATIVE SYNTHESIS MATRIX, (GREAT BRITAIN)

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

T ime pressure,

CREATION

I n hi bi tio n ,

re- Oppression, cen - Commercialize,

serve,

fear, dull- sorship,

indus-

devalue

local

lack of space,

ness, boredom,

trialization, mass creativit y,

bias

conc

t o

r n

ll-ed

conformity, wor k- production,

di- creativo minds to environme nt,

SUBSISTENCE

Self-indulgence

Unsustainability

Pollute

Disharmony with

a h olic ism ,

ap- vision of labour, industrial needs, from nature, tamed

nature

athy, a nomie, fo r- adve rtising

in- idolize, fetishize, environme nt, no

malism,

institu- dustry,

largo-

destroy, discour-

place for create d

tionalism,

inade- scale production, age, institutional- things,

no com-

quacy, satu ration, etiquette, media, i ze,

put down

munity

space,

Profiteering,

pro-

Degradation of en -

s t u b b o r n n e s s ,

specialization,

others,

judge,

warped sense of

PROTECTION

Self-destructive -

Exploit

ness

judice

environment

willfulness,

fear, examination system - make comparison

appropriate time

acceptance,

the military, moralize, use, no access to

seriousness, left-illness,

didactic focus on ends

communal facilities

braininess,

nature of education

rather

than

ties, poor rhythms

Break-up of family

repressiveness,

tional

system,

means,

deny

in creativity,

no

environment,

AFFECTION

Family

break-

Rationality, alien-

indifference, self-

Devalue

education

for

left/right balance

time

to review ,

down

ation

warped

time

denial, numbness mass production,

overcrowding ,

priorities

school systems,

speed required to

predominance of

produce, lack of

Fast

pace

of

material objec-

group creativity

change

incom-

tives

UNDER-

patibility

of lan-

IDENTITY

Power lessness,

Caste system, so- ro search for uni- Com muting, pub

Prejudice

Gaialessness

Abdicate

STANDING

guage systems

fear, chau vinism, cial rules, class queness,

ritual- c ul t u re ,

over -

within

social

insecurity, elitism, structure,

media, ize, become ob -

crowding,

regi-

environme nt

fatigue

nation- fashions,

gala- sessed, repress,

mentation,

de-

alism,

saturation, lessness, separa- isolate

oneself, graded

environ -

i nsi gni fic an ce ,

tion, role conflict, conform, collude

ment, closed fami-

PARTICIPATION

Centralized go v-

Give u p respon -

Lack of communal

r a t i o n a l i s m ,

irrelevance,

in- to maintain status ly systems

Apathy

ernment

sibilities

spaces

centralism,

col- d us t rial i za tio n,

quo, institutional-

lectivism,

agism, the sheer numb er ize people, wear a

sexism, racism,

of people, depe r-

uniform, hile and

lack

of self-es-

sonalization, loss suppress,

sur-

teem,

posses- of

community,

render to others'

IDLENESS

Rush around, ig-

siveness,

aliena- material poverty

expectations,

Guilt

Junk,

entertain -

Congestion

more what is going

tion,

conformity, statistics, precon- adopt positions,

ment

on inside us

rootlessness

ceptions,

pre- refuse to know

neurosis, aggres- judices, ridicule, oneself,

deny

siveness,

im- stereotype, mon -

connection with

balance

ey, po wer, adve r- others and th e en-

CREATION

Predominance of

tising

vironmen t

Inhibition

material

objec- Commercialize,

Distance from all

discourage

natura

FREEDOM

Constraint,

op- D e p r i v a t i o n ,

T o polarize

de- Lack of space, 40-

tives

pression, acquisi- pove rty, censor-

cision-making,

hour wo r k wee k,

t i ven ess ,

pas- ship,

i ll n ess , distrust, repress, laws

regulating

Refuse to know

sivity,

totalitar-

British

electoral rob, de value fea r, opening

hours,

oneself, denying

Degrade e nvi ron

i a nis m,

ignor-

system, unequal

self-deception,

threatening

en-

IDENTITY

Fear,

rootless-

Gaialessness

our connection

ness

ment

ance, rationalism, representation,

with others and

abdicate respon-

vironments, do-

the environment

fear, obedience,

machismo, injustice,

corruption

by

resourceless -

ticeofjudicialsys-
control thro ugh
cultural enviro n-
ness,
ci vili t y, tem, individual- money
and/or
ment to lack in
cowardice
ism,
censorship, power, act from
pove rty, lack
of rights to com -
c e nt r al i za ti o n,
habit, conform,
legislate

FREEDOM

Fear

Deprivation

Devalue

Creation of poor

Whitehall, class

mon spaces, ra-

quality spaces

system, unem-

tional

frontiers,

ployment, Official

overcrowding,

Secrets

Act,

creation of poor

mortgages, pen -

quality space,

sions,

social

majority

rights

versus

norms,

stereo-

individual freedom

types, prejudices

48

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

49

The next three tables represent Latin American cases. Table 10

Table 9: NEGATIVE SYNTHESIS MATRIX (SWEDEN)

(page 50) is the synthesis matrix of a Bolivian experience carried out

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

with representatives of some forty-five non-governmental organizations working at grassroots levels, especially with peasant communities.

SUBSISTENCE

Meaningless-

Big scale society

Self-destroy

Environment ex-

Tables 11 and 12 (pages 51-52) correspond to a complete exercise, ness, gluttony exploitation carried out in its seven phases in the Municipality of La Paz in the Province of Mendoza, Argentina. It is the poorest municipality of the province, and the exercise was conducted by two hundred citizens. Table

PROTECTION

Fear, anonymity

Centralisation

Avoid

responsibility- Pollution

Table 11 is the negative synthesis matrix, and Table 12 is the desired synthesis matrix. It is interesting to note that the contents of the last matrix have little to do with what is generally assumed to be of paramount importance in conventional development criteria. Here we have

avoid contact

AFFECTION

Fear of closeness Mass society

Avoid contact

Dehumanized ar-
some food for thought!
chitecture

Options That Determine

UNDER-

Prejudice

Fragmentation

To stress

Isolation

STANDING

Development Styles

Human Needs: From the Linear

PARTICIPATION

Powerlessness

Vast scaleness,

Subordinate

Isolation

expert rule

to the Systemic Approach

Fundamental human needs must be understood as a system, the

IDLENESS

Worry, fill up time

Lack of self-con-

Protestant work

Lack of time

dynamics of which do not obey hierarchical linearities. This means that

fidence

with "important"

ethic

things

on the one hand, no need is more important per se than any other; and

that on the other hand, there is no fixed order of precedence in the ac-

Lack of traditional

tualization of needs (that need B, for instance, can only be met after

CREATION

"Who-are -you -to- Mass conformity

Overestimate

expressions, vast

t e c h n o c r a t i c

need A has been satisfied). Simultaneities, complementarities and trade-

tell-me" attitude

thinking

distances between

offs are characteristic of the system's behavior. There are, however,

home and places

limits to this generalization. A pre-systemic threshold must be recog-

nized, below which a feeling of deprivation may be so severe that the

IDENTITY

Lack

of

con-

Decisions made

Official lies

Decide against

fidence,

false-

far from people

urge to satisfy the given need may paralyze and overshadow any other

convictions

ness

affected

Impulse or alternative.

The case of sub si stence may serve to illustra te this clearly.

FREEDOM

Conformity with

Security-orienta-

Bureaucracy

Obey, over-regu-

When the possibilities of satisfying these needs are

severely

city and housing

tion

late

planning

impaired, all other needs remain blocked and a single and intense

drive prevails. But such a situation does not hold true only in the case

50

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

51

Table 10: NEGATIVE SYNTHESIS MATRIX (BOLIVIA)

Table 11: NEGATIVE SYNTHESIS MATRIX (Mendoza, ARGENTINA)

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

BEING

HAVING

DOIN

INTERACTING

Lack of infrastruc-

SUBSISTENCE

Ignorance

Corruption

Exploit

ture, poor demo-

SUBSISTENCE

Dependence

Unemployment

Depend

Destruction of the

graphic distribution

environment

Spatial discrimina-

Inadequate social

PROTECTION

Insecurity

Institutional

Discriminate

PROTECTION

Paternalism

Depend

Isolation

arbitrariness

tion

security

Separation

of

Lack of positive

Deceive

and Geographical

families

due to

AFFECTION

Insecurity

Loss of moral

i s o l a t i o n ,

split

AFFECTION

Selfishness

attitudes toward

Criticize

values

cheat

families

fellow-creatures

seasonal working

schedules

I n a d e q u a t e

Inadequate demo-

UNDER-

Obsolete educa-

Marginate, dog-

milieus,

lack of

UNDER-

Incommunica-

Accept, pseudo-

Ignorance

graphical distribu-

STANDING

tional system

matize

communication

STANDING

tion, mediocrity

Authoritarianism

inform

systems

tion

Centralization, no

Lack of infrastruc-

PARTICIPATION

Discrimination

respect for hu-

Prejudice

PARTICIPATION

Ignorance

Ignorance about

Depend

Isolation

ture

rights and duties

man rights

Lack of s stimulating

Deorientation ,

Lack of adequate

Lack of time for

IDLENESS

Manipulate

IDLENESS

Lack of interest

Lack of leisure

Devalue

repression

educational sys-

oneself due to sur-

means

milieus, crowded

tems

vival efforts

ness

Lack of adequate

Isolation, crowded-

CREATION

Alienation

Education based

CREATION

Conformism

Mediocrity

Destroy

on memorizing

Underestimate

milieus

ness

Lack of integra-

Lack

of

per-

IDENTITY

Domination

Indoctrinate

Irrational

urban

IDENTITY

False prejudices

Divide

Isolation

tion policies

growth

sonality

Lack

of con-

Milieus of depend

FREEDOM

Authoritarianism Injustice

Dominate

Dependence

FREEDOM

Dependence

consciousness about

Divide, speculate

true liberties

ence

of subsistence. It is equally relevant to other needs. Suffice it to say,

Needs will be interpreted exclusively as deprivations and, at best,

that total lack of affection, or the loss of identity, may lead people to

the satisfiers that the system may generate will correspond to

extremes of self-destruction.

those identified in this book as singular. Last, but not least, linear

The choice of whether to follow the assumptions of linearity or the

assumptions will stimulate accumulation regardless of people's

systemic assumptions is such an important one that it will determine the

human development. Paradoxically, this option results in a

resulting style of development.

If linearity is favored, the development strategy will most probably

circular cumulative causation (in the sense of Myrdal) and thus establish its priorities according to the observed poverty of the poor remain poor inasmuch as their dependence on external subsistence. Programs of social assistance will be implemented as a long-term process as the number of endogenously generated satisfiers increases. means of tackling poverty as it is conventionally understood. If one opts for the systemic assumptions, the development strategy

50

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

51

Table 10: NEGATIVE SYNTHESIS MATRIX (BOLIVIA)

Table 11: NEGATIVE SYNTHESIS MATRIX (Mendoza, ARGENTINA)

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

Lack of infrastruc-

SUBSISTENCE

Ignorance

Corruption

Exploit

ture, poor demo-

SUBSISTENCE

Dependence

Unemployment

Depend

Destruction of the

graphic distribution

environment

Spatial discrimina-

Inadequate social

PROTECTION

Insecurity

Institucional ar-

Discriminate

PROTECTION

Paternalism

Depend

Isolation

bitrariness

tion

security

S e p a r a t i o n

of

Lack of positi ve

D e c e i v e

and G e o g r a p h i c a l

families

duo to

AFFECTION

Insecurity

Loss of moral

i s o l a t i o n ,

split

AFFECTION

Selfishness

attitudes toward

Criticize

values

cheat

families

fellow-creatures

seasonal working

schedules

I n a d e q u a t e

Inadequate demo-

UNDER-

Obsolete educa-

Marginate, dog-

milieus,

lack of

UNDER-

Incommunica-

Accept, pseudo-

Ignorance

graphical distribu-

STANDING

tional system

matize

communication

STANDING

tion, mediocrity

Authoritarianism

inform

systems

tion

Centralization, no

Lack of infrastruc-

PARTICIPATION

Discrimination

respect for hu-

Prejudice

PARTICIPATION

Ignorance

Ignorance about

Depend

Isolation

ture

rights and duties

man rights

Lack of s stimulating

Deorientation,

Lack of adequate

Lack of time for

IDLENESS

Manipulate

IDLENESS

Lack of interest

Lack of leisure

Devalue

repression

educational sys-

oneself dueto sur-

means

milieus, crowded

tems

vival efforts

ness

Lack of adequate

Isolation, crowded-

CREATION

Alienation

Education based

CREATION

Conformism

Mediocrity

Destroy

on memorizing

Underestimate

milieus

ness

Lack of integra-

Lack

of

per-

IDENTITY

Domination

Indoctrinate

Irrational

urban

IDENTITY

False prejudices

Divide

Isolation

tion policies

growth

sonality

Lack

of con-

Milieus of dependence

FREEDOM

Authoritarianism Injustice

Dominate

Dependence

FREEDOM

Dependence

consciousness about

Divide, speculate

true liberties

ence

of subsistence. It is equally relevant to other needs. Suffice it to say,

Needs will be interpreted exclusively as deprivations and, at best,

that total lack of affection, or the loss of identity, may lead people to

the satisfiers that the system may generate will correspond to

extremes of self-destruction.

those identified in this book as singular. Last, but not least, linear

The choice of whether to follow the assumptions of linearity or the

assumptions will stimulate accumulation regardless of people's

systemic assumptions is such an important one that it will determine the

human development. Paradoxically, this option results in a resulting style of development.

If linearity is favored, the development strategy will most probably circular cumulative causation (in the sense of Myrdal) and thus establish

its priorities according

to

the

observed

poverty

of

the poor remain poor inasmuch as their dependence on ex-

subsistence. Programs of social assistance will be implemented as a

spontaneously generated satisfiers increases.

means of tackling poverty as it is conventionally understood.

If one opts for the systemic assumptions, the development strategy

52

Human Scale Development

Development and Human Needs

53

Table 12: POSITIVE SYNTHESIS MATRIX (Mendoza, ARGENTINA)

From Efficiency to Synergy

BEING

HAVING

DOING

INTERACTING

To interpret development as proposed here implies a change in the prevailing economic rationale. It compels us, among other things, to un-

Construct system Care about human

Capacity to com-

SUBSISTENCE

Drive

and natural resour-

dertake a critical and rigorous revision of the concept of efficiency. This

plete projects

of higher educa-

tion

ces

concept is often associated with notions such as the maximization of productivity and of profits, the ambiguity of both terms notwithstanding.

PROTECTION

Personality

Respect for family Conscientize

Integration

If we stretch economic criteria to the most alienated extreme of instrumental reasoning, productivity appears quite inefficient. In fact, by overemphasizing the need for Subsistence, it sacrifices other needs and

C r i t i c i z e

con- Spaces of encoun-

AFFECTION

Capacity to give

Solidarity

structively

so ends up threatening Subsistence itself.

of oneself

ter

The dominant development discourses also associate efficiency with the conversion of labor into capital, with the formalization of

UNDER-

Harmony, dia-

Value virtues of

Non-discriminatory

Perseverance

economic activities, the indiscriminate absorption of the newest tech-

STANDING

logue,

critical

others

conscience

communication

nologies and, of course, the maximization of growth rates. In the eyes of many, development consists of achieving the material living stand-

Respect for human

Factories and uni-

PARTICIPATION

Initiative, humility

rights

Dialogue

versities

ards of the most industrialized countries in order for people to have ac-

cess to a growing array of goods (artifacts) which become increasingly more diversified.

Will ingness, orig-

IDLENESS

Imagination

Recreate

Places of encounter

inality

It may be asked to what extent such attempts at emulation make any sense at all. First, there is no evidence that people in those countries experience their needs in an integrated manner. Second, in the rich

Stimulating milieus

CREATION

Imagination

Originality

Work

of production

countries, the abundance of goods and economic resources has not proved to be a sufficient condition for solving the problem of alienation.

Human Scale Development does not exclude conventional goals,

Integrated per-

Take responsi-

Feel part of social

IDENTITY

Authenticity

sonalities

bility

system

such as economic growth, so that all persons may have access to required goods and services. However, the difference with respect to the prevailing development styles lies in considering the aims of develop-

FREEDOM

Respect

Responsibility

Take conscience

Adequate milieus

ment not only as points of arrival, but as components of the process itself. In other words, fundamental human needs can and must be realized *from the outset and throughout the entire process of development.* In will favor endogenously generated synergic satisfiers. Needs will be

understood simultaneously as deprivations and potentials, thus allowing this manner, the realization of needs becomes, instead of a goal, the motor for the elimination of the vicious circle of poverty.

motor of development itself. This is possible only if the development strategy proves to be capable of stimulating the permanent generation

It follows from the above that the way in which needs are understood of synergic satisfiers.

stood, and the role and attributes ascribed to the possible satisfiers, are absolutely definitive in determining a development strategy.

To integrate the harmonious realization of human needs into the

54

Human Scale Development

process of development gives everyone the possibility of experiencing that development from its very outset. This may give origin to a healthy, self-reliant and participative development, capable of creating the foundations for a social order within which economic growth, solidarity and the growth of all men and women as whole persons can be reconciled.

Development capable of combining synergy with efficiency may not be enough to fully attain that which is desired, but it is surely sufficient

3.

to persuade people that the undesirable is not always unavoidable.

DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-RELIANCE

Manfred Max-Neef, Antonio Elizalde

and Martin Hopenhayn

Toward a Self-reliant Development

On Multiple Dependencies

Up to the present, the efforts to establish a New International Economic Order and a new international division of labor have been unable to alleviate the economic, financial, technological and cultural relationships of dependence of Third World countries on industrialized nations. The increasing power wielded by financial capital has restricted further the capacity and the right of debtor countries to determine their own destiny. In this regard, the adjustment policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund on Latin American governments, applying for loans to maintain their disproportionate debt service payments, reflects the power of the international banking system to undermine the sovereignty of poor countries.

The patterns of consumption, exported by the affluent countries and

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

57

imposed upon Third World countries, subject the latter to relationships of economic growth, cultural patterns, incorporation of technologies, options exchange that make dependence more acute, perpetuate their internal for consumption, exchange relationships and ways of solving social imbalances and threaten their cultural identity. It is the industrial countries conflicts.

The

acceptance

of

such

demands not

only

nurtures

that not only control a substantial part of global industrial production, but dependencies, but also reinforces them. We are caught in a vicious circle also produce and market the new "breakthrough" technologies. They are within which little or nothing can be accomplished in terms of satisfying the

also responsible for propagating the message that such technologies along most vital needs of the great masses in Third World countries. Under such with their accompanying products are absolutely essential for any society conditions, it would be more accurate to speak of "antidevelopment" seeking to improve the welfare of its members.

countries, rather than of developing countries.

The dependence on such patterns of consumption is encouraged from

The political issue of Human Scale Development does not consist of within Third World countries by power groups that reap the benefits derived seeking spaces which the New International Economic Order might open from marketing them. This has contributed significantly to the indebtedness up for the economies of the periphery. On the contrary, it is a question of de of Latin American countries. According to estimates made by the economist finding a self-reliant development strategy and, from this perspective; look Jacobo Schatan,¹ between 1978 and 1981 the amount of non-essential for possible support from the New International Economic Order which imports rose to \$14 billion in Mexico, to \$10 billion in Brazil and to \$5 billion in can help to promote these objectives. For example, it is not a question of

Chile. For example, luxury imports accounted for a per capita expenditure maximizing exports in terms of the demands from the center, and then

of \$79 in Brazil, \$200 in Mexico and soared to \$513 in Chile. India, however,

wondering how to utilize export revenues. Instead, we should begin by only imposing luxury goods to the value of \$5 per capita, and it is no mere coincidence that its foreign debt is much lower than that of Latin American countries. consistent with more endogenous and self-reliant development.

In much the same way as we have coped with an *interrelationship of*

To break away from imitative consumption patterns not only frees us from *domains of dependence* (financial, technological, cultural and political), we are paralyzed by an accumulation of *spaces of dependence* (local, efficient use of the resources generated in the periphery. It further lessens regional, national and international). Economic concentration along with the negative impact of protectionist policies that industrial countries put into

the

centralization

of political

decisions generates and

reinforces

practice to shelter their own products. The various forms of dependence dependencies among these different levels. Poor countries are subjected reinforce one another. The different domains of dependence—economic, to the will of the rich countries; and within poor countries the same pattern financial, technological, cultural and political—cannot be viewed in isolation

exists, where local and regional realities seem doomed to subordinate their from one another, since the power of one is derived from the support it development to the decisions of centralized political and economic receives from the other domains.

interests.

It is because of these multiple dependencies that development geared toward self-reliance and the satisfaction of human needs is inhibited. The

Self-reliance at the Center of Development

satisfaction of such fundamental human needs as Subsistence, Protection, Participation, Creation, Identity and Freedom is restricted by the demands Dependent relations from the international space to the local spaces, and which the international centers of power, from the technological to the cultural domain, generate and reinforce

either explicitly or implicitly, impose upon the countries in processes of dominance that frustrate the satisfaction of human needs.

It is only by generating self-reliance, where people assume a role at the periphery. This is apparent in matters of political models, guidelines for

leading

role in different domains and

spaces, Matitis

58

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

59

possible to promote development processes with synergic effects that

In Mexico, according to information provided by the Xochicalli Foundation,

satisfy fundamental human needs.

it is estimated that 19,000k/cal. are used in order to put 2,200k/cal. of food

We understand self-reliance in terms of a horizontal interdependence

on the table. Furthermore, the amount of energy consumed in transporting

and in no way as an isolationist tendency on the part of nations, regions,

foodstuffs in Mexico is almost equal to the total energy required by the

local communities or cultures. Interdependence without authoritarian primary sector for food production. The fact that such situations are relationships is able to combine the objectives of economic growth, considered to be positive is undoubtedly a conceptual aberration.

social justice, personal development and freedom in much the same way

Since Human Scale Development is concerned mainly with the ful-

that a harmonious combination of such objectives can achieve both the

fillment of fundamental human needs of present as well as future

collective and individual satisfaction of the different fundamental human

generations, it advocates a concept of development which is essentially

needs.

ecological. This implies, on the one hand, creating indicators capable of

Understood as a process capable of promoting participation in

discriminating between what is positive and what is negative and, on the

decision-making, social creativity, political self-determination, a fair

other hand, designing and using technologies that can be adapted to a truly

distribution of wealth and tolerance for the diversity of identities, self-

eco-humanist process of development and thus ensure the conservation

reliance becomes a turning point in the articulation of human beings with

of natural resources for the future.

nature and technology, of the personal with the social, of the micro with the macro, of autonomy with planning and of civil society with the state.

Articulation Between the Personal and the Social. The prevailing political models and development styles have been unable to make com-

Articulation Among Human Beings, Nature and Technology. The compatible personal development and social development. The exercise of behavior generated by an anthropocentric cosmology that places human power, especially when inspired by restrictive ideologies, tends to either lose

beings above nature is consistent with the traditional styles of development. Hence, the economic view of development, measured by sight of the person in the archetype of the masses or to sacrifice the masses to the archetype of the individual. In fact, there are many models that means of such aggregate indicators as the GNP, indiscriminately postpone social development in the name of consumer sovereignty, while regards as positive any processes where market transactions take place, overlooking the fact that reducing a person to the mere category of a consumer also impairs the possibilities of personal development.

an example, it is in this way that the indiscriminate depredation of natural Social and personal development are inseparable. Therefore, it would

resources makes the GNP grow, as in the case of a sick population when be unreasonable to expect that one of them may automatically be the it increases its consumption of pharmaceuticals or use of hospital consequence of the other. A healthy society should advocate above all facilities.

the development of every person and of the whole person.

Seemingly, modern technologies may often be deceptive. A remarkable

Traditionally, it has been thought that owing to scarce resources, we example is that of the North American farming system, acknowledged for

are obliged to choose between personal and social development

its great efficiency. Highly mechanized and benefiting from subsidized

strategies rather than adopt comprehensive policies. Undoubtedly, such

petroleum, it is an extraordinarily inefficient system when measured in

thinking arise s f rom a conventional conception of efficiency. If,

terms of the amount of energy used to yield a set amount of kilo/calories.

however, we consider conventional resources along with non-conventional

Nonetheless, when measured in monetary terms, it con-tributes to the

resources with their synergic potential (see On Resources, page 76), we

growth of the GNP. These examples also hold true for the countries of the

realize that comprehensive policies are viable, and that only by

Third World, very much under the "spell" of the latest technologies.
combining, personal and social development is it possible to achieve a

60

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

61

healthy society comprised of healthy individuals.

If self-reliant processes at the global and local levels do not

The articulation between the personal and social dimensions of

complement each other, the most likely consequence will be the co-

development may be achieved through increasing levels of self-

opting of the micro by the macro. Complementary relationships

reliance. At a personal level, self-reliance stimulates our sense of iden-

between the macro and the micro, and among the various micro-

tity, our creative capacity, our self-confidence and our need for freedom.

spaces, may facilitate the mutual empowering of processes of

At the social level, self-reliance strengthens the capacity for subsis-

socio-cultural identity, political autonomy and economic self-reliance.

tence, provides protection against exogenous hazards, enhances en-

(See pages 85-86.)

ogenous cultural identity and develops the capacity to generate greater spaces of collective freedom. The necessary combination of both the **Articulation Between Planning and Autonomy**. To achieve personal and the social in Human Scale Development compels us, then, increasing levels of political autonomy and economic self-reliance in to encourage self-reliance at the different levels: individual, local, local spaces, it is necessary to promote processes with such regional and national.

objectives. This poses a

central

challenge

for Human

Scale

Development: *to reconcile external promotion with internal initiatives.*

Articulation Between the Micro and the Macro.

The spontaneous activity of local groups or of isolated individuals

Relationships of

dependence flow from the top downwards—from the macro to the

cannot have any real impact if not nurtured and empowered through

micro, from the international level to the local level, from the social

the action of planners and politicians. What is needed is global planning for greater local autonomy. This planning should be capable domain to the individual domain. Relationships of self-reliance, on the of mobilizing existing groups and communities, to transform their contrary, have greater synergic and multiplying effects when they flow survival strategies into life) options that are organically articulated as from the bottom upwards; that is to say, to the extent that local self-political and social projects throughout the national space.

reliance stimulates regional self-reliance, which in turn fosters national self-reliance. This does not mean that policies at the macro level are **Articulation Between the State and Civil Society**. To transform intrinsically unable to communicate self-reliance to micro-social levels, dependence into autonomy requires deep structural changes in the but it does imply that two challenges must be met. The first involves relationship between the state and civil society. These changes seek minimizing the risk of reproducing vertical relationships in the name of not only to create and reinforce self-reliance, but also to solve the regional and local self-reliance. The second means self-reliant conflicts and contradictions that may arise in the process of processes originating from micro-spaces should be less bureaucratic,

generating increasing self-reliance. The interconnection between more democratic and more efficient in combining personal growth with multiple dependencies (from the international to the local, from the social development. It is precisely these social and physical spaces-- technological to the sociocultural) can only be confronted through family, group, community and local—which have a distinct human social mobilization geared to the consolidation of self-reliance and scale dimension; that is, a scale where the social does not annul the through a deep respect for the diversity of cultures, forms of individual; rather the individual may empower the social. In Human Scale organization and uses of local space. Furthermore, self-reliance Development, these spaces are fundamental to the generation of increases critical awareness. This means that more people will synergic satisfiers.

assume their role as social protagonists and, as such, this increasing It is not our intention to suggest that self-reliance is achieved simply participation must be harmonized within an organic whole.

by social and economic interaction in small physical spaces. Such an As long as economic and social organizations remains framed assumption would do nothing but replicate a mechanistic perception

within a pyramidal political logic, it will be extremely difficult locate and which has already been very harmful in terms of development diversify resources in a way that comes to terms with the structural policies.

62

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

63

heterogeneity of the Latin American population. For this reason, it is **Spaces and Actors.** In local spaces, which are more human in scale, necessary to counterbalance the state's logic of power with the it is easier to generate initiatives in self-reliance that could be potential demands for political autonomy that arise from civil society—from the alternatives to pyramidal structures of power. It is in human scale spaces people and their organizations. It is through effective experiences of that personal and social development can reinforce each other. self-reliance that it will be possible to overcome the prejudice that ef- Therefore, there is no dependence which can be done away with efficiency necessarily goes hand in hand with centralized decision-effectively until we rediscover and then nurture the initiatives of social

making.

organizations at the grassroots level. The role of the state and of public policies is to identify these embryonic initiatives, reinforce them and help them to multiply. Besides, it is within local spaces that people act the surrender of social and productive organizations, generated by civil to satisfy their fundamental human needs.

society, to a "macrocephalic" state would corrupt the process of Alternative policies central to Human Scale Development are developing self-reliance.

needed in order to empower social actors to initiate autonomous, self-Encouraging self-reliance in many spaces means considering sustaining and harmonious development in the different domains. This development not as an expression of a predominant class or of a single does not imply, of course, that Human Scale Development is solely political project controlled by the state, but as the outcome of a diver-concerned with small social and physical spaces. The impact of the city of individual and collective projects capable of empowering one international recession on Latin American countries and the structural

another. In order to guarantee such processes, the state must assume imbalances of peripheral capitalism make it obvious that development the critical role of opening up spaces for the participation of different in local spaces is inadequate unless it is complemented by global social actors. In this manner, the reproduction of mechanisms of policies to alleviate the precarious conditions of the dispossessed exploitation and coercion are controlled, thus guarding against the masses. However, such policies must include in their agenda the consolidation of harmful projects acting to inhibit the diversity that allocation of resources capable of stimulating self-reliance within local needs to be strengthened and reinforced. spaces.

Empowering Groups and Social Actors

Self-reliance Versus Instrumentalization. Self-reliance presents a contrast to the uniformity of behavior among social sectors and actors In contrast with the prevailing economic rationale, Human Scale that is conventionally expected. People are no longer just instruments Development—focused on encouraging self-reliance within the dif- for the efficient accumulation of capital. In the Third World, the price ferent spaces and domains—does not consider accumulation as an

raid for capital accumulation and efficiency is dependence. Yet, dependence is not an end in itself, or as a panacea that cures all the ills of Third World countries. Dependence inhibits the satisfaction of fundamental human needs and, although it in no sense minimizes the importance of economic growth, it is therefore, a price which should not be tolerated. It means that the disorganizing surpluses, its emphasis is on the consolidation of groups, and that the possessed masses are manipulated in relation to the demands made by the great centers of economic power and that heterogeneous communities and organizations capable of forging self-reliance. Through its expansion and articulation from the micro-spaces to national settings, economic accumulation can eventually help to overcome the stumbling blocks to growth. Economic growth should progressively satisfy the fundamental human needs of people. The economic rationale is needed that does not ascribe importance to the capacity of the different groups and individuals to decide how to use their own resources and allocate them. It is neither indiscriminate accumulation nor to the mere improvement of conveniences and allocate their own resources will ensure a use of surpluses that is neither discriminatory nor restrictive.

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

65

tional economic indicators irrelevant to the well-being of people, nor to partners so that forms of solidarity prevail over blind competition.

principles of efficiency unrelated to the satisfaction of human needs. *This*

Self-reliant development permits a more complete and harmonious

rationale is aimed at enhancing people's quality of life and is

satisfaction of the system of fundamental human needs. By lessening

sustained by respect for diversity along with a refusal to turn some

economic dependence, subsistence is safeguarded, since economic

people into instruments of others and some countries into

fluctuations (recessions, depressions) cause greater damage when a

instruments of others.

center-periphery structure prevails. Furthermore, it fosters participation

and creativity. It stimulates and reinforces cultural identity through an

The Logic of Economics Versus the Ethics of Well-being. It is

increase in self-confidence. Finally, communities achieve a better un-

necessary to counter a logic of economics, which has inherited the in-

derstanding of technologies and productive processes when they are

strumental reasoning that permeates modern culture with an *ethics of* capable of self-management.

wel-being. The fetishism of numbers must be replaced by the development of people. The state's vertical management and the exploitation of some groups by others must give way to a social will encouraging participation, autonomy and the equitable distribution of resources.

On the Invisible World

It is absolutely necessary to do away with a priori categories and assumptions which, thus far, have not been questioned at the levels of

The Invisible World and Its Potential

macro-economics and macro-politics. A commitment to Human Scale Development makes it necessary to encourage individuals to assume

It is not our intention to present the invisible sectors or the micro-responsibility for a development alternative based on self-reliance. In this organizations as absolute sustainers of a structural transformation of respect, the central question for Human Scale Development is: What society or as redeemers of contemporary history. If we have devoted an resources are to be generated, and how should they be used in order to important part of this book to these protagonists, it has been with the nurture self-reliance in individuals and in micro-spaces?

purpose of emphasizing what is ignored in a great part of the literature. Self-reliance involves a kind of regeneration or revitalization emanating from development, namely, all the "sub-history" of everyday life where from one's own efforts, capabilities and resources. Strategically, it means productive practices are linked closely to collective survival strategies, that what can be produced (or worked out) at local levels is what should be cultural identities and popular memory. Fully aware of all the economic produced (or worked out) at local levels. The same principle holds true at and cultural limitations of the invisible world, we think, however, that the regional and national levels.

such a world contains and generates connections between economic practices, social organizations and cultural features which cannot be **Opting for Self-reliance.** Self-reliance changes the way in which people disregarded in any discussion concerned with endogenous development perceive their own potential and capabilities. Often their sense of value is denigrated. Finally, our emphasis on the invisible world and its micro and self-worth has been denigrated as a result of center periphery organizations also conform to the need to complement the relations. The reduction of economic dependence, one of the objectives of perspectives emphasizing development from the bottom upwards in

self-reliant development, is not expected to be a substitute for trade or order to acknowledge as relevant what traditionally has been seen as exchange. These will always be necessary as certain goods or services marginal. Moreover, we are interested in efforts to understand the cannot be generated or provided at a local, regional or national level. Thus, self-reliance must of necessity acquire a collective dynamics of other emerging protagonists, such as youth groups, women's organizations, trade unions, entrepreneurs, indigenous nature. It must become a process of interdependence among, equal

66

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

67

groups, and so forth. We do not wish to contribute to an idealization of of their solidarity to other sectors of society. For the latter to happen, it the popular sectors. We simply intend to recognize their value and will be necessary to decentralize decisions, to increase access to potential as social actors who can help create a participatory and resources and to promote popular participation.

decentralized form of democracy—the practice of democracy at a

This does not mean that a self-reliant development policy should
human scale.

concern itself exclusively with the internal reinforcement of the invisible

The economic crisis dominating Latin America expresses itself in

sectors. Such a thesis would be partial and reductionist. What is at stake

many different ways. One of the most significant manifestations of this

is to liberate the wealth of social creativity, of solidarity and of self-

situation has been the sustained expansion of the invisible sectors over

managing initiatives which the invisible world has spawned in order to

the last few years. In countries with high unemployment levels, the con-

survive in a restrictive environment. These initiatives, through more

tingent of the active population that holds non-salaried jobs is of such a

generally applied policies, will challenge the logic of indiscriminate

magnitude that there is no longer any sense in considering it as a

competition and dependence.

residual sector of society. By a strange kind of dialectic, these sectors

manifest themselves both as an extreme expression of the crisis and as

The Need for Horizontal Networks. The invisible actors should or-

a possible means of emerging from it. Because they lack opportunities

ganize horizontal networks, undertake mutually supportive action, ar-

in the formal market, unemployed workers and their families generate articulate individual and group practices and thus develop shared projects. alternative forms of productive organization and of work in general, In this way, they will be able to do away with the fragmentation which thus giving rise to an extraordinary diversity of survival strategies. The presently threatens their existence. National projects that include these invisible sectors are marked by precarious living and working sectors in decision-making and planning can minimize the effects of conditions, the consequences of a permanent lack of security imposed exogenous pressures and strengthen the endogenous potential.

by the competitive market that creates disadvantages for these sectors where productivity is low. All this is aggravated by the fact that the

The Invisible World and the

invisible world becomes very useful to a capitalism which is unable to

Latin American Crisis

generate sufficient jobs in the formal economy.

An unmistakable feature of Latin America's development is the in-

Strengthening Micro-organizations. As a potential means of solv-

ability of the formal economic sector to absorb the steady increase in

ing the crisis, the invisible world creates through survival strategies a

the economically active population. It generates a surplus labor force
myriad of community organizations as well as productive micro-
comprised of the unemployed and the underemployed, who insert them-
organizations. In this sub-world, the ethics of solidarity that have
selves in the labor market through a variety of low income-generating
evolved from within are an indispensable resource for survival in the
self-employment schemes, that is, survival trades. This heterogeneous
milieu where a dominant logic of competition prevails. In this way, an
sector of society has spawned a multiplicity of organizations where the
endogenous force of solidarity confronts permanently the exogenous
non institutionalized productive unit is predominant. All the se
forces of competition. In this confrontation, there are two diametrically
heterogeneous activities take place outside the formal productive
opposed perspectives: (1) that the exogenous pressures may weaken
sector.

these organizations to the point where they will be dissolved through
"inertia" or incorporated into the competitive rationale of the dominant
Individuals and families, organized in small economic units that fill the
system; or (2) that these organizations will gain strength thus attaining
empty spaces of the system and undertake economic activities

increasing degrees of self-reliance and ultimately transferring the
spurred by the modern capitalistic sector, make up a significant part of the
vitality

labor force in almost all I in American countries. The participation of

70

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

71

whether organized on an individual or on a social basis. Although
people, but also insure that it is relevant to their interests. This type
these organizations are embryonic in character, it is necessary
of data must be generated through participatory practices and widely

to

investigate

and

to

verify if they genuinely represent

accepted community self-diagnosis techniques.

alternatives pertinent a new style of development. Such

It might be appropriate to encourage the creation of idea banks

an

evaluation

would

involve

studying

the

multiplicity of

at national levels and then interconnect them throughout

rationales that underlie these organizations. But if theoretical

the Latin American region. These banks would gather information

investigation is to be translated into political change, it is also

on grassroots initiatives aimed at local self-reliance. They would

necessary to identify those new social protagonists that are

also

collect information

on

the

use

of non-conventional

emerging from within the invisible world and are potential agents

resources (see On Resources, page 76), and on technologies of change. A comprehensive study of both rationales and of and public policies conducive to the promotion of the ideas of social protagonists would help to pave the way for new forms of Human Scale Development.

of organization capable of changing social reality.

It is advisable to modify the educational curricula in the centers

This investigation would in no way diminish the historical role of

higher

learning

so

that

they

systematically

consider

of

capital

as

the

majo s
i n st rume nt
of
e conomi c
development
altern a ti v e s,
e sp e c i a l l y
t he i r
mo de rni zati on in the region, nor the role of the state a s an
e p i st e mo lo gi c al ,
p rop o si ti o n al
a n d
me thodolo gical
instigator of capitalist initiatives. Capital and the state a re fa r
a spe ct s. The t raining o f re sea rche rs i s e sse ntial to generate
too important in our count rie s to be o ve rlooked. To ignore them
information crucial to Human Scalc Development, and also
may leal to serious errors of analysis and the implementation of
countera ct the t y ranny of reduc tionist ideologies and the
erroneous development policies and actions.

unilaterally adopted views on the topic of development.

S e l f-r e l i a n c e a n d P r o d u c t i o n o f K n o w l e d g e . H u m a n

It is important to improve the quality of adult education as well

S c a l e Development calls for a re s t r u c t u r i n g of the way we

as the wo r k of development promoters and activist s so that it

pursue knowledge in order to create critical awareness throughout

may be consi stent with the objectives of community participation,

society. The cognitive instruments needed to counteract the multiple

self-reliance and the satisfaction of fundamental human needs.

forms of dependence

Moreover, post-graduate programs in teaching and research

should be encouraged to emphasize the sy stematiza tion of the

ust be made acce ssible to all. Such a task require s thai the

problem s that

a ri se

in

conne ction

with

the

q ue st

for

new ideas confront the dominant ones in the spaces where public development alternatives in our countries. Finally, it is ad- policies are constructed.

The reform,

it

is

necessary

to

visible to organize a network of closely linked research and

coordinate

action

in

order to

guarantee

that ideas are

training centers in order to create a system of permanent

understood and discussed in all these domains and settings

feedback that may contribute to the design of a new development

promoting people-centered development.

paradigm.

We require research leading to the creation of databases capable of measuring and evaluating what is relevant to Human Scale Development. It is, therefore, advisable to modify the statistical and qualitative systems of information in such a way that they reflect the structural heterogeneity and psycho-

On

Micro-organizations

cultural specificities of the different regions and, above all, the potential that underlies this diversity.

Micro-organizations in the Invisible Sectors

It is necessary to

encourage

popular participation in the

production of relevant information. This will require, on the one

One of the most remarkable manifestations of the invisible

hand, redesigning our research methodologies and practices in

world is the wide spectrum of micro-enterprises and other small

such a way that they not only make information available to the

72

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

73

economic organizations which operate in the empty spaces left by the avoid dependence on a few buyers (especially middlemen), access to capitalist market. The rationale that characterizes these micro-credit and the like. These constraints, which determine whether micro-organizations may be determined by such factors as the need to organizations are able to reproduce themselves, may be overcome with survive in a situation of acute crisis, the lack of opportunities offered the help of assistance programs sponsored by public or private agencies. A new concept of economic and social resource management (see alternative to employment in the formal sector of an economy On Resources below), along with an alternative view of the process of governed by its own internal discipline, hierarchy and tradition. The development, makes it possible to minimize the dependent, unstable

rationale governing micro-organizations is based only partially on the and random character of the micro-organizations of societies which, capitalist principle of accumulation through profit.

like those of Latin America, show a great structural heterogeneity.

In the absence of a new vision, the life span of most of the economic

Heterogeneity of Micro-organizations. Often these economic micro-organizations will be short and they will be characterized by organizations are subordinated to modern capitalism. Nonetheless, limited periods of accumulation followed by frustrated attempts at their diversity, together with their alternative rationale, distinguishes growth. Although it seems paradoxical, these experiences, inherent in them from the enterprises of the modern sector that operate in the invisible world, represent a potential alternative to the scourge of capitalist principles in increasingly oligopolistic markets. Some studies unemployment. Since the modern sectors of the economy will not be have indicated that the structures through which these micro-organizations able to solve the negative effects of the crisis by themselves, the need tions operate generate low productivity and low incomes. This renders to support and stimulate these micro-organizations becomes obvious. the jobs performed in such non-institutionalized sectors unattractive ex-

cept to the poorly qualified, and to those who for other reasons (the **Micro-organizations and Macro-policies.** In order to secure the handicapped, migrants, women, etc.) have limited access to the formal development and the continuity of these organizations, the role of the labor market. There are instances, however, where micro-organizations state becomes fundamental. The state can undermine their existence have emerged as deliberate alternatives to salaried employment, or as either by neglect or by the repression of social movements which, a defense mechanism against an environment that is socially and politically originating within the micro-organizations, tend to form alliances with cally hostile. In such cases, the prevailing motivation might be solidarity other sectors of civil society in the struggle to regain the power con- expressed through a new social experience—that is, work as a creative centered in the state. Therefore, to promote micro-organizations, em- endeavor and not just as a survival strategy. The heterogeneity of the phasis must be given to structural changes and to an organic articulation sector is multi-dimensional; there is a great diversity of activities per- between the micro and macro levels of society. The socio-political and formed, of methods of marketing goods and services and of ways of or- economic impact of the micro-organizations comprising the invisible

ganizing work (individual micro-units, cooperatives, family enterprises world will depend on their capacity to relate to the whole of the society. and so on).

Furthermore, their eventual influence will also depend on whether they

Lack of Stability of Micro-organizations. Another feature of micro-

limit themselves to organizing survival strategies or, whether in

organizations is their instability demonstrated by their high birth and

addition and by means of these strategies, they become the embryos

death rates. Such organizations face serious difficulties in surviving

of an alternative form of development.

due to such factors as the size of the market, location, structure of

costs, opportunities for entering into a competitive market, the potential

for diversifying sources of inputs and raw materials, the capacity to

74

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

75

Limitations and Potentials of

must acknowledge, however, that absolute self-reliance is utopian.

the Micro

What is both desirable and possible is *the achievement of increasing*
-organizations

degrees of self-reliance. In other words, self-reliance will be

It would be absurd to identify Human Scale Development, in its
determined by the way in which the micro-organizations relate to other
broader sense, with only the invisible world, and even more so with a
social actors and organizations. Since self-reliance is forged through
these connections, it must be understood as a process defined by a
sub-division of these, which we call economic micro-organizations. We
system of relationships. If, as a consequence of the crisis, many popular
should, however, try to identify within these units the embryos of dif-
economic organizations attempt to

construct practices of self-

ferent forms of social organization of production and work, which could
management, this constitutes an important step toward self-reliance
be incorporated into new styles of development.

as well as greater autonomy. It indicates that groups and communities

One of the manifestations of the economic and social crisis affect-

have the will to exert control over their own conditions of life. It is in this
ing the countries of the region is the problematique of the invisible

sense that these micro-organizations are the embryos of Human Scale world. Hence, they play a critical role in the search for policies and Development. They represent a potential for the transformation of programs to overcome the crisis. Even though alternatives to the exist-economic and social relationships basic to the construction of a ing order may have their origins in some micro-social spaces of the in-democratic culture.

visible world (anti-authoritarian spaces which combine an economy, a All this must, of course, go hand in hand with the availability of culture and a political will), their transformation into viable alternatives resources that lead to the generation of economic surpluses and thus affecting the global situation will depend on the identification of, and allow for the reproduction and growth of these organizations. support for, those protagonists and those social organizations capable of putting their vision into practice.

Challenges for the State. A permanent threat to micro-organizations Therefore, the question of invisibility has to be included in the wishing to attain greater levels of self-reliance and autonomy are the problematique of the transition to new forms of social organization. In cooptive strategies of the state, political parties and other institutions

this regard, we must not overlook the fact that certain experiences as-
which operate according to a logic of power. Economic micro-organiza-
sociated with the invisible world are proving to be perfectly capable of
tions and social movements in general are frequently neutralized by a
surviving the crisis from which they originated in the first place.

political landscape dominated by pyramidal structures in which strug-
Whatever the structure that defines the invisible world, the political
gles for hegemony are constantly taking place.

bearing of these on the rest of society will also depend on the

The problem of cooptation is critical in shaping the articulations
creativity of the persons involved. In other words, in order to foster
between local organizations and global processes. Cooptation is
structural changes, it is necessary to separate within the invisible world
achieved through the identification and political manipulation of the so-
the mere mechanisms of resistance to the crisis from mechanisms which
cial actors. This invariably leads not only to a loss of their identity, but
are motivated by a search for greater autonomy. The latter may even-
also to actions that ultimately defeat their endogenous objectives.

tually contribute to a more lasting structure and inspire the creation of

Within these dynamics, the system of relations established between the

new development strategies.

micro-organizations and the macro-structures of power eventually result in micro-organizations losing control over their own resources

Self-reliance as a Socio-economic Process. The degree of and their own destiny.

self-reliance that popular organizations may reach in their operation

The direction of these articulations depends to a great extent on the

and management is directly determined by the, way in which such

ideology of the state. Within the context of authoritarian and anti-

organizations insert themselves and participate in the market. We

democratic political processes, public resources are distributed with

76

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

77

strings attached. They are aimed at inducing the recipient communities

Work as a Multi-resource

to adopt particular types of behavior or perform actions which the state considers convenient for the established social and political order. In

When analyzing a productive unit in order to evaluate its efficiency

the case of a merely representative democracy, the allocation of public and its method of organization, the orthodox paradigm of economic resources occurs within policies of social reform integral to an ideologi- theory, based on the concept of production functions, advocates that the cal perspective which also conditions the functioning of micro-or- flow of production during a given period of time depends (among other ganizations and of social movements, thus undermining their capacity things) on the stock of capital and on the use of a certain amount of for autonomy and self-reliance. However, it is obvious that a repre- work, both combined in a given proportion. From this it follows that sentative democracy presents more favorable conditions for the co- both work and capital are mere factors of production, that is to say, in- existence of multiple socio-cultural identities than authoritarianism puts for the productive process. Within such a perspective nothing, in does. In any case, democratic political activity, together with an a formal sense, makes a machine different from human work, which is economic system that allocates resources according to the real needs purchased in the market just as other goods are since it has a price of the different social groups, are indispensable requirements for the (wages) and is subject to the free play of supply and demand.

propagation of Human Scale Development.

Economic theory's primitive interpretation of work and capital as homogeneous was superseded by the so-called "Controversy of Capital" or "Cambridge Controversy." The idea of homogeneity was

On Resources

transcended by the "Theory of Human Capital." Yet, in the new version, human work appears restricted to the process of accruing

Resources for Self-reliance

capital through investments in education and training. Apart from

being objectionable on ethical grounds, this theory contains a

In implementing concrete policies aimed at Human Scale Development, conceptual sophism by virtue of which the workers appear, to a certain extent, as capitalists. In Latin America, a decisive step is the strengthening of local organizations that operate with an anti-authoritarian rationale (solidary, synergic, participatory) and increasing self-reliance. If such "organizational embryos" can be strengthened, it will be possible to lessen the risk of cooptation of the micro by the macro, and increase the per-

extent, as capitalists. In Latin America, a decisive step is the strengthening of local organizations that operate with an anti-authoritarian rationale (solidary, synergic, participatory) and increasing self-reliance. If such "organizational embryos" can be strengthened, it will be possible to lessen the risk of cooptation of the micro by the macro, and increase the per-

Over and above this reductionism, these notions omit a set of

tional embryos" can be strengthened, it will be possible to lessen the risk of cooptation of the micro by the macro, and increase the per-

pels us to consider. Work constitutes much more than a factor of
meability of the macro by the micro. A policy that promotes resources
production: it fosters creativity, mobilizes social energy, preserves
for local development (which implies decentralization and participa-
communal identity, deploys solidarity and utilizes organizational
tion) and *from* the local organizations is the cornerstone of structural
experience and popular knowledge for the satisfaction of individual
transformation "from the bottom upwards."

and collective needs. Work has, then, a qualitative dimension which
To this end, it is necessary to examine the problem of resources
cannot be accounted for either by instrumental models of analysis or
within small economic organizations, to evaluate critically the conven-
by economic manipulations of production functions.

tional concepts of resources, to seek alternative ways of mobilizing
Within the framework of the current crisis, the qualitative dimen-
financial resources and, above all, to consider the importance of
sion of work becomes all the more evident in those activities that are
nonconventional resources for local development and, in particular,
undertaken by many micro-organizations. They are intangible
elements 1101 measurable or definable in units comparable with

for the development of small economic organizations.

those used for the

78

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

79

conventional factors of production. Linked to a broader concept of house-building projects, organic farming in small family plots, cooking work, these resources have a decisive role in compensating the scarcity of capital with qualitative elements for the increase of productivity. Un- theater and others.

derstood as a force which mobilizes social potentialities, *work, more than just a resource, is a generator of resources.*

Beyond

Economic

Resources.

The

resources

that

such

movements and organizations avail themselves of is not limited to

A

reconceptualization

of resources—work included—is both

those that are conventionally understood as economic resources.

necessary and viable. It enables us to overcome one-dimensional views,

While the latter are restricted to work with its different characteristics, as

which tend to subordinate development to the exclusive logic of capi-

well as to capital, other possible resources are:

tal.

The new concepts to which we have made reference, and the choice

of alternatives for generating resources, require two fundamental

1. Social awareness;

aspects to be considered. Both will be examined in the following sec-

2. Organizational know-how and managerial ability;

tions. The first is related to non-conventional resources, and the second

3. Popular creativity;

to financial alternatives for local development.

4. Solidarity and ability to provide mutual aid;

5. Expertise and training provided by supporting agencies;

Non-conventional Resources

6. Dedication and commitment from internal and external agents.

Non-conventional resources are important not only for the survival of micro-organizations, but also for the constitution and development of conventional from non-conventional resources. While the former are social movements in different countries of Latin America. We find depleted when used, the latter are lost only to the extent to which they are *not* used. For instance, power that is relinquished is power that is lost, money that is given is money we no longer have, whereas solidarity in squatter settlements in Peru, in youth and women's movements, native peoples associations, ecological groups and so forth. transmitted is knowledge that expands itself.

Analogous organizations exist in all the countries of the region, and Non-conventional resources enable development to take place that are made up of people who have decided to muster their energies to

goes far beyond the notion of accumulation (while including it), since it share the task of satisfying their fundamental needs through the construction of collective life projects.

the community itself. Such an accumulation of knowledge expands, in

There are many cases of micro-organizations that are created not

turn, the potentiality of the resources themselves. Another distinctive

trait of these

resources (and one

which

reverses the usual

only to overcome the absence of work opportunities in the more modern

economistic perspectives) is that unlike

conventional economic

sectors of the economy, but also to come up with deliberate alternatives

resources, which are characterized by scarcity, non-conventional

both to alienation and to the hierarchical organization of work dictated

resources are plentiful. They also have a tremendous capacity to

by capitalism, in factories, offices and in other organized services. A

preserve and transform social energy for processes of deep change.

good number of these organizations devote themselves to economic activities which guarantee their self-reproduction, while also promoting

Complementarity

of

Conventional

and

Non-conventional

social, cultural and recreational activities. Production and marketing of

Resources.

The use of non-conventional resources, such as

goods and services is complemented

with

such activities as

communal

80

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

81

those listed above, not only stimulate self-reliance, but also insure a

advance along the lines of:

better performance of conventional resources, especially of capital.

This is illustrated by the experience of many local projects undertaken

1.

Identifying and making use of favorable historical circumstan-

in Latin America with the support of international organizations.

ces in order to multiply the initiatives which civil society creates to

Unfortunately, a great number of projects, which have all the

necessary financial support, vanish into thin air because of their inability

manage the available resources in a new way.

to motivate people and to arouse the endogenous potential of the

2.

Identifying and broadening those social spaces which contain a

groups that they intend to benefit. Hence, any conventional resource

greater potential in terms of non-conventional resources.

which is not supported in the community by a "will to be" and a "will to 3.

Identifying and motivating social actors capable of using these

do"—that is to say, by the emergence of non-conventional resources

resources for structural changes conducive to Human Scale

which the community decides to mobilize—will end up collapsing.

Development.

This reconceptualization of resources not only widens the options that are possible in matters of policies and planning; it also underlines

Alternatives for Local Financing

the fact that the main agent of transformation is the capacity of the human being to activate his or her sensitivity, imagination, volition and The conventional financial system has neither adjusted itself to intellectual talent in an effort that extends itself from personal development to social development thereby generating a process of integration experiences of economic organization. This is part of a political context of the individual and the collective. It is precisely this synergic capacity of that needs to be critically reviewed. This review is all the more important when we become aware of the economic crisis which the countries Human Scale Development. And it is because of their historical and cultural dimension that a policy of using non-conventional resources is problems of internal imbalances and external indebtedness were determined by irresponsible lending by the international system of private

finance, the powerful economic groups and the state. Far from helping

Non-conventional

Resources

and Social

Democracy.

our countries to develop, these processes precipitated a profound

These

economic and social crisis which has no precedent in the history of Latin

resources will be important instruments for transformation when they

America. A fact that should not be overlooked is that channeling huge

are rooted in the communities and "stored" in their historical and cul-

funds to both the powerful economic groups and the state reinforced a

tural tradition. It is the community which can enhance these resources

crisis which further impoverished all those sectors that have tradition-

and make the use of them viable because they are inherent in it. Thus,

ally been excluded, in social, economic and political terms, from the

the strengthening of non-conventional resources also involve s

historical process of economic expansion.

the strengthening of community participation and of self-reliance.

One of the main problems in relation to local financing is the ab-

To the non-conventional resources mentioned, we may add other normal enlargement and centralization of the state in Latin America. analogous ones that flow from historical-anthropological contexts as More resources would be available to promote self-reliance of local well as the social structures that include social networks, collective spaces in many countries of the region if tax, monetary and financial memory, cultural identity and world views.

reforms were undertaken. This would allow public and private resour-

Any alternative that aims to achieve Human Scale Development

ces to be related more directly to local needs and to the less favored

will necessarily entail a policy of activating non-conventional resour-

groups in the population. The discussion about decentralization

ces. This forces us to meet a great ideological challenge, namely, to

versus centralization than acquires great significance for Human

82

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

83

Scale Development. In this manner, the role of the state is redefined

a mechanism which is generally connected with some official financial

as an allocator of resources to favor development geared to institution. Its objective is that of allocating resources to activities strengthening local spaces.

undertaken by local groups which otherwise would have no access

The financial institutions that may be concerned with local financing to funding from any other banking institution, either public or private.

ing of Human Scale Development must state goals and forms of

The system has many variations but, in general, it operates through the operation going far beyond conventional principles. In the first place,

identification of investment opportunities carried out by especially

these

institutions must promote

local

creativity and

support

trained people who live within the community. Such agents choose

community initiatives that are organized through solidary, horizontal

activities according to their suitability to local conditions and their

and equitable relationships. Second, they must encourage the

potential for development. In these cases, support is adapted to the

greatest possible circulation of money at the local level. This means real possibilities of the local project, instead of the project having to attract locally generated surpluses and making them circulate as adapt itself to exigencies of the financial market.

many times as possible within the local space, thus increasing the Local financing also requires that the funding institution itself (or multiplier effect of a given level of deposits and savings. Third, these any other public or private agency) should provide, if necessary, institutions must adjust themselves so that the savers, or the technical support to organize and undertake projects which will avail generators of surpluses, may decide on the use of their resources, themselves of the economic opportunities to be found in the local space.

thus allowing for a greater transparency in the relationship between This requirement should not be understood as a formal one, but as an saver and investor that may, in turn, promote greater participation in instrument to enable the viability of the effort to be assessed and to activities devoted to making development alternatives in the local improve external support.

space more viable. Fourth, these financial institutions must be

In the case of the Grameen Bank Project in Bangladesh, the loans

managed in a cooperative way by people in the community itself, generated savings, which is fairly unusual. What usually happens is the which means that the management should also be local in origin.

opposite, namely, that savings generate credit. The relation between

Finally, if the local financial institution is to gain credibility, it must be

savings and loans has been the subject of new proposals in recent

protected against any potential liquidity crisis. This protection could

reports. It has been advocated—in the light of the problems Paced

be provided by an organization such as a Central Bank or any other

by

the

poorer

communities see king

alternative

forms of

sound public banking agency.

development that the mobilization of savings, combined with loans at

In terms of the above, it is necessary that the banking system in

the local level, is one of the most important means to promote the

Latin America should adopt a new orientation which may broaden its

development of the community. On the other hand, there are
concept of funding. In this way, it could overcome restrictive practices,
experiences that show that the informal sector has a great potential for
doing away with the conservative barriers which demand guarantees
generating savings and that this potential has scarcely been explored.

in property or collateral as an indispensable condition of any

The savings institutions in the local spaces emerge, then, as important
loans granted.

agencies for the support of alternative experiences, particularly if

Without reducing their autonomy, local banks should also be re-

they are cooperative and restrict themselves to small geographical

lated to the national and international financial systems. With regard to

spaces, thus taking up the role of popular banks. In order to give

the latter, one could think of creating a Latin American regional bank,

greater consistency to local development, these institutions must also:

the primary function of which would be to support local financing. Such a

(1) have a decentralized structure; (2) relate, in the closest possible

bank, regional in character, could be conceived as a cooperative in-

way, the generation of savings to local credit needs; and (3) overcome

stitution composed of local banks.

or find alternative ways of usual demands of guarantees for granting
Another form of local financing is barefoot banking . This is
credit.

84

Human Scale Development

Development and Self-reliance

85

Recapitulation

Autonomy and Macro-policies

Challenges and Alternatives

It is essential to design policies to support the development of the Human Scale Development, geared to the satisfaction of human invisible sectors by means of training programs, credit and technical needs, attains through self-reliance its true and irreducible value. At a assistance to small producers, favoring in particular those micro-or-practical level, opting for this kind of development requires as an initial ganizations that are capable of deciding on and managing their projects impulse a policy for mobilizing civil society. In order to promote by themselves in a collective and solidary manner. structural changes, the mobilization must meet two challenges. First, it

Likewise, training programs, credit and technical assistance must stimulate the use of non-conventional resources in setting up collective life projects aimed at achieving self-reliance and the actualization of human needs. Second, it must support and strengthen local organizations and community groups to exercise control over the goods and services required to reduce poverty, enhance the quality of life and development initiatives so that their influence overcomes spatial limitations and contributes to the construction of a new hegemony in the communities, municipalities and regions.

If the different local micro-spatial practices are to become a new social reality, they must be articulated within a project development strategies which acknowledge and respect the diversity of that calls for global development. Hence, the decisive political importance of the micro-macro articulation. The fundamental issue is to at the local, regional and national levels and thus transform diversity enable people from their many small and heterogeneous spaces to set

into a promoter of development. This must involve a systematic effort up, sustain and develop their own projects.

to deconcentrate political power so that it can be exercised in a more egalitarian way in the different domains of society, thus ensuring

Challenges Within the Political Sphere. The existing

adequate consideration of local and regional interests.

political structures are faced with the challenge of recognizing and

Finally, there is an urgent need to research ways of fundamentally

regaining the wealth of dynamism contained in the social movements of

restructuring the financial and banking systems within our countries in

the invisible world in order to integrate them as significant, rather than

such a way that they contribute to development not only in global terms,

residual, protagonists in a new project for society. In the present

but also specifically in the regional, municipal and community spaces,

circumstances, owing to such factors as economic and social

giving special emphasis to the potential for self-reliance in local or-

marginalization and the inefficiency of conventional political practices,

organizations. In this connection, we must consider the creation of local

we witness with increasing frequency responses of social struggle

banks (not branches of national banks) that stimulate community

which do not match the traditional patterns of political activity. A savings and the circulation of surpluses inside the communities which willingness to set up groups and organizations with informal non-generate them.

bureaucratic structures, to participate in collective forms of decision-making and to be pragmatic, rather than ideological, in setting objectives are all traits which political institutions seeking to redefine themselves should take into account.

Such a redefinition compels these institutions to develop mechanisms for sharing in decision-making, to combine ideological and strategical requirements with those of a more practical and ethical nature and to

86

Human Scale Development

engage in a revitalized dialogue expressed in terms of needs *felt* and *mobilized* by the communities themselves.

Articulation Without Cooptation. A critical problem is that of the size of an organization, since this is not unrelated to the system of values that can be generated within it. Smaller organizations have the scope to develop internal horizontal relationships of greater solidarity and less constrained by ideology. However, they lack the capacity to

promote global alternatives. Within this context, the central problem

4.

for the development alternative we seek is how to build up the

movement but avoid bureaucratization or, to put it another way, how

THE UNRESOLVED PROBLEM OF

to

achieve

articulation without cooptation. This challenge is

unresolved, and can only be solved through the interaction between

MICRO-MACRO ARTICULATION

social theory and praxis. If the problem is not dealt with, Human Scale

Development will be restricted to a mechanism that favors people in

the micro-social spaces, thus perpetuating in the larger spaces an

order that excludes the mass of the people and, eventually, reduces

Manfred Max-Neef

this alternative to a mere idea which cannot be put into practice more

widely.

Only a development style that aims to satisfy human needs can take

up the postponed challenge to stimulate the growth of all men and

Seeking Solutions

women, and of their entire personalities. Only increasing self-reliance in the different spaces and domains can give root to such

The problem of micro-macro articulation remains to be resolved development on the Latin American continent. Only absolute respect within economic theory and in development policies as well. Indeed, a for the diversity of the many worlds that make up the wide world of satisfactory solution is still a long way off. It is therefore legitimate to Latin America will ensure that autonomous development is not wonder whether it is in fact a real problem and, if so, whether it has a restricted to the realm of utopia. Only the articulation of these solution. In considering this question, it is important to be aware that the diversities in a democratic project committed to deconcentration and history of economic theory has itself been a history of options rather than decentralization of political power can release the combined energies solutions.

needed to bring about development that is truly designed for human beings.

The Ebb and Flow of Economic Theory. The first "world view" of economics as a discipline as such—mercantilism—was a macro-economic view. The aftermath of the crisis of mercantilism determined

NOTE

that the three ensuing economic revolutions, represented in succession by the physiocrats, the classical school and the neo-classical school,

1. Jacobo Schatan, *World Debt: Who Is to Pay?* London: Zed Books, 1987.

88

Human Scale Development

The Unresolved Problem of Micro-macro Articulation

89

them being in the main determined by diverging criteria as to the notion of value.* The fourth revolution—Keynesianism—again envisaged economics as macro-economics, and gave rise, among many other contributions which are difficult to discard, to the notion of aggregate indicators.

the micro-economic level.

Post-Keynesians, neo-Keynesians and present-day monetarists,
On the other hand, we come upon arguments that warrant the ex-
no matter how much they endeavor to rid themselves of their
istence of both levels as real entities. Such arguments stem from
immediate past, are still dwelling in the macro-economic abode that
paradoxical findings sustained both in empirical evidence as well as in
Keynes erected. But the very crisis itself once again restates the
mathematical demonstrations. In this sense, examples are offered to
dilemma:

Is

economics

mainly

micro-economics

or

macro-

show that what each individual pursues as the best for himself can, at
economics? In all likelihood, an answer does not exist. It is quite
the aggregate level, rests in a situation that nobody desires. From such
possible that alter nearly 400 years we may well conclude that the
evidence it is concluded that individual decisions cannot be aggregated

problem lies not in the fact that we have not found an answer, but that with the purpose of constructing a meaningful totality. Over and beyond a we have been unable to pose the question properly.

given critical threshold, the aggregate consequences may eventually

The theories, policies, strategies and development styles that fully negate the individual intentions.

sprouted in the aftermath of the Second World War have been

A Dialectic Interpretation. Without purporting to come up with an influenced or even determined by the prevailing economic theory. If it eclectic solution, it is necessary to acknowledge, in our opinion, that has been macro-economic in scope, development has also been there exist sound and persuasive elements in the two arguments that we understood as macro-development, and the preferred indicators for have chosen as extreme examples. It seems sensible to admit, on the development have been the aggregate indicators of Keynesian one hand, that observable and understandable behavior does in fact macro-economics.

The

problem

of

micro-macro

articulation,

occur at the level of the individual, that is to say, at the micro-level. In unresolvable by economic theory, has therefore not met with a visible solution in development processes either.

macro-situations, which does not mean, however, that it is possible to speak of *macro-behavior*.

The Problem of Aggregation

A more suitable approach might be to suggest a dialectic interaction between *macro-states* and individual *behaviors* in such a way that even the bewilderment which characterizes the current situation be-though they exert a reciprocal influence on each other, neither can be overcome in the somewhat extreme debates and stands taken on predicted mechanically merely by observing its counterpart. In other the different approaches. On the one hand, the economists from the words, what we advocate is that a given macro-state (political, neoAustrian School, committed to "methodological individualism," economic, environmental, etc.) should exert an influence on individual bold that every type of behavior can only be understood in individual behavior, and that the latter, in turn, should bring about changes in

terms and that, consequently, there are no collective entities, such as macro-states. Since human systems are not mechanical, the non-linear communities, societies and governments, the attributes of which are interactions between the micro-elements of a system may give rise to various macro-states which reflect the interactions at the micro-level.

The impossibility of making mechanical predictions about

* The neo-classicists work with macro-concepts which however, are human systems compels us to devote energy to dealing with such based on rather naive postulates.

notions

90

Human Scale Development

The Unresolved Problem of Micro-macro Articulation

91

instability, chance, uncertainty, choice, thresholds of different types

A r t i c u l a t i o n,

P r o t a g o n i s t s

a n d

A n

a r t i c u l a t e d

and catastrophes.

s o c i e t y does not arise mechanically; it is con structed. It can only

From all that has been suggested it is only possible to arrive at the

be constructed when people act as protagonist s, and this can

c onclu sion that e ven thoug h the re exi st s be tween the mic ro

only take place in human scale space s, where the person has a

and the macro an indissoluble *relationship*, it is nonetheless true

real pre sence and is not reduced to a stati stical ab st raction. The

that it in no way involves an *articulation*. * Thus, we are confronted

proce ss mu st be o rganized f rom the bot tom upwa rd s, but

with two fundamental questions: (a) what would the micro-macro

promoted b y people who have malle the con sciou s deci sion to

articulation in itself be? and (b) is it really possible to achieve it?

act syne rgically. The prog ram is not simple, but howe ver

complex it may be we envisage no alternative.

Mi c ro -ma c ro A rti cula tion . B y a rti c ula ti on we m ean , in thi s

What ha s been sugge sted become s po ssible when a social

c a se,

that

global

processes

and

self-reliant

micro-spatial

system capable of developing its capacity for adaptation is

processes complement each other effectively *without there being*

constructed:

a

system

in

which

innovation,

novelty

and

a cooptation of the micro by the macro. This vertical complementarity

qualitative change are organic, even though the system may be

is also seen in conjunction with a horizontal complementarity

unforeseeable and unpredictable. In this sense, it is necessary

between the various micro spaces so that processes of socio-

to keep in mind that the capacity for adaptation of a system is

cultural identity, political autonomy and economic self-reliance are inversely proportional to the degree of rigidity of its structure. enabled to empower and reinforce each other.

These rigidities should be understood either as fossilized hierarchies, market social inequalities, authoritarianism or

The above is by no means a definition. We are fully aware that it is, rather, a picture of "what ought to be." In this sense, it does not interfere with

Therefore,
real

"protagonism"
and

interdependence, built from the grassroots upwards to it represents the situation of observable Latin American reality.

Furthermore, on the basis of accumulated evidence, we can only suggest the possibility of preserving a flexible structure capable of adapting

conclude that true micro-macro *articulation* is not possible within the

economic
systems that
currently
predominate
in
our
itself.

countries. This conclusion is somewhat drastic, but we consider it
very difficult to refute.

Articulation and Sense of Direction

Any possible articulation goes far beyond the causalities
and

mechanistic

assumptions underlying

both

economic

of the System

theory and

the

development strategies applied

so

far. It

necessarily and inevitably involves a deep transformation in the Latin American panorama reveals a set of deeply disarticulated modes of social behavior and interaction. It requires, in practice, societies. Even in past periods, in which countries displayed and the transformation of the person-object into a person-subject sustained high rates of growth of their GNP, the disarticulation and, in theoretical terms, that the competitive rationale of remained unsolved. However, the most sustained of all ratios of maximizing be replaced by the solidary rationale of optimizing. In growth is the poverties (as defined within this book) within which other words, that the "homo economicus" be replaced by the the great majority of Latin Americans struggle.

"homo synergicus."

Many reasons have been offered to account for this dramatic contradiction. It is not our aim to refute any of those arguments. We only wish to add another argument, which has so far received very little attention. We state it in terms of a hypothesis: every a priori direction imposed upon a disarticulated socio-economic system

* Every articulation among elements is a relation, but not every relation is further inhibited by its possibilities of articulation. Stated in other words: it is an articulation. See footnote in Chapter 1, page 8.

92

Human Scale Development

not the *imposed* direction which will achieve articulation, but, on the contrary, it will be articulation that determines the most desirable direction.

PART TWO: FIRST STEPS INTO

If the current conditions are taken into account, there is hardly any sense in "forcing" the direction of a system. The priority is clear. What is required is to channel all efforts into bringing the parts of the system

FURTHER REFLECTIONS

together into a coherent articulated whole. Only an articulated system can aspire to be a healthy system. And only a healthy system can aspire to self-reliance, to meeting the needs and fulfilling the potential

5.

of people.

ABOUT THE PRUNING OF LANGUAGE

(AND OTHER UNUSUAL EXERCISES)

FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF

SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT*

Manfred Max-Neef

The Problem

While trying to interpret the megacrisis that has taken over our present world, we suffer from a sort of generalized confusion in our approach to understanding. This means that there is no way of breaking the code of the crisis if we are not able to adequately codify our own form of understanding. Although we know how to *describe* and how to *explain*, we seem to overlook the fact that describing plus explaining does not amount to *understanding*.

* An earlier version of this chapter was published under the title of "The Pruning of Language" in *Development*, 1988: 2/3, the journal of the Society for International Development.

94

Human Scale Development

About the Pruning of Language

95

because there is something wrong with power?" Today, more than ever. The former have to do with knowledge, which is the stuff of science, while the latter has to do with meaning, the stuff of

consists of deciding whether or not we are willing to substitute authority for enlightenment. The result of this confusion is that at this stage of power, and thus re-invent true democracy again. Authority as defined here history, we know a lot but understand very little.

can only function at the Human Scale.

In the midst of the New International Economic Disorder that has brought about the inequity as well as the iniquity of Third World indeb-

Manifestations of the Problem

tedness, many countries are again concerned with the problem of who should have control of the banking system—the state, the private sector or

The confusion in our approach to understanding reveals itself in at a combination of both. This is, of course, an important matter. However, least three ways: (a) our involvement with options of secondary we should ask: Are so many national finances in disarray because there is relevance, (b) the utilization of simplistic theories for the interpretation of something wrong with those who *control* the banking system, or is there social complexity, and (c) the impoverishment of our language.

something wrong with the banking system itself? Although this question may justify a whole treatise, we recall here just a few financial debacles

Options of Secondary Relevance

characteristic of our present times.

From the production of goods and services, the dynamic edge of

We fight for options. However, when after opting, things do not economic activity has shifted to paper transactions and speculation.

work out the way we expected, it may be due to the fact that the chosen

Futu re ma rke t s and spec ulation have beg un cont rolling real

option was, without our being aware of it, of secondary relevance. This

producers and consumers such as the poor, and women, tribals

means that there must be (and we must look for it) an underlying op-

and peasants in the Third World, dispensing with them if they do

tion of primary relevance that has to be tackled first. A few illustrations

not

may clarify the point.

into the market transactions of artificially created prices. Instead of a

Obsessed as we seem to be with power, we always believe that

sustainable reproduction of wealth, the global economic system, led

by commercial capitalism, has started to focus on instant wealth crea-

things will change (for the better, of course) once "we" are in power

tion through speculation at the cost of the future—and of the poor.

(whoever that "we" may be—ourselves or those who represent our feel-

The decade of 1973-1982 has seen the escalation of capital flow from
ings and beliefs). To believe something like this is, of course, quite
transnational banks and financial institutions to the Third World. This
naive. If we look back in time, we will realize that at this stage all sorts
phase of borrowing is at the root of the contemporary Third World
of powers, or combinations of powers, have already been in power. Yet,
debt crisis. And this borrowing was induced to recycle the huge
as far as growing human satisfaction and welfare are concerned, things
amounts of liquidity that the financial system of the North had built
do not seem to be improving very much, all those past exercises of
up and could not absorb. The Third World became an important
source for investment at high profitability: profits of the seven big-
power notwithstanding. The preoccupation as to *who* should be in
gest U.S. banks rocketed from 22 percent in 1970 to 55 percent in
power is, therefore, an option of secondary relevance. The underlying
1981, and to a record 60 percent in the following year. The South was
question of primary relevance to be examined is power itself. If we un-
caught in a debt trap, borrowing merely to pay interests on earlier
derstand it as the capacity of control and manipulation exercised by the
loans.¹

person (or group) that has the force, and contrast it with *authority*—
understood as the capacity of influence exercised by the person (or
In older days, economic growth came from production, while today
group) to whom legitimacy is granted because of recognized
wealth is created from unproductive economic fictions. Not more than 5
capacities and qualities—we may pose our question thus: "Are things
percent of commodity transactions on future markets turn into actual
going wrong because it is the wrong group that is in power, or are
exchange of goods. It goes without saying that it is high time that
things going wrong.

such a system undergoes a radical reconceptualization, fitting the
demands

96

Human Scale Development

About the Pruning of Language

97

and exigencies of our world's present reality.

Quite apart from the caricatures we may devise, the serious fact

For a long time, one of the most pressing options in Latin America

remains that while our societies have become increasingly complex, our

has been that of dictatorship or political democracy. It would seem out-theories of society, whether social or economic, have become increasingly ridiculous to say that this is not a highly relevant option. Its importance is increasingly simplistic. This is dangerous, because we know that the notwithstanding, a still more important option should be brought to the parameters of a system can only be controlled from a system of higher order. We may phrase it thus: "Are the Latin American societies going to consolidate an authoritarian (and often repressive) culture, or are they incapable of understanding the behavior of the type of social systems of which we are members in our world today. There are many examples of everyday life?" In other words, a democracy that begins in the household and extends itself to the school, to the working place, to the church, to the trade union, to the political party; all conceived as participatory institutions, yet organized in a rigidly hierarchical and authoritarian manner. In fact, politics today seems primarily concerned with economic

household and extends itself to the school, to the working place, to the church, to the trade union, to the political party; all conceived as participatory institutions, yet organized in a rigidly hierarchical and authoritarian manner. In fact, politics today seems primarily concerned with economic

authoritarian manner. This consideration is most certainly of primary problems. Summits are mainly economic summits, and macroeconomics relevance, because no political democracy can expect to last if it is con- seems to be the cathedral of modern mythology. There no longer appears structured upon the foundations of an authoritarian culture. It will col- to be any significant problems of humanity that remain outside the realm lapse sooner or later, as we have so often witnessed. Dictatorships in of macro-economic manipulation. Yet

we

seem

to

forget

what

Latin America, even in places like Uruguay and Chile, should not be macroeconomics is all about and, more than that, what recent history can dismissed as historical accidents affecting societies of long-standing tell us. Quoted below is a dramatic statement by the distinguished democratic traditions. The truth of the matter is that dictatorships are in economist Jane Jacobs:

many respects periodical exacerbations of underlying authoritarian cul-

Macro-economics—large-scale economies—is the branch of
tures.

learning entrusted with the theory and practice of understanding
and fostering national and international economies. It is a

Social Complexity and Simplistic Theories

shambles. His undoing was the good fortune of having been

believed in and accepted in a big way. We think of the experiments

A simplistic mind is a mind full of answers. It is also a mind that

of partial physicists and space explorers as being extraordinarily

seldom realizes the simple fact that answers must be preceded by

expensive, and so they are. But the costs are nothing compared

pertinent questions. The person with a simplistic mind looks for

with the incomprehensively huge resources that banks, industries,

inspiration and knowledge in simplistic theories, mainly in those that

governments and international institutions like the World Bank, the

confirm his or her preconceptions. Furthermore, he or she tends to be

International Monetary Fund and the United Nations have poured

very active. Hence, we are talking about someone who can be very

into tests of macro-economic theory. Never has a science, or

supposed science, been so generously indulged. And never have

dangerous indeed.

experiments left in their wakes more wreckage, unpleasant

I have found many development experts in my life—having myself

surprises, blasted hopes and confusion, to the point that the

been one for many years—with a very simplistic mind and a very ac-

question seriously arises whether the wreckage is repairable; if it

tive personality. If I were to depict the archetype of such an expert in a

is, certainly not with more of the same.²

comic strip, presented would be a man with a somewhat perplexed ex-

The belief in the efficiency of certain macro-economic models is so

pression in his face, carrying a fat attache case full of answers, while

intense, that one often wonders whether they have not become pan of a

actively looking for the problems to fit the answers.

new form of religion. As a matter of fact, we can witness over and again

that when an economic policy based on a closer macro - economic

model fails to deliver, the reaction of the economic establishment behind

98

Human Scale Development

About the Pruning of Language

99

that policy will be such that one can only reach the conclusion that while something like stagflation could only be discovered and so acquire the model is always right, it is reality that plays foul tricks. Hence, the legitimate existence if, and only if, it appeared in the North. The fact model not only remains, but is reapplied with greater vigor.

that it was to be found everywhere in the South simply went

The fascination with macro-economic models is partially due to the unnoticed. After all, a poor country that is expensive for its own fact that all their components are measurable. This is important because inhabitants is normally dismissed as very inexpensive by all its Northern for a simplistic mind, all that is important is precisely that which can be visitors. Cases like this—and there are many more—should invite measured. Therefore, one should no longer be surprised that there are deep critical reflection.

so many economists around who, instead of finding satisfaction in being more or less correct in their predictions, prefer being wrong with high

Impoverishment of Our Language

precision.

Another manifestation of simplism is what I should like to call

One of the consequences of the type of simplism described so far

"Northern thinking for Southern action." If as a Latin American is, of course, the impoverishment of our language and, in particular, of economist I wish to become an expert in Latin American development the development language. While being the product of a culture, a language is also a generator of culture. Hence, if the language is poor, the problems, it is necessary to study in the United States or in Europe to be respectable in the eyes of both my Southern and Northern colleagues. culture is poor. By the same token, if the development language is poor, It goes without saying that this is not only dangerous but absurd. In fact, it development itself will be poor. Overestimated yet nonsensical indicators (about which so much has been written) are just one example of educated economists to interpret their own reality. Just one example: dominant components of the development language. Another example In all economic theories, beginning with Cantillon and Adam Smith is the fragmentation of people and societies as a result of the semantics and continuing with Ricardo, Marx and all the way through Keynes and of reductionist and mechanistic thinking. Phillips (with his beautiful curves), something identified in the modern The interesting thing about an impoverished language is that, con-

jargon as stagflation (inflation with growing unemployment) simply contrary to what might appear as obvious; it is not a language that requires could not occur. It did not fit any respectable economic theory practiced at more words and concepts. What characterizes a poor language is that it the time of the phenomenon's appearance. Yet, at the end of the 1960s, it has too many words behind which—knowingly or unknowingly—we became quite clear that suddenly in the United States inflation was no hide our ignorance.

longer trading off against drops in unemployment. The initial reaction of In endeavoring to enrich a language, the challenge consists of most economists was that what seemed to be happening was actually finding the key words that exist behind those voids of ignorance.

not happening. Surely all would return to normal if thresholds were readjusted. But reality was stubborn, and the growing evidences had to

Searching for Answers

be accepted as a turning point in economics—actually the end of Keynesianism followed by the disastrous emergence of the Friedmanian monetarists. As a mental exercise, an adequate pruning of key words should be

the answer to an impoverished language. The principle behind the act

Now, if we just attempt to be simplistic, we may describe stagflation as a situation characterized by high and rising prices together with of pruning should be clear to anyone who has ever been interested in insufficient jobs. This is surprising, because that is precisely one of the orchards. Through pruning we will achieve more and better from less. Fewer branches and leaves wilt allow more light to be absorbed and characteristics that has prevailed in more countries. With Northern thus produce better fruits. In the case of a language, the pruning of thinking (and with the kind of by Southern economists as well), chosen words will force us inevitably into higher degrees of clarity,

100

Human Scale Development

About the Pruning of Language

101

The answer to the dangers emanating from the utilization of reliant manner. In other words, the fundamental human needs simplistic theories consists of devising methods which, either through of all the members of the system can increasingly be met with our direct participation or through our committed intellectual involvement the satisfiers generated within the system.³ This neither implies

ment will allow us to actually become part of, or really to feel identified self-sufficiency, nor autarchy or isolationism. Trade and other with, that which we intend to understand. No understanding is forms of exchange should by all means take place, the only possible if we detach ourselves from the object of our intended under- precaution being that they do not do so at the expense of the standing. Detachment can only generate knowledge, not understanding. peoples' security and well-being, as is the case when socio- The possibilities of improving our choice of options, our capacity to economic strategies are arranged according to the simplistic and fluently distinguish between those of primary and secondary fallacious belief that all will be better off once the GNP grows relevance, will greatly depend on the quality of the solutions we may sufficiently.

give to the other two problems: language and simplism. Hence, let us

2. *Consistency*, meaning that the system's chosen form of re- examine the suggested answers in action.

production leads to no self-destructive contradictions. Going back to the pre-pruned language for the purpose of illustration, a

On Pruning

good example of a self-destructive contradiction is economic growth at the expense of environmental degradation or resources depletion. Self-destructive contradictions can also arise in In order to play my game—because a mental game is what it is—I chose to prune from my language the following words: development, the political and cultural spheres. A consistent system, as economic growth, efficiency and productivity. In addition to these described here, is essentially a synergic system.

words, such conventional economic indicators as Gross National Product and its offspring were also pruned. A fundamental question learn from experience—its own and those of others. As a consequence arose immediately: "Without these words, can I make judgments about sequence, the system may allow its members to make relevant social improvement, or must I suffer in perpetual silence?" What follows is the result of my personal experience in answering the challenge. A system that satisfies this attribute cannot have an authoritarian structure, where information flows only in one direction from the top downwards. It requires a participatory

my society?" In the past, an answer, such as "sustained growth, higher structure where feedback is not inhibited. A decidable system, productivity and increased efficiency as a means to the achievement of as described here, is essentially a direct democracy, where diver- ever higher stages of development so that all the people can satisfy their sity in all its forms and manifestations is not only protected but basic needs," would have sounded nice and be acceptable. Now, stimulated.

such a statement becomes perfectly meaningless. It finally became clear to me that any social system's fundamental aim should be the The pruning of language opens possibilities for the design of new achievement of *coherence*; that is, of coherence with itself, meaning in and relevant indicators of social improvement. Indicators of complete- turn that it should not become a caricature of some other system. ness, of consistency and of decidability may lead, without falling into Furthermore, a coherent system should fulfill at least three attributes the mathematical shortcomings of aggregate global indicators, to the that will be identified as Completeness, Consistency and Decidability. eventual emergence of some sort of meaningful "Global Coherence" notions. A program (in the scientific sense of the word) is open for

1. *Completeness*, meaning that the system strives to organize itself in exploration. 4

a way that allows for its reproduction in an increasingly self-

102

Human Scale Development

About the Pruning of Language

103

On Interpretation

search.

An isolated element (object) "a" can be described but cannot be ex-

There are, of course, different forms of achieving integration

plained. A relation between elements through a given operator "*" that

between researcher and object of research. It need not be physical

makes the relation possible, for example, "a * b" can both be described

integration, although in the case of social, economic and often

and explained. Now, as mentioned in the opening remarks of this chap-

cultural research, it should. There are methods of mental integration

ter, describing plus explaining does not amount to understanding. The

in the

system "a * b" can only be understood from a system of higher com-

abstract fields of research, but it is not the purpose of this chapter to describe such methods. In any case, it should be added that if we as is our concern here, only when I increase the complexity of a system had more "barefoot" economists and sociologists around, we might (or sub-system) by becoming part of it—"Y * (a * b)"—can I begin to begin understand it.

to witness some improvements in the results of economic and social Although the formulations of the previous paragraph may seem policies.

obscure to some, they illustrate (perhaps in an oversimplified manner) what we have in mind. The idea can, however, be expressed in more colloquial terms. Suppose that you have studied everything there is

Conclusion

-from the anthropological, cultural, psychological, biological and biochemical points of view—about the phenomenon of love. You are Having carried out the exercise of pruning and becoming aware of an erudite. You know everything that can be known about love, but you the limits of knowledge on the one hand, and of the differences between

will never understand love unless you fall in love. This principle is valid for knowledge and understanding on the other, there is no harm in going all human systems, although it is almost always overlooked. In fact, back to my old words, even to my old language. If I do so now (and it social and economic research seldom goes beyond describing and would be foolish if I did not), both the words as well as the language to explaining. Take the case of poverty, for instance. I dare say that if we which they conform will no longer be masks behind which ignorance have so far been unable to eradicate poverty, it is because we know too remains hidden but will become fertile spaces for the permanent much about it, without understanding the essence of its existence as well progress toward intellectual wholeness.

as the mechanisms of its origins.

The last statement leads me to an additional reflection. Problem solving belongs to the realm of knowledge and requires fragmented

NOTES

thinking. In the realm of understanding, problem posing and problem

1. Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive*, London: Zed Books, 1988, p. 220.

solving do not make sense since we deal with transformations that start

2. Jane Jacobs, *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*, New York: Random

with, and within, ourselves. It is no longer the "we are here, and the House, 1985, p. 6.

poor are there, and we have to do something about it, so let us devise a strategy that may solve the problem." It is rather the "we are part of

3. Concerning the concept of Fundamental Human Needs and

something that has to be transformed because it is wrong, and, since I

Satisfiers, see M. Max-Neef, A. Elizalde and M. Hopenhayn,

share the responsibility for what is wrong, there is nothing that can stop

Human Scale Development, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation,

me from starting the process by transforming myself." Even *if* I am a

Uppsala, Sweden, 1989, adapted as Part One of this book.

researcher, I must learn to integrate myself with the object of my re-

4. The Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR) in Chile, headed

by the author, is presently engaged in research along such

fines.

6.

A STUPID WAY OF LIFE*

Manfred Max-Neef

Insight

Since childhood, I have been concerned with what I considered to

be a very important question: "What makes human beings unique? Is there some human attribute that no other animal shares with us?" The first answer received was that human beings have a soul, and animals have not. Since I loved, and still love, animals, it sounded a bit strange and painful. Furthermore, if God was so just and generous—which I still believed in those days—he would not make such a discrimination. So, I was not convinced.

A few years later, under the influence of early teachers, I was led to conclude that we were the only intelligent beings, with animals having only instincts. It did not take too long to realize that I was on the wrong track again. Thanks to the contributions made by ethology, we know now that animals also have intelligence. And so I pondered, until one day I finally thought I had it— humans are the only beings capable

* Adapted from The Schumacher Memorial Lecture, Bristol, England, October 8, 1989.

105

106

Human Scale Development

A Stupid Way of Life

107

in order to modernize and expand agricultural production; I or witnessed of humor. Again I was disappointed by a study demonstrating that even the colossal World Bank-financed transmigration program in Indonesia, birds make jokes and "laugh" at each other. I had almost decided to give which eradicated millions of people and transported them from one end up, having become a university student in the meantime, when I mentioned of the country to the other in the name of development; or whether it tioned my frustration to my father. He simply looked at me and said: was that Thailand 's development authorities were very proud to announce "Why don't you try stupidity?" Although shocked at first, the years have nounce that day that in the north, which was still heavily forested, passed, and I would like to announce that, unless someone else can several hundreds of villages were going to be destroyed with the people claim legitimate precedence, I am very proud of probably being the reinstalled in fourteen urban centers "with all the amenities they would founder of a new and very important discipline—the discipline of require for a developed society"—all reflected the same kind of stupidology. I hold, thus, the strong opinion that stupidity is a unique stupidity.

trait of human beings. No other beings are stupid except us!

So I realized that stupidity is a cosmically democratic force. It con-
Of course, such statements may sound a bit strange, even whimsi-
taminates everyone beyond race, creed and ideology. No one is safe.
cal, at first. But in the winter term of 1975, I gave a course in Wellesley
And whether in the North, the South, the West or the East, we commit
College, Massachusetts, open also to students of MIT, the title of which
the same stupidities over and again. Something happens to render us
was "Inquiry into the-Nature and Causes of Human Stupidity." It was, as
immune to experience.

you can imagine, a very well-attended course. People thought that is was
Not all seemed dark, however. In the midst of my crisis, I realized
going to be fun, which in fact the first two sessions were. During the
that other trends were taking place, and that there were also positive
third session, participants began looking a bit more serious and by the
signs. Actually, in the end, it all amounted to a sensation that I was wit-
fourth, there were already long faces. And as the course went on, we all
nessing the last 100 meters of a ten-kilometer race between two irrecon-
discovered that it was a damn serious subject.

cilable forces, and that one of them would win by just the tip of a nose,
meaning that it might turn into the most important "tip of the nose" in

Crisis

human history.

Two forces, two paradigms, two utopias, if you wish, brilliantly described in Vandana Shiva's book *Staying Alive*,² that bring about a Now why do I mention this? Well, I am a person who travels a great schizophrenic world. Every person concerned cannot possibly avoid deal, perhaps too much. And so last June and July, I completed my third falling into a schizophrenic state. This is our reality and we cannot fool voyage around the world in twenty months. It turned out to be a very ourselves. So the question is how do we face a situation like this? How special experience with something happening to me that never hap- do we interpret it? Or, how is it that we have fallen into a situation like pened before while in Bangkok—the capital of one of my favorite Asian this since I honestly believe that the world has not always been countries. The first morning I awoke to a state of great depression, as if schizophrenic?

I was facing a deep existential crisis. The sensation was, if it can be The final outcome of my crisis was relatively positive. A few days expressed in words: "I have seen too much. I don't want any more of later I found myself on a beautiful Polynesian island with my wife the

it. I am fed up!" It was a dreadful, terrifying feeling, and I asked myself: perfect place to fall in love with life again. Imagine walking into the "Why am I feeling this?" The answer came in the form of the sudden crystal clear sea water of a magnificent coral red' and the fish coming comprehension that what grows the fastest—that what is diffused the up to eat from your hand. It was marvelous and I began to recover, and so I could continue my reflections under more auspicious widest and with the greatest efficiency, velocity and acceleration in the world today—is human stupidity. Whether I experienced the finalization circumstances.

of a plan to bulldoze away thousands of rural villages in Rumania

108

Human Scale Development

A Stupid Way of Life

109

It always happens that one receives help from friends, not only 1920s, it was not until the 1950s that it became fashionable. Now the friends one has met personally, but friends one has made through books. language of development was not the consequence of a crisis; it was On this occasion, it was Ludwig Wittgenstein who came to my aid. I

quite the opposite. It was a language that responded to the enthusiasm focused again on the problem of language. Language is not only the expression of a culture, but it also generates culture. If the language is poor, the culture is poor. But the point is that we are also trapped by language. Language is a form of imprisonment. The way in which we use words or concepts influences and sometimes even determines not only our behavior but our perceptions as well. Every generation, as pointed out by the great Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, has its own theme, that is, its own preoccupation. I would add that every generation also has its own language in which it is trapped.

Remember some of its clichés: rapid industrialization, modernization, urbanization, big push, take-off, self-sustained growth, etc. It delivered many important and some spectacular changes all through the 1950s to 1960s that seemed to justify the optimism. In a way, it was again a case of coherence between language and historical reality.

Since the mid-1970s and all through the 1980s (this latter decade already baptized in United Nations circles as "the lost decade"), a new

crisis, this megacrisis that confronts us now, came about—a megacrisis

On Constraints of Language

we are still unable to interpret in all its magnitude. The strange thing about this crisis is that it has not generated its own language. In this We are trapped, whether we want to be or not, in the language of megacrisis, we are still using the language of development, "enriched," economics, which has domesticated the entire world. A language so to speak, through the introduction of precisely the most reactionary domesticates us when it manages to permeate our everyday life and our principles unearthed from the cemetery of neo-classic economics. So everyday forms of expression. The language of economics is used in what we have now is a language based on the enthusiasm of unlimited the kitchen, among friends, in the scientific associations, in the centers economic growth and expansion faced with a reality of social and of culture, in the club, in the work place and even in the bedroom. ecological collapse. This means that we are living—and this may be Whatever part of the world, we are dominated by the language of one of the outstanding characteristics of the present crisis—in a situation economics and it heavily influences our behavior and perceptions. tion of dangerous incoherence: our language is incoherent with our his-

Now the fact that we are domesticated by a certain language is not torical reality.

necessarily negative, although in this case it may be. It boils down to a This is not because an alternative language has not emerged. There question of coherence and incoherence, which I would like to explain are alternative languages that may prove to be more coherent, but the and illustrate.

truth of the matter is that none of them have managed to cast the old In the late 1920s and early 1930s, during the period known as the one out. What we actually find is that, in the best of cases, some of the "Great World Crisis," the language of Keynesian macro-economics concepts of alternative languages have penetrated the still dominant lan- emerged. Keynesian macro-economics was not only the response to guage, but simply as adjectives. They represent only cosmetic improve- a crisis, but it allowed for its interpretation and, more than that, it was an ments. Take a concept such as sustainability (all the byzantine efficient tool to overcome the crisis. It was a case, as I would like to call discussions about and around its definition notwithstanding) being it, of a language coherent with its historical moment. metamorphosed into sustainable growth. The merits of unending

The next language shift occurred in the 1950s when the "development language" emerged. Although Joseph Schumpeter had already written about the concepts of economic development in the 1930s, all that is allowed for in the dominant language is a "nicer" growth.

110

Human Scale Development

A Stupid Way of Life

111

Why do alternative languages not penetrate further? One reason is that much of the so-called alternative effort is not addressed to those who still adhere to the conventional and traditional positions. There is reflection and the power of silence a bit more.

This world probably requires something extremely simple—to *be*

seems to be a prevalent attitude, summed up in such observations as:

together with it, and enjoy the magnificent diversity such an effort can

"We don't talk to them"; after all, "academics are worthless"; "Westerns bring about. But when I say *be*, I mean *be*, not be this or be that. This is science is

harmful"; "business people are insensible." After all, if we in my opinion the greatest personal challenge each of us is faced with: to

are unable to dialogue intelligently, we will never cease to be

be brave enough to *be*.

schizophrenics. But these skeptics will remain; we cannot expect them

Now, sine we are all concerned here with human well-being and

to leave the planet. So those who are making efforts to change things

the health of our planet, just let me remind you of a few facts. First, we

should also try to make themselves understood by others. It is our turn,

are living in a planet in which societies are increasingly interconnected

and we must have a sense of self-criticism. I would never adhere to the

and interdependent in everything that is positive and everything that is

idea that we own the truth; that would be arrogant in the extreme. I simply

negative. Actually, this is how it should be with every living system.

presume that we are searching for something in good faith, but we

Yet, due to the human attribute of stupidity, we fail to take advantage of

may also be wrong, and looking back in twenty years, we may say:

the conditions of interdependence and interconnectedness to give

"How naive I was, how absurd my position. I never realized this and

solidarity a chance to display its synergic possibilities for overcoming

that."

our grave predicament. We still seem to favor the economic efficiency of

There is nothing wrong in making mistakes; there *is* something

greed and the political dynamics of paranoia. This maintains a global

wrong in being dishonest, and it is that which we cannot afford. We

system in which poverty keeps increasing worldwide and a great deal of

make proposals, we make propositions, and this is natural among

the scientific and technological effort is directly or indirectly geared

humans. We tend to believe, probably influenced by the logical prin-

toward insuring the possibilities of destroying the entire human species.

ciple of the excluded middle, that every proposition is either right or

Second, it no longer makes sense to talk about developed and

wrong. That is why we are so passionate in always taking sides. I would

developing countries, unless we add an additional category: the under-

recommend Wittgenstein again because then you will realize that

developing countries or countries in a process of underdevelopment.

propositions are not necessarily right or wrong. In fact, perhaps the

This would be the category to fit most of the presently rich countries,

majority of propositions are nonsensical, and this is something very im-

where peoples' quality of life is deteriorating at an alarming speed. Take

portant to keep in mind. We should also realize that it is very dangerous

one extreme case. A recent study in an early October 1989 issue of the *Miami Herald* shows that in the United States, one in every five children through the historical experiences of blue and brown and red fundamentalist intolerances. I sometimes shudder when I think of the possibilities of that by the year 2010, the proportion may rise to one in every three. And a future green fundamentalist intolerance.

this in a country that has 6 percent of the world population and accounts for almost 55 percent of the world's total energy consumption.

Some Solutions?

Third, one of the most tragic conditions, for which humanity as a whole should feel pain as well as shame, is that we have managed to construct a world, as has been pointed out by UNICEF, where the exactly what has to be done. It is fed up with people walking around majority of the poor are children and, even worse, where the majority with a briefcase full of solutions looking for the problems that fit those of the children are poor. One thing should be clean: we cannot go on pretending that we can solve an unsustainable poverty through the im-

112

Human Scale Development

A Stupid Way of Life

113

plementation of an unsustainable development.

The paradoxical issue, it seems to me, is that we know a barricades or fortresses to protect that wealth from the immense lot; we probably know all we need to know, but we understand territories of poverty and misery extending beyond the barricades. very little. Let me elaborate on this statement.

It is interesting to note that this scenario appears more and more in the science fiction literature of the last decade. It is the sort of We tend to believe that once we have described something, Mad Max atmosphere which the Australians have so brilliantly and then have explained that something, we have understood depicted in their films. Many of its symptoms are already found that something. This is a mistake because, as observed in the in mental attitudes and in the actual creation of isolated areas foregoing chapter, describing plus explaining does not amount to for the very rich who do not want to be contaminated by

understanding. Let me remind you of the example I have on page
seeing, hearing or having anything whatsoever to do with poverty.

106: You can never understand love, unless you fall in love. This

Part of this scenario will be the resurgence of repressive
is valid for every living system. You can not attempt to understand
regimes cooperating with the wealthy bubbles and imposing
something of which you are not a part. Hence, how can we
further hardships on the poor.

understand a society, a world, a planet, a biosphere, detaching

Scenario

three

presents

the

possibility

of

a

great

ourselves from it?

transition—the

passing from a dominant rationality of blind

How many of us actually understand the problems we are economic competition and greed to a rationality based on the trying to solve? Problem solving belongs to the realm of knowledge principles of sharing and solidarity. We might call it the passing and requires fragmented thinking. In the realm of understanding from a Mutually Assured Destruction to an era of Mutually Assured problem posing and problem solving do not make sense, because Solidarity. But can we do it? Have we the tools, the will and the we must deal with transformations that start with, and within, talent of constructing a mutually assured solidarity? Can we ourselves.

overcome the stupidity that keeps such a possibility out of our reach? I believe that we can, and that we have the capacity. But there may not be too much time left.

Future Scenarios

We want to change the world, but we are confronted with a great paradox. At this stage of my life, I have reached the Now, what about the future? In this matter I would like to conclude that I lack the power to change the world or anything with you the insight of my good friend, the distinguished

significant part of it. I only have the power to change my self. And

Argentinean

ecologist

Dr.

Gilberto

Gallopín,

who

has

the fascinating thing is that if I decide to change my self, the re is

proposed three possible scenarios.³

no police force in the world that can prevent me from doing so. It

Scenario one, is the possibility of total or partial extinction of

is just my decision and if I want to do it, I can do it. Now, the point

the human species. The most obvious way for this to come about

is that if I change

my self,

something

may happen

as a

would be a nuclear holocaust, which, as we know, is based on

consequence that may lead to a change in the world. But we are the principle of Mutually Assured Destruction. But apart from afraid of changing ourselves. It is always easier to try to change the nuclear holocaust there are a number of processes under others. The dictum of Socrates was "Know thyself," for he knew way that may bring this scenario about: the deterioration of the how afraid human beings are to know themselves. We know a lot about environment, destruction of forests, destruction of genetic our neighbors, but we know little about ourselves. So, if we simply diversity, pollution of seas, lakes and rivers, acid rain, greenhouse manage to change ourselves, something fascinating may happen to effect, ozone layer depletion and so on. the world.

Scenario two is the barbarianization of the world, a new I hope the day comes in which every one of us may be brave way of turning human kind into barbarians. Characteristic will enough to be capable of saying in absolute honesty: "I am, and be the emergence of bubbles of enormous wealth, surrounded by

because I am, I have become a part of . . ." It seems to me that this is the right direction to follow if we want to put an end to a stupid way of life.

114

Human Scale Development

NOTES

1. The Schumacher Memorial Lecture, upon which this chapter is based, was delivered before the fall of Ceausescu's regime.
2. Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive*, London: Zed Books, 1988.
3. Outlined in a private conversation with the author.

HUMAN SCALE DEVELOPMENT

As we embark on a new decade, Latin America and much of the Third World are in a state of crisis. This crisis is born out of the failure of both conventional state-directed development and neo-liberal market-oriented monetarism to meet vital needs of large and growing numbers of peoples. *Human Scale Development* sets forth another approach in confronting this crisis.

The approach presented in this book is focused on meeting freshly defined human needs, both material and non-material, through the self-reliant efforts of grassroots communities. The people thus became protagonists of their own future—subjects, rather than objects, of the development process, which must be conducted on a truly human scale. There is no possibility, the authors argue, for the active participation of the people—essential to sustained development—in gigantic systems where decisions flow from top to bottom.

Here is an imaginative and provocative contribution to the continuing debate on how to build more just and sustainable societies in both North and South. As such, it merits the attention not only of the international development community, but also of social activists, community leaders, government officials and scholars, teachers and students of economic, social and political change in industrialized countries as well as the Third World.

ISBN 0-945257-35-X