Development and Nation Building: A Framework for Policy-Oriented Inquiry

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I. Development and Social Change

We use the term "development" to refer to decision processes and decision outcomes which have been designed to induce the shaping and sharing of all values within and among territorial communities in ways and with consequences approximating the goal values of a world order of human dignity.[1] The component of purposive direction toward these postulated goal values distinguishes development from social change more generally. Social change, it will be noted, is an ineluctable feature of social process, for all actors are constantly seeking to change parts of the social process with the aim of making it discriminate in their favor. Hence social change is of no intrinsic interest to the policy-oriented approach to development. Development, in contrast, implies specific scope values with respect to which strategies for securing selective changes are invented and against which change-flows in decision structures and in the production and distribution of values are constantly evaluated. Thus, from a policy-oriented perspective, not all change is considered to be development; changes incompatible with human dignity can be characterized as retrogressions or as "disdevelopmental."

II. Development Decisions and Community Order

In the most comprehensive sense, every territorial community and the world community of which each territorial community is a part should be involved in processes of internal development; environmental changes and new political demands constantly require authoritative community institutions to confirm or adjust goals, identify the new conditions which will affect their attainment, and invent new strategies. On a comparative scale, the observer may distinguish among these diverse communities different levels of developmental capacity. At one extreme, the most minimal form of developmental capacity obtains when a territorial community lacks institutional or functional means for locating itself, with some degree of realism, in its environment and flow of events and of even clarifying and projecting goals and strategies for securing an approximation of human dignity. The resulting non-development or, at the most, haphazard development does not derive exclusively from the lack of minimal institutional arrangements for making development decisions; such institutional deficits are usually reflections or epiphenomena of perspectives shared by key segments of the population which paralyze the expectation of the possibility of

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1. HAROLD D. LASSWELL & MYRES S. MCDOUGAL, JURISPRUDENCE FOR A FREE SOCIETY: STUDIES IN LAW, SCIENCE, AND POLICY 375 (1992).

human agency and purposive change. Such perspectives about the futility of human agency preclude development decisions.

Further along the scale, a more advanced form of development is that of the territorial community whose institutions can clarify relevant value goals but are incapable of implementing them because they lack the necessary resources or skills: an extreme example is to be found in "cargo cults."

Still further on the spectrum, one encounters the pathological condition of what one might term "hyper-development:" communities whose inventiveness for dealing with new circumstances is strangled by sclerotic institutions or paralyzed by conflicting political forces which are wedded to past goals and practices. Historical examples may be found in the inability of the bureaucracy of the late Ching dynasty to adjust to new internal and external challenges.[2]

The optimal state of any community is not the achievement of a specific level of "development," in the sense of some static capitalization and allocation of values meeting the demands of certain members or strata of a community at a particular moment. The optimal state is rather the establishment of a viable and ongoing development process which is responsive to environmental and political changes, capable, where necessary, of reformulating goals and strategies to meet them, and able to perform the decision functions indispensable to the maintenance of satisfactory community order.

III. GOAL CLARIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT OUTCOMES

It is convenient to inventory changes in social process in terms of the familiar eight values: power, wealth, enlightenment, skill, well-being, affection, respect, and rectitude.[3] Many of these categories parallel specialized skill groups. To the man with a hammer, as the familiar adage puts it, every problem is a nail. Many studies of development tend to select and focus predominantly on one value as the key variable accounting for, and hence to be manipulated to secure, development. The contextual focus emphasizes the multiple interrelationships between value production and distribution in all value categories. What can be achieved with respect to any one value is dependent on what can be achieved with all other values; positive developments in one value category may entail retrogressions or disdevelopments in others.

As the measurement of development trends within each value category presupposes operative goals on the basis of which positive or negative changes can be assessed, preferred changes will be simply stated. The most fundamental goal toward which the production and distribution of all values should contribute is a world order of human dignity.[4] Those who approach development from the legal perspective have tended to magnify the authoritative power component in this preferred order; resolutions by international bodies installing a "right to development" without providing meaningful institutional and budgetary means for implementation is a sad

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2. *See generally* MARY CLABAUGH WRIGHT, THE LAST STAND OF CHINESE CONSERVATISM: THE TÚNG-CHIH RESTORATION 1862-1874 (1966)

3. *See* LASSWELL & MCDOUGAL, *supra* note 1, at 725-86, 1017-31.

4. *Id.* at 1017-31.

manifestation of this pathology.[5] Certainly one should not minimize the importance of authoritative power, but an order of human dignity involves increasing the aggregate participation in the shaping and sharing of all values. Hence a distinctive feature of appropriate development goal clarification is attention to the interlocking policies which, in ensemble, will facilitate the production and sharing of values. Aggregate effects will then increase the approximation of public and civic order arrangements to the goals of human dignity. Intellectual analyses proceed perforce value by value but the point of emphasis is that any community's development, at whatever level of social interaction it may take place, is never simply economic or political. It always involves all values. After contextual canvass, development strategies may be designed for selective influencing of specific features of the social process and/or the constitutive process but the goal is always to facilitate an aggregate increase in the shaping and sharing of all values in way consonant with the goals of human dignity.

It will be useful to consider each of these value categories briefly with some reference to their interrelations. The following indices are specialized to development.

A. Power

No purposive social changes in complex groupings of human beings can be imagined without some institutional procedures for clarifying community goals, examining contexts, designing development strategies, assembling resources for implementation, appraising results, and so on. Hence we may speak of power developments when there are net increases in support for and the effectiveness of processes (of varying degrees of institutionalization) specialized to making decisions, whether about the constitutive process or the community's production and allocation of all other values.

B. Wealth

The wealth of a community may be measured in terms of the volume of its products (in all value categories), the levels of income of all members of that community, and the aggregate resource base. But from the perspective of the agent of development, a wealth development is measured in the increased capacity of a community to produce wealth.

C. Enlightenment

We refer here to the level of general knowledge retrievable at feasible cost and applicable to procedures for designing and implementing purposive change. Developments in enlightenment occur within a community when its knowledge pool increases, processes specialized to gathering, processing, or disseminating knowledge relevant to decision are extended, and decision-makers increasingly resort to available enlightenment for purposes of decision.

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5. *See, e.g.*, World Conference on Human Rights, June 14-25, 1993, *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*, ¶¶ 10-11, U.N. Doc A/CONF.157/23 (July 12, 1993) (recognizing the "right to development").

D. Well-Being

Well-being increases when more people have an increased life expectancy, a robust capacity for action, and a decreased expectation of the incidence of disease, including anxiety. A positive well-being development occurs when processes specialized to enhancing well-being are created or reinforced.

E. Skill

Skills refer to learned and culturally transmitted sequences of behavior aimed at purposive manipulation and change of the environment and/or the self. A skill development occurs when there is an increase in the skill pool of a community, where the skills of concern are specialized to performing tasks leading to the realization of developmental goals and when the community's capacity to forge and disseminate new skills are increased.

F. Affection

Affection refers to positive sentiments toward others and to loyalty to groups. The affection value develops within a community when the opportunities for acquiring agapic and erotic positive sentiments increase and when loyalties toward the more inclusive groups are increased or reinforced. A negative affection development occurs when there are contractions to more exclusive identifications and attitudes toward others become less amiable or even hostile.

G. Respect

Respect refers to ego development in community members, correlation of status within a community to the merit of the contribution which the status holder contributes to the community, and the minimization of individual and collective discrimination. The expectation of meritocratic reward acts as an incentive for investment in the production of other values. Hence a respect development occurs when group members perceive themselves increasingly as full participants able to make claims in their own names as well as to be subjected to claims by others in their own name, when status is increasingly a meritocratic function, and when patterns of individual and group discrimination are reduced.

H. Rectitude

By rectitude we refer to patterns of demand of the self on the self for compliance with a personal code. A rectitude development occurs within a community when opportunities for the individual's cultivation of rectitude increase and the internalized codes of individuals are not only compatible with human dignity but also tolerant of other such codes.

IV. DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES AND FUNCTIONAL BOUNDARIES:
A NATION-BUILDING PROBLEMATIQUE

Although development is conventionally framed and measured in terms of value production and allocation within a particular territorial community, political

boundaries may often be a comparatively minor event in many of the activities of development. Hence, the delimitation of development processes should be effected by functional rather than conventional political boundaries. Although we find it convenient to distinguish international, regional, national, and local levels as provisional foci for development, what can be achieved in any one community is a function, in varying degree, of all the greater or lesser communities of which it is a part or which compose it. It is the interchange of values relevant to the process and the institutional decision patterns necessary to deal with them rather than political boundaries which demark the boundaries of any development process. In a world of intensely interdependent component communities, which interstimulate pervasively and even interlock at many points and levels, the only useful perspective, both for the student of development and the agent of development, is a comprehensive and global one. The invention of development strategies may often involve programs integrating skills, resources, and legal arrangements of many different communities at many different levels.

One can, to be sure, conceive of micro-social developments in which the establishment and operation of decision-making arrangements indispensable to development appear to be extremely limited in geographical scope. The division of functions within a nascent family group, for example, may seem to involve only allocations of extremely mundane and geographically close-range activities in order to establish a micro-development process: cooperation in the rearing of children, capital accumulation to secure a dwelling, fulfillment of the value needs of the family members, and so on. But the efficacy of this apparently discrete micro-development process will depend, often in great measure, on the effectiveness of a larger development process, which has produced human beings with sufficient well-being to work; which has acculturated them to a capacity for giving and receiving affection without which the nuclear family could not have been formed; which gives them sufficient self respect so that they can relate positively to other family members; which provides opportunities for gainful employment sufficient to support the family members; which provides security, and so on. The nuclear family depends upon supporting struts of a national social and economic system, much as the national system will depend upon a regional and global system with which its macro-economic activities are interdependent. Participants involved in these processes may perceive boundaries as insulating them from other processes while observers will be struck by the illusory or porous character of such boundaries.

As for the most basic development challenges, they are oblivious to political boundaries.[6] Consider the pressing problem of environmental maintenance and improvement. A single municipality or nation-state may legislate for the minimization of global warming in its immediate area but the problem is aggregative and hence meaningful prophylaxis and amelioration will require many, and for certain problems, all governments to participate in planning and execution. Other problems may require transnational collaboration on a regional basis, the scope of such cooperation delimited by such factors as the geographical unity of a river valley. In many cases, however, the

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6. Nonetheless, specific ameliorative strategies may sometimes require different administrative delimitations for their concrete application.

apparent geographical confines of a problem will have to be pierced by the need for external values: foreign capital, foreign proprietary technology, and foreign "know-how."

A global focus also underlines the fact that development is premised on the minimum order of the world community. The most critical political problems, like environmental problems, are also global in scope; purported solutions which are less than global are less than complete. The correlations of demands and resources will ultimately involve each community of the world, no matter what its current level or self-definition of development may be. Consider the annual resource consumption per capita in the United States. If the socio-economic conditions of the higher strata of the United States, whose lives are portrayed glamorously in the media, are to be considered as the preferred standard for a future world society, then the prospects for development are bleak. Planet Earth does not contain sufficient resources to supply each individual human being with that extravagance. Unless one is willing to perpetuate the imbalance in accessibility to the material amenities of life which distinguishes the lives of the higher social strata in North America, Western Europe, and Japan from life elsewhere in the globe, the process of development will require major changes in conceptions of development in every culture of the world. As popular development demands throughout the world tend toward homogenization, it will be increasingly necessary to consider development globally and in terms of the planetary pool of resources which is ultimately finite.