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HOW ANTHROPOLOGY CAN HELP WITH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS?

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ABSTRACT

There are many competing definitions of sustainability, most of which derive from the long European tradition of managing natural resources. Anthropology is grounded in the very same ontology that made possible the global ecological crisis that ushered in the new era in which we now live. We can offer an alternative view of sustainability starting with the recognition that Anthropocene. Anthropologists have a responsibility to demonstrate the importance of social, cultural and ontological diversity for resilience, adaptation and sustainable innovation.

KEY WORDS: ***Development, Sustainability, Anthropology***

I. INTRODUCTION

Development refers to the process of change in which an increasing proportion of the population enjoys a higher material standard of living, a healthier and longer life, more education, more control and choice over their lifestyle. It is generally accepted that development depends on increasing labor productivity, which can be achieved through the application of science, technology, and more efficient forms of economic and management organization. Nearly all government leaders are committed to promoting such development. However, business leaders, policy makers and academics disagree on the relative importance of technological, economic and political barriers to development and thus the priorities for achieving them (Nath, 2012).

'Development' in its modern sense was defined by President Truman in 1949 as a logical strategy for post-war reconstruction in the 'underdeveloped' parts of the world, based on the provision of international financial aid and modern economic assistance. It first acquired its official meaning when used as part of the rationale technology transfer. Development has subsequently been strongly associated primarily with economic growth. However, there has also been a growing recognition that while the well-being of an economy may form a precondition for development it is not a sufficient one, and that attention too has to be paid to issues such as income and asset redistribution to reduce inequality, support for human rights and social welfare, and the sustainable stewardship of environmental resources. The Human Development Index developed by the United Nations Development Programme at the start of the 1990s has attempted to address such concerns, at least in part, by combining gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, life expectancy and a measure of educational attainment.

Arturo Escobar argues that as a set of ideas and practices 'development' has historically functioned over the twentieth century as a mechanism for the colonial and neo-colonial domination of the south by the north. The use of the term 'development' has historical predisposition. Some of the most important of these are shifting global relations after the World War – II, the decline of colonialism, the cold war, the need for capitalism to find new markets, and northern nations' faith in science and technology (Escober, 1995). People who use the term and work in development institutions, which many believe are involved in the process of empowerment or redistribution of global wealth, recreate the power dynamics of neocolonialism.

Sustainability is the restoration of natural or man-made global production processes by replacing depleted resources with resources of equal or greater value without affecting or endangering natural biological systems. It can be defined as a practice that you maintain indefinitely. Sustainable development combines concerns about the resilience of natural systems with the social, political and economic challenges facing humanity (Kahle and Gurel-Atay 2014). In 1980, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) published its Global Conservation Strategy, containing one of the first references to sustainable development as a global priority, and introduced the

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term 'sustainable development'. (Sachs 2015). Two years after that, the United Nations World Charter for Nature formulated his five principles for the conservation of nature, by which human behavior in relation to nature should be directed and judged. In 1987, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development published "Our Common Future", commonly referred to as the Brundtland Report. This report contained one of the most widely used definitions of sustainable development today.

Alternatively, sustainable development is defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This includes his two key concepts:

- The concept of 'needs', especially the overriding basic needs of the world's poor.
- The concept of limits imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the ability of the environment to meet current and future needs.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Antagonistic Observers

Some anthropologists select the ideas, processes and institutions of development as their field of study, but such work has tended to be highly suspicious, if not frankly critical, in its approach. At one level, anthropological work on development has flowed seamlessly from many anthropologists' long-standing concerns with the social and cultural effects of economic change in the less developed areas of the world. Such work has shown how the incorporation of local communities into wider capitalist relations of production and exchange has profound implications for both. For example, Wilson's (1942) work in Zambia in the late 1930s showed the ways in which industrialisation and urbanisation processes were structured by colonial policies that discouraged permanent settlement and led to social instability, as massive levels of male migration took place back and forth between rural and urban areas. Long's (1977) 'actor-oriented' work in Peru explored local, small-scale processes of growth, entrepreneurialism and diversification in an area for which the dependency theorists might have argued that there would only be stagnation, challenging macro-level structural analyses by focusing on the complexity and dynamism of people's own strategies and struggles. Arce and Long (2000) update such an approach to understanding social and economic change, an ethnography of how dominant developmental processes are fragmented, reinterpreted and embedded. He advocates the role of anthropologists in promoting an understanding of 'localized modernity' through research into modernity.

Capitalism and Colonialism: 1700–1949

However, the concept of development predates 1949. Larrain argues that while there have always been economic and social changes throughout history, the recognition of "progress" and the belief that it should be encouraged was only within certain historical circumstances increase. Such ideas were first developed during what he called the "age of competitive capitalism" (1700-1860). An era of radical social and political struggle in which feudalism was increasingly weakened (Larrain, 1989:1).

Closely linked to the history of capitalism is, of course, the history of colonialism. The concepts of progress and enlightenment were key to colonial discourse, especially in the late colonial period (e.g. 1850-1950), where the 'natives' were structured as backwards or children, and the colonists were progressives. (Said, 1978: 40). Thus, while economic gain was the driving force behind imperial conquest, colonial rule in the 19th and 20th centuries included the need to transform communities through the introduction of European education, Christianity, and new political and bureaucratic systems. Attempts were also included. The concept of moral obligation is central to this and was often expressed in relation to the relationship between trustees and minors (Mair, 1984: 2). Development discourse in the 1990s was rarely formulated in such a racist manner, but it often dealt with similar topics. “Good government,” institution building, and gender training are just three of his topics of current trends driving “desirable” social and political change. With these notions coming from such dubious beginnings, it is not surprising that many people today view them with suspicion.

The Postcolonial Era: 1949 onwards

Closely linked to the history of capitalism is, of course, the history of colonialism. The concepts of progress and enlightenment were key to colonial discourse, especially in the late colonial period (e.g. 1850-1950), where the 'natives' were structured as backwards or children, and the colonists were progressives. (Said, 1978: 40). Thus, while economic gain was the driving force behind imperial conquest, colonial rule in the 19th and 20th centuries included the need to transform communities through the introduction of European education, Christianity, and new political and bureaucratic systems. Attempts were also included. The concept of moral obligation is central to this and was often expressed in relation to the relationship between trustees and minors (Mair, 1984: 2). Development discourse in the 1990s was rarely formulated in such a racist manner, but it often dealt with similar topics. “Good government,” institution building, and gender training are just three of his topics of current trends driving “desirable” social and political change. With these notions coming from such dubious beginnings, it is not surprising that many people today view them with suspicion.

III. ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN DEVELOPMENT: ACCESS, EFFECTS AND CONTROL

One of the most important functions of developmental anthropology is its ability to deconstruct developmental assumptions and power relations. Let's look at some case studies that show different levels and forms of inequality and how this affects people's access to the 'benefits' of development resources.

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Case 1: Albania: Differential Access to Rural Resources in The Post-Communist Era

In Albania, for four decades before 1990, a strictly isolationist, totalitarian communist regime did its best to eliminate rural economic inequality by introducing a system of collective farming. . Enver Hoxha's Stalinist government was repressive and inefficient, but it had a comprehensive welfare system that met the people's basic material needs and provided adequate medical and educational facilities for most of the population. I was. In agriculture, despite low levels of production and serious neglect of long-term environmental problems, agricultural inputs such as tractor plows and fertilizers are available and agronomists advise cooperatives. Did. In 1990, after unrest in the rest of Eastern Europe, the government was finally overthrown in largely peaceful protests. The political system collapsed, ushering in a new era of development of social democracy and cowardly capitalism. During the fall of the government, there was a spontaneous and violent mass uprising, not against the communists themselves, but against all the physical traps of the old regime. Village schools, health centers and other infrastructure elements were destroyed by angry villagers.

Case 2: Mali Sud Rural Development Project: Inequality Between Communities

The Mali Southern Project was established in 1977 to develop the southern region of Mali, a landlocked country in the western Sahel. It was extended for another five years in 1983 and was funded primarily by foreign aid $61 million out of a total of $84 million. The project will increase the agricultural viability of the region by increasing production of staple crops such as maize and sorghum, promoting rural development associations, and improving living standards in rural areas through basic health services and water supply. It was intended to enhance The project area includes about 3500 villages and ranges from arid areas (with only about 400 mm of rainfall per year) to relatively fertile areas (further south there are areas with up to 1400 mm of rain per year) covered a wide range of ecological conditions.

Case 3: Land Rights in Calcutta: Inequality Between Households

A study of the effects of physical improvements in Calcutta's 'basti' (slums) shows that the former and poorest residents were disadvantaged rather than benefited by the improvements. (M. Foster, 1989). Thus, slum improvement is ostensibly a physical process rather than a social or political process (providing sanitation, paving roads, building new houses, etc.) It has different effects on different groups depending on where you are. When there is a hierarchical relationship within the same municipality. Without considering these differences at the planning stage and treating all slum-dwellers as if they had equal access to their own homes, such projects would have a detrimental impact on the most vulnerable. Foster argues that many of Basti's poorest residents will eventually be forced to relocate to increasingly remote areas of the city, as it will lead to unexpected rent increases. Therefore, with the appraisal of statutory arrestees, there is an increase in squatter settlements not affected by the slum improvement program.

Case 4: Women's Credit Groups in Bangladesh: Inequality Within Households

In 1975, the Bangladesh government introduced a program of rural women's cooperatives in 19 selected counties administered by the Integrated Rural Development Programme. These women's cooperatives were established in villages and were structured on the model of existing male farmers' committees. Each cooperative was governed by a management board elected by its members. They represented the cooperative in her two-week training sessions in the areas of health, nutrition, family planning, literacy, vegetable farming, livestock and poultry and food processing, and shared their knowledge with other members of the village shared. However, their main focus has been on granting small loans to boost members' earning power in relation to their training.

In one village studied by Rozario (1992), these loans appeared to be the main reason women joined cooperatives. If the interest rate is 12.5% for her, a woman can apply for Tk 500 if she owns shares of Tk 50 or more. Take these loans as the interest rates charged by private moneylenders in Bangladesh are exorbitant (sometimes reaching 100%) and banks rarely lend to small landowners or landless people. was clearly highly desirable.

According to Rozario's research, loans intended to be used by women to earn their own income were either used to share household expenses or were chosen by men. Loans taken by the poorest women were often for basic household items such as food, clothing and medicine. But these women were most likely to invest their loans in growing vegetables and raising poultry. They told Rosario they didn't know what to expect. They just signed a form to collect the loan. So many loans remained unpaid, and women claimed they had no control over their husbands' decisions or ability to repay, that the husband's signature was required before the loans were finally granted. You now have greater control over women's trust.

Recent evidence from elsewhere in Bangladesh suggests that similar processes remain common in loan programs that finance women (Karim, 2011). Women and men do not have equal access to domestic resources, so loans to women are repeatedly passed from the recipient to her husband. Moreover, since it is the woman's responsibility to feed and clothe her family, the money allocated to generate income is spent on the reproductive needs of the household. Of course, classes are also an important factor. Women from wealthier families who are more isolated appear to have less control over their credit. This may be because the purda (women's segregation) ideology prevents such women from entering the market and other public and male spheres. Therefore, the sale of vegetables and poultry may be seen as "insignificant"

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to them, and poor women cannot afford social prestige. Women bear the burden of repayment.

As the case studies cited show, the more knowledge we have about social dynamics and organization at all levels, the more likely it is that certain groups will be excluded or disadvantaged from planned change. You can prevent it from You don't have to be an academic anthropologist to get this information, but we suggest that understanding what questions to ask is primarily an anthropological skill. We do not suggest that the insights and strategies discussed in this chapter should be limited to elite international anthropological consultants or "experts". Rather than viewing it as a treasure trove, it's important to have certain insights and methods that are potentially accessible to everyone.

IV. AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE

The anthropological framework was designed as a flexible tool that emphasizes reflexive, or reflective, practice. It is defined as the process of actively paying attention to the ideas and working methods that guide our own practice. Anthropologist Rosalind Iben defines reflexivity as the process of consciously "attending to different points of view" and "making the usual uncertain." perspective of others.

Framing and Reframing Development

Development work is about creating and catalyzing change. All development initiatives, whether policy documents, program proposals, or project log frames, essentially boil down to the following core objectives: I'm trying to make some change.
Anthropologists argue that all human-made changes are involved. Government agencies, community organizations, multinational individuals, communities and organizations are the forces behind economic and social change. They have economic, social and environmental impacts. An anthropological approach to development practice implies recognizing that change is a social and cultural process. As a first step, this means putting people, not topics, problems, policies, projects, technologies, or ideas, at the center of development practice. Anthropological approaches pay attention to how interactions between people and their organizations affect the nature of change.

The Dominant Framework: Problems, Targets, Solutions

Frameworks are useful training tools because they tell you what to focus on. No one can focus on everything at once. Frames highlight key ideas and categories. It's a way to understand complexity and focus on what's really important to the task at hand. A simple representation of a common framework in professional development practice is shown in the following diagram.

The framework in diagram provides a compelling, logical view of how development works. A problem or set of problems is defined. Identifies the target group that is experiencing this issue. You may be a farmer struggling to access the market. Families without access to fresh produce or clean water. Or municipalities grappling with the challenges of good governance and efficient service delivery. In any case, development professionals are trained to define target groups and problems, not people or context.

Figure 1 : Dominant Practice Framework for Development Work (Source: Anthropology for Development From Theory to Practice *By Robyn Eversole*)

An Anthropological Framework: Contexts, Actors And Resources

Putting people at the center of development practice requires a major reorganization. It shifts scope and focuses on people, their organizations, and the specific situations in which they operate. Figure 2 shows what an anthropological framework for development work might look like. Instead of a defined "development problem", anthropological frameworks focus on the context in which development occurs. Each context is a combination of interrelated issues and opportunities that enable and limit change. In the anthropological developmental framework, change initiatives are defined by context, not by problem.

The anthropological framework in Figure 2 focuses on the knowledge and institutions of different development actors, which we consider central to all change processes. Anthropologists reveal the existence of a variety of knowledge beyond the expertise of specialists and of institutions beyond the dominant institutions of development practice. Instead of off-the-shelf solutions and abstract change theories, the focus of this framework shifts to collaboratively crafted solutions and embedded change processes.

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Figure 2 :An Anthropological Framework for Development Work (Source: Anthropology for Development From Theory to Practice *By Robyn Eversole*)

The Development Landscape

Figure 3.2 shows what an anthropological approach to development practice might look like. Some development professionals and development organizations are already familiar with this kind of contextualized, human-centric approach to development work. They design projects, programs and policies with people and situations in mind. However, the primary framework in development practice still relies heavily on what was described in Figure 3.1. Mainstream development policies, programs, and projects revolve around expert-driven theories of change that promise predictable solutions regardless of problems, target groups, and contexts.

The main difference between Figures 1 and 2 is that Figure 1 is opaque. In other words, it focuses only on the key elements of development intervention and ignores the outside 'scope' of development. Figure 2, on the other hand, is transparent. We recognize that development initiatives always take place in specific social and physical contexts and will always affect outcomes. Figure 2 therefore looks at development interventions in terms of their relationship to the broader development landscape.

Development in Context

Development work is usually organized around problems to be solved, but it's not difficult to restructure them. In the reflection exercise he can use three questions to guide the transition from problem to context.

1 In this context, is this a critical issue?
2 If yes, how are they related to other issues and opportunities?
3 What enables or hinders change in this context?

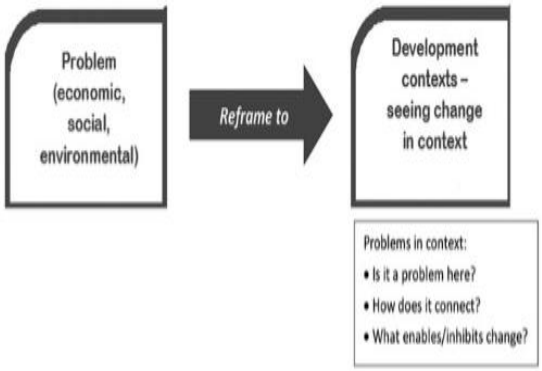

Figure 3 Reframing Problems in Context (Source: Anthropology for Development From Theory to Practice *By Robyn Eversole*)

Asking these questions does three important things:

1 The first question avoids the danger of assuming a problem where none exist. This is surprisingly common. Even within the same country, industry, or type of community, what is a serious problem in one situation is often not a problem at all in another. Environments, economic bases, or social systems can be very different. Likewise, what developers consider to be a serious problem may not be as serious, especially when compared to other problems people face.

2 The second question recognizes that development problems do not arise in isolation, but are related to other aspects of the physical and social environment. Children's inability to attend school can be related to economic pressures, health problems, access to public transport, social disenfranchisement, and more. Although the symptoms may look the same, the underlying problem may be completely different. Asking "how" the problem relates to other problems and opportunities reveals that the problem may have different root causes and therefore different solutions. This allows development work to address the cause, not just the symptom.

3 The third question recognizes the dynamic connection between problems and other parts of people's lives. The question, "What enables or hinders change?" reveals opportunities for integrated development solutions in unexpected places. How is women's health related to land ownership and local governance? What is the relationship between the detention of minority youth and the structure of the judiciary? Why is transport infrastructure central to understanding unemployment? Finally, how do people try to make a difference in their own situation? And how much room for manipulation is there to do that?

Unpacking Actors

Reflective practitioners can easily shift the focus of their development efforts from target groups to stakeholders by asking:

1 Who are the people and organizations involved in our work?

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2 What do they do?
3. How are they positioned socially? What does change mean to you?

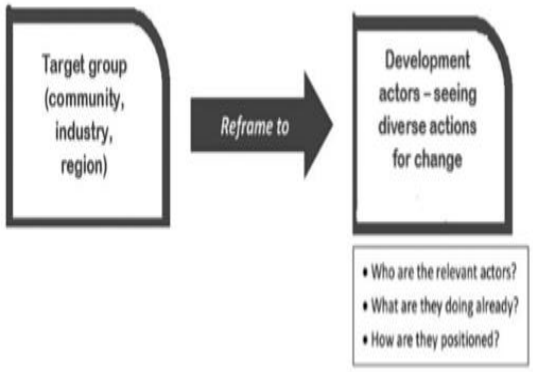

Figure 4: From Target Groups to Actors (Source: Anthropology for Development from Theory to Practice By Robyn Eversole)

Focusing on the stakeholder rather than the target audience does several important things.

1 The first question recognizes that development processes and initiatives always take place in a social setting. Social environments typically have more relevant people and organizations than developers expect. Not only do they have different perspectives on each proposed change process, they also have many existing relationships with each other.

2. The second question recognizes that multiple individuals, communities, and organizations have the agency or capacity to effect change. Rather than focusing on developers who are responsible for "doing everything", anthropological frameworks focus on those within the development landscape who may be potential allies (or adversaries) in the course of change efforts. Consider different stakeholders. about the solution.

3 The third question recognizes that all actors have a particular social status that influences the types of resources they can access and the influence they can mobilize. their social status – being female, being gay, having a college degree, or belonging to a particular ethnic group or family.

Knowledges and Logics

Various development stakeholders do not see it that way. The way a consulting professional perceives a problem can be very different from the way an experienced farmer perceives a problem. This is because they approach issues from different cultural perspectives and know different things. The "logical" answer is not always the same. Everyone may have important insights, but they vary. Like the old blind man and elephant trope, different development actors perceive the problem and its solution from different angles.

The following questions can be used in reflective development practices to shift focus from expert-driven solutions to more integrated knowledge processes.

1 Anyone know this?
2 What do you know?
3 How does this change the way we see problems and/or solutions?

Reorienting multiple development knowledge greatly increases the knowledge resources available to developers as they search for practical solutions.

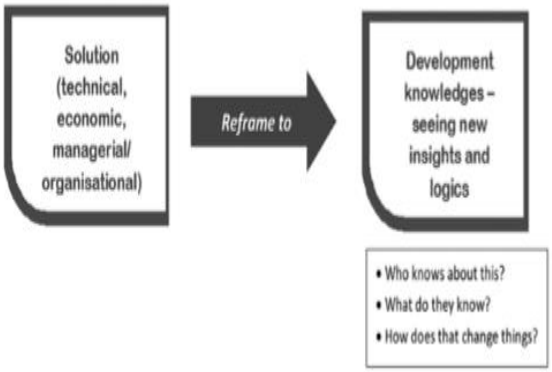

Figure 5: From Technical Solutions to Co-Innovation (Source: Anthropology for Development From Theory to Practice By Robyn Eversole)

1. The first question recognizes that many different development actors can directly and productively contribute to development solutions. Knowledge for development lives in unexpected places: Beyond industries, places and social divides. Anthropologists in particular have shown that disadvantaged groups have their own knowledge and logic that are not always shared by professionals who want to help them. Knowing is important, and it's important to recognize that it's an important first step in ensuring that the development solution is based on a true understanding of the problem and need.
2. The second question explores lessons learned from working with various development stakeholders. Asking "What do you know?" Do more than simply gather information to try to understand the logic that drives people's choices and beliefs about what is possible. From different perspectives, the problem looks different. The logic behind our work is not necessarily shared by everyone we work with. Also, strategies that are logical in one context may not necessarily be logical in another. For example, in situations where there are few economic or social safety nets, managing risk may be a more logical solution than increasing production. Asking what others know helps you avoid serious development mistakes.
3. Finally, the third question recognizes the power of knowledge to transform practice. In particular, the question "How does this change things?" Shift focus away from expert-led solutions and make room for solutions that can be co-engineered directly with people

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and organizations that traditionally rely on outside expertise. Anthropological frameworks challenge the dynamics embedded in development work when expertise reigns and local voices are silenced. A respectful dialogue between different forms of knowledge is not only more inclusive, but also makes solutions more likely to work.

Institutions and Change

Developers can shift their approach from technical processes to social and cultural processes by asking the following questions:

1 How does a person or organization function today? What institutions are there?

2 How can change be limited, especially for historically disadvantaged groups?

3 How can sustainable change be achieved?

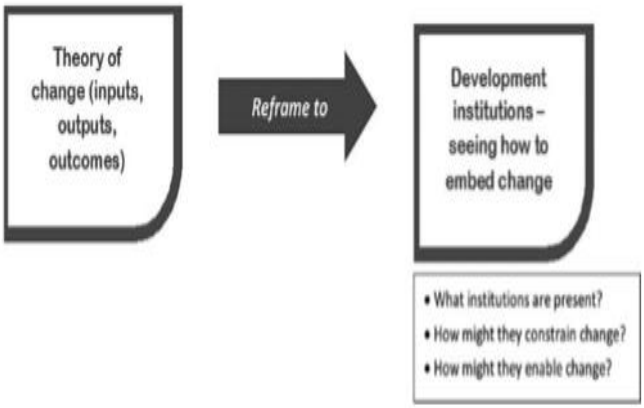

Figure 6: From Managing Change to Sustaining Change (Source: Anthropology for Development From Theory to Practice By Robyn Eversole)

Turning attention to the role of institutions shifts their focus from "managing" change in a vacuum to enabling processes of change that can become self-sustaining over time.

1. 1 The first question asks what kind of organization already exists in a given context to do what the developer is interested in. For example, educational provision or production organization. Current working methods and historical reasons are often unknown to external developers.
2. The second question recognizes that current institutions may limit the manipulative latitude of various development actors. Structures, rules, and norms can impose great restrictions on what, who, and how can be done, and often have deep historical roots. This question seeks to identify institutional constraints on actors in order to avoid putting them in an untenable position.
3. The final question recognizes that existing institutions can also facilitate change. One of the most common mistakes developers make is to assume that local authorities do not exist or are inferior to other authorities. Then you embrace a whole new way of working that makes sense to you, but is unfamiliar and often incompatible in your local context.

V. DOING DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGICALLY

The anthropological approach refocuses the mainstream view of development on developer behavior, logic, and institutions. The researcher translates this into an anthropological understanding of how social and economic change actually works. Rather than defining problems for target groups and viewing change as a technological process that can be solved in isolation from the rest of their lives, anthropological approaches recognize that problems must be understood in context. Understanding how and why local her context is important in problem solving can help avoid costly mistakes in the design and implementation of development initiatives. Additionally, considering the context can uncover benefits, opportunities, and positive starting points for change. The ethnographic approach also shifts the focus of development work from target groups to development policy actors. Recognize that stakeholders are driving change. While the definition of "target group" may only reflect the stereotypes and assumptions of outsiders, attention to actors is a reflection of the various social positions in which people and organizations seek to influence change is taken into consideration.

VI. CONCLUSION

The more knowledge we have about social dynamics and organization at all levels, the more likely it is that certain groups will be excluded or disadvantaged from planned change. If anyone doesn't have to be an academic anthropologist to get this information, but we suggest that understanding what questions to ask is primarily an anthropological skill. An anthropological approach to development work seeks to understand the actions that different people and organizations are already taking and how these changes may affect them in different ways. Anthropological approaches also recognize that multiple knowledge and institutions already exist in the developing landscape. In a development practice where the way developers see, perceive, and act tends to dominate, it can be difficult to recognize different ways of looking, perceiving, and acting. Nevertheless, this knowledge and institutions can provide important resources for change. Developers who are willing to reflect on their own practice can begin to recognize and value the knowledge and institutions of others, and begin to explore ways to reframe problems and solutions in new ways.

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