

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY AND
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSON

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1. Four spaces of development

I have found it useful, indeed necessary, for any discussion of "development" to make a distinction between four types of development, viz., nature, human, social and world development. Traditionally the first is the domain of ecology, the second of psychology, the third of sociology/politology/economics etc., and the fourth of international relations. "Development studies", then, would be an effort to integrate all four, not only comparing what goes on in these four "spaces" - perhaps even by approaching them in a more unified manner - but also, indeed, by exploring the interrelations.

In the present paper we shall leave nature development and its concern with ecological balance aside, and also world development and its concern with peace, order, security and related issues. The focus will be on social development and human development, on development of society and development of the person. And this in most minds raises the problem of primacy. Is the developed society something that comes about through the deliberate workings of developed persons or is it rather vice versa, that developed societies produces developed human beings? And, regardless of what stand one might have on this, is the relationship an empirically verifiable or falsifiable hypothesis, or simply a tautology, meaning that we resort to reductionism, defining "human development" as that which is produced by a developed society or that which produces a developed society, or vice versa, defining "social development" as that which produces or is produced by developed human beings?

The position taken here is the following:

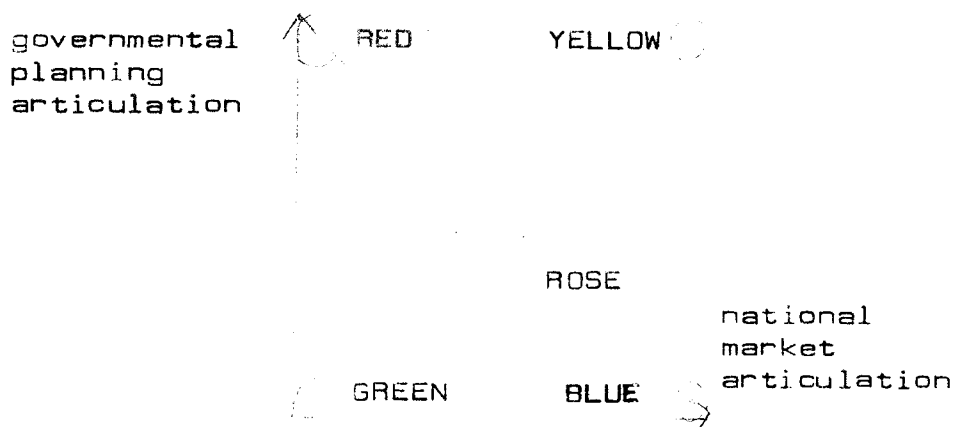
- [1] The question of primacy between two [or among all four] of the spaces of development is largely a chicken-and-egg problem. It is more a question of compatibility within families of conceptualizations of development. But I would be inclined to let ideas of human development steer the exploration somewhat more.
- [2] Reductionism should be avoided; logically independent conceptualizations of development in the four spaces should be attempted lest the study of development becomes a game with words only.

Consequently the task here is to look at some notions of social development, and then of personal development, and then turn to the problem of compatibility. I shall do it in that order not because of any assumption of social development primacy, but simply because by far most thinking about development concerns the social space.

2. Five models of social development

And most of that thinking has been concerned with the organization of society for economic [the organization of production, distribution and consumption] purposes. For the present purposes two major dimensions have to be used: the level of articulation of national market [with possible transnational spill-over] and of governmental planning [with possible intergovernmental spill-over]. It is fairly clear what these concepts stand for, they dominate the debate and have to be taken into consideration. However, they will not be seen as anti-thetical but rather as two independent dimensions: any society can articulate one or the other more or less, thereby giving rise to [at least] five relatively well identifiable models of social development:

Figure 1: Five types of social development



The five types of development can be described as follows:

- BLUE: High on market, low on plan; national corporations dominate economic life. Typical of First world countries, capitalist.
- RED: High on plan, low on market; national ministries dominate economic life. Typical of Second world countries, socialist.
- ROSE: Medium on plan, medium on market; mixed economy, negotiation economy, Partnerschaft between the two; found in many First world countries, social democratic.
- GREEN: Low on national market, low on national planning; more focus on local institutions. Was typical of Third world countries [and of the others earlier], "development" being defined partly as becoming "modern", ie blue, red or rose/pink, ie the **diagonal**
- YELLOW: High on both national market and national planning; highly integrated economy with close to identity between the two. The best example is Japan but the pattern increasingly typical of most Fourth world countries [East and Southeast Asia, the world South-East].

Of these models only the green stresses the local level, possibly at the expense of economies of scale but gaining local participation.

We let this do as a basis and turn to human development.

3. Three postulates about human development

Human beings are self-transcending, at least potentially, but development theories do not fully reflect this. Generally they do not deal with how to obtain growth and maturity, happiness and bliss, satori and salvation. Development theories tend to deal with production and control of production, and consequently tend to serve the interests of producers and controllers, in other words only some humans. And even for those people development theory, socio-economic as commonly thought of, promises only a very partial fulfillment, only in terms of material, somatic satisfaction, and in terms of career in the social structure. The builders of such theories, when putting them into practice, are not only short-shifting great portions of humankind and great aspects of all humans, but also cheating themselves. And this is certainly not because of any lack of self-serving orientation, both ego-centric and antropo-centric, but simply because of bad theory and even worse practice.

What is suggested here is that development theory and practice should treat human beings better, all humans, all aspects. By "development", then, we do not mean any growth process, but a process that may involve both growth and transcendence, both quantitative and qualitative changes, but never at the expense of the development possibilities of the environment, meaning other humans, other societies, and non-human parts of nature. Anyone who looks knows that there is, deposited in human nature and to some extent also in social structures an enormous richness of vernacular human development theory and practice. It suffers from one major weakness, though, that can be pointed out immediately: whereas social development theories tend to be too materialistic, somatic and generally outside-oriented, human development theories tend to be too non-material, idealistic, spiritual and generally inside-oriented. Both of them may tend to be negligent of non-human nature; at least such concerns may not be reflected in a sufficiently explicit manner.

But having said that there is little doubt that the theory of human development is much superior to the theory of social development. It is in exposing the mystery of human life (and death)

itself that the human mind has reached some of its highest levels. This is the field where the greatest thinkers, religious and secular, have deposited some of their greatest works.

There may be at least three simple reasons for this qualitative superiority of human development theory over social development theory:

- there is so much more richness, so much more depth, in any single human being than in any society because human beings have self-awareness, a spirit that can reflect on mind and body, even capability of self-transcendence;
- a human being reflecting on human beings is at home, reflecting on him/herself - if societies had self-awareness may be greater depth could be attained by knowing their self-reflections;
- there are so many more human beings than societies, both because the latter comprise many human beings and because their life-span generally are much longer - so there is much more human experience than social experience on which to base the reflections.

Many would say that "there is that of god in human beings". Some would add "there is that of god in nature". But how many would say "there is that of god in a social structure" - or in a car? Are they not both rather human made?¹² But does that not simply mean that social philosophy is less complex/deep/~~rich~~ simply because the subject matter is less complex/deep/~~rich~~ - and we humans are on top of it whereas we are on the side of ourselves and below the deeper mysteries of life and death?

This may be an answer. But it also opens for another point: that the cut between human and social development, and between human and social philosophy, is an unfortunate one for the simple reason that societies are more than structures in process. There are concrete human beings living in them, shaped by them and shaping them. The cut is an abstraction, and the corresponding division of labor between social scientists (sociologists/anthropologists vs. psychologists) and between philosophers (society-oriented vs. human-oriented) is an artificial one. Our task must be to

try to put the two together. Ideally this should have been done in a holistic manner from the very beginning seeing humans-in-society in nature as a whole, a totality. But for lack of ability to do that we might at least try to look at the two separately, and then try to put them together in the end.

So, how do we approach human development? In the languages of spaces this refers to the inner space. Then there are the social spaces, the micro spaces of "primary" inter-personal relations like in the family or among friends; the macro space of the country, the nation, the "state"; the meso space between the two such as the community, the class, organizations, associations, all kinds of "secondary" groups; the regional space grouping countries together in primary and secondary groups of countries; and the global or world space which is as far as we have come in social organization. To this must be added the outer space, nature - included cosmos, the universe. Spaces, layers, not levels - there is no assumption that any space is at a higher or lower level than the other. And this opens for all kinds of cross-relations, such as the six combinations inner-micro, inner-meso and so on, which obviously is what we are looking at when we are exploring the relations between human and social and nature development. But that comes later in this paper.

Let us look inside this "inner space", which is us, as we would with any "space" and ask: what parts are there, how is it subdivided, how are the parts related? For my purpose it is both necessary and sufficient simply to divide it into three: body, mind and spirit. Schumacher says that body or "live matter" is what plants also have; that mind, the seat of emotions and cognitions with memories of both is what animals also have; and that spirit, self-awareness, is what only humans have. This may be so; it may also be an underestimation of both plants and animals, some of whom may be closer to humans than we know, perhaps above us. The cumulative dimension indicated may also be too discontinuous; maybe a continuum would be better. However this may be, I think some very soft "structuring" of the inner space can be used to arrive at three points.

First, human beings are, in principle, capable of self-transcendence, as mentioned above. By this I mean the following. Like animals we are programmed to do certain things and not to do others. Some of that programming is transmitted genetically and may be referred to as instincts. It is generally considered weak relative to the depth and richness of the genetic programs with which animals are endowed from the very beginning of life, even in pre-natal life. Much of the programming is built into human beings through socialization, in other words transmitted socio-culturally, not bio-genetically. The sum total of that program may be referred to as that person's mind just as the instincts are built into the body. Some of the personality can be traced to the influence of the micro space, the "significant others", particularly the family, even more particularly the mother. Some of it may come from the meso space, for instance from the class or the local community culture. Some of it may come from the macro level, e.g. the famous "national character". Some of it may come from the regional level, e.g. from groups of countries within the same broad civilization - that part is what I refer to as cismology, the code of a civilization. And some of it may come from the world space, human society, humankind as a whole, not so easy to describe, as there is nothing to contrast it with. But it may be related to some of the theory of basic human needs, the part that is not a part of the body-program, yet fairly universal.

Now, I postulate a spirit capable of a primary micrale, not always, but sometimes: to see, perceive, comprehend how the mind, and perhaps also the body, is programmed, and, through an act of will, to change the program, even the body program (yoga). This is transcendence, even, sometimes, self-transcendence. In saying so there is no denial that professional help or help from others in general may be useful, although it may also distort. Psychoanalysis is based on that and its tripartite distinction id/ego/-super-ego is similar to, but not identical with, the distinction body/mind/spirit. A basic point in psychoanalysis would be to explore the archaeology of the human mind, guiding the spirit in the search for (re)cognition of the deeper layers of cognitions and emotions, unearthing them, comprehending their role in forming the sum total, one's character. Another point would be to accept one's bio-genetic programming rather than trying to

change it, for instance by repressing sexuality - continuing the pattern set when infant sexuality is repressed in the micro-space of the family. One standard critique I share would be that in the West there is a general overemphasis on the role played in character-formation by the family (micro-space) and particularly the childhood phase (even infant) - both of them together leading to excessive familism and individualism in the approach and emphasis on sexuality - not denying the significance of all of this and their combination.

Another standard critique would be that the analyst/therapist relation to the client/patient is vertical, even authoritarian. An alternative would be to accept the need for others in helping a person to see him/herself, but organizing that horizontally, as group therapy, or simply as a group discussing openly all kinds of matters relating to (their own) human development. A compromise would be non-directive counselling with the professional in a sense acting non-professionally - a role that perhaps is too artificial to convince.

And still another possibility is the human being doing this alone with him/herself, perhaps more or less consciously drawing on the help of others, which is what a major part of the Eastern meditation tradition is about. One point would be that having to fight out oneself what in fact is tantamount to a reprogramming or redesigning of one's own personality in itself contributes to the transcendence. Self-reliance in recognizing the maldevelopment of one's own personality, trying to steer the contradictions through a crisis towards some kind of catharsis, could itself strengthen and deepen the transcendence. But just as for social development it may also be too demanding. Some kind of outside assistance may be needed. Again the self-reliance paradigm may be useful: if you cannot make it alone, seek help from others at the same level, with the same or corresponding problems, rather than from the "more developed persons" (MDPs?) who might just grow even further through his experience with your problems. Why not rather give that source of growth to others who might need more, with them reciprocating, sharing their problems with you? The isomorphism with horizontal as opposed to vertical social development at the macro level is obvious. One particular aspect of this

is the isomorphism between human development as depending on the grace of God and social development, as depending on the grace of some superpower - two solid Western traditions.

Second, this opens for a second miracle; not only the individual transcendence, with or without the help of others, but love, among persons. I do not think love is beyond definition. I even think definitions may be helpful: love is closeness, intimacy, even union of bodies, minds and spirits (the definition should not be restricted to two persons, and not to persons of different sex). The sexual relation is paradigmatic: to be naked to each other, without veils, to penetrate and be enveloped, to demand access and to let the other person in. All that is equally meaningful although less concrete for minds and spirits. Sex is not only bodies in contact, but shared as opposed to parallel thoughts and feelings. Love brings this to a higher level of shared awareness. It makes sense to talk about spiritual love *as it makes*

sense to talk about bodily sex; they are less complete as unions, but certainly not for that reason to be scoffed at. But love can be much more although we all know that it does not happen that often: we humans have been given this fantastic, incredible gift that we have bodies that can be good to each other; through our eyes and other senses we can share the feelings this gives rise to; with our words - often also without words - our self-awareness can become other-awareness and then become us-awareness. Sometimes ~~the~~ these three take place simultaneously, the sexual union may bring out the other two or vice versa. But synchronicity should not be seen as a condition. No simple linear model should be assumed either; the three should rather be seen as points on a wheel. One may also stand in the way of the others: spiritual love may become an all-consuming end in itself, physical sex so voluptuous that it leaves no space for other forms of union. And, why should it not also be seen as a goal in its own right? It is given to human beings to experience all three, although not necessarily with the same person and not necessarily at the same point in time. But the union of the unions may also happen, a point of bliss, a peak experience which cannot be experienced too often because it would be too exhausting, too demanding. What it means goes beyond transcendence of, or in, the individual human being mentioned above. It

means transcendence beyond the personal level, to something trans-personal. In moments of extreme clarity, elation, some kind of clair-voyance, perhaps in union with a person one loves, this becomes an almost material reality - this miracle that two human beings can reach out for each other and become one, if only for a short while. The feeling may be particularly strong and "cosmic" if this happens across sharp civilizational borders.

Third, this opens for the third miracle: awareness of the transpersonal as something beyond the union of love at the micro level, perhaps to be likened to a field surrounding us all, in which we live, of which our individual spirits, developed by us alone or together with others, are points of some density and in which the union of love is like a spark, even a lightning, and the union of friendship a weaker version of the same. Some call it god, some that, some dao, some tad twam asi. I conceive it the way just mentioned; it corresponds to my personal experiences, I find it real. Sometimes I feel that the transpersonal is also looking at the world through my eyes. Others confirm me in this; still others use words so different that it may reflect something very different (thus I find the Christian language far too concrete in its anthropomorphism and holy (trinitarian, quaternarian) familism when it tries to speak of the unspeakable. Still others do not use words in this direction at all whether because they never had such feelings/thoughts/experiences; had them but did not recognize them, fought them, denied them; recognized them but did not find words in which to clothe them; found words but too different for me to recognize them. The experience is personal, subjective, but also universal. But there are so many idioms around, religious or not, ready to capture these feelings and not only clothe them but drown them in words before they are even felt and thought! But thus it is, nonetheless.

4. Some models of human development

I shall now make use of these points in order to try to say something more specific about human development. Evidently, the general language, even jargon, used to talk about social development may be useful. Thus, there is an inner space, with a certain structure. It makes sense to talk about goals and processes of human development even of indicators. Let us start trying to say something about the goals and processes of human development.

I cannot specify the goals too much because I think one of the richest treasures of humankind is the diversity, the variety of goals it has set for human development. But I think I can say something about the general form of the goals and processes. Thus, there is underdeveloped or maldeveloped human beings, the little self. And there is the goal of human development which is to become part of a bigger self, in a union, to be integrated, attaining freedom through identity, union. The process would combine some quantitative growth with qualitative transcendence, and there would be an increasing identity with, closeness to the bigger self.

This is the general form of the answer to the question "what is human development?" The specific answers will depend on how one conceives of that bigger Self, or Selves, for there are many, so there are many answers. I do not know of any exhaustive catalogue, nor do I know of a method to arrive at one. But that should not serve as an excuse to disregard the diversity of the human experience with human development. More precisely, I think one has to consider both religious and secular approaches, and - at the very least - both Occidental and Oriental approaches. So let us try to explore a little ~~the~~ possibilities, with some (important) examples from each combination. But first a few words by way of definition, again.

The religious/secular distinction will have to be drawn, not at the belief in the reality of a personal god, but at the belief, or certainty for that matter, of a reality beyond the empirical reality to be grasped through sensory experience. We may call it transcendental reality - I have tried to give some indication above. It should not be confused with potential reality, which is empirical reality not yet realized because the conditions were not (yet) right. The distinction between transcendental and material reality, and of the latter in empirical and potential, is not seen as a sharp one. Thus, which are these senses that define sensory experience - what about intuition? What about shared mystical experiences creating and inter-subjective awareness at least as high as is shared in an in-bred scientific community? Who decides what is "sensory"?

The same applies to the Occident/Orient distinction. We shall draw the line not geo-politically but socio-culturally, and more particulrally using religions as the base-line. Thus, the Occident is the space occupied by the religions of the kitab (Judaism, Christianity, Islam); the Orient the space occupied by the various forms of Buddhism (theravada, mahāyāna, tantric). The space occupied by Hinduism falls between the two, but for the present purpose it will be included in the Orient - as is commonly done.

The crudest mistake that could possibly be made in a theory of human development would be to limit the exploration to only one of the four combinations. Under the influence of Occidental psychologism this would today easily lead to the secular/occidental combination - leaving aside the entire religious experience of humankind, and the Orient. Of course, the present scheme also leaves out much, but in principle it would be open to other traditions, such as the Amerindian, the African, the Pacific peoples. Let it here only be noted that psychologism may be to the theory of human development what economism is to the theory of social development. This certainly does not mean that it should not be taken into account and even play a major role. There should only be consciousness of its limitations; it should not rule the field alone.

Here, then, are some models of human development:

Table 2: Some models of human development

	OCCIDENT			ORIENT	
	Christianity		Islam	Hinduism	Buddhism
<u>Religious approaches</u>	Protestant	Catholic	Orthodox	Theravada	Mahāyāna
<u>Secular approaches</u>	<u>inner</u>	<u>micro</u>	<u>meso</u>	Confucianism Shintoism	
	<u>macro</u>	<u>regional</u>	<u>world</u>		
			<u>outer</u>		

Judaism has been left out as numerically insignificant: Christianity and Buddhism have both been subdivided along familiar lines.

Confucianism and Shintoism are not seen as religious but essentially as social codes with strong emphasis on human development. And the secular/Occidental combination has not been subdivided according to philosophical maps, but simply according to the level at which the big Self is seen as located - that with which identification or even union has to take place.

Since this paper is concerned with certain important aspects most models of human development have in common and not with the details of the models, only a few words for the purpose of illustration. I take it that the goal of human development in Christianity is union with Christ through ever higher levels of identification; ultimately with God beyond, in the afterlife. The latter presupposes the reality of an individual soul. The process of human development, in Protestantism, is very much internal, based on faith; in Catholicism more external, based on observance of ritual. In Islam the goal is also union with God, in the afterlife and the process, like in Christianity, is based on deepening faith and on observation of the key five precepts. In Hinduism and Buddhism the goal is also union, but not of the soul or of the vital forces in an individual sense with a god in a personal sense. The goal is extinction, the immersion or union with all in a state of total entropy, nirvana. The process is inner-directed, through meditation (in Hinduism also combined with physical exercises, yoga, and also more external, as observations of ritual. In Hinduism that which undergoes development is the individual. This is also the case in Buddhism but there the closeness to the small group in the same process (theravada) and the big group, even the nation (mahayana) are of equal or even greater significance.

Proceeding clockwise the goal of confucianism and shintoism can both be seen in a secular light, as identification with society even to the point of becoming one with the social order. The process is one of character formation, purification, inculcatingⁱⁿ the individual a social ethics, performance in a social setting. There are, particularly in shintō, religious elements behind, but they are less crucial than in the four major world religions above. Obviously, the two codes are more related to the social interests of the mandarin^{ate}/shōgunate.

Then, there is the secular/occident combination. In Table 2 seven foci of identification are indicated, for the secularised occidental individual, after the death of God and Allah, deprived of the mysteries of Christ and the guidance provided by Christ and the Prophet. The following is a list of what could be called possible components of "humanism", meaning by "humanism" precisely a general effort to achieve human development through secularism, but on the basis of fundamental occidental assumptions. Among the latter I would count:

- a faith in occidental concepts as universally valid;
- a faith in ameliorism, in personal progress, even "growth", self-improvement
- a faith in epistemological simplicity, that progress is obtained through concentration on a very limited number of factors
- a faith in man's superiority relative to nature - anthropocentrism
- a faith in the reality of the individual as a construction, combined with vertical ordering of individuals through competition [also in self-improvement]
- a faith in the supreme validity of the foci of identification as a singular basis for human orientation and progress

The problem with humanism, thus, is not only the problem of a secular, non-transcendental orientation, but also the problem of these occidental basic articles of faith.

The seven foci give rise to, among others, the following possibilities for human development, defined as identity/union:

- (1) Inner space. This is the individual's identification with him- or herself. It seeks beyond the self towards the Self, yet focusses so much on the inner space as the key formula, self-realization, indicates that it is bound to become ego-cultic, even narcissistic. There can be no argument against realizing more faculties than is usually permitted by a constraining social order. But a concentration by all on self-actualization, regardless of the integrative formula for the total person, for a Gestalt would lead to a society of self-inflated individuals if this is to be the only identification, some kind of duty to one's own potential - in an effort to become a Goethe (as portrayed by Eckermann). The construction of the self as a potential Self seems to be the concept underlying much of Occidental schooling. Two highly simplified versions exist: through a focus on property, identity with one's own things; through a focus on work, identity with one's own products - in other words a focus on consumption and production rather than on the self that is the nexus for the two in the social cycles.
- (2) Micro space. This is where the individual's love for the nearest one's - spouse, family, kin, friends - becomes the focus for the identity through which human development is realized. Love between spouses becomes paradigmatic as a carrier of physical, mental and spiritual identity, creating tremendous pressures on that particular relation. Human development becomes capacity for love of concrete human beings, here and now, not "Christ" or "humanity"

- [3] Meso space. This is where human development is seen as linked to identity with concrete, visible social reality surrounding the individual, to the horizon but not much further, so to speak. The concrete focus would be the farm(s) scattered or in villages, later on towns, even cities. Human development would comprise such faculties as solidarity, fulfilment of normative expectations, including concern for the future.

- [4] Macro space. This is where human development is seen more in terms of identity with secondary groups and their over others and welfare, such such as the [liberal/conservative] focus on the nation [country] through balance of power and economic growth through capitalism, and the [marxist] focus on the class [proletariat] through revolution and economic growth through socialism. Human development would comprise those faculties considered particularly important in furthering these causes, such as hard work, frugality/postponement of gratification, long time planning horizons; solidarity, readiness for sacrifice, hard work, etc.

- [5] Regional space. This is where human development is seen more in terms of identity with even larger groups, such as civilizations (or "macro-cultures") and worlds (First, Second, Third, Fourth worlds or "macro-countries"). Civilizations are to a large extent articulated through religions and their secular offsprings, worlds through the position of the country in the world class structure and superpower hegemonial patterns. Human development would comprise such faculties as capacity for identity with the civilization/religion (as distinct from identity with the transcendental focus defined within that religion), solidarity with the cause of the world.

- [6] World space. This is where human development is seen in terms of identity with humanity as such, all of it - possibly concretized as an identity with universal institutions such as the United Nations. Human development would then comprise such faculties as ability to think and act in global terms, in terms of the world as a whole. Obviously both education and extended solidarity in space and time enter as components here.

- [7] Outer space. This is where human development is seen in terms of identity with nature in the broadest sense, including the human part of it, not necessarily presupposing that humans are the rulers of nature. Human development would then comprise such faculties as empathy with non-human, even non-living parts of nature.

About this much can now be said, I shall concentrate on four comments.

First, these seven foci do not exclude each other; they can be combined in any way. Anyone can find his/her profile, or that of others, in the sense of recognizing it and/or prescribing it. My preference would probably be for a fairly even profile.

Second, of course there is an obvious relation to the social construction. The focus in the middle of this list, with macro space, would make for very cohesive countries (also according

to the marxist formula, after the revolution. In other words, as a human development formula it would be highly compatible with a social development formula that would emphasize the country as the unit of development. The first three are sub-national in their foci, the last three are super-national - both might tend to lead the attention away from the country, that 17th century unit (Peace of Westphalia, 1648) still dominating both the social and the world spaces (and hence, by implication, the nature and human spaces). One might even go further and say that the focus on inner space is by far too atomistic for any social construction except insofar as individuals would like a social infrastructure to service their self-realization. A focus on micro-space is ~~more~~ molecular, tying individuals together in dyads and n-ads (n small), but that does not make for a social construction. A focus on meso-space would provide that, but it would be more localistic, less nationalistic and hence more compatible with anarchist than with liberal-marxist maps for social (re)construction. The focus on regional space would sap the nation-state of some of its psychic energy but could also be used to construct a macro-state, hence a replay of nationalism on a more grandiose scale. This would be lost in the focus on the world space as the identity would be with the whole rather than with parts, thus eliminating the competitive "article of faith" - the problem is whether occidental humans are at all capable of that. And that applies a fortiori to the identity with outer space where even the competitive or zero-sum relation to non-human nature has been eliminated.

Third, the problems of occidentalism. It is here seen as a cultural grid that would tend to overemphasize patterns that are expansionist in space and time, one-dimensional, exploitative of nature, competitive even at the expense of the loser among other human beings and sub-servient to some general goal. A glance at the seven foci and the possible sub-foci will convince one that not all of them meet this bill. A focus on self-realization as such is too atomistic; growth-oriented but then not competitive (the individual might simply be competing with him/her-self in the struggle for self-realization); not expansionist from the Occident; possibly too many-dimensional unless it is simplified to productionism or consumerism, the cult of work and the cult of things. A focus on love of the nearest ones might, like the concentration on self-realization direct attention too much to the smallest levels of social organization to be expansionist and destroy competition unless couples were to compete as to who had the highest level of love-realization. Some of the same would apply to the focus on the local level: it might

become competitive with the bigger levels of social organization seen as possible carriers of expansionism, at present. In a sense this is a stronger version of the argument just made above: here the problem is not only that of social construction (in the sense of a "country" of a certain scale), but of a social construction capable not only of competing with other countries but of winning, so as to expand. Regional identification would not stand in the way of this but might even reinforce it, adding strength from higher numbers through blocs, alliance-formation etc. But identification with the world as a whole or nature as a whole would stand in the way. Conclusion: occidentalism would, all verbal protestations notwithstanding, tend to favor those types of human development patterns that would be compatible with the building of strong, competitive, expansionist nation-states or macro-states, liberal/conservative or marxist inspired, capitalist and/or socialist. That is why we have them.

Fourth, the problems of secularism. It should be noted at the very outset that this is a problem more within the occidental than the oriental frame of reference. The two major secularisms mentioned from the Orient, confucianism and shintoism, are combinable with mahāyāna buddhism; in China also with daoism (which I doubt can be classified as secular) - shintōism being a Japanese specialty. It is in the Occident that many (by no means all or even most) tend to see Christianity or Islam as antithetical to "humanism". In other words it is assumed here that it is mainly in the Occident or in parts of the world very heavily influenced by the Occident that there is a real non-transcendental secularism seen as necessary and sufficient as guide-light for human development, not merely as a component. The problem with that has been pointed out by many, often by people whose argumentation may suffer from the self-serving interests of religious institution-building. The problem is simply this: why bother. Develop your body or mind to the point deemed necessary by your surrounding social construction and sufficient by yourself, enter that social construction on a contractual basis, on a quid pro quo, do ut des basis. Give so that you will be given, a rational calculus, that is all. The measure of your success will not be what happens inside you but how the social construction rewards you, in other words social mobility, career. Train your body, feed your mind with knowledge and impressions, try even to combine the two in mens sano in corpore sanem. But as to your spirit: forget about it, deny even its existence. Be a body-mind technician.

5. The problem of personal/social development compatibility

Let us now retrace our steps in this exercise. I have postulated that human beings are capable of transcendence, of changing its own program - at the more personal level, in relations of intense love, at the transpersonal level. I have tied the idea of human development to the idea of a higher level of identity, some type of union, with something outside oneself because I have come to see that as the fundamental, underlying formula in transcendental and secular faiths that make (even strong) demands on human beings. The linkage between transcendence and union is clear: it is only through a major effort, a spiritual effort, and not necessarily alone but in cooperation with others (as emphasized so strongly in buddhism) that this union is attained as something more than merely "identification" - a pale term in comparison, worthy of our century.

We are now entering the world of the mystics, of those who attain union with the transcendental and transpersonal before death - the saints in the Occident, the bodhisattvas in buddhism. Do I then say that these are the models for the positions as MDPs, as "most developed persons" to translate it once again into UN parlance? Not necessarily, but I cannot accept a conceptualization of human development that leaves them out. At the same time I would also insist - as the foregoing pages have attempted to show - that there are very many ways of conceiving of this union and of the Self beyond self. One of them, incidentally, may be just the search for non-instrumental knowledge or art, which I take to be the search for union with others through other media of communication; maybe even the search for a union with something Supreme that communicates to the rest of us through the words or other types of expressions of the See-er in a two-way process: the See-er sees something (much) beyond him/herself, which in turn is communicated back through him/her.

Having said this much it is fairly clear what kind of social development would be compatible/incompatible. If human development is identified with the search for transcendence, for getting beyond the apparent and into higher levels of reflection, guided by those who have throdde such paths before one and one's own relentless efforts and striving, then three consequences follow immediately for the social construction:

[1] Society should provide for neither too little nor too much satisfaction of basic needs. If there is too little then the striving for everyday survival will take time and energy away from human development. If there is too much then that will also take time and energy away,

having will stand in the way of being/becoming.

[2] Society should be self-reliant, meaning being dependent on no other society for the satisfaction of the needs of its members, nor making other societies dependent on it.

[3] Society should be pluralistic, meaning permitting, indeed encouraging many approaches to the search for human development. Whether each such approach itself should be encased in a society capable of satisfying the needs of its members in a self-reliant way is another matter - the answer might be yes in order to ensure this type of pluralism, making it less dependent on good will alone.

In human history a sizable part of humankind has done exactly this: the monastic orders, in Orient as well as in Occident [and other parts of the world]. The central concern of the unit, the monastery/temple, has been human development through intense reflection, alone and with others, guided and unguided. Where the orders have gone wrong seems to be precisely where they have strayed away from the principles mentioned by becoming too self-penitentiary and flagellating or too good at accumulating riches, where they depend too much on others through begging or make others dependent on them through all types of feudal organization and where they become rigid, doctrinaire, flabby from a doctrinal point of view because of excessive singularism through monopoly, protected by the secular order or not. Through important periods of human history these types of social organization have, in fact, been some of the major carriers of the whole human exercise.

The question is whether we would accept the monastic orders as models of social development. The question does not even have to be answered for they are taken here only as examples, even extreme ones from which there is, no doubt, very much to be learnt. The basic point is the basic principle: human development as here conceived of can only come by exertion, by efforts, training, concentration. If social development, or just society as it is, competes too effectively for time and energy human development will suffer. The more complicated the social surroundings, the more simplistic the demands for human development. Catholic ritual is too time-consuming; protestant reductionism to faith alone liberates the time budget of the individual for more **social** activity. Whoever argues for higher levels of human development is essentially arguing for more time, for deeper insight, reflection, meditation, even prayer. There is a limit to clientelism; exertion is indispensable.

In more concrete terms, and with reference to Figure 1 above, this would definitely point in favor of the green rather than the blue, red, rose/pink or yellow models of social development. This is not to deny that there may be pockets in those other four models where serenity can be found, even in the midst of a busy megalopolis, for reflection; universities being partial examples of this. But this means that human development would be a privilege for the few able to eke out such pockets. It is doubted whether human development is compatible with running big national or transnational, governmental or intergovernmental bureaucracies for corporate or ministerial type activity. It is also doubtful whether those pockets would be left in peace if they stand in the way of corporate and/or ministerial expansionism. Moreover, blue and red and yellow societies, possibly to a lesser extent the rose/pink ones, tend to get into belligerent activity sooner or later, mainly related to the dependent relations they are parts of. Does humankind not have better ways of using its talents? More worthy pursuits?

Hence, this would point towards a social construction with strong local autonomy, with basic social units tied together in some kind of federal structure, self-reliant as units and as a whole, meaning self-sufficient if necessary, engaged in equitable exchange among the units and with other countries, building no dependencies. This social order is not necessarily small even if the basic units may be small - they would be guided not only by the dictum that "small is beautiful" but also that "something big is necessary". Nor is the social order necessarily simple, but it is complex in the ecological sense of being mature (consisting of a number of diverse components, in symbiosis), not complicated in the sense of social structures always standing in the way of human action for human development.

Would this social order not presuppose a particular choice among the foci of humanist identification? Obviously the local level identification would have to be present. But so should all the others, only the very uneven profiles would stand in the way of this kind of social development. The right and duty to self-realization would be tempered by love for others and solidarity with national, regional and world society, as well as with nature. But the link to transcendence and union would be there.

Would that mean conversion to one of the religions in Table 2? Not necessarily; human capacities are more general. To use all our capacity for transcendence, individually and combined,

to overcome the threat of a nuclear holocaust would already be more than enough, as an example. It is characteristic that the people who really work for this in Europe (and North America) themselves often seem to favor green constructions of the social order, even to live that way. This does not mean that there are not also blue, red, pink and yellow ways of trying to come to grips with the nuclear possibility, but they are all combined with armament with offensive weapons that does not seem, empirically-historically, to lead to the desired result of absence of war. To overcome this, if it is not already too late, some rather major transcendence seems to be needed, and I doubt very much that this can take place unless very many people themselves undergo not a religious conversion in the conventional sense but some major and deep reflection. Is this at all possible in the huzzle-buzzle of an ever more complicating modern society of anyone of the four non-green colors mentioned, or is it rather so that life in that society has non-reflection (as opposed to highly specialized scientific-technical research, often in think tanks with some superficial similarity to monasteries) as a condition?

Let us now try to relate all of this to another approach, briefly alluded to above, to personal or human development: the theory of basic needs. I then take as a point of departure four classes of needs, as given in the table below; with their antonyms:

Table 3: Classes of basic needs, and human development

	actor- dependent	structure- dependent
more material, somatic; having oriented <u>deficit needs</u>	SURVIVAL [violence, mortality]	WELL-BEING [misery, morbidity]
more non-material, mental-spiritual; being/becoming oriented <u>growth needs</u>	FREEDOM [repression]	IDENTITY [alienation]

The point to be made here is simply the following: what is referred to above as human development presupposes a certain minimum satisfaction of the deficit needs, and then presupposes no upper limit at all to the level of satisfaction of the growth needs. One might even say that human development starts at a relatively simple level of freedom and identity, of a subjective feeling of being free to choose and a search for identity as well as awareness of something with which to identify.

In other words, human development does not take place unless there is consciousness of alternatives and a choice, even a second choice, a third - - It is not something one drifts into; work is required, study, self-study, reflection in steering the complex dialectic between freedom and identity to higher levels. Apparently there is a contradiction here: as the search for identity becomes a search for union through a process of unification the range of options narrows, choices are made. Does that not mean that freedom is lost? No, because new ranges and vistas open, like a microscope and then an electro-microscope zooming in on what from a macroscopic perspective looks like ever smaller domains. I do not think those who have attained higher levels of transcendental insights feel that they arrived at a point where all problems were solved; some basic ones perhaps, but in the intense light of that insight new problems may only emerge from the shadows and be seen more clearly.

In this process of ever higher levels of consciousness a feeling of liberation is often reported, probably conceivable in terms of some kind of rebirth (while still alive), of leaving one existence and entering a new one. Religions promise some sense of tranquility, of non-worry, of great relief - the occidental religions through the certainty of having been guaranteed eternal life through faith in the Supreme Being (and His grace), the oriental religions through the certainty of being released from eternal cycles of transmigration or rebirth. Other religions will have similar promises, all of them one way or the other coming to grips with the problem of what happens after death - the basic problem left unanswered by the secular approaches if "afterlife in my deeds", "afterlife in my offspring" are deemed insufficient.

Complicated processes these, yet many would say that these are basic human pursuits, more worthy of human beings than pushing the scientific-technical revolution endlessly further. At the very least they should be given much more of a chance. But that, in turn, is meaningless unless the deficit needs are adequately cared for. The assumption would not only be that the social order is made in such a way that the four buddhist requisites (bienes fundamentales, fundamental goods, etc.) of food, clothing, shelter and medicine (to which many would add education) are met, but also that they are not actively counter-acted. And that opens for the whole debate on which social orders are more or less destructive of our natural basis, and through stress and pollution more or less productive of the "civilization diseases" - with well-known conclusions in green directions.

6. The problem of ethnicity and endogenous development

Of course cultures do not only contain prescriptions for human development asking human beings to make active use of their faculty for reflection to attain the moksha or satori or in general sense of bliss promised. Cultures also contain other prescriptions, for instance to become rich and powerful both at the individual and the national levels. Cultures may also imbue the members with a sense of superiority, entitling them to become rich and powerful, individually and collectively, at the expense of others less able to play such outward-oriented games. Human development, as described above, is profoundly inward-oriented although it expresses itself as identity, even union with the outside spaces in addition to that which goes on in the inner space when it becomes more differentiated, complex, richer. Social development, in macro space, points outwards.

I see occidental civilization as organizing this inward/outward dialectic in a very special way, as waves in time, with expansionism followed by contraction followed by expansionism and so on. Or, more concretely: the Graeco-Roman expansion followed by medieval [manorial, later feudal] contraction followed by Western imperialist expansion, now possibly entering a more contraction oriented phase after some last painful efforts of continued interventionism. To go in for "endogenous development" when occidental civilization, be that Judaic, Christian or Islamic parts of it, is in an expansionist phase is to accept expansionism as a part of development, even when it is at the expense of others, as has so often been the case in Western civilization. This is a dramatic assumption, to say the least. In other words, "endogenous development" cannot possibly be an absolute norm, it depends on the culture. To assume that all cultures are equally valid is an absolute type of cultural relativism possibly as harmful as the assumption that only one culture is valid.

Rather, cultures should be judged and can be judged in terms of how they contribute to the solution of the problems posed by basic human needs, interpreted in a very general, non-restrictive way. Ultimately they should be judged in terms of whether they facilitate or stand in the way of human development, meaning development of body, mind and spirit of all humans, not only of the insiders to the culture and its high priests. Looking at the approaches given in Table 2 above there is a basis for evaluation, and I would tend to place buddhism highest, both in the theravada and the mahāyana varieties, and the tantric, perhaps particularly the former.

7. The problem of gender and the female perspective

As long as there is some division of labor along gender lines males and females, men and women, will enter society differently and see it differently; they will also develop different types of competence. In most social orders men have tended to dominate in the macro space [and hence also in the regional and world spaces]; women often dominate in the micro space and sometimes also in the meso space. What about inner space?

I assume the competence to be equal. When there are more famous "MDP"s among men than among women it may not only be because the criteria are made by men, but also because women have made this possible for men by providing an infra-structure not only of reproduction but also to a large extent of production. Women who have attained the highest levels of human achievement have perhaps also built their achievement, like men, on an army of female little helpers not given similar possibilities. These helpers have either sustained what above was referred to as "green" types of social orders, or they have provided pockets inside other social orders permitting others to develop and attain higher and deeper insights. The women surrounding Jesus Christ constitute a good example although the biblical description is hardly complete, lacking in the trivia of daily life and maintenance.

From this follow two consequences, one descriptive, one more prescriptive.

A social order playing up the inner, micro and meso spaces and playing somewhat down the macro, regional and world spaces, making each place a center of its own concern and not a center for the possible control of others would play into the hands of female rather than male competence as the situation is today, by and large. This might tend to strike a better balance than today between the power positions of the two genders, but might also lead to an era of female dominance, justified as a compensation for the repression of the past.

But then: a focus on softer, more inward-directed human pursuits, on insight and love rather than technical knowledge and expansion, would also tend to humanize males, bringing out softer aspects, and make them/us see the unjust in not giving women the same chance. Inevitably this will accelerate the trend towards ever lower division of labor based on gender and more equal sharing.

8. Conclusion

Returning now to the point of departure a basic point can be made: this entire pastime known as development theory changes character the moment one starts in the human rather than the social corner (and more particularly, the economic aspect of the social corner). This becomes a fortiori true if in addition nature and world development are considered in their own right, not as something being given their due when social development has been given the lion's share of theory and practice.

More particularly, this holds if human development is considered in its entirety, not only as the survival and well-being of the body and the freedom and the identity of the mind, but as the possibility of endless reflection and growth of the spirit, with no ending point anywhere once inner space is being explored and developed in a relation of love and solidarity with other spaces. Maybe people were better at this before than now. Maybe some cultures are better than others, and expansionist occidental culture particularly at a loss. Maybe one gender is better than the other, and males particularly at a loss. Maybe also that even occidental males may see something, helped as they/we are the hard way, as Western and male dominance are declining due to the successful struggles against colonialism and sexism. So, let it only be added as a pious hope that **those** patterns of repression, these enemies not only of human, but also of social, nature and world development, do not manage to find a new foothold precisely among the former victims.