Chapter 1

Unravelling Marginalization, Voicing Change: Alternative Visions and Paths of Development

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Introduction – Alternative Visions and Paths of 'Development'

This book brings together a collection of essays that discuss alternatives to mainstream development thinking and practice, and how these alternatives may affect local and global processes of marginalization and change in the Global South. Alternative development is concerned with identifying and promoting alternative practices and redefining the goals of development. The book takes as its starting point the history of alternative ideas of development by engaging with the work of Professor Ragnhild Lund from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, whose involvement in development geography spans four decades. Ragnhild Lund's career has balanced academic life with activism and policy work. The essays in the book honour her work by engaging with founding themes of alternative development such as local knowledges and practices, poverty, gender, environment and sustainable development, and by addressing recent debates such as forced migration, conflict and climate change. The themes of the book speak to academics, students of development studies, policy makers and activists in the Global South and North.

Development is a dynamic and fast moving concept and reality, and attaching the word 'alternative' to development must recognize this. Constant reappraisals occur of ideas, debates and policy. Alternative development questions who the producers of development knowledges and practices are, and aims at decentring development and geographical knowledge from the Anglo-American centre and the Global North. It involves resistance to dominant political-economic processes in order to understand the possibilities for nonexploitative and just forms of development (Watts 2003). 'Alternative' is frequently applied when we represent the marginal in a range of arenas – political, spatial, economic and environmental – and when we talk to and about the marginalized, i.e. individuals and groups

whose voices are not heard, whose lives are deprived of basic needs and basic rights, and whose access to decision-makers is often restricted. In this book, we understand 'alternative' as writing and working with alternative agents, applying alternative methods and formulating alternative objectives to mainstream development. However, rather than understanding 'alternative' in a binary relationship to mainstream, we find that alternative approaches should centre on a moral and political purpose that challenges the status quo leading to marginalization.

Alternative development has justice as one of its central themes. Distributive justice (the distribution of 'goods' and 'bads') is a principal theme together with procedural justice, whereby people have the right to be included in knowledge creation and decision-making concerning the social and physical environment in which they live. Participatory forums, citizens' associations, freedom of association and of the press, and transparency in decision-making are some of the enabling means by which procedural justice is served (Agyeman et al. 2003, Leach et al. 2010). Procedural justice also encompasses the research process and demands continuous introspection and discussion with research partners. Distributive justice and procedural justice, although analytically distinct, are inextricably linked since the former can only be achieved by the latter. Sen (2000) highlights how society may grant to individuals the capacity for taking part in creating their own livelihoods and securing basic needs of good health and physical security (all aspects of distributive justice) by means of governing their own affairs and participation in these processes (procedural justice). Two crosscutting approaches to distributional and procedural justice can be identified in the contributions to this volume. These are, first, a rights-based approach (for example, rights to human dignity, choice of identity and reasonable standard of living) and, second, the Benthamite principle of 'the greatest good for the greatest number' (see Agyeman et al. 2003 and Schofield 2006 for an extended discussion).

Marginalization means exclusion from resources, decision-making and rights. Justice and moral claims of the disempowered have been at the centre of alternative development throughout its shifting themes and agendas, and are means of addressing marginalization and voicing change. To highlight this focus, the book addresses the foundational and early themes and objectives of alternative development as well as identifying more recent themes. Researchers pursuing alternative development have been instrumental in theorizing and analyzing the growing importance and role of civil society. They have also been instrumental in providing an understanding of the importance of environmental concerns and sustainability as opposed to narrowly defined 'economistic' objectives of economic growth, and as opposed to some of the mainstream development thinking of the Bretton Woods institutions. Our starting point is to understand development processes from the perspective of people's everyday lives by way of documenting and discussing how people and local communities help shape development themselves.

Mainstreaming Alternative Development?

The key notions of alternative development are 'social practice', 'participation' and 'empowerment' within the overarching concept of justice. According to Friedmann (1992) in his influential book, *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*, social practice can be seen to take place in four overlapping domains: the state, civil society, the corporate economy and the political community. Friedmann identifies a historical process of systematic disempowerment through the exclusion of a large part of the world's population from economic and political power. In opposition to mainstream development, critical development studies have focused on postcolonial and other marginal societies. However, marginalization is constantly constructed and reconstructed through time and takes different paths in different cultural contexts, as Lund's work exemplifies. It is a truism that the experience of marginalization varies across time and space, and that the Global South (and the Global

North, for that matter) is not a homogenous entity, implying that we in this book must introduce the themes in their full historical and cultural context. The format of this book – seventeen accounts of different situations of marginalization, agency and struggle – is particularly well suited to illustrate the great variety of culturally and historically constituted circumstances in which marginalized people find themselves. Agyei-Mensah and Wrigley-Asante (2013), for example, explore in the present volume the relationship between different political ideologies and how these have had an impact on different facets of development over time. In this context, we show how alternative development implies a striving for social justice and involves empowerment through the exercise of agency by subjects across different geographical scales and in different locations. The book's contributors come from geography and cognate disciplines and include academics from institutions in the Global South and Global North – although the main body of their research discussed in this book is situated in the Global South.

Alternative development might be claimed to be a success as some of its defining principles and discussions have become mainstream – at least on paper and in many cases as an explicit political aim. For example, key concepts and themes such as participation, empowerment and gender have all been adopted as part of the vocabulary of development actors in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as in national development plans such as the *Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers* (IMF 2012). Indeed, so well-entrenched has participation become in development discourse and practice that a book titled *Participation: the New Tyranny?* (Cooke and Kothari 2001a) more than ten years ago reflected upon the unwarranted exercise of power by policy-makers, multilateral and bilateral aid agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the name of 'participation' and on the ways in which participation has been co-opted by special interest groups. One of the contributors writes (Francis 2001: 87):

> In a hall of mirrors, anything may seem true, even the slur that the price of admission for a new profession has been its collusion in the manufacture of a collective dream of participation and community, behind the screen of which the levers of business remain quite intact.

Nederveen Pieterse (2010) has acknowledged the well-established arrival of alternative development in terms of ideas and rhetoric, and has labelled it 'mainstream alternative development' (MAD). An implication of MAD is a shared language and understanding of a changeable, governable world in which actors at all levels are included. However, as the quotation above suggests, such shared language can often be a fig leaf for business as usual, whereby participation, empowerment and gender are tokens rather than realizable concepts and processes for achieving justice. Despite MAD, counterrevolutions continue to take place within development studies and global politics, and indicate the continuing necessity for alternative development to address new issues and face new challenges. Reactions against the mainstreaming of key (principally economic) concepts have, for example, resulted in a call for putting politics and political aims back into development through more radical forms of participation, feminism and environmental movements (Blaikie 2000, Hickey and Mohan 2004, Cornwall et al. 2007). As a result, core concepts in alternative development are proving to be dynamic, constantly critical and reforming from within.

Thinking Critically about Development and Marginalization

To honour the work of Ragnhild Lund, the contributions to this book all speak to the book's theme of 'unravelling marginalization, voicing change'. The essays address and contest the shifting mainstream development thinking within their respective themes. The book aims to make voices heard in various ways. First, the chapters analyze and discuss ways in which people act upon marginalization through activism, and more informal and invisible resistance, and how they become aware of and articulate the injustice of their circumstances. Second, the chapters analyze the realities of local communities and to what extent people's voices may be

heard in various development projects and situations. Third, the book discusses relationships between local knowledge, scientific knowledge and policy work.

We understand critical scholarship as a way of questioning the platitudes and myths of society, such as the adoption of the language of alternative development without the accompanying understandings of power. Thinking and researching development critically aims to challenge exploitation and demand just social change (Walzer 2002, Blomley 2007). When ideas become mainstream, they are heard but at the same time tend to be taken for granted, and in many cases co-opted or deployed discursively for political purposes that may be contrary to those of alternative development. The contributors to this book critically examine these taken-for-granted understandings of development and challenge the ways in which ideas and practices of development take place and the role of research in such processes. Lein (2013) and Resurreccion (2013), for example, show in different ways in the present volume how there is a need to unpack and interrogate the taken-for-granted knowledges on the relationship between environmental change, climate change and migration. Skotte (2013) questions the ways in which we make categories and structures in order to make sense of our lives. He scrutinizes how we disseminate this knowledge through teaching in universities. He suggests that linking society to teaching, in his case within architectural education, could help unsettle the established knowledge.

Critical scholarship concerns how we do development research. Michael Walzer (2002) discusses the critical researcher's closeness to the field and to the people with whom the researcher produces and coproduces research knowledge. When researching development from an alternative perspective, particularly through ethnographic research on which most of the material in this book is based, we come close to our research subjects by living with them and listening to their stories. The most critical researchers are, in Walzer's view, those who are close – 'only an inch away' – meaning those who are committed to the society whose

policies or practices they call into question (see also Lund 2012). However, the practices of engagement with other societies through research may themselves also come under critical scrutiny. Robbins (2006), for example, explores the concept of research as theft – as an unwarranted accumulation of knowledge about the subjects of research for purposes of academic publication and the compilation of reports for international organizations in far off capital cities rather than as commitment to the subjects' political cause.

To trace the history of alternative development as well as explore the innovations in this field, we need to consider its legacy and foundational themes and how these have developed and expanded to include more recent discussions. Here, we consider the field of alternative development research focusing on local communities and participation, poverty, gender and the environment, and extend our discussion to new areas such as globalization, rights-based approaches, conflict, forced migration and climate change. We also address the ways in which feminism, postcolonialism and postdevelopment have shaped the current development discourse. We discuss how understandings of participation and agency have changed over time, as well as the influence of globalization on the alternative development discourse and how these developments have resulted in new discussions of the responsibilities and ethics of development studies and development practice.

Unpacking Development through Feminism and Postcolonialism

The notion of development, largely created in the Global North, has been challenged within development studies and development practice both in the academy in the South and in the North. From a broader and more radical viewpoint, there has grown a deeply pessimistic view of development, particularly of mainstream development. Thus having anything to do with development at all is seen in some quarters as leading to 'contamination' and doing harm rather than good (e.g. Sachs 1992, Blaut 1993, Escobar 1995). What Booth (1985) defined as an 'impasse in development' came from increasing realization that development in the South

had failed. This was accompanied more generally by the critique raised in social sciences, particularly from feminism, postcolonialism, and poststructuralism.

Contributions to this book show that the past thirty years of feminist engagement with development have contributed to the definition of alternative development as a distinct and pluralist field of inquiry and practice (e.g. Attanapola 2013, Eide 2013, Hyndman 2013). Together with postcolonial perspectives, feminism has helped to transform methodologies and theories of alternative development. Emerging in the 1970s, feminist responses to the marginalization of women have largely been formulated within different approaches termed 'women in development' (WID), 'women and development' (WAD) and 'gender in development' (GAD). These frameworks are discussed, elaborated upon and used extensively in the literature (Visvananthan et al. 1997, McIlwaine and Datta 2003), and in this book (e.g. Attanapola 2013). Feminist scholarship has developed increasingly critical stances on the development process and knowledge production. A seminal contribution was Chandra Talpade Mohanty's 'Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses' (1988), where she provides a critique of the hegemony of Western feminism, presented as universalism, and simultaneously points to the uneven power relations between Western women and Third World women. By analyzing the ethnocentrism of development theories and particularly the objectification of Third World women, the article stands as a symbol of some of the major development critiques that have emerged under the headings of feminism and postcolonialism. An example of this inspiration is found in Hyndman's chapter (2013).

Scholars from the South had a critical role in shaping contemporary feminism and development studies through critiques based on postcolonialism with a view 'to compel a radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination' (Prakash 1994: 1475). In this context, postcolonial perspectives may mean both the theorization of the period after formal colonization came to an end and a

methodology to interrogate the colonial logics and practices of Euro-American hegemony both historically and contemporarily (Robbins 2006). Postcolonial approaches speak to the violence towards and the marginalization and exclusion of postcolonial subjects and knowledges, and analyze the complexities of development paradigms and geographies (Radcliffe 2005). The postcolonial critique has led us to rethink the way knowledge is produced and the way we practice geography and development studies (e.g. Blunt and Wills 2000, Radcliffe 2005). A postcolonial lens has enabled the destabilization of key assumptions and mainstream thinking within development thinking by 'provincializing' Europe and decolonizing the discourses and practices of development (Chakrabarty 2000, Robinson 2003, Brun and Jazeel 2009). Consequently, the postcolonial lens also enabled a critique of the power relations in development practice, and questioned whose voices and understandings counted and how development scholarship could represent these voices. What has been termed 'the crisis of representation' led to an impasse in development research, and fieldwork was abandoned by some researchers in favour of textual analyses (Nagar 2002). Raju (2002: 174) describes this impasse as an 'apology' by the researchers for their inability to represent their research subjects adequately. An important tension then arises between the need to develop empirically based research and the need to protect vulnerable populations from possible exploitation or harm (Leaning 2001, Robbins 2006).

The radical critique of development thinking and practice resulted in the promotion of 'postdevelopment' with the suggestion that engagements with the Global South needed to take place *outside* the development paradigm altogether. Development was rejected because it did not work, was a westernization project and was understood to bring environmental destruction (Sachs 1992, Blaut 1993, Escobar 1995, Peet and Hartwick 2009, Nederveen Pietersee 2010). Postdevelopment finds much common ground with Western critiques of modernity and technoscientific progress. According to Nederveen Pietersee (2010), it

parallels alternative development, but stands outside and distances itself from development because development never releases itself from colonial discourses. The dominance of the giver is always present and as a consequence embodies geopolitics in that its origins are bound up with Western power and strategy for the Third World, enacted and implemented through Third World elites (Sidaway 2008: 16). Mainstream development thinking has been substantially refigured in recent years because of this critique. Notions of agency and locally situated practices, identities and knowledges have been retheorized, as we show in the following.

Interrogating Agency – New Forms of Participation

Key notions in alternative development are social practice, participation and empowerment with the overarching goals of distributional and procedural justice. At the heart of these notions lies the understanding of 'agency'. Contributors to this book analyze and question notions of agency. Agency in this context means people's capacity to make choices and pursue their own goals. It is their ability to act upon forces that restrict their choices. Marginalized subjects tend to be discursively constituted as paradigmatic victims symbolizing inequality, poverty, passivity and helplessness (Chua et al. 2000). They are subjects acted upon rather than acting subjects (Lubkemann 2008). Since Robert Chambers' (1983, 1994) discussion of participatory approaches, the notion of participation has become more nuanced and problematized. The various discussions of agency in this book are inspired by the critique of participation that originates from Cooke and Kothari's (2001a) book showing the ways in which participation has become a taken-for-granted concept and lost its original meaning of 'making "people" central to development by encouraging beneficiary involvement in interventions that affect them and over which they previously had limited control or influence' (Cooke and Kothari 2001b: 5). The critique shows how participation can become a means through which aid projects become more efficient and effective in achieving their aims

rather than participation being seen as an end in itself (Cleaver 2001). Cleaver (2001) shows how, despite theoretical discussions on the relationship between agency and structure in books such as *Battlefields of Knowledge* (Long and Long 1992), participation had travelled into mainstream development without the theoretical ideas that problematized its meaning and use. Here it is important to understand the policy process through which notions of participation, and the practices that were designed to facilitate it, have to pass. There are two examples in the present book. The first is an account by Eide (2013) of the challenges and opportunities in implementing an international consensus on women in development. The second is by Blaikie (2013) on how best to navigate policy away from a normalizing, top-down and state-dominated process towards a more participatory natural resource management by emancipatory research. The critique of participatory approaches has led to a renewed focus on participation as transformative spaces of participation through notions of 'rights' and 'citizenship' (Hickey and Mohan 2004). The current participatory approaches in alternative geographies of development are clearly inspired by these recent debates (Cooke and Kothari 2001a, Cornwall 2002 a, b, Hickey and Mohan 2005, Mohan 2008, Refstie and Brun 2012). We ask how participatory approaches more effectively may produce spaces where citizens can make their voices heard and hold their authorities accountable. Specific and practical measures to facilitate participation in more than name include a wide variety of practical means, including the creation of open access citizens' forums, activist meetings to increase awareness of rights and responsibilities, training (particularly of women) to run meetings (and to resist attempts to recover control by dominant males), promotion of issues of justice through local radio and newspapers, and training in bookkeeping (see Aitken et al. 2013 in this volume).

Contributions to this book make visible the various dimensions and foundations for understanding agency. We discuss the transformative potential of agency (Azmi 2013) and

conceptualize agency through coping capacity (Kusakabe 2013). Our taken-for-granted notions of agency and power are deconstructed in the chapter by Vågenes (2013), where indirect and informal powers, bargaining tactics and strategic manoeuvres among Hadendowa women in Sudan are analyzed to show the importance of cultural and symbolic capital. From our position in alternative development studies, we argue for the continued importance of participation as a form of agency that is by its nature political and politicized, and whereby agents of the state and citizens interact in new ways (Cornwall 2002b). However, we caution against a new tyranny, whereby agency is essentialized and unquestioned in a 'triumphalist version of agency' (Assad 2000: 27, Shanmugaratnam et al. 2003, Brun and Lund 2013). Resurreccion (2013) shows how this essentializing of agency through, for example, focusing on how women are capable of adapting to climate change may also naturalize and reinforce unequal gender divisions of labour when translated into policy and thus add new burdens to women rather than empowerment.

Many of the contexts and processes analyzed in this book relate to people living with insecurities and adversities. People struggle to get through their everyday lives, although subject to conflicts, disasters, poverty and marginalization. Their voices are not heard, and they are made invisible by the state and other powerful actors. How can we conceptualize agency in such restricted contexts? Would there still be a possibility of transformative spaces of participation, including the seemingly mundane and practical measures suggested above? The authors in this book reflect on the limits of agency and take a critical approach by not taking agency for granted, but rather discuss the various ways in which agency may be played out on the ground under pressure and in very restrictive environments. Agency is understood in relation to individual experiences and more widely in relation to how people and local communities mobilize to create change. We show that these processes are always multiscalar and involve extralocal actors and processes. We need to understand the limitations of agency

and the ways in which people living in adverse circumstances may, for example, choose passivity as their strategy (see also Scott 1985)

A Grounded Approach to Globalization: Multiple Scales of Rights, Flows and Power Relations

While the foundational alternative development writing tended to concentrate on local – and often relatively immobile – communities, the past thirty years of scholarship have seen increased focus on movements, flows and transnational relations between local and higher geographical scales. Similarly, globalization tended to be characterized as a solely top-down process in which states and international organizations play a more important role than individuals and communities, but scholarship has shown that globalization is far from a universal experience and process. Many of the chapters in this book engage with globalization and its multiple connotations from the perspective of individuals, and local and imagined communities who shape and are shaped by globalization. Viewed from a local perspective, the agency of various actors makes their experience of globalization a reflexive one whereby globalizing processes at higher scales shape but are also shaped by local agency. Thus, in the context of alternative development, we consider globalization as a contingent and constructed discourse formed out of the specificities of the people and places involved in shaping globalization processes (Brun 2005). A number of authors have called for a reconceptualization of globalization to pay attention to the role of place and local knowledges in order to overcome the dichotomizing debate of the local versus the global (e.g. Lie and Lund 1995,[1] 2010, Escobar 2001). An example in the present volume illustrating this well is

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[1] Also: Lund, R. 'Mobile livelihoods and gendered citizenship: A study of indigenous people in India, Laos and China.' Presentation at Gendering Asia Network workshop. Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen 8–11 November 2010.

by Aitken et al. (2013) on the negotiation of local and international values in a nature reserve in China. Agyei-Mensah and Wrigley-Asante (2013) provide examples of how global and local forces interact to shape the socioeconomic and urban landscape. Similarly, Owusu (2013) directs us to the need to understand the global by analyzing the local. A helpful perspective that we draw on in this book is the 'grounded feminist approach to globalization' of Nagar et al. (2001) that starts from the lives of a variety of people with diverse relationships to globalization. A grounded feminist approach to globalization should explore the range of social locations (gender, class, ethnicity, race and sexuality) that refract globalization processes and the multiple ways in which globalization is lived, created, accommodated and acted upon in different historical and geographical settings. To ground globalization through analysis of empirical data would mean to trace for each process the socially embedded mechanisms through which it may generate material outcomes in a given context (Brun 2005, Attanapola 2013). Each of the constructs of gender, class and ethnicity signifies specific types of power relations produced and exercised in and through a myriad of economic, political and cultural practices (Brah 1996, Hyndman 2013).

Tracing the links and outcomes of globalization at the local level usually encounters the need for an analysis of the state. Gatekeepers at the state level may be in a position to shape the way in which international capital seizes opportunities for investment and is able to profit from joint ventures or by making large informal payments to gain access to labour, raw materials, building sites for manufacture, port facilities and preferential treatment for investment companies regarding taxation. In the present volume, Kusakabe (2013) compares the Veddhas in Sri Lanka and women fish traders on the Thai–Cambodian border, and stresses the very different relations they have with the state in terms of restrictions and opportunities. Vandsemb (2013) and Azmi (2013) trace the national and local impacts of national policy regarding national identity, gender and displacement in a situation of prolonged civil war in

Sri Lanka. Common to these contributions is the way in which the state is shaped and acted upon by actors at both lower and higher scales, such as migrants, the displaced, traders, international development actors and financial institutions.

In their influential book, *Transnationalism from Below*, Smith and Guarnizo (1998) locate transnationalism in the local resistances of the informal economy, ethnic nationalism and grassroots activism. Transnationalism from above, such as transnational capital, global media, supranational political institutions and neoliberal market reforms – also enables and energizes transnationalism from below, such as transnational migration, international labour unions and rights movements. However, as a parallel to our discussion of agency and as the chapters in this book show (e.g. Attanapola 2013 and Panda 2013), Smith and Guarnizo (1998) caution against considering transnational spaces as only emancipatory. An important point is that transnationalism is a multifaceted, multilocal process. In this book, we aim to understand how local and global processes are affected by and affect power relations and possibilities for empowerment.

Alternative development has been criticized for being too localized, too little concerned with global process and consequently having little transformative potential in an increasingly global and transnational reality. However, as the chapters show, global flows and transnational connections must be understood in a grounded approach to globalization. Fløysand and Barton (2013) provide an example. Their contribution critically examines to what extent foreign direct investment (FDI) can provide a potential for local economic development and poverty reduction. As a whole, the book helps to unpack the realities of alternative development by placing under critical scrutiny actors in the four overlapping domains identified by Friedman (1992): the state, the civil society, the corporate economy and the political community.

Development Futures: The Continued Importance of Alternative Development

Alternative development may be seen to have its origin in the early 1970s. The contributions to this book show that despite shifting contexts, changing geopolitics and a very different development agenda, alternative development has continued relevance for securing a continued focus on justice. Alternative development as ways of formulating alternative visions and finding alternative paths is in this book framed within the question of how participatory forms of governance can be integrated in wider projects of redistributive politics and social justice (Hickey and Mohan 2005). We show this by bringing into the discussion the recent influences of feminism, postcolonial scholarship and the increasingly nuanced conceptualizations of agency.

Three sets of challenges and possibilities for alternative development are discussed in the following. First, there is a new multipolarity of actors involved in development. Second, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UN 2003), which were formulated to be reached by 2015 and have to a large extent shaped the development agenda since 2000, are under scrutiny and new development agendas are being discussed. Third, new spaces for development have become increasingly important.

The first dimension, multipolarity, requires a realization that the Western development agenda and its dominance since the end of the Second World War is now under pressure. Many new actors, such as the emerging economies of China and India, together with private actors, play an increasing role in development assistance and often with less stringent conditionalities and less emphasis on human rights (Tull 2006, Gu et al. 2008). More importantly, we do not know exactly how this shift will affect the support to civil society and community organizations that have been considered keys to alternative development. We find there is a need to maintain a focus on actors that help to voice change and enable participation of marginalized groups. Therefore, we believe alternative development perspectives are still relevant for securing civil society actors a role in just social change.

Second, there are possible shifts following the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals. Some of the MDGs may be reached by 2015, but extreme poverty and marginalization will remain. The next step after 2015 is not clear. How should development goals be renewed? How can we ensure a continued emphasis on distributive justice and empowerment in this process? As the financial crisis has unfolded in the world since 2008, we can identify important discrepancies in the economic status of states and increasing differences and inequalities within countries across the world (Evans 2011). How should new development goals be formulated? Can we find ways in which to institutionalize the politics of redistributive justice?

The third dimension, new spaces of development policies and practice, can be identified in multiple ways. Globalization provides new possibilities for making new alliances, new collaborations and new constellations of researchers, activists, policy-makers and practitioners. It will be increasingly important to maintain alternative notions of development and influence changing development agendas as they evolve in local and global contexts. In the spirit of Ragnhild Lund's work and life, many authors in this book represent long-standing collaborations between actors in the Global North and South that enable a renewed focus on difference and antiuniversalism, and a common stance against ethnocentrism and objectification of marginal subjects. Collaborative research enables relations to develop between researchers and development workers, policy-makers, activists and community groups with a common aim to voice change and achieve distributive justice. While collaborative approaches across boundaries represent a new space for alternative development, we find equally important the new spaces in which alternative development research have taken us in this book. We consider, for example, border areas, everyday politics, transnational spaces, warscapes and spaces of difference – spaces that together provide a more nuanced understanding of the possibilities and continued relevance of

alternative development. The chapters exemplify how social change can be conceptualized and how alternative development will continue to be relevant by unravelling marginalization and voicing change.

A Summary of the Chapters

This book reflects on the ways in which alternative development thinking and practice continue to be relevant. The notion of co-constitution of identity as a historically shaped and situated process, constantly being negotiated and renegotiated, and specific in time and space, was one of the key ideas that shaped Ragnhild Lund's discussion of alternative development theory. This would be a place-based, people-centred perspective in a development theory that focuses on gender, social movements and ecology. Such a theory of alternative development would be locally situated, culturally constructed and socially organized. Lund's work deals with local knowledges and practices, poverty, gender, environment and sustainable development, and addresses more specific debates such as forced migration, conflict and climate change. It is clear that this runs counter to much that goes for 'development studies' and mainstream development practice (Corbridge 2008), and this tension is examined in some of the chapters in this book, which we now describe.

After the introduction, Section 1 of the book is titled 'Knowledge, Policy and Practices of Development' and introduces various ways in which theory may be put into practice. This section examines the questions of how calls for alternative development are heard (or not heard), how ideas and practices move from one scale to another, and how they are turned into practice. In alternative development thinking, we need to ask the question: 'knowledge for whom and knowledge for what?' (Burawoy 2004). Blaikie (2013) outlines in his chapter challenges to policy reform in directions indicated by alternative development and questions the assumed unproblematic link between theory and practice, along the lines of 'truth speaks to power' (Wildavsky 1979), and between new research knowledge and policy

implementation. He discusses what it means to conduct useful participatory and engaged research in natural resource management research. Skotte (2013) addresses in his chapter similar issues in the teaching and practice of architecture in the Global South. He argues for the 'humanizing' of architecture, whereby the knowledge of the people who will be the future users of the buildings designed by architects may have a leading role in building design and construction. Skotte illustrates the tensions between the academic and the practical, and the way in which the former may fail to understand local agency and locally useful knowledge production. In the next chapter, Fløysand and Barton (2013) discuss the dynamics between FDI, regional development and poverty in Chile and how marginal actors may press claims for poverty reduction. By considering different scales, it is possible to understand how poverty affects people's access to institutions and services. At the local level, Owusu (2013) discusses access to housing in Ghana by examining the relationship between people in poor residential areas, the state and global governance. In the final chapter of this section, Eide (2013) writes on her experiences from working in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and discusses the 1985 UN Women's Conference and the ways gender was operationalized in development as a result. She exposes the difficulties of engaging a large international bureaucracy in improving the status and life chances of women in development. Here, activism and radical calls for alternative development meet instrumentalism, bureaucratic procedures and engrained gender biases. Together the papers in Section 1 suggest two central issues in alternative development. The first is that the study of poverty and deprivation needs to take a multiscalar and contextual approach in order to understand marginalization. The second issue concerns the challenges of turning complex, situated, socially constructed and culturally specific issues into policy at different levels. These are crosscutting issues in the following sections of the book.

In Section 2, titled 'Alternative Geographies of Gender and Development', the contributions focus on local knowledge, and the organization and transformation of societies in terms of gender, globalization and development. Together the chapters show the importance of understanding the local context, local knowledge, identities and power relations as a basis for alternative development but at the same suggest ways of understanding the multiscalarity of gender, identity and power in development. The contributions give a sense of how alternative geographies of development enable the unpacking of some of the taken-for-granted assumptions we use when studying particular societies and places. In her chapter, Vågenes (2013) critically analyzes gender culture in the highly gender-segregated society of the Red Sea Hills in Sudan. She shows how what from the outside, with Western eyes, may be understood as female subordination may in fact represent women's control and influence over their lives. Agyei-Mensah and Asante (2013) pay particular attention to gender, globalization and politics by bringing in different temporal and spatial scales when analyzing the history of Accra, Ghana, and its transformation. In this chapter particularly, the reflexive relationship between the global and the local is central. This resonates with earlier work by Lund and her colleague Merethe Lie (Lie and Lund 1995, 2010), who analyze the interplay between actors at global, local and individual levels. Their work has been influential for understanding how a gendered division of labour operates in the global division of labour and how the globalization of industries has created social change locally as well as contributed to the globalization processes. Gender must be understood as one of the core dimensions of alternative development. Attanapola's chapter (2013) on an export processing zone in Sri Lanka analyzes how knowledge of rights may increase the demand for accountability by responsible institutions and actors, such as the state and global industry. She considers the role of women's agency and empowerment in responses to rights violations. Also based on women's struggle for social justice in Sri Lanka, Hyndman (2013) argues in her chapter that a

feminist analysis of conflict and development must incorporate multiple bases of identity and social relations. She suggests that there is need to move on from gender and development to incorporate other dimensions of identity than gender in order to trace how 'geometries of oppression' (Valentine 2007) affect how identity is created, by whom and when.

Section 3 is titled 'Human–environment Relations, Environmental Discourses and Development'. Together with gender, human–environment relations constitute one of the founding themes of alternative development, placing emphasis on places and the human and environmental contexts where development takes place, and the encounters of multiple actors in those places. The four chapters in this section discuss the relations of different actors and stakeholders to their environment. The chapters engage with the key themes of the book by addressing issues such as local practices and knowledge, and the meaning of nature in specific contexts, rights of access to resources and grassroots mobilization, environmental justice and global activism, and questioning the taken-for-granted relationship between environment and social change. An important common denominator in the work of Lund and her colleagues (Lund 1993, Brun and Lund 2008, Owusu and Lund 2008) and the chapters of this book is that place is understood as local articulations of social relations (Massey 1994). People's struggle for rights, access to resources and inclusion in development processes are understood as multiscalar, network-oriented strategies of localization (Escobar 2001). The chapter by Aitken et al. (2013) applies a place- and people-centred perspective related to feminist and poststructural development theories in Fanjingshan Reserve, China. They analyze a participatory mapping project to make visible the resource-use relations between local farmers and an endangered snub-nose monkey species. Panda (2013) shows in her chapter how tensions emerge between local communities and industry. She uses a rights-based approach to reflect more broadly on how rights may be used as a vehicle to mobilize for change on the part of tribal women in Odisha, India, by engaging with mining companies, which, with the

connivance of the state and local state, have threatened women's livelihoods and tribal identity. In this chapter, access to and control over local resources and the multiple actors involved are key dimensions for understanding the dynamics between local resources and environment. The chapters by Aitken et al. and Panda help to provide an understanding of ways in which alternative geographies contribute to make visible the complex human–environment relations involved in social change. The chapters of this section together show how alternative development thinking is crucial for critically assessing established and emerging discourses. A prominent theme within and outside development studies in recent years is climate change. Two innovative chapters on climate change and development have been included. Lein (2013) unpacks the notion of 'climate refugees' and analyzes the relationship between climate change and migration. Resurreccion (2013) addresses the relationship between climate change and migration from a gender perspective. She questions the attitudes of women cast as victims of climate change. Both these papers critically examine the way categories are formed in development studies and in research on climate change. The chapters crtique the politics of knowledge that lead to stereotyping and ignore social complexities.

Alternative development concerns the margins of society and the margins of knowledge. Section 4, 'On the Margins: Conflict, Migration and Development', addresses the notion of agency in situations of conflict and forced migration. The chapters follow the work of Lund and colleagues (e.g. Lund 2003, Lie and Lund 2005, Lund and Agyei-Mensah 2008) in questioning the notion of passive victims, while acknowledging that passivity may also be a strategy in an emergency or a protracted situation of displacement (Shanmugaratnam et al. 2003). The chapters show in various ways how people survive and manoeuvre in landscapes of conflict and not least how boundaries between communities and countries are challenged in such situations. Armed conflict has only recently become part of development studies. Few

textbooks in development studies are yet addressing the issue. A key reference to the link between conflict and development is Collier et al.'s book, *Breaking the Conflict Trap* (2003). However, their book is based on statistics at country level and does not include understandings of the local context in which conflict and marginalization takes place. This section therefore fills a gap by introducing local understandings to the dynamics and impacts of conflict – an alternative geography of conflict, forced migration and development that considers the ways in which people on the margins (both socially and geographically) manoeuvre in the oppressive power relations that are formed in conflict settings. Azmi (2013) shows in her chapter the agency of internally displaced women in establishing or reestablishing their livelihoods in Sri Lanka. Kusakabe (2013) investigates the coping capacity of border fish traders affected by changing restrictions on the Thai–Cambodian border. Vandsemb (2013) considers how spontaneous frontier migration in Sri Lanka challenges the state and state policies. Finally, Brun and Lund (2013) consider how forced migration may be studied as border practices and also how in academia studies of forced migration also cross borders, both disciplinary and in addressing policy discussions and practical dilemmas

Alternative ideas of development can be explored within two differing broad approaches to histories of knowledge. The first examines the social context in which these ideas were produced. The second consists of personal histories of practitioners in the form of biographies and autobiographies and how these personal histories both reflect and affect the development of ideas. The book concludes with an autobiographical discussion of Ragnhild Lund's life and career since the mid-1970s. Penned by Michael Jones (2013), the chapter presents in her own words some of the main themes and developments in her career, which at the same time provides an example of how the field itself has developed over time. Here, from the very outset, voicing change is at the heart of the story. Lund is one of the founding

members of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). Established in 1984, DAWN is a network of feminist scholars, researchers and activists working for economic and gender justice, and sustainable and democratic development. The present book provides examples of how the combination of research, advocacy and development practices are at the core of alternative development.

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