

Sustainable Development Goals Series
Reduced Inequalities

Rahma Bourqia
Marcelo Sili *Editors*



New Paths of Development

Perspectives from the Global South

 Springer

Sustainable Development Goals Series

World leaders adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Providing in-depth knowledge, this series fosters comprehensive research on these global targets to end poverty, fight inequality and injustice, and tackle climate change.

The sustainability of our planet is currently a major concern for the global community and has been a central theme for a number of major global initiatives in recent years. Perceiving a dire need for concrete benchmarks toward sustainable development, the United Nations and world leaders formulated the targets that make up the seventeen goals. The SDGs call for action by all countries to promote prosperity while protecting Earth and its life support systems. This series on the Sustainable Development Goals aims to provide a comprehensive platform for scientific, teaching and research communities working on various global issues in the field of geography, earth sciences, environmental science, social sciences, engineering, policy, planning, and human geosciences in order to contribute knowledge towards achieving the current 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

This Series is organized into eighteen subseries: one based around each of the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals, and an eighteenth subseries, "Connecting the Goals," which serves as a home for volumes addressing multiple goals or studying the SDGs as a whole. Each subseries is guided by an expert Subseries Advisor.

Contributions are welcome from scientists, policy makers and researchers working in fields related to any of the SDGs. If you are interested in contributing to the series, please contact the Publisher: Zachary Romano [Zachary.Romano@springer.com].

More information about this series at <http://www.springer.com/series/15486>

Rahma Bourqia • Marcelo Sili
Editors

New Paths of Development

Perspectives from the Global South

 Springer

Editors

Rahma Bourqia
The Royal Academy Morocco
Rabat, Morocco

Marcelo Sili 
Director Centro de estudios para la
Acción y el Desarrollo Territorial
CONICET – Universidad Nacional del Sur
Bahía Blanca, Argentina

ISSN 2523-3084 ISSN 2523-3092 (electronic)
Sustainable Development Goals Series
ISBN 978-3-030-56095-9 ISBN 978-3-030-56096-6 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56096-6>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors, and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbstrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Foreword

As Permanent Secretary of the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco, I am happy to present this collective publication on the Geopolitics for New paths of development. This work brings together in one volume contributions from a number of scholars from several countries, called upon to advance reflection on various issues related to the development of the Global South.

The contributors represent a broad spectrum of academic perspectives and experiences in the analysis of issues related to economic development. Such exchanges of experiences and approaches among scholars and specialists have always figured high on the Academy's agenda. During the past several years, our annual sessions have focused on "Africa as a Horizon for Thought," "Latin America as a Horizon for Thought," and "Asia as a Horizon for Thought," respectively. These sessions provided opportunities for scholars and experts from all over the world to reflect on some of the pressing issues of our time, to share new research and experiences, and also to discuss possible directions toward a better future for humanity. The idea of building state-of-the-art specialist and multidisciplinary networks is a key element in the Academy's pursuit of its mission.

It is within the framework of this policy that the idea for this publication was born. The project originated in the desire to create a new network of social science scholars dedicated to a reconsideration of the entire field of development studies. It originated in discussions involving the two editors of this publication, Professors Rahma Bourqia (a member of our Academy) and Marcelo Sili (a geographer from Argentina), during the session on "Latin America as a Horizon for Thought." In order to help articulate the project, scholars from Africa, Asia, and Latin America were invited to meet in a seminar convened at the headquarters of the Academy on 22–23 November 2018 in order to deepen the reflection on the geopolitics of development. They reviewed the various research trends on development in the Global South as part of a comprehensive examination of the geopolitics of development. That seminar provided an opportunity for intense and fruitful debate and exchange on the major geopolitical, technological, environmental, socio-political, and cultural transformations underway and on the constitution of a network dedicated to reconsider the question of development of the South in a globalized context. Additional scholars have since joined the project and contribute to the significant collective intellectual effort represented in this publication.

I am sure that social science scholars and students dealing with issues of development in different universities will find in this book useful material and suggestions for further research on development and the Global South.

Abdeljalil Lahjomri
Permanent Secretary of the Academy
of the Kingdom of Morocco
Rabat, Morocco

Acknowledgments

This publication is the result of a collective effort of a group of researchers all engaged in a reflection on development in the Global South. The result of their investigations could not have been achieved without institutional and individual support we are happy to acknowledge.

We first wish to thank the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco for providing the opportunity to convene the very first meeting of the group and for inviting most of the researchers whose studies are included in this book.

Our special thanks to Permanent Secretary Abdeljalil Lahjomri for hosting the seminar at the Academy and providing necessary funding for bringing researchers to Rabat, thus making possible this collective contribution on a theme of major significance.

We also acknowledge the efforts by Dr. Bachir Tamer who organized the seminar in November 2018 and took care of all the logistics to offer participants a suitable environment for discussion and exchanges on the topic. We warmly thank him for his invaluable contribution in the supervision of the translation of some of the papers and in following through on all the stages necessary for this work to come to light.

Other individuals, too numerous to mention, have participated in one way or another in making both the symposium and the book possible. Let them find here expression of our deepest gratitude.

Contents

1 A Kaleidoscope of Ideas for Rethinking Development in the Global South	1
Rahma Bourqia and Marcelo Sili	
Part I Globalization, Dependencies and New Geopolitical Scenarios for Thinking About Development	
2 African Perspectives on Development in the Context of a Changing International System	25
Crain Soudien and Gregory Houston	
3 African Economic Autonomy and International Development Cooperation	43
Anshan Li	
4 Deindustrialization, Natural Resources, and New Developmentism: The Case of Brazil	55
Georges Gérard Flexor and Robson Dias da Silva	
5 What Can Be the Position of Africa in the Contemporary Globalisation? A Few Thoughts in the Matter	69
Alioune Sall	
Part II Critique and Renewal of Development Thinking	
6 Development Economics from the Bubble Burst to the Search for a New Paradigm. A Few Historical Milestones and Theoretical Approaches	79
Driss Guerraoui	
7 Dead-Ends of a Development Process Imposed from Above: Deconstruction of the Concept of “Partnership”	89
Mohammed Nouredine Affaya	
8 New Discourses on Development	97
Andrés Kozel and Marcelo Sili	

Part III	The Ecological Transition as Key Factors for Change and Renewal of Development Models	
9	The Environment and Development Debate in India: The “Greening” of Developmental Discourse	109
	Aviram Sharma	
10	The 2030 Agenda, the Territorial Dimension of Brazilian Development and the Drivers of Sustainability Transition	123
	Arilson Favareto	
11	Nature and Alternatives to Development in Latin America: Contributions for a Dialogue	135
	María Luisa Eschenhagen	
Part IV	The Role of Culture in New Pathway Construction and Sense of Development	
12	Culture, Resilience and Geopolitics of Development in Sub-Saharan Africa	147
	Saley Boubé Bali	
13	He and Tianxia, Vectors of a New Dynamic of China’s Development	155
	Zhang Jingting	
14	Bhutan & Gross National Happiness	161
	Diego Burger Araujo Santos and Sangay Dorji	
15	The Community and the Paths of Critical Thinking in the Global Periphery: The Cases of <i>sumak kawsay/suma qamaña</i> and <i>Ubuntu</i>	169
	Fabricio Pereira da Silva	
16	A Women’s Imaginaries Regarding Development and Well-Being	179
	Diana Tamara Martínez-Ruíz, Alejandra Ceja-Fernández, and Martha González-Lázaro	
Part V	Knowledges and Ideas to Build a New Sense for Development in the Global South	
17	Alternative Knowledge on the Global South	191
	Rahma Bourqia	
18	Peripheral Thought: Intellectualities Beyond the Center	205
	Eduardo Devés and Andrés Kozel	
	Conclusion: Paths for Rethinking Development. Perspectives from the Global South	217
	Rahma Bourqia and Marcelo Sili	
Index		223



A Kaleidoscope of Ideas for Rethinking Development in the Global South

Rahma Bourqia and Marcelo Sili

Abstract

The concept of “development” continues to condense aspirations for the improvement and progress of living conditions in “less developed” societies. It is very difficult to take stock of what has happened over the seven decades of the concept of development, there are some key elements that deserve to be highlighted. Although it can be said that the living conditions of “less developed” societies have improved “in absolute terms”, they have not improved “in relative terms”: the world is an increasingly unequal place. Another key idea or situation is that we are currently witnessing a paradox: on the one hand, the idea of development continues to structure a considerable mass of discourse and practices; on the other hand, it is increasingly criticized by large groups of experts, intellectuals and activists. We believe that we cannot unilaterally join the trend of those who proclaim the massive abandonment of the notion of development. This notion remains relevant for the countries of

the South, even if it is increasingly necessary to rework it in depth, both in theoretical terms and in terms of identifying and highlighting concrete experiences that can be used as a reference to overcome development problems.

Keywords

Development · Ideas · Theory

The phenomenon of development has been a critical issue raised by researchers in different regions since the mid-twentieth century. According to Furtado (1982), the term development combines various streams of European thought since the eighteenth century. Furtado identifies the three most relevant aspects of development as: (a) the Enlightenment and its vision of history as a progressive march toward rationality and modernity, (b) the idea of accumulation of wealth generated by the classical economic theory as the basis for achieving wellbeing, and (c) the idea of the geographic expansion of European civilization as a necessary condition to achieve an improved quality of life for the so-called backwards societies (Furtado 1982, 192).

These three streams of thought converge to form the basis of the legitimization of capitalism as the *de facto* global economic system. At the root of this classical thinking, Adam Smith set

R. Bourqia (✉)

The Royal Academy Morocco, Rabat, Morocco
e-mail: bourqiarahma@gmail.com

M. Sili

Director Centro de estudios para la Acción y el
Desarrollo Territorial, CONICET – Universidad
Nacional del Sur, Bahía Blanca, Argentina
e-mail: Sili.marcelo@gmail.com

out to demonstrate that seeking one's individual interest promoted the collective good, and that progress did not necessarily emerge from the logic of history, but rather from the social will to create an institutional framework that guaranteed individual freedoms and the free market. Operating within Smith's tenants of classical economics, European nations were called to carry out a "civilizing" mission by forcing societies to integrate themselves with world trade via the division of labor, thereby contributing to an increase in wellbeing among societies that were held back by obscurantist traditions (Furtado 1982, 193–194).

The challenge of development as an interdisciplinary issue was placed atop this historical and philosophical foundation during the mid-twentieth century, using social sciences as a framework and pushing these disciplines to review its conceptual frameworks and analytical methodologies with a strong positivist bias. The phenomenon of "development" became even more relevant after the Second World War, at a time when the world economy expanded robustly in a landscape characterized by the Keynesian policies that were beginning to gain strength during this time. The disasters provoked during wartime instability, the challenges of European reconstruction, and the complexity of the processes of decolonization, encouraged the discussion of development in both central and peripheral countries and revealed the need to intervene to extend development to all societies. This idea of development was sustained, not only by the ideal of creating better living conditions and extending the benefits of modernization to all societies but as a response of the increasingly apparent reality of the differences that exist between countries. In that context, the notion of freeing markets from regulation to achieve growth and wellbeing was discredited by the economic underdevelopment of some countries relative to others.

Furtado points out that the issue of development was initially approached as more of a political than an academic problem, in the context of transformations that occurred following the Second World War. The dismantling of colonial structures and the emergence of new forms of

international hegemony in the landscape created by the Cold War, in addition to the actions of new international institutions like the United Nations, its commissions and associated organizations, placed the topic of development at the center of international policy (Furtado 1982).

Moreover, the inequalities observed through the relative progress achieved by societies were immediately correlated within the spatial context, as evidenced by deep interregional inequalities. Economic theory focused its attention on the disparities between countries, seeking to establish causal relationships between underdevelopment and economic and social conditions as an explanation. Within countries, meanwhile, authorities began to propose active regional policies to mitigate intra- and interregional inequalities.

All told, during the first half of the twentieth century, the idea of development was associated with the economic growth of the capitalist system, finding legitimacy through dominant theories of the day. The basic premise of this belief was that development required an institutional change (modernisation) and the growth of capital accumulation. Thus, according to these theories, development is not possible without economic growth and economic growth is a measure of development (Vidal Villa and Martinez Peinado 1995, 333). Therefore, economic policy was supposed to propose strategies that required economic growth as a necessary condition to advance development.

Following the 1950s, the concept of development was enriched by new contributions that were focused on the living conditions experienced in a society. The idea of progress was no longer confined to the growth of the economy, but also included achieving a better quality of life defined as not just the satisfaction of basic needs, but also the guarantee of other fundamental rights like education, access to healthcare, freedom of expression, and political participation, among others. At the same time, the nation-state began to actively participate in the creation of policies aimed at guaranteeing the conditions for development throughout their national territories, as well as mitigating interregional imbalances.

Overall awareness for development as a concept increased, giving rise to the emergence of new paradigms and theories about the causes, conditions, and means of creating dynamics beneficial to supporting development. This combination of ideas and proposals were primarily based on diverse and often contrasting theoretical contributions that came to form the basis for much of the policies promoted by nation-states and subnational entities, which were then supported by international organizations that became hubs for producing and distributing ideas related to development. The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), an agency of the United Nations, was one of the most representative of these “hub” organizations. The conceptual frameworks that served as the basis for thinking about development in this context were the neoclassical framework, Keynesian economics, and the theories inspired by Marxism. Each of these theoretical perspectives supports a particular manner of understanding development, and in some cases, has shaped policy and interventions for more than half a century.

The Neoclassical Approach

While the classical thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries devoted time to declaring general laws that promoted the overall functioning of capitalism as a system, the neoclassical approach focused on analyzing components of the system, such as production, costs, and consumer behavior, among others. Both approaches shared a set of basic premises upon which the theories rested: free competition and no intervention by the nation-state, the rational behavior of economic actors guided by their interest in maximizing individual gain, and the free movement of the factors of production. Scientific output was concentrated on formulating abstract, static, and extremely formal microeconomic models that lacked real content or nuance (Sunkel and Paz 1982; Vidal Villa and Martinez Peinado 1995).

The central hypothesis of the neoclassical approach rests on the idea of convergence, defined as reaching general equilibria in interre-

gional growth levels as a result of free functioning of markets. This argument sustains the idea that the nation-state should not intervene in the economy, denouncing active interventionist policies in favor of regional development, except for redirecting the flow of capital toward underdeveloped areas through increased incentives (Moncayo Jimenez 2002).

The Keynesian Approaches and Policies of Intervention

After the end of the First World War, the capitalist system began to manifest global imbalances that culminated dramatically with the 1929 financial crisis known as the great depression. This situation contributed to piercing the foundations of classical orthodoxy and demonstrated the need to intervene in the market to correct the imbalances and resume growth and accumulation. Thus, Keynesian thinking did not constitute a true break with classical economic theory, but rather refocused the theory in order to sustain a capitalist system that was in crisis.

The General Theory elaborated by Keynes in 1936, sought to provide answers to three great economic problems: financial and monetary imbalances, economic fluctuations and unemployment (Sunkel and Paz 1982). Challenging the assumption that in the long term the free market was supposed to achieve full convergence, Keynes highlighted the trend of chronic unemployment in the capitalist economy, which was aggravated by the imbalance between total production and aggregate demand (Mendez and Caravaca 1996). Thus, he advocated for state intervention to correct the imbalances that occurred during recessive periods, via policies designed to increase public demand and create employment.

Keynes’ economic theory helped redefine state action, assigning it a fundamental role in planning and promoting territorial development. The golden age of interventionism inaugurated a new era in which it was thought that development could be pushed forward under state direction, by deploying a wide range of mechanisms and

policies (subsidies, tariffs and differential pricing, fiscal incentives and disincentives) to drive growth in less favored or more marginal areas, thereby mitigating interregional imbalances. In Latin America, populist governments' economic plans prominently promoted these ideas, advancing import substitution industrialization schemes, nationalization of firms and services, and economic and social promotion policies with a strong protectionist bias.

Indeed, although Keynes' contributions did not constitute a complete theory of economic development (Sunkel and Paz 1982; Polése 1998), they did serve as the foundation for important theoretical contributions that dealt with unequal development, becoming frameworks for planning and public policy aimed at overcoming divergence.

Moncayo Jimenez (2002) highlights two approaches that deal with defining the root cause of regional imbalances and unequal development. The first seeks to explain the issue by focusing on the region's internal conditions, its position in the economic system, and its long-term evolution. Walt Rostow's model is one example; it establishes a linear model of the evolution of societies in the capitalist economy. We draw from his analysis that the so-called "underdeveloped societies" have to go through the five stages of economic growth to achieve development: traditional, transitional, takeoff, drive to maturity, and high mass consumption, in order to catch up with developed societies, and that many have not reached the takeoff stage (Walt Rostow 1960).

The second approach seeks to explain unequal development by considering the position each region occupies in a hierarchical and polarized system (Moncayo Jimenez 2002). Thus, divergence is recognized as a condition inherent to capitalism and requires state intervention to correct the resulting imbalances. Gunnar Myrdal was one of the most important thinkers who questioned the assumption of general equilibria with his theory of Circular Cumulative Causation. Myrdal argues that underdevelopment results from the interrelatedness and feedback from a combination of factors – low education level,

lack of infrastructure, internal inequality, and others – that slow economic development and create regional imbalances (Vidal Villa and Martinez Peinado 1995).

Marxist Approaches Applied to Development Theory

Since the mid-twentieth century, many authors have addressed development from different analytical angles. The available bibliography is abundant and extraordinarily rich, in terms of both the history of thought and its contributions to the construction of social theory. Since the 1960s, several economists, sociologists, and anthropologists, including Arjun Appadurai (2015), have criticized the dominant linear vision of the history of societies and their evolution towards a single model resulting in Western capitalism known as "Western trajectorism". The fundamental basis of this development model is the need for economic growth, modernization, and technological change, and there were few alternatives to this dominant model of development.

Marxist ideology, however, inspired numerous theoretical approaches that reject the tenants of general equilibrium capitalism, and focus on the economic and social inequalities created by capitalism. Thus, these theoretical alternatives question the dominant economic system and highlight the inequalities created by two centuries of capitalist evolution.

Marxist development ideology emerged in the 1960s as a challenge to neoclassical theory and its vision of convergence. It asserts that underdevelopment is not a transitory state on the way to progressive development, but rather a condition in itself, inherent to capitalism. Moreover, it warns that underdevelopment correlates with the economic growth of the central countries and that dependency is not limited to the sphere of economic relations between countries, but through social structures within countries themselves.

One of the most important, and undoubtedly most radical, proponents of this idea was André Gunder Frank. In his writings, he argues that the root of Latin American underdevelopment is its

role as a supplier of raw materials for central countries, resulting in ongoing structural poverty in peripheral producing countries. The national bourgeoisie within peripheral countries enrich themselves via this arrangement of international trade, thereby limiting the possibility of achieving genuine development by defending the system. Galindo and Malgesini also presents underdevelopment as a historical product of the development of advanced countries. He argues that the relationship between poor countries and rich ones always disadvantages the former because the advantage of the latter depends on maintaining this gap. For Galindo et al., the only way out of this paradigm to break with the world market and adopt a socialist system as a replacement (Galindo Martin and Malgesini 1993).

Following the ideas of André Gunder Frank, many researchers from developing countries were inspired by Marxist development theories, such as Samir Amin who developed the theory of unequal development between the center and periphery (Samir Amin 1976). In the same line, Wallerstein (1974) developed the theory of the world-system, which sought to explain the structure and dynamics of the capitalist system as a single integrated economy on a planetary scale. This theory laid the foundations for studies dedicated to measuring the performance of national economies by taking global dynamics into account, and recognizing the international division of labor as a hierarchically stratified organization that creates large scale and permanent imbalances between countries.

According to Fernandez et al. (2014), Wallerstein's proposal deconstructs the world economy and the international division of labor into a series of value chains with diverse production systems that span across national borders. Each stage on the production chain is composed of different activities, often located in different territories, but integrated under the direction of a single organization. These activities are divided into: (a) central activities, which are those that absorb most of the benefits produced within the chain; and (b) peripheral activities, which are those that appropriate a marginal portion of the benefit. This fragmentation constitutes the basis

of the unequal appropriation of the benefits of international trade and explains the hierarchical and unequal structure of the system.

As Fernandez et al. points out (2014), the capitalist world-economy has been restructured through innovative processes in order to make the continuous process of capital accumulation viable in the long term. This restructuring, however, has not modified where central and peripheral activities take place, nor does it restructure the basis of the world-system, since the economic actors with greater capacity of business innovation are located in the central areas. Central areas benefit from technological advantages through reliable bureaucratic and institutional structures, capable of supporting innovation and production processes, especially through regulatory frameworks, better scientific and educational conditions and access to infrastructure and scientific equipment.

The hierarchical and unequal structure that organizes the world is always organized and maintained from the countries in the global North, according to Wallenstein.

The Paradigms of Endogenous Development and Human Development

During the 1980s and 1990s, Endogenous Growth theories contributed a new perspective on development, challenging some of the basic assumptions of the neoclassical theories at the core of their theoretical foundation. The primary criticism of these theories addresses the presumption of convergence, and recognizes the imbalances fueled by capitalism and the cumulative processes it creates that benefit more developed regions.

The Endogenous Growth theories' argument that the growth rate depends of: physical capital, human capital and knowledge (or technological innovation). Knowledge plays a decisive role in economic growth and, therefore, investments in R&D and formal education take on a special role in stimulating development. Technological innovation, therefore, are no longer considered as an

exogenous factor in this paradigm, it can also be the result from collective efforts within the production system. Learning by doing receives special attention in these theories, as well as the stock of knowledge gained through years of experience, and are also considered as specific factors of production (De Mattos 1999). Spatial proximity favors collective learning and reinforces specialization, which are decisive factors in the current scheme of global competition.

One of the endogenous growth theories' most significant contributions is highlighting the impacts that globalization, technological change, and the transformations in the economic and governmental spheres have had on local spaces. In addition, these theories demonstrated the potential benefits of redirecting development activities to align with local conditions, actors, resources and specific contexts.

Paradoxically, while globalization aggravates fragmentation and regional disparities, it also increases the importance of territories, their unique qualities, specific resources, and social and cultural characteristics while exposing them to a new competitive system. Therefore, a successful development strategy must consist of activating the endogenous potential in the region in order to build a potential development strategy that is congruent with conditions in the region. Within the paradigm of the new global economy, this means creating favorable economic, social, and political environment conditions that value private capital in order to attract innovative and competitive firms, whose decision to locate in the region is fundamental to unleashing sustained endogenous growth (De Mattos 1999).

The endogenous growth theories discard active state intervention in regulating the economy, although they do recognize the need for the government to carry out actions aimed at guaranteeing a stable and trustworthy context that promotes investment and allows private capital to enjoy the conditions needed to achieve adequate levels of profitability. At the same time, local and regional governments must position themselves as favorable environments for investment that take the local reality and the dynamics imposed by globalization into account.

In contrast to the traditional bureaucratic model, decentralization delegates functions and responsibilities to local and provincial governments and charges them with the responsibility of demonstrating development as a concept. Garcia Delgado highlights two direct effects of this process: (1) the weakening of the centralized state's authority on business, production, and social functions and (2) the reevaluation of subnational space as municipalities receive new powers (Garcia Delgado 1998). However, municipalities often find themselves severely limited in their reevaluation, as roles and responsibilities are frequently delegated to local governments without sufficient resources to adequately respond to such demands (Coraggio 1997).

In contrast, the new model of endogenous growth management imposed on local governments aims to achieve three objectives: (1) take advantage of the available opportunities in the new economic order, particularly in terms of entering external markets; (2) assuming the decentralized government functions and the costs of economic adjustment; and (3) meeting growing demands from the social sector.

The importance that horizontal relationships take on – between municipalities, local and nonlocal institutions, research and extension centers, and nongovernmental organizations – does not assume that vertical or hierarchical political power relationships are no longer relevant. The connection between municipalities, provinces, and the national government continues to play a central role, primarily in the allocation of resources and the expression of a comprehensive perspective on the national context.

The free movement of capital, favored by the elimination of restrictions on international trade, has allowed firms to set up in regions they deem most suitable or favorable for their needs. This situation has resulted in high levels of competition, obligating cities and regions to create strategies that highlight local resources and create conditions that could potentially appeal to investors. Nonetheless, interregional competition puts in play a combination of factors that go beyond availability of raw materials, labor, and services. The new competitive system values resources

such as knowledge and innovation, the presence of an active and flexible institutional framework, an open and innovative social system, and quality services and infrastructure. Innovation plays a decisive role for business competitiveness. Innovation no longer refers exclusively to the introduction of new exogenous technologies, but rather to a broader definition that includes institutions and society as a whole. In this way, the region and its localized context plays a new role as an active agent in the processes of development.

Innovation in firms is due in large part to the existence of a regional environment (social, economic and cultural), where innovation is continually developed via agglomeration effects. These specialized regions are known as intelligent regions, national or regional innovation systems, or learning regions. Numerous theoretical frameworks seek to highlight the nature of this strategic factor. Thus, innovation is not only associated with attracting investment for regional development, but also as a condition for the growth of small and medium enterprises, capable of creating employment and endogenous productive activities.

In the same vein, some authors have linked local and endogenous development theories with a set of models and experiences that strengthen productive systems in local areas, under the title of New Regionalism (Fernandez et al. 2008). These models seek to link theory with practice, demonstrating concrete development alternatives based on successful experiences achieved mainly in central countries. Within this theoretical framework, several empirical studies stand out, including those carried out by Beccatini (1994), Bagnasco (1988) and Brusco (1996). These authors focused on the successful evolution of local Italian production systems in Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, and Veneto, all of which are made up of small, specialized, and tightly integrated firms operating through economic turbulence and generalized crisis. Known as the “Italian industrial districts”, the model picked up the thread of the arguments proposed by Alfred Marshall at the beginning of the twentieth century (Quintar and Gatto 1992).

In the last two decades, the notion of the cluster, as developed by Michael Porter (1991) at the beginning of the 1990s, and the concept of “milieux innovateurs” in France achieved widespread dissemination. These notions refer to the innovative environment of local production systems and focus on the learning and innovation that take place among these firms. These models give special importance to the networks that connect actors, through which information, tacit knowledge and experience flow, and are strengthened by proximity relationships that serve as inputs in the creation of innovations.

In challenging the economic approaches and development paradigms, economist Amartya Sen establishes a dialogue between economics, sociology, philosophy and ethics, via a new model of economic theory. Inspired by John Rawls and his theory of justice, Sen initiated the paradigm of human development, combining both economic efficacy and social justice indicators. Issues such as poverty and inequality in developing societies are central issues in his reflections, going beyond the classical theories of economic development and the indicators of economic growth. Within this framework, the central goals of development are the capabilities and freedom that allow for evaluating the standards of wellbeing and quality of life. The theory of human development has become the corner stone of UNDP’s human development reports since 1990.

The Outcome of Different Policies and Approaches to Development

Neoclassical theories have searched for analytical arguments to explain the imbalances of capitalism in terms of economic growth, instead of designing effective measures to mitigate them, trust in the free market to achieve convergence and a rejection of direct state intervention. More critical economic theories also failed to make progress in designing equitable policies, although they were able to point out the structural conditions that create the inequalities created at the core of capitalism and their consequences at the local level in production regions.

In contrast, Keynesian economics encourages state intervention in development planning, particularly in the most disadvantaged regions. Thus, under this economic paradigm, various types of regional policies were established and directed from the national level and resources were transferred downstream to the provinces/states and eventually to municipalities. Under this economic regime, the state undertakes measures to mitigate the imbalances created by markets that generate cumulative effects in the most prosperous areas. However, a representative portion of these measures are based on neoclassical analytical and predictive models, based on statistics and the application of mathematical models in diagnostic phases leading to unachievable outcomes due to localized contexts.

The poor results achieved during this era were not the only cause for abandoning prominent development policies in the 1980s. The arrival of neoliberal governments and the subsequent shrinking of the state meant that many of these plans were abandoned and/or replaced by smaller, short-term programs. As a result, the growth gap between regions widened while the social crisis encouraged the search for local-scale solutions to mitigate the effects of unemployment and rising poverty. In this context, endogenous growth models allowed theoreticians to imagine that it was possible to unleash sustained growth processes in a global context of increasing competitiveness and instability, by valuing local resources that could be understood as localized competitive advantages. The success achieved by small firms in depressed areas in Europe operating under this paradigm, led experts to consider the replicability of similar systems for overcoming social/economic crisis in Latin America, Africa or Asia. Thus, regional development policies were deconstructed to the local scale by designing strategic plans that were applied at the district level under the direction and supervision of outside academic groups and/or consultants supported by local teams. In general, these plans were not able to achieve the proposed objectives because of the lack of resources, the discontinuity of local public policy and the difficulties in encouraging and committing to broad participatory processes that

would facilitate decision-making and contribute to sustaining the action over time. Moreover, macroeconomic instability also conspired against encouraging actors to make medium- and long-term strategic business decisions, instead having to react to external events at the immediate or short term.

From a critical perspective, institutionalism allowed the meager results achieved by 50 years of various intervention models focused on improving the development conditions of the least-favored regions to be openly discussed. Amin Ash (2008) warns that both Keynesian as well as the pro-market neoliberal approaches both share the notion that it is possible to create top-down policies that are universally applicable to any geographic region. Additionally, they target their efforts to the application of a combination of policies aimed at creating attractive conditions for business, such as fiscal incentives, credits, infrastructure and equipment, while relying on certain assumptions like the strict rationality of economic actors and the firm as the basic economic unit, among others. Although, on occasion, the measures promoted in these circumstances were able to increase employment levels and create some economic dynamism at the local-regional scale, they were not sufficient to sustain growth processes in the medium and long term.

The Structure of the World Today

All these theoretical frameworks have influenced international and national policies at different historical periods. However, the current global paradigm is reshaping the definitions of development and creating complexities in the relationship between the North and the South, between clusters of south countries, and within sovereign borders.

Geopolitical changes, such as China increasing its international role, climate change, the growing technological gap, the rise of authoritarianism, the crisis of democracies, the persistence of problems of inequality and poverty, and the emergence of new gender and cultural identities constitute a set of factors that form a context sig-

nificantly different from that of 30, 40 or 50 years ago. However, it is precisely these defining characteristics that make revisiting how we define development in the Global South more important now than ever, and by ensuring that the appropriate tools, theoretical concepts and methodological approaches are applied so that all voices are heard. This new paradigm seeks to develop a vision that encompasses the complex and fragmentarily reality of our world, which is shaping the present and the future of the Global South. For example, the role of international organizations has changed considerably in recent history. The diminution of their relative power, as well as the repeated reformulations and restructurings that many of them have undertaken, are an expression of a certain loss of meaning and orientation in the face of a panorama of great transformations worldwide.

The world today is governed by global capitalism. However, this world is not homogeneous – it is a patchwork, or a set of fragments with differing levels of development that coexist and articulate with each other. This is not because there is still a persistence of centers and peripheries, or a North and a South. Nor is it because it is still possible to identify cultural differences, or economic and developmental levels between zones or groups of countries. Instead it is importance to recognize the complex network of interacting systems, and changing roles and definitions such as the “North” which defined as the Western or American style that is centered around the idea of a “market”, or the Chinese style, that is centered on the wellbeing and growth of “the state”.

China’s current role in the global economy was unthinkable 20 or 30 years ago. Today, China can open markets and exchanges against the United States, which claims a certain modulation of nationalist protectionism. In the current global context, some centralized states and large multinationals dictate the rules of the global economy, establishing the law of the strongest. Nevertheless, each country goes through its own set of development experiences, such as Japan and its significant economic development and respectful of cultural traditions; the case of Korea, where education plays a strong role; or the case of Singapore and Malaysia,

where development has been rapid and articulated with a focus on education and strong leadership. We attempt to position the different development paths by countries in the global “South” by highlighting the following dynamics:

The predominance of a predatory “development style”, particularly in terms of natural and energy resources, a key element underlying several dynamics that shape the Global South (the concept of “development style” is derived from the classic book of Sunkel and Gligo 1980).

The persistence and consolidation of inequalities between countries and/or within countries. We are witnessing a dynamic that is accompanied by the persistence of high levels of poverty that affect a large part of the world’s population, particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The dialogue between North and South and the governance model of relations between these major groups of countries is neither fair nor just. On the contrary, the pattern of global relationship management only benefits the strongest countries.

- It is clear that issues of poverty and violence are difficult to solve according to local resources and capacities (Niger, Haiti, Yemen, Bangladesh, etc.). In the face of these dramatic situations, one may even wonder how relevant it is to think in terms of “development” in a classical way.
- Environmental degradation is also a key element of this unequal relationship between North and South. The last decades have been marked by a gradual degradation of natural resources as well as landscapes. In general, these resources are exploited and consumed by countries in the North.
- Deepen the technological and scientific gap. While the countries of the South have benefited from important changes in digital technologies in general, the gap in access to technology remains, and marks a gap that is difficult for the countries of the South to overcome. This gap reproduces and intensifies social and economic differences. As a result, the vast majority of scientific knowledge is produced in the North. Southern countries are unlikely to create and maintain more auto-

Table 1.1 Number of patents for income groups

Income group	Number of countries	Number of applications	Share of world total (%)
High-income	57	1,556,000	46.8
Upper middle-income	56	1,683,100 (China 1,542,002, rest of countries 141,098)	50.6
Lower middle-income	48	84,900	2.6
Low income	26	2,300	0.1

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from World Intellectual Property Indicators 2019. World Intellectual Property Organization

mous scientific institutions and networks to create useful knowledge or, in other words, to support sustainable development strategies. Faced with this reality, the question arises: how can the South cease to be considered peripheral without a certain degree of production and appropriation of technology? This refers not only to scientific and technological development translated into patents, but also to nuclear energy and other complex issues. Table 1.1 shows the number of patent applications separated by income group. Note that the value of patents of upper middle incomes countries is explained by the presence China with 1,542,002 applications, whereas the rest of Upper middle-income have only 141,098 applications. Despite this considerable anomaly, higher income countries would account for approximately 90% of global patents.

- Inequality has a sociocultural correlation. For example, in recent decades there has been a gradual destruction of local cultures, given their “inability” to be “competitive” in terms established by international markets. The persistence of gender inequalities and the fragile and vulnerable situation of children and young people are also evident in these data.

Many questions arise for the future, including the following:

- Are we facing the creation of a new “bipolarity”, in which American and Chinese “styles

of development” would be in conflict within capitalism?

- Do models of development structured by bipolarity continue to offer spaces and opportunities to create new dynamics and alternative spaces for action?
- Will there be room to explore the multipolarity, or to consolidate regional or trans-regional blocks, such as the BRICS?
- Will the countries of the Global South find their own paths towards development, or will these countries have to join one of the new “poles”? Will countries in the Global South have to “oscillate” between powers, or will they be able to envisage the creative construction of pathways or alternatives?

The Changing Global Context Requires Redefining the Concept of the Global South

Defining how “developing countries” fit into a changing global context requires updating concepts and terminology used to describe and characterize their role in the global economy. Calls for new definitions began in the 1980s, when critical voices spoke out against the myths of “development” and the idealization of economic growth, going as far as to call for abandoning the notion all together. This approach found support by many intellectuals in the Global South who criticized the intrinsic Eurocentrism and colonialism in characterizing development, particularly amongst Latin American scholars.

At the end of the twentieth century, the idea of the characterizing countries as part of the “Global South” emerged as a new way of going beyond commonly used terms such as “Third World” or as “developing countries”. In 1952, Alfred Sauvy coined the term “Third World” in order to define global social inequalities as a strategy to bring more attention to these countries’ plight. This characterization split the globe into three worlds: (1) the capitalist or free world (United States, Europe, among others); (2) the socialist world (around the former USSR); and (3) the “other”, or underdeveloped countries. The concept of the

Third World, as Bergel affirms, was born in world of social sciences, which constructed the term as an object both to offer diagnoses and empirical information, and to offer possible solutions to overcome the vast underdevelopment in this significant proportion of the world. As a concept, the idea of the “third world” is intrinsically connected with the theory of modernization, which justifies interventions and a push for development as a “civilizing mission” undertaken by western powers. Thus, the technical and specialized discourse surrounding the Third World framework as a concept legitimizes the technical and financial interventions of agencies and experts in “development” from institutions of the first world (World Bank, United Nations, etc.) in countries of the third world found in Latin America, Asia and Africa (Fig. 1.1).

The term “developing countries” directly refers to economic and social limitations faced by countries found in the Global South. While the concept of the Global South is generally applied to developing countries, its definition is based the local and global challenges these countries face. The term Global South intrinsically refers to marginalized territories across the globe in contrast to the Global North, and eliminates the existence of the Third World category. According to Boaventura de Souza Santos (2010), the Global South refers to the people and places that have

suffered the experience of colonialism by Europe, and/or marginalization and domination by the global super powers. The South is not geographically defined, it is a metaphor that refers to the excluded and marginalized people and places, meaning that the Global North can be found in the geographical South and vice versa. This is a key point, because it allows us to include peripheries and forms of marginalization in the north (with migrants, for example, although not exclusively), and to acknowledge the poles of privilege found in the south (Fig. 1.2).

Despite these clear general definitions, deciding whether to place countries in the North or in the South can sometimes prove problematic. For example, should one place China, Russia, and Brazil (BRIC countries) in the South, or create a category for semi-periphery countries? Despite defining these terms and phenomenon the concept of the Global South, it is still widely underutilized in representations and analyses of the world-system. It is one of many theoretical options about how to think about the world on a large scale incorporating a utopian horizon in its characterization. In the last two decades, developing countries have witnessed an evolution of their participation in global governance. The rise of Global South is a reality, although it is far from complete, due to global challenges facing developing countries (Unictad 2018). Despite the fact

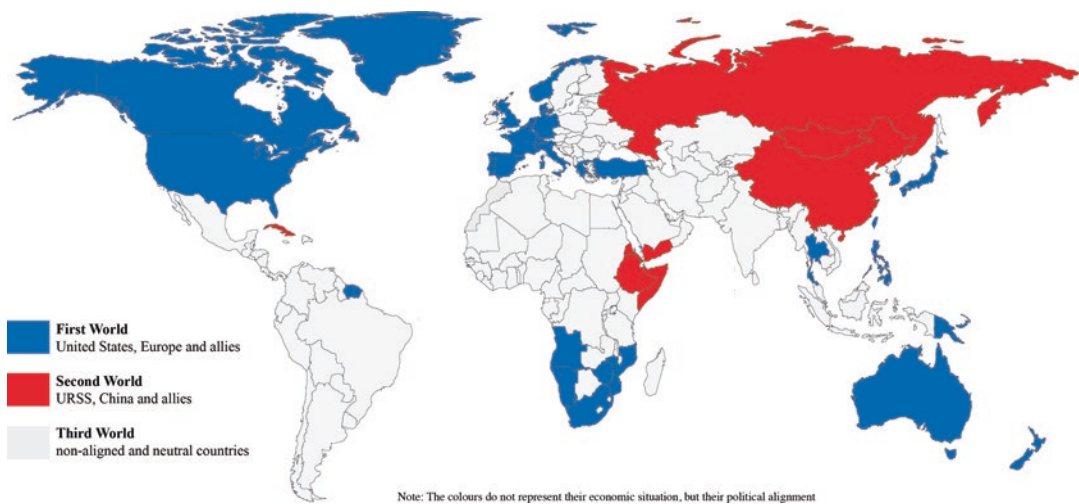


Fig. 1.1 The third world. (Source: Authors’ design)

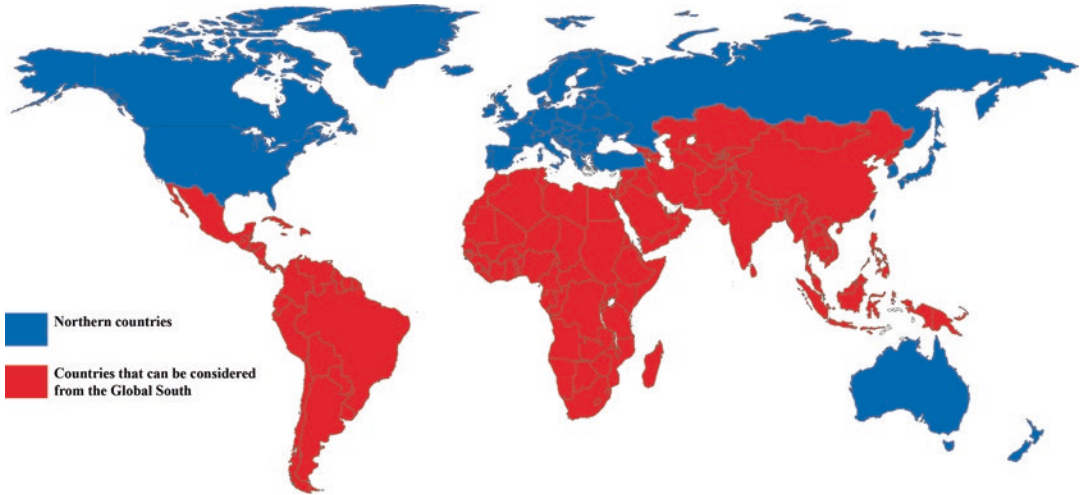


Fig. 1.2 The Global South. (Source: Authors' design)

that global super powers dominate the discourse of global governance, developing countries participate through government actors and civil society, and are invited to debate at the global level. They contribute to the greater discourse surrounding global governance and policy making by influencing the normative framework of the world system, and drawing attention to concerns about poverty, justice, and “the better balance between growth and development” (Ingel Kaul 2013).

In short, the concept of the Global South creates an alternative categorization of the world system that highlights the marginal role in which countries in the Global South find themselves. This allows for increased recognition of marginal spaces within global capitalism, but perhaps more importantly, it suggests that the meaning of “development” in the South is an evolving process that has changed since the enlightenment or the creation of Western capitalist thought. We emphasize the need to generate new ideas and create a new development paradigm for the Global South. Moreover, these ideas should be based on the concrete experiences that originate from countries in the Global South in order to define perspectives and strategies for thoughts and action that are appropriate for their context.

The countries of the Global South, a heterogeneous area that includes many of the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, share a series of

common characteristics, including high levels of poverty, inequality, and their limited role in the international community. In most cases, the countries in the Global South supply raw materials and/or cheap labor, which has limited their ability to achieve sustainable improvements to material prosperity, increased quality of life, and human progress. Clearly, this phenomenon is not new; however, given the number of global transformations currently taking place, we felt that it was the right moment to call for a new way thinking and, ultimately, a change in how we approach the issue of development in the Global South.

Towards the Construction of a New Development Paradigm in the Global South

Addressing these issues and charting a new path for the Global South during a time of global transition and instability is a daunting task. We must create a new paradigm of development that accounts for real conditions in social, economic and geopolitical spheres. This perspective will allow the Global South to overcome the propensity to engage in “Western trajectorism” that has led Southern countries to emulate “styles” of development and action that lead to perpetuating an unjust and unbalanced global system.