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ON HUMAN CENTERED DEVELOPMENT:
Images of Human Development in Different Civilizations*

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1. Introduction: the great illusion

The current interest in human centered theories and practices of development⁽¹⁾ can only be understood against the background of non-human centered human theories and practices of development. Of these there could be many, but there are two development theories that are particularly important: liberalism and marxism, as underpinnings of capitalist and socialist practices respectively.⁽²⁾ There is no denial that both liberal and marxist thinking represent extremely rich approaches to the human conditions, partly overlapping, certainly not as incompatible as they are often seen.⁽³⁾ Nor should there be any denial that they seem easily to render themselves to a kind of trivialization when they go through the simplification processes said to be needed in order for them to be operational, and that this gives rise to not only non-human, but also anti-human practices.

In this respect these two development models are relatively similar, and in that there may already be something to learn for anyone interested in promulgating a new type of development thinking, centering on the development of human beings, in their somatic, mental and spiritual dimensions. In the process of becoming operational the same trivialization may take place, and any body of thinking may be turned into a caricature of itself. Thus, liberalism, from being a theory of how man could be set free in a well designed system of institutional checks and balances, with economic competition, political democracy guarded through parliamentary elections, military balance of power and cultural pluralism, became perverted into a system of capitalist economics for the pursuit of economic growth, in turn perverted further through the operationalization known as the "gross national

product". And similarly with marxism: from a rich and impressive body of thought again outlining the conditions under which man could be set free, in a society where production would be geared to use rather than to exchange and contradictions between labour and capital would be overcome, into a caricature where much too much emphasis would be placed on ownership of the means of production, particularly by the part of the society known as the state. The operationalization of development corresponding to gross national product (divided or not by a population figure) would be the percentage of the economy under "public control". Hence, in either case the focus would be on the economic aspect of the human condition, the size of production in the first place and the control of production in the latter, leaving aside everything else as of minor or no significance. The result easily is production without control for the former and control without much production for the latter.⁽⁴⁾

True, there have been voices of protest. There have been softer versions of capitalism and socialism, concerned with distribution. In the case of capitalism the concern has focussed on income distribution,⁽⁵⁾ on how to reduce the discrepancy between those who have more and those who have less of acquisitive power. And in the case of socialism the focus has been on power distribution⁽⁶⁾ in connection with the control of the means of production, with an attempt at reducing the discrepancy between those who have more and those who have less control - particularly the difference between managers and workers in factories.⁽⁷⁾ The first approach leads to the softer versions of the capitalist West: the social democracies of Northern Europe (and some of the richer countries in the British Commonwealth); the soft approach to socialism leads to such expressions as the drive for self-management in Yugoslavia. Softening on either side makes the two models less divergent, they get more points of contact as there are some conversion processes between reduced income inequality and reduced decision-making inequality. As a consequence there is not that much distance between the most "red" countries of the capitalist West and the most "blue" countries of the socialist East -

the two geographical terms referring to the North-American/European space only, not to the world as a whole.

The two models have two important things in common: the unit of development is the country whether the dimension of development is economic growth or level of nationalization; mellowed or not with considerations of distribution. And secondly: they both have a very flat, very poor image of human beings; more or less assuming that if the basic factors in these development models are set straight, then human beings will somehow take care of themselves, be free to develop according to their own inclinations. In that there is something positive that should not be underestimated: the idea that there can be no human-centered theory of development because human development is essentially something that human beings have to do for themselves and by themselves. What there can be, however, is a theory of necessary conditions for human development to take place, and the answers given by the capitalist and socialist systems are clear.

Two approaches suggest themselves in order to get out of the difficulties just indicated: other units of development, other dimensions or aspects of development. Thus, a considerable body of development theory does not deal with countries, but with a whole region, the Third world (or some of the sub-regions); another equally important body of development theory and practice deals with the sub-national unit of development, the community⁽⁸⁾. If these three levels are seen in combination the result can become a very rich theory of economic development; if one is singled out for attention at the expense of the others (for instance, because it is seen as more basic than the others, as a necessary or sufficient condition for the other levels to develop) then regardless of what level is selected the result will be meagre. And the same applies to the adding of more aspects of development: if to "economic" is added "political", "social", "cultural", "communication", again the result will be a rich body of thought and possibly of practice

when they are seen as complimentary, not as supplementary.

However, a multidimensional, multilevel development theory and practice is still not the same as human centered development theory and practice; it remains a theory of social development.

The reason for this is simple. If development centered on human beings is to become more than a slogan it means that the criterion of development is in human beings themselves, in all human beings, in all aspects of human beings. Growth in production - probably best done by means of capitalistically organized corporations - and growth in the control of production - possibly best done through the State and nationalization - tempered by measures of distribution of acquisitive power and decision-making power, at best become conditions. The most enthusiastic among their adherents will see them as sufficient conditions: once wealth is produced and accumulated, or once the control level is sufficiently high this external development will trigger off a set of factors of internal development, development of human beings. The less enthusiastic will talk about necessary conditions, about the removal of such obstacles as poverty (in the first case) and exploitation (in the latter), and reject any thesis of automaticity.⁽⁹⁾

Then, the third approach; the "green" approach hinted at above focusing on smaller units of development, "the local level". The enthusiasts would see a world organized in terms of local communities as in and by itself conducive to human development. The more sceptical will talk about the removal of one literally speaking big obstacle: big-size organizations, be they corporate or bureaucratic or both. Hence, it is easy to see where the green line in development thinking may or will go wrong: in making local "communalism" into a fetish (corresponding to "productionism" and "statism" for the blue and red lines of development respectively), for instance by counting the number of people in the world or in a country to whom the local level is the dominant actor. But this is still social development, relevant for, but not identical with social development.

Thus, the common mistake has a simple structure: means are taken for ends, conditions are confused with the consequence. What at most would be necessary conditions are seen as sufficient conditions, and to guard oneself against realizing the mistake made what really happens to human beings is not studied but is brushed under the carpet. The reason for that is simple: really to see fully what happens at the human level would much too clearly reveal the falsity and fallacy of almost all development thinking and practice as we know it. It has simply failed to deliver the goods.

Thus, if human beings are taken in their somatic, mental and spiritual dimensions - well knowing how interrelated these three are - then two conclusions with broad implications for development thinking and practice seem to emerge.

First, no existing theories seem to be good at relating to all three levels. It is well known that some countries, particularly those that are able to combine a focus on production with a focus on control of production, have been able to cater to the body of human beings, at least until recently when the production of pollutants and the stress generated in society seem to start tearing at the bodies themselves. But these societies at the same time seem to be weak in catering to the human mind and the human spirit. Roughly speaking it also seems to be true that the local level, even the micro-level permitting closeness to others and also closeness to oneself through meditation and other practices, are good at catering to the mind and the spirit, but perhaps not so good at catering to the body, except when nature is particularly benevolent. Hence, only very partial images of human beings are compatible with unlimited faith in these development theories.

Second, we shall probably have to come to grips with the circumstance

that human centered development in all its aspects can take place under a variety of conditions. But this means that if the criterion is shifted towards the human level, then no clear preference for blue, red or green alternatives will any longer be possible - they may all be right, singly or combined, or all be wrong. In other words, this approach will create havoc with what today passes as development thinking and practice, and for that reason offers a major opportunity for new approaches. Any such new approach, however, will have to come to grips with the interests - economic, political, intellectual - vested in the various macro level approaches. No doubt this task can become somewhat more easy by taking such schools as liberalism and marxism in their rich entirety - adding to them, of course, all other bodies of thought about the conditions under which human development may take place.

But there is also an other approach: simply to recognize that human development is not a by-product of social development, but that these are logically independent and only weakly empirically related processes. The great illusion, then, is to deny this. Today this takes the form of Sorokin's "sensate" mentality, very similar to Koestler's commissar: the strong faith in social engineering of the red, blue or green varieties (Koestler was mainly thinking of the red, Sorokin also of the blue, neither paid much attention to the possibility of a green fallacy.⁽¹⁰⁾) But from this it does not follow that Sorokin's "ideational" mentality, highly inner-directed, negligent of the body and of the environmental conditions for human development, is less of an illusion. What is needed is exploration of models of social development - as is done in a cursory, deliberately caricatured fashion here - and models of human development, and then, but first then, an effort to explore the relation between the two.

2 Models of human development

Humans are self-surviving animals but development theories, surprisingly, do not fully reflect this. Generally they do not deal with how to obtain growth and maturity, happiness and bliss, action and salvation. If development theories tend to deal with production and control of production, then they will tend to serve the interests of producers and controllers, in other words only some humans. And even for those really development theory, socio-economic as compared with, of, producers only a very partial fulfillment, only in terms of material, sensual satisfaction, and in terms of career in the social structure. The dangers of such theories, when putting them into practice, are not only short-shifting the greater portions of humanity, but also short-shifting themselves. And this is certainly not because of any lack of self-survival orientation, both ego-centric and anthropo-centric, but of the absence of the proper and ever-growing practice.

What is suggested here is that development theories and practice should be self-surviving in the letter, and in the spirit, in all respects. If development, that is, we do not mean any growth at all, but a process that may involve both growth and transcendence, with a qualitative and quantitative dimension, but never at the expense of self-development and fulfillment of the individual, meaning in the broad, and comprehensive sense. And even when we know there is, development is often utilized to serve interest also in structures and systems of human development theory and practice. It suffices to look at the modern world, though, that we are not satisfied in this way; if we are satisfied development theories should be too materialistic, sensual and materialistic, and development theories tend to be too materialistic, sensual and materialistic, and development theories tend to be too materialistic, sensual and materialistic. And all this, in the context of non-human culture; or, at least such concepts are not in the context of non-human culture; or, at least such concepts are not in the context of non-human culture.

and these elements of the social theory of human evolution
are the essence of the theory of social development. It is in fact
the theory of human life (with the social theory) that a human life
has never seen of the biological; this is the theory where the
evolution of matter, energy and matter, have seen the role of their
evolutionary. There are in fact a great many reasons for the
evolutionary character of human evolution. The theory of social evolu-
tion theory:

- there is an evolutionary process, as a process of life, in any single
human being that in any society, because in a society there is self-organ-
ization, a social order, and the evolution of the individual, the evolution
of self-organization;
- a human being, whether in a human being is at home, reflection of
the self - if a social order and self-organization may be created, then
the evolution is attained;
- there are so many more human beings than societies, with in fact
the latter comprises and human culture and because their life-styles
generally are more complex, so that in fact, the evolution of the
individual is more complex than the evolution of the society.

They would say that "there is that of evolution in human beings". They
would say "there is that of evolution in nature". They would say
"there is that of evolution in social structures" - in fact, as the
evolutionary process is more complex than the evolution of the individual,
the evolution of the individual is more complex than the evolution of the
individual. The evolution of the individual is more complex than the evolution
of the individual. We are on the side of ourselves and have seen the evolution of life
and death.

The evolution of the individual is also seen for another point:
that the art between human and social development, and in fact, human
and social philosophy, is an evolutionary process for the evolution of
that evolution, and the evolution of the individual is in process. The evolution
of the individual is in fact. The evolution is an abstraction, and the evolution
of the evolution of human evolution social scientists (socialists/activists)

biologists vs. zoologists) and between anthropophores (semi-orientated or human-orientated) is an artificial one. Our task must be to try to put the two together. Ideally, this should have been done in a more realistic manner from the very beginning rather than as a whole, a totality, but for lack of ability to do that one might at least try to look at the two separately and then put them together in the end.

So, how do we approach human development? In the language of space this is the inner space and there are the social spaces: the micro space of "primary" inner-social relations like in the family or among friends; the meso space of the country, the "state"; the macro 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 space of the world as a whole. In the case of social organization. Then the outer space, nature - including oceans, the universe. Spaces, layers, not levels - there is no assumption that any space is at a higher or lower level than the others. And this space for all kinds of cross-relations, such as the six combinations inner-views, inner-acts and so on, after obviously is what we are looking at when we are exploring the relations between human (and nature) and social development. As 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. As another says that body or 'live matter' is what plants also have; that mind, the seat of emotions and conditions with awareness 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 that may be closer to humans than we know, perhaps above us? The cumulative dimension may also be too discontinuous; maybe a continuum would be better. However this may be I think that very soft "structuring" of the inner space would be best to arrive at three points.

First, human beings are, in principle, capable of self-transcendence, or reaching a god. 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 transmittable conceptually and may be referred to as instincts. It is conventionally explained with reference to the fertile and richness of the programming with which animals are endowed from the very beginning of life, even 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 programming is referred to as the person's personality (or character) and I see it as built into the 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 school or the local community, etc. Some of it may come from the macro level, the famous "national character". Some of it may come from the regional level, or from groups of people like within the same broad civilization - that part is what I refer to as cosmology. And some of it may come from the world space, human society, mankind as a whole, not so easy to describe as there is nothing to contrast it with - but it may be related to the theory of basic human needs.

Now, I postulate a spirit capable of a miracle, 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 programme - which is transcendence, ^{in some times} self-transcendence.

In saying so there is no denial that professional help may be useful (although it may also distort) - psychoanalysis is based on that and its tripartite distinction of ⁽²⁸⁾id/super-ego is similar to (but not identical with) the distinction body/mind/spirit. A basic point in psychoanalysis would be to use the archeology of the human mind, guiding the spirit in the search for (re)constrution of the deeper layers of cognition and emotions, ascribing them, corresponding to their role in forming one's character. An other 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/if infant ⁽²⁹⁾is in the micro space of the family. One standard criticism would be that there is an overemphasis on character-formation in the family (micro space), on the childhood phase (even infant) - both of them together leading to excessive familism and individualism in the approach - and a neglect of the meaning of the significance of all of this and their combination.

Another standard criticism 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 leading 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 criticism would be non-directive counselling with the professional in a secondary or non-professional - a role that perhaps is too artificial to carry out ⁽³⁰⁾.

And still another possibility is the human being doing this alone with him/herself, perhaps even or more consciously ⁽³¹⁾ on the help of others. The point would be that having to fight out oneself what in fact is to be done to a program for the realization of one's own personality is itself a significant contribution to the development of oneself in recognizing the self-development of one's own

as - awareness, in other words, take place at the level of the actual union of being about the union of two beings, No. 10. The ideas are still in general form: the ideas of union are seen as points on a wheel. You say that there is the way of the others: individual love may become an all-encompassing itself, physical sex or voluptuous love if there is no union for a higher level of union - and you should not also be seen as a goal in its own right. It is often a human being to experience all three, they do not necessarily with the same person and they do not really at the same point in time. But the union of the unions is a very rare, a kind of union, a weak experience which does not in general result in a state because it is too exhausting, too demanding. That it were more beyond transcendence of or to the individual human being centered love; it means transcendence beyond the personal level to something trans-personal. In moments of extreme clarity, elation, ecstatic of anirahasya, a bliss, 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 indeed one, if only for a short while.

Water, which is for the third miracle: the transpersonal or something beyond the union of love at the micro level, wishes to be lived to a field surrounded or all, in which positive, of which are individual spirits, love and by us and in together with others, are not to be ^{sake} of densiti or, in which the union of love is like a lightning (and the union of friendship a weaker version of the same). Some call it god, some that, some soo, lat tian ngi. I conceive it the way just mentioned, it corresponds to my personal experiences; I find it real. Some confirm me in this; others use words so different that it may reflect something very different (thus, I find the Christian language far too concrete in its author's writing as a materialist when it tries to speak of the unspeakable). Still others do not see 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 to clothe them in. The experience is personal, subjective, and there are so many idioms around, religious or not, ready to capture these feelings and not only clothe them but draw them in words when they are ever felt and thought! But this is is.

I shall now venture on all these points in order to try to say something very specific about human development. Briefly, the general language, even longer, used to describe human development can be useful. Thus, there is an inner core, with a certain structure. It takes shape to reach goals and processes of development; even of individuality. Let us start trying to say something about the goals and processes of human development.

I cannot specify the goals, but the richness of the innermost treasures of humankind is the diversity, the variety of goals if we get to human development. But I think I can say something about the general form of the goals and processes. Well, there is this underdeveloped or undeveloped human being, the little self. And there is the goal of human development which is a higher level of a big Self, in a union, interrelated. The process will include some quantitative growth with qualitative transformations, and there would be an increasing identity, closeness to what we call the higher Self. This is the general form of the answer to the question "what is human development?" The specific answer will depend on how one conceives of that higher Self, or Selves, for there are many, so there are many answers. I do not know of any exhaustive catalogue, nor do I know 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 error alike. No let us try to explore a little these four possibilities, with some (perhaps 4) examples from each combination, but first a few words by way of definition, again.

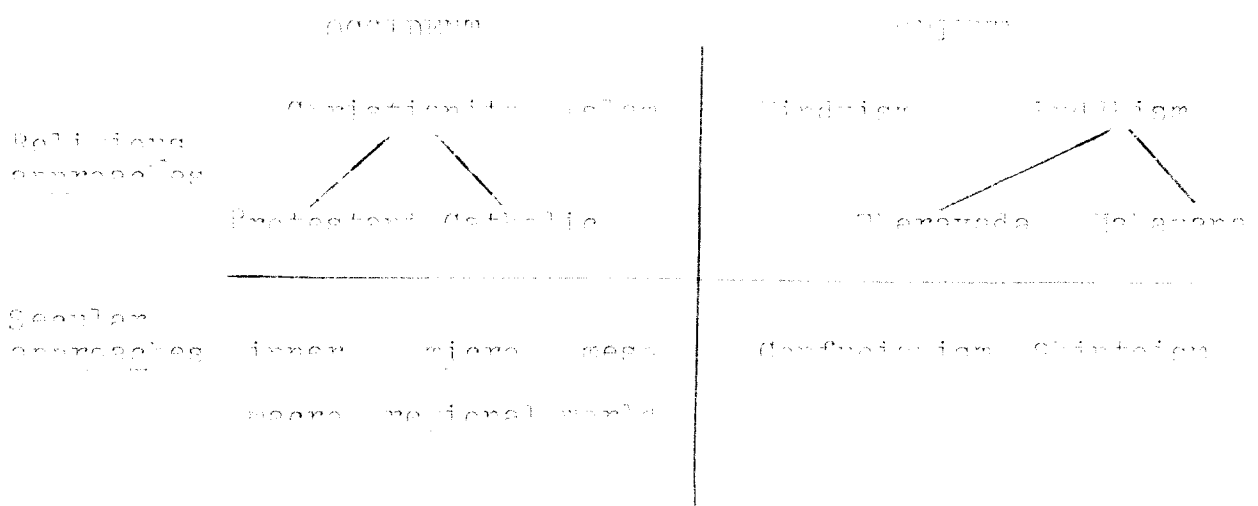
The well known/secular distinction will have to be drawn out of the belief in a general god, but at the belief, or certainty for that matter, of a specific being: the empirical reality to be assigned now is sensory experience. The word "empirical" transcends to reality. I have tried to give some indications above. It should not be confused with "material" reality (44) which is empirical reality not yet realized because the conditions were not right. The distinction between transcendental and material reality (and of the latter in empirical and material) is not meant as a phrase one. Thus, what are those senses that define sensory experience - what about intuition? What about shared mystical experiences existing on inter-subjective grounds - at least as far as is allowed by our Western scientific community?

The same applies to the Occidental/Oriental distinction (24). I shall draw the line not geographically but socio-culturally, and more particularly socio-religious on the basis of the West, the Occident is the space occupied by the religions of the West (Judaism, Christianity, Islam); the Orient the space occupied by the various forms of Buddhism (Theravada, Mahayana, Vajrayana). 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 gravest mistake that could possibly be made in our study of human development would be to limit the exploration to one of the four combinations. Under the influence of neo-classicism this would 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 over-

to other traditions, such as the American, the African, the Pacific peoples). Let it here only be stated that such a focus is not to the theory of human development what egoism is to the theory of social development. This certainly does not mean it should not be taken into account and even play a major role; there should only be recognition of its limitations.

Hence, there are some goals of human development:



... (text is mirrored and difficult to read) ...

Since this view is concerned with certain important aspects of human development, here in general and not with the details of the model, only a few words for the purpose of illustration. I take it that the goal of human development is Christianity is prior with Confucianism, even higher levels of it.

deification, ultimately with God beyond, in the after-life (27)

The process of inner development, in Protestantism, is very much internal, based on faith; in Catholicism more external, based on observance of ritual. (28)

In Islam the soul is also inner, but identification, is based on devotion, faith and an absorption of the Koran's precepts. (29)

In Hinduism and Buddhism the soul is also inner, but not of the soul or the ritual forces in an individual sense with a self in a personal sense; the extinction, the immersion or union with all is a state of total ecstasy, nirvana. (30)

The process is inner-directed, through meditation (in Hinduism also achieved through physical exercises, yoga) and more external as observance of ritual. In Hinduism that which undergoes development is the individual, this is also the case in Buddhism but there the presence of the soul is the same (31)

The soul (32) is not a self, but a self, from the notion (33) one of equal or even master of all things.

Proceeding clockwise the soul of Confucius (34) and Shintoism (35) 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 elevation, formation, purification, incorporation of individual and social status, performance in a social setting. There are, particularly in Shinto, religious elements behind but they are less crucial than in the four major world religions above.

Over, there is the secular/accident combination; for this is spelt out more it is because of the autistic bias, in English perhaps more than in other languages. As a point of departure, there is taken the space of identification for the lesser self. The one this to inner space itself, is that not the individual? It is, and in that rests a major dilemma of the secular/accidental orientation: it seeks beyond the self, yet focuses so much on the inner space in its key formula, that of self-realization.