

HSDPD-9/UNUP-11 Distribution: Limited

Programme Document

Goals, Processes, and

Indicators of Development

A Project Description

Johan Galtung



From the CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

ARTICLE I

Purposes and structure

- 1. The United Nations University shall be an international community of scholars, engaged in research, post-graduate training and dissemination of knowledge in furtherance of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In achieving its stated objectives, it shall function under the joint sponsorship of the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereinafter referred to as UNESCO), through a central programming and co-ordinating body and a network of research and post-graduate training centres and programmes located in the developed and developing countries.
- 2. The University shall devote its work to research into the pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare that are the concern of the United Nations and its agencies, with due attention to the social sciences and the humanities as well as natural sciences, pure and applied.
- 3. The research programmes of the institutions of the University shall include, among other subjects, coexistence between peoples having different cultures, languages and social systems; peaceful relations between States and the maintenance of peace and security; human rights; economic and social change and development; the environment and the proper use of resources; basic scientific research and the application of the results of science and technology in the interests of development; and universal human value related to the improvement of the quality of life.
- 4. The University shall disseminate the knowledge gained in its activities to the United Nations and its agencies, to scholars and to the public, in order to increase dynamic interaction in the world-wide community of learning and research.
 - 5. The University and all those who work in it shall

- act in accordance with the spirit of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Constitution of UNESCO and with the fundamental principles of contemporary international law.
- 6. The University shall have as a central objective of its research and training centres and programmes the continuing growth of vigorous academic and scientific communities everywhere and particularly in the developing countries, devoted to their vital needs in the fields of learning and resrarch within the framework of the aims assigned to those centres and programmes in the present Charter. It shall endeavour to alleviate the intellectual isolation of persons in such communities in the developing countries which might otherwise become a reason for their moving to developed countries.
- 7. In its post-graduate training the University shall assist scholars, especially young scholars, to participate in research in order to increase their capability to contribute to the extension, application and diffusion of knowledge. The University may also undertake the training of persons who will serve in international or national technical assistance programmes, particularly in regard to an interdisciplinary approach to the problems with which they will be called upon to deal.

ARTICLE II

Academic freedom and autonomy

1. The University shall enjoy autonomy within the framework of the United Nations. It shall also enjoy the academic freedom required for the achievement of its objectives, with particular reference to the choice of subjects and methods of research and training, the selection of persons and institutions to share in its tasks, and freedom of expression. The University shall decide freely on the use of the financial resources allocated for the execution of its functions. . . .

GOALS, PROCESSES AND INDICATORS OF DEVELOPMENT A PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Johan Galtung

THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

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I. INTRODUCTION

- 1. The purpose of this project is to contribute to new theories and practices of development. Relative to other research projects on development, the Project on Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development is characterized by the five features which are broadly outlined below.
- (i) Development is defined as development of people. It is not defined as the production of goods and services, nor as their distribution, nor as institution-building, nor as structural transformation, nor as cultural development, nor as ecological balance. All these may be necessary "social" conditions or means, but development as such is seen as "human" development, as development of people in society. This, in turn, is seen as the satisfaction and further development of basic human needs. This concept is highly problematic in itself, and a major research task will be to understand it better. In any case, "basic needs" (also referred to as "goals") will be understood to include both material and non-material needs, and so far they have been identified under the four main headings of security, welfare, identity and freedom. Needless to say, the "basic needs" approach, and particularly when expanded in the direction of basic non-material needs (something that has so far not been systematically done anywhere), has deep implications for the analysis of goals, processes and indicators of development.
- (ii) Given this perspective on development, a developed country is one which guarantees an acceptable minimum of security, welfare, identity and freedom for everyone through its specific combination of production activity, distribution, institution-building, structural transformation, cultural development—in conformity with the constraints set by nature and what we know about ecological balance. It may be argued that there is no such country existing in the world today, which means that there are no "developed" countries but only countries that are mal-developed in various ways. All countries have developmental problems, and a second major purpose of this project is to develop perspectives that make

it possible to deal with developmental problems of the various types of societies into which human beings are organized, without any assumption that some are "developed" and others are "developing". As a working hypothesis, the distinction between "underdeveloped" and "overdeveloped" countries will be used; the former being seen as countries where the means are insufficient to reach the goals (security, welfare, identity and freedom), while the latter being seen as countries where the means are more than sufficient so that they stand in the way of goal attainment. Needless to say, such exercises will be carried out cognizant of the fact that there are overdeveloped pockets in underdeveloped countries as well as underdeveloped pockets in overdeveloped countries. In fact, the use of "country" as the unit of development will be seriously questioned, and even the concept of "development" itself—possibly a latter-day expression of Western models and ideas of progress. Human fulfillment, reduction of violence, abolition of misery, reduction of alienation and abolition of repression—such goals will not be questioned but will be assumed as the guiding lights of the exercise. The purpose of the project is simply to try to understand better the conditions under which all of these goals (not one, two or three of them) can be obtained, whether referred to as development or not.

- (iii) A methodological consequence of (i) above is the development of new research methods that can build into the research process the conceptions people themselves have of their needs, of the goals of development, of processes leading to development, and how people know whether they are on the right track or not (the idea of indicators). To do this, a dialogical process will be initiated, partly with people in general ("concerned citizens") in selected project areas around the world, and partly with planners and decision-makers. Dialogues can be conducted individually or in groups, orally or in writing. A basic assumption behind the dialogues is to take people seriously, assuming that people have insight into their own situation and that some of the difficulties with the development efforts made in recent decades stem precisely from the fact that planners, decision-makers and other experts have told people what their needs are, and what the goals of development are. At the same time, there is also the assumption that planners, decision-makers and experts belong to people and can participate in this dialogue on equal terms, neither imposing their assumptions nor playing the role of servants recording expressions made by others. A researcher conducting a social survey will probably leave the exercise untouched himself, but with much data at hand; a researcher engaged in a dialogue will himself/herself be changed by that dialogue. Exposure to the real life situation of people, in a holistic, concrete framework, is very different from exposure to raw data, statistical tables and books, and will lead to new balances between the researcher and the researched.
- (iv) A methodological consequence of (ii) above, this time at a more theoretical level, is to build bridges across ongoing research about processes in "poor" and

"rich" countries, not only getting a deeper insight into how underdevelopment and overdevelopment are linked together, but also by working towards a joint theory where the main focus will be on the satisfaction of human needs. Until recently "development studies" were something carried out in the First World (and to some extent in the Second or Socialist World) on the Third World; this has now changed through the increasing number of excellent institutes of development studies whereby the Third World is developing an understanding of itself. But "future studies" have largely remained an exercise whereby researchers in the First World (and to some extent in the Second World) try to come to grips with the future of their own countries. Thus, not only has there been an artificial split in the studies of underdevelopment and overdevelopment, but there has also been a reflection of the general power asymmetry in the world, this time in the field of social sciences: the First World studies everything; the Third World, at most, studies itself. Hence, in this project, an effort will be made to arrive at a situation whereby all units in the network will be concerned with the developmental situation all over the world, and, at the same time, with their own country. However, in order to compensate for some of the asymmetries of the past, studies on the developmental problems in the First and Second worlds by researchers from the Third World will be encouraged, with the hope that this might bring some new and fresh perspective into the development dialogue.

- (v) Finally, a major aspect of the project is an "integrated approach". This is an effort to tie together research on goals, processes and indicators of development in order to avoid the old pitfalls: (idealistic) conceptions of goals, even to the point of formulating visions of desirable societies and desirable worlds without any analysis of processes leading towards or away from such goals; (bureaucratic) process analyses without any clear conceptualization of the goals, a tendency found both in liberal and Marxist research; (statistically oriented) indicator analyses which are tied neither to goals, nor to processes, but are concentrated around what is quantifiable and easily accessible.
- 2. These five features can be summarized in the following way. The characteristics of the project are a heavy emphasis on "basic human needs," material and non-material; a "concept/theory" of development that sees the human being (of course, in a social setting) as the unit of development; a methodological emphasis on "dialogues" as the way of achieving a deeper understanding of the development *problématique*; a corresponding methodological emphasis on a "network" of research units involving institutions and individuals well-versed in the global developmental *problématique* as well as specific development activities in their own setting, and with good contacts with both people and planners/decision-makers; and, finally, an "integrated approach" to the goals/ processes/indicators complex. The five terms in quotations above (i.e., needs, concept/theory, dialogue, network, and integrated approach) are the key terms to define the project. The first four will reappear in the list of 24 sub-projects in

the second section of this project description, and it is suggested that these four be seen as important enough to constitute a major focus for the activities of the initial first-year phase of the project.

II. SUB-PROJECTS AND THEIR INTERRELATION

- 3. Since the first formulation of the project, a process of operation has been initiated as the units suggested to be included in the network have become increasingly active. Most important in this connection was the first Planning Meeting in Dubrovnik, 11 to 15 April 1977, where a form of presentation of the project, in 24 sub-projects, was established. The list of sub-projects is as follows.
- (a) Goals
 - (1) Concepts of development
 - (2) Needs
 - (3) Rights
 - (4) Alternative ways of life
 - (5) Visions of desirable societies
 - (6) Visions of desirable worlds
- (b) Processes
 - (7) Theories of development
 - (8) Expansion and exploirtation processes
 - (9) Liberation and autonomy processes
 - (10) Militarization
 - (11) Processes of the UN system
 - (12) Alternative strategies and scenarios
- (c) Indicators
 - (13) Goals indicators
 - (14) Indicators of territorial systems
 - (15) Indicators of non-territorial systems
 - (16) Indicators of ecological balance
 - (17) Politics of indicators
- (d) Tools
 - (18) Dialogues
 - (19) Networks
 - (20) Semiotics

- (21) Mathematics
- (22) Forms of presentation
- (23) Methods of analysis
- (24) Interregional studies
- 4. It can be seen that in addition to the three major divisions of the project already reflected in the project title (Goals, Processes and Indicators), a fourth division, "Tools", had to be included. This is not merely a question of listing research approaches that will be used; they are also seen as research topics in their own right. The project will have contributions to make in all these fields, trying to design research tools that can make for better research instruments, not only in the study of the developmental processes, but as a part of the developmental processes.
- How does this division into four major headings, and further into 24 sub-projects, tally with the project feature "integrated approach" described in (v) of paragraph 1? There is, without doubt, a contradiction here that has to be handled with great care. On the one hand, the project has a certain unity which is not merely a verbal wish, but stems from one very important factor; the unity of human beings. If human beings are to be seen as the units of development, then that already defines a certain "integrated approach", or rather, integrated approaches, as there are many human beings, and a major emphasis of the project will be its sensitivity to this diversity, not trying to impose a developmental straitjacket on everyone. Human beings, in general, probably feel "satisfied" and "unsatisfied"; it is researchers who split these feelings into components (e.g., labelling each one a "need") without being able to put them together again. This division into needs is reflected, institutionally, in sectorial administration of societies, e.g., with one ministry for the need for food, another for the need for housing, etc. It is probably only by drawing on non-Western patterns of research that an integrated approach may be arrived at in this field.
- 6. But what about the division into sub-projects? From a research point of view it is a necessity: there has to be a definition of some loose ends where one can start unravelling the bundle of issues put together in the project formulations. What is given below, therefore, is an account of some of the intellectual processes exactly underlying this division. The intellectual underpinnings of the division into goals, processes and indicators are already in paragraph 1(v).

Goals

7. The concept of development itself is a major field of inquiry. The needs are supposed to offer one major point of departure for this exercise: a highly problematic one, as the experience so far is that the exploration of the

problems connected with "needs" leads to important and fruitful problems. However, to establish lists of needs, sensitive to differential priorities depending on where, when and who, is certainly not enough. The institutionalization of needs-satisfaction is the next logical step, and this is exactly the way in which the project will consider "rights", or perhaps—with a parallel formulation—"basic human rights". The relationship between needs and rights is one very important research focus, but it still does not obviate the difficulty of yielding a fragmented, somewhat atomized, image of the goals of development. Both the needs exercises and the rights exercises have a tendency to end with lists rather than with integrated images.

- 8. Hence, in various ways the next three subjects are all efforts to put the goals together in more holistic images. In the sub-project on alternative ways of life, the human being is still kept as the unit, but this time not as a "needs-bundle", but in terms of his or her life cycle, from birth to death. The usual approaches to the study of human society—synchronic (sociology, political science, economics) and diachronic (history)—have a tendency to leave this perspective out. Social anthropology is better at conceiving the human conditions in terms of cycles, but it also has a tendency to limit itself to annual production/consumption cycles. The synchronic perspective is too short-term and the usual diachronic persepctive is too de-individualizing. What is required is a new combination.
- 9. However, the synchronic perspective will be applied at two levels—the societal level and the global level—in the next two sub-projects dealing with alternative visions of desirable societies and worlds. There are traditions to build on in either field—the utopian tradition, and the more recent world-modelling tradition. For three of these more holistic projects, the task is about the same—to arrive at images from various parts of the world that give some visions as to viable societies and worlds where basic human needs (material and non-material) are fulfilled all the time given the respect for cultural diversity and ecological balance.

Processes

- 10. That there is a need for a sub-project on theories of development, paralleling the sub-project on concepts of development under "Goals," goes without saying. Like its twin project, there will be exercises, among others, geared to the academic tradition in the sense of studying not so much the process itself as how people think and reason about development, including scientifically trained people.
- 11. The major sub-projects under this general heading are "expansion and exploitation processes" and "liberation and autonomy processes". These two

are seen as dialectically related—one is to some extent a reaction to the other—and should preferably be studied together. At the same time, they are both seen as major aspects of contemporary history, as well as the history of the recent past and of the short-term future: some of these processes in the non-territorial system of the (international) organizations (within the organizations, and between the organizations), very many of them in the interphase between the non-territorial and territorial systems.

- 12. This way of thinking leads to the next two sub-projects under this heading. "Militarization" has been singled out for special attention because of its significance in shaping the present world, as well as because of its impact on developmental processes. This also applies to "processes of the UN system". The present author also opts strongly in favour of the eventual inclusion, of a sub-project on bureaucracy and its implications, national and international.
- 13. Finally, there is the very important sub-project on alternative strategies and scenarios which is intended to be future-oriented and action-oriented. This is the heading under which insights in the steering of developmental processes, both from above and below, will be gathered together and assembled, drawing on the insights developed from the other sub-projects. No *a priori* assumption will exclude any actors from being included in the scenarios: governments, intergovernmental organizations, international organizations, local groups, latent actors, that today only have the form of categories (e.g., the very young and the very old), linkages that so far have not been explored (directly between villages in different countries, and between producers and consumers in different countries). The task of this sub-project is to be open to a spectrum of possibilities, and not to limit consideration to a narrow spectrum of strategies and scenarios.

Indicators

14. The sub-projects under this heading follow a very simple logic. First, because the unit of development is taken to be the individual human beings, the indicators of goals of development will be indicators of how individual human beings are doing. Closely linked to this are the indicators of territorial systems, essentially being indicators of three levels of territorial organizations: the local level, the national level (so far best explored in the indicators approach), and the international level. This is the place where the indicator approach will push the work on goals and processes towards very concrete answers to such questions as: What is the meaning of local development? What is the meaning of national development? What is the meaning of development of the international system? The same questions can be asked for the organizations, particularly: What is meant by development of the non-territorial system? Moreover, all of this

presupposes that ecological constraints are taken into account; hence, indicators of ecological balance are also needed. The whole exercise is then woven together in a major sub-project, "the politics of indicators", where these social causes and consequences of the indicator approach will be explored.

Tools

- 15. The reasons for including "dialogues" and "networks" among the tools—they themselves are to be explored, not only used, since they have to be shaped in the process—have already been given. But in addition to that, considerable attention will be given to the languages, natural and artificial, used in this project. A sub-project on semiotics and one on mathematics are included. The former is to thoroughly explore the meanings of the highly emotive terms often used, such as "freedom". (Is this mainly a term meaningful only in a Western context? When translated into non-Western languages, what connotation does it carry?) The latter is not only to use mathematical tools, but also to shape mathematical tools, usually belonging to "soft mathematics" custom-tailored to the area studied. The problem of "forms of presentation" is also in this category, under the assumption that the end-product of this project will certainly not be only the usual academic output in terms of articles and books, but also forms of audiovisual presentation, pedagogical devices and, perhaps, artistic expressions.
- 16. Finally, there is a sub-project on methods of analysis as it is expected that the types of data the project will generate—in addition to qualitative data (e.g., literature) and quantitative data (statistics), there will also be the dialogue data—will present the researchers with problems of analysis for which, as yet, there are no clear canons of procedure available. And there is the idea of "interregional studies", a formulation pointing to the wish to include sub-projects whereby people from the Third World will engage in the exploration of the problems of the First World, and possibly also the Second World.
- 17. In conclusion, it should be emphasized that there is nothing final about this list of sub-projects. They represent ways of getting started. However, they are tied together in such a way that it makes good sense to start, practically speaking, everywhere at the same time, produce some first results, and then let the integration come about through a confrontation among sub-projects. To take an example: much work has already been done in the field of indicators, and one might very well continue for some time presenting a battery of innovative goals indicators before the research processes on the first two or three sub-projects have gone very far. The dialectic of the ensuing discussion will be most fruitful to the project, possibly much more fruitful than a linear process whereby one would start with the goals in order to arrive at a certain consensus before more work is done on indicators. The experience so far

is that a misleading indicator may be a more fruitful input to the research process than an adequate one, simply because it inevitably leads to so many important questions.

III. SUB-PROJECTS AND RESEARCH PLANS

- 18. In the research process that was set into motion during the first Planning Meeting in Dubrovnik from 11 to 15 April 1977, research units were invited to indicate which sub-projects they would pick, and, more particularly, what research topics they would like to investigate. At the same time, core units were selected for almost all of the sub-projects, and conceptualizations have been produced by these units for most of them. The result can be seen in the appended matrix.
- 19. One very intentional characteristic of the matrix was that each research unit should select at least three sub-projects, and each sub-project should be selected by at least three units.
- 20. An unforeseen, but also fortunate, characteristic of the matrix is that it cannot be decomposed into two parts with one set of research units specializing in one set of sub-projects and the other research units specializing in the rest. The overlap is very satisfactory, yielding a good basis for research co-operation on almost all the sub-projects among the research units concerned.
- 21. It should be pointed out that there is a distinct research policy behind this inductive "matrix approach" i.e., that research will be at its best when it grows out of the interests and concerns and capacities of the units and the researchers themselves, of course, within a common but sufficiently broad frame of reference. This differs from a centralized project with a ready-made theory and methodology to be replicated at all points in the network by being much more sensitive to local conditions and more decentralized. The classical research design is better suited to test hypotheses on a comparative basis. In this project, however, one is not so much testing hypotheses as exploring new problem formulations, and what it needed is a research network that can adequately reflect some of the diversity of the current world scene. This is also a reason why no two columns in the matrix are alike: each unit has chosen the combination it deemed most suitable.

- 22. In the next Planning Meeting to be held in Geneva from 9 to 14 January 1978, the network will push the research process significantly further by reacting to the conceptualizations prepared by the research units, the progress report, and this project description.
- 23. As it should be understood from the general philosophy of the project, this is the only possible way of interpreting (but not homogenizing) the different pieces of research done by such a variety of institutions about each sub-project. Dialogue as a process should first of all take place within the network and cannot be replaced by exchange of correspondence. Any arbitrary limitation of these dialogues will inevitably alter the dynamics of the project and force it into a vertically oriented research which, given the numbers of both sub-projects and research units of the network, might eventually end in a loose compilation of inconsistent papers.

(1) Concepts of development

- 24. The mere fact of talking about concepts of development rules out any integration of research units of the network under one single conceptual umbrella. On the other hand, the pluralism of the meaning of development should be exemplified in the following way.
- (a) With a synchronic basis (X-ray of the present state of world affairs), this sub-project will review the socialist concept of development (University of Bucharest), a type of overdevelopment experienced by some industrialized countries (University of Oslo) and the way in which development is conceived in the Third World (Indian Council of Social Science Research; ICSSR, El Colegio de Mexico, and, to some extent, Peace Research Institute Sweden; PRIS).
- (b) In a diachronic way, we shall envisage both the ways in which "development" can be qualified (appraisal of past versus present versus future situation—Polish Academy of Science Committee "Poland Year 2000") and the possibility of imagining alternative scenarios for both the industrialized world (PRIS) and the Third World (Bu-Ali Sina University, El Colegio de Mexico) with special reference to dissociative strategies (Institute of Development Studies; IUED).
- (c) In an empirical way, the different concepts of development will be confronted with what people consider to be the substance of the term both for their present and future ways of life, taking into account not only what they hope and expect, but also what they reject (Bu-Ali Sina University, University of Science Malaysia).
- 25. In addition, special attention will be given to the "concept of self-reliance"

(as a substitute for the "concept of development"?) as was indicated in the conceptualization prepared by IUED: the UN University Headquarters will investigate the different concepts of development itself, almost any concept: the Geneva Co-ordinating Unit will consider what is the cultural bias implicit in a particular concept, and what would be alternative or complementary concepts.

(2) Needs

26. The sub-project on needs, in many ways, pervades the whole project. Yet, since this concept is not without ambiguities (both theoretical and practical), it is expected that clarification and critical appraisal should come first in the research process. Some institutions, which have already devoted considerable efforts to the need question, will contribute to the "theoretical level" (IUED, World Future Studies Federation, University of Oslo. Bariloche Foundation, Poland Year 2000, Geneva Unit) as well as on the "practical level, i.e., elaboration of various sets of needs according to what people themselves have to say about it (University of Science Malaysia, ICSSR, Bu-Ali Sina University, Marga Institute, and El Colegio de Mexico). The aim is to have, within the network, a dialogue/confrontation on the insights gained on this concept, both from the "academic/scientific/psycho-social" approach and from the more grass-roots oriented perspective, reflecting the variety of possible needs expressed in different cultural contexts. As far as the satisfaction of basic human needs (considered as a process) is concerned, investigation shall be made as to what can be achieved by pursuing this strategy (Max Planck Institute). The possibility of working on the needs through the framework of international organizations will be explored by Union of International Associations; UAI. Finally there will be explorations of the possible cultural biases and historical specificities inherent in the concept of needs (all units, but particularly the Geneva Unit).

(3) Rights

- 27. Rights must be considered as not only legal, formal norms, but in relation to needs; they must also be fitted into development policies and are, therefore, subjected to evaluation (indicators).
- 28. The problem, therefore, is to know under which circumstances a basic need is likely to be considered as a basic right or an institutionalized need and how correspondences can be ascertained between the need and the right categories (University of Oslo, Bariloche Foundation, University of Ottawa, ICSSR).
- 29. At the same time, in view of the innovative methodology of the whols

project, there is a necessity to ask people themselves what they consider to be their basic rights (University of Science Malaysia, Mershon Center).

30. Finally, since the question of human rights is becoming a dominant feature of the international scene, special consideration will be given to the ways in which the problem of rights is tackled at the international level, assessing how far such procedures may eventually lead to the implementation of basic human rights (Mershon Center). In this connection, an exploration of the possible cultural biases and historical specificities inherent in the concept of rights will also be attempted (Geneva Unit).

(4) Alternative ways of life

31. One possible approach (which can be considered as a first step) to this question is to make a cost-benefit analysis of the present life-style. This study will be carried out in several countries, through a network established by Society for International Development (SID), so far approaching 15 industrialized countries. Among them are four of the research units, in addition to SID itself (University of Ottawa, Poland Year 2000, University of Oslo and Geneva Unit), all participating in the cost-benefit analysis and in the prospective analysis of what people would like to see as alternative ways of life. In addition, there will be an emphasis on how youth see the problems in one Third World country (University of Science Malaysia), villagers (Bu-Ali Sina University), the Gandhian tradition (ICSSR), and the relation of the sub-project to the entire quality of life debate (Bariloche Foundation). The Geneva Unit, in addition to co-ordination, will explore the theoretical and practical implications of using the human life cycle as a core concept in the development of development theory and practice.

(5) Visions of desirable societies

- 32. In both industrialized and underdeveloped countries changes are becoming a necessity more and more, and it has become obvious that the classical "projections" or "extrapolations" ("more of the same" ideology) constitute a rather shallow and misleading approach to the future. Before establishing "new world models", it is, therefore, important to expose the visions of desirable society which could be imagined by the different members of the network, in accordance with the key idea—respect for cultural diversity.
- 33. This sub-project will, first of all, draw upon the traditions of utopian thinking (IUED and Geneva Unit), including the Marxist reading of utopia (University of Bucharest). Secondly, it should be noted that special task forces

have been set up in many parts of the world in order to explore possible ways of "handling the future" which should also be reflected in the project (Poland Year 2000). Apart from this traditional/structural perspective, the subproject will also be tackled "from below", through dialogues, exposing the wishes of people concerning their own future (University of Science Malaysia, PRIS, Bu-Ali Sina University, University of Oslo, ICSSR, University of Papua New Guinea), and also taking account of what people definitely reject ("negative thinking", University of Sussex), and, finally, the experience of institutions which have already devoted considerable thinking to both futurology and holistic, dynamic models integrating all necessary preconditions for the implementation of the desired society (World Future Studies Federation; WFSF, Bariloche Foundation).

(6) Visions of desirable worlds

34. In opposition to the preceding sub-project (visions of desirable societies), where a great deal of input can be expected from the people themselves (since it is not too difficult for any person to imagine how one's own immediate environment can be changed in order to improve the quality of life), this topic is of a much more abstract nature and may have to be dealt with by resorting to such mathematical techniques as the theory of games (simulation, and global mathematical modelling in general). The participation of units located in different parts of the world and reflecting different ideologies and methods (Bariloche Foundation, Mershon Center, University of Bucharest, University of Oslo) will ensure a plurality of visions of desirable (and feasible) worlds, as one should avoid the terrorism of one single track of thought (be it apocalyptic/catastrophic or optimistic/Golden-Age oriented). The co-ordination of these different approaches will be one of the main tasks of the Geneva Unit, which will ensure that this sub-project takes all the insights generated under the main heading (Goals, Processes and Indicators) of the project into account. Finally, some of the ideas related to an associational world will be tested against the experience provided by the UAI.

(7) Theories of development

35. This sub-project is to be seen in relation to the discussion of concepts of development. Theories of development will be scrutinized in order to expose both what they include (e.g., overdevelopment in industrialized countries) and what they exclude ("white spots"—University of Bucharest; ecological balance—Bu-Ali Sina University). Their theoretical and axiological assumptions will be questioned (Poland Year 2000), and a general theoretical framework will be

constructed following what has already been started in the first project proposal (Geneva Unit, University of Ottawa, PRIS), linking theory with its underlying concepts of development. Finally, an interesting case study will be made, concerning the theories of development embedded in the various projects launched by the UN University Headquarters.

(8) Expansion and exploitation processes

- 36. This sub-project will be divided into:
- (a) Overall research on phases of capitalism (Max Planck Institute);
- (b) Processes in the Third World, especially on the local level (Bu-Ali Sina University); and
- (c) Processes in rich countries, especially their reaction to Third World demands (University of Ottawa and PRIS).

The Geneva Unit will attempt to integrate these aspects.

(9) Liberation and autonomy processes

- 37. This sub-project cannot be separated from the preceding one ("expansion and exploitation processes"). Yet, it might be more difficult to positively express what can be done to achieve liberation and autonomy than to criticize what is to be rejected (expansion and exploitation). Nevertheless, the variety of possible patterns of liberation/autonomy will be reflected in the experience gained by PRIS, which has done a great deal of research in that area, and first-hand information should also be made available by the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Since this sub-project should not only be considered in a "national (state)" perspective, the Geneva Unit will insure that issues such as women's liberation and age groups' (young and old) liberation will be exposed.
- 38. At this juncture, it should also be borne in mind that this double process is not unrelated to previous sub-projects, such as "concepts of development", "alternative ways of life" and "visions of desirable societies". In many ways, the insight gained in these specific researches should be considered as inputs for this particular one.

(10) Militarization

39. It is well known that militarization can be assessed either positively or negatively, depending on whether it can be considered as a "stage" of the nation-building process (as evidenced practically by Bismark and theoretically by Walter

Rostow), or as a repressive process leading towards the suppression of individual security, as a consequence of excessive structural security measures. This double view has been largely included in the conceptualizations prepared for this subproject (Hiroshima University). Furthermore, militarism should also be envisaged as a feature which is very much a part of the present world structure ("Realpolitik" in international relations—Max Planck Institute), linked with the rise of the "grands appareils" (technology, multinational corporations, etc.—Geneva Unit). Needless to say, this sub-project will be seen in conjunction with other ones, such as "rights", "visions of desirable worlds" and "exploitation/liberation processes".

(11) Processes of the UN system

- 40. As the major non-territorial actor in the present world, the UN is not only a stage where problems and conflicts can be articulated, but also a system with a structure sensitive to the changes in the territorial system of states. It has been said that the UN is most effective when it mirrors this system faithfully, otherwise it is "unrealistic". However, it may be that the UN is strongest when it is (a little) ahead of that system, in terms of decreasing control by the traditional Western powers.
- 41. A conceptualization paper of "de-westernization processes" has been prepared, and a combination of statistical studies and case studies, also using dialogues, will be attempted (UNITAR).

(12) Alternative strategies and scenarios

42. In a sense this sub-project must be seen as a sort of general conclusion to the first two parts of the project. Indeed, the only practical reason for which one should investigate both the concepts and the theories of development is to elicit new alternative strategies and scenarios, which are based on the results of the preceding sub-projects. Furthermore, since most strategies devised so far have failed, one of the possible hypotheses dealing with their failure indicates that they put too much emphasis on the changes which were expected from, and within, Third World countries. In this project we hope to explore alternative strategies, emphasizing measures to be taken in the industrialized world, certainly without excluding those which are deemed necessary in the Third World, and, above all, exploring the conditions under which changes required in the North are compatible with those which have to take place in the South, and vice versa. Alternative strategies and scenarios for the industrialized societies will be particularly studied by the University of Oslo; alternative scenarios in the Third World will be

the concern of the University of Papua New Guinea and Bu-Ali Sina University, whereas a more holistic view of these different possible changes will be elicited from the work of WFSF, the University of Sussex, Max Planck Institute and the Geneva Unit. A special perspective, related to alternative "network strategies", will be elaborated by the UAI.

(13) Goals indicators

- 43. So far, most indicators have pointed to "means", without questioning the "goals" which were implicit in these means. This sub-project must, therefore, be seen as an attempt to reverse this trend, and to imagine new indicators, including qualitative ones, which are consistent with the preceding section dealing with goals.
- 44. In the conceptualization provided by El Colegio de Mexico, emphasis is put on:
- (a) Indicators measuring the achievements as perceived by the people themselves; and
- (b) Indicators pointing at the ways in which wealth is "circulating" between the various levels of society (local, regional, national).
- 45. More theoretical work on the question of indicators will be done by the Geneva Unit (in close co-operation with UNRISD—an institute which has already done an enormous amount of research on indicators) as well as by the University of Oslo and Poland Year 2000. Finally, a case study will be made by the UN University Headquarters on the indicators used throughout the various researches and activities of the United Nations, which could provide a basis for goals indicators.

(14) Indicators of territorial systems

46. The sub-project on indicators of territorial systems is a way of finding out new sets of indicators which are departing from the traditional national entities. Thus, the necessity of discovering means of measuring changes at the local and regional levels (Mershon Center, IUED, El Colegio de Mexico). Furthermore, indicators will have to be established which could be compatible for both developed and developing countries; the problem of indicators of a qualitative nature (cf. the phrase "quality" of life, as distinct from simple welfare) will be tackled by both the University of Bucharest and Hiroshima University. Finally, conceptualizations of both inter- and intra-country indicators will be done by the University of Oslo and the Geneva Unit, drawing upon the resources of UNRISD.

(15) Indicators of non-territorial systems

47. A new kind of community has emerged, mainly over the past decades, which constitutes a non-territorial society that is playing—at least at their own specific level—a continuously increasing role. The main problem is to relate the activities of these organizations to human beings who are, more than often, the "objects" of this non-territorial system (Mershon Center). A possible way of evaluating the functioning of these various organizations will be explored by the UAI, whereas the University of Oslo and the Geneva Unit shall be concerned with the functioning and impact of international organizations.

(16) Indicators of ecological balance

48. This, in a sense, is a new field of research. Following the Stockholm Conference on Environment in 1972, measures have been taken to ensure that physical transformations should be monitored, but no practical steps have been taken so far, to take advantage of this new data to devise new indicators of ecological balance which would be related to human and social development as such. Conducted by the Geneva Unit in close contact with UNEP in Nairobi, this sub-project will draw upon the experiences already gained in this new field by some institutions (Science Centre Berlin, University of Oslo) which have already worked out some ways of establishing relations between the eco-system, human needs and "development" in general. Since indicators should be available and useful to the people themselves, indicators of ecological balance will be one of the primary tasks of the Bu-Ali Sina University which will take up the problem at the local, village level.

(17) Politics of indicators

- 49. The aim of this sub-project is not only to show that the elaboration of some sets of indicators can conceal vested interests (which, in turn, can have consequences on the question of human rights), but also to point out new indicators (including qualitative ones) which could be consistent with new concepts of development (including endogenous, self-reliant development).
- 50. Drawing on past experience in this field should be considered as a good starting point for this debate (Geneva Unit in collaboration with UNRISD). Furthermore, special attention will be devoted to the reason why some indicators have so far been "missing" or simply "forgotten" (University of Sussex), and the findings of this problem can be related and confronted with the immediate perception of local villagers (Bu-Ali Sina University). Finally, the whole question of the link between indicators and goals (tied also to the "concept of devel-

opment" sub-project) will be looked upon at both national (University of Oslo) and international (WFSF) levels.

(18) Dialogues

51. Although this sub-project on dialogues is going to be one of the main tools of the project, it is particularly difficult, at this stage, to prophesy on its achievements. The underlying assumptions of this method are that, unlike other researches carried out about people or about "basic needs", the present project should deal with people (considered as subjects) in order to let them express their own concerns and needs. This procedure will be widely used throughout the GPID project network, and although each participant should, eventually, be in a position to contribute to some kind of formalization of this new tool, some theoretical work will be done, both on the national (Science Centre Berlin, University of Bucharest) and the international (WFSF, UAI, Geneva Unit) levels. It is expected that the project could contribute, by experiencing this method, to the development of alternative ways of understanding people's circumstances and concerns which, so far, have been neglected by the sole use of traditional surveys.

(19) Networks

- 52. The use of networks is made more and more necessary in social sciences work for the following reasons:
- (a) to take cultural diversity seriously; and
- (b) to grasp the subject matter in a more holistic way.

This is why the UN University is doing pioneering work in this field, and this is also why this GPID project can be considered to be very specific in comparison with more "traditional" researches on topics akin to those described in the present paper. It should first be remembered that quite a few network units are networks in their own right (ICSSR, WFSF, UAI, PRIS, Mershon Center, Geneva Unit). In a sense this network approach could be considered as the "condition of feasibility" or the infrastructure of the dialogical method. All the participating members of the project will, therefore, have the possibility of practically evolving their own perception of networks and institutions like the University of Bucharest, UAI, the UN University Headquarters and the Geneva Unit (including some special papers prepared at the request of the network) and will do some specific research on the theory of networks. Bu-Ali Sina University, on the other hand, will work on, and practice, the establishment of networks linking people coming from different horizons (as a way of replacing vertical structure by a horizontal one).

(20) Semiotics

- 53. To instill different contepts in the same term is current practice within international bodies. In order not to be trapped by words, it is necessary to do some research on the question of semiotics by:
- (a) eliciting the cultural/historical meaning of words (IUED); and
- (b) investigating the possible "gaps" between the sign and its meaning (significant/signifié—University of Bucharest, Poland Year 2000).

It will be the specific task of the Geneva Unit to pinpoint the possible divergencies of interpretation of the same concepts within the network.

(21) Mathematics

54. As a language, mathematics has been widely used in social sciences, in particular in conjunction with development (considered as "economic growth"). Yet, the question should be asked whether mathematics is a really universal, culture-free language (Geneva Unit), and some work must be done in devising mathematical ways of constructing indicators which are able to take account of the irreversibility of time (diachronical indicators) as well as qualitative (transposed into formalized quantitative measurements?) series of data.

(22) Forms of presentation

55. Although due consideration should be given to this aspect of the work towards the final stage of the project, some reflections must be made immediately in order to ensure that its results will be understandable (and useful) to the people concerned. This *problématique* is clearly linked to the whole philosophy of this research. Forms of presentation should be discussed in view of the largest (although not homogenous) possible public (*Zielpublikum*), including people at the grass-roots level (Bu-Ali Sina University, PRIS), academic community (PRIS), and various socio-cultural groups (UN University Headquarters). Alternative means of presentation (e.g., graphs and video-cassettes) will be investigated by UAI and the Geneva Unit.

(23) Methods of analysis

56. A critical approach of methods of analysis (simulation modelling, scenario-building, extrapolation, etc.) has already been prepared by the University of Sussex and will be complemented by a critical reflection on data collection/theory formation (empiricism versus criticism versus constructivism) by the Geneva Unit and Bu-Ali Sina University.

(24) Interregional studies

- 57. This sub-project should not be seen as a topic for research but rather for experimentation. The main idea is to reverse the traditional trend of experts coming from the "North" to teach the people of the "South".
- 58. As an outcome of the whole network/dialogue/horizontal methodology, it is hoped that everyone will have a chance to study, evaluate and influence the work of everyone else.

IV. POSSIBLE PRACTICAL OUTCOMES OF THE PROJECT

- 59. A large and ramified project such as this will have implications, not all of which can possibly be predicted in advance. Some of these implications can be called "practical" in the sense that they are relevant to the world of actions, not only the world of letters. The project will produce pre-publication papers, articles, monographs and books. The question is what else it may produce and induce. Below are ten possible answers to that question.
- (i) There is nothing so practical as good theories. There is a general agreement at present, at least verbally, that the development efforts of the last decades have not been successful. Given their economistic bias, how could they succeed in practice when they did not even make it theoretically? To quote a UN University document, "they may have dealt with the wrong problems"—and only a theoretical examination can make us possibly aware of that beforehand, unless we want the costly way of accumulated practical mistakes. "Action programmes require conceptual examination". To produce theories of development is a highly practical task. There is a need for new goals for development, particularly in the context of the International Development Strategies for the 1980s and beyond. And there is a need to ty to put some of this together into more coherent shapes, all the time stressing the need for theories in plural.
- (ii) A forum for development dialogue. As the project will generate a wealth of insight, accounts of experiences, ideas, and debates, it will in itself be a forum for a development dialogue where efforts will be made to bring groups not usually in contact with each other at dialogue distance. They will also dialogue exactly about the "pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare". Hopefully, the network will do this in a way that is, in itself, a model of development.
- (iii) Concrete strategies for development. Although the project is not planned as action research, it is definitely planned as research for action in the sense that

it will aim at very concrete alternative strategies and scenarios for development, but only after thorough dialogue procedures at several levels and in many quarters have taken place. Thus, it is not merely a question of scanning literature for good ideas, but of eliciting new ideas from untapped sources of insight.

- (iv) More particularly, concretization of self-reliance. Being among the key slogans of the contemporary development debate, "self-reliance" (for both the Third World and industrialized countries and not to be confused with autarchy or self-sufficiency) is in need of clarification and deepening through practical examples of strategies tried, attempted or planned. This is of significance both at the regional, national and local evels, and it is likely that case studies produce more insight than general theories.
- (v) New planning tools. The indicators that will be developed will serve to make goals concrete, not neessarily in quantitative terms. There is general dissatisfaction with most of the indicators currently used; the project will contribute to a new generation of indicators.
- (vi) More particularly, planning tools that can be used by the people. The thermometer has done much to democratize medicine by giving to many families a simple tool whereby they can monitor some aspects of their own health. An outcome of this project should be indicators that can be used by people themselves monitoring their own development, e.g., at the local level.
- (vii) A world handbook of human and social development. There is a need for some new way of making more transparent how the world works as a social system. Particularly important here is the relation between overdevelopment and underdevelopment within and between countries. There is room for many new models, for new ways of looking at the world—as pedagogical tools and as tools that may stimulate action for development.
- (viii) A data bank. This is not a very new idea, but possibly one that can be implemented in new ways. The project cannot do the type of work a UN Statistical Commission or UNRISD can do, and it cannot aim at completeness in its data collection. However, it can serve as a storehouse for data series of various kinds generated by the project and by others, including qualitative data. All of this will, of course, be at the disposal of anyone who would like to make use of it.
- (ix) Some contributions to social science methodology. Basic in the whole approach is the choice of methods whereby people and live reality have more, and social scientists and their written sources have less, influence on the research product. Dialogues on an equal footing, as well as decentralized networks, are important tools here, to be developed further and evaluated critically as the project proceeds. It is also foreseen that in the fields of mathematics and semiotics,

some advances can be made. This is also the case with "interregional studies". Reversing the trend up to now by having people from the Third World study the industrialized countries is another typical ecample of a hitherto, practically speaking, untapped reservoir of insight—of course, not so important as to have systematic dialogues with women all over the world about food, but still of some importance.

- (x) Training courses. It is believed that the project will not only generate the type of material that will be useful for all kinds of training courses in development theory and practice, but that the research process itself will be of such a kind that it will help bridge the gap between research and teaching, the bridge being in the concept of "dialogue". More particularly, through the interlinkage with the UN University education programme, it is hoped that research and training will go hand in hand from the very early stages of the project, and not only in the obvious and conventional way of having exchanges of fellows among the research units. "Indicator-formation" would be a good topic for such training courses, emphasizing the significance of developing the skill whereby new indicators, sensitive to the purpose and the local conditions, can be developed.
- 60. Needless to say, with the exception of the last point, these outcomes cannot possibly be visible or available before the latter stages of the project.

V. RESEARCH PLANS FOR THE FIRST YEAR (1978)

- 61. As mentioned in the introduction, four themes or sub-projects have been selected for special emphasis during the initial year of the project, 1978, in accordance with the agreement voiced and recorded at the Dubrovnik Planning Meeting (see UNU/HSDP/TM-2, August 1977, paragraph 31(c) and paragraph 37).
- (a) The concept of needs (sub-project 2);
- (b) Conceptualization and initial theory-formation (the twin sub-projects 1 and 7);
- (c) Dialogue as a method (sub-project 18); and
- (d) The use of networks (sub-project 19).
- 62. Beyond this focus, the idea is to "let the matrix play", encouraging a maximum of activity in each cell of the matrix (and in each row, vertically and horizontally) along the lines indicated in this report—and in the companion set of sub-project conceptualizations.
- 63. The rationale behind this, as developed in Dubrovnik and in the introduction, is straightforward.
- (a) The concept of "needs" plays an important part in the whole conceptual framework; "goals" are formulated in terms of meeting and developing needs; "processes" are analysed in such terms; and "indicators" are, so far, seen essentially as indicators of needs-satisfaction.
- (b) The tools of "dialogue" and "network" are seen as new ways of obtaining more valid images of the social reality studied, analysed and ultimately acted upon.
- 64. A deeper insight into needs as a concept and dialogue as a tool are preconditions for any further work, and so are better concepts and theories relating to the new concepts of development underlying the entire project.

- However, a warning should be issued against any idea to the effect that these four sub-projects can somehow be completed during the first year. The logic of a research project of this kind is not linear, like a project using conventional hypothetic-deductive methodology would be. Nor is it circular; the topology is much more complex. These sub-projects will appear and reappear as other sub-projects give rise to new perspectives and feed into them, and vice versa. In a classical design, a set of hypotheses would be developed along a commonly conceived-of paradigm. Data would be collected, data-sentences would be compared with theory-sentences and the theory giving rise to the hypotheses would be supported/reformulated/rejected, according to patterns of agreement/disagreement between the two types of sentences. But this type of design presupposes that there is a paradigm, a theory, a set of hypotheses, etc., as there is in, say, neo-classical economics approaches to development. The present project represents a stage in research corresponding to the period in which that type of theory was born, a stage with much groping and searching—and our goal is to spread our network, and our conceptual nets, wide enough to be sufficiently sensitive to the perplexing complexity of these issues.
- 66. It is suggested that the first products to emerge from the project should be:
- (a) A report on the concept of "needs" and its function as one basis on which to build development concepts and theory and practice—not only reflected in literature, but with reference to how people in general conceive of their needs;
- (b) A report on initial conceptualization and theory-formation;
- (c) A report on the use of dialogues as a method, based on rich field experience as well as a critical analysis of dialogues compared to other approaches; and
- (d) A report on how the network functions—empirically, critically, constructively.
- 67. All four will be preliminary statements, but, given the crucial roles played by needs, dialogues, concepts/theories and the network itself, making these reports (which will have to be a collective work), as well as the reaction to them, will have an important steering function for the project as a whole.

APPENDIX: MATRIX OF THE SUB-PROJECTS*				E		,	tudies			
THE SOB-PROJECTS	sity	rest	8	Dar-es-Salaam	5	>	ment S	ортеп		60
RESEARCH UNITS	Inivers	Bucha	Mexic	Dar-es	ndatio	iversit	svelop	te for Devel	.	stitut
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SUB-PROJECTS	Bu-Ali Sina University (Iran)	University of Bucharest (Romania)	El Colegio de Mexico (Mexico)	University (Tanzania)	Bariloche Foundation (Argentina)	Hiroshima University (Japan)	Institute of Development Studies (Switzerland)	African Institute for Planning and Development (Senegal)	Marga Institute (Sri Lanka)	Max Planck Institute
GOALS										
(1) Concepts of development	X	Х	Х	Х	х	х	Х	Х	Х	Х
(2) Needs	х		х	Х	х		х	х	х	х
(3) Rights	х		х	х	х			Х		
(4) Alternative ways of life	х				х				Х	
(5) Visions of desirable societies	х	х			Х		х		х	
(6) Visions of desirable worlds		Х			х	х			х	
PROCESSES (7) Theories of development	х	х	х	х	x	X	X	x	х	х
(8) Expansion and exploitation processes	х			х		х	Х			х
(9) Liberation and autonomy processes				х			Х			×
(10) Militarization						х				х
(11) Processes of the UN system				х						х
(12) Alternative strategies and scenarios	х									Х
INDICATORS (13) Goals indicators			х						х	
(14) Indicators of territorial systems		х	х	х		х	X			
(15) Indicators of non-territorial systems										
(16) Indicators of ecological balance	х	х	х						7-4-1-1	X
(17) Politics of indicators	х				х	х				
TOOLS										
(18) Dialogues	x	х		x	х	х		х		x
(19) Networks	х	х	х	х		х				
(20) Semiotics		х			Х	х	Х			
(21) Mathematics		х								
(22) Forms of presentation	х					х	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		Х	
(23) Methods of analysis	х									
(24) Interregional studies										

^{*}As of December 1977. The matrix does not completely correspond to the text.

(U.S.A.)	University of Oslo (Norway)	University of Ottawa (Canada)	University of Sussex (U.K.)	University of Science Malaysia (Malaysia)	Indian Council of Social Science Research (India)	Science Centre Berlin (Fed. Rep. of Germany)	Society for International Development (Italy)	World Future Studies Federation (Italy)	Geneva Co-ordinating Unit	UNITAR	UN University Headquarters	University of Papua New Guinea (Papua New Guinea)	Peace Research Institute Sweden (Sweden)	Polish Academy of Science (Poland)	Union of International Associations (Belgium)
	х	х	х	х	х		x		х	x	х		x	x	
	х	х		X	х			х	X					х	х
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;					Х	х		х	Х		Х		х		x
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