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USING COMPLEXITY TO UNLOCK EMERGENT-DECOLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

by

REKGOTSOFETSE CHIKANE

(463944)

SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY
IN THE FACULTY OF COMMERCE, LAW AND MANAGEMENT

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Dedication

In 2015, much of my thinking related to this topic began. In fact, the day I heard To Pimp a Butterfly by Kendrick Lamar, it felt as if my world became crystallised. As such, I must dedicate this thesis to the people and groupings that influenced and shaped my thoughts and ideas at the time.

To my parents, Kagiso and Frank Chikane, who showed me that even when history repeats itself, a family must always be the foundation of your support system when fighting injustice. Even when it comes at a personal cost.

To my brothers and sisters, who brought lives into this world who have given me the distractions I needed when life took turns for the worst.

To Jessica Breakey, who never stopped sharpening my thoughts from the moment she came into my life.
To Larissa Johnson, who showed me what it means to have faith in your beliefs.

To #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall. Both showed me how an idea can change the world and the consequences of blind ideology. Decolonisation remains of utmost importance, but its pursuit must hold purpose regardless of conviction.

"I'm the biggest hypocrite of 2015"
– Kendrick Lamar, The Black the Berry - TPAB

Declaration

I, Rekgotsofetse Chikane (Student number: 463944), am a student registered for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the academic year 2022.

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.
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Abstract

This thesis argues the need for a theoretical and philosophical understanding of emergent-decolonial development within development studies and decolonial thinking to formulate the notion of decolonisation within both fields as an ongoing developmental practice. As both a theoretical and philosophical framework, emergent-decolonial development functions as an economic, policy and philosophical analytic exercise to unravel the complex nature of the entanglement of political and economic notions of decolonisation that create an epistemological quagmire within developmental discourse, currently understood as coloniality. This quagmire is the result of the continued use of the dialectical relationship between the ideal and the non-ideal in the framing of development and decolonial thinking that has resulted in development viewing the idea of decolonisation as only the process of self-determination and limiting decolonial thinking to focusing on the epistemological and ontological expression of peripheral voices. This limitation allows for an understanding of coloniality and colonialism but denies researchers the ability to tackle both through continuous public policy interventions. The thesis argues the importance of untangling this relationship in a manner that would allow for the emergence of a new humanism in a manner that is replicable through policy interventions which would challenge the emergent nature of modernity/coloniality.

In order to achieve the above, the thesis utilised a combination of two methodologies: an integrative literature review and a documentary analysis. The integrative literature review critically appraises the core theories of development, decolonial thinking and complexity to form the theoretical and philosophical framing of emergent-decolonial development. Thereafter, through the use of both thematic and content analysis of four liberatory texts from India, Tanzania, South Africa and Ecuador, respectively, the results were utilised to augment the framework where necessary.

The results of the thesis indicate that the limitations of both development and decolonial studies inhibit decolonisation from being explored as an ongoing process meant to counteract coloniality and instead view coloniality as an emergent property of modernist approaches to development and decolonial thinking. Furthermore, the thesis found that development and decoloniality can be retooled through complexity science as emergent properties within complex adaptive systems that directly contend with the influence of coloniality.

The colonial situation experienced by ‘the wretch’ has created an exceedingly complex and nuanced understanding of the coloniser and the colonised in the 21st century. As a result, the need to devise an approach to understanding decolonisation in this new world has become increasingly important. This framework provides the means to begin the resurgence of decolonisation and decolonial thought as an active public policy tool that others can adopt.

Acknowledgements

The first, and probably most important acknowledgement, has to be to the person who showed the greatest amount of faith in my ideas. He went from a being a stranger, to a supervisor, to a friend and now a confidant. I owe the world to Prof David Everatt. I would not be where I am today without his commitment to my work, my ideas, and his commitment to me. I will be forever grateful for every voice note and every conversation. I hope this is only the beginning of what I hope to be a lifetime of friendship.

To Eric Beinhocker, who introduced me to the world of complexity and Prof Jonathan Wolff who reintroduced me to philosophy. Your work and conversations opened me up to new ways of thinking and being that shattered my dogmatic approach to decolonial thought. You both gave me the room and opportunity to expand my world, and I am grateful to you both.

I would also like to thank the University of Witwatersrand and the School of Governance. The financial support and academic home you provided gave me the security to explore an idea that eventually culminated in this thesis.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis aims to devise a socio-economic framework that can be used to understand the impact of coloniality on society and provide a means for nation-states to devise public policy tools to combat the ongoing challenges associated with coloniality.

The framework incorporates complexity and decolonial thought within public policy and development studies as a theoretical and philosophical exercise. The primary purpose of the framework is to provide the field of decolonial studies with the foundational guidelines that would assist in translating the field into other areas of policy praxis. Furthermore, this framework can assist the field of development in understanding decolonisation beyond the notion of self-determination and the moment of liberation and contribute to its understanding as an ongoing process. The framework, which will later be described as Emergent-Decolonial Development (EDD), will be presented as a means to explore how state development can utilise EDD as a theoretical and philosophical exercise meant to inform policy advice for policy interventions for public policy practitioners in postcolonial and post-liberation states.

As will be argued, EDD provides a means to create a system of development that seeks to decolonise a nation on an ongoing basis and exhibit a temporal detachment of the concept of decolonisation from the moment of liberation. Without such a notion of development, decolonisation within development remains limited to political or economic self-determination. The limitation of decolonisation within development studies to self-determination not only denies the acknowledgement of the continued existence of colonial legacies in societies but, more importantly, as argued in Chapter 3, denies the ability of societies to devise decolonial strategies to mitigate against these legacies.

The incorporation of decolonial studies and complexity within development studies and public policy to create this framework results from two arguments developed in the thesis' integrative literature review. The first argument is that developmental studies often fail to appropriately consider the utility of decolonisation as an ongoing process of development rather than simply a process of self-determination upon which traditional forms of development can take root. The second argument is that decolonial studies provide little in terms of public policy interventions that states can utilise to tackle the continued impact of coloniality. This is not to argue that decolonial studies have had no impact on public policy. Instead, decolonial thought remains limited in its scope to create replicable guidelines across differing decolonial trajectories and policy processes.

It will be argued that incorporating decolonial theory and complexity within development studies provides a novel theoretical framework for understanding how decolonisation can be viewed as an

ongoing process with replicable policy interventions meant to create decolonial outcomes. In addition to this, both decolonial theory and complexity will be used to show how the dialectical relationship between the ideal and the non-ideal, the oppressor and the oppressed, and the coloniser and the colonised can be broken apart through the formation of meso structures within a society that facilitated the emergence of new forms of humanism forged through the emergence of reciprocal recognition and the acceptance of conflict and violence as necessary for this break to occur.

Theoretical frameworks are understood to be a synthesis of the predominant ideas within a field of research that relates to a particular study and how these ideas are used to understand collected data (Kivunja, 2018, p. 46). Viewing EDD as a theoretical framework provides the means to connect the research's abstract and concrete elements (Kivunja, 2018, p. 47). The argument, however, will not limit EDD to only a theoretical framework. Instead, the thesis will argue that EDD provides decolonial studies with a novel philosophical frame, using complexity, that addresses the deficiencies within the field while bringing it closer to other fields, such as public policy.

Decolonial theory, particularly the notion of the colonial matrix of power devised by Anibal Quijano and used by various decolonial scholars, will be utilised by the framework to illuminate coloniality's influence on developmental discourse. Decolonial thinking is the "definitive rejection of 'being told' from the epistemic privileges of the zero point what 'we' are, what our ranking is in relation to the ideal of *humanitas* and what we have to do to be recognised as such" (Mignolo, 2009, p. 1). Taking this as a starting point, decolonial thinking becomes a process of unlearning and relearning one's position concerning the ideal humanitas, a point further argued in Chapter 4. The ideal *humanitas* – what Sylvia Wynter argues to be the ideal *descriptive statement* - can take on various forms, from the individual to the state. Mignolo (2009, p. 162) further explains that decolonial thought should be seen as a contribution toward developing decoloniality as a means of ensuring that both the geo- and body-politics of knowledge are no longer hidden by self-serving interests within Western epistemology while concurrently affirming the epistemic rights of the racially devalued.

Decoloniality as a field of thought is inherently adversarial as it balances the ongoing tension between the colonised and coloniser even after liberation. However, it should be noted that these identities, in a post-liberation context, are more fluid and nuanced than in a formalised colonial system. To understand this continuous tension, Mignolo (2002, 2007, 2009) and Anibal Quijano (2007) utilise the notion of the colonial matrix of power to show how coloniality persists in our society.

Complexity has traditionally been used to describe and understand dynamics and change processes in various biological and physical phenomena. These dynamics and change processes can be viewed through the lens of systems and agents. However, it has become increasingly widely used to understand

and influence social, economic and political phenomena (Ramalingam et al., 2008, p. 1). At its core, complexity challenges the notion of linearity in biological, physical, political, or economic systems. Complexity views all these systems as a series of nonlinear relations between unique and distinct elements that interact with one another. Linearity can be understood as the attempt by the field of physics to "quantify nature through the solution of equations that have usually been constructed on the basis that they can be solved" (Flinders & Clemens, 1996, p. 217). As a result, linear systems exist in either a steady-state or exhibit periodic or quasi-periodic behaviour (Flinders & Clemens, 1996, p. 217).

The assumption of linearity in these systems entails a general belief that the world is predictable and deterministic. It assumes that societal problems are reductive and can be studied and understood by separating their constituent elements, and if our analysis is wrong, we can reverse our error by reversing what we did to create the problem (Boulton et al., 2015, p. 33). By seeing the world as deterministic, reductive and reversible, linearity concludes that the world can be understood as a multivariate series of causal events that evoke a cause-and-effect relationship between its various elements (Boulton et al., 2015, p. 33). As is argued in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, this notion of linearity is linked to the dominance of dialectical thinking in developmental discourse and, by extension, the discourse of decolonisation in development.

As Flinders and Clemens (1996) explain, the outliers within a linear model's data sets represent noise in a system. They are commonly rejected by discarding these outliers as terms that make a linear equation insoluble (Flinders & Clemens, 1996). The rejection is due to the belief that if the effect of these outliers in the nonlinear soluble equation is small, then the difference between the simplified linear solution and its 'truer' complex understanding must also be small. Flinder and Clemens (1996, p. 217) explain that while the former may be true, the latter is not necessarily so. They believe the importance of these outliers or supposedly random events in a system is unknown and unknowable. The imposition of linearity on these systems is a psychological trap informed by the enlightenment approach to solving a problem because linearity is atypical of nature (Flinders & Clemens, 1996, p. 217).

This argument can and should be extended to understanding dialectical thinking in decolonisation and decoloniality. Chapters 4 and Chapter 6 will demonstrate this point. A complex nonlinear world or system is characterised by understanding the world as a series of individual independent and interdependent elements that interact with one another in ways that are reflexive. These interactions allow for feedback that informs the emergence of a new system of behaviours and interactions informed by this feedback loop (Boulton et al., 2015, pp. 34, 45; Ramalingam et al., 2008, pp. 20–21). Therefore, rather than utilising what will be argued to be a linear approach to decolonisation as a form of development through self-determination, a nonlinear understanding of decolonisation and decoloniality will be used by this thesis and its framework, developed in Chapter 6.

As a result, complexity theory will be utilised to understand the multi-layered nature of decoloniality and how it can be applied to public policy. While decolonial theory will assist in disentangling the epistemic quagmire of decolonisation in the literature on development, complexity will complement this process and provide a means of indexing these variables to build a model for emergent-decolonial development.

1.1 Research Problem

Colonialism and coloniality can be argued to be a complex array of relationships and interactions between the coloniser and the colonised. In contrast, the process of understanding and undoing these relations and interactions – decolonisation, but less so decoloniality – is often limited to the ambiguous concept of self-determination in the literature on development. Though "the claim to self-determination often encapsulates the hopes of ethnic peoples and other groups for freedom and independence" (Weller, 2009, p. 111), the linearity of the notion of self-determination within development discourse stands in stark contrast to the complexity exhibited by the field of postcolonial and decolonial studies. As a result, the policy tools usually used to determine developmental policies in postcolonial contexts, as argued in Chapter 3, fail to grasp the decolonial ambitions of the nations and people embarking on decolonial projects after liberation. In addition, decolonial theory as it currently stands fails to provide a pathway (or pathways) for understanding how epistemological decolonisation can provide both economic and political notions of decolonisation with the necessary praxis to embark on decolonisation beyond the point of liberation.

1.2 Purpose Statement

This thesis aims to conduct an economic and philosophical analytic exercise to unravel the complex nature of the entanglement of the political and economic notions of decolonisation that create an epistemological quagmire within developmental discourse. The result of this is the continued use of the dialectical relationship between the ideal and the non-ideal in the framing of development that has resulted in development viewing the idea of decolonisation as only the process of self-determination. However, suppose decolonisation is seen as an ongoing activity. In that case, there is a need to untangle the dialectical relationship between the ideal and non-ideal, allowing for the emergence of a new humanism.

The purpose of the thesis is, first and foremost, to determine whether there is a need for a construct such as emergent decolonial development. As such, without presupposing the normative value of the framework, the thesis seeks to describe the objective need for the framework to further studies related to development, decoloniality and complexity. Secondly, suppose this need is valid, and the argument

underpinning it is sound. In that case, the thesis works towards developing this theoretical and philosophical framework for development that views decolonisation as an ongoing process that links the ideal and non-ideal in a relationship based on reciprocal recognition, conflict and violence. A relationship that breaks the dialectic between the two and focuses on creating meso structures that arrange interactions between those within a society in a manner that continuously reproduces reciprocal recognition. This thesis will explain the means for understanding the notion of decolonisation beyond its political limits of self-determination within the episteme of political and economic development. It will do so by exercising a level of epistemic disobedience within the field that will show how decolonisation can and should be conceived as its own developmental paradigm: emergent-decolonial development.

The thesis will explore decolonisation as a political, economic and epistemological concept that necessitates a move from the awareness of being in a struggle towards actively engaging in the everyday practices of 'resurgence' (Scott & Smith, 1969, p. 89). Resurgence in this sense is described by Scott and Smith (1969, pp. 88–89) as the "courage and imagination to envision life beyond the state" by "confronting existing colonial institutions, structures and policies". Homi Bhabha (1994, p.1) eloquently describes this process in the first chapter of *The Location of Culture* by stating that:

> *What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood - singular or communal - that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.*

The thesis will explore decolonisation as a process of resurgence through state-building to test whether its equation with independence has, in the past, transcended this limitation. Furthermore, if decolonisation can be seen as emergent-decolonial development, the thesis will attempt to model this form of development. The purpose of EDD will be to provide a means of endogenously generating a new humanism in a society characterised by coloniality.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The primary aim of the thesis is to show that emergent-decolonial development, as a theoretical and philosophical framework, can be used to build a capable state that actively works to disentangle itself from the effects of coloniality. To make this argument, the thesis has the following objectives:

1. Argue the need for emergent-decolonial development by exploring the literature on development, decolonisation within development and the various notions of decoloniality and complexity thinking.

The dissertation will explore the continuities and discontinuities between colonialism in both development discourse and practice and identify if and how decolonisation has since been extended beyond self-determination and into state-building. Complexity thinking will be used to create the framing for emergent-decolonial development.

2. Develop a framework based on the abovementioned analysis to analyse the developmental texts of postcolonial societies that informed each country's developmental paths related to their attempts to envision new forms of self-determination.

The thesis will focus on the developmental resurgence in India, Tanzania, South Africa and Ecuador through a documentary analysis of the *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights* signed by the Indian National Congress in 1931; the *Arusha Declaration* devised by Julius Nyerere and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1967; *Ready to Govern*: *ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa* devised by the African National Congress in 1992; and *Title 6 and 7 of the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution*.

1.4 Research Questions

The thesis discusses the difference between established understandings of development and emergent-decolonial development. The first question is whether discontinuities between modernity/coloniality and development can be discerned. The question aims to understand how modernity/coloniality reproduces itself within developmental discourse and its impact on postcolonial states' developmental interventions and policies. It will also seek to understand whether or not the current discourse on development accounts for decolonisation as an ongoing developmental practice. The second key question focuses on determining whether emergent-decolonial development can be actualised. Using decolonial and complexity theories, the question interrogates whether a discontinuity between coloniality and development can be drawn.

Based on this analysis, the following research questions, alongside the aims and objectives mentioned above, will drive the research project:

1. Suppose development can be delineated from its modernist understanding that creates the emergence of coloniality. What would the conceptual understanding of emergent-decolonial developmental framework be?

a. Can the ideas related to complexity thinking replace the linearity intrinsic to development?
b. Is coloniality the emergent property of not only colonialism but modern development?
c. Can decolonisation in development discourse be delinked from the process of self-determination?

2. Is the framework replicable?

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is unconventionally structured. A traditional thesis relies on its literature review to conceptualise the arguments and discussions to frame the research's data and findings. As such, the literature review foregrounds the methodology of the thesis. This thesis, in contrast, utilises the literature to build and structure the theoretical framing of emergent decolonial-development and establishes the framework's philosophical structure. The framework that is devised is a finding. As a result, the literature review functions as a necessary mechanism for data collection. In addition, once devised, the framework is taken through a second research process: documentary analysis. This provides a means to assess the framework against liberatory texts that sought to charter a developmental path after the end of colonialism and, in the case of Ecuador, challenging coloniality. To account for the above, the thesis needs to be organised to account for this research process.

The thesis is structured into four main parts. Section 1 of the thesis contains one chapter that provides the methodological approach to develop a framework combining decolonial studies, complexity, and development to achieve emergent-decolonial development. This chapter will explain why the thesis uses an integrative literature review and a qualitative documentary analysis of various liberation texts to devise the framework. The comparative documentary analysis will examine whether India, Tanzania, South Africa and Ecuador – in their different epochs - intended to embark on forms of state-building that understood decolonisation as a process of state-building rather than the achievement of liberation. The thesis will show how emergent-decolonial development can be introduced into development discourse through each country's liberation texts.

Section 2 builds on section 1 by exploring the literature related to (1) modernity, development and decoloniality, (2) the limitations of the field of decolonial studies, and (3) the field of complexity and its relationship with both development and decoloniality. To explore this literature, section 2 consists of a three-part literature review. Though unusual for a thesis to utilise such an approach, it was deemed an appropriate means to develop the framework fully.

The first chapter of this section (Chapter 3: Exploring, Development, Modernity and Decoloniality) explores the literature on modernity and decoloniality related to development. The chapter will explore the connection between traditional approaches to development and modernity and explain how modernity and coloniality continue to reproduce within nations long after the end of colonialism. The second chapter in this section (Chapter 4: The Limitations of Homo Economicus and its Confrontation with Modernity/Coloniality) elaborates on the limitations of decoloniality regarding practically tackling the challenges created by modernity. The following chapter (Chapter 5: Taming the machine of Modernity/coloniality through Complexity) explores the literature on complexity sciences. The chapter outlines how complexity provides an appropriate tool for decolonial studies to create sufficient conditions within a state that create forms of new humanism that challenge coloniality. The overall purpose of section 2 is to provide a theoretical foundation for creating the framework discussed in section 3.

Section 3 of the thesis consists of one chapter (Chapter 6: A Framework for Emergent-Decolonial Development) that considers the findings of Chapters 3, 4 and 5 and develops a framework for emergent-decolonial development. The chapter builds the framework by elaborating on the core principles and the various implications of coloniality that it will explicitly attempt to address. By the end of section 3, the thesis will have provided a theoretical foundation for the framework and an initial construction that requires further refinement.

Section 4 focuses on the augmentation of the framework based on the experiences of the historical texts under analysis and the findings from the documentary analysis. Section 4 consists of three chapters that analyse data. Chapter 7 (Documentary Analysis) provides a brief historical assessment of the liberation documents cited above and provides an initial set of analytic codes that will be utilised to improve the framework's utility.

Chapter 2
Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology of the thesis. The thesis utilised two qualitative research approaches to devise and augment the framework for emergent-decolonial development. The first is a critical integrative literature review of concepts and discourses related to the connection between modernity and development, the role of coloniality and decoloniality in development, and the potential use of complexity science as an underlying tool for emergent-decolonial development. The second research approach is a documentary analysis of the liberatory texts of India, Tanzania, South Africa and Ecuador.

The documentary analysis utilises secondary data sources based on a particular selection criterion that provides what this thesis argues to be liberatory texts meant to guide and inform the development of each country after achieving liberation. The documents that will be utilised in this study are the *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights* signed by the Indian National Congress in 1931; the *Arusha Declaration* devised by Julius Nyerere and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1967; *Ready to Govern*: *ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa* devised by the African National Congress; and *Title 6 and 7 of the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution*. The study used inductive and deductive coding schema to examine the documents and infer how each document augments the framework devised in Chapter 6.

2.1 Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to "the plans and procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation" (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 40). These plans and procedures are informed by philosophical assumptions regarding knowledge generation, the inquiry procedure, and the specific methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 40). Research methodologies can be broadly understood through three approaches: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods.

Quantitative approaches generally utilise deductive research focused on “proving, disproving, or lending credence to existing theories” (Leavy, 2014, p. 9). Quantitative research designs test the objectives of theories by examining the relationship of variables associated with these theories (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 41). These variables are then quantitatively analysed to produce data used for statistical procedures to test relationships between variables to reveal patterns, correlations or causal relationships (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 41; Leavy, 2014, p. 9).

Qualitative research focuses on exploring and understanding how individuals and groups ascribe meaning to social and human problems and are generally characterised by inductive approaches to knowledge and meaning generation (Krauss, 2005, p. 760; Leavy, 2014, p. 9). It is based on relativist and constructivist ontologies, which posit that no objective reality exists (Krauss, 2005, p. 760). It relies on creating questions and procedures from data collected from participants that are inductively assessed to allow a researcher to interpret meaning from the data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 41). It is an approach that focuses on a meaning-making process and acquiring a depth of knowledge by exploring; robustly investigating and learning about social phenomena; and unpacking "the meanings people ascribe to activities, situations, events, or artifacts; or to build a depth of understanding about some dimension of social life" (Leavy, 2014, p. 9).

Mixed methods involve collecting and analysing quantitative and qualitative data and integrating them through distinct research designs (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 41; Leavy, 2014, p. 9). This research approach assumes that by integrating qualitative and quantitative data, additional insights can be created beyond the scope of either approach (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 41). All the approaches seek to create meaning out of data but differ in the tools employed and the philosophical underpinnings that inform these tools.

This study deploys a qualitative approach to secondary (including historical) data to assist with developing a framework for emergent-decolonial development. Qualitative approaches to research are used to "explore, describe, or explain social phenomenon; unpack the meanings people ascribe to activities, situations, events, or artefacts; build a depth of understanding about some aspect of social life …explore new or under-researched areas…" or make micro-macro links between individuals, groups, institutions and cultural contexts (Leavy, 2014). However, as Holdaway (2000) explains, qualitative research methods must be designed to capture the richness and diversity of meanings people attribute to phenomena. Qualitative research methods stress the documentation of how meanings are constructed and negotiated and how they are often taken for granted (Holdaway, 2000). Lastly, qualitative research must allow researchers to suspend their belief in the givenness of phenomena to perceive "the frailty of the social world and appreciate how that frailty is created into what is taken for granted" (Holdaway, 2000, p. 168). This thesis takes the latter as its point of departure.

The research design for this thesis focuses on what Krauss (2005) calls the unique goal of qualitative research: facilitating the meaning-making process. Qualitative research functions as a means "for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 41). As such, it represents a process of enquiry that involves posing questions and establishing procedures for particular data sets to inductively decipher general themes from the interpretation of said data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). However, Krauss provides a valuable

caveat to the argument of Creswell and Creswell, stating that qualitative research must also function to delineate common meanings from unique meanings.

For Krauss, what is considered a common meaning to one group of people may have a unique meaning to an individual member of the group (Krauss, 2005, p. 765). This distinction becomes particularly relevant to decolonial studies as it attempts to uncover the voices of those hidden by coloniality. As a result of this distinction, Krauss emphasises that the creation of unique meanings relies on the truthful construction of a participant's point of view rather than the pursuit of an "objectively correct or metaphysically explored true meaning" (Krauss, 2005, pp. 763–765). This is not to disparage more positivist and post-positivist approaches to the inquiry but emphasises the search for unique rather than common meanings, opening this thesis and its methodology to a more decolonial research agenda.

Decolonising research or methodology often refers to the "continuous process of anti-colonial struggle that honours Indigenous approaches to knowing the world, recognising Indigenous land, Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous sovereignty – including sovereignty over the decolonisation process" (Datta, 2018, p. 2). It necessitates the process of "becoming, unlearning, and relearning regarding who we are as a researcher and educator, and taking responsibilities for participants" (Datta, 2018, p. 2). However, as a methodological approach, this view limits our ability to explore decolonisation's role in research outside of ethnographic investigations of indigenous communities.

Creating unique meaning by seeking out indigenous groups' voices only provides a partial view of the global anti-colonial struggle. Instead, this thesis seeks to find the unique meaning of decolonisation within the discourse of development itself. It does so through a research design that seeks to understand the various unique meanings of development from the perspective of all those afflicted by coloniality – whether indigenous or not indigenous to a given space.

2.2 Research Paradigm

A research paradigm represents the "underlying basis that is used to construct a scientific investigation; or a loose collection of logically held together assumptions, concepts, and propositions that orientates thinking and research" (Krauss, 2005, p. 759). They provide the means for understanding how knowledge and truth are constructed, the typologies of research questions, and how the relationships between subjects and objects are organised. Furthermore, they provide a means to discuss whether and how reality can be identified through data (Kamberelis et al., 2018). This thesis utilises a critical and constructivist research paradigm.

Kamberelis et al. (2018) note five paradigms of qualitative inquiry that inform how researchers think about research processes, utilise data collection strategies, and "analyse, interpret and explain

information". They describe these paradigms as the figured worlds of qualitative inquiry and detailed as: (1) positivist, (2) interpretive, (3) critical, (4) power-knowledge (post-structural), and (5) ontological (post-qualitative, post-materialist) (Kamberelis et al., 2018). The first figured world of positivist paradigms emphasised that the scientific method provided the best means to obtain the truth about the world, making it both predictable and controllable (Krauss, 2005, p. 761). Through positivist approaches, research is primarily informed by the laws of cause and effect that can be discerned and replicated scientifically (Krauss, 2005, p. 761). The second figured world of interpretivist paradigms seeks to view the world through more subjective values that allow individuals to create their own meaning of the world (and its varied contexts) through interaction with others (Khan, 2014, p. 299). This paradigm emphasises that individuals perceive the world differently based on their priori experiences and perceptions of it.

The fourth figured world relates to poststructuralism, which functioned as a rebuttal of scientific "pretensions of structural tendencies in all disciplines" (St. Pierre, 2012, p. 501) and a critique of "truth seeking aspirations of post-Enlightenment modernism, which apply rationalist methodologies, including humanism and science" (Fox, 2014, p. 466). It was a response to the notion that systems of knowledge could be defined through "universal rules or laws or elementary structures that underpinned history and explained it in surface appearances" (Olssen, 2003a, p. 192). Post-structuralist approaches to research focus on the relationship between power, language, and knowledge and how the latter, while always contextual, partial and fragmented, is never neutral and continually informs the power relations between individuals or groupings (Fox, 2014). The fifth figured world of post-qualitative inquiry relates to approaching research through a "reading of philosophy first and thinking with philosophical concepts rather than a reliance on methodology" (Carlson et al., 2021, p. 153). Post-qualitative inquiry is anti-methodological and incompatible with traditional qualitative research.

The figured world described by Kamberelis et al. (2018) of particular interest for this thesis is that of critical paradigms. Critical paradigms function as a variation of interpretivist approaches to meaning-making but are particularly interested in disputing what Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000, p. 110) describe as actual social realities. Critical paradigms assume that meanings created by those within the world often "hide embedded structural conflicts, contradictions, and fallacies that maintain the status quo while hindering dialogic and democratic forms of life and their attendant practices" (Kamberelis et al., 2018, p. 1213). To uncover what is hidden, critical approaches maintain a "dialectical view of society, claiming that social phenomena must always be viewed in their historical contexts" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 110). Critical theorists believe that hegemonic ideologies that form world views can exist in different forms over different points in time, representing the historical reality of that time. A change, in reality, takes place through a dialectical transformation of these ideologies (Howell, 2012, p. 79).

However, for critical theorists, this dialectical transformation should be undertaken through emancipatory rationality. Emancipatory rationality functions as a means to empower people and challenge injustice in social relations and social existence through modes of thinking and being that provide individuals with a means to escape the lures of oppression through collective self-reflection (Howell, 2012; Kamberelis et al., 2018). Thus, research through a critical paradigm is about accumulating knowledge or meaning and moving towards political activity and social transformation (Howell, 2012, p. 81).

While qualitative research can adopt positivist approaches, it is better known for utilising more relativistic and constructivist ontologies, which posit that objective realities do not exist (Krauss, 2005, p. 760). These research approaches imply that people impose order on perceptions to construct meaning (Lythcott & Duschl, 1990, p. 458). Meaning thus resides within the cognition of one's reality. However, human cognition of reality is "screened, translated, altered, perhaps rejected by the knowledge that already exists", resulting in knowledge that is both idiosyncratic and purposefully constructed (Lythcott & Duschl, 1990, p. 458). This thesis will argue that coloniality is the dominant way the colonised's cognition is constrained.

2.3 Research Approach

The primary objective of this thesis is to create a framework to help challenge hegemonic ways of meaning-making in developmental discourse using decolonial and complexity theory. Various qualitative data collection and analysis tools are available to achieve this objective, ranging from ethnographic observations, interviews, documentary analysis, or digital audio-visual materials. The thesis employs two qualitative approaches: a literature review and a documentary analysis. Both will be used to develop the framework for emergent-decolonial development.

2.3.1 Methodology (Part 1): Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Traditionally, literature reviews as a form of research method should provide what Snyder describes as an effective meta-analysis of pre-existing literature that creates a foundation for advancing knowledge and facilitating theory development by integrating the findings and perspectives of various empirical studies (Snyder, 2019). As such, the literature review traditionally provides "evidence on a meta-level" to uncover areas in the field of knowledge that require more research and is a critical component when building theoretical and conceptual frameworks (Snyder, 2019, p. 333).

This study will employ a critical integrative literature review. The word ‘critical’ is important here: it is used to denote using the literature review to uncover what this thesis argues to be a particular turning point within development and decolonial studies. As such, the literature review will be used to

demonstrate a particular way of thinking that has informed the evolution of the fields of development and decolonial studies. It will also be used to argue why the framework of emergent-decolonial development, through the exploration of complexity studies, may provide a political turning point for all three academic fields. It posits a theoretical shift in how research may be conducted within these fields, including their various dialectical relations (Bhavnani et al., 2014).

An "integrative literature review is a form of research that reviews, critiques, and synthesises representative literature on a topic in an integrated way such that new frameworks and perspectives on the topic are generated" to address "two general kinds of topics—mature topics or new, emerging topics" (Torraco, 2005, pp. 356–357). The latter of the two typologies is of particular interest here. Therefore, in this thesis, the literature review is used as an exploratory approach to the literature focused on development, decoloniality and complexity economics rather than a comprehensive meta-analysis. The importance of the literature review for this thesis is due to the need to utilise its findings as a fulcrum for developing the framework. This framework will then be used as a coding schema for analysing the selected liberation texts.

2.3.1.1 Structure of the Literature Review

The literature review will be divided into two parts, making up three chapters. The first part (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) will analyse the historical and current arguments of development, modernity and decoloniality. Modernity will function as the core tool that binds development and decoloniality and, by extension, decolonisation as a state-building process within the fields of development and decoloniality. As such, the literature review will provide the argument and the potential path for decoloniality to shift back into the realm of development with the requisite philosophical framework to allow decoloniality to find the praxis it lacks and (it is argued here) urgently requires.

The second part of the literature review (Chapter 5) will build on this to begin formulating the framework of emergent-decolonial development. This chapter will use various approaches to complexity economics as a further theoretical foundation for the framework. Complexity thinking will be utilised to provide the dimensions that will differentiate decolonial development from the linear approaches to development that are often ascribed to decolonisation.

Based on the literature review findings, the proposed framework for emergent decolonial development will be conceptualised as the theoretical framework for assessing the chosen liberatory texts.

2.3.2 Methodology (Part 2): Documentary Analysis

The documentary analysis will be separated into inductive and deductive analyses. The inductive approach firstly seeks to assess the various thematic similarities and differences between the documents. Secondly, the deductive approach will determine whether or not particular themes identified by the texts that are common across all four documents can be used to further develop the framework.

Document analysis is generally viewed as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents…[and] requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). The choice of documentary analysis within the study is due to the historical insight that documents can provide when assessing current day phenomena; provide supplementary research data; provide a means of tracking change and development (Bowen, 2009, pp. 29–30).

2.3.2.1 Selected Documents

The documentary analysis will investigate four liberatory texts formed by political organisations and movements (a point further elaborated in Chapter 7), namely the *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights* signed by the Indian National Congress in 1931; the *Arusha Declaration* devised by Julius Nyerere and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) 1967; *Ready to Govern*: *ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa* devised by the African National Congress in 1992; and Title 6 and 7 of the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution. While these documents range from constitutional texts, political statements and policy directives, the texts are considered by this thesis as blueprints for their respective country's ideas and beliefs regarding their developmental plans after achieving liberation or, in the case of Ecuador, embarking on an explicitly decolonial growth path. In addition, the documents were also purposefully chosen to reflect the texts' geographical, ontological, and colonial differences across time and colonial conditions. As a result, the choice was made to utilise documents of varying historical, cultural, social and political consequence.

The choice of documents across both temporal and geographical space was an important consideration. While the documents span 76 years of anti-colonial struggle, they are influenced by centuries of colonial imposition across the countries. The choice to maintain a temporal difference between the texts was intended to assess how the inspiration to design a postcolonial state has evolved or stayed constant across the texts. Furthermore, the formulation of all the texts is not temporally linked to each country's moment of liberation. For instance, the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution was formulated 185 years after the end of formal colonisation in Ecuador in 1822.

In contrast, there is only a two-year difference between the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 and the formulation of *Ready to Govern* in 1992. The choice of such a varied range is to assess whether notions of decolonisation exist beyond the moment of self-determination. The geographical differences between the countries necessitate considering both the colonial and historical differences that led to the creation of each text. As shown in Chapter 7, while these differences exist, the focus will remain on the shared decolonial characteristics of all the respective documents.

The *Karachi Resolution* represented a critical moment for the Indian National Congress and the anti-colonial struggle in India because it "heralded a compromise among a range of ideologies – liberal, nationalist and socialist – that were reflected in the resolution" (Maclean, 2017, p. 215). It also informed Part 3 of the Indian constitution's 'Directive Principles of State Policy', which laid out the fundamental rights to be protected by the constitution (Maclean, 2017; Ready, 1980). Its initial selection as a document for the study was based mainly on the belief that despite the time difference between its creation in 1931 and the eventual adoption of the Indian Constitution in 1949, the document still influenced India's democratic dispensation (Ready, 1980).

The *Arusha Declaration* functioned as the blueprint for Tanzania's post-independence philosophical ideas about social and economic organisation (Bunting, 2015, p. 70). The declaration "articulated the ideological and developmental vision for the country and informed the subsequent development plans" (Kamanzi & Mpeta, 2018, p. 46).

Ready to Govern, drafted in 1992, was the broad set of policy guidelines of the African National Congress (ANC) meant to inform how the liberation party would govern after the end of apartheid (Ngqulunga, 2019, p. 1337). Unlike the *Arusha Declaration*, *Ready to Govern* was drafted before South Africa achieved liberation from the apartheid regime and had varying levels of influence on subsequent developmental plans. However, it remains an important liberatory text, not only because the ANC drafted it in the interregnum between apartheid and democracy (i.e. written on the cusp of liberation) but because of its immediate influence on the party's doctrine of development.

The Ecuadorian constitution is unique amongst other constitutions of the world as it actively works towards advancing indigenous people's rights. It considers nature as the subject of rights rather than the object and recognises Ecuador as a plurinational state (Sternäng, 2018, p. 14). All three of these ideas resonate with thinking related to decoloniality (see 3.4.2.3). Its selection was due to the explicit use of decolonial ideas in its constitutional framework, namely: *Sumak Kawsay*. Title 7 of the constitution directly refers to the developmental objectives of the Ecuadorian state.

2.3.2.2 Thematic and Content Analysis

According to Starman (2013, p. 30), qualitative research supports using interpretive paradigms that allow for the emergence of subjective experiences. Documentary analysis will be one such interpretive approach used in this study. Documentary analysis was utilised because, according to Briggs and Coleman (2007, p. 280), it provides sufficient data to enable a researcher to identify significant features of a particular event, establish plausible interpretations or explanations, test both the credibility and validity of the texts and interpretations, construct arguments based on interpretations, relate arguments to policy trends and current practices and provide an audit trail. A qualitative (or quantitative) documentary analysis is the "systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents - both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material" (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). A documentary analysis consists of various approaches, including, but not limited to, a thematic and context analysis.

According to Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), a thematic analysis entails searching for themes that emerge as essential descriptors of phenomena in a text. The abstraction of meaning from these themes can be manifest or latent. Manifest analysis focuses on assessing the words of the text by describing their visible and obvious meanings and provides a surface-level analysis of the data (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 10; Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017, p. 93). Latent analysis relates to an interpretive level of analysis, which seeks to identify the underlying meaning of the text (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017, p. 93).

To determine themes for latent analysis, a set of codes and categories are devised to abstract meaning from the text. A code functions as a label or term that most appropriately describes the condensed meaning of a selected unit of text (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 11; Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017, p. 93). This condensed meaning unit refers to a constellation of sentences or paragraphs that contain related aspects which assist in answering the research questions and aims of a study (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 11). A category refers to a grouping of codes that relate to one another through the content or context of the document. A category provides a means to describe “different aspects, similarities or differences, of the text’s content that belong together” and provides a way to express manifest content (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017, p. 93). The combination of code and categories assigned to certain themes provides a means to infer the latent meaning of particular themes (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017, p. 93; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Neuendorf, 2018, p. 212).

Content analysis, generally considered a quantitative research technique, is utilised to extract the required information from a body of material by systematically identifying particular characteristics of the information (Smith, 2000, p. 314). Content analysis creates a standardised measure of metrically defined comparison units within documents (Cullum-Swan & Manning, 1994, p. 465; Franzosi, 2008).

Content analysis is usually "used in exploratory research, theory development, hypothesis testing, or applied research" (Smith, 2000, p. 314).

This study utilised both a thematic and content approach. It involved both inductive and deductive assessments of the documents to determine their differences and similarities and assess the proposed framework's applicability. The chosen approaches permit the identification of common and unique meanings in the text.

2.3.2.3 Criteria for document selection

Liberation texts in the context of this thesis are deemed to be texts utilised by postcolonial countries before or after liberation to provide the philosophical and moral outlook for each country's post-liberation developmental plan. All texts reviewed are publicly available documents. No private communication regarding the development of these documents was used as part of the analysis. Each document had to meet set criteria to be eligible for analysis.

Firstly, each document represented the developmental beliefs of political organisations and movements within a society directly impacted by coloniality. As argued in Chapter 3, this first criterion does not necessitate that a state is previously colonised. Instead, the state may meet this first criterion if it can be shown that it is impacted by coloniality because the impact of coloniality is not limited to only previously colonised nation-states. However, this first criterion opens a vast array of possible state and non-state actors under consideration. This latitude was deemed imperative because the framework's purpose is to allow for its application amongst state and non-state actors.

The second criterion was that the documents, though not time-bound to the moment of liberation, must represent the historical development text of a country that is no longer under colonial rule and, at some point, achieved a state of self-determination as per Article 1 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN General Assembly, 1966). This point can be extended to groups that have achieved a sense of self-determination. Expanding this second criterion to groups that have achieved a sense of self-determination accounts for the argument made by this thesis that self-determination should not necessarily be linked to the process of decolonisation.

The last criterion is that each text must represent or inform the developmental objectives of a liberated state. Therefore, each document must influence each state's eventual developmental agenda. All four texts meet this set of criteria.

2.3.2.4 Coding Processes

2.3.2.4.1 Atlas.ti

Atlas.ti was utilised as a software tool to assist in the coding process of the documents. Atlas.ti is a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) tool used to assess text, visual and audio data (Smit, 2002, p. 65). It provides the means for retrieving and assessing co-occurring codes associated with particular data sets that facilitate activities such as "selecting, coding, annotating and comparing noteworthy segments" of data (Smit, 2002, p. 70). It supports "theory building by facilitating connections between codes to develop higher-order classifications and categories, formulating propositions that imply a conceptual structure that fits the data" (Smit, 2002, p. 70). Though CAQDAS tools do not change the underlying logic of manual coding techniques, they facilitate increased speed and comprehensiveness for content and thematic analysis (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 12; Smit, 2002, p. 70). However, as noted by Bengtsson (2016, p. 12), these programmes do not analyse data as a "researcher must still be the one who decides what constitutes a theme and what conclusions can be drawn from the results" (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 12). For Bengtsson (2016, p. 12), CAQDAS tools still require human creativity.

2.3.2.4.2 Data Reduction

The coding process is informed by the concept of data reduction, which is the "translation of information from one form to another form to simplify problems of analysis, storage, and dissemination to others" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 7). Data reduction in a documentary analysis focuses on reducing data in a text without a significant loss of information while creating more manageable and comprehendible units of information (Ahmed, 2010, p. 7). Though the process involves reducing data, the overall purpose is for the emergence of a larger consolidated picture of the data (Ahmed, 2010, p. 7). To create this consolidated picture, the coding process was separated into four stages, namely: (1) decontextualising the text; (2) recontextualising the text; (3) categorisation of the text; and (4) the compilation of the text (Ahmed, 2010, p. 7; Bengtsson, 2016, pp. 11–12).

Decontextualising the text requires an initial familiarisation with the text by reading through the documents to obtain the overall meaning and purpose of the documents. It requires an open-coding process, which requires reading through the sample of available documents and recording noticeable patterns in the text in the form of memos and a code list (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 11; Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017, p. 96; Wesley, 2010, p. 8). The code list was devised after a series of re-reading the documents.

Stage two of the coding required a recontextualisation of the data. Bengtsson (2016) explains that this requires re-reading the data and assigning identified codes to particular categorical and conceptual groupings. This process is described as axial coding. Axial coding refers to retrieving the data identified through the open-coding process connected these codes to broader categories and sub-categories to determine how codes crosscut and link (Smit, 2002, p. 70). As Smit (2002, p. 70) explains, "the actual linking of categories does not take place descriptively but on a conceptual level, which implies that text is converted into concepts".

However, Smit (2002, p. 70) warns that, during the axial process, certain linkages may not be self-evident and may be subtle, implicit or hidden. To overcome this, he suggests that a scheme or paradigm may be useful to organise emerging outcomes (Smit, 2002, p. 70). This study employed the general findings of Chapter 3 with a particular focus on the colonial matrix of power as the organising paradigm for the inductive analysis and the developed framework for emergent-decolonial development for the deductive analysis.

2.3.2.4.3 Categorising the text

Stage three of the coding focused on creating latent meaning from the code list by categorising the text. The code list was initially simplified into categories. These categories were subsequently grouped into themes based on the dominant patterns observed across all the documents. Using Bengtsson's (2016, p. 12) work as a guide, themes were identified as "an overall concept of an underlying meaning on an interpretative latent level" (2016, p. 12). This process is generally understood as selective coding and also involves identifying miscoded passages or text and discrepant text that does not fit the overall thematic scheme previously devised (Smit, 2002, p. 70; Wesley, 2010, p. 8). As a result, this process involves moving codes and moving between categories to provide a progressive development of the category outcome (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 12).

To assess the documents, Bengtsson (2016, p. 12) suggests that the compilation of the data should be undertaken from a neutral perspective, with the researcher considering their own objectivity. This approach must also consider whether the analysis will be manifest or latent and whether quantitative deliberation would be necessary (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 12). Bengtsson (2016, p. 12) further notes that though this information can be quantified to enhance the data analysis further, categories should not be ranked in this sense.

The themes compiled across all the documents are discussed further in Chapter 8, drawing on the differences and similarities between the documents through open, axial, and selective coding. Though the primary focus will be on assessing the content of the documents, a brief discussion will assess the form of the documents and the historical considerations that informed the genesis of all the documents.

The documentary analysis and literature review findings will be used to verify and adjust (where appropriate) the proposed framework.

2.3.2.5 Inductive Analysis

An inductive analysis approaches the text without a pre-existing coding frame, as codes and themes are derived from the data (Friese et al., 2018, p. 9). However, though this approach relies on a bottom-up approach, it does not exist within an epistemological vacuum (Friese et al., 2018). The literature review will inform the inductive approach used by this study and provide an epistemological direction to coding and developing themes.

To systematise the data collection process, the documents will be assessed through a series of inductive questions that will guide the initial analysis of the documents:

1. Do these documents share any thematic principles based on the findings in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5?
   1.1. If yes, what are these thematic areas?
   1.2. If no, how do these documents differ?
2. What are the unique/dominant themes for each document?

The code list includes explanations for each code derived from the inductive analysis.

2.3.2.6 Deductive Analysis

The deductive portion of the documentary analysis will utilise an *a priori* list of codes determined by the framework developed in Chapter 6. The framework will be used as a deductive tool to assess each document's emergent-decolonial characteristics. This list will determine what aspects of these documents exhibit emergent-decolonial development characteristics.

The documentary analysis will further assess the arguments formulated in the literature review of development and decoloniality to identify whether the documents can be interpreted as decolonial developmental programmes. Lastly, the deductive portion of the study attempts to elucidate further the various linkages between the framework and the texts and determine and adjust the framework based on the study results.

2.3.2.7 Validity and Reliability

This thesis finds credibility by providing a plausible interpretation rather than obtaining a truthful account of the data within the document (Richerson and Boyd, cited in Wesley, 2010, p. 5). This is

based on an awareness of the critique made by Cohen (cited in Wesley, 2010, p. 4) that qualitative analysis of documents is often non-conjectural, non-verifiable, non-cumulative or that the illicit meanings from the documents are obtained through intuition and guesswork. As Wesley (2010, p. 4) argues, the methodological process undertaken through a qualitative documentary analysis should have a level of reliability and trustworthiness by ensuring its authenticity, transferability, precision and impartiality.

2.3.2.7.1 Documents are not neutral artefacts of the past.

A documentary analysis has various limitations. For instance, documents are not neutral artefacts which independently describe a social reality (Ahmed, 2010, p. 9). Documents are sets of data produced for a specific purpose that has no general relation to the specific aims of a study. Thus, much of the documents' interpretation must consider the documents' producers rather than viewing them as an objective picture of reality (Ahmed, 2010). As Ahmed (2010, p. 9) explains:

> *Authors of documents will decide to record and leave out information informed by their social, political, and economic environment of which they are part. Historical documents, thus, are amenable to manipulation and selective influence. In undertaking documentary research, researchers should be aware of these influences and not assume that documents are simply neutral artifact from the past. Indeed, uncritical readings of texts can reproduce and reinforce marginalization of groups, such as working class, women, and ethnicities.*

Therefore, deciphering what the authors of the original text decided to record or leave out of their text due to the social, political and economic environment of the time becomes equally important as assessing what was documented (Ahmed, 2010, p. 9).

To account for this and to further contextualise the documents and strengthen the underlying epistemological logic of the compilation of the data, the thesis provides a brief historical account of the documents under discussion in Chapter 7. These historical accounts ensure that each text meets the first criterion: that each document represents the developmental beliefs within a society directly impacted by coloniality. In addition, the documents were also purposefully chosen to reflect possible geographical, ontological, and colonial differences in liberation texts across time and colonial conditions.

It should be acknowledged that even though the documents are considered a record of the past, they are not usually designed to be understood through social research processes (Briggs & Coleman, 2007, p. 280). As a result, to find meaning within a documentary analysis, researchers must ask critical questions to adequately evaluate a document, the author, its place of publication or its place in the public record while simultaneously trying to understand that this document is a recording of the author(s)' perspective on events (Briggs & Coleman, 2007, p. 280).

2.3.2.7.2 Accounting for researcher bias in the selection of codes and the coding process

A further limitation of the validity and reliability of the study is the assumption that the researcher can remain neutral and objective in their analysis of the documents. A researcher's reading of a document may be both selective and biased. Furthermore, a bias may lead to the deliberate selection of particular data sets over others – selective survival (Ahmed, 2010, p. 10). To account for this selective bias, the study utilises particular selection criteria for the documents.

To further improve the reliability and reduce the selective survival of the code list, the codes were adjusted based on the various memos created for each document, which were used to track the changing interpretations of the codes based on repeated open coding. Memos are used as a means of "theorising [the] write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 7). Creating memos functions as a process of ensuring reliability by attempting to provide a means to maintain consistency in applying codes to the data. This point is emphasised by Bengtsson (2016, p. 12), who states that though "interpretations of the meaning units that seemed clear at the beginning may be obscured during the process", the "coding process should be performed repeatedly, starting on different pages of the text each time to increase the stability and reliability".

Considering that the data from documents can highlight a range of perspectives on particular events, activities, groups, or individuals, it can also be used to understand its representativeness (Briggs & Coleman, 2007, p. 280). Interpretation of this data may differ between researchers. Researchers engage in various epistemological or ontological approaches to the data (Briggs & Coleman, 2007, p. 280). To account for this, research projects that use a documentary analysis increase the validity of the coding process by asking a secondary research or inquiry auditor to read the original text and the results and judge whether the conclusions presented are reasonable (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 13). Considering this thesis only has one researcher, further caution is required during the coding process.

Though both selection bias and survival selection are impossible to eliminate completely, one benefit of documentary analysis compared to other qualitative approaches is that the data collection process is usually non-reactive: the method of data collection does not change the data being collected (Ahmed, 2010, p. 10). During the collection of the documents, unless they deliberately tamper with the contents of the data, the researcher is not in a position to bias the subject of the study – but can only interpret them based on methodology and intuition.

2.3.2.7.3 Positionality

Considering that the primary author of this thesis is familiar with the historical context of the South African liberation struggle, it must be acknowledged that the author's intuition may be biased towards the South African historical context and understanding of its colonial history. As discussed in Chapter

4, the homogenisation of colonial differences often ensures a misrepresentation of colonial contexts. It is thus appropriate to mention the need for due consideration of the author's positionality throughout the thesis.

2.3.3 Ethical Considerations

The thesis will primarily use secondary data from the aforementioned documents and poses no ethical concerns that need further discussion. In addition, the research methodologies described above provide no obvious ethical concerns as they focus on analysing the data as presented. The University of Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-medical) approved an ethics waiver for the research (see Appendix B: Ethics Clearance).

Chapter 3

Exploring, Development, Modernity and Decoloniality

Decolonisation within the context of development in both the 20th and 21st centuries has sought to position itself as a theory of development couched in the philosophy of anticolonial emancipation. The central challenge of this chapter is to investigate the literature on modernity, development and decoloniality to determine whether decolonisation can be understood as a process beyond self-determination. Furthermore, whether decolonisation should be viewed as an ongoing developmental process due to coloniality's ongoing influence.

To do so, the chapter explores the literature regarding how development, because of modernity, functions as a descriptor of a state's movement along a continuum between a non-ideal state and an ideal state. The chapter explores various themes based on the evolution of development, charting the various arguments and circumstances which precipitate how development becomes both deterministic and reductionist. In particular, the chapter will argue that the deterministic element of development has led to the emergence of decolonial thought and that the current notion of decolonial thought attempts to stand in antithesis to development because of its links with the modernist project.

3.1 The Discourse of Development

In Arturo Escobar's influential book, 'Encountering Development: The making and unmaking of the Third World', he boldly begins by stating that through the discourse and strategies of development exported to the Third World by multilateral organisations and the United States of America after the end of the Second World War, the dreams of material abundance and the good life became more akin to nightmares for those who experienced development's reproduction of massive underdevelopment, impoverishment and oppression (Escobar, 2011, p. 4). Escobar's comments seem to belie the truth of the matter as even though national development across the globe has faced numerous challenges, there have been considerable advances in the human condition that should not be ignored. Between 1990 and 2015, the global population increased from 5.3 billion to 7.3 billion. With this increase, more than 1 billion people escaped extreme poverty during the same period (UNDP, 2016, p. 3). Furthermore, the world has generally experienced improved sanitation, a reduction in under-five mortality, a decline in communicable diseases such as HIV and tuberculosis, and steady increases in the representation of historically marginalised groupings such as women in parliaments. All these seem to indicate a certain level of progress in global development (UNDP, 2016, p. 3).

Like most post-development thinkers of his time, Escobar remains unperturbed by the advances made by development (Ziai, 2013, p. 126). Instead, his contestation revolves around the "specific

constructions of the colonial/Third World subject in/through discourse in ways that allow the exercise of power over it" (Escobar, 2011, p. 9). Using Bhabha's understanding of colonial discourse as an anchor for his argument, Escobar elaborates that the purpose of colonial discourse is to "construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types based on racial origin, to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction" (Bhabha cited in Escobar, 2011, p. 9). For him, colonial discourse shares principles with developmental discourse and inevitably creates a geopolitical imagining of the world consisting of spatial powers denoting a variety of hierarchies across the world.

Expressions such as the First and Third World, North and South and centre and periphery are all examples that Escobar (2011) believes entrench specific groupings in a perpetual sense of underdevelopment or being 'less than'. What further exacerbates this is the desire by those in the field of development studies, amongst others, to formulate universally valid principles and models, often informed by the experiences of nations in the West and development theorists preconditioned to find parallels between the development trajectories between the West and the rest of the world (Brohman, 1995, p. 121). Escobar would presumably argue that the influence of development studies within the context of the colonial discourse described above would ensure that achieving political and economic emancipation was futile so long as the discourse of development remained colonial.

As Ziai (2013, p. 126) argues, to limit developmental discourse to a singular notion would unnecessarily ignore the variety of rich contributions made to it by concepts such as modernisation, Marxist theories of dependency, notions of balanced and unbalanced growth and capitalist and socialist notions of development. All of these have contributed to the continued but uneven advancement of the human condition through one means or another. Instead, he believes it is better to understand developmental discourse through the "number of assumptions and discursive regularities" shared by these different understandings of development theory and policy (Ziai, 2013, p. 126).

The first assumption is existential: that development as a notion exists. The second is normative and assumes that development is a good thing, denotes the state of a good society, and prescribes the process of achieving it. Thirdly, development is achievable and assumed to be possible across the world. The fourth assumption is that the approaches to development can be compared and replicated. These first four assumptions implicitly denote a fifth: that an ideal approach to development requires a specific goal to be achieved. The states that achieve this goal are thus considered more developed than those which do not.

Taking its cue from the fifth assumption, the sixth argues that these less developed countries require specific interventions to become developed. Lastly, the seventh assumption argues that if these interventions utilise expert knowledge to determine how to develop and attain a good society, these

interventions are legitimate. The presence of these last two assumptions ensures that underdeveloped societies are deemed to be inferior and thus require improvement through the application of a few one-size-fits-all interventions that are unambiguously beneficial to not only the populace of the afflicted society but for the globe as well (Faille, 2011, p. 215).

All the assumptions, in particular the fifth, sixth and seventh, impose upon the proverbial ‘ underdeveloped' societies across the world a developmental hegemony in thought and a developmental discourse “by which a dominant social class organizes its rule, so it seems 'natural’ to its subject” (Moore, 1995, p. 1). Moore explains that developmental discourse is a process of hegemonic construction and maintenance of progress that displays a variety of fluctuations even when the material base of the political economy changes or political struggles related to classes, nations, genders, and ethnic groups ebb and flow (Moore, 1995, p. 1). Even in the face of these changes, Moore remains steadfast in his belief that developmental discourse broadens its reach as global capital accumulates and simultaneously narrows its common denominator: that development discourse is conceived as an integral component of capitalism’s ongoing attempt to gain hegemony over the underdeveloped (Moore, 1995).

3.2 Decolonisation as Self-Determination

Decolonisation, within developmental discourse, is often understood as a process of self-determination by the indigenous people within a colonial state (Barelli, 2011, p. 414). Self-determination is generally understood as the “right of peoples of non-self-governing territories and peoples subject to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation to create their own state” (Barelli, 2011, p. 414). The dominance of this narrative of self-determination is partially attributed to how self-determination is defined in Article 1 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

> *(1) All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.*
>
> *(2) All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.*
>
> *(3) The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. (UN General Assembly, 1966).*

The phrase ‘by virtue of’ places a level of significance on the ability of self-determined people to exert their authority to achieve Article 1. However, it is an inappropriate assertion considering the continued influence of colonialism through the notion of coloniality. It is a definition that is conceptualised within the vice grip of coloniality. Coloniality is “the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administration” (Grosfoguel, 2002, p. 205). It addresses how the social power relations of today are “organised, constituted, and conditioned by centuries of western colonial expansion” (Grosfoguel, 2004, p. 319). However, it should be noted that colonialism should not be equated with coloniality as it speaks directly to the ongoing effect that colonialism still has on both the coloniser and the colonised. As Maldonado-Torres (2007, p. 243) explained:

> *Coloniality is different from colonialism. Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation an empire. Coloniality, instead, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjectivity relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day.*

In many of these newly formed states, the ambiguity of the purpose of international legal instruments, the efficacy of their implementation, and the instruments' political and moral considerations negatively influence the realisation of continuous forms of self-determination by decolonised states (Barelli, 2011). Coloniality dismisses the belief that states that had been responsible for the administration of former colonies can proceed to actively promote the realisation of the right to self-determine (including the free pursuit of political, economic, cultural, and social development) because of their role in the perpetuation of the colonial matrix of power. Quijano (cited in Mignolo, 2002, p. 84) explains that:

> *Coloniality of power means that all dominated populations and all the newly created identities were subjected to the hegemony of Eurocentrism understood as a way of conceiving of and organizing knowledge, above all, when some sectors of the dominated population had the opportunity and the chance to learn the writing system (la letra) of the colonizer...*

The pursuit of self-determination (i.e. becoming a nation-state) has come at the expense, as Rist (cited in Langdon, 2013, p. 388) argues, of the ability to self-define - redefining what their composite form would take. He elaborates the point by highlighting that decolonisation, as seen through the context of Article 1 (and the geopolitical and historical moment of the time), did not mean to be free from the West but to be like the West (Rist cited in Langdon, 2013, p. 388).

By taking note of the assumptions made within development discourse and the notion of coloniality, decolonisation should play a more important role than merely being a process of self-determination. As a result, a need arises to explore the discourse of development to identify whether developmental assertions made by a state that resists both the prevalent assumptions within development discourse and the continued effect of coloniality are distinct from the modernist project of development. As will be argued, the traditional framing of decolonisation as self-determination ensures that decolonisation remains within the logic of the modernist project and the rhetoric of modernity.

Radcliffe (2015, p. 855) identifies this area of research as critical development studies due to the insight it provides into the decision-making processes within developmental practice and how the design and operation of developmental policy relies upon and contributes towards "patterns of knowledge production about poverty, governance, the economy, society and so on". Critical development studies question the assumptions and theoretical foundations utilised within what Radcliffe describes as mainstream development policy (Radcliffe, 2015). The field questions the epistemes that inform the political and economic development tools that inform development practice. Furthermore, it broadens conversations regarding development to pay attention to fields of thought such as modernity and social relations and extends the analysis of the field beyond discussions about developmental interventions such as foreign aid, emergency relief and so on (Radcliffe, 2015, p. 866). The use of decolonial thought in developmental discourse may provide insights and tools to discover innovative theoretical and conceptual frameworks for development that contribute to the "emergence and operation of development alternatives that address the ongoing exclusions associated with uneven development" (Radcliffe, 2015, p. 856).

When surveying current literature on national development in and amongst nations, an overarching narrative focuses on creating a developmental fabric within a society created by interwoven policy ideals, ideas, directives, interest groups and policy outcomes. This fabric covers all areas of a society's economic, social, and cultural realms and creates a framework for overall progress. Progress within the literature is often predetermined by the values and goals of the society that inform the nature of the continuum in which a nation's developmental journey resides, a continuum characterised by some form of the initial point and an ideal end-stage. As Six (2009) describes it, development provides an idea that brings about a teleological understanding of the history of a nation or society. The word development creates an intrinsic attachment to the notion of advancement or progress that embraces a teleological notion of purpose and is thus predicated on the need for a continuum. Moreover, it necessitates a linearity that is both deterministic and finite. This process requires a particular intervention to input changes into the fabric of development, which will initiate an observable, measurable and rational output analysed through a form of reductionism (Rihani & Soto, 2002, p. 3).

Reductionism in development is the "assumption that parts of the development process could be tackled separately and then the results added up to predict and manage the overall system" (Rihani & Soto, 2002, p. 4). This predetermination begs the question of whether development, as an epistemic, ontological, and practical exercise, provides any real utility as an analytical tool for what nations should strive towards. Moreover, should teleology be utilised as an intrinsic tool to define development?

3.3 Enlightenment, Modernity and Development

When concerned with the history of global economic growth, much of the literature attributes our modern sense of development to the rapid economic growth in Western Europe in the 19th century (Acemoglu et al., 2005). This period of growth is often associated with the emergence and spread of the Industrial Revolution. As an analytical tool to describe this period, the Industrial Revolution provides a means to understand the changes within Britain between 1760 and 1830 that irreversibly altered the country's economy and society (Mokyr, 1993, p. 4). These changes trickled down throughout Western Europe and, eventually, the United States of America. Descriptions of this time are traditionally associated with praise about how momentous this point in global history was and how it impacted all aspects of the human experience and changed the basis of human existence (Komlos, 2003, p. 1). Though this expansive view of the Industrial Revolution remains prevalent, the period is traditionally marked by "the emergence of real industries in the sense of the modern industrial economics, and especially of the model of the industry life-cycle" (Wijnberg, 1992, p. 153).

However, with the rapid expansion of this industrial project within Britain and continental Europe, substantial transformational changes came with it, many of which altered society's social and political conceptions. Polanyi (2001, p. 79) elaborates on this point in *The Great Transformation,* arguing that blind faith in the boundless, unregulated, spontaneous progress ensured that those living during that time were awful beyond description. Those who failed to benefit from the expanse of industry were sweated and starved by callous exploiters, deprived of homes and land, and forced into a labour market that justified the death of children in mines and created large-scale destitution (Polanyi, 2001, p. 164). So, while economic liberalism led to the spread of self-regulating market economies predicated on the use of laissez-faire and free trade notions of exchange, society created a counter-movement through collectivist action based on the principle of social protection, which led to the conservation of man and nature and the blunting of actions by industry's seemingly self-destructive mechanisms; a process Polanyi described as the double movement (Polanyi, 2001, pp. 79, 138).

It may be tempting to begin the analysis of the literature regarding modern development from this particular moment in history and its understanding of modern industrial economics relating to concepts such as competition, enterprise development, technological advancement, the political and social

development of Western Europe, the emergence of new and revitalised institutions and the advancement of macroeconomic change (Acemoglu et al., 2005; Mokyr, 1993, p. 5; Wijnberg, 1992, p. 153). However, it would stymie the review of developmental discourse as it lacks the necessary explanatory potential to explain why this period was also understood as the "First Great Divergence" (i.e. the first significant, sustained divergence in income per capita across different regions of the world) (Acemoglu et al., 2005).

The First Great Divergence is understood as the substantial economic progress made by Western Europe compared to Eastern Europe and Asia (Acemoglu et al., 2005, p. 546). Polanyi's notion of a double movement seems to account for changes in Europe and Britain, but does it apply to the experiences of African and Latin American nation-states? Were these nations, which were considered to be on the periphery of world development in the eyes of the occident, capable of creating their own protections against the harmful nature of the industrial project embarked on by those who resided in the centre? To explore this, the literature analysis will begin in the century preceding the Industrial Revolution and highlight the changes in Western Europe's economic, political and social development during a time described as the period of Enlightenment.

3.3.1 Enlightenment and Modernity

Often referred to as the 'Age of Reason', the Enlightenment, as argued by Peters (2019, p. 886), is the period following the death of Louis XIV in 1715 to the start of the French Revolution in 1789, referred to by the French as *Siecle des lumineres*, Germans as *Aufklarung*, Italians as *L'Illuminismo* and the Spanish as *La Ilustracion*. Peter separates the period between the "Early Enlightenment (1685–1730), the High Enlightenment (1730–1780), and the Late Enlightenment (1780–1815)", arguing that the period has historically been characterised as "synonymous with the development of public reason, secular liberalism, democracy and the seat of modernity" (Peters, 2019, p. 886)

Moykr (2011, p. 3) argues that the enlightenment period was pivotal to the subsequent economic development in Western Europe. Development informed by enlightenment was confined to nations that experienced this enlightenment. He believed that enlightenment within Europe represented a multifaceted phenomenon that concerned itself with "natural law and justice, religious and political tolerance, human rights and freedom, inequality, legal reform", but most importantly, underlying all these elements was the "belief in the possibility and desirability of human progress and perfectibility through reason and knowledge" (Mokyr, 2011, p. 4). The pursuit of an ideal state through the use of reason, knowledge and a programme - usually in the image of secular liberalism - was a departure from the thinking before the 17th century, which found much of its focus on the belief that the world of nature

and man were conceived and emanated from some form of divine providence (Bendix, 1967, p. 294; Pocock, 2008, p. 84).

The departure from this earlier set of beliefs informed by divine providence seemed to be a direct response to Descartes's challenge in part 6 of *Discourse on Method*, in which he stated that to master the essence of nature, one must embark on a thorough and scrupulous public account of all they discover through scientific experiment and enquiry. This activity for Descartes should not exclude the general public as he states that enquiry informed by preferences and ability evokes a responsibility on those who enquire to communicate all they learn to the public (Descartes, 1968). Descartes' work, which informed the rationalist approach to the Enlightenment period, sought to bring a 'reformation' to how knowledge was approached and attained.

Beginning with Descartes' understanding of reductionism, Heighten, Cilliers and Gershenson (2006) described it as understanding any complex phenomenon by reducing them to their individual components. The work of reductionism was meant to mathematise nature and insist that matter had no attributes beyond those that were quantifiable (Louth, 2011, p. 70). These quantifiable attributes could eventually be reduced to matter that was indivisible – particles (Heylighen et al., 2017, p. 118). Therefore, all substances, systems or phenomena can be understood through the different arrangements of various pieces of matter. Thus, any development or evolution attributed to these substances, systems and phenomena was simply a geometrical rearrangement of matter determined by the laws of cause and effect (Heylighen et al., 2017, p. 118). Descartes did not believe in atomism but favoured viewing the world through mechanistic reduction (Louth, 2011, p. 71). That being said, the argument that Heylighen, Cilliers and Gershenson (2017, p. 119) make regarding Descartes' notion of reductionism was that if you understood the initial position and velocities of the indivisible components of systems, then, through a particular application of force, at least in principle, one can predict the further evolution of a system with complete accuracy and certainty.

For Descartes, no knowledge system is genuinely attainable unless a researcher can sweep away all preconceptions and opinions and, within this void, replace them with new conceptions of the world gained through rationale and reasoned enquiry (Schouls, 1989, p. 17). Louth (2011, 70) explains that abstracting the world is reasonable and necessary but warns that liberties are often taken when reducing the world, whether upwards or downwards, to understand complex processes. So even though Descartes was enthused with the idea of simplifying knowledge to the base component through reason and reductionism, he acknowledged why this belief created difficulties in accounting for the unity of complex entities that must be viewed as a whole (Groshultz cited in Louth, 2011, p. 70).

Descartes was not enthused by a world of intuition alone but by a world in which intuition and reason produce a sense of wisdom through the methodological dovetailing of the two. A sense of humanness is gained by ensuring individual autonomy and instrumental mastery (Wagner, 2015, pp. 275–276). The notion of distinguishing between individual autonomy and instrumental mastery resulted from Descartes's work on the philosophy of dualism, which argued that while matter obeyed mechanical laws, the mind did not (Heylighen et al., 2017, p. 120).

A detailed discussion of Descartes' substance dualism is beyond this thesis. However, it has significant consequences for notions such as Fanonian understandings of decolonisation and decolonial theory discussed in section 4.1.1. Descartes' philosophy of substance dualism assumed that while material objects obey mechanical laws, the mind does not. The relationship between the mind and body should be seen as a relationship between two distinct 'substances' (Rodríguez Pereyra, 2008, p. 73). The body can be reduced to its mechanistic aspects and can be measured and controlled. The controller of the body – the actions that gave the body purpose - was the mind. The mind cannot be reduced to its individual parts because of the immeasurability of consciousness (Heylighen et al., 2017; Rodríguez Pereyra, 2008). The immeasurability of the mind, because it was a thinking epistemic subject, made the mind both radically different and distinct from the body (Alanen, 1989, p. 396). However, the union of these distinct substances represented, at least for Descartes, an understanding of "man as a conscious and embodied agent" (Alanen, 1989, p. 397). This conscious man is neither physical nor purely spiritual. However, he is a third kind of being that exhibits its own distinctive moral nature and experience (Alanen, 1989, p. 397). Schouls (1989, pp. 18–19) argues that Descartes believed that no action is truly human unless it is rational and exhibits the use of the mind. It cannot be rational if not imbued with and dictated by knowledge. There is no knowledge except for science (Schouls, 1989, p. 19). For Descartes, amongst others such as Spinoza, Leibniz and Hobbes, to remove prejudice and superstition from reason, reason had to be structured through "quasimathematical" terms (Louth, 2011, p. 74)

This method of bringing together intuition and reason through scientific inquiry was partly inspired by the programme that Francis Bacon devised. Bacon suggested that to achieve material progress through any technological advancement; there would be a need to apply inductive and experimental investigational methods to nature, methods that rely less on divine preponderance as a method of knowledge generation but reorganise science as a human activity of enquiry (Ivic & Lakicevic, 2011, p. 396; Mokyr, 2011, p. 4).

Much of Bacon's work focused on creating a demarcation between science and religion. His focus was on creating a clear differentiation that would allow for the advancement of science while simultaneously protecting divinity from atheism (Manzo, 2006, p. 247). This was a demarcation he believed would allow science to focus on exploring the laws of nature for the benefit and use of humankind (Manzo,

2006, p. 253). The exploration of science for Bacon took two forms: anticipation and interpretation. The latter's focus on induction as a form of reasoning formed the core of what would later be described as the Baconian Programme (Bacon, 2017, p. 2). The Baconian Programme created a new and enduring conception of progress that endowed all people with reason through induction. Thus, by extension, human nature was equated with the ability to be rational (Ivic & Lakicevic, 2011, p. 396). This endowment of reason requires a person to contemplate nature and control it (Best, 1991, p. 191). Knowledge became a form of power for Bacon as it allowed humans to justify taking control and command over things considered neutral, i.e. bodies (Best, 1991, p. 190)

The works of both Bacon and Descartes are often considered critical natural philosophical precursors for the Enlightenment period and inspired the works of Holbach, Helvetius and La Mettrie and, to an extent, Bentham, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Sade (Mali et al., 2003, p. 5; Peters, 2019, p. 886). However, it would be the work by Newton and Laplace, amongst others, in combination with both Bacon and Descartes, that would form the Newtonian-Baconian-Cartesian ideology, which claimed a universal understanding of science that, for 500 years, positioned itself as the only possible understanding of science (Best, 1991, p. 190; Wallerstein, 1995, p. 486). However, it is the work of Immanuel Kant, Max Weber and the general contributions to the formation of Newtonian sciences (in combination with the work of Bacon and Descartes) that provided the core aspect of enlightenment thinking that would go on to form the modern world's reasoning and developmental structures (Heylighen et al., 2017; Peters, 2019, p. 886).

Immanuel Kant argued that understanding one's ability to be rational was to depart from being immature – "being unable to use one's understanding without guidance from another" (Kant, 2013) – and work toward a "critical process that affords humanity the possibility of new development" (Dussel, 2000, p. 469). Even Fanon, according to Lewis Gordon, implicitly agreed with Kant's views and argued that the central philosophy of rationality could be summarised as the conviction to achieve a level of maturity that is fundamental to the human condition; maturity that for Fanon is tantamount to freedom (Gordon, 2004). Equating Fanon's understanding of freedom through the pursuit of decolonisation and Kant's need to move away from an immature state will be indirectly explored later with a reading of decolonial theory in Chapter 4. For both, it seems, epistemes and the understanding and expression of an episteme provide the foundation for freedom. For now, Kant's understanding of the pursuit of development provides a valuable entry point into the development discourse during the Enlightenment period.

3.3.2 Enlightenment and Development

For Kant, the Enlightenment period involved modifying the pre-existing relations between free will, authority, and one's use of reason (Monatschrift & Aufklärung, 1984). The process of enlightenment

required a sense of freedom among individuals and within society. As Kant understood it, freedom was the ability to publicly utilise reason on all matters that would slowly but naturally permeate society, including politics, education, religion, and morality (Kant, 2013; Kleingeld, 1999). According to Kant, using one's freedom to be rational would eventually culminate in the moralisation of humanity and the transformation of citizens from those akin to passive machines simply obeying the prescripts of society into people treated according to their dignity (Kant, 2013; Kleingeld, 1999).

This modification, for Kant, became the driver of change within a human's peculiar psychological characteristics, which he described as the human inclination towards "unsocial sociability" (Kleingeld, 1999, pp. 60–61). To be in a state of unsocial sociability entails the mixed desire to engage in social interaction, isolation, or conflict. In Kant's view, unsocial sociability refers to a state antithetical to his notion of the categorical imperative (Ellis, 2012, p. 151). Thus, to counter this inclination that creates social antagonisms whose consequences can and often are harmful, Kant argues the need to create a state that regulates these interactions according to laws (Kleingeld, 1999, p. 61).

Max Weber understood the formation of institutions and structures meant to motivate and guide society as a result of human nature seeking to create meaning out of senselessness. Senselessness for Weber referred to events such as death, innocent suffering, or the randomness associated with the distribution of wealth, power and status (Seidman, 1983, p. 268). Thus, for Weber, modernity was the predisposition towards rationalising all spheres of living (Reckling, 2001, p. 163). This delineation was needed because of the rise of Kant's notion of freedom, which led to the collapse of the unified conception of religion and metaphysics.

According to Weber, religion mostly functioned to create meaning from senselessness by demanding a specific presupposition that the world and the course one takes within the world somehow inherited meaning (Seidman, 1983, p. 268). However, Weber, pessimistic about the role of religion as an organising force, believed in changing notions of knowledge and its acquisition. In particular, he argued for the permeation of secular-scientific ethos within society's culture and the psychology of modernity (Seidman, 1983, p. 269). As a result, Weber believed that religion, as it was constituted, would be shifted away from the centre and towards the realm of the irrational (Seidman, 1983, p. 269). Replacing religion would be cultural modernity delineated into three expressions of substantive reason: science, morality, and art (Habermas & Ben-Habib, 1981, p. 8).

For Bacon, Descartes, Kant and Weber, the Enlightenment era began to codify progress and development alongside scientific enquiry, placing a premium on the notion of rationality and being free to understand one's existence as being at the core of the concept of change. As Adorno and Horkheimer later explained, enlightenment's ideal was the rationalising of a system from which everything and

anything may follow through reason and scientific enquiry regardless of the plurality of notions that may constitute it (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1997, p. 4). It inadvertently annuls individual subjectivity by objectifying subjectivity (Vahdat, 2000, p. 57). The Cartesian *cogito* of enlightenment and modernity, which views the detached subject as a liberator, is simultaneously responsible for the objectification of nature, the Other (i.e. the colonised and women), and the subject itself (Vahdat, 2000, p. 57).

According to Kothari (1968, p. 275), those in the Enlightenment period became less interested in the mere understanding of the facts of change, but instead in the desirability for change and the tasks and problems that brought about this change, i.e. industrialisation, urbanisation, social and economic equality, or universal participation in political processes. Progress and development became purposive and a process to be affected rather than analysed and experienced. The Enlightenment period emphasised comparing oneself to others and rationally closing the gap on that difference. This marked a shift from the earlier focus on individual uniqueness (Kothari, 1968, p. 275).

Understanding society through methodological and scientific enquiry and a framework of comparison rather than a framework of uniqueness created what eventually became the hallmark of the Enlightenment period, an ideal type of development. The need to shift towards an ideal type was predicated on the growing belief that the acquisition of useful knowledge through reason would solve a variety of technological problems, and the subsequent dissemination of this knowledge would lead to overall efficiencies in society and open the doors towards societal prosperity (Mokyr, 2011, p. 5).

The ideas that pushed the notion of achieving societal prosperity were scattered across the Enlightenment period. Whether it was Descartes' and Kant's work to ensure knowledge is gained through the freedom to use reason and rationality; or Alexis de Tocqueville's belief that universal suffrage should be the telos point of political history; Adam Smith's belief in the individual's use of rationality and reason can create self-regulating markets that provide an overall good to society or Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel's belief that modernity's focus on the individual would eventually lead to a class-stratified form of economic globalisation (Wagner, 2012). Whenever there is a need to consider creating an ideal state of society through reason, the outcome is the need for an end-stage of development that is preferred over its initial position. An outcome that creates a dichotomous nature of development.

3.3.3 Modernity: A Break from Tradition

Shifting society from an initial point to an ideal state, or transitioning from traditional to modern, is a political question and an exercise. It produces a variety of political outcomes that influence the establishment and subsequent evolution of institutions. The search for modernity's sense of progress is

less concerned with meandering towards an ideal state but rather an attitude of relating a contemporary way of thinking, feeling, acting, and behaving that is considered rational. Modernity is thus not an analytical tool with a set of laws dictating its effect. Neither is it a theory utilised to build frameworks of understanding. It is better to understand modernity as a form of logic and an ideology (Baudrillard, 1987, p. 63).

Charles Baudelaire, a prominent French author and poet during the post-enlightenment period, described modernity as an attitude characterised by the "consciousness of the discontinuity of time: a break with tradition, a feeling of novelty, of vertigo in the face of the passing moment" (Baudelaire, cited in Monatschrift & Aufklärung, 1984). Similarly to Kothari above, Baudelaire argued that modernity was less concerned with achieving the ideal state than it was with the attitude utilised when moving along the dichotomy towards the ideal state. It is an attitude that idolises the present, not in a manner that is chained to the present but in a manner in which extreme attention is given to the present to fully understand it without falling victim to an authority whose sole purpose is to deny others the opportunity to rationalise this world, e.g., religion or colonising forces. It is an attitude that focuses on an individual achieving freedom that allows them to utilise reason in public and private and take rationality out of the hands of monarchist authorities.

Baudelaire expands on this view by arguing that the "attitude of modernity, the high value of the present is indissociable from a desperate eagerness to imagine it, to imagine it otherwise than it is, and to transform it not by destroying it but by grasping it in what it is" (Baudelaire cited in Monatschrift & Aufklärung, 1984). For both Kant and Baudelaire, modernity was less concerned with the ability to utilise reason in public for the sake of reasoning freely or to "liberate man in his own being", but rather, it is concerned with compelling man to face the task of producing himself (Monatschrift & Aufklärung, 1984). Therefore, the enlightenment period highly valued the ethos employed in searching for and wanting to become modern.

Whilst the subsequent emergence of enlightenment thinking regarding emancipation was reflected through the revolutionary waves typified by the French and American revolutions and the variety of historical processes that influenced political and economic changes during and towards the end of the 18th century. This period was also characterised by the brutal and violent expansion of colonial empires, new social classes, and the decline of aristocracy; increased secularisation marked by the sharp differentiation between religious and political authority, with the latter dominating the public sphere; projects of rationalising knowledge and practices and the erasure of knowledge systems through colonialism; increased popular participation in government within the occidental states; increased rationalisation and bureaucratisation of government and other social institutions and the preponderance of the use of scientific methods as the paradigm utilised to advance human knowledge (Acemoglu et

al., 2005; Bendix, 1967; Grosfoguel, 2013; Kamil, 2017; Monatschrift & Aufklärung, 1984; Polanyi, 2001; Portes, 1973; Weigel, 2016).

This period was also defined by novelty, dynamism within society, increased innovation, a rupture from the past and a growing determination to ensure that people saw themselves as free to engage in autonomous progress detached from (some) tradition and superstition (Kamil, 2017, p. 109). Raeff (1975, p. 1222) neatly describes this period of modernisation as Western and Central Europe's conscious desire to maximise all its resources (material, intellectual and cultural) and use this desire in a dynamic manner meant to enlarge and improve their respective ways of life.

This attitude to maximise all resources, to be conscious of the discontinuity of time and embrace novelty, and the desire to be free to use reason to break out of immaturity is espoused during the Enlightenment period and arguably through to the present. It created a dominant discourse and manner of reasoning within Western thinking and defined this period as the age of modernity. During this period (the 18th century), a plethora of writing emerged detailing what was seen as the radical transformation of social relations, mainly in Europe, between 1789 and 1914 (Polanyi, 2001; Wagner, 2015, p. 270).

According to Wittrock (2000, p. 32), the age of modernity (for this thesis, the period between the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 20th century) allowed for the opening of an "infinite number of possible varieties in cultural patterns, beliefs, and commitments as well as in institutional specificity within the framework of this encompassing epoch". Although modernity takes various forms, the term speaks to the features and attitudes common to its various iterations. These commonalities allow for encompassing idiosyncrasies into the notion of the modern age (Wittrock, 2000, p. 32). As Portes (1973, p. 251) argues, modernity as a societal outlook, though diverse, maintained a unilinear evolutionary perspective that suggests progress can only be judged if society approaches the value-orientations embodied within modernity.

3.3.4 Development and Modernity

The notion of modernity requires a much more detailed exposition. However, that exercise is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, this chapter will focus on understanding the impact of modernity on the value spheres that inform nations' politics and economic structures. Furthermore, while the latter part of this chapter will discuss modernity delinked from its Western conceptions, for the purpose of this section, modernity is purposefully discussed from an occidentalist perspective.

Bendix (1967, p. 308) argues that the traditional and modern within modernity are differentiated systems constituted by various interrelated variables. While Bendix (1967, p. 308) associates these variables with societal conceptions of the division of labour and property rights. He argues that within

this dichotomy, societies are treated as natural systems, where the emphasis is placed on the search for independent variables in a traditional society, which, when altered, drives subsequent change in the related but dependent variables that create what is understood as modern (Bendix, 1967, p. 308). In a study by Galland and Lemel (2008), they sought to understand particular value spheres within Europe that can be found in both traditional and modern conceptions of Europe. They constructed 18 value spheres that illustrate Bendix's argument of interrelated variables (see Table 1)

Table 1: Traditional-Modern Value Spheres (Galland and Lemel, 2008)

Traditional-Modern Value Spheres (Galland & Lemel, 2008)		
1. Degree of religiosity	2. Confidence in institutions	3. Instrumental orientation towards work
4. Importance of God	5. Rejection of neighbours	6. Voluntary organizations participation
7. Church Involvement	8. Protest political participation	9. Post-materialism
10. Moral rules in private matters	11. Political involvement	12. Left-right scale
13. Moral rules in public matters	14. Preference for personal development	15. Importance of work
16. Support for authority values	17. Localism	18. Attachment to traditional family

These broad and far-ranging value spheres exemplify the variables within Western society's traditional and modern conceptions. However, the above list of variables is not exhaustive, as Bendix (1967) also argues that independent variables can be associated with notions of the division of labour and the moral decay associated with altering ideas of property ownership.

As a result, societal changes represent a decline in the conception of traditional values and modes of being and the rise of modernist conceptions of these same variables. Thus, social change must consist of an internal process rather than some form of external influence (Bendix, 1967, p. 308). Though Bendix's comments would initially seem ignorant of transitions in colonial spaces influenced by the exogenous shock of colonialism, he does note that contrasting social change utilising his view is limited when applied to colonial and post-colonial states outside of European reference. It is an acceptance that modernity, as a theory of change, does not have to function as unilinear for all societies. As a result, Bendix argues that there is a need to account for both the native traditions and the dual-society traditions - Memmi's (1974) notion of the "Colonized and the Colonizer" - that is purposefully created by a colonising country (Bendix, 1967, p. 323). This point will be returned to later in this chapter.

3.3.4.1 Shifting towards the modern

The notion of development understood through the transcendental idealism of Kantian thought implicitly demands that development be a form of constitutive growth, progress and advancement of intuited value spheres. This advancement implies categorising the object of study as relative to its future state. As Ferguson explains, the notion of modernisation in development implies that 'backward nations' must become more modern by endogenising a variety of socio-political institutions such as "industrial economies, scientific technologies, liberal democratic politics, nuclear families, and secular world views" within the framework of the society (Ferguson, 2005, p. 2). As has been explained earlier, it is a profoundly teleological exercise.

Escobar (2010, 2011), like Ferguson (2005) and many others (for example, Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997), provides an interpretation of development beyond "the material conditions of living, the upgrading of living standards and the modernisation of the productive apparatus". For Escobar (2005, p. 140), development is more akin to improving the mechanisms through which a form of rationality, modernity, was to be learned by those deemed traditional. The distinction between these two approaches to development – the upgrading of living standards and learning from those deemed modern what it means to shift towards them - is crucial for both authors. It highlights the need for those thinking about development to question the underlying assumptions about the tools used in development. Like many in the post-development school of thinking, Escobar and Ferguson understand that development involves the inclusion of multifarious constitutive elements across various aspects of one's social reality.

In terms of development, the role of modernity is often "characterized by rationalization, centralization, specialization, bureaucratization and industrialization" (Bogason, 2005, p. 235), with scientific knowledge often used to further both economic and social development by controlling and monitoring their progress through the use of "universal" centres of knowledge and power (Bogason, 2005, p. 236). Following Bendix's earlier arguments that development emerged from the Enlightenment period, the journey towards modernisation functions as the first developmental project informed directly by modernity. While strongly influenced by the historical and social experiences of a handful of Western countries, modernisation maintains a strong influence across various developmental projects. It maintains a hegemonic ripple effect across non-Western countries, as discussed above. The assumptions of development made by Ziai earlier in this chapter are fully informed by modernity. So, even though development is not a singular notion, its drive is informed by a dominant ideology, allowing the rich diversity of developmental approaches associated with modernity to be grouped as one. These theories created the subsequent totalising effect of modernity that tended to create grand theories of development meant to encapsulate a totalising vision of society; the belief in convergence.

Theories such as neoclassical economics, orthodox Marxism and Keynesian economics are examples of the continued modernist project that provides a rationalising basis for understanding all development by reducing the richness and diversity of development to some fundamental essence; a modernised society (Brohman, 1995, p. 122). The danger of all these forms of development is that they become "prone to problems of reductionist bias, whereby simplistic monocausal explanations are sought for complex development realities. Within such explanations, there is little room for plurality; much of the richness and diversity of societies that produce different trajectories of development is excluded from analysis" (Brohman, 1995, p. 122).

3.3.4.2 The Economics of Development

As elaborated above, the teleological understanding of development has greatly impacted our corporeal world's ontogenetic, phylogenetic, and sociogenetic aspects. Evaluating these changes is a profoundly normative exercise associated with contested subjective experiences of these changes. The basic tenet of development remains constant amongst these subjectivities: the shift from one state of being to the next is predicated on understanding and using nature. The use of natural resources and the nature of the physical world as a constraint to development is due to the "uniform horizon of economic production possibilities" created by nature and the directionality that the understanding of natural science gives to development (Fukuyama, 1992, pp. xiv, 72). Development thus becomes dependent on its linkages to nature and the natural sciences. Development cannot be fathomed from nothing. Nature, time and space all function as its basic constraints. These constraints form the initial conditions of a nation-state and the starting point of the framework (see section 6.3.1.2).

A predominant view of the measurement of development is the use of neoclassical economics' production function to understand economic development in a country. This asserts that a country's aggregate production function – the relation between the total output of an economy and the aggregate amounts of labour, human capital and physical capital – provides a suitable tool for explaining economic change across countries (Banerjee & Duflo, 2004, p. 1). Aggregate production, though an economic construct, had real and tangible implications on the lives of individuals (Banerjee & Duflo, 2004, p. 1). Improved production output was seen to be the link to improving the lives of individuals and, by fiat, that of society.

The link between macro and micro imaginations of society, especially in economics, has been central to understanding society's development. The dualism in neoclassical economics creates tenuous linkages between macro and micro understandings of the economy. Development understood through this lens ensures that it dovetails across all our understandings of economic growth, technological evolution, and overall societal change at an individual and societal level. As a result, the importance of

discourse and the actualisation of development has had and will continue to have important implications for society at a micro and macro level, even if the connection between the two is unclear.

The development of microeconomics can be attributed, though not exhaustively, to the works of classical economists such as Adam Smith (1776), Thomas Malthus (1872), David Ricardo (Ricardo, 1891), Jeremy Bentham (1781) and thinkers from the marginalist era of economics such as Jacques Turgot, Leon Walras (2013), William Jevons (1879) and Vilfredo Pareto. The work undertaken during both the classical and marginal eras was later solidified by the emergence of neoclassical economics during the 20th century. It sought to create a complete theory that began with understanding various axiomatic assumptions about individual consumers and producers that would allow one to infer their causal implications for both markets and economics (Beinhocker, 2006, p. 39). This inference created a level of scientific predictability in evaluating human development, thus fulfilling modernity's need for mastering the physical world.

The result of this was a theory of microeconomics founded on notions of "rational, optimising consumers and producers making choices in a world of finite resources and (with the exception of investments in technology) those choices being bounded by decreasing returns" (Beinhocker, 2006, p. 43). Neoclassical economics, as a paradigm, assumes that given an individual's wealth, level of productivity and the prices of inputs, their decision regarding the consumption of their output could be assumed to focus on maximising their utility (Banerjee & Duflo, 2004, p. 2)

This paradigm placed a premium on the need to understand human decisions regarding their use of resources, their predilection towards maximising their utility and predicting how these decisions aggregated themselves across society and thereby allocated wealth and improved wellbeing. Understanding the nature of individuals allows microeconomics to predict how wealth is allocated 'naturally' and provides cues for researchers to predict how wealth grows and whether this growth is correlated with an improvement in well-being. Creating a scientific approach to the growth of wealth and well-being would become the bedrock of development economics.

The neoclassical approach to growth sought to understand aggregate production functions to improve their predictability. To do so, the paradigm required that Walrasian notions of equilibrium-underpinned markets were perfect; that individuals were free to buy or sell resources at a given price and borrow or lend as much as they wished at an expected interest rate (Banerjee & Duflo, 2004, pp. 2–3). Banerjee and Duflo (2004, p. 2) elaborate on this point by explaining that perfect markets of this sort exhibit allocate the supply of inputs in the economy to maximise total output. Considering the explanatory limitations of economic models, if this assertion is generally true, it can be further assumed that an individual's goal is to maximise utility. Theoretically, if all pursue this goal, the marginal returns to

capital within this market would be equally distributed to everyone in the economy (Banerjee & Duflo, 2004, p. 2). As the marginal returns to the capital increase, that is, when wealth increases, as Banerjee and Duflo (2004, p. 3) explain, consumption must also increase. This is important in understanding how development dovetails with modernity's demand (and belief) that societies can 'catch up'.

3.3.4.3 The Logic of Convergence and the Proverbial 'Catch-Up'

By extrapolating that all countries can understand development through the same aggregate production function, it follows that all countries can generate wealth. Due to the concave nature of aggregate production – which demonstrates how output and capital increase at a decreasing rate for output - countries, even with relatively low capital, are expected to grow their output faster than those with already high output levels. In turn, these higher returns are reinvested and further increase growth while also incentivising new investment, a fortuitous cycle known as the logic of convergence. As Rodrik (2011, p. 1) explains, "countries that are poorer and have higher marginal productivity of capital should, therefore grow fast in the transition to the long-run steady-state".

The emergence of convergence through aggregate production gave modernity a form of analytical and empirical rigour within development. The evidence of convergence became apparent during the 1990s as developing economies grew faster than their developed counterparts according to their respective gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (Dervis, 2018). GDP per capita exhibited a growth rate that was 2.5% higher in developing countries than in developed countries, with the gap increasing to 3.5% between 2000 and 2007 (Dervis, 2018).

Barro, Mankiw and Sala-i-Martin (1992, p. 1) argued that convergence seemingly occurred amongst countries who were members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United States of America, Western Europe and Japan, and states within the USA. Accounting for convergence became more challenging when the analysis was extended to 100 countries. The rationale for this discrepancy was that these countries have lower steady-states than their more developed counterparts. The differences in steady-states, as Barro et al. (1992, p. 1) and Sachs and Warner (1995, pp. 4–5) explain, are due to disparities in preferences relative to their developed counterparts, varying government policies regarding how to save capital returns, fertility, a sound human capital base and available production technology. Al-e Ahmad argues that the gap between the two groups is significant and should be seen as an "unfillable chasm deepening and widening by the day" (Al-e Ahmad, 1988, p. 28). That being said, Barro et al. (1992) argue that if one can control certain variables, convergence can occur at a rate of 2%, but this convergence is slow.

The implication that developing countries have vastly lower steady-states builds into the modernist understanding of development. To counter this rather pessimistic reading, Sachs and Warner (1995, p.

5) argue that it is not the "underlying production technology or initial level of human capital" that solely informs steady-states but economic growth. Thus, the potential for economic convergence also requires reasonably efficient economic institutions. Therefore, the logic of convergence should be measured by the policy choices and institutions created and maintained by a country (Sachs & Warner, 1995).

Rodrik (2011, p. 1) agrees with this assertion and argues that the empirical evidence for convergence has been disputed and that, in general, poor countries do not tend to grow faster than rich ones over any reasonably long time frame. Convergence is thus conditional on various factors such as policies, institutions, and country-specific circumstances. These economic institutions remain rooted in classical interpretations of property rights, open markets, ease of interactions, and trade liberalism. Creating convergence remains founded on the principle of creating predetermined institutions and policies. Though these institutions are broadly retained within the framework, their impetus for emergent-decolonial development is not predicated on maintaining the dualism between development and modernity but rather the exploration of the duality between the ideal and non-ideal the other.

Development's focus on convergence remains a macro-level analysis of societal efforts towards advancement; however, modernity's impact and influence remain focused on individual efforts at mastery. What informs individual behaviours, at least within the paradigm of neoclassical economics, remains modernity's impact on these behaviours, with social structures (i.e. government, institutions) only functioning as "constraints on rational individual behaviour" (Jackson, 1999, p. 5). Matching these behaviours and their respective social constraints to macro-level desires for convergence becomes important in any analysis of development.

Neoclassical microeconomics, according to Elsner, Heinrich and Schwardt (2014, p. x), appears to be focused on applying marginalist - both the English and Austrian persuasion – mathematical approaches to societal problems focused on achieving a predetermined equilibrium within an economic system focused on price-quantity relationships and the assumption that economic agents are identical and have no direct interaction between each other. The linkages between this and modernity are readily apparent. That is to say, the individual desire for mastery through economically self-interested rationality can be predicted and replicated. Whether this desire is correct or its scientific predictability plausible is beside the point for modernity. The belief that one can freely pursue scientific mastery drives microeconomic development and, by extension, the conception of development as a discourse.

Before embarking on further analysis, there is a need to delimit the scope of the discussion of development. Development has traditionally been seen in the literature through three interrelated and complex criteria: economic, social and cultural (Portes, 1973, p. 253). Economic development focuses on creating a sustained increase in national product and income by generating economic growth in the

various industries that make up a country's economic fabric. Social development is centred on the redistribution of income and wealth within society, centred on a value and policy-determined outcome that is more or less egalitarian. The purpose is to incorporate marginalised communities into the country's economic fabric. Lastly, cultural development finds itself considered with the emergent nature of national self-image, building not only confidence but the will of a nation to bridge the gap between themselves and those deemed to have developed (Portes, 1973, p. 253)

Though not exhaustive, these three criteria provide a sufficient place to analyse societal change and development. However, not all three are necessary for this chapter. This chapter focuses on the economic and social with only a slight nod towards the cultural. This does not diminish the effect of culture on economic and social growth or suggest that economic and social development can be devoid of cultural specificity. Instead, the thesis acknowledges that the complex intertwining of culture on modes of development requires its own separate exposition. As such, the impact of culture will implicitly be assumed to impact development.

3.3.4.4 Philosophical Approaches to Development and Modernisation

Certain prevailing ideas and philosophies generally influence discourses relating to development in the social sciences, and the following section will elaborate on a few of them. Generally, these ideas and philosophies pay close attention to changing political landscapes and ambitions within nations (Corbridge, 1998, p. 38). Modernisation theory is no different and finds its origins and influences located at the end of the Second World War as much of Europe began its rebuilding project. This can be seen through the initiation of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, Europe's declining colonial empire, and the subsequent growing research interest in non-American or European nation-states (Eisenstadt, 1974; Escobar, 2011; Reyes, 2001; Tipps, 1973).

3.3.4.4.1 Modernisation and the search for the ideal

Modernisation theory is "a multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity" (Tipps, 1973, p. 201). It utilises a ranging scale in its unit of analysis from the "individual through local communities to national and international units" (Tipps, 1973, p. 202). According to Bernstein (1971, p. 141), during its early formulation, modernisation was understood as a social process that viewed economic development in terms of changing society's preconditions in a manner that could be universally replicated as a pattern of development. Though modernisation theory is often utilised explicitly as a theory of development, this thesis argues that it should be considered an umbrella term for modernity's long-lasting impact on development thinking. As such, for this chapter, modernisation theory is understood as the inherent belief that development means shifting from the traditional to the modern while accepting both traditional and modern political nature.

Economic and social modernisation both function as expansions of Weber's work on ideal-type states and Talcott Parsons' interpretation of Weber's work (Watkins, 1952, p. 23). Weber noted two forms of ideal types, individual and holistic. The individualistic ideal type concerned itself with inspecting situations in which individuals find themselves and abstracting from these situations a general scheme of preferences that inform an individual's disposition, the variety of knowledge that person may possess, and the relationship these individuals have with their resources (Watkins, 1952, p. 24). By understanding these factors, one can determine the ideal-type social behaviour of individuals (Watkins, 1952, p. 24). The holistic ideal-type is constructed by abstracting the best features from historical outcomes of society and organising these various outcomes into a coherent narrative (Watkins, 1952, p. 23). As Eisenstadt (1974, p. 232) explained, the "emphasis on systemic differences between traditional and modern societies contained … broader theoretical implications in conceiving societies as systems coping with various internal and external problems. These problems were defined in rather general terms, either in the form of the four phases or needs of Parsonian analysis".

Modernisation can be broadly defined by two areas of thought that focus on the process of change (as above) and the goals that dictate the manner of change. The first area focuses on theories that propose the analysis of critical variables that require a change to signify the process of becoming modern. In contrast, the second revolves around theories that emphasise the traditional-modern dichotomy and analyse how traditional systems acquire attributes of modernity and thus become modern (Tipps, 1973, p. 203). The former focuses on quantitative studies, while the latter is more qualitative. According to Tipps (1973), academics primarily favour the latter and utilise a Parsonian lens to understand modernisation, a study of the various transitions that a particular unit of analysis undertakes. These transitions range "from primitive, subsistence economies to technology-intensive, industrialized economies; from subject to participant political cultures; from closed, ascriptive status systems to open, achievement-oriented systems; from extended to nuclear kinship units; from religious to secular ideologies; and so on" (Tipps, 1973, p. 204). However, the former approach receives the most interest from development economists, providing policy tools for officials in developing nations who wish to transform along the modernist continuum.

3.3.4.4.2 Individualist vs Collectivist Modernisers

Modernisation has traditionally been influenced by two distinct philosophical approaches: individualist modernisers and collectivists. When these two forms of thought come into contention, individual interests take precedence in the more libertarian and liberal cultures. In contrast, collectivist ideals take primacy within collectivist cultures (Chen et al., 2002, p. 571). The two groups do not reside on a continuum but exist as a means of grouping specific characteristics of philosophical approaches to modernisation. The individualist perspective focuses on the influence of free-market doctrines on

thinking within developmental discourse regarding the individual's choices. It works as an umbrella notion of concepts such as “libertarianism, classical liberalism, free-market liberalism, public choice economics, economic liberalism, and neoliberalism” (Gamble, 2013, p. 405). The individualist perspectives include various ideological currents and groupings that often play pivotal roles in public policy formulation, e.g. the Austrian and Chicago Schools (Gamble, 2013, p. 405).

However, the collectivist approach focuses on how individual actions become conditioned “by the norms, expectations, and interests of the social groups of which they are a part” (Ball, 2001, p. 58). Collectivist approaches emphasise the need for cooperation between individuals when faced with social dilemmas rather than defecting to self-interest (Ball, 2001, p. 63). They acknowledge the importance of the interconnected and interdependent nature of social groups and significant individuals (Chen et al., 2002, p. 571).

Individualist modernist approaches to development can be seen through two lenses: the notion of natural rights or the notion of consequentialism. The natural rights approach deals with the idea that humans are imbued with certain moral rights by their humanness. Thus, these rights are independent of any structure, such as governments and precede any rights individuals or governments wish to impose on others. As a result, when applied to economic development, this form of thinking is often suspicious of the state's role. The state is seen in negative terms as seeking to restrict the freedom of individuals to choose how they pursue their self-interests – by extension, threatening their ability to be independent and self-reliant - under the ambit of some formalised notion of natural law (Gamble, 2013, p. 9).

The consequentialist approach does not deem the right to preserve one’s independence and individual freedom as a good in itself, but rather that the consequence of everyone behaving to preserve their independence and individual freedom is the true beneficial good to society. This approach views the state not as an adversary of individual freedom but as a facilitator, regulator, or enforcer of the ability for individuals to engage with each other to reap the benefits of such an engagement. While the natural rights perspective focuses exclusively on maintaining free markets (e.g. Hayek), the consequentialist approach allows for the consideration of markets within the context of social justice achieved by state intervention (e.g. justifications for state intervention to ensure pareto efficiency within a sector and economy).

Individualist perspectives of development have had a manifold effect on modernisation. Walt Whitman Rostow’s seminal text on modernisation theory titled *Stages of Economic Growth* is a classic example of the influence of particular ideas on modernist thinking after World War Two. From a structuralist perspective, Rostow argued that development and change in the dynamics of economic production could be categorised along a continuum from a traditional society to a modern society characterised by

high consumption (Rostow, 1959, 1990). For Rostow, economic production is based on income distribution between saving, consumption, and investment. He extended his analysis towards understanding the composition of investment within sectors of an economy (Rostow, 1959). Rostow's work combined classical economic analysis (which takes its inspiration from the natural rights perspectives) and Keynesian economics (which takes its inspiration from consequentialist understandings of liberty). It became a means to rationalise how nation-states transition along modernity's dichotomy.

While Rostow characterised the stages of development in which a nation might find itself situated, it would be the work of Roy Harrod and Evsey Domar that provided the tools to transition through these stages utilising the same understanding of the distribution of income as Rostow and Keynes and expanding their work by including the relation between capital accumulation and employment (Domar, 1946, p. 137; Harrod, 1939, p. 14). The work of Harrod and Domar was often utilised to estimate the capital requirements within developing countries to shift between the stages of development (Meier & Stiglitz, 2000, p. 13). After World War Two, work by the authors still focused on the role individuals played in accumulating wealth and how governments facilitated individual capital accumulation.

The connection between capital accumulation, employment, investment, savings, and income became the predominant approach to development assumed by industrialised nations. Developing nations were encouraged to become more modern by embracing mass consumption. The connection between these various concepts is the result of the culmination of work from Adam Smith's (2016) notion of the invisible hand; David Ricardo's notions of comparative advantage, and the relation between labour and capital (Ricardo, 1891; Ruffin, 2002); growing understanding of neoclassical economics characterised by a focus on capital accumulation (Meier & Baldwin, 1957, pp. 65–82) and the ability to innovate and create dynamic change in an economy through entrepreneurial endeavour as proposed by Joseph Schumpeter (1982).

Combining these with the newly minted belief that the underdeveloped world can be developed through the sheer will of those privileged to be developed provides the basis of many notions of development that took hold from the end of World War Two to the end of the 20th century. Modernisation encapsulates the various developmental approaches such as Nurkse's approach to understanding the vicious cycles of poverty and achieving balanced growth, Rosenstein-Rodan's work on understanding external economies and the need for developing countries to embark on a 'big push' to kick start modernisation, and Prebisch-Myrdal-Singer hypotheses about terms of trade and import substitution (Meier & Stiglitz, 2000, p. 13). After World War Two, developmental discourse took on a more consequentialist approach to organise individual activity. However, this did not mean that more collectivist notions did not influence the discourse.

Marxism, a preeminent collectivist approach to modernisation, rejects historical accounts of natural law, arguing that it falls within the realm of mysticism (Meier & Baldwin, 1957, p. 47). For Marx, an individual's endeavour was not the determining factor for creating a superstructure of ideas and institutions but rather the social arrangements of the modes of production within a society (Meier & Baldwin, 1957, p. 47). Marx argued that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness" (Marx, 1977, p. 92). Though rejecting forms of modernist thought regarding the importance of individual rationalisation, Marx maintained a modernist approach to development, arguing that becoming modern and developing entailed the movement from feudalism through capitalism and eventually arriving at socialism (Bigsten, 2016, p. 4). This process of modernisation was driven by technological progress, which created increasing economies of scale that were biased towards the concentration and accumulation of capital over labour, thus creating an inherent tension between the two, which, for Marx, would lead to the working-class-led takeover of the means of production (Bigsten, 2016, p. 4).

The extent of Marx's influence over development and modernisation is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is beneficial to briefly account for the two more contemporary country-level implications of his work on development discourse. First is the social-democratic socialism exhibited by Western European countries. The second is Stalinism's 'real socialism' in Eastern European Russian colonies—both place statism at the core of approaches to development (Poulantzas, 1978, p. 75). The former emphasised the expansion of a welfare state. In contrast, the latter placed control of the entire economy in the hands of the state.

The various theories regarding development are wide-ranging. However, the matrix utilised by Robert Potter is particularly useful. Potter differentiates between normative (what should be) and positive (what is) development theories; and then superimposes the notion that these theories can either be holistic or partial (with partial placing a particular focus on the economic notions of development) (Potter, 2002, p. 86). Locating development theories in this framework, according to Potter, allows for the creation of four distinct groupings of development theory, namely: the classical, traditional approach; the historical-empirical approach; the radical political economy-dependency approach; and the bottom-up/alternative approach (Potter, 2002, p. 86).

3.3.4.5 Understanding Modernity through Rawls's Pure Procedural Justice

In addition to the broad philosophical approaches discussed above, development is also informed by ideas of distributive justice. These vary across their normative understandings, e.g. egalitarianism (Dworkin's (1981) *Equality of Resources* and Rawls's (1999) *Theory of Justice*); libertarianism (Nozick's (1974) *Anarchy, State and Utopia*); the capability approach (Sen (2001) *Development as Freedom*); the impossibility theorem devised by Kenneth Arrow and so on. This thesis will not seek to

explore these various conceptions of distributive justice. It will focus on Rawls's conception of distributive justice to develop the framework, which is the foundation for developing a framework for emergent-decolonial development. Rawls's work on procedural justice provides the tools? to understand how modernity continues to reproduce across space and time, as seen through the proliferation of liberal democracy and the logic to deconstruct modernity through emergent-decolonial development. According to Nelson (1980, p. 503), procedural justice is centred on two core arguments: "(1) justice is a matter of importance and (2) it is desirable from the point of view of justice that we establish or comply with some procedure". Rawls (2001) devises three classifications of procedural justice: Perfect, imperfect, and Pure procedural justice.

3.3.4.5.1 Perfect and Imperfect Procedural Justice

Perfect procedural justice asserts that if there is an independent specification of what justice would be in a particular situation, it should be possible to create a procedure to produce this independently determined just result (Nelson, 1980, p. 502). Rawls (2001, p. 74) provides an example of perfect procedural justice by considering how one would fairly divide a cake:

> *A number of men (sic) are to divide a cake: assuming that the fair division is an equal one, which procedure, if any, will give this outcome? Technicalities aside, the obvious solution is to have one man divide the cake and get the last piece, the others being allowed their pick before him. He will divide the cake equally, since in this way he assures for himself the largest share possible. This example illustrates the two characteristic features of perfect procedural justice. First, there is an independent criterion for a fair division, a criterion defined separately from and prior to the procedure that is to be followed. And second, it is possible to devise a procedure that is sure to give the desired outcome. Of course, certain assumptions are made here, such as that the man selected can divide the cake equally, wants as large a piece as he can get, and so on. But we can ignore these details. The essential thing is that there is an independent standard for deciding which outcome is just and a procedure guaranteed to lead to it.*

Like perfect procedural justice, imperfect procedural justice assumes that what is just is independently specified. However, designing a procedure that automatically produces these just results is impossible (Nelson, 1980, p. 502; Rawls, 1999, p. 75). Rawls (1999, p. 75) illustrates this form of procedural justice through the use of criminal trials:

> *The desired outcome is that the defendant should be declared guilty if and only if he has committed the offense with which he is charged. The trial procedure is framed to search for and to establish the truth in this regard. But it seems impossible to design the legal rules so that they always lead to the correct result. The theory of trials examines which procedures and rules of evidence, and the like, are best calculated to advance this purpose consistent with the other*

> *ends of the law. Different arrangements for hearing cases may reasonably be expected in different circumstances to yield the right results, not always but at least most of the time. A trial, then, is an instance of imperfect procedural justice. Even though the law is carefully followed, and the proceedings fairly and properly conducted, it may reach the wrong outcome. An innocent man may be found guilty, a guilty man may be set free. In such cases we speak of a miscarriage of justice: the injustice springs from no human fault but from a fortuitous combination of circumstances which defeats the purpose of the legal rules.*

If one tried to frame modernity into perfect or imperfect forms of procedural justice, modernity would pursue universally accepted modes of rationality that those seeking to move from ignorance as its independent criterion can replicate. However, differing ontological and epistemological representations of modernity would challenge the validity of the universal process to achieve this criterion.

As such, it seems more logical to see modernity through the lens of imperfect procedural justice because the independent criterion of justice could be argued to be the shift from traditional to modern through rationality. However, the procedure for such a shift would remain contested and varied. This is not to say that modernity itself questions the validity of its discursive agreement. Instead, like a criminal trial that binds both the plaintiff and defendant under the legal system's pre-established rules, allowance is provided to both groups to pursue strategies within the legal boundaries that best assist their respective cases.

Realism constrains modernity's ability to find a universal process to justify its independent criterion. To assert that modernity is both a necessary and sufficient norm of society is dependent on the validity of modernity as a process becoming a norm. Validity, in this sense, requires acceptance by those affected by it and recognising its outcome is just because its validity was determined through rational discourse. Under this realist pressure, modernity's discursive agreement depends on those affected by its outcomes. However, as Lafont (2003, p. 169) argues, a moral discourse that is dependent requires an acceptance by the affected of the "consequences and side effects that will [be] obtained in the world through the general observance of the norm", which is further reliant on the "truth about what the real consequences are and whether they are equally in everyone's interest". This suggests that the validity of modernity as a norm in society through understanding it as a form of imperfect procedural justice is weakened (or can be weakened) because of its dependence on people's acceptance of it. These consequences limit modernity's ability to assert the independent criterion for imperfect procedural justice.

3.3.4.5.2 Pure Procedural Justice

Both perfect and imperfect procedural justice understand the "necessary and sufficient conditions for the correctness of an outcome", even though the former guarantees this fulfilment while the latter does

not (Lafont, 2003, p. 165). However, pure procedural justice does not claim to have an independent criterion of justice. While reference can be made to a known outcome as just, there is no predetermined idea of what constitutes the just division of a cake or the guarantee of a particular outcome of a criminal case. Instead, pure procedural justice distinguishes itself from the perfect and imperfect by asserting that if justice is important, then it is equally important to create a set of possible procedures or rules that, if followed, allow for the outcomes generated to be accepted, not one their own merits, but on the merits of the process itself.

Rawls's important disclaimer is that a particular situation should not be considered to be just simply because it was obtained through a fair procedure. Instead, as Rawls understands it, "a fair procedure translates its fairness to the outcome only when it is carried out" (Rawls, 1999, p. 74). He utilises gambling to illustrate this point:

> *By contrast, pure procedural justice obtains when there is no independent criterion for the right result: instead there is a correct or fair procedure such that the outcome is likewise correct or fair, whatever it is, provided that the procedure has been properly followed. This situation is illustrated by gambling. If a number of persons engage in a series of fair bets, the distribution of cash after the last bet is fair, or at least not unfair, whatever this distribution is. I assume here that fair bets are those having a zero expectation of gain, that the bets are made voluntarily, that no one cheats, and so on. The betting procedure is fair and freely entered into under conditions that are fair. Thus the background circumstances define a fair procedure. Now any distribution of cash summing to the initial stock held by all individuals could result from a series of fair bets. In this sense all of these particular distributions are equally fair* (Rawls, 1999, p. 75)

Pure procedural justice is focused on the outcome of decisions made by following the procedure at hand; no one in this system has more or less of a right to win than the other, and there are no necessary or sufficient conditions to be met to determine whether the outcome is just (Lafont, 2003, p. 165). As Lafont (2003, p. 165) explains, "if the procedure is just, the outcome is just, whatever it may be".

If the above is correct, it provides a clear - though contestable - argument as to why the maintenance and existence of modernity have become reliant on it being understood as a form of pure procedural justice based on the use of systemic reasoning; *and* why a framework for emerging-decolonial development should acknowledge this reality. By removing the reliance on what could be argued to be modernity's independent criterion - that modernity is a just end in and of itself - the predictability and the certainty of modernity are improved. Simultaneously, critics' arguments are blunted regarding its authoritative claims to justice.

This forces its disparate critics to focus on querying the just nature of its procedures rather than their outcomes. The benefit of viewing modernity through pure procedural justice is that it becomes less focused on monitoring the various circumstances and changing notions of justice by particular persons (Rawls, 1999, p. 76). In other words, modernity does not need to care about pluriversality.

3.3.4.5.3 Modernity's Dominance through Pure Procedural Justice

The predominant method through which modernity maintains its pure procedural sense within development is by establishing particular economic and social institutions at national and multilateral levels. Both are frequently seen through the lens of liberal democracy: "the doctrine of individual freedom and popular sovereignty" - which has become the current organising logic of social and economic institutional arrangements and faces few challengers to its dogma (Fukuyama, 1992, p. 42). Whether this challenge emanates through monarchism, fascism, communism, socialism or ubuntu, the permeance of liberal democracy is due primarily to the forcefulness of its claim to universal legitimacy (Fukuyama, 1992). The strategies pursued by modernity will always be contested. What is important is the belief that through their use, one achieves the end goal of both: the ordering of society between rational and irrational in a manner that can be explained and measured.

According to Rawls (1999, p. 76), a system of this kind avoids the mistake of focusing on individual positions within a just system. Instead, it is based on the arrangement of basic structures that can be judged from a more general point of view, an emergent point of view. This is because modernity can evoke itself as a system of ontological and epistemological development that is unconcerned by the correctness of the distribution of advantages amongst individuals but instead concerns itself with creating a society in which the just nature of the distribution of advantages is determined by the "justice of the scheme of cooperation from which it arises and answering the claims of individuals engaged in it" (Rawls, 1999, p. 76).

As a result, the distribution of advantages within a society - undertaking development informed by this form of procedural modernity - cannot be judged in isolation from the system of which it is the outcome or from what individuals have done in good faith in the light of established expectations (Rawls, 1999, p. 76). The discrepancies between individuals caused by modernity can be questioned and analysed. However, their just nature cannot be questioned because they result from a process agreed to be just. This logic allows for the constant increase in the permutations of modernity that exist within society.

Jonathan Glover, however, would argue that due to the monstrous atrocities caused by modernity (the distribution of its disadvantages), an argument made in a similar vein to that of Adorno and Horkheimer (1997), that there is a "need to look hard and clearly at some of the monsters inside us and determine the best ways and means of caging and taming them" (Glover cited in Sen, 2009, p. 36). If one is

agnostic regarding the outcomes produced by procedure, then atrocities seem inevitable, at least to Glover. However, suppose the procedure situates itself on the edge of chaos and accepts - as Bronowski (1973) would argue - that the pursuit of knowledge must be balanced with accepting uncertainty and human fallibility. In that case, the production of a procedure of development that avoids the calamities associated with modernity may be possible.

3.4 Critiques of Modernity and Development

Modernity has faced various criticisms, many of which are far beyond the scope of this chapter. The extensive literature regarding socio-historical opposition between Enlightenment and counter-enlightenment movements has come to define modernity's contested nature (Berlin, 2013; Mirsepassi, 2006, p. 416). Counter-enlightenment movements or critiques of modernity within the geographical confines of Western Europe often provide the central responses to modernity and emanate through various methods and forms of disagreement associated with some form of dialectical reasoning. Isaiah Berlin's essay "The Counter-Enlightenment" provides a thorough exposition of the various arguments against Enlightenment during the period of High (1730 – 1780 (Peters, 2019)) and Late Enlightenment (1780 – 1815 (Peters, 2019)). However, this thesis will focus on the critical arguments formulated after said periods, from Marx's critique of the proclivity of modernity towards individual endeavour rather than the social arrangements of the modes of production within a capitalist economy and its ability to fetishize commodities (Lunn, 1982, p. 2; Marx, 2011, pp. 81–96); to critical theorists Adorno and Horkheimer's critique of modernity in the "Dialectics of Enlightenment" where they argue that the rationality espoused by modernity often leads to an inability to resist the urge to dominate and oppress nature (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1997); and Jean-Francois Lyotard's critique of modernity's tendency to negate differing narratives (Lyotard, 2000).

According to Mirespassi (2006, p. 416), these dominant critiques, which depicted a "coherent political and intellectual discourse", are at the centre of modernity's critiques and Western responses to modernity, thus ensuring non-Western responses often went unrecognised. However, to equate critiques that do not fall within the geographical bounds of the 'West' as 'non-Western' belies the nature of the variety of critiques available (as will be seen through the work of Jalal Al-e Ahmad) but also fails to contend with the association of modernity and coloniality.

Critiques of modernity outside the Western core are often stereotyped along geographical descriptors (e.g. oriental, postcolonial) and are often held in contempt. Much of this is due to the implicit belief that the cultural programme of modernity in Europe would eclipse other notions of multiple modernities present across the world and eventually prevail throughout the world (Eisenstadt, 2000). However, to associate the hostility between these discourses and that of the occident would be to misinterpret the

geographical nature of these critiques for their actual political nature. These non-western critiques, according to Mirsepassi (2006, p. 416), "boast a coherent and high-standing intellectual pedigree and seductive and complex philosophical origins and exists above all as a long-standing and dispersed rebellion against the tradition of modern Enlightenment (particularly in its more totalizing theoretical and practical aspects) and its concomitant principle of secularism".

As a result, these critiques of modernity far exceed the simplification of being a non-western contempt for occidental reason, but rather a refuting of the homogenising and hegemonic assumptions of the Western programme of modernity. They acknowledge that even though the articulation of these arguments may be anti-Western or anti-occidental modern, they are all still distinctively modern (Eisenstadt, 2000, pp. 1–2). This paradox lies at the heart of the nature of modernity's various critiques. A critique of modernity, regardless of its geographical or cultural origin, can still contribute positively to the work of modernity.

3.4.1 Critiques of Modernity: Western Reflections

Seyla Benhabib (1984, pp. 107–108) provides an interesting grouping of many of the critiques of modernity, which are all premised on the following presumptions: Modernity presupposes that a person is a spectator to their knowing self; meaning requires designative theories; and that language is denotative. Benhabib (1984, p. 108) then proposes three groupings of modernist critiques linked to his presumptions.

3.4.1.1 Substituting the Modern Epistemic Subject

The first group is the critique of the modern epistemic subject. Benhabib (1984, p. 108) explains that this critique seeks to substitute the notion that a person is simply a spectator of the world around them and that their empiricist observations and rationality create the conditions for objectivity. Instead, he argues that people should be confronted with the historical record of their actions and how that impacts on the self. This view shares considerable similarities with Kantian notions of transcendental idealism (not discussed here).

Benhabib attributes this critique to Hegel and Marx, describing their work as epistemic attempts to challenge Descartes' cartesian ego. He argues the Hegelian and Marxist thought worked to show how said ego is "not a self-transparent entity" and that the epistemic self will not reach full autonomy so long as the "historical origin and social constitution" of the clear and distinct ideas this ego contemplates to rationalise the world remains a mystery, even to itself (Benhabib, 1984, p. 108). This critique is also reflected in the Freudian view of the self, which argues that the self is not transparent to itself because it is not a master of its desires, needs and forces whose effects "shape both the contents of the clear and

distinct ideas, as well as its capacity to organize them" (Benhabib, 1984, p. 108). The critique seeks to emancipate the self from its self-imposed bondage by giving consciousness to the unconscious forces of history, society and the psyche that often escape the memory, control and conduct of the self (Benhabib, 1984, p. 108).

3.4.1.2 The totalising effect of modernity

The second critique by Benhabib focuses on the modern epistemic object and its tendency to seek domination and control over other epistemes and ontologies, most often associated with Nietzsche, Heidegger, Adorno and Horkheimer. The critique stems from the belief that since the work of Bacon and Descartes, modernity has been characterised by the "assumption that reason properly understood and applied can rule the world" because the pursuit of knowledge also entails the pursuit of the power and the ability to master and possess nature (Gillespie, 1997, p. 537).

For Nietzsche, modernity's desire to totalise was a moot point. Rather than seeking to build one grand narrative for society, Nietzsche argued that people do not see the world through one particular truth or perspective but a variety of truths (Gillespie, 1997, p. 542). Nietzsche sought to deconstruct the dogmatism in religion and science and reject what he thought was the dominance of blind secularism (Peters et al., 2003, p. 26).

Nietzsche's argument is key in understanding the nature of ongoing critiques of modernity and sets up the initial logic used by Derrida and Lyotard to form the postmodern critique of modernity. Nietzsche championed the philosophical notion of becoming rather than being, appearance over reality, this world over the 'true world'; and denied the perspective that one should affirm any absolute or universal values. For him, facts were non-existent as interpretations defined the world. Interpretations constituted by the interpreter's perspectives are thus inevitably laden with presuppositions, values, biases, and limitations (Kellner, 2000, p. 26).

To quell the belief that the world is made of many interpretations, Heidegger explained how the modern episteme focused on the conception of being as presence; the reduction of 'manyness' of the appearances to what is present to the consciousness of the subject (Benhabib, 1984, p. 109). This act of reduction implies the need to have a level of homogenising control over the heterogeneity of the world. For Adorno and Horkheimer, this control and act of homogenising entailed a need to only know the world around you, but once that is achieved, you then dominate that particular world (Benhabib, 1984, p. 109). In Adorno and Horkheimer's own words: "Enlightenment is Totalitarian" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1997, p. 4)

Enrique Dussel (cited in Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 77) would agree with Adorno and Horkheimer, albeit from a decolonial perspective, that Descartes' notion of 'I think; therefore I am' which places the imperial being at the centre of knowledge and thus reduces the 'manyness' of the world solely to what is presented to them, requires the a priori step of accepting the notion that 'I conquer; therefore I am'. An equally important voice within this critique is that of Foucault, who, in his debate with Noam Chomsky on human nature, argued that difference is the foremost distinguishing characteristic of humanity and that this difference challenges the authority of sovereign entities who seek to establish homogeneity through the "use of norms, institutions, and practices that would unite and regulate a population within the confines of modern nation" (Wilkin, 1999, p. 185).

As a result, Benhabib's second critique focuses on the relation between reason, the sacrosanct, and political authority. Reason, within this critique, leads to a totalising effect on logic and its impact on society. A totalising effect, which Adorno and Horkheimer claim has led to the atrocities seen in the 20th century and which, for Foucault, creates hierarchies of information (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1997; Wilkin, 1999).

3.4.1.3 Language and Modernity

The third grouping of modernity's critiques by Benhabib focuses on the use and understanding of language. At its core, the critique speaks to Wittgenstein's argument regarding the incoherence of a private language (Candlish & Wrisley, 2014). The argument made by Wittgenstein, in essence, is that an agreement on human behaviour requires a prior existence of rules that govern the use of language and communication to ensure uniformity in normal human reactions and that without such an agreement - or the existence of a private language used only to understand private sensations of the world but incoherent to other – there is an impossibility to the notion of language and the process of concept formation (Candlish & Wrisley, 2014; Wittgenstein, 1958 §241). Though this argument provides a vital tool of analysis and speaks directly to the knowing of subjectivity and language within the framework of the colonial matrix of power, it falls beyond the scope of this paper.

However, this does not question the importance of Wittgenstein's critique, which espouses various strains of thought that prefigured postmodernist thinking. This critique sets the foundation for arguments focused on understanding language as a vehicle for signs that illuminate the consciousness from the private and into the public. It questions the notion of rationality because of the inability for a person to comprehend what someone else may be thinking privately. Even if one comprehends the method of understanding used through language or signs, rationality still functions as a natural filter for the message being delivered, mediating its content. As such, words in themselves bear no meaning, but the connection of these words creates the ability to form content, and the meaning of these words can only truly be understood by analysing the multiple contexts of their use (Benhabib, 1984, p. 110).

3.4.1.4 Postmodernity

Postmodernity has a unique place within the critiques of modernity. It seeks to extend the notion of modernity by placing the same level of suspicion that rationality had with religion's unification with metaphysics - the unification of rationality and scientific objectivity. As Lyotard explains: "Modernity is constitutionally and ceaselessly pregnant with its postmodernity" (Lyotard, 1991, p. 25). This is a view that Jameson agrees with, stating that "postmodernism is itself little more than one more stage of modernism proper (if not, indeed, of the even older romanticism)" (Jameson, 1991, p. 56).

Lyotard (who understood postmodern thinking through a negative appraisal of modernity), Habermas (who took a more positive evaluation of modernity) and Jameson (who sought to provide a dialectical analysis of the former two) all formed what can be considered as the core triumvirate of postmodernist thinking in relation to modernism (Masilela, 1987). Each view provides a helpful insight into the fault lines of modernity and begins preparing the groundwork for the eventual post-colonial and decolonial responses to modernity — responses that would eventually question the need for a form of thought such as postmodernism.

Lyotard was against the totalitarian nature of modernity and its ability to seed and grow grand metanarratives of the world and its functioning: a notion he considered preposterous. For Lyotard, rewriting modernity (a terminology he preferred to postmodernism) is incredulous about metanarratives (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiv). Metanarratives, for him, became philosophies of history that created absolutes within human knowledge and sought to provide definitive explanations of society (Masilela, 1987). However, influenced by Thomas Kuhn's writings on the scientific revolutions and the ability of scientific inquiry to experience fundamental paradigm shifts, Lyotard sought to dispel the notion that scientific inquiry should be considered a clear, accurate and consistent view of the objective world (Gratton, 2018).

Lyotard did not seek to denounce scientific enquiry. Instead, he sought to question how one understands the nature of knowledge in an age of technological advancement. Though this second line of reasoning is not of much importance to this chapter, it does contribute to the arguments made in Chapter 6 as it unveils the beginning of understanding knowledge and its usefulness outside of the confines of a metanarrative driven by a dichotomous underpinning of progress and the search for what is right. This form of thinking seeks to find useful knowledge; knowledge that seeks to find justice denied by the presence of what Lyotard describes as the 'differend'.

The 'differend' is used by Lyotard to describe the inability of a person to express themselves because the discourse they are utilising does not allow them to do so (Held, 2005, p. 79). The positioning of the very nature of the 'differend' as an injustice showcases a variety of similarities with the decolonial

argument regarding how the discourse of modernity, by its very existence, unjustly hides its darker side of coloniality. An injustice thus occurs when one person who is wronged in a conflict cannot express that wrong because the discourse utilised to regulate such a conflict does not possess the idiom, phrase, or language to signify that wrong (Held, 2005, p. 79). The argument of the differend and injustice speaks to the ability/inability to express their response to an injustice. Even when such an expression is made, it is ignored if it does not coincide with the hegemonic discourse. The other's response often finds itself within the conundrum of having to either respond using the discourse that oppresses the native or challenge the discourse in its entirety.

3.4.2 Critiques of Modernity: Decolonial Reflections

3.4.2.1 Modernity/Coloniality

The school of work pertaining to the conception of modernity/coloniality offers an interesting response to modernity as it provides a unique epistemological and ontological response. Mignolo (2008, p. 17) explains that combining modernity and coloniality creates an analytical necessity to represent modernity as *modernity/coloniality*. In this sense, as Mignolo (2008, p. 22) argues:

> *…there is no modernity without coloniality; coloniality is constitutive of modernity and not derivative…Modernity/coloniality, in other words, is what unites, like conjoined twins in a differential power relation, Spain and the New World, England and India, the United States and Iraq; what unites whites and blacks, whites and Indians, whites and Muslims, white and yellow races.*

By combining the terms into a singular terminological idea, modernity/coloniality seeks to understand the notion of modernity by assessing the historicity of modernity (its acknowledgements and erasures) and its impact on the other. As a result, modernity/coloniality represents the means to represent a narrative of modernity that is not singular but has its "historical foundation in the Atlantic world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Western Europe, Western Africa, and the emergence of the Americas), instead of the European Renaissance and Enlightenment alone" (Mignolo, 2008, p. 19).

The use of modernity/coloniality as an analytic tool emanates from the work of Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano and Santiago Castro Gomez, expanded by Maria Lugones, Nelson Maldonado Torres, and Ramon Grosfoguel, among others. The work of decolonial theorists focuses on the centrality of colonialism within the modernist project, the impact it has had on world systems and the ongoing effects of coloniality on power relations within society, the production and dissemination of knowledge and the ontological experience of being. Cumulatively, decoloniality works to decipher what it means to be colonially different and how to imagine the world from this area of difference.

Modernity/coloniality finds its central concerns grounded on the "Latin American cultural and political reality, including the subaltern knowledge of exploited and oppressed social groups" and, as a result, is often argued as the heir to other critical theories that emanated from Latin America during the 20th century such as dependency theory, liberation theology and participatory action (Escobar, 2007, p. 180). Decolonial studies depart from these critical theories when it begins to include and interrogate the foundational roots of these earlier critical theories. For instance, many of the earlier decolonial theorists found inspiration from European and North American critical theories of modernity and postmodernity emanating from the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, with the work of Horkheimer being particularly influential (Escobar, 2007, p. 180; Mignolo, 2007, p. 155). However, it is the expansion of its foundation roots to the fields of "South Asian subaltern studies, Chicana feminist theory, postcolonial theory, and African philosophy" as well as modified notions of world-systems theory that make it particularly unique (Escobar, 2007, p. 180).

Escobar (2007, p. 184) argues that the conceptualisation of modernity/coloniality focuses on creating ways of understanding modernity rather than merely critiquing it; this distinguishes it from established theories of its origin and continued influence on society. He separates these ways of knowing into five categories. The first seeks to argue that modernity originates within the conquest of the Americas and control of the Atlantic after 1492 rather than the period of enlightenment described above. Secondly, modernity/coloniality shows how colonialism has influenced the current world system and is constitutive of modernity rather than its outcome. Thirdly, the totalitarian nature of modernity ensures that the world's perspective of modernity is an intra-European phenomenon driven by notions of modernity derived from continental Europe and Britain. Fourthly, the continued existence of modernity requires domination and the subalternisation of knowledge and cultures of groupings outside the occidental world system. Lastly, Eurocentric modernity ensures a hegemonic representation of ways of knowing that claims universal applicability without acknowledging that this hegemony is derived from the idea of Europe being the centre of knowledge (Escobar, 2007, p. 184). Escobar's delineation provides a useful way of analysing the literature of decolonial studies and the modernity/coloniality response to modernity.

3.4.2.2 I Conquer, therefore I Am: The Rhetoric/Myth of Modernity.

Walter Mignolo's work on modernity/coloniality has a central thread: "modernity emerged from colonialism, not after it nor simply alongside" (Alcoff, 2007, p. 83). For Mignolo, colonialism is constitutive of both the base and superstructure of modernity, which includes "its teleological macro narratives of human progress" and the resources required to create the economic surplus that allowed for Europe to represent itself "as the vanguard of the human race" (Alcoff, 2007, p. 83). For Mignolo,

there has to be a distinction between the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2011a, p. 6; Mignolo, 2007).

3.4.2.2.1 The Rhetoric of Modernity

The rhetoric of modernity, or the myth of modernity as Dussel would have it, pertains to what Maldonado-Torres (2011a) describes as the historical view of the world where there was a gradual progression from a classical past towards European modernity; a modernity that signalled the shift from traditional values towards a form of rationalism meant to be seen as an exemplar to the rest of society. Dussel (1993, p. 67) describes the myth – from a more pessimistic viewpoint - as the belief in the emancipatory power of modernity, which underlies much of the philosophical reflections of thinkers in Europe and North America, "that connects Eurocentrism with the concomitant fallacy of developmentalism". The rhetoric of modernity ensures that responses to or critiques of modernity fall victim to the centring of their critique on modernity as a European construct that began during the Renaissance period and further developed during the period of Enlightenment (Maldonado-Torres, 2011a, pp. 7–8).

Instead, as Dussel (1993, pp. 66–67) argued, modernity should find its roots at the moment when Europe began to impose itself on the 'other' with the colonial expansion led by nations in the Iberian peninsula. For him, Europe constituted itself by exploring, conquering and colonising the alterity that ensured it could create an image of itself in reference to something else - the other and undiscovered (Dussel, 1993, p. 66). It is a view of modernity that ties its origin to the violence of the colonial encounter. Though Mignolo agrees with Dussel on the nature of violence and how the colonial expansion was a constitutive aspect of modernity, he contends that the colonial encounter in Latin America eventually created an 'extreme occident' rather than an orient (Mignolo, 2000, p. 55).

Mignolo (2000, p. 55) agreed that the imposition from the Iberian Peninsula onto (what became) Latin America and the *Indias Occidentales* (what would become the West Indies) was a crucial aspect of creating the modern/colonial world system and thus the creation of 'the other'. He goes on to argue that the creation of the Orient was the result of a latter form of modernity - linked to the emancipation of the United States of America and the French Revolution - that found its logic through the colonial conquest by England and France over Asia and Africa. Thus, modernity and modernisation to the Orient resulted from the economic, epistemological and political standards set by the occident of that time (Mignolo, 2000).

However, with the initial contact with Latin America and the *Indias Occidentales* preceding that of the Orient and other subaltern groups, this latter form of modernity meant that Latin America functioned less than an 'other' and more as an extreme occident with its intellectuals who "appointed themselves

as the leaders of a civilising mission of their own country…opening up the gates for a long history of internal colonialism" (Mignolo, 2000, p. 55). It is an important distinction because it expands the notion of development beyond merely the moment of the colonial encounter but its subsequent impact on the indigenous groups who seek emancipation from its new ruling class.

The difference between the colonial object and the European subject not only created a hierarchical dichotomy, as explained by Maldonado-Torres, but it necessitated the dichotomy be maintained "symbolically, epistemologically, and institutionally heterogeneous structure" and "anchored in the genocide and slavery of indigenous peoples in the Americas and elsewhere and of black Africans in Africa and the diaspora" (Maldonado-Torres, 2011a, p. 8). The European subject, which placed itself at the centre of the colonial world system, imposed five centuries of domination over the colonial object, which found itself on the periphery (Dussel, 1985, p. 3). Before Europe could embrace the Cartesian 'cogito, ergo sum' (I think; therefore I am), it required the establishment of the European 'ego conquistus' (I conquer; therefore I am), in the case of Africa, "I enslave; therefore I am", and finally, "I vanquish; therefore I am" with regards to India, China and the Opium Wars (Dussel, 1985, p. 8; Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 215).

The consequences of the dominance of the Eurocentric idea of knowing and being are best illustrated by Dussel when he poses the following argument in response to Kant's question, "What is Enlightenment?":

> *Kant's answer to the question posed by the title of his essay "What is Enlightenment?" is now more than two centuries old. "Enlightenment is the exodus of humanity by its own effort from the state of guilty immaturity," he wrote. "Laziness and cowardice are the reasons why the greater part of humanity remains pleasurably in this state of immaturity." For Kant, immaturity, or adolescence, is a culpable state, laziness, and cowardice its existential ethos: the 'unmundig'. Today, we would ask him: An African in Africa or as a slave in the United States in the eighteenth century; an Indian in Mexico or a Latin American mestizo: Should all of these subjects be considered to reside in a state of guilty immaturity? (Dussel, 1993, p. 68)*

Mignolo (2000, p. 59) answers Dussel's question, stating that colonial subjects should not be considered residing in a state of guilty immaturity. However, rather than expand on his objection, he analyses the consequences of the implicit belief Kant's question implies for those deemed immature. Mignolo's contention is with the historical imagery created by the rhetoric of modernity and its actual impact on society. His overview of the importance of the ongoing impact of the rhetoric of modernity is highlighted by his categorisation of world history.

The use of Eurocentric modernity, or Occidentalism according to Mignolo, worked to create an overarching imaginary of the modern world system that centred Europe, thus making Europe the planetary epistemological standard while simultaneously subalternising the knowledge and possibility of being of the 'other' or conquered (Mignolo, 2000, p. 60). This imaginary uses the colonial difference between Europe and the other and has taken various forms over the centuries. The first wave included was signposted by events such as the 'victory' of Christianity over Islam in 1492 within the Iberian Peninsula, the encounter with the America's, the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India in 1498, the entry of Jesuits in China in 1580 and the massive contingent of enslaved Africans moved to the Americas during the sixteenth century (Mignolo, 2000, p. 280; Robertson & White, 2003, p. 133).

The second wave was characterised by replacing the hegemonic Christian mission of expansion with the secular civilising mission of mercantilism developed in Amsterdam and created the foundation of the colonial expansion of England and France (Mignolo, 2000, p. 280). Mignolo (2000, p. 280) categorises the third wave as falling between the end of the enlightenment period and the Second World War. The European civilising mission was replaced with the United States' rise to power, which articulated itself through the notion of manifest destiny. After World War Two, the civilising mission was replaced with development and modernisation, which were subsequently replaced by capitalism's expansion (Mignolo, 2000, p. 280).

To agree with Mignolo's assertions begs the question of how the rhetoric of modernity maintains itself and continues to evolve and adjust to changing global systems. Furthermore, what are the adverse effects of this rhetoric if it naturalises modernity as a global universal process seemingly hidden from the world? The rhetoric of modernity actively creates the obscurantist ideologies described earlier in the chapter and hides the various attempts of enacting the second of Polanyi's double movement by natives in nations, thus hiding their response to modernity and enlightenment and, by extension, development.

3.4.2.2.2 The Logic of Modernity/Coloniality

Lugones provides an interesting entry point into understanding the above conundrum through the notion of modernity/coloniality and her approach to colonial modernity. Lugones describes colonial modernity as the dichotomous hierarchy that is created between those considered to be human and those that are non-human and attributes the creation of this relationship to the colonisation of the Americas and the Caribbean islands (Lugones, 2010, p. 743). The latter is discussed in Chapter 4.

Colonial modernity was Europe's direct, political, social, and cultural domination during its colonial conquest (Quijano, 2007, p. 168). Lugones (2010, p. 743) elaborates on this point by arguing that colonial modernity ensured that only those considered to be civilised – European, bourgeois, colonial,

modern man, heterosexual, Christian, a being of mind and reason - could be marked as human whilst the indigenous peoples of the Americans and the enslaved Africans were classified as not human in species but as animals that were both uncontrollably sexual and wild. Colonial modernity created a structure of power where social discriminations became codified according to racial, ethnic, anthropological and national intersubjective constructions in which Europe and the occident became the subject while those who had been colonised became the objects to be conquered and observed (Lugones, 2010, p. 743; Quijano, 2007, p. 168; Wynter, 2003). The act of conquering and observing was seen as a natural process of modernity rather than the exhibition of historical power relations within the world (Quijano, 2007, p. 168).

This is not a unique view of the origins of the logic of coloniality, as can be seen from the work of Mignolo, amongst others (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Mignolo, 2000, 2011b; Quijano, 2007; Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009), but Lugones extends the view of colonial modernity to the dichotomous hierarchy between men and women that further constitutes the nature of colonial modernity. She argues that the "European bourgeois woman was not understood as his complement, but as someone who reproduced race and capital through her sexual purity, passivity, and being home-bound in the service of the white, European, bourgeois man" (Lugones, 2010, p. 743). For the indigenous women, they were often depicted as "uncivil, superstitious, degenerate, lazy and over-sexed" whose bodies are depicted as a symbol of sexual promiscuity and deviant behaviour (Settler & Engh, 2015, p. 129).

Lugones's work on colonial modernity highlights the general departure that colonial modernity makes with critical theory from the Frankfurt School and occidental notions of modernity and postmodernity. The departure is articulated by Mignolo, who questioned critical theory's epistemological and ontological limits. He asks:

> *How does Horkheimer's 'critical theory' project look to us today, when global and pluri-versal 'revolutions' are taking place, out of the di-versity and pluri-versity of the many local histories that in the past 500 hundred years (some in the past 250 or perhaps only 50 years) couldn't avoid the contact, conflict, and complicity with the West (e.g., Western Christianity, its secularization and relation to/with capitalism and its obverse, Socialism/ Marxism)? What should 'critical theory' aim to be when the damne´s de la terre are brought into the picture, next to Horkheimer's proletarians or today's translation of the proletariat, such as the multitudes? What transformations are needed in the 'critical theory' project if gender, race, and nature were to be fully incorporated into its conceptual and political framework? Finally, how can 'critical theory' be subsumed into the project of modernity/coloniality and decolonization? Or would this subsumption perhaps suggest the need to abandon the twentieth century formulations of a critical theory project? Or, would it suggest the exhaustion of the project of modernity? (Mignolo, 2007, p. 450)*

Mignolo's reflection on critical theory poses a similar question to modernity that Dussel asked of Kant's reflection on Enlightenment. What is the response to critical theory by the other? Quijano (2007) seems to believe that to answer this question, there first has to be a realisation that those who find themselves exploited, dominated, and discriminated against, according to the intersubjective constructions created by the colonial conquest, reside within the localities identified by Mignolo and could not avoid the contact, conflict and complicity with the West.

For Quijano (2007, p.169), the end of political colonialism failed to eliminate the continued expression, contact and conflict of colonial domination as it worked to routinely repress indigenous/local/non-Western "modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objectivised expression, intellectual or visual". Furthermore, the colonial domination continued through the imposition of the colonialist's own patterns of expression and beliefs and images of the supernatural, halting any form of cultural production by the dominated and ensuring social, cultural (and arguably political) control of the repressed without the need for constant, tangible and systematic presence (Quijano, 2007, p. 169).

Unlike colonialism - which denotes a particular political and economic relationship between the sovereignty of a nation, its inhabitants, and a conquering nation that is mediated by some form of colonial administration or equivalent - coloniality speaks to the "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). Coloniality drives the rhetoric of modernity and its imperial thinking by justifying actions such as war and colonial conquest of colonial objects to eliminate what the European subject deemed barbaric or traditional (Mignolo, 2011b, p. 83; Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009, p. 132). Coloniality is used to justify the civilising and developmental missions of modernity. It drives Mignolo's various conceptions of world-systems from 1492 to its present-day iteration. It is an ongoing process that does not require a colonial administration to implement its logic.

What do Mignolo's assertions mean for the concept of development, especially when considered within the context of coloniality? He begins his contention with the notion of development and coloniality by analysing the concept of emancipation within the framework of modernity. Emancipation plays a vital role in the notion of development and the formation of the traditional-modern dichotomy. The emancipatory break from the past is indicative of the ability to progress into a modern future. Moments of emancipation within the discourse of occidental modernity centre on four critical historical moments, namely; "the Glorious Revolution of 1668 in England, the independence of the colonists in America from the emerging British Empire in 1776; and the French Revolution in 1789" with the Russian

revolution the only moment that took on a social and Marxist leaning when compared to the more liberal approaches of the others (Mignolo, 2007, p. 455). However, the emancipation described by these events and encapsulated within the project of modernity struggled to contend with the Haitian revolution. This was mainly because the Haitian revolution was less about the universal emancipatory claims "grounded in liberal and socialist traditions of the European enlightenment" and focused on the decentring from dominant emancipatory approaches (Mignolo, 2007, p. 455).

The emancipation of those who found themselves viewed as the colonial object in the face of the logic of coloniality and thus on the periphery of the world system was more akin to liberation. Liberation, in this sense, has two interrelated struggles, according to Mignolo, and resembles the argument advanced by Mamdani at the beginning of the chapter. The first was political and economic decolonisation, and the second was epistemological decolonisation (Mignolo, 2007, p. 455). According to Mignolo (2007, p. 455), liberation and, by extension, decolonisation require a larger frame of inquiry that includes racialised groups on the periphery of the modern colonial system that the occidental centre directly or indirectly colonised. For Mignolo, emancipation, in the context of modernity, required both the proposal and presupposition of the logic of coloniality. At the same time, liberation, in this sense, advocated a political, economic, and epistemic delinking from the logic of coloniality.

Liberation, therefore, presupposes the need to think from the position of colonial difference and embrace the notion of transmodernity (Mignolo, 2007, p. 455). Where transmodernity relates to the rejection of "binary and dialectical thinking in favour of "border thinking", a methodology which postulates that thought or reason must be ethical, epistemology must be "geographical in its historicity", knowledge must be situated, theory must emerge from material context or embodied lived experience, and that excluded or barbarian knowledges must be valued for theoretical insights" (Krishnaswamy, 2022, p. 1214).

Distinguishing between emancipation and decolonisation thus poses the question of what is a revolution, and, by extension, what is decolonisation if not a process of self-determination? Does it encapsulate the notions of emancipation while under the cloak of decolonisation? Alternatively, is the response from the colonised a truly liberational and decolonial project meant to break away from the logic of coloniality and thus allow for the free expression of political, economic, and epistemological decolonisation? Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009, p. 132) explain that revolutionary projects within Western modernity and its various local derivatives are abundant and include those inspired by leftist discourse, postcolonial nationalism, ethnocentric nationalism and religious fundamentalism.

Mignolo works to showcase this tension between emancipation and liberation by contrasting the Tupac Amaru in 1781 and the Haitian Revolution in 1804, which he describes as liberational - and led by the

native elite and the *damnes* with the intention of delinking their societies from the colonial centre - and the Spanish American and Anglo American struggles for independence which were emancipatory in nature (Mignolo, 2007, p. 456). He then juxtaposes the experiences of Haiti and Peru with the independence struggles in Africa and Asia, arguing that while the former two sought decolonisation across the political, economic, and epistemological, he was doubtful whether the latter two embraced epistemological decolonisation alongside the political and economic. The two decolonisation projects in these regions, similar to the independence struggles in Spanish America and Anglo America, are notably different. He argues that Africa and Asia sought decolonisation but failed to clearly state the need to break away from the logic of coloniality and thus pursue decoloniality. Decoloniality means the pursuit of decolonisation not merely as a process of economic and political liberation but also as epistemological. To overcome coloniality, epistemological decolonisation is required.

3.4.2.3 Decoloniality, Development and Decolonial Nationalism

Decoloniality has taken on various forms in recent history, with Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018, p. 76) providing a litany of examples from the African continent, such as "Ethopianism, Garveyism, Negritude, African Personality, Pan-Africanism, African Socialism, African Humanism, Black Consciousness Movement to African Renaissance". Maldonado-Torres expands on the above, arguing that the emergence of decoloniality can be traced to the very inception of modern forms of colonisation with a broader project seeking to shift from modernisation towards decoloniality began in the 20th century (Maldonado-Torres, 2011b, pp. 1–2). This begins with W.E.B Du Bois at the turn of the 20th century and continues with the work by Aime Cesaire (2001), Frantz Fanon (2008b, 2008a), Sylvia Wynter (2003), Enrique Dussel (1985), Gloria Anzaldúa (2015; 2012), Lewis Gordon (2014), Chela Sandoval (2000), and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2013), amongst others (Maldonado-Torres, 2011b, p. 2).

Maldonado-Torres (2011b, p. 2) explains that decoloniality found its continued expression as a way of thinking of development using moments such as the end of the first two World Wars, the second wave of decolonisation in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, and international gatherings such as the Bandung Conference as a point of reference. These moments worked to increase the perception by both the colonial object and European subject of the "linkages between colonialism, racism, and other forms of dehumanisation in the twentieth century, the formation of ethnic movements of empowerment and feminisms of color, and the appearance of queer decolonial theorizing" (Maldonado-Torres, 2011b, p. 2). More recent examples would be Bolivia's *Vivir Bien* policy of development (Ranta, 2016, 2017). Decoloniality, in terms of development, seeks to pursue decolonisation beyond the ambits of self-determination as currently understood and seeks to view this as an ongoing process of decolonising beyond the removal of a colonial administration. However, does this mean that decoloniality sets itself apart from European modernity in terms of development as a move from the immaturity of tradition

through the force of reason (by extension emancipation) towards a predefined modern that provides societies with new possibilities for human development?

This thesis would argue no, but it requires a level critique of the arguments above that is beyond the scope of this thesis. These arguments relate to how modernity/coloniality provides a wealth of ideas of coloniality, such as the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2007), knowledge (Keet, 2014) and being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). All of these play a vital role in the discourse of modernity but do not necessarily play an important role within the discourse of development for this thesis.

Returning to Mignolo's general argument, the logic of modernity/coloniality, as currently understood, is that of the hegemonic dominance of European modernity on the global designs of world systems. Mignolo borrows from Quijano's notions of coloniality, Wallerstein's notions of World-Systems and Dussel's notion of transmodernity and argues the following two points. The first point is that "modernity is not a strictly European but a planetary phenomenon, to which the 'excluded barbarians' have contributed, although their contribution has not been acknowledged" (Mignolo, 2002, p. 57). The exclusion of these 'barbarians' by occidental modernity represents the imposition of a form of development on the colonial other that justifies the use of violence within the civilising process because of their supposed backward nature (Burton & Osorio, 2011); a justification that is hidden from the rhetoric of modernity. Thus the imposition described above results in occidental modernity functioning as a civilising power that regards "the sufferings and sacrifices" of those deemed to be backward and immature peoples such as racialised and ethnic groupings made into slaves and women (as Lugones argues) in both the European and non-European contexts "as the inevitable costs of modernization" (Alcoff, 2007; Burton & Osorio, 2011; Lugones, 2010). Dussel argues that to overcome this hegemonic civilising power, one must deny its myths and hidden justifications and overcome it "not through a postmodern attack on reason based on the irrational incommensurability of language-games" but rather through a "transmodern opposition to modernity's irrational violence based on the reason of the Other" (Dussel cited in Burton & Osorio, 2011, p. 23).

The second point Mignolo makes is that "local histories are everywhere but that only some local histories are in a position of imagining and implementing global designs" (Delgado et al., 2000, p. 8). It is not enough, according to Mignolo, to unmask the hidden nature of modernity/coloniality. There is also a need to discover, by thinking from the position of colonial difference (termed border thinking) and epistemic disobedience, to create a form of development couched in local histories and the reasoning of the Other'. Understood by this thesis as a process of decoloniality.

These two points do not necessarily justify decoloniality as a more suitable alternative to modernity because the mere acknowledgement of the violence hidden by modernity/coloniality and the hegemonic

dominance of occidental modernity does not remove decoloniality from the dichotomous nature of modernity and its search of predefined modern. Furthermore, the argument that providing local histories with an opportunity to express themselves on global designs presupposes that these local histories will not perpetuate similar violence on bodies they deem to be an other. Decoloniality is not an alternative to modernity but an attempt to allow for a multitude of notions of modernity.

Lastly, the arguments made by Mignolo and the modernity/coloniality research group seem to seek to shame the pursuit of reason as intrinsically at fault for the marginalisation of colonial objects – yet they fail to comprehend whether such a pursuit of reason is also part of colonial object's own form of local history. In other words, that occidental modernity is not unique to the occident but can be and has been expressed by the other. The search to detach the formation of modernity from the period of enlightenment to the 'discovery' of the Americas in 1492 seeks to create another hegemonic notion of modernity that this thesis would describe as decolonial nationalism - an ode to past nationalist responses to colonialism, within an increasingly globalised and complex world. Thus, while decoloniality differs from modernity in terms of form and function, it remains beholden to the same ideals of modernity in terms of its nature. That is to say, even though decoloniality brings the voices of the periphery into the centre, the voices brought into the centre become a new centre, further entrenching the relationship between who is now considered ideal and who is non-ideal.

3.4.2.4 Westoxification

The ontologies and epistemologies of the occidental have become a metonym of modernity, ensuring that the character of modernity is either implicitly understood to be Western or modernisation requires some form of Westernisation (Deylami, 2011, p. 243). Islam, for instance, is often associated with being anti-modern because of its criticism of Western ideals and beliefs and the depiction of Islamic criticism of the West as anti-rational (Deylami, 2011, p. 243). However, as Deylami (2011, p. 244) explains, "the alleged anti-rationalism of the Islamic world clearly clashes with the logic of Western liberalism and modernity, which sees rationality as the only way to engage in political life and express dissent". As such, the determination of what political life is or how one expresses dissent with the views of others thus determines their sense of rationality. This determination places a disproportionate emphasis on the manner and definition of one's rationality rather than the purpose and intent of rationality.

This disproportionality excludes differing notions of modernity outside the confines of the rationality exhibited by Western thinkers or the rationality of the western form. Thus, being anti-Western does not entail being anti-modern, as shown by Jalal Al-e Ahmad's seminal work *Gharbzadegi*, which heavily influenced Iranian politics before and after the Iranian Revolution in 1979 (Deylami, 2011). The text represented "the matriculation card of every young revolutionary and anti-monarchy activist in the mid-1960s and 1970s" (Deylami, 2011, p. 248). Furthermore, Al-e Ahmad's work on what he called

rushanfekri sought to disjoin the notion of the occidental from the understanding of modernity (Vahdat, 2000). *Rushanfekri*, according to Vahdat (2000) is a Perso-Arabic term. 'Rushan' means enlighten, and 'fekr' means thought, which, when combined – *rushanfekr* – translated into intellectual. However, *rushanfekri*, as used by Al-e Ahmad, was more akin to the notion of enlightenment.

There have been differing interpretations of Al-e Ahmad's political writing, as much of his work has been the subject of debate between his contemporaries and those who followed him (Pistor-Hatam, 2007, p. 563). Some views of Al-e Ahmad depicted him as an anti-intellectual, anti-modernist revolutionary who was routinely blamed for attributed with Iran's shift away from modernity (Saghafi, 2001, p. 21; Vahdat, 2000, p. 60). Others believed that though his writings espoused a disdain for the intellectuals within Iran, it was borne out of his belief that the enlightenment of the West had intoxicated these intellectuals and thus could not understand what it meant to be enlightened within an Iranian context (Vahdat, 2000). It is clear that Al-e Ahmad's work profoundly impacted the role of intellectuals in Iran and their centrality within Iranian society. He removed the anonymity of Iranian intellectuals within society, provided an Iranian articulation of nativism, and was highly critical of the Pahlvi regime (Pistor-Hatam, 2007, p. 562).

The advent of colonialism in the Middle East at the turn of the 20th century began to erode the role and rule of Islam within Iran (Omid, 1992, p. 675). The emergence of the Pahlvi regime, established in 1925 after the Persian coup d'état of 1921, functioned as the centralised government in Iran until the 1979 revolution. With it came notions of secularism in the state, often seen as "the hallmark of modernism, independence and statehood" (Omid, 1992, p. 675). The regime seemed to view Western modernisation as the answer to the economic and social deprivation that affected the majority of Iranians at the time (Hillmann, 1982, p. 13). According to Omid (1992), Reza Shah worked to dismantle the Islamic clergy's influence and control over various aspects of society. Within two decades, he made Iran, in all but name, secular (Omid, 1992). The nation began to exhibit secular criminal and constitutional codes while eroding Islamic perspectives on family and property rights. For Omid (1992), the political discourse of secularism in Iran during the Pahlvi regime's tenure was strongly associated with capitalism and the "imperialist penetration into the country". According to Al-e Ahmad, the regime "had ingratiated Iran to Western corporations and had imported a Western mode of life without understanding the complexities of machine life. They thereby hurt the Iranian populous culturally and economically" (Deylami, 2011, pp. 250–251).

The secularism espoused by the state became associated with increased state control, and critics of the state framed its failures as "modernist anti-religious policies" (Omid, 1992). These critics, who were seen to be more involved in society than the secularists, became sceptical about the rise of technology and the Westernisation of society. At the same time, those with more political critiques believed the

regime was disadvantaging the people of Iran because of its focus on Western interests (Saghafi, 2001, p. 17). Though Al-e Ahmad shared views with these critics, he avoided the notion that returning to a more religious society would be more beneficial for Iran. Instead, Al-e Ahmad argued that there was a need to develop a different form of modernity itself. The modernity associated with the pervasive nature of the West was ill-equipped to understand Iranian culture and had impacted how intellectuals in Iran understood the nature of the country. He viewed the modernity that had grasped hold of Iran as toxic because of its strong association with occidental notions of rationalism and development (Al-e Ahmad, 1988). For Al-e Ahmad, it was "necessary to reconfigure tradition in such a way that it can redirect modernity down a more locally authentic road" (Mirsepassi cited in Mahmoodi & Zeiny, 2011, p. 23).

Al-e Ahmad begins his seminal text, *Gharbzadegi*, with the words: "I speak of "occidentosis" as of tuberculosis… I am speaking of a disease: an accident from without, spreading in an environment rendered susceptible to it" (Al-e Ahmad, 1988, p. 27). He argues it is a disease that attacks one from within themselves, akin to how weevils lay eggs within the seeds of wheat (Campbell & Al-e Ahmad, 1985, p. 27). The literal translation for *Gharbzadegi* is "west-struckness", but it also has a variety of other interpretations such as "occidentosis, westmania, Euromania and westoxification" (Deylami, 2011; Mahmoodi & Zeiny, 2011, p. 22; Vahdat, 2000, p. 61). Deylami (2011, p. 246) explains that the linguistic origins of *gharb* found a strong association with the uneasy association with the West and was intended to signal discomfort with the awe shown to the West. In comparison, *zadegi* means to be "struck with illness, pathogen, or toxin" (Deylami, 2011, p. 246). Therefore, to be in a state of Westoxification is to be enthralled by the West's strange, uneasy, and infectious nature. It invokes the idea of "western intrusion into Iranian Islamic life; a kind of illness and/or intoxication; a foreignness or strangeness that take over the cultural and political body" (Mahmoodi & Zeiny, 2011, p. 22). Deylami (2011, p. 246) explains that:

> *…this strangeness has an intoxicating character. It embroils its subjects into identifying with it so that the enthralling effects are no longer products of the West but the products of ourselves and of our own desires. The strangeness of the Other becomes the strangeness of members of the body politic. It hypnotizes subjects into believing that what the West has to offer is what they should desire; that they must mimic the West in order to progress.*

The importance of Al-e Ahmad to the critique of modernity is less about his conception of modernity and more about the use of modernity by the other: the unquestioning acceptance of the internal contradiction of modernity, that to progress requires one to seek subjective freedom, yet the search for subjectivity is by no means free as one is forced to take on the subjective vantage of the occident. This argument is by no means unique and has a variety of different interpretations (Bhabha, 1994; see: Biko, 2015; Du Bois, 1989; Fanon, 2008a; Said, 1979). As Hanson (1983, p. 13) argued, *Gharbzadegi* can be viewed as a less systematic version of dependency theory proposed by thinkers such as Samir Amin.

Deylami (2011, p. 251) argues that Al-e Ahmad was frustrated with "Westoxified subjects" who believed that if they ate like a westerner, read about the West, and bought western products, they could be fully developed – i.e. westernised - while living in Iran. Furthermore, he argues that Al-e Ahmad thought those westoxified believed that modernity could only be western modernity.

Al-e Ahmad is often considered among the first Iranian postcolonial thinkers. Much of his work focused on drawing "attention to the West's imperialistic approach to Iran and its culture" (Ghaderi, 2018, p. 459). Though heavily influenced by the work of Heidegger, his approach to modernity should be considered an extension of the decolonial response to modernity. Al-e Ahmad fails to define many of his central concepts. He is particularly cryptic about his notion of the western 'Machine Life' (Deylami, 2011, p. 253; Shiravand, 2015, p. 2). However, his understanding of the 'western machine life' seems to extend beyond its interpretation as the imperialist ambitions of the West and its use of technological advances to oppress.

Al-e Ahmad's understanding of the western machine within the context of decoloniality is closely related to the notion of modernity/coloniality. Deylami (2011, p. 253), in an attempt to demystify Al-e Ahmad's deliberation on the western machine life, explains that to think of the term within the frame of reference of technologies that facilitated progress, such as the printing press or any technology that produces goods, fails to understand the machine not only as a tool that extracts resources and produces desires for more consumption but also represents the power of the west over Iran that is extractive and productive. Thus, the machine life becomes "a geo-political apparatus that facilitates the development of economic and cultural life outside national boundaries. It is both the logic of capitalism and the impetus of globalisation. It is the Machine that produces machines. In other words, it is the catalyst for global capital." (Deylami, 2011, p. 253). It is totalitarian, as espoused by Adorno and Horkheimer, as it seeks to generate "subjects who only desire to be more and more like their mechanotic counterparts and to mimic an imagined modernity" (Deylami, 2011, p. 254).

Deylami (2011, p. 255) works extensively to elaborate on this last point when he argues that machine life extends beyond simple market economies but reflects across international politics and culture; that it treats the Iranian-Islamic subject as an object of inquiry, creating its cultural and knowledge a museum piece to be observed. In addition to this, the machine life also works to penetrate "every aspect of relations between East and West so that further exploitation and extraction can occur", and it "bestows upon non-western nations and their subjects an imitative mode of living in which they never keep up with the West" (Deylami, 2011, p. 253). Deylami's argument begins to show a robust isomorphic relation to the decolonial notions of the coloniality of power, knowledge and being. Furthermore, it resonates with Bhabha's work on colonial mimicry (analysed below).

Similar to the notions of coloniality of power, knowledge and being, the western machine life, according to Al-e Ahmad, works to fulfil its extractive and exploitative needs by isolating the Iranian Islamic subject and deeming her/him to be unprogressive and stagnant and teaches them the insufficiencies of their own culture (Deylami, 2011, p. 255). In other words, it establishes the tradition-modern dichotomy intrinsic to the idea of modernity by establishing itself as the means by which one can find reprieve from their irrational life. The Machine Life offers the tools to achieve modernisation. However, it links these tools to linear progression towards occidental notions of modernity. It offers European-stylised education meant to inculcate a need to solve all of society's problems as the Europeans would (Al-e Ahmad, 1988, p. 57). It provides the "brilliantine" that makes Middle Eastern hair less unruly and more polished, just like their western counterparts" (Deylami, 2011, p. 255). According to Al-e Ahmad (1988), it indentures the subject to the totality of the machine in a manner that makes it incapable of looking at the self to be innovative or different without looking towards the West. The westoxified subject, in this instance, "treats his or her cultural heritage as the darkness before the enlightenment, as life before modernisation" (Deylami, 2011, p. 255).

However, what makes Al-e Ahmad's response to the machine different from traditional decolonial thinkers emerges from one of his proposed responses to the machine. Hanson (1983, p. 11) explains that Al-e Ahmad envisioned three possible actions that could be taken to tackle the machine but only favoured one. The first is to passively submit and unquestioningly accept modernity for what it is. The second follows a postcolonial and decolonial response to retreat into traditional customs. He viewed this approach as retreating into the abyss of traditional customs. The third response, Al–e Ahmad's preferred, is unique, as he seeks to tame the machine without being tamed (Hanson, 1983, p. 11). Al-e Ahmad (1988, p. 30) explains this preference when speaking about how to deal with the machine life:

> *I am not speaking of rejecting the machine or of banishing it, as the utopianists of the early nineteenth century sought to do. History has fated the world to fall prey to the machine. It is a question of how to encounter the machine and technology.*

For Al-e Ahmad, his proposed approach to modernity/coloniality or the western machine was to neither rid the world of it nor exculpate it from the ills it has placed on society. It is a response that evokes a need to become familiar with the machine and build it as one's own. To cautiously embrace its presence and prevalence within society and use it to build something new.

Al-e Ahmad acknowledges that ignoring the influence of modernity/coloniality will undoubtedly force the 'Other' to fall prey to the power of the machine and, thus, the West. The machine is universalist and totalitarian by nature as it "demands an end to borders, an end to all gates, and the internationalisation of everything and everywhere" (Al-e Ahmad, 1988, p. 74). This is a position both he and decolonial thinkers would agree upon. While they diverge in their approach to challenging the totalitarian nature

of modernity/coloniality, how they relate to how the decolonial thinker looks for ways to retreat to traditional customs and responses to the dominance of modernity/coloniality, and how they seek to create a more pluriversal world system. Al-e Ahmad would regard this approach as intellectually naïve as it espouses the idea that to survive modernity/coloniality and the increasing mechanisation of the world is to "brandish claims of racial, religious or national superiority and to highlight difference at every turn" (Deylami, 2011, p. 256).

Al-e Ahmad stands at odds with the concepts of border thinking and thinking from a colonial difference proposed by decolonial thinkers if the act is only seen as good in and of itself. Achieving a level of nativist authenticity is unhelpful without a materialist reckoning with local conditions and renegotiation with the western machine from new and additional standpoints (Chaudhary, 2013, p. 112). For Al-e Ahmad, this approach is merely a retreat into indigeneity above other forms of thinking that, in the end, because of the intractable presence of modernity/coloniality, will not create a pluriversal world system of existence (Al-e Ahmad, 1988, p. 75). Instead, it will promote an increasingly closed world that amplifies traditions of race, encourages the boastful nature of those who believe that they are the true custodians of indigenous knowledge and cultures, and increases the likelihood of the prohibitions and commandments of religions. The retreat does not create diversity through plurality but will create a plurality of autonomous cultures.

Al-Ahmad argues that the intractable and unremitting nature of modernity/coloniality will force this autonomy of cultures. It creates an allure of subjectivity but inevitably binds the subject to its logic regardless of the borders and autonomy it tries to create. Al-e Ahmad (1988, p. 76) briefly uses the process of decolonisation in Africa during his time to further elaborate his point:

> *What border or domain can stand up to the influence of Pepsi Cola, or to the comings and goings of the oil brokers, or to Brigitte Bardot's films, to heroin smugglers, or to the dubious orientalists who are the official go-betweens for imperialism? The best examples of these borders and domains, that is, the most blatant ones, those whose form best exhibits their nature, today must be sought in Africa. There was a time when France held Cameroon, Chad, and the Central Sahara and England held a territory alongside each of them. Now that the French and the English have gone, as the independent African states have gotten under way, each has set its own national boundaries precisely at these colonial borders established by one or another foreign state. Think of all the African peoples, races, and religions that thus have been made mincemeat of, parceled out among the allegedly autonomous and independent states of present-day Africa.*

He makes this argument in a similar manner to Fanon's (2008b) warning in The Wretched of the Earth's chapter regarding 'Pitfalls of National Consciousness', warning how modernity through neo-

colonialism and its links to capitalism can pervert the desire to build a national consciousness. Moreover, the leaders of this perversion will be seen by "any ordinary unschooled person …[as] the agent of oppression, giving away oil to the company and drawing sabers against the people" (Al-e Ahmad, 1988, p. 76). The decolonial stance offers an understanding of where the subject's own subjectivity and intersubjectivity with others should be in an ideal pluriversal state, but it denies the subject the tools to navigate out of a state of *gharbzadegi*. Solely relying on "Nativism cannot stop the power of globalization" and requires a wholly different response (Deylami, 2011, p. 256). In addition, if understood from a more 21st-century understanding of society, how does nativism, or as described above as decolonial nationalism, deal with the increasingly interconnected world driven by massive technological advances related to communication? For Al-e Ahmad, neither surrendering to the machine nor retreating from it are ideal approaches because they inevitably lead to repression (Deylami, 2011, p. 256).

Responses to modernity by Al-e Ahmad showcase the dilemma faced by colonial and postcolonial societies vis-à-vis enlightenment and modernity/coloniality as it works to deeply question the role of the intelligentsia forming the state. They provide a "passive and unreflective embrace of western ideas and culture" while also demanding they awaken and resist the dominance of the occidental alien culture across the intellectual, social, political and economic spheres of Iranian society" (Mahmoodi & Zeiny, 2011, p. 23). As Mahmoodi and Zeiny (2011, p. 23) explain, *gharbzadegi* does not work to reject the notion of modernity. Rather, it understands modernity as something that is currently unavoidable. As a result, understanding the state of *gharbzadegi* is an exercise in reconfiguring our conception of tradition to "redirect modernity down a more locally authentic road". Al-e Ahmad is not anti-modernist in his assertions. Neither does he wish to return to traditional modes of knowledge. Instead, he chose to embark on a more localised approach to modernity that avoided the toxicity of western subjectivity to allow for true freedom of subjectivity; *rushanfekri*.

3.4.2.4.1 *Rushanfekri* and Modernity

Al-e Ahmad viewed *rushanfekri* as:

> *A period in which man is cut off from natural elements, is left alone and his destiny is separated from that of nature. [He] finds himself alone vis-à-vis his destiny, without any Celestial or Terrestrial support. [He] is forced to act relying on himself only, without any expectations from the Outside or the Sublime world [He is forced] to choose, to be free, and responsible. (Vahdat, 2000, p. 63)*

Al-e Ahmad's view on *rushanfekri* bore a close resemblance to Kant's writings in "What is Enlightenment?" as he viewed the foundation of *rushanfekri* as the process of disseminating, throughout society, the ideal of free-thinking and the freedom to ask questions (Vahdat, 2000, p. 64). However, as Chaudhary (2013, p. 157) argues, *rushanfekri* and Kant's view of enlightenment do not enjoy a one-to-one relationship. For Chaudhary (2013, p. 157), *rushanfekri* was an activity rather than a state of being or thinking and bears a closer resemblance to Fanon's view that attaining human freedom has to be actionable. *Rushanfekri*, like Fanon's pursuit of freedom from the zone of non-being, was contingent on its performance, form and the content of the historical conditions required to produce this activity. In Al-e Ahmad's eyes, "ahistorical *rushanfekri* is literally impossible" (Chaudhary, 2013, p. 157).

Thus, if *rushanfekri* was to be used against the westoxification of Iran, it requires a recollection of and a grounding in the cultural and religious (Deylami, 2011, p. 260). The act of remembering the past should not entrench one in a state of unjustified nativism that removes the ability to think freely and question. The role of history within the framework of *rushanfekri* "is not to tell the stories that simply glorify the distinctive past of a people. The purpose of history is to ground humans in both hopefulness and remembrance of times gone awry, and thus prepare us for the future" (Deylami, 2011, p. 260). *Rushanfekri* is evolutionary by nature. It takes in rather than expels the complexities of world history to rationalise a complex view of the current and future states of the world.

Deylami (2011, p. 261) explains that history within the context of *rushanfekri* should not be formulaic. Instead, history requires a recognition of the interplay between the past and present and how the past influences the present and vice versa. The role of history and tradition in relation to the modern individual within the concept of *rushanfekri*, unlike the dichotomous relationship exhibited by its conception within occidental modernity, views tradition and the modern as a duality. This approach dovetails these concepts through free-thinking intellectual rigour that embraces the freedom of subjectivity but understands how the socio-political exigencies may impede one's subjectivity.

In other words, Al-e Ahmad's notion of 'enlightenment' is an activity related to the dissemination of free thinking to Iranians. It also requires, as explained by both Deylami (2011, p. 261) and Mignolo

(2011a), an understanding that as an Iranian Islamic subject within the context of being socially, economically and politically situated in a state of *gharbzadegi*, this subject must understand how the notion of modernity/coloniality influences them and how this machine was developed to construct a new approach to modernity/coloniality/mechanisation that is culturally appropriate to the Iranian-Islamic life and avoids mimicking the West.

3.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to critically assess the literature related to the discourse of development and modernity and the critiques posed by decolonial scholars. The chapter functioned to provide an initial determination of the underpinning philosophy for the framework of emergent-decolonial development, but more importantly, to assess the differences in logic between framework and traditional approaches to decolonial studies.

The chapter began with an exploration of how the discourse of development as traditionally viewed decolonisation as a process of self-determination rather than an ongoing process of development. This machination between development and decolonisation, particularly entrenched by Article 1 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, came at a cost: the ability to self-define.

The chapter sought to show the limitations that the discourse of development, through the influence of modernity, placed on the ability of states to pursue self-determination outside of the ambits of what was considered the ideal. This limitation is argued to be the reason why decolonisation has been limited to achieving a predetermined idea of self-determination as it ensured that the act of decolonising became less about being free from the imposition of the coloniser (the 'West'), but rather, to be more akin to them.

This imposition was not necessarily undertaken by nefarious activities but rather through the teleological impact that notions of enlightenment have had on modernity and, in turn, modernity on development. This cascading impact of enlightenment brought to bear the idea that development functioned as the pursuit of achieving an ideal state through reason and knowledge production, often organised through a codified and programmatic effort meant to organise both the individual and the collective. This process of codification within developmental discourse focused less on understanding the facts of change but instead on the desirability of this change and tasks associated with bringing it about, such as industrialisation, urbanisation, social and economic equality, and universal participation in political processes. As a result, development and decolonisation became preoccupied with the desirability of converging on forms of progress characterised by particular value orientations.

These value orientations of modernity range across individualist and collectivist forms of rationality and are focused on creating social change towards a predetermined ideal state. For this thesis, the importance of this social change relates to the differential experiences it imposes in both colonial and post-colonial states and how these experiences, though different, are forced into the procrustean bed of European modernity and violently adjusted accordingly. The chapter elaborated on the various ways in which modernity through development actualised this procrustean bed into actionable and prescriptive tools, i.e. the logic of convergence, liberal and collectivist approaches to modernisation, and various theories of distributive justice.

The chapter did note the various challenges modernity poses, and its influence on development—these critiques were broadly categorised into two groups: 1) Western and Decolonial reflections. The assessment of both concluded that while western reflections of modernity provide a coherent political and intellectual discourse, they simultaneously ensure that the non-Western responses are often unrecognised and are geographically stereotyped, denying these critiques' overall political nature.

Through the conceptualisation of the term ‘modernity/coloniality’, decolonial responses (primarily from the Latin American subaltern group) approach modernity through a holistic understanding of how modernity’s proponents acknowledge or don’t acknowledge its historicity. The chapter explained how this response far exceeds the simplification of being a non-western contempt of occidental reason but a complete refutation of the homogenising and hegemonic assumptions embedded within the discourse of modernity and, by extension, development. This decolonial critique extended to the logic and rhetoric of modernity often organised around decoloniality. However, the chapter explained that decoloniality is not an alternative to modernity but an attempt to allow an attempt to bring into the centre various other totalitarian notions of modernity outside of the confines of occidental reasoning. Based on a reading of the work done by decolonial scholars, the chapter argues that though decoloniality differs from modernity in terms of form and function, both maintain the same objective of creating some form of ideal.

As a result, there is a need to envisage a form of development that is not trapped by the pursuit of the ideal, whether informed by modernity or decolonial scholarship. This task is further explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

The Limitations of Homo Economicus and its Confrontation with Modernity/Coloniality

The previous chapter elaborated the influence that modernity has had on the field of development and its role in hiding its darker side, argued to be coloniality. However, it also elaborated on the various critiques of modernity and development, the limitations of these critiques, and how they have influenced the field with varying levels of success. To begin taking the development of EDD forward, it has been argued that there is a need to envisage a form of development that is not trapped by the pursuit of the ideal, whether informed by modernity or decolonial scholarship. It is thus important to begin conceptualising coloniality's role in framing both development and decolonisation as an exercise in better understanding how EDD can begin contending with coloniality's emergent nature.

4.1 Individual modernity and the limits of Homo Economicus

The common understanding of modernisation theory through much of the 20th and 21st centuries can be linked to the concepts of rational choice and macro/microeconomics discussed above. Adams and Estrada-Villalta (2017, p. 38) go to some lengths to illustrate this connection, arguing that "individualist ways of being promote societal changes associated with Eurocentric global modernity" which assist in the creation of "representative democratic institutions, economic growth, widespread prosperity, income equality and general happiness". They argue that the increased wealth and the participation of rational individuals in modern economic institutions led to the emergence of individual modernity because material abundance assists in mitigating the everyday concerns of security; promotes individualist senses of freedom from constraint; allows for the personal expression of preferences; the pursuit of personal goals; and the realisation of possible selves. Furthermore, when individuals relate with one another as separate and interchangeable agents, they create impersonal institutions reliant on a procedure that allows voluntary exchanges without the frictions of ingroup loyalty or deference to authority (Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017, p. 38); institutions that bear a similar resemblance to Walrasian markets discussed earlier.

Dividing society between individual modernity and interdependent ways of being is an oversimplification of the real-world dynamics of individuals, communities, and societies. Nevertheless, understanding the various hegemonic beliefs of how societies are structured has remained predominant in developmental discourse. However, hegemony creates a pathologising effect that excoriates the epistemological and ontological experiences of those who do not subscribe to the institutions created by individual modernity.

Decoloniality rejects individualist forms of modernity from the occident in favour of perspectives of well-being and freedom born out of subaltern experiences. This is not to say that decoloniality espouses nativism and decolonial nationalism as a central tenet at the expense of other fundamental (and universal) freedoms. Instead, using Maldonado-Torres' interpretation of Spivak's argument on the subaltern's ability to speak, this thesis adopts the view that decoloniality is a collection of diverse positions which all view coloniality as the core challenge to modern understandings of society (Maldonado-Torres, 2011b, p. 2). According to Mignolo (2011a, p. 274), these forms of empowerment and theorising seek to understand decoloniality as the pursuit of global equality and economic justice outside the confines of democracy and socialism as modes of thinking or doing or the pursuit of liberal democracy. Though not explicitly stated by Mignolo, it is clear that his comments can be further attributed to capitalism as an organising theory of society. Decolonial thought, by its nature, is reliant on both independent modes of being (the subaltern speaking) and interdependent modes of being (identifying as part of the subaltern) and provides an overall critique of universal epistemes of development and societal organisation developed by those who would not consider themselves as the wretched of the earth.

However, as Mignolo points out, the focus of decoloniality is not solely about changing the content of conversations about development but the conversation itself. Therefore, in terms of development, decoloniality focuses on the pursuit of decolonisation beyond the ambit of self-determination as currently understood and seeks to view this process as an ongoing process of decolonising beyond the removal of a colonial administration.

Both decoloniality and development suffer from several limitations due to modernity's dominance in both fields of study. Modernity, through its reliance on Newtonian and Cartesian ideas of society and the universe, holds the proposition that reducing complicated social systems to their constituent parts and fully understanding each part enables one to better understand the world (Miller & Page, 2007, p. 27). However, how does this hold within a fluid and rapidly changing world, characterised by the absence of stability, unity, homogeneity, permanence, and predictability (Tsekeris, 2009, p. 4040), and a world seemingly in chaos? As Beinhocker (2006, p. 48) explains, "when Walras imported the concept of equilibrium from physics into economics, he gained mathematical precision and scientific predictability. But he paid a huge price for that gain – realism".

Unlike neoclassical economics, decoloniality does not view modern man envisioned by modernity as someone who can be assumed to represent all people. Putting aside the argument of societal heterogeneity, this thesis argues that the contemporary person of modernity who pursues independent freedom and enlightenment will inevitably fall victim to the belief that they have absolute certainty because of their scientific and rational self-mastery of the world around them. Thus, they become what

Bronowski (1973) feared: people whose certainty leads them to a state of arrogance and belief in dogma based on ignorance. This is because the creation of the enlightened man relied on the conception of the 'other'; Fanon's wretched of the earth. Modernity's rational man was not conceived of its own volition but resulted from a long-running dialectical engagement with the other. An engagement often ignored and seemingly unknown to those who have achieved what they believe is self-mastery of their rationality.

It should be noted that in the same way, the idea of all humans being utility-maximising rational actors is an oversimplification of real-world decision-making. It would be equally absurd to assume that all those who reside within postcolonial modes of existence can also be assumed to be actors of a particular kind. However, using Milton Friedman (1953, p. 153) as a provocative guide and possible ally for decolonial thinkers – albeit unlikely - the evaluation of whether the accuracy of the assumption that all humans are rational actors who choose to live to pursue a utility-maximising life is neither here nor there. Instead, what is important is whether this assumption is a "sufficiently good approximation for the purpose in hand" (Friedman, 1953, p. 153). Therefore, even though the framework devised in this thesis is interested in its own explanatory power, it remains primarily focused on using assumptions that sufficiently approximate the wretch's purpose. Therefore, as Friedman suggests, the agglomeration of postcolonial circumstances for this framework is not done to homogenise but to create predictive certainty for its results across heterogeneous societies and contexts.

To create a framework that does not fall victim to the hubris of the zero point - an intellectually imperialist sense of entitlement to claim intimate knowledge of everywhere (Tuhiwai Smith cited in Readsura Decolonial Editorial Collective, 2022, p. 263) - while also acknowledging that the wretch's behaviour and motivations can equally be approximated and predicted. This chapter will propose that this be done by reconceptualising the rational man, *Homo economicus*. This reconceptualisation will not take place from the vantage point of economics as this would be to narrow an understanding of modernity's rational man. The chapter will argue why the framework will utilise Sylvia Wynter's discourse on the creation of the descriptive statement and Fanon's conception of the wretched of the earth as means of discussing how and why *homo economicus* is an ill-equipped explanatory tool for human consciousness as its focus excludes what should be considered to be the vast majority of the world. Finally, the chapter will discuss why Wynter's descriptive statement is a more versatile and adaptive approximation of the behaviour of the wretch when viewed through the lens of existence within the complex adaptive system of coloniality.

4.1.1 Understanding the Wretched of the Earth through Sylvia Wynter's Descriptive Statement

Wynter uses the wretched of the earth, a moniker initially conceptualised by Fanon, to understand those who sit subordinate due to the consequences of man's ever-evolving descriptive statement (Wynter, 2003). The concept of the descriptive statement is a discursive tool devised by Wynter as her attempt to create a Copernican leap in the thinking of what it means to be human by shifting away from what she describes as the liberal monohumanist mindset (McKittrick & Wynter, 2015, pp. 13–14).

The challenge that Wynter presents with this leap is predicated on her work analysing how the understanding of being human has evolved from the "Latin-Christian medieval Europe's homo religious Adamic fallen Man as homo politicus" towards a "purely biocentric version of humanness" (McKittrick & Wynter, 2015, p. 16) - eventually evolving into what we currently understand as the *homo economicus.* Each conceptual evolution represents a descriptive statement of human nature during this period. By virtue of its ability to evolve, Wynter argues that where descriptive statements of the past often erased the presence of the wretched, any new conceptualising of a modern descriptive statement must not only acknowledge the presence of other forms of humanness but also fully incorporate its various meanings into a whole. Wynter's analysis provides the foundation for understanding the role of the human's descriptive statement within an emergent world system that is inherently sensitive to the initial conditions of the descriptive statement.

4.1.2 Sylvia Wynter and the Descriptive Statement

For Wynter, representation of man can be linked to Foucault's argument that man is only a recent invention; "a figure not yet two centuries old, a wrinkle in our knowledge, and that he will disappear again as soon as that knowledge has discovered a new form" (Foucault, 2005, p. xxv). Wynter (2003) elaborates on this by outlining the evolution of the descriptive statement. She elucidates how this descriptive statement changes through a dialectical cultural-historical transformation with its antithesis, the "other" – those who do not align with the descriptive statement. The importance of Wynter's argument is the way she shows how modernity reproduces itself across space and time by focusing on establishing institutional procedures that determine humanness.

Wynter begins her argument by establishing that the Renaissance era, closely linked to the Enlightenment, began to understand humans through a new idea of order separate from its theologically driven heaven/earth divide (Siedentop, 2014). This understanding posited that people were rational, political subjects who successfully emancipated knowledge from relying on theological interpretations of the physical cosmos towards the use of physical and natural science. Thus man was not defined by

linkage to the theological notion of being ‘sinful by nature’ within the sociogeny of Latin-Christian Europe, but instead, was defined as the rational/irrational man; one who is divinely created to be rational by God and the irrational other who is no-less divinely created but is seen to be more akin to the nature of animals (Siedentop, 2014; Wynter, 2003, pp. 281; 313).

Man's role in this dichotomy is to freely navigate these two states of being. Instead of having one's self-conception “enslaved to the Fallen Flesh and to Original Sin, or seeking to be Redeemed-in-the-Spirit through the sacraments of the Church”, this invented Man could choose between the lower nature of brutes dogged by irrationality or God’s call to grow towards higher and divine natures (Wynter, 2003, p. 287). Once this descriptive statement of man was conceived, it became the West's predominant and totalising theory of what it meant to be human. It would represent and overrepresent its conception of the human compared to those who did not enjoy the attributes of this western man (Wynter, 2003).

Sanya and Desai (2016, p. 3) elaborate on Wynter’s work by explaining that this hegemonic descriptive statement ensured that “humans are entrenched in epistemological legacies of colonialism that preserve a Western bourgeois genre of Man”. The consequence of this overrepresentation was that it invented, labelled and institutionalised all non-Westerners as the “physical referent of the projected irrational” who were chained to the irrational aspects of human nature; an other, subhuman, a wretch (Wynter, 2003, pp. 282; 289). Wynter argues that the evolution of man's descriptive construction would shift from a theological perspective to a more secular argument and, by extension, to its current socio-economic perspective. This is a process that necessitated the transition of the wretch from a primarily religious (even if ‘pagan’ or godless) subject towards a more political subject that could be governed by science, reason and the state (Sanya & Desai, 2016, p. 4; Wynter, 2003, p. 308).

For Mignolo and Ennis (2001, p. 20), creating the wretch as a political subject was done by creating an interior and exterior imaginary of the modern/colonial world system. Mignolo and Ennis (2001, p. 20), who borrow from Eduardo Glissant’s definition of imaginary as the “symbolic world through which a community (racial, national, imperial, sexual, etc.) defines itself”, argue that the construction of man within Western civilisation was a result of the creation of a descriptive statement of man that formed the foundation of the modern/colonial world system. Within this system, an interior imaginary was created. This interior imaginary placed Wynter’s biocentric descriptive statement as a central conception of humanity, the Latin Christian European totalising ideal human. It separated the European man from her African and Asian counterparts (Mignolo & Ennis, 2001, p. 21). It created a clear understanding between the ideal human and those considered non-ideal.

However, this divide became increasingly difficult to maintain in a modern state attempting to create a society in an increasingly diversifying world. Therefore, to ensure this delineation between the

imaginary of the interior conception of humanness and those forms of humanness that sit externally to it, there was a need to accept this separation and normalise it in a modern state. It required creating an internal-exterior, a wretch within the interior imaginary. In short, a wretch could be subjected to political governance within the bounds of the modern state and whose humanness could be altered through political governance to bring them closer to the ideal.

The creation of this internal exterior began with the imposition of Christianity and the subsequent expulsion of Jewish and Muslim communities residing in Spain in 1478 (the Spanish Inquisition) and 1498, as well as the expansion of Europe across the Atlantic (Mignolo & Ennis, 2001, p. 21; Wynter, 2003, p. 308). Beginning with the Inquisition, Wynter (2003, p. 308) argues that the conversion of Jews and Muslims to Christianity created the problem of Moriscos (Muslim converts) and Marranos (Jewish converts). Both groups became the Other to the Christian norm. Even though they converted to Christianity, they were still descended from Jewish or Islamic ancestry. They carried with them an "impurity or uncleanness of blood" and faith (Wynter, 2003, p. 308).

With the creation of the internal exterior through the Inquisition, the imposition of a taxonomy and scale of human populations could be derived for other wretches across the modern world-system; those seen as external exteriors such as Africans, Amerindians, Asians, Jews, Muslims, and the like. Spain and Portugal hastened the process, followed by England and the Netherlands' imperial expansions through the Atlantic commercial circuit in the sixteenth century. Enlightenment and modernity's 'man', whether through Christian theology or secular philosophy, created a hierarchical ordering of humanness that identified this interior imaginary of the Christian western man as the normalised and correct way of being human (Sanya & Desai, 2016, p. 4).

Based on the religious and secular notion of the political subject, this conception of man brought upon the ordering role of society seen through Latin-Christian societies that dominated Europe up until the 18th century and the monarchies that preceded them (Siedentop, 2014; Wynter, 2003, p. 318). This ordering ensured that the impure political subjects in those systems would "both know and experience their society's respective role allocation, social hierarchies, divisions of labour, and ratio-proportional distribution of their goods and their bads as being supernaturally preordained" (Wynter, 2003, p. 318). This ordering forcefully requires the wretch to move from their position as an irrational subhuman – an exteriority within the modern state system - and join the convergence towards a higher state of the human interior imaginary of Latin-Christian Europe. An imaginary designed on a master-slave code that was supernaturally preordained and rationally maintained through vehicles such as capitalism structured around hierarchies institutionalised by the nexus of Christianity and capitalism.

For the wretch of the exterior imaginary - those outside the modern state conceived by the descriptive statement - their role was to take the Moriscos' and Marranos' places as political subjects to be subjugated worldwide. To be the same, but not the same. Modern, but irrational. Alive, but less than human. Subjects who could attempt convergence with the interior imaginary of humans would ultimately find this impossible because even when converged, one's origins from beyond the interior's imaginary ensure one's place as less than; impure. As Bhabha (1994, p. 85) explains:

> For the epic intention of the civilizing mission, "human and not wholly human" in the famous words of Lord Rosebery, "writ by the finger of the divine" often produces a text rich in the tradition of trompe l'oeil, irony, mimicry, and repetition.

The race of the wretch would become the rationale for their inhumanness, not only on a local scale based on the idea of a converted and pure Spanish Christian but on a universal scale (Wynter, 2003). With this notion of the entrenched 'other' coinciding with the expansion of imperial Europe across the Atlantic, the black negro became - both in terms of religious and secular reasoning – the bottom markers of the newly conceived taxonomy of humanness. Race had replaced the rational (or irrational) descriptive statement and remained so for centuries. It eventually became what Du Bois would describe as a problem of the colour-line within the 20th century (Du Bois, 2008, p. 3).

The colour-line problem further reformulated the descriptive statement of human from a religious-secular conception toward a more economic understanding that was underpinned by capitalist exploitation and race. This economic understanding can be traced back to Thomas Malthus's work, particularly his writings on population growth - the Malthusian Catastrophe. Simply put, Malthus argued that if population growth is exponential, but the supply of food is linear, both would remain in an untenable relationship. Society either naturally (and proactively) engages in limiting population growth or dealing with the consequences of population growth outstripping food supply, namely famine and war – the ills of scarcity. As the world's population grows and modernises, the distribution of resources skews due to natural scarcity. Therefore, those capable of surviving and thriving within this world of natural scarcity became 'masters of natural scarcity', namely, breadwinners, investors and capital accumulators (Wynter, 2003, p. 321).

The individuals within this modernist system are seen as the ideal human capable of overcoming the ill of scarcity through rationality. As a result, the slave and wretch in the new dialectic of the descriptive statement became defined as "the jobless, the homeless, the Poor, the systematically made jobless and criminalised – of the "underdeveloped" – all as the category of the economically *damnes*" rather than the political wretch (Wynter, 2003, p. 321). Therefore, their convergence with the ideal human relies on their economic success. The wretch became both an economic and political problem for society. This point is important because of its connection to the notion of convergence explained earlier. The

consequences of the impossibility of convergence between the wretch and ideal can be extended towards the convergence between developed and underdeveloped nations - with those countries that have made the leap between the two existing as internal exteriors of the global economic order. This is the heart of the problem of development.

4.1.3 Understanding the Pillars of Modernity's Maintenance of Coloniality

The argument posed by Sylvia Wynter regarding the descriptive statement provides the first opportunity to discuss one of the six principles of the framework – the need for reciprocal recognition (further elaborated below). It showcases how identifying the ideal human automatically constructs the notion of the non-ideal human. Thus, the understanding and usage of homo economicus as a building block for understanding society's economic and social development implicitly perpetuates the logic of Wynter's descriptive statement. Despite its usefulness as an organising principle, homo economicus requires a non-ideal person in order to understand and perpetuate its logic fully. With this construction, the ideal human becomes the "mask behind patriarchy, racism and interrelated practices of capitalist and colonial forms of domination and oppression" (Baker, 2019, p. 3). This construction of the ideal vis-à-vis the non-ideal creates two pillars in this ever-evolving world-system. The first is intrinsically linked to the Hegelian master-slave dialectic. The second focuses on the outcome of Bhabha's colonial mimicry. The master-slave dialectic and colonial mimicry dovetail with one another in what will later be argued to be a positive feedback loop.

Before discussing these pillars further, it should be noted that developing institutions that contend with the ills of scarcity explained by Malthus are not limited to modernity alone. Decolonial movements - of various kinds - must also deal with these ills at some point. The heart of any system that seeks to create just outcomes must focus on distributing resources throughout society in a manner that is sustainable in relation to its population. The Malthusian catastrophe and its various contemporary variants (e.g., sustainable development) place a natural limitation on world systems' possible imaginaries.

4.1.4 Hegel and Fanon: Building Reciprocal Recognition

The first pillar of Wynter's descriptive statement is based on the Hegelian dialectic, which states that the modern world system naturally benefits the ideal human while saving the non-ideal from their position of being less than human. Whether this divide is due to supernatural reasoning, irrationality, physiological ancestry, or economic damnation, the economic and political subjects' role is to converge on the ideal and free themselves from their political and economic quagmire, not through their own volition but the magnanimity of the ideal. As Rudyard Kipling (1929) famously noted, they become *The White Man's Burden.*

This dialectic, like others, showcases linkages to Descartes's substance dualism (discussed in the previous chapter) but with an important distinction. While Descartes argued that bodies could be understood through mechanical laws, the mind could not because of the immeasurability of consciousness. However, through their union, people not only become physical or spiritual beings but also exhibit a distinctive moral nature. Understanding the rationale and reasoning of this moral being, at least for Descartes, required quasi-mathematical terms (Louth, 2011, p. 74). Hegel and Fanon do not explicitly provide these terms. However, the dialectics they engage with provide the discourse to understand them and remove what Louth (2011, p. 74) describes as prejudice and superstition from the ontological reconstruction of humans. This reconstruction requires bringing intuition and reason together through scientific enquiry.

Al-e Ahmad describes the stifling nature of this dialectic description of humanness and its danger to the wretch's self-consciousness. He argues that:

> *We have been unable to preserve our own historicocultural character in the face of the machine and its fateful onslaught. Rather, we have been routed. We have been unable to take a considered stand in the face of this contemporary monster. So long as we do not comprehend the real essence, basis, and philosophy of Western civilization, only aping the West outwardly and formally (by consuming its machines), we shall be like the ass going about in a lion's skin. We know what became of him. Although the one who created the machine now cries out that it is stifling him, we not only fail to repudiate our assuming the garb of machine tenders, we pride ourselves on it. For two hundred years we have resembled the crow mimicking the partridge (always supposing that the West is a partridge and we are a crow). So long as we remain consumers, so long as we have not built the machine, we remain occidentotic. Our dilemma is that once we have built the machine, we will have become mechanotic, just like the West, crying out at the way technology and the machine have stampeded out of control. (Al-e Ahmad, 1984, p. 31)*

For Fanon, the freedom to decolonise society necessitates a reciprocal recognition between the coloniser's self-consciousness (master - the definitive descriptive statement) and that of the colonised (the enslaved person – the subhuman within the descriptive statement) that is free from the binds of race. His expansion of the master-slave Hegelian dialectic through the inclusion of race demanded that recognition be acquired through conflict with the master. For Fanon, the Hegelian slave was more independent than the black slave. The potential for reciprocity is ruptured when race is introduced into the master-slave dialectic (Fanon, 2008a).

Hegel believed that enslaved people achieved freedom through understanding their self-consciousness through their labour and the object of their labour. Fanon thought that though the Hegelian slave found their self-consciousness by turning away from the master and toward the object of their labour, the black

slave, in contrast, wants to be like their master and thus abandons their labour as a form of recognition and turns to find their self-conscious through the master's image (Fanon, 2008a). This reconceptualising of the black Hegelian slave's phenomenological experience meant that labour alone would not allow for the realisation of freedom because the slave could only be imagined as a black, thus undeserving of recognition; a wretch. There would be no true reciprocity; where one existed, it would be devoid of true independence.

Nigel Gibson argues that Hegel would agree with the above assertion, stating that "any emancipation granted by the master, or any other party, does not create freedom for the slave (not even the partially empowering attitude to the freedom found in stoicism). Without the slave's self-secured self-consciousness, no 'liberty' will create freedom" (Hegel cited by Gibson, 2002, p. 42). However, as Gibson points out through Fanon, this self-secured self-consciousness without conflict with the master, who views the black slave as a wretch, is inevitably doomed. This is the case not because the development of the self through one's labour is blocked but because the development of this self did not aim for the death of the master and thus remains enmeshed in servitude (Gibson, 2002, p. 42).

For Fanon, a decolonised society requires a form of recognition where the *black body* can fully realise itself as a genuinely free agent capable of determining its self-consciousness in a manner that does not require an eventual folding into the universal or, as Sylvia Wynter would argue, the descriptive statement. Furthermore, recognition cannot be attained when freedom is given to the black slave by the master; a situation which Fanon believes only results in the black slave having no memory of the anguish of the fight for liberty and thus no genuine recognition, independence, or freedom (Gibson, 2002, p. 41). Therefore, conflict is required. It is a conflict in which the slave risks their life and truly achieves their self-conscious recognition untethered from European modernity's descriptive statement.

As argued later, Decolonial studies falls victim to the ensuing violence caused by the chaos of truth. Focused on the imagined future this violence may bring, it does not provide a tactical plan for engaging with this violence without a dialectical stimulant. It focuses on viewing the wretch and the ideal through dualism rather than duality.

The consequence of this Fanonian dialectic within the field of development is the resultant condemnation of countries as state-level wretches in an increasingly globalised world, with little if any genuine opportunity to experience reciprocity from nation-states who view themselves, consciously and subconsciously, as Wynter's ideal human. Even when faced with considerable developmental achievements, these countries remain the Marranos of the globalised world system. In terms of technological advancement, trade, international relations, global governance, socio-economic

development, and poverty alleviation, they remain non-ideal without the means to truly converge on the ideal.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Fanon contend that the freedom to retreat into one's self-consciousness to discover freedom is necessary to build a decolonial reality and shift away from Al-e Ahmad's plague of westoxification. This retreat can be seen through a retreat to language as a form of communication and culture that brings one closer to cultural freedom (wa Thiong'o, 1992). It may also be a retreat into the prior stage of the Hegelian dialectic that espouses a self-certain ego characterised by a primal value that demands that its subjective certainty of its state, black consciousness, becomes objective truth (Gibson, 2002, p. 40).

Wa Thiong'o and his contemporaries remain essential contributors to the conceptual and analytical tools for any study of decolonisation or decoloniality. Their conception of cultural freedom views the decolonised mind as a constituent part of a decolonised reality. Though useful as a form of analysis, this thesis argues that it is more beneficial to the study of decoloniality to view a decolonised mind as one particular independent element of a system whose notion of 'freedom' is influenced by its engagement with other decolonised and colonised minds, creating the emergence of a decolonial society that cannot be broken down to its individual constituent elements. It is a point that is important to note when challenging the hegemony of coloniality, which exhibits its own emergent properties.

4.1.5 Conflict and Breaking Away from Mimicry

The second pillar ensures that regardless of the wretch's efforts, due to the rationale of the descriptive statement's first pillar (Hegel's master-slave dialectic), convergence is impossible without conflict and the identification of westoxification within the state. The wretch can never truly be seen as ideal but remains fixed in the position of subhuman, with change only taking place through the changes in normative understandings of the ideal. The subhuman can only mimic these changes but can never be the ideal. According to Bhabha (1994, p. 86), they remain partial, incomplete and virtual. It is a position of existence that denies the wretch of progress and threatens their existence and pursuit of freedom. As Al-e Ahmad (1984, p. 64) explains:

> *We now resemble an alien people, with unfamiliar customs, a culture with no roots in our land and no chance of blossoming here. Thus all we have is stillborn, in our politics, our culture, and our daily life. We are. . . following ways from the dawn of creation, ignorant of new values, condemned to the relations of lord and serf, unfamiliar with the machine, having primitive tools and the corresponding food, fuel, clothing, and housing: the plow, barley bread, cow dung, tent cloth, and straw huts, respectively. The only things Western that have penetrated this region are the transistor radio and the draft, and these with more deadly effect than dynamite.*

For Bhabha, the wretch's emergence depends on the limitation between itself and the ideal. Converting to the ideal characteristics only ensures their place as interior exteriors, the Mosticos and Marranos of the modern world. At the same time, their attempts at convergence - whether political or economic - toward the ideal requires the prior acknowledgement of one's position within the exteriority of modernism's imaginary. This acknowledgement ensures one can never truly be part of the interior imaginary. Therefore, the success of the colonial system (or, for this thesis, a modernist world system based on the descriptive statement) remains dependent on the "proliferation of inappropriate objects" that can be seen as both a menace to society that needs to be fixed but bears a resemblance to the ideal, so such efforts are seen to be at least valiant (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86).

However, within this second pillar resides the foundation for a philosophy of decolonial development. This thesis is concerned with the centrality of the individual in the process of defining what it is to be human and how the descriptive statement (or what will be later be termed as the initial conditions of human description – see section 5.3) leads to a variety of emergent outcomes – forms of societal, political, and economic development. The importance of the descriptive statement and its subsequent links to development is not limited to the phylogenetics of society but what Fanon would also describe as the sociogeny; "what emerges from the social world, the intersubjective world of culture, history, language, economics" (Gordon, 2005, p. 2). For Bhabha, the creation of a counter-discourse by the colonial subject - illustrated by Fanon's argument for a retreat towards black consciousness and negritude - as a binary to the prevalent colonial discourse of the time is of less importance when compared to the need for the postcolonial intellectual and common man to exist beyond the contestation of the two (Chakrabarti, 2012, p. 7). It is a shift from viewing modernity/coloniality through the lens of dualism to viewing it through the lenses of duality and complex emergence.

Bhabha seeks to understand the phenomenological outside of dualism and inside of duality. He argues that because colonial discourse remains fixated on the ideological construction of otherness, it becomes preoccupied with a "paradoxical mode of representation" that he describes as mimicry: "the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" which emerges "as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (Bhabha, 1984, p. 127, 1994, p. 66).

For Bhabha, the construction of colonial discourse and thus constructing the colonial other is driven by mimicry rather than predetermined poles of dualism (the traditional-modern continuum), which was constructed because of the ambivalence shown by the colonial power over the other. The need for the order created by this second pillar, or what Bhabha (1994, p. 66) would describe as *fixity*, connotes a "rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition". This ensures that the discourse of colonialism focuses on creating knowledge and identifying colonial

subjects in a manner that vacillates between what is already known of the colonial other and the stereotype of this other that must be anxiously repeated.

Therefore, any notion of emergent-decolonial development requires a system that breaks from the pillars of Wynter's descriptive statement; otherwise, its emergent outcomes and sociogeny will remain plagued by its legacy. A break that also needs to be cognizant of the fixity of coloniality and colonial mimicry. Breaking from these pillars provides an avenue for development that is no longer dependent on the "teleological or the causal bind that is at the root of liberal humanist assumptions" (Chakrabarti, 2012, p. 7). Decolonial development instead requires an initial condition of the descriptive statement of what it is to be human that acknowledges its creation of Fanon's zone of non-being – caused by Wynter's first pillar. This allows the descriptive statement to contend with the interdiction created by the modernist ideal descriptive statement towards the wretch.

Gordon (2005, p. 2) explains that to understand the zone of non-being, there is a need to understand the schism between individuals and structure - in relation to the black body as a form of human study – that distinguishes the ontogenic and phylogenic. The ontogenic approach addresses individual organisms, while the phylogenic refers to approaches that address species (Gordon, 2005, p. 2). In between these two exists a third approach; the sociogenic. As Gordan (2005, p. 2) notes: "The sociogenic pertains to what emerges from the social world, the intersubjective world of culture, history, language, economics.". Understanding the black body or the wretch through a sociogenic approach necessitates acknowledging how the wretch has been "marked by the dehumanizing bridge between individual and structure posed by antiblack racism" (Gordon, 2005, p. 2) and the interdiction discussed above. As a result, the wretch is not structurally considered human, at least not in the liberal - or arguably neoliberal – sense of humanism. They become problematic beings locked into a zone of non-being (Gordon, 2005, p. 2).

As Gordon (2005, p. 3) explains:

> *What blacks want is not to be problematic beings, [but] to escape from that zone. They want to be human in the face of a structure that denies their humanity. In effect, this "zone" can be read in two ways. It could be limbo, which would place blacks below whites but above creatures whose lots are worse; or it could simply mean the point of total absence, the place most far from the light that, in a theistic system, radiates reality, which would be hell.*

Due to the sociogeny created by the Latin-Christian-European, the notion of the ideal human and the coloniality of power created as a consequence, and their potential unsettling cannot happen "without a redescription of the human outside the terms of our present descriptive statement; the economic and political" and liberating the coloniality of being (Wynter, 2003, p. 268).

Suppose the above is accepted, and at the heart of the coloniality of power is the coloniality of being. In that case, the consequence of this for both development and decoloniality is the need to understand decolonising as a deeply individualised and intimate process. However, both fields' failure to create emergent-decolonial development results from the insistence that the individual facing the weight of coloniality is simply a constituent piece of a broader modern/colonial system. Decoloniality is a field that remains rooted at a systems level of study while only acknowledging how it is also intrinsically individualised. As stated earlier, a decolonised state or a decolonial mode of being is predicated on individual achievements of decolonial states of being and further predicated on interacting with others in said state.

Burns and DeVille (2017, p. 11) argue that most models of social behaviour and social systems are underpinned by two different conceptions of being and action. The first relies on how individuals' freedom allows them to act upon a system. At the same time, the second focuses on how social actors are incapable of influencing society's established rules or predetermined roles and functions (Burns & DeVille, 2017, p. 11). Decoloniality's impulse lies in the latter (due to the ongoing effects of coloniality). At the same time, the ideal orientation pushes for the former, the achievement of a decolonial turn. A decolonial turn refers to the "organizing category to describe both practical and theoretical activities that respond to the problem of coloniality, and which manifest in different contexts in different ways" (Behari-Leak, 2019, p. 61). Whether understood through knowledge, power or being, the argument of coloniality presupposes a world system in which the ongoing influence of the modern-colonial system limits individuals' decisions and actions. For Fanon, to shift from the constraint of this system requires the achievement of genuinely self-determined freedom by the wretch.

However, to push the field of decoloniality forward, this thesis argues that decoloniality should understand that individuals untethered from the binds of coloniality are not merely constituent pieces in a broader decolonial system. That is to say, merely achieving true freedom from the phenological, ontological or epistemological binds of coloniality does not necessarily lead to a decolonial turn within a nation-state. If coloniality is viewed as the emergent property of a world system bound to the understanding of the human ideal through the invention of Western liberalism (Siedentop, 2014) and the prominence of Wynter's ever-evolving ideal human (Wynter, 2003), then the deconstruction of coloniality to its constituent parts is meaningless. The collective freedom gained from breaking away from the coloniality of being does not necessitate freedom from the coloniality of power that remains at a nation-state level.

For decoloniality to work at a nation-state level, it should view those who achieve liberation as individual agents whose interactions with other 'freed' wretches may create a society whose decolonial characteristics cannot be broken down to its constituent elements. By this, the thesis argues that a society

that becomes characterised by emergent decolonial outcomes that display novel characteristics, and potentially many of them, all outside the modern/colonial system's confines. These individual agents must contend with the initial conditions inherent within this system, namely, Wynter's ideal human and its various incarnations. Simply decolonising the mind does not create or lead to freedom if it is incapable of decolonising society as a whole. Only attaining Fanon's self-determined freedom across most people in a nation-state does not mean that the state will have decolonised. The same can be said about the opposite. Merely declaring that a nation-state can self-determine does not necessarily mean that its inhabitants' minds have been decolonised – or that the state can self-determine.

4.2 Conclusion

The purpose of the chapter was to begin the construction of the framework for emergent-decolonial development through a reconceptualisation of its base constituent element of modernist frameworks of development, homo economicus. This chapter provides a renewed critique of the 'rational man', in both the economic and modernist sense, through a discussion of Wynter's discourse related to the creation of the descriptive statement. Through an exploration of the work of both Wynter and Siedentop regarding the historical construction of the modern individual. The chapter argued that modernity's rational man was not conceived of its own volition but resulted from a long-running dialectical engagement with the wretch. This engagement began with the renaissance period's shift of rationality away from theologically driven beliefs that all individuals were 'sinful by nature' towards a conceptualisation of human beings as political subjects who could shift between the poles of either being irrational brutes or a higher-order of divination.

This construction functioned as the dividing line between those seen as the norm and those seen as the other. Though limited to continental Europe, it had a totalising effect on the economic, political, social and biological ordering of who was deemed human. Through, but not limited to, the colonial expansion during the enlightenment period, the descriptive statement would evolve as it adjusts how it conceived its poles, but the logic remained; the creation of the ideal human and the wretch. This logic would extend to the modern conceptions of development and, as argued in this chapter, provides a means to rebuke modernist beliefs of convergence within the discourse of development. So long as this homo economicus remains a central element of convergence, then by fiat, convergence becomes an impossibility for the underdeveloped.

The central conclusion of the chapter is that to begin discerning forms of development that are detached from modernist notions of rationality and the continued reiteration of coloniality, then development must be centred on reciprocal recognition. Without reciprocal recognition, development will continue to remove the historicity of the wretch, further entrench the dialectical relationship between the ideal

and non-ideal and the constitutive violence associated with it, and further remove the ability to create forms of development that don't require the wretch to employ forms of colonial mimicry. Without reciprocal recognition, decolonisation as a form of continuous development becomes an impossibility, as does the emergence of new humanism.

Chapter 5
Taming the machine of Modernity/coloniality through Complexity

The following chapter provides an overview of the field of complexity and the critiques the field offers for both developmental discourse and decoloniality. The purpose of the chapter is to discuss how complexity can be used as a means of disentangling both development and decoloniality from modernist prescriptions and a means, through a discussion of chaos and phase spaces, to understand how the framework can contend with coloniality as an emergent outcome of relations between the ideal and the wretch.

5.1 The Need for Complexity in Challenging Modernity/Coloniality

Complexity can be understood as the collection of ideas and theories from various fields within the natural sciences that focus on understanding the study of complex systems such as biology, neuroscience, ecology, chemistry, computer simulation, epidemiology, memory coding, evolution, mathematics, and physics (Cairney, 2012, p. 346; Mitleton-Kelly, 2003a, p. 23). The basic tenets of complexity science are non-linear dynamics, chaos theory, adaptation/evolution, emergence, self-organization, feedback, and chaos (Turner & Baker, 2019, p. 12). It is a field of knowledge focused on shifting the analysis of society and systems from their individual parts towards the dynamic nature of the system as a whole. These systems are characterised as a network of elements that interact to create a unique systemic behaviour(s) that cannot be attributed to the actions of its constituent parts (Cairney, 2012, p. 346). The core idea across all these fields is the belief that complex systems exhibit the phenomena of emergence, which aggregates individual and localised behaviour into a global behaviour that exhibits a reconstituted downward causation to its component elements even when disconnected from its original elements (Elsner, 2017, p. 947; Miller & Page, 2007, p. 44).

It found renewed interest in the social sciences during the 1990s with the work of Robert Jervis (1998), who focused on its application within the field of international relations and David Byrne (1998), who focused on its statistical efficacy within the social sciences. In political science, complexity is used to challenge various brands of positivism (e.g. modernism) that view society as something based on order, laws, and predictability. It provides the tools to begin questioning the deployment of quantitative and reductionist methodologies (Cairney, 2012, p. 347). However, these methodologies are of value in explaining political events that are ordered and structured, such as elections, public policy interventions, and parliamentary processes. According to Cairney (2012, p. 347), these methodologies cannot explain

unpredictable political events characterised by significant uncertainty and ambiguity or factors outside policymakers' control.

It should be noted that the notion of complexity is far from new within sociological or political realms of enquiry. As Törnberg (2011, p. 3) explained, thinkers such as Marx, Durkheim, Compte, Pareto, and Weber could be considered system thinkers whose work focused on better conceptualising the increased complexity of the modern western world. This view is further explained by Sztompka (cited in Törnberg, 2011, p. 3), who points out how "concepts such as industrialization, class conflict, inequality, development of welfare state, capitalism and the consequences of increasing bureaucratization are all connected to the development of the modern society are both results and consequences of the growing complexity" within nation-states. However, the differences between systems thinking and complexity delineate these old notions of complexity from newer approaches. The distinction between the two will be further elaborated below.

5.1.1 Complex Adaptive Systems: Order, Chaos, Self-Organisation and Path Dependence

Though varied, the field of complexity can be understood generally within six areas of thought, namely: complex adaptive systems driven by the work of Stuart Kaufmann, amongst others; dissipative structures informed by the work of Nobel Prize winner Ilya Prigogine and Gregoire Nicolis; autopoiesis which found its social use through the work by Niklas Luhmann; Chaos Theory; increasing returns and path dependence within the social science of economics (Kaufmann, 1993; Kiel, 1991; Luhmann, 1986; Mitleton-Kelly, 2003b, p. 23; Seidl, 2004), and neo-Schumpeterian concepts related to innovation (Dopfer et al., 2017; Hanusch & Pyka, 2005; Schumpeter, 1982). Though this is far from exhaustive, it provides a sound theoretical base for understanding the field of complexity, which, this thesis argues, also provides the basis for a framework of emergent-decolonial development.

Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) are often understood as dynamic systems capable of self-organising their structural nature by exchanging information, energy and other resources within their environment, i.e. interactions (Turner & Baker, 2019, p. 4). CAS are systems that maintain their existence and functionality based on the interaction of their parts (Nel, 2009, p. 25). These interactions are characterised by three regimes of behaviour: order, chaos and self-organisation (Rihani & Geyer, 2001, p. 239). These regimes are determined by altering the connections and localised rules that determine behaviour between the agents that form these regimes (Kauffman cited by Rihani & Geyer, 2001, p. 239).

Self-organising, according to Turner and Baker (2019, p. 4), implies that:

> *… no system constituent (or anything outside the system) has a direct or an exclusive control over its collective patterns or how these patterns change. It also means that the interactions among the system's constituents are not centrally controlled, but rather local; this localness is related to physical or cognitive dimensions. The collective, ordered patterns that emerge via self-organization in CAS are usually known as emergent properties, i.e., properties that arise or characterize a system at a certain level as the result of interactions taking place at a lower level.*

Emergence, in this sense, can be explained through three interrelated concepts: dynamic systems, agents, and networks.

Dynamic systems provide the argument that societies change over time because of three factors: stocks and flows, positive and negative feedback loops, and time delays (Beinhocker, 2006, p. 101; Sterman, 2002, p. 7). Feedback refers to the result of an output of a system forming part of the input of another part of that same system. An example of this would be how economic growth, an output of a country's economic activity, subsequently impacts the decisions made by those involved in various economic activities. Feedback creates changes within a system either in a particular direction or form that reinforces pressures within that system, causing escalating change within it (positive feedback), or leads to forces that counteract the initial change by leading and forcing the system back to its original position and decreasing deviation within the system (negative feedback) (Ramalingam et al., 2008, p. 15). The decisions and interactions in complex systems can instigate self-reinforcing feedback loops that can be positive or negative (Pierson, 2000, p. 252).

In a modernist sense, when a discrepancy exists between an ideal state and the actual situation, decisions and choices are made to shift or move the real world towards its most desired state. However, as Sterman explains, when new information about the world's state is received, it causes us to revise our perceptions and alter the available stock of decisions an individual can make in the future (Sterman, 2006, p. 58). This dynamic system is an example of how individuals alter their driving behaviour. Sterman (2006, p. 509) explains that "When driving, I may turn the steering wheel too little to bring the car back to the centre of my lane, but as visual feedback reveals the error, I continue to turn until the car returns to the straight and narrow". He describes this as single-loop learning.

However, decisions are often constrained by pre-existing decision rules created by institutional structures and organisational strategies or cultures, all of which influence how individuals build their mental models. This provides another learning loop that further influences how individuals learn from their actions. Double-loop learning, unlike single-loop, alters our pre-existing mental models because the evidence presented by feedback "not only alters our decisions within the context of existing frames

but also feeds back to alter our mental models" (Sterman, 2006, p. 509). As a result, an individual's mental model of their surroundings alters the structures of the systems, institutions, and norms, creating new and different decision rules and strategies (Sterman, 2006, p. 509).

Stocks, flows, and time delays refer to the idea that changes within a system (social or physical) are often not instantaneous and are affected by a temporal delay between the influence a flow, whether outward or inward, has on the stock of the system. Fischer and Gonzalez (2016, p. 497) describe stocks and flows as structures that "comprise a stock (i.e., an accumulation) that is influenced by decisions made to increase (inflow) or to decrease the stock (outflow)". A stock is considered "a store, a quantity, an accumulation of material or information that has built up over time", and a flow is what comes in and out of a system of which the stock comprises (Meadows cited in Hening, 2020). The change caused by flows and feedback can be exacerbated as time delays between the feedback loops and flow change rate often cause a system to oscillate around the desired system outcome, causing instability within a system (Sterman, 2002, pp. 9–10). When stocks and flows are seen over time, they form the basic building blocks of dynamic systems (Fischer & Gonzalez, 2016, p. 498; Sterman, 2002, p. 10).

Traditionally, change within social systems has been understood by reducing complex phenomena to simpler units (rational choice theory) or by reducing the system's simplicity to a more structuralist perspective (Walby, 2003, p. 2). Theories pertaining to large-scale societal changes caused by interconnections often use mediums such as capital, global systems, nation-states, or society to understand system dynamics within social organisations. When meta-narratives are abandoned, change is explained through theories focused on "issues of particularity, of difference and agency" (Walby, 2003, p. 3). As Sterman (2002, p. 7) argues, "where the world is dynamic, evolving, and interconnected, we tend to make decisions using mental models that are static, narrow, and reductionist".

These understandings of change are reliant on a hierarchical understanding of structures. This notion is traditionally linked to systems thinking but only forms a subset of complexity thinking. While these system theories of change rely on linking building blocks within hierarchies and understanding a hierarchy's interconnected nature, complexity views systems as environments: "each system has as its environment all other systems" (Walby, 2003, p. 7).

Distinguishing between a system and a complex environment allows for a more fluid understanding of dynamics within society beyond the rigid confines of hierarchical approaches to social studies of change, such as Parson's 'part and whole', Marx's 'base and superstructure' or Althusser's work on relative autonomy (Walby, 2003, p. 7). Systems-based sociologists treat phenomena related to change as subordinate elements and are seen instead as a separate system. Doing this allows for an understanding of change within a system or its related interconnections without pre-specifying the need

for hierarchy within the nature of these interconnections (Walby, 2003, p. 7). Understanding change through the lens of dynamic systems shifts our understanding of large-scale interconnected change from hierarchically informed reductionism (often associated with a loss of realism), metanarratives (incapable of incorporating the particular) and/or particular extrapolations (incapable of explaining grand change) towards an explanation of change through the idea of co-evolution and phase transitions (Walby, 2003, p. 5).

Co-evolution refers to how autonomous agents adapt when they interact intimately with their environment and thus influence each other's development (Ramalingam et al., 2008, p. 53). When an agent adapts to its environment through double-loop learning, various other elements adapt to that agent. As a result of the system's interconnectedness, changes in one domain of the system create evolutionary changes in other domains that are partially reliant on the original domain (Ramalingam et al., 2008, p. 54). Co-evolution of this kind implies reciprocal recognition of all agents within the system. At a systems level, co-evolution is considered to be the "large-scale process through which the interaction of one or more co-evolved species [agents] with the system results in changes so fundamental that all species [agents] in the system must adapt and the system itself change in significant ways" (Ramalingam et al., 2008, p. 54).

Phase transitions refer to "sudden, critical turning points, in which small changes, in the context of complex systems, give rise to bifurcations and new paths of development that are self-sustaining" (Walby, 2003, p. 3). They represent what Durlauf explains as the counterpoint to universality because of how slight differences in the features of a system can lead to a large difference in the behaviour of the system's aggregated characteristics (Durlauf, 2012, p. 12). Durlauf explains that "a system with phase transitions has the property that its qualitative features can change abruptly around certain parameter values. Phase transitions represent a counterpoint to universality in that small differences in some feature of the system can lead to large differences in the behavior of aggregates" (Durlauf, 2012, p. 52).

These sudden bifurcations or tipping points create different development paths within a system, implying that there is no single universal development route for any system but several path-dependent possibilities (Walby, 2003, p. 11). These path-dependent forms of development are not infinite but are limited to what is described as a phase space. Understanding change within a phase space differs from traditional understandings of change because it ignores the desire to understand the relationship between selected variables or assumptions about teleology or hierarchy but instead focuses on the "overall shape of the system by looking at the patterns apparent when looking across all of the key dimensions." (Ramalingam et al., 2008, p. 32).

Adaptive agents utilise iterative learning informed by bounded rationality and inductive pattern recognition as the basis for their decision-making and reasoning. Agents' current and future states of existence often depend on their interactions with other agents and the environment in which they exist. As Ramalingam (2008, p. 44) explains, "adaptive agents are able to perceive their own state, that of other agents and the state of their environment. This perception process is not always exact – rather, it acts as a filter in which some information about the environment may be discarded and other information distorted or only partially assimilated".

The interactions between agents can be organised into varying networks that display different degrees of freedom and degrees of possibility (the phase space). In a system with extensive interconnections and interdependencies, one agent's action within the system may have a large and cascading effect on all other agents. However, the increase in interdependencies limits the degree of freedom available to all agents.

Emergence is a core aspect of complex studies. It refers to how, through the interaction of a system's component parts, a particular property that could not have been previously predicted based on knowing the characteristics of individual parts will emerge. Instead, a global property is created: an emergent property. This property feeds into the system and further influences the behaviours of the individual components that initially produced it (Ramalingam et al., 2008, p. 20). The core idea that drives emergence is the understanding that localised interactions of known components within a system often create global phenomena that cannot be understood by analysing the localised interactions of its components.

Modernity can reasonably be considered the emergent outcome of Wynter's ideal human interactions and mechanisation. If this is correct, then coloniality, whether of power or being, can also be considered an emergent property of a world system impacted by constituent elements of modernity because coloniality itself is dynamic, changing, and adaptive. This poses two questions for analysing modernity/coloniality and decoloniality. Firstly, suppose both modernity and coloniality are emergent outcomes of the self-organisation of the ideal and non-ideal. In that case, analysing these individuals without acknowledging their dialectical interactions is fruitless at any meso or macro level. Secondly, modernity and coloniality should be seen as greater than the sum of their respective parts. Neither can be understood by merely analysing their constituent elements. Declarations of decolonisation must then be linked to the interactions of individuals who exhibit decolonised minds and understand their place within the zone of non-being.

When viewed through the lens of agents or elements interacting with each other, dissipative systems are characterised as non-linear. Within such a system, interactions and relationships are viewed as

unstable, creating the potential for minor events within the system to have explosive systemwide effects (Kiel, 1991, p. 432). Furthermore, they continuously exhibit fluctuations and disturbances influenced by external shocks and existing subsystems within such structures. Some of these fluctuations and disturbances probe the dissipative system's stability. In contrast, others may amplify existing nonlinear relationships and push the entire system into a bifurcation point (Kiel, 1991, p. 432). As a result, dissipative systems bring to the forefront of complexity thinking notions such as the state of a system's initial conditions, the effects of minor events within nonlinear systems, the limits to forecasting within models of nonlinearity, and the difficulty of inferring generalisations and extrapolations between various systems as well as the difficulty in controlling systems (Kiel, 1991, pp. 434–439).

The evolution of Wynter's descriptive statement provides a helpful example of the dissipative characteristics of modernity/coloniality. The changes in man's descriptive statement have had various non-linear impacts on societies across the globe. Whether this impact was through the Spanish Inquisition, the proliferation of colonisation, Du Bois' argument regarding the presence of a colour-line within society, events such as the holocaust or the modern impact of Al-e Ahmad's westoxification, what is certain is that the interactions of these agents and events have often created large societal bifurcation points. It also provides a further justification for the need to understand the Fanonian stylised freedom obtained by the wretch posed earlier in the chapter, not through an understanding of their own newly realised self-consciousness, but through the interactions between both 'colonised and coloniser' and others who achieved a similar experience of freedom. This last point is further justified when looking at the autopoietic characteristics of complex adaptive systems.

Autopoietic systems are "systems that are defined as unities, as networks of productions of components, that recursively, through their interactions, generate and realize the network that produces them and constitute, in the space in which they exist, the boundaries of the network as components that participate in the realization of the network" (Maturana cited in Luhmann, 1986, p. 174). More succinctly, autopoiesis refers to the idea that "the different elements of the system interact in such a way as to produce and re-produce the elements of the system" and that systems that are characterised as such should be understood as "operatively closed: there are no operations entering the system from outside nor vice versa" (Seidl, 2004, pp. 2–3).

In a sense, autopoietic systems are self-regulating. The elementary component of these systems is the communication between the system's agents or elements rather than the agents or elements themselves (Luhmann cited in Törnberg, 2011, p. 7). Changing the nature of the agents does not influence the system; changing how they interact and communicate influences the system as a whole. Communication in this regard does not refer to the conventional notion of communication as the "asymmetrical process of transferring meaning or information from a sender to a receive" (Seidl, 2004, p. 7). Instead, Luhmann

(1986, p. 177) views communication as the synthesis of information, utterance and understanding (and misunderstanding). The importance of this for the study is that it reinforces two points.

The first is the need for reciprocal recognition between the ideal and the wretch. Simply embracing the Fanonian dialectic that necessitates a retreat into one's self-consciousness (in a manner similar to Ngugi wa Thiong'o) will not influence the system if the communication between this newly freed wretch and the ideal does not alter as well. Nevertheless, they must interact with one another to adjust the system. If this point remains true, it implies this thesis's second equally important point. The prior initial conditions of the relationship between the ideal and the wretch will inform any change within the system. Change must be internally informed through adjustments in the interactions between all agents, ideal and wretch alike, rather than seeking exogenous changes to the individual characteristics of the agents in the system.

A self-regulating and self-organising operatively closed system does not mean that such a system is also closed to external or environmental influences. Seidl (2004, p. 4) explains that environmental events can trigger internal processes in autopoietic systems. However, the system's structures still determine the triggered processes or operations. Operative closure only implies that the closure is on the level of the system's operations and that no operations can enter or leave said system (Seidl, 2004, p. 3). This is important because autopoietic systems change and produce their structures, elements, processes and boundaries through self-referential treatment: "everything which is used as a unit of the system is produced by the system itself" (Luhmann, 1986, p. 174).

5.2 Framing Decoloniality and Development Through Complexity

Applying the notion of complexity to both development and decoloniality provides a variety of tools to bring together both fields and account for their respective deficiencies. As Rihani and Geyer (2001, p. 238) argue, the field of development has built itself on linear paradigms, as showcased by the work of Rostow, who sought to reduce economic development to distinct stages or the use of highly specified structural adjustment and stabilisation programmes by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Development within this context is often understood as a reasonably predictable activity that responds to specific laws with universal applicability, often used to offer lessons from the developed world to the developing world (Rihani & Geyer, 2001, p. 238). This view is further exemplified by Rihani and Geyer's (2001, p. 238) observation that:

> *When development became a global priority after the second world war, it was implicitly viewed as a task that required direction from the top through the United Nations (UN), the World Bank and IMF, world leaders and specialist governmental agencies in developed and developing countries. Numerous programmes ensued, such as the Brandt Commission's North-South: a programme for survival (1980),*

> *which beamed universalistic elite designed policy packages at nations with diverse problems, potentialities and constraints. Development elites selected grand policies and major infrastructure projects in the belief that the process of development could be initiated and speeded up at will; see Elliott (1996) and Caufield (1997). Development seems to have recently departed from strict linear thinking, and recent innovations in the natural and social sciences may provide pointers for future change.*

Rihani argues that by viewing development through a complexity framework, development becomes "an uncertain, open-ended and long-term process driven by a large number of local interactions that generate self-organised stable patterns capable of adaptation" (Rihani, 2002, p. 134) rather than a project that seeks to guide nations that *'need'* development along some "predetermined path, with clear signposts that have been charted by earlier pioneers, to a specified end-state of 'development'" (Rihani, 2002, p. 135).

Therefore, autopoiesis and the resultant emergent phenomena are of central concern when viewing development through a complexity framework. When taking this view to its logical conclusion, one begins to understand that development, within this framework, is not capable of being imposed externally by a strong government but is instead sustained by the nature of local interactions, which would be the only mechanism that would create change within such a system (Rihani, 2002, p. 134)—further suggesting that development can only be achieved by influencing the decisions of local interactions within a country.

5.2.1 Impact of Emergence, Dissipation and Autopoiesis on Development

The implications of the above for development are varied, but three points are important for this thesis. First, development within complexity would be doubtful of the liberal modernist and collectivist approaches to development as universally applicable. Regarding liberal modernists, though complexity focuses on the role of individual activities, it refers to individual agents or elements rather than individual persons within a system. Therefore, it is neither focused on maintaining natural rights nor the consequences of these individuals' actions. In addition, complexity is agnostic regarding the role of collectivist approaches to development. The field of complexity views these approaches as the resultant mechanisation of the system that may or may not increase agents' or elements' interactions dependent on these agents' or elements' requirements and desires.

It may also be useful to note, though not a comment on complexity specifically, Ndofirepi and Shanyanana (2016, p. 329) explain that:

> *Despite the apparently mutually exclusive contrast portrayed in the literature, and the identification of traditional African cultures as inherently collectivistic, we argue that autonomy and relatedness co-exist in most cultures, just as they co-existing the way parents relate to their*

> *children. We maintain that the opposing binaries of collectivistic and individualistic orientations are oversimplified, since we do not view autonomy and agency as existing exclusively in opposition to relatedness.*

The relatedness that Ndofirepi and Shanyanana (2016, p. 329) refer to is linked to philosophical notion of 'ukama' which focuses on how "relationality provides insights into what it means to be a person in relation to other human beings in the context of Africa". Importantly, for ukama in particular, relationality is distinct from the collectivist approach discussed in section 3.3.4.4.2, as "the meaning of ukama extends to ties with all people, not only with present generations but also with past and future generations" (Le Grange, 2012, p. 62). As a result, ukama provides a connection in terms of relatedness between agents that extends beyond just the present but includes both the past and the future. As Le Grange (2012, p. 62) argues, by connecting all three together, it provides a logic for understanding the "moral values that have been inherited, treasured and passed on to future generations" that imply "an inseparable oneness between past, present and future generations". As such ukama breaks away from the temporal focus of the present towards one which is temporally unbound. It also provides a window into understanding specific African knowledge systems as one particular avenue to break away from individualist and collectivist notions of development.

Further extending the argument for relatedness, Bohme, Walsh and Wamsler (2022, p. 2066) explain that relationality "represents a shift from a mechanistic understanding of the world to a holistic, interconnected, living systems understanding". Providing a further linkage with autopoesis and its interpretation within development and decoloniaity as they argue that the relations between humans and more-than-humans implies that the "divide between nature and culture is socially and historically constructed" (Böhme et al., 2022, p. 2067). The consequence of this is that nature, culture, the social or the ecological are not separate interacting systems. But instead, are an interconnected autopoietic system that is self-maintaining and reproducing where humans (agents) interact with more than just themselves (Böhme et al., 2022, p. 2067). Relationality thus extends autopoiesis beyond the interactions of humans agents, towards the interactions with other systems of the world such as nature. Linking it to arguments related to sustainable development in particular. However, the interpretation of relationality as an extension of autopoiesis requires further study beyond this thesis.

Secondly, context provides a means of understanding development beyond modernity's ambits. It shifts development from the view that countries should pursue some form of well-defined, predictable and finite end-state through detailed plans and timetables towards a more amorphous task. This task is one in which development is viewed as providing local actors/agents/elements with the policy tools to enable them to "interact freely and effectively and to survive, and possibly prosper, under a wider range of conditions", and said interactions are facilitated by appropriate rules that command popular support

(Rihani, 2002, p. 135; Rihani & Geyer, 2001, p. 242). It is a position akin to Rawls's pure procedural justice in that the focus is placed on the arrangements of institutions intended to promote local interactions. In such a situation, economic, political and social ideologies become theories of convenience that should be considered or discarded pragmatically, emphasising local interactions and national social capital (Rihani, 2002, p. 135).

Thirdly, if the above is true, then the continuum approach to development – the desire to shift from an underdefined position of underdevelopment towards a predefined position of developed – becomes a diversion. In a more practical sense, development plans should focus on providing a guide for decision-making that is sufficiently adaptive and incorporates new emerging developments within the system that create challenges or opportunities (Hummelbrunner & Jones, 2013, p. 4). Therefore, development should focus on moving from static to more dynamic planning approaches to balance learning objectives with performance objectives. This understanding of development seeks to improve nations' performance by shifting the development conditions that enhance interactions, increase returns, and guide them towards effective paths.

Secondly, it should shift toward flexible rather than prescriptive planning. This approach views development plans as evolutionary and based on setting an overriding goal but simultaneously pursuing a diverse set of plans and policy experiments, accepting failure, and genuinely 'learning by doing'. Furthermore, plans should be reflexive and pivot around leverages that offer promising change agreed upon by participants. Lastly, development planning should focus less on encompassing all aspects of society and shift towards ensuring higher levels of governance focus on strategic planning with lower levels of a system focused on operational implementation (Hummelbrunner & Jones, 2013, pp. 5–7).

5.2.2 Impact of Emergence, Dissipation and Autopoiesis on Wynter's descriptive statement

The implication of emergence, dissipative systems and autopoiesis on Wynter's descriptive statement is threefold. Firstly, individual agents (whether seen through the microeconomic sense of rational agents, agents who understand modernity as either independent or interdependent, Wynter's descriptive statement of the ideal or Fanon's wretch) form part of a self-regulating and self-organising system - modernity/coloniality. The existence of these individual agents is informed by the system in which they exist, and these localised interactions inform the system that governs these individual agents. Therefore, changes to the system result from how agents operate with one another and are not necessarily due to external shocks.

Colonialism is often seen as an external shock to the development of numerous societies globally because it imposed institutions and norms that were generally incongruent with institutions and norms

already in place within those societies. However, understanding this 'shock' through autopoiesis places a different light on the impact of colonialism by viewing the shock not solely as an imposition without friction but as an internal rearranging of the operations within that system that are dependent on the system's initial conditions; forms of communication and interactions; cultures and governance process; the environment; the pre-established aspects of that community, and so on. All these factors influence how this system articulates itself in the face of colonialism. Moreover, they influence one another. Though its initial imposition can be seen as a shock, its continued maintenance and ability to evolve based on the feedback loop of its evolving dependent system allowed it to alter what was previously a closed system; coloniality. Furthermore, once this rearrangement took place – the continued presence of coloniality - it closed the system and became particularly adept at avoiding threats, whether real or not, from external shocks.

Chinua Achebe's (1994) novel *Things Fall Apart* illustrates this point by describing how the Igbo culture in Nigeria was changed from its pre-colonial to its colonial state due to the Igbo's constant mediation with their colonisers. The localised interactions between the colonial and soon-to-be colonised agent informed the form of colonialism in that state and the rules that govern the coloniser's interactions with now colonised agents; the latter, of course, were equally (if differently) impacted. The communication and interactions between the colonised and coloniser inform the colonial project's nature, implying that these interactions are part of a self-organising and self-regulating exercise. This exercise has horrific outcomes for the colonised. However, the outcomes are simply part of the inevitable changes in society's new taxonomy of interactions. Autopoiesis also provides a framework that explains why colonialism, though informed by the expansion of the Latin-Christian-Europe modernist project, maintains a litany of variations, all of which have very different long-term implications for colonised states. Though colonialism is generally understood to be the same hegemonic response by Latin-Christian-Europe to those considered part of the exterior imaginary of the centre, its variations are based on self-regulating and self-organising autopoietic interactions providing a new means of understanding why, as Acemoglu et al. (2001) argue, colonisation is organised differently across the globe. If this assertion is true, it explains why the fields of decoloniality and postcolonial studies are heterogeneous in their interpretative analysis, while colonialism as a system is often treated as homogenous.

Secondly, suppose one considers the wretch as one component within this closed system. In that case, the wretch's agitations for change must occur within this system rather than attempt to create a system independent of it, i.e. pluriversality. The decolonial turn advocated by decolonialists is bound to the sociogeny created by modernity/coloniality. If modernity/coloniality is seen as a complex adaptive system, then changes to this system result from the individual's actions within the system. This thesis argues that autopoiesis provides greater clarity on the tools and limits of the advocacy for liberation

when compared to more deterministic approaches that view changes to a system as an exogenous shock. As a result, autopoiesis provides a useful explanatory framework for understanding the impact of westoxification within a society.

Furthermore, it provides a clear break from the view that decolonisation is a process of self-determination. Autopoiesis would view this argument as superfluous because seeing one as decolonised does not necessarily entail that the operations of the system in which you exist have also changed. The danger of this view is that though seeing oneself as decolonised might be valid, it does not contend with Bhabha's argument of colonial mimicry. Instead, decolonisation within an autopoietic and dissipative system would privilege the view that liberation from colonisation and coloniality necessitates the creation of deterministic processes that influence individuals' (both the ideal and the wretch) actions that create large, unpredictable outcomes. Merely declaring one as decolonised or 'self-determined' does not lead to a decolonial state of being (or a decolonised state). Decolonisation as self-determination is ineffectual against coloniality's ongoing impact if one has neither achieved a variant of Ngugi's argument of decolonising the mind (cultural and linguistic freedom) and, more importantly, decolonising the wretches' self-consciousness that causes an operatively different interaction with the ideal.

Thirdly, reciprocal recognition is characterised by interactions and communication between individual agents within this system. Without reciprocal recognition, the wretch will remain a wretch even though their form and function with society may adjust in both form and function. Therefore, Fanon's charge for reciprocal recognition between the white master and black slave becomes vitally important for the wretch's participation within a complex adaptive system and deconstruction of the colonial legacy of coloniality.

At the heart of this argument is how power structures (whether phenological, ontological or epistemological) inform and affect how agents within the autopoietic and dissipative system of modernity/coloniality interact. Using dissipation and autopoiesis, the evolution of the descriptive statement can be better understood. Furthermore, it provides a way to understand how forms of reciprocal recognition could be reimagined between the ideal and the wretch. This argument is extended to the fields of development and decoloniality and provides various explanations of how both fields should be reframed (see Table 2).

Table 2: Implications of Development and Decoloniality when viewed as complex adaptive systems

Implications of development and decoloniality when viewed as a complex adaptive system	
Development	Wynter's Descriptive Statement
Liberal and collectivist approaches informed by modernism are not universally applicable.	The ideal and the wretch form part of the self-regulating and self-organising system of modernity/coloniality
Development should be viewed as an amorphous task rather than an activity meant to create a finite ideal end-state	Colonialism and coloniality should better be understood as a complex adaptive system.
Development should no longer focus on the continuum between underdeveloped and developed.	Decolonisation cannot be viewed as a process of self-determination when understood as a complex adaptive system.
	Without reciprocal recognition, the wretch will remain a wretch even though their form and function with society may adjust in both form and function.

It is the view of this thesis that while the field of postcolonial research views systems from the position of a lack of reciprocal recognition, decoloniality focuses on how society develops with this reciprocal recognition in place. Furthermore, decoloniality focuses on how those who have achieved recognition must navigate society with limited choice due to the dependent development path available to them.

5.3 Understanding Chaos as Order

The combination of emergent, dissipative and autopoietic systems creates the need to understand why interactions create or do not create change within a system, such as emergent-decolonial development. All three seek to elaborate on tipping points and phase transitions within complex systems, the implications of localised behaviours and actions on global structures, and how global structures impact local discourse and individual choices (Tsekeris, 2009, p. 4041). This relational change between localised behaviours and system-wide structures through a non-linear lens can be understood as the outcome of an inherently chaotic networked society. It is deterministic and unpredictable (Tsekeris, 2009, p. 4041).

Brian Arthur (1999, p. 107) explains how this relational change in the world that seems chaotic yet remains orderly:

> *Common to all studies on complexity are systems with multiple elements adapting or reacting to the pattern these elements create. The elements might be cells in a cellular automaton, ions in a spin glass, or cells in an immune system, and they may react to neighboring cells' states, or local magnetic moments, or concentrations of B and T cells. Elements and the patterns they respond to vary from one context to another. But the elements adapt to the world—the aggregate pattern—they co-create. Time enters naturally here via the processes of adjustment and change: As the elements react, the aggregate changes; as the aggregate changes, elements react anew. Barring the reaching of some asymptotic state or equilibrium, complex systems are systems in process that constantly evolve and unfold over time.*

Chaos theory within the study of social systems argues that though these systems may appear completely random, there is always some underlying "real order, deeper mechanism and hidden patterns, rules and norms, which patiently wait to be dis-covered and un-covered" (Tsekeris, 2009, p. 4041). This underlying order or hidden patterns are described as attractors and "can be visually observed through the plotting of data in phase space" (Crandall et al., 2022, p. 51). An attractor is simply a pattern that relates to a system's behaviour when plotted in phase space (Crandall et al., 2022, p. 53).

This phase space is simply the geometrical trajectory of attractors over time that encapsulates in a monadic manner (a single unit of representation) all the relevant parameters of a system at that particular instance (Mackenzie, 2005, p. 52). The phase space thus depicts all the possibilities of a dynamic system. Viewing economic development through the notion of dynamic systems and phase spaces institutes a shift in thinking from viewing economic relationships from the Least Square Methods (LSM) perspective and the correlation between independent and dependent variables through multiple regression analysis. Towards approaches that take on more multidimensional considerations of economic performance encapsulating multiple variables at a particular instance over time by graphing these variables in phase space (Crandall et al., 2022; Harré, 2022; Machado et al., 2015, 2020; Petras & Podlubny, 2007). This shift represents a reframing of economics from vertical and linear approaches to understanding socio-economic life and institutions to more horizontal, relational and non-linear perspectives of this life (Cooke, 2013, p. 99).

When joined in chronological order, the attractors depict the phase trajectory of a system that exhibits particular patterns that may resemble "a point, orbit, or some kind of unusual pattern" (Crandall et al., 2022, p. 53). As Crandall et al. (2022, p. 53) explain:

> *In phase space, a point attractor is depicted as a single plot on a graph. This occurs because the system behavior remains consistent over time. The pendulum attractor, also referred to as a period attractor, resembles a narrow back-and-forth pattern when graphed in phase space.*

> *The torus attractor is a more complex pattern that forms an orbit, but also contains sub-orbits within the orbit, thus resembling a donut when graphed in phase space. Finally, the strange attractor, sometimes referred to as a fractal, is a complicated pattern that exists when the system is in chaos. The attractor is called strange because its shape may or may not resemble any known pattern.*

State variables used to depict attractors can range across GDP, unemployment, inflation, the human development index, education outcomes, and foreign direct investment, amongst others. The use of phase space as a geometric depiction of an economy's temporal and future possibilities provides a more nuanced understanding of the state of an economy. The potential usefulness of this analysis, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, would be a comparison of phase spaces and strange attractors between post-colonial states.

Though these attractors and patterns may seem irregular, vague, chaotic, and difficult to discern, what is known is that dynamic systems of chaotic relationships are sensitive to the system's initial conditions and, in the long term, are somewhat unpredictable (Crandall et al., 2022). This thesis argues that coloniality and the relationship between the wretch and the ideal descriptive statement are critical initial conditions that must be considered when assessing the forms of development undertaken by any nation-state negatively afflicted by coloniality.

Through chaos theory, complexity theory considers non-linear dynamic systems as the relationship between agents' ability to adapt in a network and self-organise their respective relationships. These dynamic systems can be characterised as deterministic, completely chaotic or unpredictable, with emergent trends residing between these two states (Tsekeris, 2009, p. 4041).

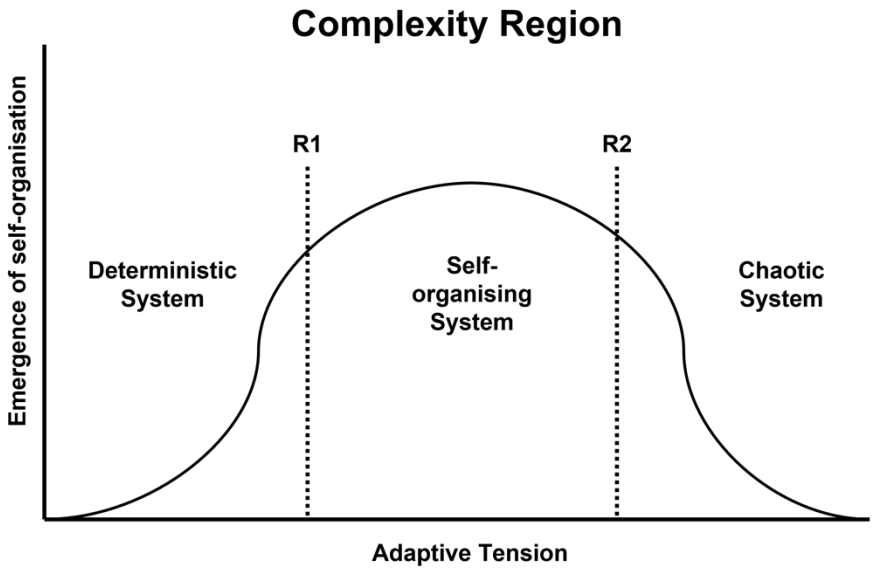

Figure 1: The Region of Complexity (Tsekeris, 2009)

Various non-linear dynamic systems often appear random in the complexity region - between R1 and R2 in Figure 1. However, as explained above, processes that seem random may be 'chaotic' - and 'chaotic' systems still follow localised rules (Garud & Karnoe, 2001, p. 169). These systems' dynamism and apparent chaos result from the relational interactions between various agents and elements, resulting in emergent, dissipative, and autopoietic phenomena. However, these phenomena fail to explain the continued trajectory, sudden change, or vastly different outcomes to similar systems that share the same rules.

Arguments claiming that coloniality has no significant bearing on modern society (Vickers, 2020) do so under the premise that coloniality should have logical and deterministic characteristics and that coloniality if it exists, would have rational elements or signposts of its existence. Therefore, by arguing that there is a lack of evidence for these elements or signposts, coloniality is summarily dismissed as a potential exploratory framework for a field such as public policy. However, when considering modernity/coloniality as a complex adaptive system, then it is possible to say that its 'darker side' - coloniality - is the underlying real order, deeper mechanism and hidden patterns, rules and norms that need to be uncovered within modernity.

Suppose the nature of complex systems is the understanding of the multitude of interactions between agents and elements and the subsequent effects of these interactions. Furthermore, the decision-making by agents within complex systems and environments is forced to continuously contend with incomplete information across various situations (Koch et al., 2010, p. 71). Therefore, while complexity science focuses on reducing complexity within a system so decision-makers can make better decisions, these decisions are constrained by the vast and varied interactions between agents. This point is further highlighted by the work of Brian Arthur (1994) on the role of increasing returns and path dependence within economic systems.

5.3.1.1 Increasing Returns, Path Dependence and Path inter-dependence

Increasing returns refers to how a change in outputs increases at a greater rate than the change in its associated inputs, creating nonlinear dynamics, which increasingly means that attaining an equilibrium point is, at best, implausible. Therefore, systems within this context do not return to a predictable equilibrium point but generate instability (Arthur, 1996, p. 1).

Ma (2007, p. 65) argues that the dynamic of increasing returns understood through societal changes ensures that "once a social process has started, it will produce its law of inertia through which the cost of adhering to the original direction of change will decline, whereas the cost of switching away will rise, resulting in path dependence". In other words, the created paths are the emergent outcome of the

various non-ergodic self-reinforcing processes within dissipative and autopoietic systems that create inflexible patterns (Koch et al., 2010, p. 69).

Path dependence and increasing returns are the mechanisms that ensure, as explained earlier, that the initial conditions of a system become influential in the inevitable evolution of a system. Furthermore, as seen through dissipation, minor changes may sometimes create significant intractable changes. Koch et al. (2010, p. 69) explain how this process impacts decision-making within these systems, arguing that "self-reinforcing mechanisms provide increasing returns to a decision-making system for each new decision. When a decision-making system follows the emerging path, the situation improves in terms of increasingly higher utility or increasingly lower costs of a repeatedly chosen option". However, path dependency and increasing returns create a central problem, a restriction of choice. So, while choices remain predictable at the beginning – and exhibit higher utility and lower adoption costs – they can lead to inefficient outcomes (Koch et al., 2010, p. 69). The consequence is that development, whether decolonial or not, is bound by certain intractable conditions. One such condition is the current role of the descriptive statement in the current world system.

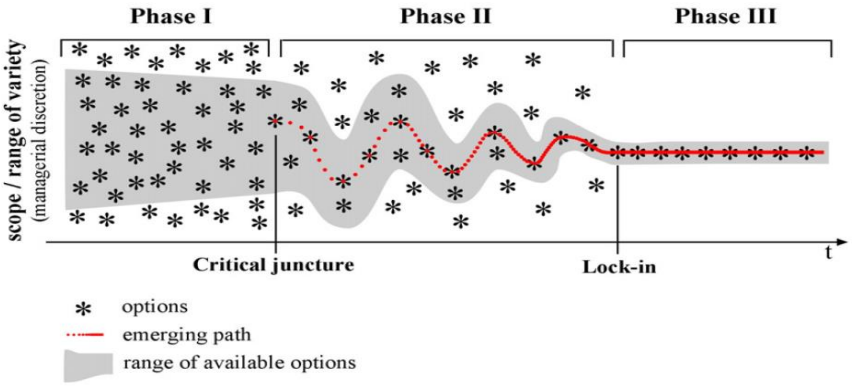

Figure 2: The Constitution of Path Dependency (Koch et al., 2010)

Figure 2 helps elaborate on the notion of path dependence and, as explained later, becomes pivotal in understanding coloniality within society. Phase 1 considers the extent of a non-ergodic social system whose limitations and parameters are determined by historical factors represented by the shaded area. Choices within this area remain abundant.

The end of Phase 1 is represented by a critical juncture understood by Ruth and David Collier (2002, p. 30) "as a period of significant change, which typically occurs in distinct ways in different countries which is hypothesized to produce distinct legacies". As seen in Figure 3 below, these critical junctures are understood through: (a) the antecedent conditions that represent the baseline against which the juncture is compared to its legacy; (b) the cleavage or crisis that emerged from the juncture; (c) the legacy of the juncture represented by the processes and decisions used to shape the legacy, the eventual

institutional and political processes utilised reproduce this legacy and the attributes of society that are the outcome of the legacy.

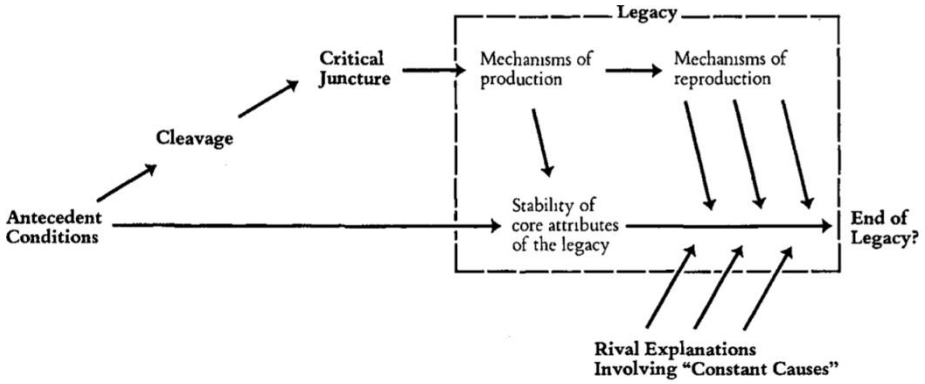

Figure 3: Building Blocks of the Critical Junctures Framework (Collier & Collier, 2002)

Though critical junctures can be understood through the above representation, the juncture's legacies can also be explained by distinct rival explanations of the juncture (Collier & Collier, 2002, p. 31; G. Munck & Collier, 2017, p. 3). Furthermore, these legacies must eventually come to an end.

Returning to Figure 2, though Collier and Collier argue that critical junctures have specific cleavages, these moments are characterised within the path-dependent literature as either being randomly selected options (which may be a small event) or an intentionally chosen option (which may be a larger event) (Koch et al., 2010, p. 70). Regardless of whether an intentional or random choice represents the critical juncture, the "strategic intent of choice is not necessarily the triggering of a self-reinforcing dynamic; it is rather considered a collateral outcome of strategic actions" (Koch et al., 2010, p. 70). The self-reinforcing dynamics are the mechanisms that drive the path.

Phase 2 represents the period in which the path/legacy is reproduced over time. When self-reinforcing decisions and mechanisms begin to consolidate, they create a pattern that reproduces the emergence of a dominant path (Koch et al., 2010, p. 70). Pierson highlights what he considers the four most prominent and interconnected aspects of politics that make societies conducive to increasing returns and, thus, by extension, path dependency. The first is the 'Collective Nature of Politics' – which refers to the nature of collective action decision-making within politics. The second is 'The Density of Institutional Arrangements in Politics' – in which formal institutions bind actors to make decisions based on existing institutions. The cost of exiting is disproportionality higher than remaining. The third aspect relates to political power and authority and how it influences power asymmetries. Lastly, the opacity inherent in political decision-making (Pierson, 2000).

The dependent paths will eventually transition into Phase 3, where they become locked into a dominant pattern. In this situation, the contingent events and decisions made in the past set into motion choices

or institutional patterns that become deterministic over time (Koch et al., 2010, p. 70; Urry, 2005, p. 5). This moment of 'lock-in' indicates that a path-dependent process will eventually lead to a stable and thus rigid outcome that often cannot be overcome, even when more efficient options present themselves (Koch et al., 2010). This starkly contrasts the rationality perspective, which assumes that efficient outcomes and paths will eventually be reached in the long term, even when they exhibit inefficient short-term outcomes. This view is far from new and elaborates on Herbert Simon's (1972) work regarding bounded rationality.

Increasing returns and path dependence also entail that though a nation-state may have particular path-dependent routes, those within these states can create positive feedback loops that may alter the potential paths available to the state into self-reinforcing paths. So rather than retreat to antecedent conditions or pathways that continue the impact of coloniality or returning to the antecedent conditions present before the impact of coloniality that are structurally unavailable within your decision tree, there is a need to embark on choices that exhibit increasing returns on decisions which can create fundamental critical junctures. What this entails is the potential to explore a phase space of possibilities. Though the impact of autopoiesis limits the phase space, change within this closed system is possible through increasing returns.

The implication of chaos theory, increasing returns and path dependence on emergent-decolonial development is the role these theories play in understanding coloniality's ongoing impact within society. All three, when working in concert, explain the continued sense of non-being among the wretch and their consequent treatment as such by the ideal descriptive statement. Coloniality, through the lens of chaos (and by extension – emergence, dissipative systems and autopoietic systems), allows for a more intricate method of unpacking the colonial matrix of power and translating its interventions into policy prescripts. These policies may range across areas of public policy, such as health, education, and social welfare. However, this thesis delimits its work to the rationale of economic thought and state-building.

5.3.2 Neo-Schumpeterian Evolutionary Economics

In section 3.3.4.2, the thesis articulated the role of neoclassical economics in developmental discourse. The dominance of the neo-classical school was due to its explanatory power and the analytical stringency it gave to modernist approaches to development, establishing an economic rationale for the connection of microeconomic actions and aggregate economic performance of nation-states (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 275). However, the reliance of neo-classical economics on the mechanistic, linear relations between rational actors, price-equilibria, efficient allocation of resources in markets, representative firms, households and macroeconomic activity has always meant that it was not suited

for dynamic phenomena that are endogenously caused by the economic system itself (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 275).

Though non-linearity can be represented as a linearising non-linear function, the aggregate view of economic development through an input-output dynamic influenced by exogenous shocks and achievement of equilibrium ensures that linear approaches remain inherently incongruent with Neo-Schumpeterian Evolutionary Economics (NSEE) (Dopfer et al., 2017). In addition, and importantly for this thesis, neoclassical economics relies on representative actors whose ideological foundation remains intrinsically tied to modernism and enlightenment. Though neoclassical economics represents the logical extension of modernism, this point does not preclude this particular understanding of economics from emergent-decolonial policy formation. This thesis argues that NSEE and evolutionary economics, more broadly, represent a set of economic tools that are more closely aligned to the underlying logic of emergent-decolonial development.

From the perspective of NSEE, innovation encompasses technological innovation and, importantly, includes organisational, institutional and social innovation (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 276). It implies the creation of novelty through the interactions of self-organised agents and firms. Thus, change within that system is seen to be endogenous. This notion of innovation allows NSEE to concern itself with "the conditions for and consequences of a removal and overcoming" constraints within a society and an economy. In contrast, neoclassical approaches focus on the allocation and efficiency of resources within a certain array of constraints (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 276). NSEE, in this sense, is thus understood as "dynamic processes causing qualitative transformation of economies driven by the introduction of innovation in their various and multifaceted forms and the related co-evolutionary processes" (Hanusch et al., 2009, p. 280).

The consequences of this qualitative transformation in Hanusch and Pyka's (2005) analysis can be seen as a threefold process. Firstly, qualitative changes demanded by NSEE affect all levels of the economy. This suggests that structural changes designed to remove constraints to development under a current status quo should be dispensed with in favour of rules and institutions that allow for forms of development under new circumstances. Secondly, changes should not be seen as continuous over time but rather as periods of stagnation that can be punctuated by radical change. Thirdly, economies utilising NSEE accept that non-linear dynamics and positive feedback loops are responsible for certain pattern forms and other spontaneous forms of structuring within a society.

These qualitative changes are founded upon three epistemological premises based on the broad understanding, in this thesis, of NSEE. The first is that NSEE is premised on realism, which seeks to ensure that theory should appreciate its vision of the world but reject axiomatic assumptions (Robert et

al., 2017). This first premise gives rise to the role of bounded rationality in understanding the decisions agents and firms make in an economy and re-emphasises the need to see these interactors as heterogeneous. The second premise, which followed the first and was explored earlier in this chapter, is that economic systems are open-ended and dynamic. As Robert et al. (2017, p. 768) explain, this means that analysis of an economic system must be cognisant of how said system "is embedded in a process that occurs historically and in real-time, characterized by radical uncertainty, path dependence and irreversibility, so that prediction is not feasible and explanation should be based on a description of open-ended process". Lastly, that analysis should be non-reductionist. That is to say, "aggregate does not follow linearly from observing isolated parts, as individual actions have macro effects that are difficult to predict" (Robert et al., 2017, p. 768). The result of this is that an analysis of economic systems and structures must be viewed through their layers of the micro, meso and macro.

5.3.2.1 Five Broad Areas of NSEE's Economic Application

These three premises of NSEE allow it to function in five broad areas of economics. The first is that habits and routines form behaviours, forms of learning, knowledge generation and knowledge diffusion. These habits and routines are vital for any innovation to occur. The second area of NSEE seeks to understand how competition creates the emergence of innovation, coordination, and self-organisation through creative destruction. Furthermore, it explores how innovation occurs in organised clusters within an economy. The third area focuses on the systemic nature of innovation and how firms and agents that interact in this system create processes of learning and innovation – innovative systems and networked structures. Within these structures, innovation is best understood as a system in which innovative agents and firms operate "'in the context of the institutions, government policies, competitors, suppliers, customers, value systems, and social and cultural practices which determine their opportunities" (Phillimore, 1998, p. 54).

The fourth area of NSEE analyses the role of demand and the cumulative causation from market expansion and improved efficiency created by the division of labour. Lastly, the fifth area focuses on increasing returns, disequilibrium in systems, and their various associations with feedback loops that create path dependencies and different trajectories between societies and industries. Within this area, economic growth is understood to be constrained by path dependence and policy preferences largely determined by specific circumstances and histories of agents and firms within an economy; (Phillimore, 1998; Robert et al., 2017; Robert & Yoguel, 2016, p. 8).

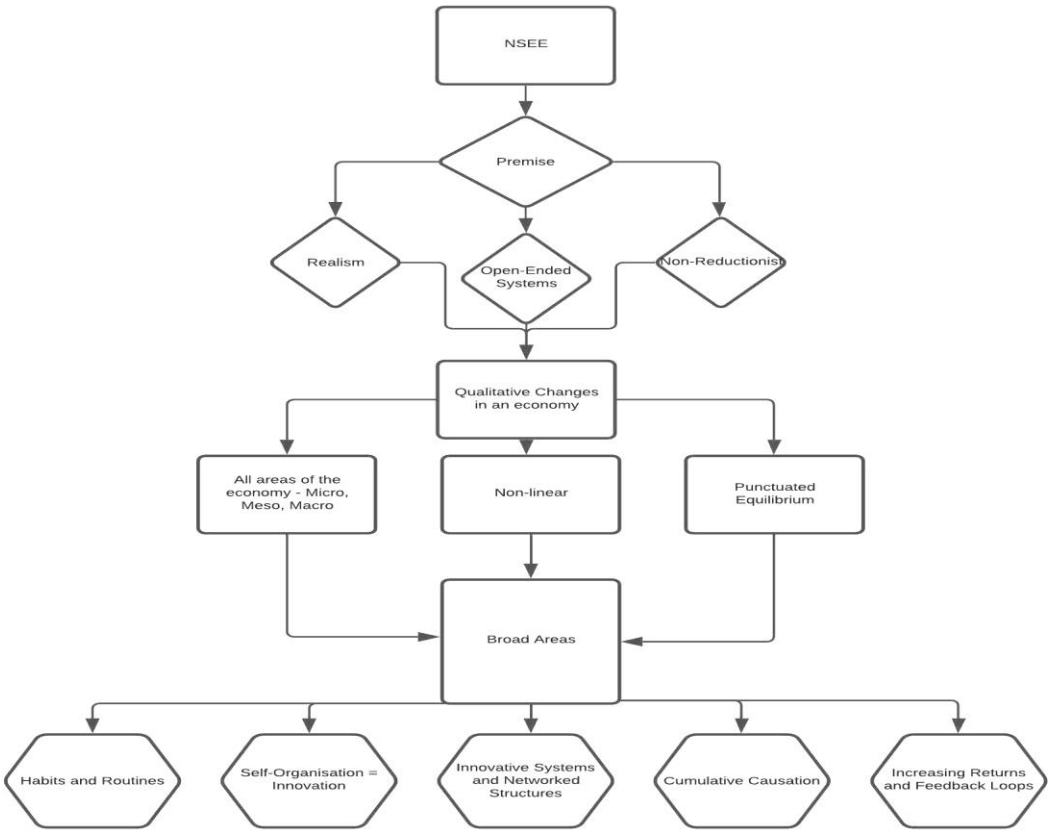

Figure 4: Framework for NSEE (Author illustration)

Within these five areas (see Figure 4), we can devise policy prescriptions which encourage the need for various forms of reciprocal recognition that encourage emergent-decolonial development. As a comprehensive theory of economic development, NSEE has traditionally focused on producing goods and services within an economy (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 280). However, through the work of Hanusch and Pyka, NSEE has increasingly been seen within both the financial and public sectors (Hanusch et al., 2009; Hanusch & Pyka, 2005). For Hanusch and Pyka, all three sectors have a non-deterministic effect on the development of economic systems, and innovation within all these sectors represents the "introduction of novelties in the institutional, organisational, social and political dimensions" of these sectors (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 280).

What is of concern for this thesis is the role of industry and the public sector. As such, discussions regarding monetary policies related to development will be limited. Furthermore, as previously acknowledged, NSEE targets an economic system's micro, meso and macro levels as a comprehensive theory. However, Dopfer, Potts and Pyka provide a vital intervention to the scope of NSEE's influence by highlighting the central role that the meso layer plays within the context of NSEE for both micro and macro aspects of an economic system.

5.3.2.2 Upward and Downward Complementarity

This view is argued by highlighting the importance of downward and upward complementarity. While the Austrian approach to economics focuses on the general theory of substitution through price coordination in markets and re-allocation of goods and services, NSEE focuses on complementarity, which refers to how goods and services are interconnected where economic activity is influenced by agents and firms who alter these connections (Dopfer et al., 2017; Kaldor, 1975, p. 348). NSEE remains interested in understanding how agents and firms who function as entrepreneurs within a system create "complementarity in firms (micro), sectors (meso) and the economy as a whole (macro)" (Dopfer et al., 2017, p. 754). Though not explicitly discussing NSEE, Kaldor explains that neo-classical approaches ignore "the essential complementarity between different factors of production (such as capital and labor) or different types of activities (such as that between primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of the economy), which is far more important for an understanding of the laws of change and development of the economy than the substitution aspect." (Kaldor, 1975, p. 348).

Complementarity can function both *downwards* and *upwards*. Downward complementarity refers to notions related to the creation of efficiencies through the division of labour, specialisation and the modularisation of a whole into its extant parts, of which the market re-organises into productive goods and services (Dopfer et al., 2017, p. 72). However, as Dopfer et al. (2017, p. 73) argue, which was also discussed in Chapter 3, downward complementarity seems to shift the idea of economic planning towards rationalising all economic activities into constituent elements that can be reassembled. Upward complementarities instead seek to understand how entities that were previously considered to be unrelated are assembled. In contrast to the downward approach, the upward approach seeks to create new wholes through creative acts of entrepreneurial vision (Dopfer et al., 2017, p. 73). It is within the meso level of analysis where both downward and upward complementarities can be endogenously created and managed. As such, policies relating to the institutions that drive both micro and macro behaviour play an integral role in managing the various linkages between micro-meso-macro dynamics. Meso-level institutions and their recurrent operations inform micro and macro behaviours.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the field of complexity, specifically its constituent elements such as dynamic systems, adaptive agents, emergence, and networks formed by dissipative and autopoietic relations. The chapter advocated for understanding the relations between individuals within complex environments as one based on dynamic interactions (single and double loop learning) that do not require reductionist methodologies but instead, methodologies informed by co-evolution. The chapter justified this shift, arguing that individuals, when viewed as adaptive agents, provide a more realistic understanding of individual decision-making models. Furthermore, the chapter argued that critiques of modernity that

remained focused on understanding the past fail to understand how the changes in Wynter's descriptive statement resulted from the co-evolution of the relations between the ideal and the wretch.

Complexity provides a means to break away from viewing decolonisation as a process of self-determination when viewed as a complex adaptive system. However, it also provides a means of critiquing current approaches to understanding decolonisation undertaken by decolonial scholars. As argued earlier, there is a danger in understanding the process of decolonisation as simply decolonising the mind (e.g., coloniality of being and body). When viewed through the lens of autopoiesis and dissipation, it indicates that to create an appropriate phase transition that privileges decolonial outcome, it is not enough to decolonise the wretch's self-consciousness or the institutions that make it up the state. There is a need to reconfigure the relations (communicative and interactions) between the wretch and ideal through reciprocal recognition to begin a process of creating emergent outcomes that challenge the nature of coloniality.

Chapter 6

A Framework for Emergent-Decolonial Development

So far, the central concern of this thesis has been unravelling the entanglement of political and economic notions of decolonisation to provide a new approach to decolonisation as an ongoing process of development. This thesis argues that limiting decolonisation within the field of development to self-determination is an inadequate means of understanding the continued impact of coloniality. However, decoloniality, which seeks to better understand the role and impact of coloniality on societies, only functions as a reflective assessment of the sociogenic state of affairs between the ideal and the wretch and focuses on bringing into focus the existence of other modes of being. Decoloniality focuses on the retreat into understanding the local vis-à-vis the universal. It does not provide a set of tools to elucidate the means of continuing decolonial actions within the framework of a modernist society through policy prescriptions.

If seen as a response to coloniality, decoloniality should not be viewed as a collection of disparate freedoms that create a pluriversal system or a return to a pre-colonial nirvana. Instead, decoloniality should be viewed as an emergent outcome of deliberate decolonial activities and interactions intended to create increasing returns to break coloniality's path dependency and explore new phase spaces of possibility. Let us assume decoloniality can be associated with specific emergent characteristics and trends that can be both qualified and quantified. In that case, these characteristics and trends can be organised vis-à-vis the discourse of development and complexity. If so, at least in theory, a framework of emergent-decolonial development can be devised. Such a framework would provide policymakers with a toolkit of approaches that may increase the likelihood of achieving decolonial outcomes.

Based on the arguments in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, this thesis argues that creating decolonial outcomes in policies relies on establishing institutional interactions and designs that articulate behaviours between institutions and individuals focused on creating reciprocal recognition. These designs, over time, should, in theory, establish forms of reciprocal recognition that allow for emergent decolonial conditions within a society characterised traditionally by coloniality. In terms of policy, it is the rearrangement of habits and behaviours, the use of innovation systems in governance and industry, the acknowledgement of cumulative causation and embracing forms of organising linked to increasing returns geared towards the wretch because of the achievement of reciprocal recognition. However, without this recognition, the gains from this rearrangement will undoubtedly continue distributing social and economic costs and benefits through the logic of coloniality. The tools used to guide this rearrangement will be further discussed below. The framework's purpose is to bring the wretch and the

ideal out of contention with one another and into a mutually reinforcing dialectic founded upon the need to create a new humanism.

This chapter will argue that to free development from the trap of coloniality, policy should be directed away from developing an ideal state shrouded under a cloud of coloniality. Instead, development should focus on localised interventions that create emergent properties within the state, which can be characterised as emergent-decolonial development. The framework is not designed to pursue utopic imaginings of society. It is designed to suggest a series of interventions that can be used to navigate the phase space of a society's decolonial options that create emergent outcomes, which will most likely lead to decolonial outcomes.

Using what Grosfoguel describes as the implications of the colonial matrix of power, this chapter first articulates the theoretical importance of the framework. Though previously discussed in the thesis, this chapter also details why the emergence of a new humanism becomes the central decolonial outcome of the framework. The chapter then elaborates on how and where the framework functions as a decolonial state-building exercise that differs from more traditional approaches. The chapter then discusses the framework's foundational principles and provides tools and interventions that can be used to target various dimensions of the colonial matrix of power. Finally, the chapter will present the framework through the lens of Neo-Schumpeterian Evolutionary Economics (NSEE).

6.1 The implications of the Colonial Matrix of Power and the creation of a New Humanism

6.1.1 Emergent-Decolonial Development and the Colonial Matrix of Power

The framework will utilise the colonial matrix of power as its primary foundation and specifically target the areas in which coloniality exhibits emergence: the economy; forms of authority and/or governance; gender and sexuality; and finally, knowledge and subjectivity. As explained earlier, coloniality continues to "structure the power relations within former colonies and between the metropolis and the former colonies", and it exhibits a "historical continuity of the colonial logic in the configuration of power locally and globally in the present" (Mendoza, 2020, p. 49). Mendoza argues it remains "a colonial process that is active, continuous, and structural, and not an occurrence in the remote past of which only ruins are left" (Mendoza, 2020, p. 49).

Creating a conceptual framework for emergent-decolonial development provides a means by which a nation-state may untangle itself from the ongoing impact of coloniality. This can occur not only through an understanding of the influence of the past on the present or promises of 'never again' but rather

through a more proactive building of institutions that unlock decoloniality within the state. The framework seeks to be purposeful and prescriptive, which is both ambitious and dangerous but profoundly necessary in a field of decolonial studies that finds itself continually lamenting the past, deriding the present and failing to create a clear roadmap for the future.

The policies devised by the framework to create decolonial outcomes focus on three realms of the colonial matrix of power: the economy, forms of authority, and knowledge and subjectivity. The exclusion of gender and sexuality, also understood as the control of the public sphere, is further elaborated below. The policies related to the economy primarily focus on NSEE, institutional theories linked to path dependency, and complexity theories focused on endogenous growth. Lastly, policies related to knowledge and subjectivity focus on reconfiguring the relationship between modernity and coloniality within society and utilise ideas such as rushanfekri to change epistemological and ontological production by institutions within a nation-state.

This thesis has argued that the need for emergent-decolonial development is due to the inability of development, couched in modernity/coloniality, to create an ideal-state untethered from the Eurocentric ideal of 'developed'. As Quijano (2000, p. 22) explains:

> *We are all led, knowingly or not, willingly or not, to see and to accept that image [Eurocentric idealism] as our own reality and ours only. Because of it, for a very long time, we have been what we are not, what we should never have been and what we will never be. Furthermore, because of it, we can never catch our real problems, much less solve them, except in only a partial and distorted way.*

The primary rationale for a framework for emergent-decolonial development is to disentangle the influence of the emergent characteristics of the colonial matrix of power and generate new forms of emergence that may lead to decolonial outcomes within a society. As discussed in previous chapters, development as both a concept and a discourse has historical and contemporary implications. The implications of concern for this thesis are those that have influenced (whether through force or colonial mimicry) the global south to follow particular actions to mirror and converge with their western counterparts – or at least aspire to do so. Development imposes upon society the linear pursuit of progress and civilisation espoused by modernity and its unfortunate entanglement with coloniality (Walsh, 2010, p. 15). Coloniality imposes upon society a hierarchical structure of human populations, knowledge and cosmologic life systems based on Eurocentric perspectives of the world underpinned by race and racism as its organising principle (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 533; Walsh, 2010, p. 15).

As discussed in Chapter 3, the colonial matrix of power provides the logic for legitimised relations of domination. It establishes a historically informed structural dependence related to the movement and

accumulation of capital within a globalised world market (Quijano cited in Walsh, 2010, p. 15). It uses both the rhetoric (progress, development, growth) and logic of coloniality (poverty, misery, inequality), discussed in section 3.4.2, to establish and maintain global inequalities (Bhambra, 2014, p. 119). This matrix of power ensured that the achievement of development meant more than just material progress and economic growth. It established a western model of judgment and control over society's sociogenic model (Walsh, 2010, p. 15). As Mbembe (2019, p. 66) explains:

> *The ultimate expression of sovereignty largely resides in the power and capacity to dictate who is able to live and who must die. To kill or to let live thus constitutes sovereignty's limits, its principal attributes. To be sovereign is to exert one's control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power.*

Through a reading of Mbembe's *Necropolitics*, this thesis argues that the achievement of development in a traditional sense necessitates technological control of the biopower between the wretch and the ideal and the control and the politics of death related to the former. However, this achievement is not reliant on just sovereign control of a state but the sovereign control over humanism. Or, as Mbembe (2019, p. 92) describes it: the "contemporary forms of subjugating life to the power of death" that create "new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to living conditions that confer upon them the status of the living dead". This thesis differs from Mbembe in its interpretation of technologies of necropower. This thesis expands these technologies associated with biopower by framing them as social technologies (see sections 6.1.3 and 6.3.1) that exist beyond the nation-state but maintain the colonial matrix of power. Furthermore, these social technologies maintain the dualism between the wretch and the ideal rather than the duality between the two.

The colonial matrix of power, as seen in Figure 5 below, is made of four interrelated domains, namely: (1) control of the economy (land appropriation, exploitation of labour, control of natural resources); (2) control of authority (institutions, army); (3) control of the public sphere through subjective understandings of the nuclear family, gender and sexuality (family, education) and (4) control of subjectivity and knowledge (epistemology, education and formation of subjectivity). The matrix spans "sexual, political, epistemic, economic, spiritual, linguistic and racial forms of domination and exploitation" (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 533).

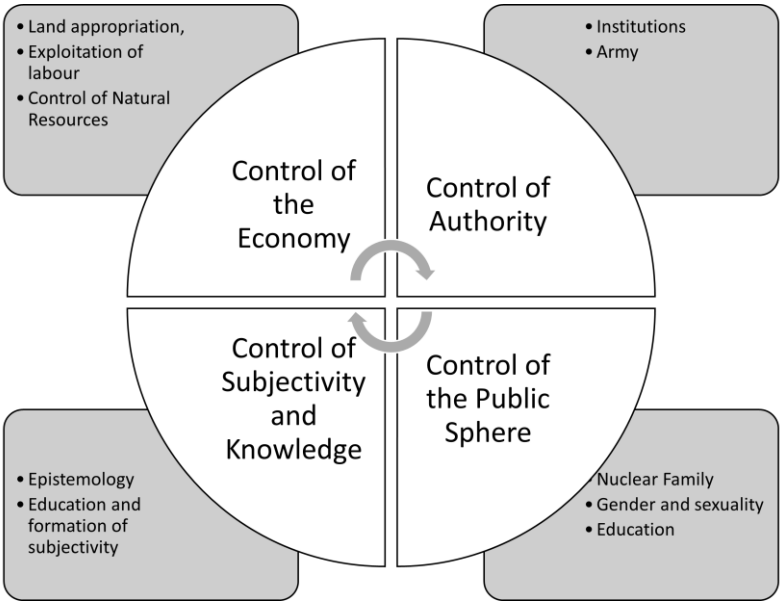

Figure 5: Colonial Matrix of Power (author illustration)

These four interrelated domains function in unison to establish and perpetuate both the rhetoric and logic of coloniality. The entanglement of all four dimensions creates what Mignolo argues to be multiple and heterogenous hierarchies relating to the "sexual, political, epistemic, economic, spiritual, linguistic, and racial forms of domination and exploitation" (Grosfoguel, 2006, p. 172). The outcomes of this are both vast and varied. However, all have the same logic of creating a hierarchical dichotomy between the ideal and the wretch.

6.1.2 Implications of the Colonial Matrix of Power

Grosfoguel articulates the outcomes of the entanglement of the matrix's four dimensions as seven interrelated points that he argues to be the implications of the matrix. The first implication of the matrix is that societies cannot develop along the modernist continuum of pre-capitalist to capitalist or truly realise the idea of convergence. This is because the current world system under coloniality articulates forms of labour according to hierarchical racial classification (Grosfoguel, 2011). As such, both convergence and modernist development never truly provide the means for the wretch to develop an ideal state. This is because the hierarchy created by the matrix functions as a prerequisite of that system's logic and functioning.

This point is further revealed through the second implication of the matrix, which is that race and racism have become constitutive elements of capitalist accumulation rather than an instrumental tool (Grosfoguel, 2011). As such, race and racism cannot simply be removed from the system's logic but only retooled. However, as noted by Maria Lugones (see section 3.4.2.2.2), the hierarchy created by coloniality equally applies to the role of women within this world system. As Judith Butler explains:

"individuals rely on institutions of social support in order to exercise self-determination with respect to what body and what gender to have and maintain so that self-determination becomes a plausible concept only in the context of a social world that supports and enables that exercise of agency" (Butler, 2004, p. 7). As this thesis has argued, the institutions created by coloniality inflict a lack of self-determination on particular individuals - the wretch.

The third implication is that culture and the idea of the political economy are no longer distinct aspects of modernity/coloniality but are mutually reinforcing concepts (Grosfoguel, 2011). Through modernity, Eurocentric cultures mutually reinforce the modernist political economy of societies. The success of this political economy further reinforces the dominance and continued emergence of this culture. The fourth implication is that coloniality is not the equivalent of colonialism but is intrinsically linked to modernity. Grosfoguel explains this by arguing that if the Industrial Revolution (a firm marker of modernity as discussed in Chapter 3) was achieved through coerced labour within colonial states, then the same can be said by the "new identities, rights, laws, and institutions of modernity such as nation-states, citizenship and democracy" were also the result of colonial interactions that led to the domination and exploitation of the wretch (Grosfoguel, 2011).

The fifth implication of the matrix focuses on how capitalism is considered one part of the matrix of power rather than the hegemonic position it holds within Eurocentric modernity (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 12). For Grosfoguel (2011), removing the capitalist aspects of the modern world is not enough to destroy the impact of coloniality. The sixth implication takes its impetus from the fifth, declaring that any struggle against the system of coloniality should not be simply anti-capitalist but an anti-systemic struggle for decolonial liberation. This new position ensures that the liberation achieved from coloniality is not reduced to one dimension of social life: the economic system. It requires the broader achievement of liberation within the "sexual, gender, spiritual, epistemic, economic, political, linguistic, aesthetic, pedagogical and racial hierarchies of the modern/colonial western-centric Christian-centric capitalist/patriarchal world-system" (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 23).

6.1.3 Creating a New Humanism through the Framework

In his book, *Against Decolonisation: Taking African Agency Seriously*, Olúfẹ́mi Táíwò (2022) elaborates on Fanon's conception of 'becoming human' as the result of decolonisation. Táíwò explains that:

> *As far as Fanon was concerned, once this colonial world was overturned, that was the end of decolonisation. 'Becoming human', on this score, was not a process that would be concluded at a later date. In the colonial situation, the colonised were not human; after decolonisation, either the colonised has become human or the colonial world has not ended. But you cannot*

> *decolonise in a situation where 'the colonial world' is no more. This is not a semantic issue. Certainly, what kind of human the newly decolonised will become, and how far along the path to creating the best human and to establishing the conditions for the best life for the humans we are, all remain open questions that decolonisation was not intended to answer. And the answers the ex-colonies can come up with going forward from the ground zero of becoming the makers of their own history again are no longer limited by the boundaries of colonialism and its negation. That the options of former colonies are still limited by colonialism is what decolonisation sets up as the main element of its discourse. And it is what I attack because it misunderstands the problem to be solved and generates confusion.*

Táíwò's remarks showcase the need to begin thinking about the humanism of both the wretch and the ideal after the end of formalised forms of colonialism. The end of colonialism demands such. Yet, this idea of new humanism remains elusive and constricted due to coloniality. However, identifying this new humanism is of less concern for this thesis as the focus remains on the framework providing the environment for it to emerge unencumbered by coloniality.

To begin this, the thesis utilises Mbembe and Posel's argument for a new humanism. Mbembe and Posel (2005, p. 284) argue that a new humanism should deal effectively with past spectres to avoid the politics of denial, resentment or a perpetual sense of victimhood. These are experienced and apply to both the ideal and the wretch. It articulates the relationship between creating new forms of living - through reciprocal recognition - within the shadow of death created by old forms of humanism (Mbembe & Posel, 2005). This shadow of death that Mbembe and Posel refer to can be associated similarly with Mignolo's argument regarding the darker side of modernity.

Mbembe and Posel (2005, p. 285) argue that the state should act decisively to create new humanism. Furthermore, the new humanism provides a renewed challenge to the state to recognise the humanity and dignity of those born in a particular state but who find themselves citizens of it (Mbembe & Posel, 2005, p. 285). Lastly, the new humanism should accept that its outcomes, or its emergent outcomes as argued here, pose both challenges and opportunities in an increasingly globalising world (Mbembe & Posel, 2005, p. 286).

The framework does not seek to create a broader conception of a new humanism. Instead, it provides a critical departure from traditional approaches to development and decoloniality. A departure that provides a policy toolkit for articulating reciprocal recognition within societies attempting to overcome the continued impact of coloniality. Complexity provides an analytical translation of Grosfoguel's implications for the field of development and economics. Regarding Grosfoguel's first implication, complexity views the continuum of modernity as antiquated (see section 5.2).

Regarding the second, third, fourth and fifth implications, social phenomena such as race, racism, gender, culture, and the political economy – whether capitalist or otherwise - would, within an emergent system such as coloniality, be one of many contributing constituent elements of coloniality that also inform the broader characteristics of the system. That is to say, race, racism and culture under complexity are not independent tools used to subjugate but are the resultant factor of the evolution of a system that perpetuates subjugation. They are social technologies and function as the meso layer of institutions that inform the forms of upward and downward complementarities present within a society. Social technology here is defined as the "methods and designs for organising people in pursuit of a goal or goals" (Beinhocker, 2006, p. 261).

6.2 State-Building through border-thinking

6.2.1 Traditional Approaches to State-Building

The framework functions as a form of state-building and is intended to be used by previously colonised nations and decolonial movements seeking to change the mechanisms within the state that perpetuate coloniality. It should be noted that the use of state-building, and by extension classical developmental studies, as an explanatory tool for the evolution of a state is, in the main, stylised from the ideas based on the genesis of Europe's various nation-states during the period of enlightenment (Langdon, 2013, p. 384; Thies, 2004, pp. 53–54). As a result, state-building has been primarily thought of through two dominant theoretical lenses.

The first is contract theory, which seeks to understand the state's role through its ability to induce, regulate and protect property rights within a society. Theda Skocpol (1985, p. 3) explains that the state is often theorised as the institutor of property rights within society and the regulator and distorter of markets. The second theory is considered predatory and views the state "as an agent of some group or class that exists to extract revenue from a broader group of constituents under its control" (Thies, 2004, p. 54). Regardless of which theoretical tool is used, Thies (2004, p. 54) argues that at its basic level, state-building becomes the first and foremost task that any state must master before it pursues any other goals (Thies, 2004, p. 54).

Taking this into account, this thesis prioritises Nicos Poulantzas's conception of state-building, namely that the capitalist state is not an intrinsic entity but rather the material condensation of the relationship of forces between classes and class fractions that are expressed in a specific form; the state (Poulantzas, 2000, pp. 128–129). By viewing the state as a social relation, Poulantzas (2000, p. 73) argues that the conception of an individual is the result of the relationship of forces within the state. As a consequence of this assertion, the state functions as an active and biased actor through "structural and strategic

selectivity that makes state institutions, capacities, and resources more accessible to some political forces and more tractable for some purposes than others" (Jessop, 2008, p. 113).

State-building in post-colonial contexts is often viewed from the perspective of the international pressures placed on countries seeking to develop. As Palloti (2009, p. 61) notes: "historians have stressed the need to analyse the trajectory of African nation-building processes taking into consideration the political pressures the international system exerted on African post-colonial governments.". However, this 'need' should not exclusively focus on African cases but all post-colonial nations.

This thesis remains concerned with the nature of the impact that the international system has had and continues to have on the decolonial paradigms of the countries under analysis. The thesis argues that this colonial influence should be endogenised into the framework rather than seen as an exogenous shock to the system. This is because complexity understands changes to a system as endogenous through the ideas explored earlier regarding autopoietic and dissipative systems. Viewing the impact of the international pressure on colonial states as exogenous provides a means to understand its influence as independent of the system of coloniality. Furthermore, it provides a means of hiding the darker side of modernity. Therefore, external pressures placed on the state are not seen as exogenous acts mediated through the racialised relationships between capital and labour but rather the resultant endogenous emergence of relationships between individuals that have taken on a specific form that perpetuates colonial representations in the present.

By focusing on the state as a set of social relations, the post-colonial approaches to understanding state-building provide little explanatory power for the framework as they privilege the understanding of the formulation of the state vis-à-vis its relationship to the metropole. While the role of international pressure on the former colonial state is deeply rooted in these states' various origins (see Acemoglu et al., 2001). This thesis departs from the post-colonial approach and takes on a more decolonial approach.

6.2.2 Decolonial State-Building: Colonial Matrix of Power and Settler Colonialism

Viewing state-building through coloniality offers two decolonial approaches that can be adopted for the framework. The first, as previously discussed, is the colonial matrix of power. The second is settler colonialism. The colonial matrix of power emphasises analysing the state by understanding "the organisation of labour, or of the forms of exploitation of labor based on the idea of race" that eventually define the form of the nation-state after achieving independence (Mendoza, 2020, p. 50). However, through the lens of settler colonialism, the nation-state will continue to be considered illegitimate, regardless of its level of sovereignty, if it continues its "violent occupation of indigenous lands" (Mendoza, 2020, p. 51).

Settler colonialism refers to a form of colonisation where colonists intend to permanently establish themselves in a territory that does not belong to them (Mendoza, 2020, p. 46). Similar to the continuity that characterises coloniality, settler colonialism infers a structure that continues to evolve rather than a simple event (Wolfe, 1999). Settler colonialism relies on removing the indigenous people from occupied land altogether. As a result, articulating the relationship between the coloniser and the native relies less on the conception of society but directly on the land as a precondition of social organisation (Wolfe, 1999, p. 2). As such, states characterised by forms of settler colonialism must contend with relationships created by the idea of the ruination of indigenous people to ensure that the ideal (which Mendoza (2020) describes as the usurpers) can not only claim to be legitimate owners of expropriated territories but must also enjoy the continued distribution of political rights by the state to maintain the hierarchical nature of the state.

Though capitalism is recognised as a prevailing system within the history of settler colonialism, because indigenous labour is considered irrelevant to the reproduction of capitalist relations within settler-colonial states, the restitution of land and sovereignty becomes the predominant political project of the indigenes (Mendoza, 2020, p. 50). The differentiation of labour for settler colonialists is essential. It differentiates forms of subordination between the newly enslaved wretch and that of indigenous subordination (Mendoza, 2020, p. 51). Settler colonialism does not homogenise the wretch. It separates them between those removed from the land through colonial exploitation and those who find themselves on the land experiencing colonial exploitation. It is a view that focuses on the experiences of indigenous groups within South and North America vis-à-vis the slaves that were brought there. Therefore, "state reform, or inclusion in the nation-state as citizens" is not a primary concern of the indigenous population. As a result, the anti-capitalist struggle alone is not enough for the realisation of decolonisation "because it would leave intact the possession of the land in the hands of non-indigenous people" (Mendoza, 2020, p. 50). For indigenous people and movements, especially within Latin America, state-building should ideally be premised on the outright rejection of the settler-colonial state.

Considering the above, state-building becomes an exercise requiring purposeful action to balance the demands of institutions and societal actors (domestic and international). It does so through the development of state capacity and norms and procedures that entrench the social relations of the state as a legitimate means for the achievement of nation-building. However, the assessment of the state-building using the framework must be cognizant of the nature of the colonial situation in the country under analysis. For example, assessing Africa's colonial situation only foregrounds the various heterogeneous forms of colonialism experienced across the continent over other colonial experiences across the world (Acemoglu et al., 2001; Odukoya, 2018). Some parts of the continent experienced

settler colonialism, while others did not. Some countries experienced colonialism focused on extraction, while others experienced colonialism centred on cultural and physical domination (Acemoglu et al., 2001; Mendoza, 2020; Odukoya, 2018). These various typologies of colonialism impart divergent experiences that create different outcomes in pathologies created and the various socio-economic and political realities experienced (Odukoya, 2018, p. 175). Furthermore, they provoke in return "different reactions, organizational forms, strategic and tactical struggles to confront and liquidate colonialism" (Odukoya, 2018, p. 175).

Therefore, even though this framework will, in theory, function as a means to understand both the state-building and developmental approaches that countries embark upon, it will not centre state-building theoretical tools that find their current and historical pedagogical approaches within Eurocentric perspectives while also not homogenising the experiences of all previously colonised states. To avoid the ironic totalising effect that decoloniality may eventually have (see section 3.4.2.2.2), this framework will also not seek to arbitrarily sideline Eurocentric theoretical tools in favour of more decolonial options for the mere fact that they emanate from the voices of marginalised communities.

Though the framework could have universal applicability once tested and appropriately augmented, for now, its use must be cognisant of the initial conditions of the colonial situation and adopt approaches similar to that of *rushanfekri*. The privileging of the imaginings of marginalised, indigenous and the wretch over that of Eurocentric voices is an exercise of arbitrage in a world dominated by modernity/coloniality. This is so even though it may assist in resisting the wretch's alienation or the indigene's ruination in settler colonies.

This thesis argues that the framework may provide various means to possibly alienate the coloniser in a manner that is the antithesis of reciprocal recognition or the tenets of the new humanism espoused by Fanon. It is the consequence of the violence and conflict required to create reciprocal recognition.

6.3 Building a Framework for Emergent-Decolonial Development

6.3.1 Principles Guiding the Framework

Five interrelated principles drive the framework. The first principle assumes that humans are adaptive agents and, as a result, utilise forms of inductive pattern recognition to understand and rationalise complex situations. This means that the ability for humans to imagine something new is temporally, spatially, ontologically, and epistemologically constrained. This principle implies that the ability to imagine something new may be possible. However, its actualisation is limited by what is currently

known. The framework shifts away from relying on utopic visioning of the future and instead focuses on path-dependent movements towards the new.

The second principle of the framework was developed from the earlier arguments made in the thesis regarding the sensitivity of change within a system in relation to that system's initial conditions. This principle thus relates to how the initial conditions within a society constrain that development. This relates to the path dependency and phase spaces possible for the state.

The third principle of the framework combines Rawls's understanding of pure procedural justice and Fanon's reciprocal recognition. Rawls's theory of justice - and pure procedural justice in particular - has limitations that make it incongruent with the wretch's experiences of the earth. To better align this theory, the thesis advocates using Fanon's belief in reciprocal recognition to mediate the limitations of pure procedural justice.

The fourth principle is the a priori presence of conflict and violence. To articulate the decoloniality of the framework, the framework requires an acknowledgement of the presence of coloniality. Challenging coloniality requires the active courting of both conflict and violence. As will be argued later in the chapter, both concepts become inevitable outcomes of creating a new form of humanism within a society.

The fifth principle, based on the work by Beinhocker, is the understanding of institutions as forms of social technology (Beinhocker, 2006). The institutions that are of particular importance are those of capital accumulation. As a social technology, capitalism remains a predominant form of ordering social relations in the state. The framework uses this assumption as a core principle.

Each principle will be used as either a functional component of the framework or a philosophical guide for interpreting policy designs that could be used to create emergent decolonial development. They are all meant to function in conjunction with one another with the intent of not creating predetermined outcomes but the emergence of networked relations between the wretch and the ideal that create forms of emergence meant to disentangle the colonial matrix of power.

6.3.1.1 Principle 1: Bounded inductive reasoning and abandoning utopic visions

6.3.1.1.1 Searching for Emergence

This thesis and its framework argue that to study the development of states is to study the arrangement of practices, policies, norms, procedures, and efforts to create and build upon a state's capacity (the

strength of its ability to compel and the scope of its influence in society) and revise institutional structures that mediate social relations. This arrangement would create specific emergent properties whose characteristics are influenced by the path influencing institutions within the state.

Therefore, achieving a preconceived ideal state is less important when creating emergent outcomes deemed appropriate for a state. Though the normative assessment of policies remains important, this framework focuses on the role of development in removing the impetus to create an ideal outcome as its goal. Instead, it focuses on the Rawlsian interpretation of pure-procedural justice – that whether the end goal is just or not is irrelevant, so long as the process to achieve it is just. In this sense, the end outcome becomes of less consequence when compared to the institutions that created it and the resultant legacies and antecedent conditions that emerge and inform the various paths of development made available to the state.

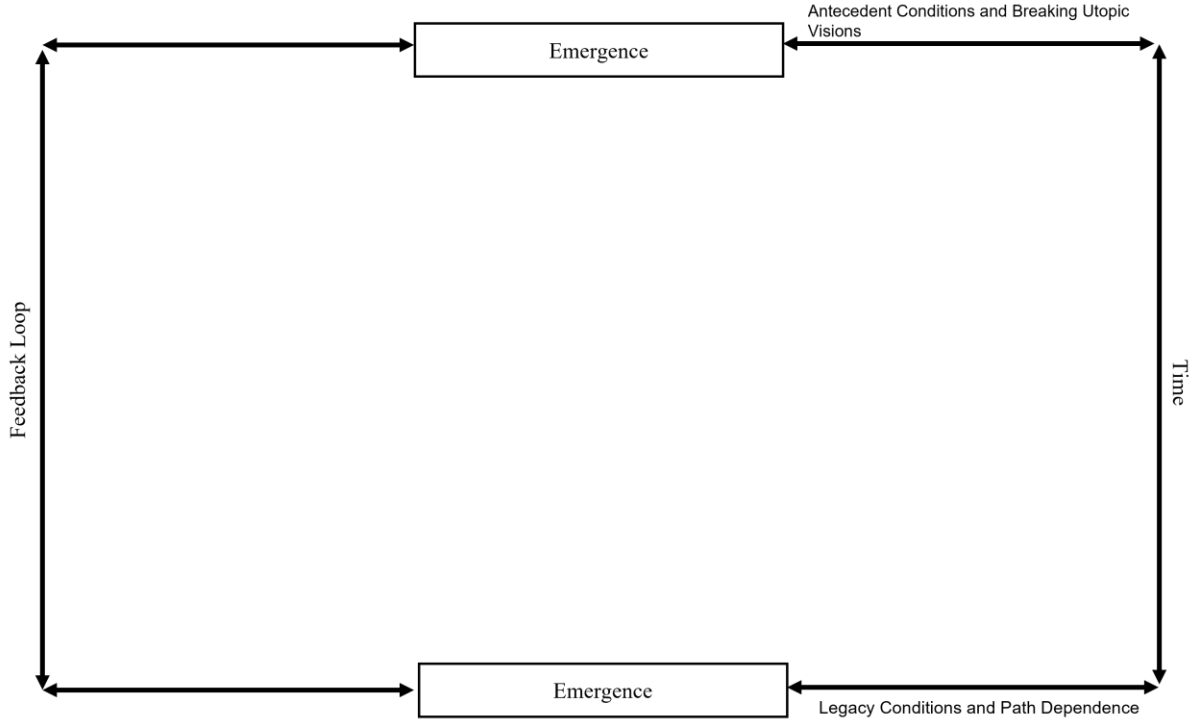

Figure 6: Emergence within the framework

(This figure will be populated as each principle is elaborated)

As detailed in sections **Error! Reference source not found.** and 5.3, which dealt with understanding humans as adaptive agents and the role of chaos, the emergence shown in Figure 6 is influenced by both the legacies and antecedent conditions within a state that create the underlying mechanisms, societal patterns, rules and norms that inform a social system's overall behaviour, the behaviour of the individuals within it and the phase spaces available to said society to explore and develop within. The various impacts these underlying mechanisms have on the overall system are influenced by both time and whether they exhibit positive or negative feedback loops.

This implies that decolonial emergent outcomes of the framework must become recursive. That is to say that the emergence created by the emergent-decolonial activities (detailed within the framework) should not be seen as having a clear beginning or end as its internal mechanics continuously inform it and should be seen as autopoietic in its logic – the result of self-regulation and self-organisation. Achieving decolonial outcomes in this sense necessitates, as argued by Seidl (2004), that these outcomes produce and re-produce further decolonial outcomes. This provides, in theory, a means to contend with the continued evolution of coloniality and its various emergent characteristics within the ongoing process of decolonisation.

6.3.1.1.2 Abandoning Utopic Visions for Development

For this thesis, utopianism is understood as a temporally unfolding process devoid of the need for spatial recognition (Halpin, 2001; More, 2014). Utopic approaches to development are focused on how actions are directed towards a predetermined end goal and how these actions influence individuals to act in a manner that is rationally in accordance with the achievement of this end goal (Olssen, 2003b, p. 531). A decolonial interpretation of utopianism would reasonably argue that whether spatial or temporal, utopianism traditionally remains grounded within a "history of modernity and more specifically the concept of progress" (Darian-Smith, 2016, p. 169). However, it is essential to note that this does not apply to all utopic visions. For instance, the global south has provided a plethora of utopian visions of society that are rooted in cultural concepts beyond the ambit of modernity, such as "ubuntu in Southern Africa, swaraj in India, Buddhist concepts elsewhere in Asia, and the notion of vivir bien, emanating from the Andes" (Ranta, 2017, p. 3). That said, temporal utopias remain built on linear ideologies and aesthetics of advancement. These ideologies and aesthetics are planned and idealised by intentional and imagined communities and are often expressed through political theorising (Darian-Smith, 2016, p. 169).

As seen in Figure 6, the framework does not seek to create a counter-utopic vision for the wretch. It approaches the subject through the guidance of Al-Ahmad's belief that utopias remain prey to western machine life, and thus, their creation must focus on how to encounter this machine rather than attempt to create something new. Taking heed of this, the framework is not designed to create an ideal state of societal existence. Instead, the framework is a set of procedures that allow the creation of institutions in a society on the edge of chaos exhibiting decolonial characteristics. As argued in Chapter 5, chaos refers to the understanding of social systems that may seem random but still function under the influence of an underlying real order. This real order is the existence of other forms of modernity and development that have been hidden by coloniality. Pursuing development on the edge of chaos, as stated in the opening chapter of the thesis, is the pursuit of knowledge previously hidden. This pursuit is balanced

with accepting the uncertain emergence of a new humanism and accepting and rectifying human beings' historical fallibility. In terms of complexity, the framework is designed to create procedures that ensure that a nation-state at a particular point within a phase space is provided with the navigational tools to ensure that in the event of a phase transition, they move towards an area within the space – a strange attractor of sorts – that provides the most decolonial characteristics.

6.3.1.1.3 Bounded Inductive Reasoning and the pursuit of *rushanfekri* through creative destruction

Though possible, scientifically elaborating and understanding an individual's motives is challenging because of the complex and unpredictable nature of the human mind. What is understood, primarily by modern psychologists, is that when placed in complicated or ill-defined situations, humans, at an individual level, are inductive pattern-recognisers who use this cognitive process to make decisions and inform their behaviour in both unambiguous and fast-changing environments (Arthur, 1994b, p. 406; Beinhocker, 2006, p. 139). What would be reasonably expected by individuals located within a context such as the zone of non-being?

Any framework of decoloniality that seeks to create a pluriversal society must acknowledge that its foundation remains rooted within the universal dictates of Wynter's descriptive statement. If this point is accurate, then the decisions made by the wretch become inherently limited. As seen in Figure 7, the wretch's behaviour is influenced by various behaviour-motivating (positive feedback loops) and demotivating patterns (negative feedback loops) understood at a sociogenic level. The consequence of this assertion is that it damages the claims by decolonial thinkers regarding the creation of pluriversal knowledge schemes in this way. This is not to say that such schemes cannot be imagined or demanded. Instead, the schemes are temporally, spatially, ontologically and epistemologically restricted by the prior presence of Eurocentric modernity at a sociogenic level (the legacies and antecedent conditions that inform individual behaviour).

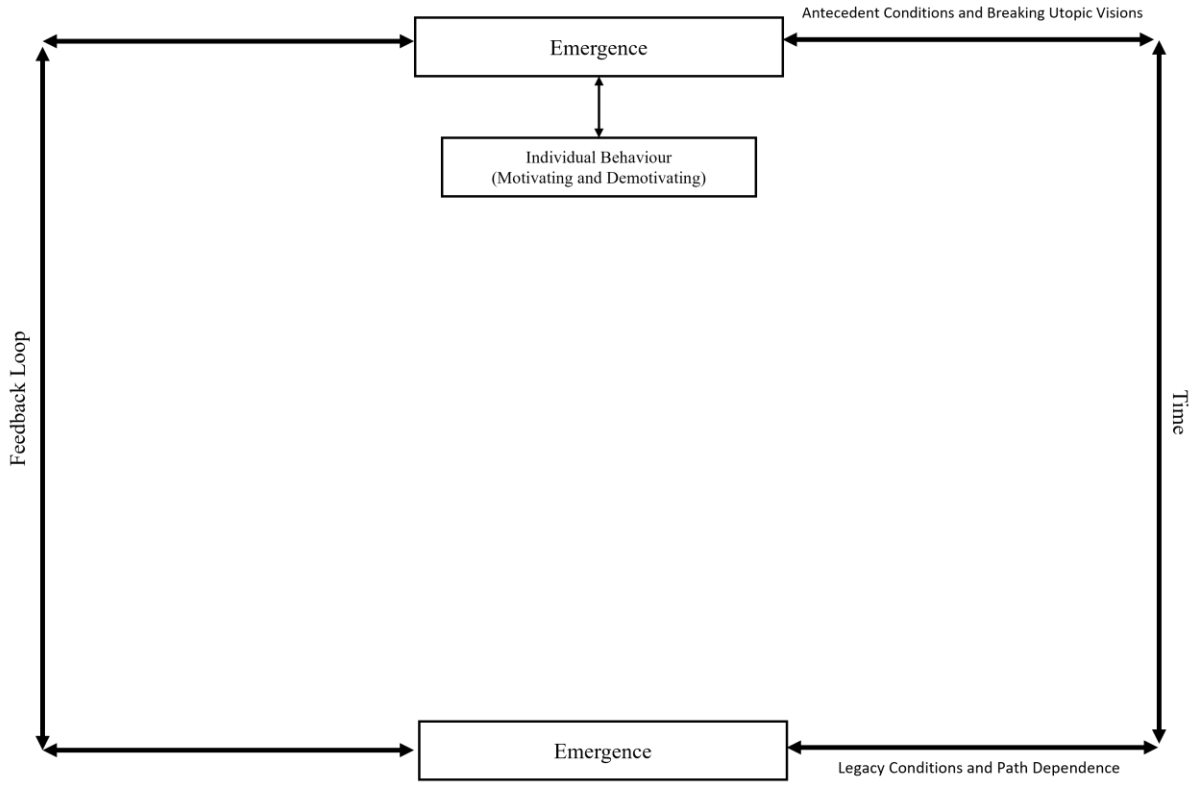

Figure 7: Inclusion of Individual Behaviour in the Framework

Suppose Wynter's conception informs the relations between individuals of the descriptive statement. In that case, individual behaviour and desires for freedom from coloniality remain intrinsically linked to coloniality. As a result, the desires for freedom by the wretch and ideal alike are locked within the phase space of possibilities made available to them as individuals, which is constrained by a state's colonial legacies and a world-system continually influenced by coloniality.

As seen in Figure 7, individual behaviour within the framework is understood as the motivating actions that create positive feedback loops informed by previous experiences within a society impacted by coloniality. The cumulation of these motivating behaviours and actions results in what was argued for by Fanon and elaborated upon above: the full realisation of the wretch as a genuinely free agent capable of self-determining their self-consciousness in a manner that does not require an eventual folding into the universal; or as Sylvia Wynter would argue the descriptive statement.

Therefore, the framework relies less on the sovereignty of the people or the state but on embracing forms of rushanfekri (see section 3.4.2.4.1). Considering the world's increasingly interconnected and globalised nature, certain facets of society remain fixed, such as culture, language, and religion. Though these facets are not immune to global influences, they remain intrinsic to those societies. However, as this thesis argues, attempting to develop in an interconnected world dominated by modernity and

maintaining these fixed facets without the requisite understanding of procedural justice and reciprocal recognition will force the wretch to remain plagued by westoxification. The wretch is stuck between accepting the current world system or retreating to past social structures that halt the process of developing. This leaves the wretch stuck on the continuum of modernist development, incapable of building something new while afflicted by Western modernisation. Al-e Ahmad (1984, p. 78) describes this dilemma through an elaboration of life in Iran before its revolution:

> *To remain only consumers of the machine, to submit utterly to this twentieth-century juggernaut, is the road we have followed thus far. This road has led us to our present circumstances - occidentosis. We live on handouts from the West, which comes around every few years to give credit and aid so we can go on buying its industrial goods and replacing the junked machines. This is an easy road and one that solves the problem of our indolence, aimlessness, and idleness. And if this road led us to a point where we were free of disorder in our affairs and the threat of bankruptcy, there would be no need to say much about it. And as for retreating into our own cocoon, this is something no cricket has ever done. We are a nation engaged in transformation and if we suffer from such a confusion of values in both life and thought, it is because we are shedding our old skin. You might say we are studying the conditions of our permit to enter a new realm.*

Working from the perspective of individuals whose interactions with the rest of society are based on reciprocal recognition, adhering to the path dependence and initial conditions of coloniality should not be seen as a negative or pitfall. Instead, as Al-e Ahmad (1984, p. 79) had it, we should view the presence of modernity/coloniality as the means for building a new society in a manner in which one does not remain within its snare but as a means to abolish poverty and provide material and spiritual welfare to all of society. Therefore, the departure point of this framework is not the rejection of western institutions as an indicator of development but rather the admonishment of their imposition and the need to have institutions determined by those within a state of *rushanfekri*. In Fanonian terms, these institutions must represent the actional pursuit of "notions of dignity, equality and equity: on a concrete and ever new understanding of man" (Ziauddin, 2008, p. xvii).

This thesis argues that decoloniality's premise that modernity is a universal foe relies on conflating universality with omnipresence. This assumption limits both the state and an individual's ability to shift from this foe, even within the zone of non-being, as they are forever engrossed by it. Gordon expands on this by using Fanon, declaring that "a society premised on colonialism, whose normative social field is a racist one, closes off the future of the colonised and designated racially inferior subjects, which forces them to "dive into the abyss of the past as the condition and source of their freedom" (Gordon, 2015, p. 91).

Understanding this dive into the abyss as the only source of freedom rather than one possible realisation of freedom is an important point. It brings us back to Al-e Ahmad's argument regarding westoxification and *rushanfekri*, namely that Eurocentric modernity is not universal and is but one form of modernity, with *rushanfekri* being another. Sadar Ziauddin echoes Al-e Ahmad's criticism of universality in his preface to Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks*. He argues that:

> *…the dominance of western culture, and its globalization through this dominance, should not be confused with universalism. Just because a particular discipline or a discourse is accepted or practiced throughout the world, it does not mean that discipline or discourse is universally valid and applicable to all societies. After all, as I have written elsewhere, burgers and coke are eaten and drunk throughout the world but one would hardly classify them as universally embraced, healthy and acceptable food: what the presence of burgers and coke in every city and town in the world demonstrate is not their universality but the power and dominance of the culture that produced them. (Ziauddin, 2008, p. xvi)*

Rushanfekri, though founded on the past cultural norms of Iran, is neither defined by its links to its past nor does it exclude the idea of rationality espoused by Eurocentric modernity. It understands that Eurocentric modernity may be widely understood and utilised. However, it is not valid or applicable to all. This thesis has already argued that *rushanfekri* is not an attempt to replace Eurocentric modernity the world over, but rather contrasting itself against it and challenging the West's power and dominance that infect that world. For the purpose of the framework, the thesis extends its argument regarding *rushanfekri* as the need for conflict and violence against Eurocentric modernity without the desire to dominate it. *Rushanfekri* posits a need for what Gordon sees as reciprocal relativism. However, no reciprocal respect can be gained without confrontation (Gordon, 2015, pp. 86, 91).

That said, merely creating a system that intends to find outcomes runs the risk of being dismissed as unjust or deterministic. Furthermore, as this thesis will continue to argue, formulating a decolonised society based on particular variables or theories of change linked to particular variables will fail to contend with coloniality's emergent characteristics. The failure of decolonial scholarship is its reliance on understanding social systems through the lens of hierarchical social structuring, e.g. Marx's focus on superstructures; Parsons's work on 'part of a whole' (Parsons, 2013); or Wallerstein's world system analysis (Wallerstein, 2011). These tools seem to be the bedrock on which decolonial scholars pursue their work. However, suppose coloniality is an emergent property of colonial legacies. In that case, this hierarchical lens provides very few, if any, tools for combating the ills of coloniality and begs the question: why does coloniality continue to exist long after the formal end of colonialism across most parts of the world?

6.3.1.2 Principle 2: Initial Conditions and Fractal Connections

The second principle that underpins the framework is the need to be cognisant of the initial conditions inherent within the system of modernity/coloniality. These initial conditions relate to the continued presence of coloniality and the presence of those who seek to both promote or maintain it, whether consciously or unconsciously. Initial conditions create various path dependencies that the framework must contend with. As Gordon (2015, p. 121) explained, undertaking a decolonisation process requires the prior recognition that colonialism and coloniality created a situation in which the growing population of the wretch were forced to contend with decreasing options to pursue the proverbial good life. Therefore, decolonisation attempts are often limited to transformational paths because of the scarcity of options (Gordon, 2015, p. 121).

Viewing development as the navigation of a nation-state's position within a phase space from some initial position marks the point of departure of this framework from both modernist and decolonial approaches to development. Rather than viewing development as solely informed by path dependencies influenced by its initial position, this thesis argued that by accepting that development can be seen as a complex adaptive system that can be understood through non-linear dynamics and relationships, then change within a system can be represented through adaptive tension and phase transitions that self-organise on the edge of chaos.

A phase transition represents a qualitative change in a dynamic system, in this case, a qualitative change in the structure of an economy. While a phase transition is easily described in mathematical terms, there is still a level of uncertainty regarding how a specific set of qualitative expectations related to an economy are transitioned into a new state of affairs (J. Davis, 2020, p. 7). In this sense, development functions as a reiterative process constituted by self-similar states of existence that can be "operationally coupled and consequently aligned and correlated across different scales" (Chettiparamb, 2014, p. 13). That is to say, development can be considered the hidden pattern of movement within a specified phase space of possibilities for a nation-state underpinned by a strange attractor (see section 5.3). Therefore, assessing qualitative changes in the structure of the economy through a complex adaptive lens can be seen either through the efforts of developmental attempts to create bifurcations within the phase trajectory a nation-state is on; or some other small and hidden effect created by a tipping point that creates a cascade of change within a society.

The cause of the latter form of change is the result of the sensitivity to the initial conditions within a dynamic system. This means that small changes or uncertainties within the system will often lead to exponential changes as time proceeds, making future predictions regarding the system's state extremely difficult. To better understand the long-term implications of these small changes, the changes to a dynamic systems phase space due to spatial or temporal changes should be viewed through fractal reasoning. As Baranger (2000, p. 7) explains:

> *The connection between time-chaos and space-chaos is very close. Take a chaotic dynamical system. Pick a simple region in its phase space, such as a sphere or a cube or any other simple volume. Consider this region as a locus of possible initial conditions. Then let time flow. As each point of the region follows its trajectory, the region itself moves and changes shape. In the course of its evolution, slowly but surely the region will turn into a fractal. The fractal builds up as time progresses and becomes complete at infinite time. Every chaotic dynamical system is a fractal-manufacturing machine. Conversely, every fractal can be seen as the possible result of the prolonged action of time-chaos.*

When seen through this lens, development as a praxis should be understood as a series of interventions operationally aligned in a manner in which "change in one level can result in a change throughout the system, and the alignments can therefore be an important mechanism for co-evolution" of the system as a whole (Chettiparamb, 2014, p. 13). This contrasts with modernity, as both a social and historical category, which is traditionally seen as the "ambition to know, predict and manipulate (engineer) the world" with total certainty and universally applicable solutions (Tsekeris, 2010, p. 35). Human life remains inherently dynamic as it ceaselessly changes between the simple, complicated or chaotic as it contends with all the constitutive elements of human co-existence/cooperation (Tsekeris, 2010, p. 35). However, the ensuing chaos does not mean that human societies are not deterministic but that there are deterministic systems in society that cannot be predicted.

Complexity approaches fractals as a means of explaining how changes within both the parameters and various processes within a chaotic system, whether they be with the system's various components, inter-relationships, various feedback loops, or the rules that govern the evolution of the system, are dependent on the constitution of the phase space in which they exist and visa versa. Furthermore, both the local and global can be defined simultaneously, "and variety and order can co-exist at the same time" (Chettiparamb, 2014, p. 15).

The notion of utopic development planning or Popper's (2005) belief in piecemeal planning becomes the same in the context of fractals. Viewing development through the lens of fractal reasoning means viewing it as the process of initiating, monitoring, and evaluating iterating parameters or processes that eventually create desirable outcomes. The iterative development of these outcomes exhibits novelty at various levels of abstraction but remains entirely co-constituted. Consequently, a system of this sort becomes susceptible to its initial conditions and thus impossible to accurately predict its future trajectory or endpoint. Therefore, development cannot be utopic or represent an ideal state.

6.3.1.3 Principle 3: Reciprocal Recognition through Pure Procedural Justice

As argued in section 3.3.4.5.3, which relates to how modernity maintains its dominance through pure procedural justice, critics of modernity do not seem to recognise how modernity's maintenance relies not on its outcomes but the presence of its procedures (and institutions). Since these procedures are seen

to be just, they obfuscate the culpability of the benefactors of the outcomes of these procedures, even when these outcomes are unjust. The establishment of modernity through an arrangement of social and economic institutions provides a mechanism to internalise the coloniality created by modernity within the fold of procedure. One such arrangement that has remained dominant within modernity has been the preponderance of the beliefs, values and habits that promote freedom from ecological constraint and the ability to abstract oneself from the context in a manner that leads a person to "experience their essence as something independent of the social relations that define them" (Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017, p. 38).

Modernity maintains an arrangement of institutions and their associated freedoms through what Adams and Estrada-Villalta (2017, p. 38) would argue to be the analytical cognition and tendency to focus on the properties of objects and people instead of the surrounding context. Furthermore, modernity focuses on an understanding of reality in abstract terms, namely "promotion-oriented motivational tendencies to take advantage of opportunities for self-expression and personal growth; and growth-oriented relational tendencies to pursue happiness in chosen connections and to construct love as the romantic pursuit of personal fulfilment via intimate attachments" (Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017, p. 38).

This framework does not reject these abstract terms as good or bad in themselves. It embraces them through the context of reciprocal recognition. The behaviours associated with these abstract terms, whether motivating or demotivating, are only as valuable as their ability to be expressed and realised by the ideal person and the wretch. Furthermore, borrowing from the lessons gained from modernity's use of pure procedural justice, the framework focuses on the arrangement of institutions that guide behaviour whose procedures focus on decolonial ideals, i.e. reciprocal recognition and conflict and violence. Both of which can potentially restructure the fractal organisation of society.

The framework developed assumes that when a society is viewed through a Complex Adaptive System (CAS) perspective, ideological approaches to development are of less concern when compared to understanding how to arrange institutions to encourage local interactions based on reciprocal recognition. This does not mean that ideology cannot play a role. The choice of reciprocal recognition and formulating new humanism is also an ideological choice. What CAS requires is the choice of ideology that remains open to change or adjustment rather than a dogmatic belief in its success or usage to achieve a utopia. This assumption relies on Fanon's critique of Friedrich Engels' position on armed struggle as far too dependent on whiteness's conception of the state (Gordon, 2015, p. 116). Gordon explains this by highlighting how "Whites could speak against institutions that were instrumental for the organization of social life that enabled their brand of modern living" and would apply their historical situation to the people they exploited (Gordon, 2015, p. 116).

Thus, this framework must understand that the wretch's historical conditions are different from "white North Americans, South Americans, and white Australians" because their efforts to build a society are founded upon the exploitation of ontologically created sub-humans who were consequently forced into underdevelopment (Gordon, 2015, p. 117). Placing a preponderance on the dichotomy between the wretch's historical conditions vis-à-vis those considered more human allows development to consider this relationship as a central aspect of its path dependency.

Consequently, if the wretch's imagining of institutions that govern society becomes intimately tied to those conceived by Western modernity, then it threatens the perpetuation of path dependency and mimicry of the intent of these institutions vis-à-vis the wretch and their continued exploitation. This view aligns with the argument that the quantity and quality of Western-stylised institutions should not be used as the barometer of a society's development. For Fanon, any social transformation deemed legitimate should not be seen as such due to the presence of a particular set of institutions but rather the sovereignty of the people who build these institutions and how they uphold the principles of dignity, equality and equity (Gordon, 2015, p. 117). To maintain the development of these institutions, social transformation requires a form of co-evolution between the wretch and the ideal based on managing changing dynamics and forms of feedback between the two, as discussed in section **Error! Reference source not found.**.

Using the work of Rawls to guide the logic of the framework, if the procedures that influence how institutions are designed are just, and their relevant interactions are also just, then the outcome of the institutions being just is not of concern because the distribution of advantages and disadvantages would be accepted as just by society. This argument lends further credence to Principle 1, that there is no need to develop utopic visions of society so long as the institutions created are considered fair to all. Fairness here does not refer to creating a sense of equality in society but rather the establishment of reciprocal recognition. If this recognition is based on the established institutional arrangements, the emergent outcomes of the framework that inform the distribution of resources within the state will be considered just.

6.3.1.4 Principle 4: Conflict and Violence

Conflict and violence are the fourth aspect of the framework that creates its underlying logic. Fanon's conceptualisation informs both conflict and violence as an inevitable outcome of any attempt to create a new humanism within society. Suppose coloniality exists within society. We can then assume that Fanon's description of the colonial condition marked by "competing claims divided by a Manichean (Aristotelian) structure of segregation and policed borders" (Gordon, 2015, p. 117) remains present within that same society. Kapur (2021, p. 257), who also uses Fanon, further

elaborates the point by moving the presence of coloniality away from its infliction on society and societal behaviour created by the politics of the colonial encounter, towards its influence on an individual sense of self. For Kapur (2021, p. 257), coloniality also entails a sense of revolutionary potential or violence within the wretch itself that is created by "as the inheritances of the liberal imperial endeavour that construct it". The wretch will then view their subjugation as the result of various forms of colonial mischief and unjust wars.

In contrast, the ideal person views their colonial effort through the lens of legal transactions that give them the right to what they have claimed and are not at all mischievous or unjust (Gordon, 2015, p. 118). A relationship predicated on the above necessitates a conflict as both the wretch and the ideal stake moral claims. For the wretch, it would be to free themselves from subjugation. While for the ideal it would be the perseverance of institutions considered morally just (Gordon, 2015, p. 118). So long as these competing claims exist, the conflict will ensue.

Gordon (2015, p. 118) explains that a continued victory by colonialism over the wretch would entail continued violence against the wretch; the same remains true of coloniality. However, a victory by the wretch would entail a complete disruption of society's status quo - a system that does not perceive itself as unjustified or unjust. Therefore, disrupting this status quo will inevitably be viewed as violent by those considered to be the ideal descriptive statement. They would perceive this disruption as an unwarranted violation of decency and order (Gordon, 2015, p. 118). Therefore, any attempt to decolonise becomes an inherently violent prospect that courts conflict.

The courting of conflict results from the act of breaking away from being understood as a colonised subject. This break requires shifting away from the history and values that rendered the wretch dependent, inferior and subordinate (Kapur, 2021, p. 259). This violence is not reduced to physical acts but is the result of a violent process of disassociation of the self, for both the wretch and the ideal, whose subjectivities have been informed by coloniality. Colonial violence impacts both the wretch and the ideal's external positions within society, which in turn impacts the intimate sites of each group's life (Kapur, 2021, p. 259). Therefore, Fanon's violence and this framework relate to the process required to find alternative subjectivities.

For decoloniality, this economical, political and social conflict results from the need to create true convergence that also provides a means to contend with westoxification. In this case, convergence is not towards the ideal Eurocentric modern state. Instead, the wretch and the ideal descriptive statement converge towards a new emergent humanism based on a dialectical relationship between the two, based on reciprocal recognition.

This framework does not wish to valorise violence. The framework accepts the use of violence as an inevitable outcome of any critical juncture within a colonial state's path dependence. Thus, the framework's use predicates a more or less violent confrontation between the wretch and the ideal descriptive statement. As Fanon argued, “National liberation, national reawakening, restoration of the nation to the people or Commonwealth, whatever the name used, whatever the latest expression, decolonization is always a violent event… Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is clearly an agenda for total disorder” (Fanon, 2008b, pp. 1–2).

The position of conflict and violence in the framework seen in Figure 8 below functions as a mediation between individual behaviours and society’s initial conditions and fractal reasoning. It provides the means to understand individual behaviour through the lens of the necessary conflict and violence required to ensure the creation of reciprocal recognition. Without this acknowledgement, the dichotomy between the historical conditions of the wretch and those of the ideal is erased when thinking about the paths for development available to a state. It would obfuscate the role of the wretch and subsume it within the dominant narrative of the descriptive statement that Wynter warns against.

Violence, in particular, as understood through the arguments made in this section, provides a means to break and restart new fractal patterns of development. At least, in theory, it provides the creation of critical junctures that allow for the reiteration of development. Regardless of its end outcomes, this reiteration within the area described earlier as the edge of chaos no longer relies on hierarchical notions influenced by coloniality. Breaking the fractal patterns of development is, naturally, difficult. These patterns emerge and reiterate in complex ways that reductionist analysis cannot easily iterate. Therefore, this thesis also argues for reciprocal recognition to mediate individual behaviour and the initial conditions and fractal reasoning of a society's development.

Furthermore, as shown in Figure 8, there is a need for a second mediator between individual behaviours and understanding the initial conditions and fractal patterns of development in a society; the establishment of reciprocal recognition. Reciprocal recognition sets the parameters that inform the interactions between the wretch and the ideal. These parameters are not static; their evolution, like in dissipative systems, may cause small incremental changes or large bifurcations within a system. Utilising reciprocal recognition provides a means to control and, possibly, measure the adaptive tension within the state between the emergence of coloniality that remains ongoing and the counter-emergence of decoloniality that the framework could generate.

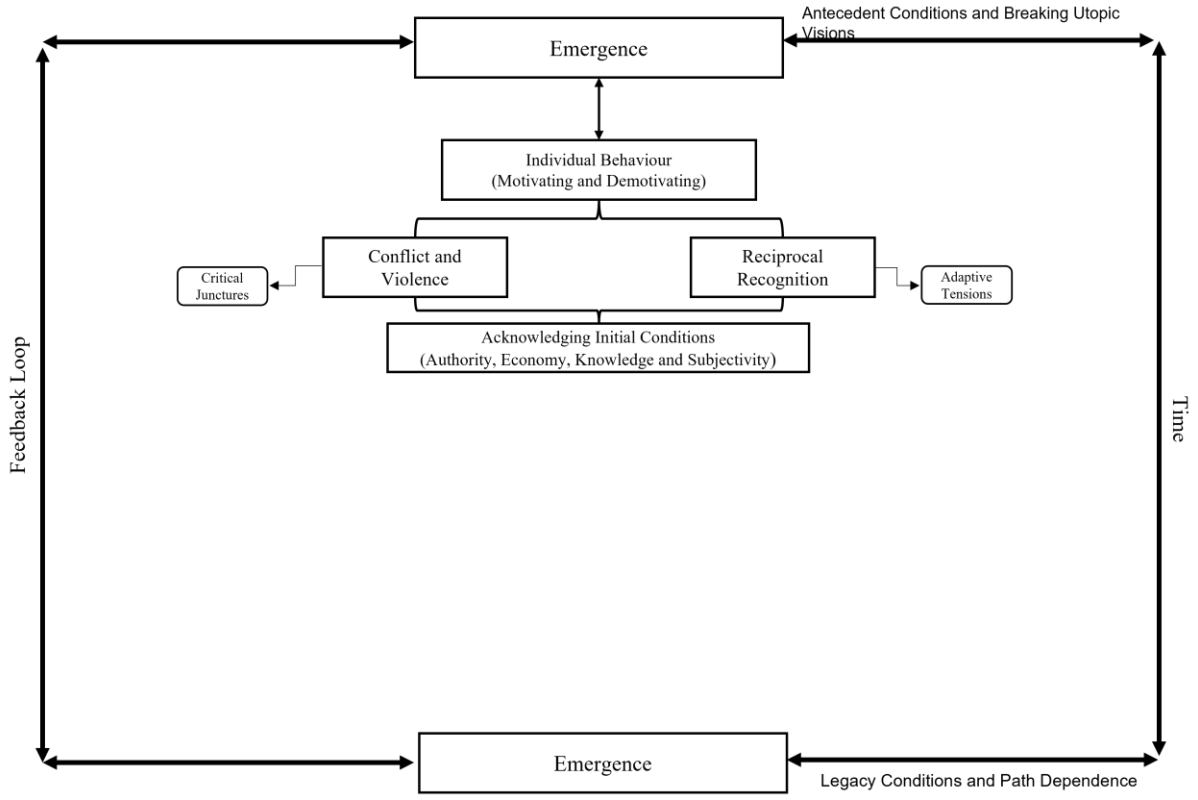

Figure 8: Framework with Principles 2,3 & 4

6.3.1.5 Principle 5: Capitalism as a Social Technology

The framework acknowledges the presence of capital accumulation as a dominant form of social technology that has expressed itself in economic and social world systems for the past four centuries. Though similar to the idea of institutions, Beinhocker argues that social technologies should be considered a broad concept that includes various factors such as "structures, roles, processes, and cultural norms" (Beinhocker, 2006, p. 262). Therefore, rather than focusing on classical institutions such as property rights or the rule of law, social technologies would also consist of factors such as the organisation of the banking system, corruption, economic transparency and the like. Though he does not explicitly include race, racism, and other forms of systemic discrimination, all can and should be seen as social technologies that organise society to pursue a particular goal. The framework recognises them as such.

As a measure of progress, capital accumulation remains a central concern for development and functions as a social technology. It extends its influence over other social technologies, such as aggregate production as a means of economic measurement; the functions and mechanisms within the current global financial system; the underlying logic of the current liberal trade system; the relationship between multinational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the developing world; and the global expansion of multinational corporations.

The current state of capitalism that drives economic development cannot be considered a footnote to the framework. Whether seen from the colonial expansion towards Latin America or the advent of the Industrial Revolution, capitalism remains a constant and unequivocal driver of modernity/coloniality. As previously noted, capitalism is one part of the colonial matrix of power, though its influence has been undeniably tremendous. To create the emergence of a new humanism through reciprocal recognition, a rejection of capitalism, though possible, would not necessarily be the best approach for development.

The framework will depart from Grosfoguel's assertion that movements associated with decolonisation should not be anti-capitalist but instead pursue anti-systemic decolonial liberation. The departure is not due to the belief that capitalism must retain its privileged position within society. The two have become co-constituted. Instead, this framework uses various tools inherent within coloniality that may prove vital in attempts to achieve decolonial liberation based on the homogeneity of capitalism the world over. Al-e Ahmad was not fearful of the machine that was Eurocentric capitalism but instead argued for the realisation that this machine's machinations were neither the exclusive right of the West nor was it the West's prerogative. For Al-e Ahmad, any new society's development must acknowledge that this system must be retooled appropriately.

6.3.1.6 Importance of the principles to decolonial thought and development

If it is accepted that coloniality is the emergent property of modernity – an outcome of the relations between the ideal and the wretch - then a form of development that seeks to disassociate itself from coloniality must also be emergent in nature. The framework currently provides two unique contributions to the field of decolonial thought, public policy and development informed by the five principles discussed in the chapter (see Table 3 below).

Table 3: Principles Guiding the Logic of Emergent-Decolonial Development

	Principles Guiding the Logic of Emergent-Decolonial Development
Principle 1	The first principle focused on how rushanfekri provided a means to understand the bounded rationality of both the ideal and the wretch and how this provides an alternative means of thinking about relations without modernist reductionism.
Principle 2	The second principle focused on understanding how societies are sensitive to their initial conditions and, through reciprocal recognition, can exhibit fractal patterns of development informed by non-linear changes in society.
Principle 3	The third principle further highlighted how reciprocal recognition is understood within the framework, specifically applying Rawls' work of pure procedural justice.
Principle 4	The fourth principle focuses on the necessity of conflict and violence with the framework as a complementary component of creating reciprocal recognition.
Principle 5	The fifth principle focused on understanding the overall nature of capitalism as a form of social technology that continuously influences the state.

The first is that the framework highlights the limitations of deterministic approaches to decolonisation within public policy. As indicated in the integrative literature review, modernity/coloniality's impact on development created the need to highlight how decolonisation within the ambit of modernity necessitates the pursuit of a predefined ideal. At the same time, decolonisation within decolonial scholarship has also become enamoured with pursuing a different, separate, yet still predetermined ideal. Highlighting these limitations provides the means to begin searching for forms of decolonial development that are delinked from the modernist continuum, the hidden impact of coloniality on society and the sustained impact that the dialectical relationship between the ideal and wretch has on the ordering of society and the institutions associated with it.

The second unique contribution is that it brings the logic of emergence into the discourse of decolonial thought. Viewing decolonial thought through the lens of complexity opens the field to new opportunities. When society is viewed as a complex adaptive system, the field of decolonial thought no longer becomes attached to searching for a trajectory of development that seeks to replace Wynter's descriptive statement with its own ideal. Instead, the field focuses on the arrangement of institutions and forms of procedural justice where decoloniality becomes the emergent outcome of development rather than a constitutive element of it. Rather than providing a utopic imagining of society, the

framework provides a guide for designing specific interventions that intend to create the emergence of decolonial outcomes through the proliferation of increased forms of reciprocal recognition.

6.4 Emergent-Decolonial Development

The principles of the framework animate the foundational pillars of the framework. These principles were devised in response to the implications of the colonial matrix of power highlighted by Grosfoguel. However, to practically create new forms of humanism informed by these observations, there is a need to provide tools and guidelines to inform policy development. To keep these guidelines within the framework of complexity, the framework utilises NSEE as a means to develop these policies.

6.4.1 Building NSEE within the Framework

As shown in Figure 9, the application of NSEE to emergent-decolonial development can be situated within its four broad areas organised around the real economy and public sector, with the focus of these policies on meso-level institutions. These policies are informed by the initial conditions created by reciprocal recognition within society and the outcomes of the conflict and violence within said society. The framework's reliance on a meso level of analysis is due to the focus on social technologies and NSEE's ability to endogenously create upward and downward complementarities that drive micro and macro behaviour in a system (see section above). The four areas and their respective meso institutions and sectors of focus are (1) habits and routines – societal or organisational behaviour; (2) self-organisation and innovation (creative destruction) – industry and business; (3) innovative systems and networked governance – public governance; and (4) circular cumulative causation – the economy (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005; Phillimore, 1998; Robert et al., 2017; Robert & Yoguel, 2016).

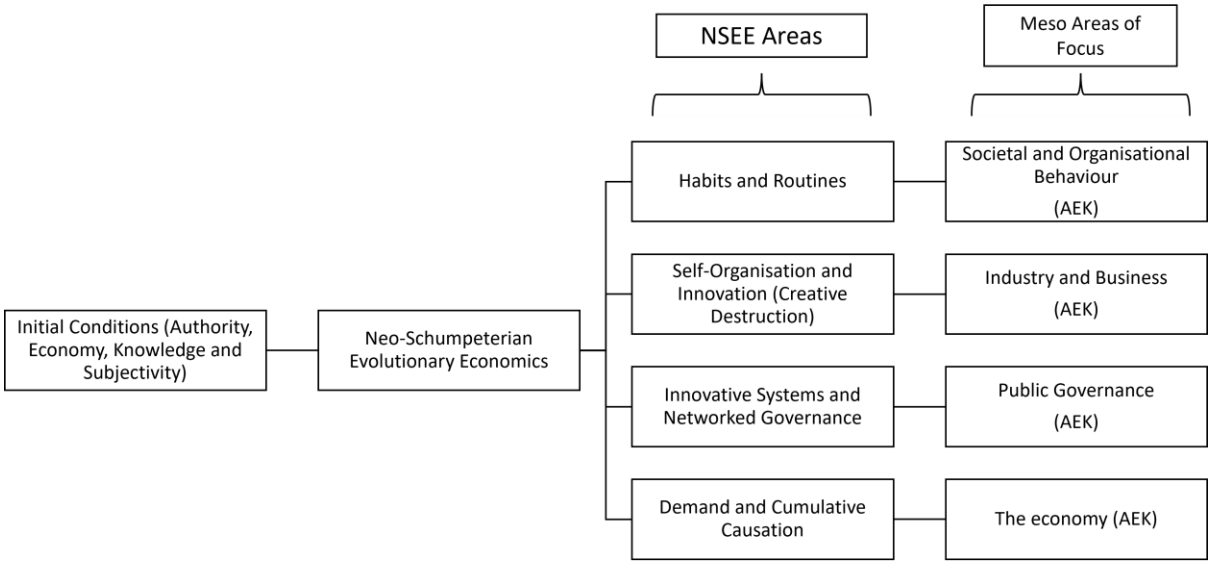

Figure 9: NSEE within the Framework

As argued earlier, the framework can begin to devise policy prescriptions within these four broad areas. These prescriptions can apply to both the real economy and the public sector. However, their application to financial markets remains beyond the scope of this thesis. These policy prescriptions provide the opportunity to encourage the need for various forms of reciprocal recognition to encourage emergent-decolonial development.

6.4.1.1 Habits and Routines – Societal and Organisational Behaviour

The first area of focus refers to the various forms of behaviour exhibited by individuals within a society and within organisational cultures, forms of learning, knowledge generation and knowledge diffusion. As explained by Robert and Yoguel (2016, p. 9), habits and routines focus on understanding the behaviour of economic agents and institutions that exhibit bounded forms of rationality. Bounded rationality, in this sense, relates to how decisions are made with limited access to information and how these limits translate to a misunderstanding of the multitude of representations of the world (Robert & Yoguel, 2016, p. 9). Furthermore, these habits and routines ensure that individuals who exhibit routinised behaviours will choose these habits over what would be deemed rational and that these individuals will act within "socially pre-established parameters to cope with uncertain and changing environments" (Robert & Yoguel, 2016, p. 9).

These habits and routines are locally defined within a subsystem. They rely on the scope of an individual's various connections to others. In the case of a system influenced by coloniality, the socially pre-established parameters described above are increasingly informed by antecedent conditions of that society, which are influenced by coloniality.

6.4.1.1.1 Maintenance of Coloniality through Hierarchical and Modular System Relations

According to Robert and Yoguel (2016, p. 5), complex economic systems consist of various economic individuals who display heterogeneous capabilities, routines, and varying performance levels within the state. As a result, societies are enmeshed with various endogenously created forms of novel behaviour and opportunities to learn from an ever-changing environment. Furthermore, these habits and routines are influenced by the networks in which individuals find themselves.

The architecture of these networks can be hierarchical or modular (Robert & Yoguel, 2016, p. 5). The hierarchical structure relates to adherence to dominant cultures that inform the behaviour of individuals within the public and private spheres. In particular, within the public sphere, legal regulations function as the predominant means of regulating individual habits and routines and determining the social contract between individuals and the state. However, culture and tradition can also be essential in determining individual behaviour. Furthermore, these higher-order forms of regulation also consist of equally complex subsystems of habits and routines informed by family, friends, work, and religious

beliefs. These lower-order subsystems of habits and routines are equally important. They manage and regulate societal behaviour, and adherence influences a sub-system of behaviours.

For instance, consider Figure 10. The higher-order system of habits and routines of society as a whole is assumed, by the framework, to be influenced by coloniality. This higher order is generally influenced by the emergence of coloniality in forms of authority, the economy's structure, and forms of knowledge and subjectivity. However, this system also consists of subsystems of interactions and relations for both the wretch and the ideal. Relations between these two subsystems are negligible within a society that does not exhibit reciprocal recognition. Where these relations do exist, they remain hierarchical and exploitative.

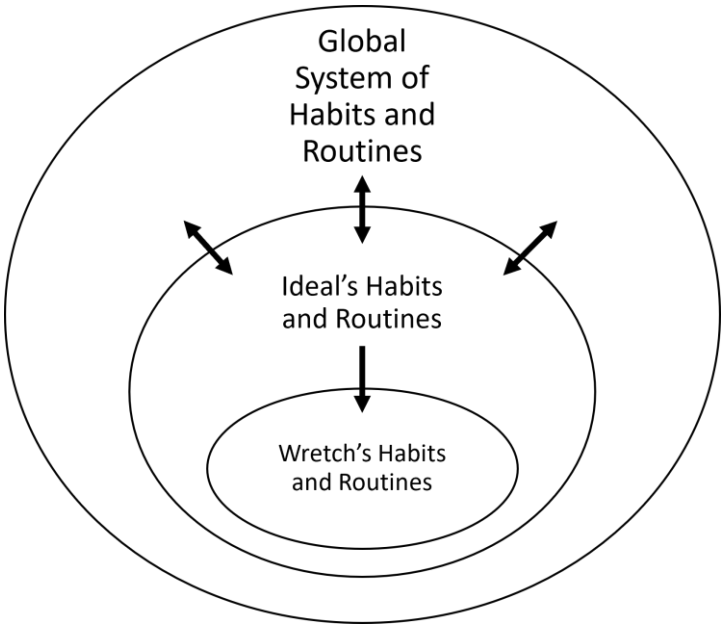

Figure 10: Hierarchical Relations of Habits and Routines

Nevertheless, the master-slave dialectic within this environment depends on the wretch's existence and vice versa. However, the pre-established hierarchy of coloniality ensures that the ideal's habits and routines are seen as the norm to which the wretch must adhere within the broader global system. Therefore, the habits and routines of the wretch are plagued by Bhabha's colonial mimicry and fixity, creating a one-way connection between these two subsystems.

As argued in section 4.1.5, the wretch can never be seen as an ideal but must remain fixed within their position of subhuman with changes in their habits and routines bound by the need to mimic the ideal. This fixity and mimicry both exist within societal and organisational habits and routines. Therefore, policies altering societal behaviour must deconstruct authoritative, economic and epistemological institutions that maintain this hierarchy. However, a further challenge to this deconstruction is the modular characteristics of systems of habits and routines.

The modular architecture of habits and routines refers to the argument that interactions within a subsystem are denser than those between subsystems (Robert & Yoguel, 2016, p. 5). The importance of this architecture in understanding human interactions and the creation of reciprocal recognition is that denser subsystems (systems that exhibit a relatively higher proportion of actual connections between people vis-à-vis the potential connections) are more resilient to change than less dense subsystems. The importance of this point is that it assists in explaining the difficulty of changing and altering the habits and behaviours of the ideal descriptive statement's subsystem, which functions as the predominant subsystem of influence over the global system. As explained by Robert and Yoguel (2016, p. 5):

> *In complex systems, global interactions are possible – each component simultaneously exchanges information with the rest of the system's components – but these tend to be weaker than local interactions – each component exchanges information with neighboring components in the multidimensional space (Antonelli, 2011). Thus, the prevailing partial information prevents there from being a global controller, although coordination is possible through the distributed functioning of the systems. Complex systems by definition exhibit a stable macro-behavior on the bases of micro-instability because the attribute of network architecture explains the emerging order.*

A core assumption of the framework is that the density of interactions among the wretch is lower than the density of interactions among the ideal. Though strong, this assumption is required if one believes that coloniality impacts the construction of subjectivities. The ability to construct a true self is limited to the ideal. In contrast, the wretch's possible connection to their true self is mediated by the need to converge on the ideal. This is based on the argument by Bhabha (1994) that the mutual interactions between those amongst the wretch's subsystem remain limited and restricted to mimicry of the ideal.

The outcome of this assumption is that the actual connections (forms of reciprocal recognition) between individuals within this subsystem are considerably less than ideal. Therefore, changing the habits and routines of the wretch is more manageable than changing the habits and routines of the ideal or the global system of interactions. The result is that the ideal's habits and routines are seen as a seemingly unchangeable standard within society. Considering the ideal exhibits an emergent influence over the global system and the global system only partially influences local subsystem behaviour, the ideal's interactions make it dominant within the system as a whole.

Coloniality does not require formal institutions to control behaviour in society. It simply requires the continued hierarchical and modular relations between the ideal and the wretch to continue unabated. Therefore, the reorientation of these habits and routines must be underpinned by acknowledging the initial conditions that traditionally informed them, the conflict and violence that altered the relations between the ideal and the wretch, and the resultant reciprocal recognition that needs to be achieved.

However, as previously stated, the framework's goal is not to create an ideal set of individualistic relations but rather the continuous improvement between individuals to create various innovative conceptions of a new humanism.

Consider how NSEE views the nature of individual habits and routines as essential to creating innovations in behaviours. The policy interventions required to create innovative models of new humanism in society to emerge must focus on ensuring that the wretch and ideal merge into a subsystem focused on reciprocal recognition. More importantly, this subsystem must exhibit a localised emergent counter to the dominance of coloniality within that society (see Figure 11). The eradication of this hierarchy between the respective subsystems of the wretch and the ideal allows for the use of modularity within the system to alter the habits and routines of society.

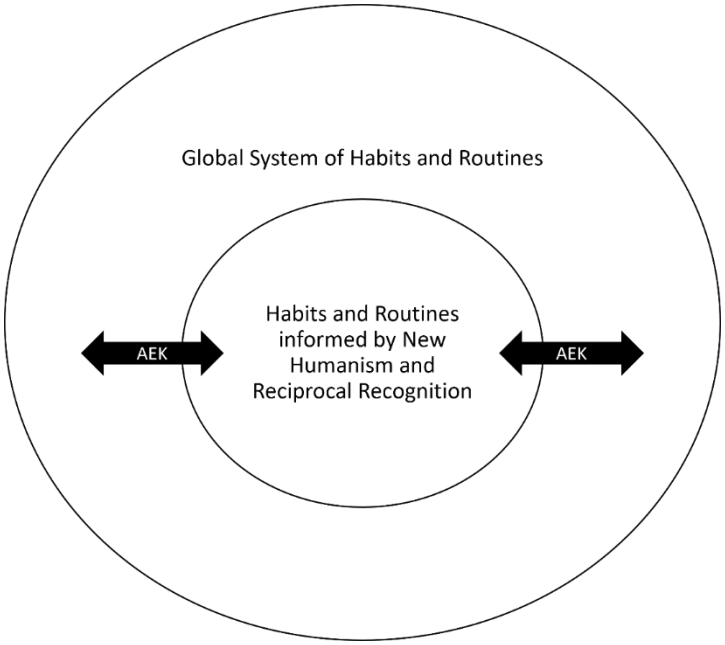

Figure 11: Building New Humanism through habits and routines

6.4.1.2 Self-organisation and Innovation – Industry

The second area relates to self-organisation within industries and the embrace of innovation. This area primarily relates to understanding the nature of competition within industries in the economy and how they generate various forms of innovation, coordination, and self-organisation through creative destruction. The NSEE approach to innovation encompasses technological, organisational, institutional and social innovations. It refers to "conditions for and consequences of a removal and overcoming of these constraints limiting the scope of economic development" rather than the standard economic approach, which focuses on allocating or creating efficient uses of available resources (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 276). This expansion of the idea of innovation allows for its understanding to apply to the overall socio-economic characteristics of industries rather than the narrow focus on economic performance.

From a decolonial perspective, it relates to introducing the wretch within the economic operations of various industries from which they were previously excluded or had limited participation due to structural or instrumental reasons. Structural limitations relate to the nature of industries and the structure of their various economic linkages. Instrumental limitations refer to policies or regulations used within an industry that preclude the full participation of the wretch. The inclusion of the wretch within industries by overcoming these limitations is, by its nature, an innovative process that necessitates creative destruction.

A detailed discussion regarding the role of innovation within industries is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, the importance of reciprocal recognition and the emergence of innovation can be understood as the way reciprocal recognition creates new opportunities for new forms of self-organisation within industries. As Elsner (2018, p. 10) explains, when individuals are faced with a ubiquitous number of possibilities in an overly complex world, they strive to reduce complexity by adapting their cognitive capacity, restricting their interactions by selecting partners (both at an individual and firm-level) through forms of preferential attachment or selective mixing. Furthermore, they attempt to prolong "interactions with those partners, with whom they perform successfully and whom they have learned to trust" and establish "relations, not only according to family and kin but also to spatial/social neighbourhood" (Elsner, 2018, p. 10). Therefore, as long as the wretch and the ideal remain in conflict, the ability to create prolonged interactions and opportunities for welfare-enhancing innovations remains limited.

The participation of the wretch within multiple sectors of the economy is imperative to their inclusion within any nation that seeks to create emergent-decolonial outcomes. This is especially important when ensuring the continuous generation of reciprocal recognition within society. In certain instances, the transformation of industries requires time and resources that limit the change that may occur. Furthermore, the radical change of industries does not guarantee that these changes will create long-lasting decolonial outcomes or provide a consistent challenge to the influence of coloniality both internally and externally. To drive innovation within industries through reciprocal recognition, change within industries by NSEE can be utilised to organise and inform policy interventions. Reciprocal recognition goes beyond creating diverse workplaces, but instead, reorganised spaces underpinned by new humanism that elevates the subjectivities of the wretch with the intent to alter the subjectivities of the ideal.

NSEE suggests three approaches to creating innovation within industries, all of which will be adopted by the framework to inform decolonial innovation through reciprocal recognition. The first is that innovation should focus on structural changes made to industries and the active "removal of constraints inhibiting development under the status quo and allowing for development under new circumstances" (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 276). The second refers to how changes should not be considered continuous

but reminiscent of punctuated equilibria encompassing “periods of smooth and regular development as well as periods of radical change” (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 277). Lastly, an innovation that drives the creation of reciprocal recognition should inevitably show “strong non-linearities and positive feedback effects which are responsible for pattern formation and other forms of spontaneous structuring” (Hanusch & Pyka, 2005, p. 277).

From a policy perspective, though requiring further research, innovation intending to create decolonial outcomes should be considered as behavioural and technological change endogenously created through improved forms of self-organisation underpinned by reciprocal recognition (Elsner, 2018, p. 16). Within this context, innovation policies within industries would relate to a framework that shapes the size and scope of interactions between the wretch and the ideal and the structures that encourage them (both at an individual and firm level). This innovation framework regulates factors that shape sectors' cognitive, informational and expectational conditions to change the institutions through incremental and significant change.

The state's role in such situations would be to shape the conditions of interactions to ensure that private agents interactively adapt their behaviours while developing instrumental institutions of cooperation, i.e. “towards system attractors that are considered superior” (Elsner, 2018, p. 16). This process intends to push industries towards new system attractors (i.e. new positions within a phase space that influence the general functions of the system as a whole). As Elsner (2018, p. 16) concludes, this framework ensures that individuals and firms interact within a set of necessary regulations that shape favourable conditions (conditions that encourage reciprocal recognition). These individuals and firms then adapt their interactions further.

6.4.1.3 Innovative Systems and Networked Governance - Public Governance

Public policy and public management are traditionally concerned with “how to create or change particular patterns of interaction between actors to get a particular result” (Eppel & Rhodes, 2018, p. 950). It is also worth stating that even though the thesis does not provide a detailed discussion of governance, its usage here refers to the “institutionalized politico-economic process that organizes and coordinates activities among a wide variety of economic, political, and social actors” (Kim, 2006, p. 20). Introducing complexity to public policy, public management, and governance implies a necessary but straightforward assumption: “policy, decision-making, and institutions evolve” (Teisman & Klijn, 2008, p. 288). However, a more complicated assumption to accept because of the tradition of linearity within the public sector is that structures within the public sector do not behave according to Newtonian principles but are self-organising (Teisman & Klijn, 2008, p. 288). The broader implication of this latter assumption is the removal of the idea that public managers can be made fully responsible for the performance of their services solely through the economic assessment of managing the economy of

inputs, the efficiency of inputs to outputs, and the "effectiveness of those outputs to generate good outcomes" (Haynes, 2018, p. 982). nice

On the other hand, complexity emphasises that "public managers work in unpredictable systems where individual practitioners have limited influence" and that organisational systems and structures are contingent on their external environment (Haynes, 2018, p. 982). Public and private systems and the various networks of human relationships within a state exhibit interactive feedback loops (Haynes, 2018, p. 982). Understanding governance through complexity focuses on understanding the nature of complex adaptive governance systems and their resultant factors, i.e., emergence, dynamics, dissipative systems, autopoietic systems, non-linearity and networks. These factors allow actors both within the state and external to it to generate innovative modes of self-organisation that can, according to Haynes (2018, p. 982), contribute to bottom-up creativity and resistance.

Castelnovo and Sorrentino (2018, p. 1018) illustrate this point of dynamic interactions by arguing that when a central government enacts a policy programme, local implementers face significant organisational and financial costs. These costs force implementers to adjust their behaviour and invest in activities that minimise these costs. As a result, implementers of policies need to adapt to legislative and regulatory changes that create conditions of disequilibrium that require further adjustment through co-evolution and self-organisation (Castelnovo & Sorrentino, 2018, p. 1018). This loop, in turn, "generates new configurations, new behaviours and new practices, even though these do not fully correspond to those originally envisaged" (Castelnovo & Sorrentino, 2018, p. 1018). The result of this is that "both central governments and local municipalities witnessed roles change dramatically, which had impact on ways in which policies are derived and implemented." (Kim, 2006, p. 19).

Based on the arguments made by Haynes (2018), Kim (2006) and Castelnovo and Sorrentino (2018), this framework adopts network governance as an organising principle to contend with these various interactions within the public sector through the lens of complexity. According to Stoker (2006, p. 41), "network governance is a particular framing of collective decision-making that is characterized by a trend for a wider range of participants to be seen as legitimate members of the decision-making process in the context of considerable uncertainty and complexity". The growth of networked governance resulted from the increasing complexity of public problems that individual government agencies alone could not resolve (Kapucu, 2014, p. 30). This realisation led to a "growing emphasis on replacing hierarchical, bureaucratic structures with more integrated horizontal networks" (Kapucu, 2014, p. 30).

These integrated networks embrace "inclusive and participatory approaches to policy-making, collective action, and implementation" and consist of public managers, civic leaders and professionals who are expected to cooperate and develop collaborative strategies across institutional boundaries that enhance the sharing of resources and leverage experience and knowledge (Kapucu, 2014, p. 29). As a result, networked governance necessitates a reliance by public managers on "interpersonal and inter-

organizational processes as complements to—and sometimes as substitutes for—authority" as managers seek to find substitutes to traditional co-ordinating action (Kettl, 2002, p. 168). This approach furthers the argument for creating a habits and routines subsystem that merges the wretch with the ideal.

As Stoker (2006, p. 41) argues, the consequence of the above is that network governance needs an alternative paradigm and framework of public administration. Stoker (2006) believes this paradigm to be public value management. This thesis argues that complexity provides a more compelling paradigmatic approach to actualising the mechanisms provided by networked governance.

When viewed through complexity, networks become adaptive systems sensitive to various negative and positive feedback loops (Kapucu, 2014; Koliba et al., 2011, 2018). As a result, governance networks become complex systems that exhibit emergent qualities adaptive to changing conditions and have demonstrated the capacity to self-organise (Koliba et al., 2018, p. 233). Feedback loops within networked governance can be seen through various explicit and tacit policy tools ranging from "grants, contract agreements, and regulations, representation and interest group competition, acts of administration, accountability, and performance measurement" (Kapucu, 2014, p. 31). However, though complexity provides various tools for the evaluation of networked governance practices, Kettl (2002, p. 168) does warn that the hierarchy and forms of authority traditionally derived from traditional state structures "cannot and will not be replaced" as "hierarchy and authority provide enduring strategies for both coordination and accountability in democratic governments". Hierarchies and networks are not mutually exclusive concepts. However, the dominant nature of hierarchical relations in government does not preclude the dynamic relations created by networks. Though Mbembe and Posel (2005) argue that the state is the driver of creating a new humanism, this does not mean the state must function as the primary driver of this change.

As argued before, if networks are seen as complex adaptive systems that exhibit non-linear dynamics, whole-scale change – often difficult in hierarchical structures that exhibit vested political interests – is not required by the state. Small changes linked to non-linear interactions can facilitate change within the system as a whole. Changes that then become self-organising and self-regulating. The challenge for the framework is identifying these changes.

The use of network governance in the framework is mainly due to three factors. The first is that it contends with the interactions of internal and external agents to the state, providing a means for the wretch to participate in structures and activities of governance even if excluded from the state's hierarchical structure. Understanding the state allows complexity to target decolonial emergent patterns through state mechanisms. Secondly, it provides a holistic view of the state from both a local and central perspective, providing a fractal understanding of the activities of the state. These reasons provide various avenues to encourage a range of approaches to creating reciprocal recognition within a nation-state in sustainable ways that also contend with the initial governance structures within society. Thirdly,

network governance provides the means to create forms of reciprocal recognition within the public sector by creating one subsystem of both the wretch and the ideal within systems of governance.

6.4.1.4 Demand and Cumulative Causation - The Economy and Business

The institutional designs and social technologies discussed above coalesce within the framework's broader economic understanding of growth and development. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, economic development has traditionally been plagued by modernist notions of progress and the achievement of the ideal that often led to post-colonial countries striving towards forms of convergence with countries considered to be developed. Neoclassical and neoliberal economics have remained the dominant modes of economic knowledge generation because they have been institutionalised within both academia and government agencies (Stein, 2021, p. 123). However, they have been augmented by other development considerations, e.g., dependency theory and sustainable development. Few of these approaches provide the economic understanding of complexity required to focus economic activities on the explicit creation of perpetuated emergence. However, the work by Gunnar Myrdal and Nicholas Kaldor provides the framework with the requisite economic logic to understand how reciprocal recognition can be encouraged through macroeconomic activity.

The Myrdal-Kaldor approach focuses on understanding an economy through an understanding of Circular and Cumulative Causation (CCC). CCC refers to four general understandings of the economy. First, economies are made of many variables and factors whose general interactions are complex and manifold. The result of this is that economies exhibit multi-causal relationships between variables where the interdependencies of these variables are relatively strong (O'Hara, 2008, p. 376). This acknowledgement of multi-causal relationships differs from the single-factor economic development models that remain dominant in economic discourse informed by modernity. Rather than utilising a reductionist perspective of an economy focused on single-factor linear relationships, CCC embraces the dynamic and non-linear relationships within an economy.

The second general understanding of the economy, stated before, refers to how variables within an economy function through positive feedback loops that "magnify and multiply the combined impact of the interactions through historical time" (O'Hara, 2008, p. 376). For both Myrdal and Kaldor, the feedback loops and interdependencies between variables create cumulative forms of circular causation that impact various macroeconomic issues such as money, growth, demand, development and (in particular for Myrdal) issues related to ethnicity within nation-states (O'Hara, 2008, p. 376).

The third general understanding of the economy by CCC "relates to traverse, path dependence, and hysteresis that move the [economic] system through time in a typically non-equilibrium fashion" (O'Hara, 2008, p. 376). In this sense, history and time play a crucial factor in understanding economic growth and development, with the socio-economic-historical context of a country taking on a central concern within the economy and its growth considerations. Unlike other models discussed earlier in the

thesis, CCC explicitly includes a concept such as reciprocal recognition within its framing and further emboldens it with multi-causal relations with other variables within the system.

The fourth aspect of CCC focuses on how cumulative causation primarily exhibits positive feedback. However, it also considers the endogenous contradictions embedded within the dynamics of the economy (O'Hara, 2008, p. 377). That is to say, certain cumulative actions may dampen and counteract development. The result of the above elaboration is that this form of development believes that the causality of relations within an economy continually informs and transforms the conditions under which causality operates in the future. As a result, the growth and development of the present are heavily reliant on the multi-causal relationships of the past, including the level of reciprocal recognition.

Furthermore, this conclusion provides a unique method of ensuring that emergence within the framework is considered circular in its impact. All of the above can be surmised quantitatively through the use of the Kaldor-Verdoorn Law that establishes the long-term non-linear dynamics and feedback relationship between the growth in economic output and the growth of productivity that allows for a better understanding of the existence of developmental paths that exist under disequilibrium conditions (Robert & Yoguel, 2011, p. 420, 2016, p. 7). However, this analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Though Myrdal and Kaldor's contributions remain significant for the framework, the differing approaches to the level of detail in their analysis are also worth noting. For Myrdal, growth and development must focus on the social economy and understanding the cause of uneven development through a social, political, and economic lens. In comparison, Kaldor places a more narrow focus on demand-supply issues linked to creating economies of scale through the analysis of investment spending and productivity (O'Hara, 2008, p. 377). Myrdal also placed a greater level of preponderance on the role of ideology, assumptions and social norms studied through more normative forms of inquiry. For Myrdal, human relationships and their psychological preconceptions ground all economic processes.

On the other hand, Kaldor focuses on empirical connections between productivity and its various linkages within an economy (O'Hara, 2008, p. 378). Finally, Myrdal concentrates on the "uneven process of development, especially vis-à-vis minority groups and underdeveloped nations". At the same time, Kaldor remains focused on the driving forces of capitalism within developed nations (O'Hara, 2008, p. 378).

Viewing the economy through the lens of CCC and innovative systems provides a more nuanced understanding of the differences between developed and developing countries' developmental paths that do not bind them to notions of convergence. For Robert and Yoguel (2011, p. 426), the differences in both the creative and adaptive reactions of heterogeneous agents create the emergence of specific patterns of innovation and growth. These differences are consolidated through institutional frameworks that are either beneficial or become adverse to the reinforcement of divergent developmental paths

(Robert & Yoguel, 2011, p. 426). Development through this context is less concerned with abiding with particular developmental paths as a sign of success but more reliant on identifying emergent patterns of development that can be leveraged to take advantage of a nation-state's particular requirements and desires for growth.

6.5 Framework for Emergent-Decolonial Development

As shown in Figure 12, the framework can broadly be separated into four components. The first refers to the use of the findings in the literature regarding decoloniality, rushanfekri and Sylvia's Wynter's descriptive statement to identify the forms of individual behaviours required to generate activities within a state that will enable the emergence of decolonial outcomes from policy interventions. This framework component aims to create an opportunity for policy practitioners to consider coloniality's a priori impact on individual behaviour and sense of self. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to assess the colonial matrix of power's implications on individuals. Considering that the framework utilises complexity as its primary explanatory tool, beginning with a micro-level analysis of behaviour provides an ideal place to influence the state's larger meso and macro structures.

The second component focuses on translating the behaviours identified in the first component of the framework into institutional frameworks that create upward and downward complementarities within society's macro and micro relations. This component uses the literature explored in Chapters 3,4 and 5 to focus on the nation-state's initial conditions through the lens of the colonial matrix of power with a specific focus on the state of forms of authority, the economy, and knowledge and subjectivity. After that, the component uses the findings from Chapter Chapter 5, particularly NSEE, to devise institutional designs that leverage the behaviours described in components 1 and 2.

The third component of the framework is informed by Principle 2: Initial Conditions and Fractal Connections), Principle 3: Reciprocal Recognition through Pure Procedural Justice) and Principle 5: Capitalism as a Social Technology) and primarily relates to the use of complexity to create institutional frameworks that allow for the translation of the traditional conceptions of decoloniality into possible policy prescriptions.

The fourth component of the framework refers to the possible decolonial policy actions that can guide policy action informed by components 1 and 2. This relates primarily to the use of NSEE across institutional areas of authority, the economy, knowledge and subjectivity in societal and organisational behaviours; innovation within industry and business; forms of public governance; and the growth and development of the economy.

These four components of the framework work under the assumption that the decisions and actions made in each exist within a society characterised as a complex adaptive system. The result of this assumption is that society is then seen as a dynamic system of interactions that, as this thesis has argued,

provides the best means of escaping the ideological, epistemological, and ontological confines of modernity and coloniality. The result is that the activities generated by the society within this framework provide the means to derive an institutional framework designed to generate policies more adept at deconstructing the impact of coloniality and provide for the emergence of forms of new humanism that further develop renewed forms of reciprocal recognition. A framework of this sort, as has been stated before, does not seek to create an ideal state but rather a state that explicitly seeks to continuously co-evolve through dynamic relationships between increasingly evolving senses of self and the institutions that further reinforce policy decisions that further amplify these adaptations.

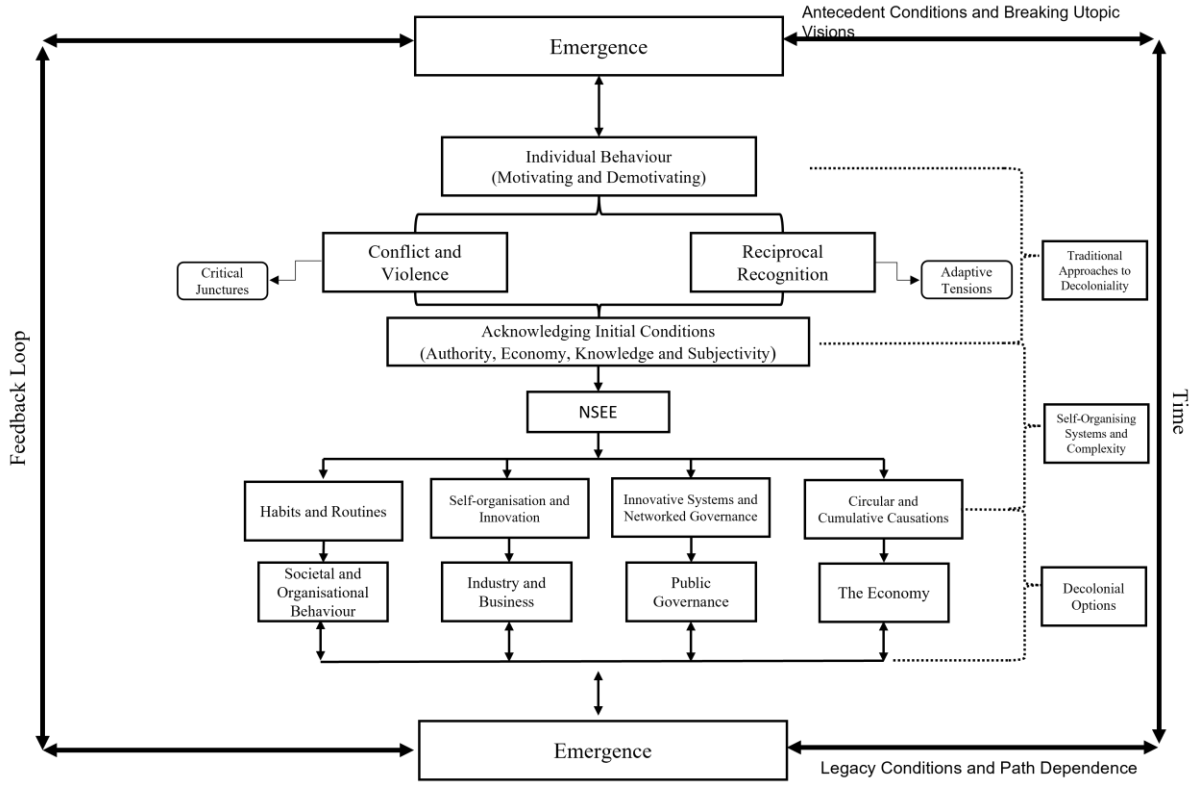

Figure 12: Emergent-Decolonial Development

6.6 Conclusion

To actualise these interventions required an approach to understanding development in a manner that would coalesce with complexity. The approach chosen was NSEE, which highlighted how its particular interventions (habits and routines, self-organisation and innovative systems, networked governance and cumulative causation) could be used to specifically tackle the emergent characteristics of the colonial matrix of power. Through NSEE and the principles discussed above, EDD allows for the pursuit of development where the outcome is of less concern, so long as the meso-level institutions created are informed by reciprocal recognition and the critical junctures created by the purposeful embrace of conflict and violence. This combination ensures that EDD is less constrained by path dependence and opens itself to fractal forms of development that impact society's micro and macro components.

Chapter 7

Documentary Analysis

The liberation texts form the underlying logic for the overall framework discussed in Chapter 6. As will be discussed in this chapter, these texts are considered blueprints for their respective country's ideas and beliefs regarding their developmental plans after achieving liberation or, in the case of Ecuador, when embarking on an explicitly decolonial growth path. All the respective documents share various decolonial characteristics; however, this thesis is more concerned with whether these characteristics can be interpreted as an emergent-decolonial framework for policy and development. In addition, the documents were also purposefully chosen to reflect the geographical, ontological, and colonial differences in liberation texts across time and colonial conditions.

The documentary analysis will investigate four liberatory texts, namely: the *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights* signed by the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1931, which functioned as the formative document that influenced the INC; the *Arusha Declaration* devised by Julius Nyerere and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) 1967; *Ready to Govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa*; and *Title 6 and 7 of the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution*. The choice of documents across both temporal and geographical space was an important consideration due to the potential for both ubiquitous interpretations of their influence on post-colonial development research and the uncovering of important nuances each document provides to the overall analysis. The documents span 80 years of colonial struggle and potentially provide a temporal bridge between the ideas of development after achieving liberation that is not tied to ideas of self-determination.

7.1 Historical Contexts

A historical account of each document provides a means to show how each document achieves the three criteria detailed in the section: (1) That each document represents the developmental beliefs of individuals or groups within a society directly impacted by coloniality; (2) each document represents a developmental plan of a state not under colonial rule or represents the ideals of self-determination; and (3) each document represent the developmental objectives of the liberated state.

7.1.1 India: The 1931 *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights*

In Bose and Jalal's historical recounting of the development of India titled "Modern South Asia: History, Culture and Political Economy", they explain that the imposition of colonialism in India was met with resistance from provincial states within the country; the English East India Company; and the indigenous merchant capitalists of the period (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 52). They further elaborate on how

pressure from Britain and the 'Company State' had an inexorable impact on the politics of India and fundamentally undermined the state system throughout the 18th century (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 52). The result of this was the acquisition of state power by the British in 1757 and the dereliction of Indian capital into a state of inferiority throughout the country. It was the achievement of what Bose and Jalal (2017, p. 52) explain as "a form of conquistador imperialism which contributed in no uncertain way to the economic stagnation of the early nineteenth century".

The extraction of resources by both the company state and eventual British colonial state (and, ultimately, from officers with any kind of army rank) from peasants created what should be considered a qualitatively different state from India's pre-colonial situation (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 55). The extent of the extraction led to India becoming Britain's "biggest source of revenue, the world's biggest purchaser of British exports and the source of highly paid employment for British civil servants and soldiers all at India's own expense" (Tharoor, 2018, p. 21). The essence of Britain's colonial regime during the 19th century became the "subordination of the Indian economy to the British economy" (Chandra et al., 2016, p. 124). Its rule evolved from the tools of conquest and mercantilism into the complex mechanism of free trade and foreign capital investment that changed India from a supplier of food and raw materials into a market for manufacturers from the metropole and field of investment for British capital (Chandra et al., 2016, p. 124).

The level of extraction contributed to the lack of economic growth and equity in the 19th century, as local textile production was limited and placed directly under state control. The mobility of peasants was restricted as their livelihoods were squeezed by the state's revenue and rent policies (Bose & Jalal, 2017, pp. 55 & 57). Furthermore, where rights to resources in the past were expressed through community institutions such as temples, according to Bose and Jalal (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 57), the colonial system replaced this pre-colonial risk-sharing arrangement with the risks of the marketplace in which the indigenous Indian community were excluded from participating in.

However, the expansion of the colonial state across India was met with resistance in certain quarters. The pre-independent state of Mysore and the confederacy of Maratha created institutions specifically designed to generate independent streams of revenue away from the company state and the creation of military institutions that could match the colonial state (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 49). However, both were brought under colonial rule by the beginning of the 19th century. The Sikh kingdom of Punjab provided the last resistance against the colonial state but was eventually subdued in 1849 (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 50). Though these states formally resisted the colonial state, informal resistance remained widespread across the subcontinent and was undertaken by "rural magnates, peasants, tribals and urban artisans" (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 69). These civilian uprisings soon accompanied the military mutiny of 1857 that

formed part of what Bose and Jalal argued to be the watershed moment of India's colonial history, which sought to end the colonial state. (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 69).

As will be explained in this chapter, what links these uprisings to the decolonial outcomes proposed by this thesis is the resistance against Wynter's descriptive statement by those colonised by the British Empire. This challenge was not focused on returning colonial India to its pre-colonial dictates. The challenge to the modernist aspirations also sought to embrace, as Jalal Al-Ahmad would argue, the west-struckness of the subcontinent. This point is explained by Aurobindo Ghose (cited in Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 91), who published the following remarks in 1893 in his essay titled 'New Lamps for Old':

> *No one will deny, – no one at least in that considerable class to whose address my present remarks are directed – that for us, and even for those of us who have a strong affection for original oriental things and believe that there is in them a great deal that is beautiful, a great deal that is serviceable, a great deal that is worth keeping, the most important objective is and must inevitably be the admission into India of Occidental ideas, methods and culture: even if we are ambitious to conserve what is sound and beneficial in our indigenous civilisation, we can only do so by assisting very largely the influx of Occidentalism. But at the same time we have a perfect right to insist, and every sagacious man will take pains to insist, that the process of introduction shall not be as hitherto rash and ignorant, that it shall be judicious, discriminating. We are to have what the West can give us, because what the West can give us is just the thing and the only thing that will rescue us from our present appalling condition of intellectual and moral decay, but we are not to take it haphazard and in a lump; rather we shall find it expedient to select the very best that is thought and known in Europe, and to import even that with the changes and reservations which our diverse conditions may be found to dictate. Otherwise instead of a simple ameliorating influence, we shall have chaos annexed to chaos, the vices and calamities of the West superimposed on the vices and calamities of the East.*

Bose and Jalal (2017, p. 86) warn against the temptation of viewing the teleological account of the anti-colonial struggle in India since 1757 as initiated by the beginnings of nationalism in the country. The Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, provided a vibrant nationalist discourse to what had already been an ongoing anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle within the country. Its ideology was underpinned by a "clear, scientific and firm understanding and analysis of colonialism" that resonated with many Indian citizenry at the time (Chandra, 1986, p. 18).

7.1.1.1 Indian National Congress's Pursuit of Self-Determination

The goal of the Congress during its early years was focused on the attainment of "independent economic development including independence from foreign capital, the creation of an independent capital goods sector based on the latest technology and the foundation of independent science and technology"

(Chandra, 1986, p. 18). According to Chandra (1986, p. 18), for the Congress, colonialism was the active subordination of the Indian economy and society in a manner that sought to meet the needs of its colonial metropole, Britain. As a result, tackling colonialism required various strategies beyond nationalism, as nationalism formed just one part of the tapestry related to the philosophy of liberation present within the country during the early 20th century.

The emergence of states formally challenging the colonial state, the military mutiny of 1857 and the emergence of the Indian National Congress, during what Bose and Jalal (2017, p. 86) argue to be the high noon of colonialism in India – and the advocacy by subordinate social groups in India - was deeply informed by a growing inter-connectedness of various political and social developments across the country that found their linkages during the preceding century of colonial rule. Many of these developments did not represent any form of linkage to the post-enlightenment informed rationality argued for by nationalists (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 86). They represented, according to Bose and Jalal (2017, p. 86), the rational patriotism (of various states and coalitions of indigenous groups impacted by the colonial state) that were influenced by "regional affinities and religious sensibilities that were a major feature of late pre-colonial India" (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 86). Their sense of development did not fit into the traditional-modernist dichotomy of development within the discourse of colonialism – the search for self-determination. Instead, they sought a more complex understanding development based on their various positionalities that found congruence during the Karachi Congress of the Indian National Congress in 1931.

The Karachi Congress took place against the backdrop of three significant events over the previous decade. The first was the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in Paris in 1919 and the enactment of the 'Government of India Act' signed in the same year. While the former established colonial India as a founding member of the League of Nations and established it as a diplomatic entity, the latter (instituted by the British Government) enacted a political system within India that devolved power to British Indian provinces (Legg, 2021, p. 32). Legg (2021, p. 32) argues that these two events ensured that India both acquired a special international subjecthood while also creating fragmented and dispersed sovereignty across its various provinces - creating both an inner and outer state (Legg, 2021, p. 32)

The importance of the Treaty and the Act can be attributed, at least partly, to how they were signed. The Paris Peace Treaty, signed on the 28th of June of 1919, preceded that of the Act, signed on the 23rd of December of 1919. Therefore, as Legg explains, two contingencies took place during the signing of both agreements. The first was that the 'British India' (known then as Princely India) that signed the agreement was a vastly different India from the state that signed the Act, with British India only formalising its constitution six months after the Treaty (Legg, 2021, pp. 32–33). India, at least from the perspective of the ruling Conservative Party in Britain, was seen as a "vital strategic and economic

interest and the principal imperial possession" (Woods, 1994, p. 26). It was understood by those within the political class of Britain that it would be unlikely that they would throw away a critical colony that contributed to Britain's imperial supremacy (Woods, 1994, p. 26). Those in India who sought liberation believed their contributions to the First World War would be rewarded at Versailles with freedoms associated with dominion status (Framke, 2017, pp. 126–127).

The second significant event was the lack of congruency between those drafting the Treaty of Versailles and the Act. The Treaty provided the means of diplomatic autonomy, and the Act was seen as a means for creating constitutional reform that would eventually lead to the dominion status of India within the British Empire. The reality was that the Act, commonly understood as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, became a tool for restructuring British India "to better safeguard the essentials of the British position" (Woods, 1994, p. 26). The Act diverted attention from the demand for national liberation towards a focus on provincial autonomy that would be supported by traditional allies of Britain's colonial supremacy and ensured the maintenance of colonial power throughout the subcontinent (Woods, 1994, p. 27).

The Act proved unsatisfactory to the indigenous Indian community and the governors-general within the state. The former believed the treaty provided the roadmap for national liberation, while the latter further entrenched colonial rule. It led, almost a decade later, to the establishment of the Simon Commission – an all-white commission set up by John Simon in November of 1927 to enquire into the future of constitutional reforms in India (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 117; Woods, 1994, p. 27). The Commission was criticised and met with large-scale protests and contestations within India, which eventually led to a Round Table Conference to discuss constitutional reforms in 1930 (Bose & Jalal, 2017; Maclean, 2015).

The third significant event that led to the Karachi Congress and its eventual adoption of the *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights* was the Gandhi-Irwin Act, signed on the 5th of March of 1931. The Gandhi-Irwin Act can reasonably be seen as being born out of dissatisfaction with the Montagu-Chelmsford Act and the resultant non-violent civil disobedience (satyagraha) campaigns led by Mahatma Gandhi in the 1920s (Legg, 2021, p. 33). The pact was an agreement by the British government to release all non-violent political prisoners in return for an agreement by Gandhi and the Indian National Congress to suspend all civil disobedience activities, the creation of concessions related to federacy within the state, and the creation of safeguards for minority groups (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 124; Maclean, 2015, p. 42; Srivastava & Srivastava, 2016, p. 29).

At least for this thesis, the importance of this situation is less about the role of the Gandhi-Irwin pact on the INC's positions but rather the backdrop of growing militant and violent (as well as non-violent)

forms of protest strongly associated with the rise of socialist discourse by the young people across various regions in India. A rise that became strongly associated with Bhagat Singh – before and after his death (S. I. Habib, 2007; Moffat, 2018) - who was executed on the eve of the Karachi Congress after three years of imprisonment associated with his bombing of the Indian parliament. Bhagat Singh, a prominent member of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA), which sought to create the United States of India through an organised and armed revolution (Nair, 2009, p. 651), represented young people across India who were dissatisfied with Gandhian politics and groped for revolutionary alternatives (Kaur, 2016, p. 54; Rao, 1997, p. 3). He believed that only through violent revolutionary change accompanied by the socialist reconstruction of Indian society would India achieve complete independence (Moffat, 2019; Rao, 1997).

7.1.1.1.1 The Role of 'Violence' in the Pursuit of Purna Swaraj

As argued in section 6.3.1.4, violence is essential to the emergent-decolonial developmental framework. Gandhi's non-violent civil disobedience campaigns during the 1920s brought international notoriety to the colonised Indian state. For Gandhi, non-violent programmes such as satyagraha provided an effective political weapon against the colonial state that gained widespread support across the subcontinent (Bakshi, 1982, p. 681) and beyond – the 1952 Defiance Campaign in South Africa was explicitly based on satyagraha. On the other hand, the violent and militarist movements, primarily based in North India and the Bengal regions and led mainly by young people, advocated for a political programme that saw violence as a means to create the support needed to overwhelm the British bureaucracy to the point of surrender (Bakshi, 1982, p. 681).

The Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA), inspired by the Russian Revolution and Sinn Fein in Ireland, embarked on "strategic acts of violence to undermine the British" (Maclean, 2015, p. 27). These acts would eventually provide these movements with a substantial role in nationalist politics by the early 1930s and dramatically reverse "long-established patterns of [anti-]colonial violence" throughout the state (Maclean, 2015, p. 190); patterns that at the beginning of the 1920s were minimal and often overshadowed by non-violent disobedience campaigns and changed into violent attacks on the state that reached unprecedented levels (Maclean, 2015, p. 27).

As Maclean (2015, p. 190) explains:

> *The government of India could not seem to check the growth of violence, with various indications that anti-colonial violence was morphing in its modality, making it harder to predict and detect. Violence was no longer the preserve of organised parties, noted the government of the United Provinces, but was 'committed by persons who … by improving on the insane methods of Mr Gandhi, thought they could do something to free the country by exploding bombs*

> *at odd places, by cutting telegraph wires and such like stupid methods. This rise in political violence injected an overdose of anxiety into British residents in India, greatly undermining 'the pleasure of ruling',*

What can be best described as the dialectic between the non-violent anti-colonial movement led by Gandhi and the violent anti-colonial movement led primarily by the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA) - which Chandrashekhar and Bhagat Singh formed - can be best encapsulated by Gandhi's editorial in response to the HSRA titled the 'The Cult of the Bomb' written in 1930 and HSRA's response to 'The Philosophy of the Bomb'. Gandhi's editorial saw the members of the HSRA as terrorists whose idealising of violence was inconsistent with the general populace of India, whom he believed had "become conscious of the fact that they must have freedom…untouched by violence" (Elam, 2016, p. 15). For Gandhi, violence advocated by the HSRA replicated the violence of the British colonial system, whereas "non-violence causes people to 'become conscious of their power. They cease to fear authority.…It is the true swaraj of the masses attained by the masses" (Elam, 2016, p. 15).

The HSRA, in response, saw 'the philosophy of the bomb' as the use of violence as a revolutionary tool designed to break the control of the ruling classes. They believed their tool provided a juxtaposition against satyagraha, which they believed sought to reproduce the extant forms of authority by the British, except with Indian faces (Elam, 2016, p. 16). A forewarning that bears similarity with Fanon's *The Pitfalls of National Consciousness,* that Elam (2016, p. 16) importantly highlights as the contestation between the approaches of both the HSRA and INC – that of violence vis-à-vis non-violence - during the 1920s and leading up to the Karachi Congress that became an effort to maintain rhetorical command over the 'masses' as the metonym for 'humanity". Masses in this instance was understood as "a metaphor for a commitment to egalitarianism, rooted fundamentally in a debate about authority" (Elam, 2016, p. 16).

The third important dynamic that formed the backdrop for the Karachi Congress was the shift from the belief in dominion status towards complete independence (Purna Swaraj). The Indian National Congress in 1928, using the recommendations provided by the Nehru Report reference, accepted dominion status as the Congress's primary goal and declared that if such status were not bestowed upon India within a year, then the Congress would declare for complete independence (Pavadya, 1964, p. 285). After the Treaty of Versailles, the signatories of the treaty declared that any constitutional changes to any part of the British Empire had to be based on the full recognition of "Dominions as autonomous nations of the imperial commonwealth, and India as an important portion of the same" (De, 2019, p. 1217).

Thus, after the Simon Commission's events, radical and revolutionary politics emerged led by the HSRA, who rejected the notion of dominion status. This period also saw an intergenerational transfer -

marked by a distinct ideological change - of Congress leaders from the conservative Motilal Nehru towards his more progressive son, Jawaharlal Nehru and the growing belief that dominion status would not be granted immediately. The Indian National Congress adopted - at its Lahore Congress in 1929 – complete independence as its goal and hoped that "all Congressmen would thenceforth work for the attainment of complete independence for India" (Maclean, 2015; Pavadya, 1964, p. 285). The acceptance of the Purna Swaraj resolution forced Congress to face, in a more direct manner, the challenge of undermining the colonial structures of domination and collaboration while simultaneously harnessing the various competing strands of opposition to the colonial state without being overwhelmed by its forces (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 119). It marked what Gerald Barrier would eventually describe as an explosion in Indian politics (Barrier cited in Maclean, 2015, p. 147).

The shift towards purna swaraj marked the moment in which antagonism between the non-violent and violent groups that characterised the anti-colonial movement found common ground on the desired end outcome of their efforts. However, it is essential to note that the resolution adopted at Lahore committed the Congress to "solemnly affirm to 'strive for the attainment of purna swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means'" (Maclean, 2015, p. 214).

These events led to an environment within the Congress during the Karachi gathering that eventually led to the formulation of the Fundamental Rights Resolution. As Maclean (2015, p. 229) explains:

> *The Fundamental Rights Resolution provided for the first time a concrete vision of the basic civil and economic rights citizens could expect in an independent India …the Resolution was remarkable at the time, and remains 'one of the most important documents of the Indian National Congress', laying the ground for the human rights claims against the state from marginalised groups and communities, and the framework for what would become the Indian Constitution of 1950.*

The Karachi Resolution represented an important moment for the Indian National Congress and the anti-colonial struggle in India because it "heralded a compromise among a range of ideologies – liberal, nationalist and socialist – that were reflected in the resolution" (Maclean, 2017, p. 215). The resolution was adopted without significant opposition, and the political elite of the INC did not oppose the resolution as it signified that they were more socially advanced than the British, who had claimed that they were too backward for self-rule (Som, 1994, p. 169).

That being said, though the lack of opposition to the resolution was important, it was the subsequent influence it had on the basic principles of modern India that is of importance as it established the principles of "universal franchise; free and compulsory primary education; equality before law for all citizens irrespective of caste, religion or ethnicity; a separation of the State from religion; and a minimum standard of life for every Indian" (Patnaik, 2013, p. 5). It informed Part 3 of the Indian

constitution's Directive Principles of State Policy, which laid out the fundamental rights protected by the constitution (Patnaik, 2013, p. 5; Ready, 1980, p. 404).

7.1.2 Tanzania: The *Arusha Declaration* and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance

German East Africa, a protectorate of Germany, was handed over to the British as a British Mandate and renamed Tanganyika after World War I and the Treaty of Versailles. Tanganyika achieved independence from Britain in 1961 through a relatively peaceful process of decolonisation. The creation of Tanzania only took place in 1964 after Tanganyika's union with the island of Zanzibar (Sharp, 2019, p. 3). Initially considered an ally of Britain due to the non-violent manner in which it achieved independence and general respect for Julius Nyerere as an international statesman, Tanzania's immediate post-colonial development was characterised as non-aligned and reliant on a belief in self-sufficiency and self-development with the self-declared responsibility to create an alliance of African states in response to Cold War divisions (Sharp, 2019, p. 3).

To guide this form of development, Nyerere, through the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU), formulated the *Arusha Declaration* and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance. As understood by Sharp, the Declaration was a "stand against the emerging indigenous elite and a statement about a form of development that was independent of existing models promoted by the United States or USSR." (Sharp, 2019, p. 3). However, both documents also expounded African nationalism and African socialism as understood by TANU. The Declaration, in particular, promoted the ideals of "equality, self-reliance, "traditional" African communal values, and the virtues of education and hard work" (Sharp, 2019, p. 84)

It was discussed in the previous section that the emergence of nationalism in India was in reaction to the expansion of the colonial company state and its manufacturing of territorial and provincial institutions through which Indians were told - and forced to accept - would eventually advance their interests. In a similar sense, the state of Tanganyika was characterised by various disparate tribal groups whose commonality was created through the imposition of common law by the colonial powers of Germany and Britain, respectively. Iliffe (1979, p. 509) argues that, unlike India, nationalist desires in Tanganyika remained in relative infancy before forming the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954.

Iliffe explains that the lack of nationalist desires in Tanganyika can be attributed to how grievances over land and settler control appeared to be minor to many; there lacked the presence of a strong tradition of elite politics amongst the natives; no real or apparent electoral system allowed for the formation of political organisations; and regions that provoked political action against the colonial state were limited

(Iliffe, 1979, p. 509). Furthermore, Iliffe (1979, p. 487) argues that the nature of the colonial state post the Second World War encouraged the need to organise African societies into close-knit tribes whose relative "socio-economic change accentuated regional differentiation and rivalry while strengthening the modernising groups with advocated tribal reconstruction" rather than nationalism.

However, Paul Bjerk provides a forceful challenge to Iliffe, arguing that in response to the colonial state's administrative categorisation of tribes, Tanganyikans placed an increased level of importance on ethnic organisation to create vehicles of social welfare and a mechanism to voice concerns against the colonial state (Bjerk, 2015, p. 35). Guilds of traders and social leaders across the state formed mutual aid societies such as the Unity of Lake Tanganyika Nations Association; the Meru Citizens Union; the Chagga Democratic Party; and the Tanganyika Citizens Union (Bjerk, 2015, p. 35). The attempts by these ethnic organisations to provide social services provided a lens through which the redundancies of the colonial administration were shown in sharp relief (Bjerk, 2015, p. 35).

According to Susan Geiger, Swahili culture and identity during German colonialism also proved to be an effective means for "connecting both armed and moral resistance, networks of communication, and centres of Islamic learning and popular religious practice" (Geiger, 1999, p. 334). Even during the late colonial period, Swahili maintained itself as the widespread political and educational language of a range of women and men from both the urban centres and rural territories of Tanganyika (Geiger, 1999, p. 334). Regardless of this ethnic organising, colonial development became increasingly interventionist as its administrators maintained an "absolute faith in the power of the state to plan, direct, implement, and manage development schemes" (Jennings, 2009, p. 96). A colonial state is driven by two principles: (1) ensuring that the efforts of its colonial territories met the economic needs of the metropole and (2) the maintenance of control and authority of what remained of the empire (Jennings, 2009, p. 96).

As Maddox and Giblin (2005, p. 2) argue, African states exhibited and inherited institutions related to the modernist project described in Section 3.3.4 across rural and urban settlements. These institutions were created to 'improve' the colonial subject, remove the structural respect for African institutions and "recreate African societies in line with the advances of science and technology" (Jennings, 2009, p. 96). James Scott and this thesis in Section 3.3 echo this view. Scott explicitly describes it as the ideology of high modernism. Scott describes modernism during this period as a strong approach to "scientific and technical progress, the expansion of production, the growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature (including human nature), and, above all, the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws." (Scott, 1999, p. 4). Tanzania is one such example. Though the citizens in both urban and rural areas often felt alienated from the colonial state evidence, the totalitarian nature of modernity ensured that the nation-state remained "the frame that encompasses

and links the domains of family, locality, and ethnicity with the broader world" (Maddox & Giblin, 2005, p. 2).

Scott's application of high modernity within Tanzania fits within the framework of colonial developmental discourse described by Jennings, who argued that development was imbued with the belief that the poor could not determine - for themselves - the route to escape their condition (Jennings, 2009, p. 106). The high modernity inherent within developmental discourse assumed it to be self-evidently true that when the poor arrived at the ideal, they would be happy with the outcomes of modernity. Those who resisted modernity's proposed interventions did so not because they foresaw potential problems. Rather, they lacked the intellectual and analytical capacities to understand the 'good' of the ideal (Jennings, 2009, p. 106). As warned against by Horkheimer and Adorno in the Dialectics of Enlightenment, the totalising effect of modernity was both resisted and accepted.

However, Mahmood Mamdani, in *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, provides a helpful caveat to the above argument. He agrees that both colonial and post-colonial states often draw their authority from the notion of progress through the lens of modernity applied to those who reside in urban rather than rural spaces (Mamdani, 1996). In addition, he argues that it is through native authorities who were more often than not responsible for this alienation and thus also for transforming the rural population from citizens of the state towards being akin to subjects (Mamdani, 1996). This form of authority was actualised through the use of decentralised or centralised despotism that exhibited either direct or, as Mamdani offers, "indirect rule/compulsion/coercion" (Mamdani, 1996). Colonial authorities that utilised indirect rule - which applies to Tanzania – focused on the tribe as the social unit of the colonial state rather than the village community (Lal, 2015, p. 45). The result of this was the reifying of the "division between "native and nonnative" as well as between 'traditional' and 'modern'" (Lal, 2015, p. 45).

However, as Mamdani (1996, p. 173) warns:

> *To argue that force was characteristic of colonial administrative policy at all times would be to present a flat and one-dimensional picture. In the face of popular opposition, swings in policy were inevitable. This was as true of the colonial period as it was of the period after independence. As the colonial state sought to broaden the social base for reform in the face of nationalist agitation, the pendulum swung from administrative coercion to market incentives.*

The colonial office in Tanganyika in the 1940s attempted to enforce modern agricultural practices and techniques within the state due to fears associated with the decline of soil fertility, soil erosion and desertification (Jennings, 2009, p. 100). The Secretary of State (cited in Jennings, 2009, p. 100) went as so far as to say:

> *Many competent persons are now questioning whether increased effort by the African can be attained without a certain measure of dragooning. ... we shall be wilfully blinding ourselves to realities if we pretend that the inhabitants of this part of Africa will ever cooperate in any plans for their betterment unless they can be sure of gaining immediately from them benefits of the kind that they themselves appreciate.*

As a result, compulsion through administrative force was applied to ensure social conservation and land use (Jennings, 2009, p. 100). However, as Mamdani (1996, p. 173) notes, this position changed in 1957 as the colonial state – under pressure from growing nationalist agitation created by the restructuring of tribal and rural populations – declared that the era of the big stick was over and the state needed to stop harassing ordinary peasants and instead persuade them to improve operations through market incentives. Administrative coercion and market-driven incentive systems were used by both the colonial and post-colonial administrations to organise and mobilise rural tribes strongly associated with agricultural economies (Iliffe, 1979; Mamdani, 1996).

If correct, the above argument provides an intriguing case for the emergence of decolonial development: whether its emergence can be organised through direct/indirect rule or administrative/market coercion. Like many other African nations, Tanzania's colonial situation is often framed through Mamdani's bifurcated despotism: "the racialism of colonialism in urban civil society and the tribalism of colonialism as enforced through Native Authority rule and customary law" (Geiger, 1999, p. 332). In response to this, the *Arusha Declaration* became the developmental plan intended to ameliorate this despotic bifurcation and create the space for Tanzanians' ability to self-determine.

Despotic bifurcation relates to a concept devised by Mahmood Mamdani, which argued that the colonial state had two forms of rule: " a civic sphere of citizens, from which Africans were largely excluded, and a "customary" sphere, in which "tribal" Africans were the subjects of indirect rule's despotic local state" (Schneider, 2006, pp. 95–96). The result of this was the creation of dualism that, as Schneider (2006, p. 96) explains:

> *...set "customary law" against the discourse of "rights" in the legal realm, and despotic "customary authority" against a "modern state" on the institutional level. This legal institutional dualism underlay a spatial dualism between the rural and the urban sphere that marked rural Africans as "native subjects" organized into "tribes," and Europeans as the modern citizens of modern law and rights.*

Nationalism was seen as the bridge between urban civil society and rural tribes in Tanzania governed by a native authority. As such, self-determination was again strongly associated with the dominant development discourse on decolonisation. However, in this sense, it is not through the emergence of colonial or native authorities expounding their authority through indirect or direct rule. Instead,

authority is gained through the natural evolution of the 'newly decolonised' state's conception of authority that was unopposed to adopting strategies and tactics that its previous coloniser informed. The purpose of this was to enact a new form of development unencumbered by the darker side of modernity. Yet it remained intimately connected to the legacies of the colonial past it sought to move away from.

As discussed in section 4.1.5, the notion of colonial mimicry and fixity by Homi Bhabha provides the logic for the emergence of the *Arusha Declaration* and its associated traits of modernist development. Though used to describe and understand the logic and genesis of colonial discourse, Bhabha's arguments seem equally applicable to society's post-colonial construction. As Lal (2015, p. 44) explains:

> *In reality, ordered villages were hardly a ubiquitous feature of Africa's pre-colonial landscape, so how do we account for the post-colonial primacy of the village idea? Many scholars explain this emphasis on the village, most apparent in the Tanzanian case, as a simple colonial inheritance. Although this is far from a sufficient interpretation, it is indisputable that in this respect and others, African Socialist projects such as Ujamaa were somewhat "continuous with colonial policy" even while seeking to overcome such legacies.*

As Jennings (2009, p. 106) argues, the post-colonial government of Tanzania inherited a language of development and preferred mass social engineering and structures of power and authority. Tanzania's post-colonial governance exhibited all the traits of Mamdani's indirect rule. Regardless of its outward appearance, it remained similar to the colonial system it replaced (Jennings, 2009, p. 107)

7.1.2.1 Formulation of the Arusha Declaration and Self-Reliance

As Chakrabarty (2010, p. 53) argues, the developmental discourse of catching up became predominant amongst nations associated with the non-aligned movement and clearly emphasised modernisation led by an eroticised figure. Nyerere was one such figure, as memories of his legacy often become a site for imagining and asking questions regarding Tanzania's past, present and future (Hunter, 2015, p. 74). The *Arusha Declaration*, published on the 5th of February 1967 as Tanzania's developmental agenda, represented the translation of the decolonial utopia (see section 6.3.1.1.2) of 'Ujamaa na Kujitegemea' - loosely translated as 'Socialism and Self-reliance' – into a policy praxis by Nyerere (Hunter, 2015, pp. 74, 86). It was a developmental strategy created to improve economic development; reassert support for TANU, and re-establishing its claim to authority as a party not only linked to its role in securing freedom from colonialism; and directly tackle the growing criticisms of local officials who, after the country gained independence, were both unjust and corrupt.

At the time of its publication, the *Arusha Declaration* - six years after Tanzania obtained independence and four years after forming the state of Tanzania - questions were posed regarding both its logic and necessity (Rweyemamu, 1973, p. 46). Resource allocation during the early independence years

showcased characteristics of being both ad hoc and laissez-faire, with the 'Three Year Development Plan' put into place from 1961 to 1964 more akin to a colonial hangover developed by the outgoing colonial administration upon recommendation by the World Bank (Rweyemamu, 1973, pp. 46, 48). It was a policy that, according to Rweyemamu (1973, p. 49), though formally adopted by the government, was not considered an embodiment of its policies and was replaced by the 'First Five Year Plan' (FFYP) in 1964, which French economists developed. Though the formulation of this plan was initiated by TANU, like the earlier plan, TANU was neither involved in its actual formulation, and the exact role of TANU was not expressed in the plan (Rweyemamu, 1973, p. 51). As Rweyemamu (1973, p. 51) explains:

> *…the FFYP did not address itself to any political changes that might be required in order to fulfil its objectives. Therefore, the plan's goals are just quantitative targets involving no choice about the strategy for development or the nature of the future of society. One may wonder why the government and especially the party did not articulate their political goals. The answer can only be conjectural. On the one hand, the leadership had not at this stage (when the plan was being formulated) fully grasped the nature of the structural transformation of society, just as it had misunderstood the realities of international capitalism. On the other hand, however, it may be argued that the leadership was concerning itself with the articulation of what Franz Shurmann terms 'pure ideology, that is, a set of ideas designed to give an individual a unified and conscious weltanschauung'.*

The creation of a weltanschauung amongst those under the impact of colonialism and coloniality amounts to the creation of "an operation of a true inversion of values through which the taboos of moralism, what appeared as morally unacceptable, are brought to the foreground and converted into figures to be celebrated" (Garcia, 2020, p. 135). In decolonial terms, it can transform the descriptive statement from being the object of politics to becoming the subject. The weltanschauung for Tanzania emerged through the use of Ujamaa.

Ujamaa originates from the Swahili word for the extended family, jamaa, and was abstracted by Nyerere to connote an African society defined by "something other than the negative attributes of race and linked stereotypes of barbarism while simultaneously provided an ideology of governance" (Bjerk, 2015, pp. 98–99). Considering Tanzania's developmental efforts after liberation, the *Arusha Declaration*, unlike the previous attempts at state-mandated and orchestrated development, represented a decolonial turn. This turn is due to the attempt to create a utopic vision of society that was not linked to utopic understandings of society informed by modernity. It represented what Lal (2015, pp. 68–69) argues to be a distinctive developmental vision informed by a wide variety of ideologies linked to Ujamaa, the growing nationalism within Tanzania, and its various experiences with the international political

economy in the 1960s. Nevertheless, as both Mamdani and Jennings imply, it maintains its modernist ties through colonial mimicry (see section 4.1.5 on Conflict and Breaking Away from Mimicry).

For Lal, the "conceptualisation and implementation of ujamaa – and African Socialism more broadly – registered a locally inflected global Cold War political culture" (Lal, 2015, p. 69). However, even though it can be argued that Ujamaa was generated by Cold War conditions and the influence of modernity/coloniality, it still sought to overcome both (Lal, 2015, p. 69). The original logic of Ujamaa was to extend African socialism beyond just the political community of Tanganyika but to the rest of the continent as a means of creating a unified African continent experience at the height of the wave of decolonisation (self-determination) (Lal, 2015, p. 37).

As a developmental practice, Ujamaa became intertwined with the notion of the village as an anchor of society rather than the tribe. This position eventually led to two attempts at rural transformation that attempted to represent dualism rather than a duality between the traditional and modern. The first was the adoption of Ujamaa Villages in 1967 as part of TANU's issued policy directive on 'Socialism and Rural Development'. Ujamaa villages converted villages into communally owned land that functioned as cooperative production units within a state and fostered both socialist principles and rural transformation (Rweyemamu, 1973, p. 61). The main features of Ujamaa villages were cooperation, equality and participatory democracy, with association with these villages being voluntary (Rweyemamu, 1973, p. 61). The second attempt was Operation Vijiji, which was announced in 1973 and extended the villagisation project of Ujamaa Villages through state-sanctioned force (Lal, 2015, p. 73). Operation Vijiji marked the transformation of ujamaa villages as a system of governance based on encouragement towards a process of villagisation based on compulsion (Lal, 2015, p. 74). Voluntary resettlement associated with Ujamaa villages was considered a means of cultivating socialist relations and modes of production, whereas Operation Vijiji saw resettlement as an end in itself (Lal, 2015, p. 74).

The challenges of villagisation have been well documented. Most accounts argue that the policy fell victim to the desire to create a utopic society discussed earlier in this chapter (Lal, 2015; J. Scott, 1999). However, von Freyhold provides a compelling account of the challenges of villagisation, attributing many of them to the failure to reconcile competing interests at a local level (von Freyhold, 1979). It also represented a paradox (or internal contradiction) that it failed to reconcile in that it sought to enforce a form of sedentism through forced resettlement (Lal, 2015, p. 70). Those who opposed resettlement would be seen as antagonistic to the utopic imagining of Ujamaa—an act akin, at least according to Jennings (2009, p. 106), to treachery.

Regardless of the shift from encouragement to compulsion, Ujamaa represented a decolonial turn. Nyerere's insistence that the ethnic and tribal parochialism - strongly associated with decentralised despotism described by Mamdani - would lead to state power intertwined with customary order rather than a reformation of the native society in a manner that would preserve and enhance its original spirit (Lal, 2015, p. 46). Ujamaa did not seek to retreat to the past in the manner the Jalal Al Ahmed warned against, but instead sought to embrace a form of development that was cognisant of coloniality that constrained it while also establishing the building blocks for the emergence of a decolonial weltanschauung to challenge the status quo.

Ujamaa was not opposed to the duality inherent in modernity. It sought to configure the village as both modern and traditional, with the family unit – which, according to Lal (2015, p. 46), was the most "local, personal and 'traditional'" unit of society - forming the traditional unit of the modernist dichotomy. However, it would be more appropriate to describe ujamaa as a form of dualism between the traditional and modern than a duality that sits on a continuum.

7.1.3 South Africa: *Ready to Govern*

7.1.3.1 Moving Away from African Claims and the Freedom Charter

South Africa's anti-colonial and anti-apartheid historiography is vast and dense and provides multiple options for this analysis. However, this chapter will focus on the five years preceding the watershed 1994 election as a period characterised by increased competition related to the various developmental visions of the Republic of South Africa. The rationale for this delimitation is that though South Africa had various moments of developmental imagining - such as the Africans' Claims document written in 1943 as an African response to the Atlantic Charter and the Freedom Charter of 1955 - both documents, like others of their kind, seem to play a more cursory or limited framing role in the development of the African National Congress's (ANC) developmental trajectory during this period.

Ngqulunga (2019, p. 1337) argues that *Africans' Claims* provided a nascent Bill of Rights for the ANC that would be applicable to African people and provided a vision for the future of South Africa through the lens of the ANC. It was, at the time, the organisation's seminal text. It represented the beginning of a shift towards more radical indigenous beliefs that moved ANC discourse (after the Second World War) towards the state from polite requests towards more state interventionist demands (Jager, 2009, p. 277) and represented the party's call for universal franchise. It outlined the organisation's political positions on land ownership, discriminatory laws, labour relations, education and more (Ngqulunga, 2019, p. 1337). However, the relevance of *African Claims* was replaced by the Freedom Charter, drafted in 1955. It represented the Congress Alliance's vision of a future in South Africa, not exclusive to black Africans. The Freedom Charter provided what Ngqulunga (2019, p. 1337) describes as a progressive

vision for South Africa's future characterised by the achievement of social justice. It functioned as the ANC's "guiding policy framework and ideological touchstone for four decades until it was unbanned in 1990", and it would go on to be the foundation for future ANC policy documents (Ngqulunga, 2019, p. 1337). The challenge with both documents, however, is that they fail to influence the discussions and debates of developmental strategies undertaken by the ANC and its allies during the transitional 1990 - 1994 period.

The transitional period was triggered by President FW De Klerk's speech on the 2nd of February 1990, which unbanned various liberation movements, freed political prisoners and set in motion the intent to repeal apartheid legislation in the country (Freund, 2013, p. 522; Van Nieuwkerk, 1992, p. 9). De Klerk's speech ushered in a political ideation and negotiation period that seemingly shifted away from confrontation and towards cooperation (Van Nieuwkerk, 1992, p. 1). Though it should be acknowledged that while political violence killed 5 500 people between 1984 and 1989, during the transitional years, more than 13 500 people died due to political violence as the period was marked by inter- and intra-community violence (Charney, 1999, p. 184; Hamber, 1998). The shift towards political cooperation during the transition period was simultaneously underpinned by a culture of violence that "undermined the moral, interpersonal and social fabric" of South Africa (Hamber, 1998). In fact, it argued that the transition itself further exacerbated violence in the country as the period was "marked by unprecedented inter- and intra-community violence" (Hamber, 1998).

De Klerk's speech should be read within the context of the 1989 collapse of the Soviet bloc and a transition period faced with increasing pressure for ideation and negotiation that moved away from socialist development models (Niekerk & Padayachee, 2021, p. 2). The African National Congress - the most prominent liberation and anti-apartheid party in South Africa - deliberated on its various approaches to spur development during this transitional period. However, the transition period forced the ANC to "fashion a set of concrete, modelled, economic proposals around which it could at some level 'negotiate' with other organisations and social groups and contest an election" (A. Habib & Padayachee, 2000, p. 246). Though the ideals of the Freedom Charter and Africans' Claims documents remain inspirational, their usefulness remains opaque during negotiations. Though they both played an inspirational role, unlike the Karachi Resolution, none seem to directly influence the countries' chosen developmental tract. It appears that this was informed by other motivations borne out of contested spaces of debate regarding the future of the country.

7.1.3.2 Contested Development in South Africa

7.1.3.2.1 The ANC's Response to Development

The contestation over South Africa's developmental plans represented the contrasting desires of some (in and out of the ANC) to create a market-driven society guided by various liberal and neoliberal ideas vis-à-vis a society characterised by more collectivist understandings of development predicated on state intervention means of generating growth and redistribution. This duality is a common characteristic in developmental discourse, often pegging the dynamic between the rationality imputed by notions of the "economic rationality of individuals, in possession of full knowledge about their markets, who single-mindedly pursue their individual interests" and that of group-based economic rationality associated with socialist and state-interventionist ideologies (Lazar, 1996, pp. 600–601).

Within South Africa, between 1990 and 1994, this dynamic played out through the lens of development geared towards catering for the basic needs (e.g., housing, clean water, health care, jobs, and school education) of the vast majority of South Africans who had been excluded from the socio-economic fabric of society. This drive needed to be balanced with catering for the white ruling class, whose position in society necessitated their inclusion in (or explicit exclusion from) a new South Africa. The debates regarding development within this tension were anchored in the overarching context of South Africa's economic and social system, which was predicated on racial domination in all aspects of life (Lazar, 1996, p. 613).

Beginning in 1990, the ANC's Department of Economic Policy (DEP) issued a discussion document on economic policy the Freedom Charter inspired. It emphasised the role of state-led nationalisation and redistribution in South Africa that would eventually reconstruct and restructure the South African economy; the Harare Declaration of 1989 (D. Davis, 2003, p. 33; Freund, 2013, p. 522; Lazar, 1996, p. 614). The document, according to Munck (1994, p. 206) and Ismail (1994, p. 50), went against conventional development economics that argued that "growth must come first and then redistribution will follow" and instead advocated for growth *through* redistribution. The document formulated by the ANC and the South African Communist Party is often referred to as the Harare Declaration. The Harare Declaration argued that "a non-racial and democratic state would follow an economic strategy that aims to achieve economic growth through increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power" (Economic Trends Research Group, 1990).

The mantra of growth through redistribution at the time related to altering the distribution of resources in a manner similar to Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s. Through this alteration, the state would take on a "strong role in redistributing income and wealth toward the masses, simultaneously developing domestic industry's production to meet the demand for increased living standards and

essentially growing based on that domestic market while seeking simultaneously to increase the competitiveness of export industries" (Harris, 1993, p. 95). A second discussion document was formulated later in 1991 in the lead-up to the ANC's national policy conference in July of that year, this time written in conjunction with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and entitled the "Draft Resolution on Economy Policy" (Peet, 2002, p. 69).

The primary mandate of the Harare Document was to create economic prosperity through policies focused on growth through redistribution in which redistribution would act as a spur to growth, which, in turn, would increase the levels of redistribution that would satisfy the basic needs of all South Africans (D. Davis, 2003, p. 34). However, the Draft Resolution dropped the term growth through redistribution (Lodge, 1999, p. 8). The Harare document believed that nationalisation would be a crucial tool to achieve growth through redistribution and the country's reconstruction (Ismail, 1994, p. 50). Nationalisation (or its absence) would prove to be a contentious issue within the ANC's policy development over the proceeding years.

Nationalisation was understood as a tool that would "enable the State to tackle some of the injustices/inequalities inherited from the apartheid State" (Roussos, 1990, p. 53). The Harare document was formed within the context of the eventual unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990. After his release, Mandela immediately and unequivocally declared that a post-apartheid government would maintain its stance on nationalisation within the Freedom Charter (Munck, 1994, p. 208). He went as far as to say that it would be inconceivable for the ANC to change its position on nationalisation (Van Wyk, 2009, p. 21). However, this position on nationalisation was immediately contested by those external to the party and within.

For the ANC, nationalisation was an economic expression of the Freedom Charter and, thus, a central tool for any developmental policy. Those within the party saw it as a means to leverage strategic industries and address particular market failures by providing basic services and infrastructure to the marginalised in the country (Schroenn, 1993, p. 560). However, the party abandoned this position in 1992 with the publication of the ANC's 'Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa' - commonly known as *Ready to Govern* – at the 1992 ANC national conference (Freund, 2013, p. 526). It was a repudiation of the "ANC's socialist tendencies, which originated from the Freedom Charter, by making no reference to nationalisation, but providing for legal compliance and compensation in 'the taking of property, as well as the restoration of land rights." (Van Wyk, 2009, p. 21). Rather than advocating for the legal transfer of ownership of various sectors of the economy, the 1992 Policy Guidelines instead emphasised greater participation in economic production (Munck, 1994, p. 209).

Ready to Govern was the ANC's attempt at developing a set of guidelines to address the political, social and economic challenges within the country and contained draft policies on issues including the "democratic constitution; system of local government; the economy; land; the environment; housing; health; social welfare; education, training and scientific development; development of human resources; science and technology; establishing a democratic media; arts and culture; sports and recreation; peace and security; youth; and international relations" (Kanyane & Houston, 2012, p. 18). It represented the formulation of a strategic plan that "balanced growth, redistribution, and basic needs with a growing imperative to become market-friendly and globally competitive" (Padayachee, 2005, p. 554).

Furthermore, *Ready to Govern* noted that a Bill of Rights would enshrine the principles of the party with explicit mention of the right to freedom of association, speech and assembly and to change the government; the right to information and a firm guarantee regarding the free circulation of ideas and opinions; the right to housing, education, employment and access to facilities; freedom of religion; the freedom not be discriminated against or subjected to harassment because of sexual orientation; the right to set up independent trade unions, engage in collective bargaining and take up strike action; the right to form families on a voluntary and equal basis; the right to access basic educational, health and welfare services (Kanyane & Houston, 2012, pp. 18–19).

Coinciding with *Ready to Govern* was the creation of the Macro Economic Research Group (MERG), whose 1993 document 'Making Democracy Work: A Framework for Macroeconomic Policy in South Africa' showed a further shift away from the tenets of the Freedom Charter (Van Wyk, 2009, p. 21). Supported by both the ANC and Congress of South African Trade Unions when MERG was first brought together in 1991, its document was intended to be the macroeconomic blueprint for the ANC and a clear rebuttal of the National Party's proposed *Normative Economic Model* (Van Wyk, 2009, p. 21). MERG argued for the economy to be restructured through the labour market by improving training, improving education linked to skills development and ensuring higher wages for citizens (Marais, 2011, p. 107). The interventions it proposed "aimed at improving the structure and operation of business" through a strong private sector that interacted with a strong public sector (Marais, 2011, p. 107).

It provided a Keynesian-inspired response to development that linked state investment in social and physical infrastructure such as housing, school education, health services, electrification and road development (Marais, 2011, p. 106; Michie, 2020, p. 523). It sought to create an econometric model for development that could rival the competing political party propositions during the negotiations. Furthermore, it sought for the state to play a strategic role in providing the requisite incentives and regulations required to restructure the state and improve industrial performance (Marais, 2011, p. 106). According to Michie (2020, p. 523), it provided South Africa with the best approach to economic development. Even though it stood in stark contrast to the economic trends of the time that advocated

for more neoliberal approaches to development, though it was capitalist, it would not be neoliberal in outlook (Freund, 2013, p. 524). As an independent group supported by the ANC at its onset, MERG did not have a monopoly on policy formulation in the ANC and, for a variety of reasons beyond the scope of this thesis, was increasingly seen through a lens of suspicion by the ANC (Freund, 2013).

MERG was not alone during this period, as various organisations and initiatives were created to develop a plan for South Africa's post-apartheid growth. COSATU and the Economic Trends Research Group developed the Industrial Strategy Project (ISP), which focused on analysing both the competitive nature of thirteen industrial sectors in South Africa and their potential to meet the basic needs of South Africa (Joffe et al., 1994, p. 54). Furthermore, the ISP spoke to the role that competition, trade, and technology policies would play in South Africa's future industrial evolution (Joffe et al., 1994, p. 54).

In addition to MERG and ISP, various iterations of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) – the 'basic needs' approach to development formulated by the COSATU and the ANC, according to Gelb (2007, p. 20) - were also formulated during this time (Lodge, 1999, p. 9). COSATU devised the first four of the programmes. The ANC devised the fifth and sixth versions with its various alliance partners (commonly described as the Mass Democratic Movement). A seventh version was eventually published as ANC policy in 1994 (Lodge, 1999, p. 9).

However, it should be noted that there is a danger in reading the ANC policy documents as a direct translation of the "balance of economic and political power within the issuing organisation" as if these documents would have "a direct bearing upon what policies will be formulated and implemented" (Fine, 1995, p. 22). Fine (1995, p. 22) suggests that these documents may have their analytical and policy significance exaggerated, and questions, based on South Africa and Southern Africa's limited experience at the time of governing post-liberation, whether these documents played any crucial role in determining a country's future course of action. Fine (1995, p. 25) goes as far as to argue that these documents are more gestural, with the intention of only gaining momentary public relations importance.

7.1.3.2.2 Retorts to the African National Congress

From the onset of the transition period, the white business community held a strong belief that constitutional reforms were necessary for South Africa, but the proposed reforms and restructuring of the economic system were neither necessary nor desirable (Terreblanche, 1990, p. 79). Furthermore, this community (which was profoundly divided between English and Afrikaner capital) believed that the existing economic system should remain intact given the apparent merits of the free market system within the country (Terreblanche, 1990, p. 79). This latter point regarding the power of free markets was often used during the early 1990s as governments across the world were convinced to pursue "free-

market policies of privatisation, deregulation and financialisation, despite there being no good economic or social reasons for doing so, except in the sense that the rich got richer" (Michie, 2020, p. 523).

7.1.3.2.3 The National Party's Position

The ANC's state-focused approach to development also came under challenge by the then ruling party, the National Party (NP); international financing institutions; and dissident members of the party who favoured more market-orientated approaches to development (D. Davis, 2003; A. Habib & Padayachee, 2000; Niekerk & Padayachee, 2021). The NP, which sought to protect 'minority rights' and had considered federalism as a way of sustaining power, by this point, had accepted, in principle, the notion of one nation characterised by common citizenship for all South Africans, yet continued to propose models of development that maintained apartheid thinking under the guise of the protection of minority rights (Van Nieuwkerk, 1992, p. 14; Viljoen, 1990, pp. 41–42). As stated by the Minister of Constitutional Development during the transitional period, Gerrit Viljoen (1990, pp. 41–42), the NP's vision of South Africa would be informed by the universal principles of full and equal franchise; power-sharing and the provision of equal opportunities for all; building common values and ideals; the devolution of power to local governments; freedom of association; an independent judiciary and an economic system based on free enterprise which would include private ownership (Viljoen, 1990, pp. 41–42)

However, these principles were underpinned by the belief that the NP held the right to negotiate for the protection of cultural and political rights of the white minority during the transitional period and those who chose to support this minority. According to Viljoen (1990, p. 42), this meant that the NP would thus be responsible for the creation of a multidimensional system of protection through checks and balances for the future South African state that would include: (1) the recognition of minorities based on a new generally acceptable and non-racial set of guidelines; (2) a charter of human rights; (3) constitutional provisions ensuring for minorities both representation and effective participation in political decision making on certain vital issues specified through negotiation; and (4) a measure of autonomy for minorities as well as for geographical regions.

However, the indeterminacy of the NP between one nation and a nation structured on the protection of minorities would eventually lead to the NP losing its position within the Afrikaans community as the authentic repository of Afrikaner nationalism (Munro, 1995, pp. 24–25). It began to be challenged by various organisations, such as the Conservative Party led by General Constant Viljoen (Munro, 1995, pp. 24–25). The growing divide between various notions of Afrikaner nationalism and its resultant impact on a post-apartheid democratic dispensation is presumably why the NP failed to provide a

holistic developmental plan for the state and instead relied on a notion of development focused on economic instruments of the state.

The NP's 1993 document "The Key Issues in the Normative Economic Model" (NEM) provided its vision of the style of economic development required by the state after the transition period. NEM argued that market-orientated economic systems functioned more efficiently than those led by the state (Lazar, 1996, p. 619). This was in marked contrast to the ANC position during this period. The NP advocated for a smaller state and public sector, reducing the overall tax burden; focusing the budget away from consumption expenditures towards investment; and dismantling the government's market participatory and regulatory machinery (Lazar, 1996, p. 619). In a similar sense to the ANC, the NP believed that the primary objective of any developmental plan was economic growth. However, the ANC saw growth as the product of redistribution. In comparison, the NP saw growth as a means to create a transitional safety net in the short term and a targeted safety net for the poor over the long run (Lazar, 1996, p. 619).

7.1.3.2.4 Position of International Finance Organisations

International finance organisations would also play a role in formulating both NP and ANC visions of post-apartheid South Africa (Peet, 2002, p. 73). For the NP, NEM represented a shift from its more traditional economic focus on import substitution during the 1980s towards a more export-orientated programme informed by International Monetary Fund (IMF) prescriptions (Peet, 2002, p. 73). Regarding the ANC, the World Bank lobbied the leftists within the party through a trust-building process (Peet 2002, p. 73). The purpose of the courting was to convince the ANC to take on developmental approaches that sought to alleviate poverty through private sector expansion with labour-intensive industries and shift away from socialist models of development for the post-apartheid economy (Padayachee & Fine, 2019, p. 2; Peet, 2002, p. 73).

The IMF, through a more direct form of coercion, attempted to shift the ANC's economic thinking through the creation of the Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility (CCFF) worth US$850 million, made available upon the acceptance of conditionalities related to economic policies associated with the Washington Consensus (Padayachee & Fine, 2019, p. 2). The loan was specifically created to assist the state with its shortfall in merchandise export earnings and support the country's balance of payments affected by a decline in agriculture production due to a drought 18 months prior (Padayachee & Fine, 2019, p. 3). The loan was approved by the Transitional Executive Council (a joint ANC-NP government committee) (Freund, 2013, p. 527).

However, Padayachee and Fine (2019, p. 2) cast doubt on whether this loan had a causal relationship with the ANC's policy changes and argued that the loan was more symbolic of the change. This view

is echoed by Duncan Wood, who described the supposed causality as problematic and naïve (Wood, 1995, p. 83). For Padayachee and Fine (2019, p. 2), the IMF did not have a suitable vehicle to force the ANC to alter its economic position and that it was more likely that "internal forces (including local business, the late apartheid state's residual power and the views of some top ANC economic leaders)" and that it was the ANC itself that chose the path of growth strategies linked to aspects of neoliberalism. Though conditionalities were attached to this loan, it seems clear that the influence of the loan played a minor role in the determination by the party to undertake an economical approach to development that seemingly shifted away from core aspects of the Freedom Charter.

7.1.4 Ecuador: *Titles 6 and 7 of the Ecuadorian Constitution*

During the 2000s, Latin America, with specific reference to Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and to a greater or lesser extent Argentina, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador, became synonymous with state-level development that was often characterised as counter-hegemonic (Escobar, 2010, pp. 1–2; Mero-Figueroa et al., 2020). As Escobar (2010, p. 2) highlights, these counter-hegemonic forms of development emerged as ways of re-inventing of socialism; dismantling the preponderance of neo-liberal politics; installing the belief in 'un nuevo comienzo' (a new beginning), which relates to the reinvention of notions of democracy and development, and the abolition of a liberal society predicated on the protection of private property and liberal democracy. The conceptual tools related to the above vary in their ideological underpinnings. However, they can be summarised as "plurinationality, interculturality, direct and substantive democracy, 'revolucion ciudadana' (citizens revolution), endogenous development centred on the *buen vivir* of the people, territorial and cultural autonomy, and decolonial projects towards post-liberal societies are some of the concepts that seek to name the ongoing transformations" (Escobar, 2010, p. 2).

Unlike Tanzania and India, the approaches and methods meant to define and determine counter-hegemonic development within Latin America during this period took place many years after the achievement of colonial liberation (i.e. formal decolonisation). The logic of this turn against the norm of developmental practice came not out of the need to achieve formalised self-determination but rather to experience development through self-determination unencumbered by coloniality. Though this thesis does not claim Buen Vivir/Sumak Kawsay as an umbrella term for the region's various attempts at counter-hegemonic development, it will use the concept as a general agglomeration for the rise in dissent against modernist developmental discourse in the region.

7.1.4.1 Emergence of CONAIE and Establishing a new Constitution

After experiencing decades of hegemonic discourse linked to western modernity, Ecuador focused on conventional developmentalism and neoliberal adjustment and growth. Its new constitution in 2008

represented a systemic break from the "typical interpretations of progress, growth, and globalisation" and a renewed incorporation and empowerment of traditional subordinate groups often seen as the country's indigenous community (De Zaldívar, 2017, p. 189). The rise of indigenous social actors was related to mass protests organised by these groups in response to IMF-led structural adjustments that resulted in poor economic performance and increasing political tension linked to a lack of indigenous representation (Kennemore & Weeks, 2011, p. 274). At the forefront of this insurgency of activism was the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indigens del Ecuador (CONAIE), formed in 1986 and represented the convergence of the three confederations of indigenous communities in Ecuador, namely ECUARUNARI, from the Ecuadorian highlands; CONFENIAE, from the Amazonian zone; and the Confederación de Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas de la Costa Ecuatoriana (Confederation of the Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples of the Ecuadorian Coast; CONAICE), from the coast (Jima-González & Paradela-López, 2019, p. 3; Kennemore & Weeks, 2011, p. 274).

CONAIE led various forms of protest that paralysed the Ecuadorian economy and provoked a multitude of uprisings against the political elite of the nation, eventually culminating in the forced overthrow of President Jamil Mahuad at the beginning of 2000 with the assistance of the Ecuadorian military (Kennemore & Weeks, 2011, p. 274). CONAIE's immediate demands for change are related to the need for political recognition of indigenous identities, agrarian reform, and rejection of neoliberal policies (Jima-González & Paradela-López, 2019, p. 4). President Mahuad was replaced by President Lucio Gutierrez in 2002, who included CONAIE in his administration, boosting both the movement's political strength and representation during subsequent years. However, Gutierrez's insistence on market-orientated policies and increasing linkages to corruption eventually led to his eventual removal in 2005, which also damaged the credibility of CONAIE as a formal political actor (Jima-González & Paradela-López, 2019; Kennemore & Weeks, 2011, p. 274). During this time, the continued political uncertainty led to a lack of confidence in key institutions in the national government, political parties, and the legislature (Seligson et al., 2006, pp. 67–68).

This uncertainty and a renewed feeling of a lack of political representation eventually led to the rise of US-trained economist Rafael Correa through his party Alianza Patria Altiva y Soberana (Alianza PAIS), which took on an anti-establishment message (Kennemore & Weeks, 2011, p. 274). It was on the foundation of sumak kawsay and the work of indigenous movements during the 1990s and early 2000's that Rafael Correa, who used a campaign focused on the concept of a Citizens Revolution, became Ecuadorian president in November 2006 (Escobar, 2010, p. 20). He promised significant social and economic transformation. His rise eventually led to the establishment of a Constituent Assembly on the 29th of November 2007, with the expressed focus on creating a new constitution ratified by a popular referendum in September of 2008 (Escobar, 2010, p. 20).

Ecuador's constitution came to represent the tension between alternative modernisations – "forms of development understanding and practice that do not question the fundamental premises of the development discourse" - and the movement beyond modernity (Escobar, 2010, p. 20). Ecuador's constitutional development and subsequent constitutional reform are often expressed as sumak kawsay, a developmental paradigm informed by political-cultural concerns of indigenous social movements such as CONEIO during the 1990s that eventually led to political action and the search for new forms of social economy (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 241).

7.1.4.2 Sumak Kawsay

Sumak kawsay reflects "the outcomes for grassroots 'insurgent' alternatives in the political and economic realities of post-neoliberal governmentality" (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 241). In other words, it represents a society based on "reciprocity, harmony with nature, complementarity, dematerialisation of life; and that it is a break with the unilinear view of progress that is inherent to Western visions of development" (De Zaldívar, 2017, p. 189). It views and organises traditional notions of development based on the protection of individual rights and the pre-eminence of teleological progress as part of the principle of collective rights, increased political participation and draws on Amartya Sen's capabilities approach as seen by an excerpt from the constitution, which reads (Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador, 2008):

> *In the new Constitution, sumak kawsay implies more than improving the population's quality of life, [it also involves] developing their capabilities and potentials, relying upon an economic system that promotes equality through social and territorial redistribution of the benefits of development, guarantees national sovereignty, promotes Latin American integration, and protects and promotes cultural diversity.*

Sumak kawsay reorientated thinking amongst policymakers and represented a radical 'new paradigm' of development that imitated various socio-economic transformations across the economy meant to transform the state's institutional framework (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 243). While the actors within the policy formulation space remained communities and the government, sumak kawsay ensured that the stakeholders within the system recognised its holism and steadfast belief in the community's rights over the individual (Mero-Figueroa et al., 2020). By departing from the liberal dichotomy of the individual and collective, sumak kawsay influenced the constitution to organise citizens around their cultural and social differences rather than on the requirement that all citizens remain the same; an extrapolation of Iris Marion Young's differentiated citizenship (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 242). By undertaking differentiated citizenship as a policy tenet, sumak kawsay sought to "reconcile redistributive growth with the establishment of universal welfare systems" rather than adopt more hedonistic approaches to well-being centred on individual experiences (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 243).

Sumak kawsay influenced developmental planning in Ecuador around feminist economics and stressed the "need for recognition of and support for the diversity and non-fully-capitalist forms of production and reproduction that coexist in Ecuadorian space" (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 242). It represented several strands of 'alternative' development and represented a form of border thinking associated with decolonial thought as it was rooted in neither the logic of the Washington Consensus nor that of localised isolationism (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 243). Sumak Kawsay did not seek to replace the centrality of markets and economic growth inherent within hegemonic developmental discourse but instead sought to question "Western teleologies of progress" (Davalos cited in Radcliffe, 2012, p. 242). It spoke to the need for "a strong economy within a stronger regime of rights to overcome inequalities of wealth and well-being, and to recognise the claims of racialised, marginal subjects" (Acosta cited in Radcliffe, 2012, p. 242).

Development as a notion of sumak kawsay or buen vivir represented what Escobar argues to be the questioning of dominant forms of maldevelopment related to the undesirability of development models based on economic growth and material progress; the displacement of development as an end, but rather a process of qualitative change; the enablement of strategies that go beyond the export of primary goods; and creation of the epistemological and ontological expressions of indigenous and afro knowledge and cultural practices at a national level (Escobar, 2010, p. 23).

Correa's presidency was marked by an expansionary economic period meant to fund the state project: the Citizens' Revolution (Jima-González & Paradela-López, 2019, p. 5). He embarked on a variety of programmes related to poverty alleviation, housing credit for home loans, the subsidisation of electricity for low-income consumers, a re-channelling of government funding into various social programmes, increased taxes on foreign oil companies and the imposition of a royalty tax on corporate profits of up to 90 per cent (Kennemore & Weeks, 2011, p. 275). Correa's political rhetoric created a Manichean conception of politics that allowed Correa to gain leverage over the social movements he utilised to gain political office – a relationship marked by a carrot-and-stick approach rather than genuine cooperation (Jima-González & Paradela-López, 2019). While Correa wished for a citizen's revolution, in response, many indigenous groups called for a constituent revolution that would embrace the country's plurinational nature as they believed that Correa had occupied political spaces they previously held and altered their principal demands for PAIS's desires (Becker, 2011, p. 47).

Correa adopted a strategy of state expansion through natural resource extraction from indigenous territories that was widely criticised by indigenous groups who considered the state as a renewed antagonist against their culture and values (Jima-González & Paradela-López, 2019, p. 5). However, Correa viewed the adoption of extractive development as a means of ensuring country ownership of

natural resources that could be leveraged to provide fiscal profits that would naturally sustain programmes aimed at poverty reduction (Guardiola & García-Quero, 2014, p. 101).

Setting aside the political and administrative consequences of sumak kawsay and the citizens' revolution on Ecuadorian development. What is clear is that the influence of both on the nation's constitution can be seen to be decolonial and a pivotal contribution to emergent-decolonial development.

7.2 Conclusion

This chapter sought to understand the historical circumstances that led to the publishing of the Karachi Resolution, Arusha Declaration, Ready to Govern and two chapters from the Ecuadorian constitution. The chapter's purpose was to contextualise each document's intent to further elucidate meaning from them. Though the chapter did not function to compare each document's historical context, it did work to uncover the important nuances between them - nuances that were thought to be important when considering the decolonial intent, if any, of each of the documents. This historical account sought to highlight how each document represented the developmental beliefs of those who published them and how the documents represented developmental plans and objectives for the state.

The first country context assessed was India. The chapter explored the events that led to the Karachi Congress that eventually culminated with the adoption of the Karachi Resolution. Particular focus was placed on understanding the emergence of the INC and its non-violent approach to liberation and contrasted it against the HSRA approach to violent change. While Gandhi criticised the HSRA, describing them as a cult, the HSRA, socialist in its leanings, believed that a philosophy of violence provided the best means of ending colonial subjugation and achieving purna swaraj. The Karachi Resolution was created under the backdrop of various approaches undertaken to obtain liberation finding common ground with one another. Though the resolution remained contentious, it provided the first set of agreed-upon fundamental rights, which functioned as the foundational document for the eventual promulgation of the Indian Constitution.

The next historical context assessed was that of Tanzania and the pronouncement of the Arusha Declaration. The chapter explored the evolution of the Tanzanian state before the achievement of liberation and elaborated on the socio-political conditions that resulted in the need for TANU to change tact in its developmental approach after the end of colonisation. The chapter explained that TANU and Tanzania had to contend with maintaining a balance between the need to become self-reliant while also contending with international pressures posed by high modernity. The Arusha Declaration provided a developmental plan based on creating a decolonial utopia. Underpinned by the notion of ujamaa, the declaration moved the state's approach to development away from encouragement and towards

compulsion with a particular insistence on organising the state around ethnic and tribal parochialism among what Nyerere described as the peasants of the country.

The South African context provided insight into the political contestations related to choosing the eventual developmental path of South Africa once it achieved liberation from the apartheid state. The chapter highlighted the proposals the ANC, the NP and various international finance organisations provided. Similarly to the Tanzanian case, the chapter found that the political and international developmental trends heavily influenced the South African situation. While the Freedom Charter provided, as argued in this chapter, a seemingly decolonial response, Ready to Govern took a more modernist approach to development. Though it remained an influential text in the eventual development strategies adopted by the ANC once it gained democratic power, the document stands in stark contrast with the decolonial texts discussed in Tanzania and India.

The final context discussed was that of Ecuador. Unlike the other cases discussed, the Ecuadorian text provided a decolonial response removed from the moment of self-determination. Instead, it was a decolonial response borne out of democratic contestation between indigenous groups within the state and the state itself. The chapter detailed how through establishing the Ecuadorian constitution in 2007, the state undertook an explicitly counter-hegemonic approach to development informed by sumak kawsay.

All four contexts showcased the various approaches each context used to understand what development would entail or require to free the context from the impact of coloniality. Though varied, each context showcased how aspirations of liberation and the choice of developmental path faced various challenges imposed by internal and external stakeholders and structures.

Chapter 8

Data Analysis

The following chapter will provide an inductive analysis of the selected documents for the study, namely: the *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights* signed by the Indian National Congress in 1931; the *Arusha Declaration* devised by Julius Nyerere and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1967; *Ready to Govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa* in 1991; and *Title 6 and 7 of the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution*.

As explained in Chapter 2, a thematic and content analysis will be undertaken to draw out further meaning from the selective texts. While the content analysis will be presented quantitatively with a specific focus on identifying co-occurring thematic codes, the thematic analysis will provide a qualitative assessment of the identified thematic descriptors within the text. As an inductive analysis, the thesis was not limited to a pre-selected set of codes. Instead, the identified themes and codes were selected based on each document's relative reflections related to development, coloniality, decoloniality and complexity.

Each text is afflicted by various historical, political, social, cultural, and economic pressures. Some of these were discussed in Chapter 7, which provides the contextual background to the analysis. However, analysing the texts was undertaken not to match findings with this context but to more broadly determine how they related to the various ideas explained within the thesis—specifically their relation with emergent decolonial development. The result of this position taken by the thesis is that the framework for emergent-decolonial development will not be deductively applied to the text. Instead, the findings from the text will be used to augment the framework.

An initial decontextualising of each document (requires an initial familiarisation of the text by reading through the documents to obtain the overall meaning and purpose of the documents.), shown in Table 4, resulted in 709 identified quotations that culminated in 341 assorted codes applied across all four texts. The decontextualising of the documents was done to provide an initial familiarisation with the texts to gain their overall meaning and purpose in relation to this thesis. These codes and quotations were found through an open coding process focused on identifying noticeable patterns within the texts (see section 2.3.2.4 for details of the coding process).

These codes varied in number per document due to the relative scope of each document. *Ready to Govern* had the most quotations and codes, with 357 and 139, respectively. This was followed by Chapter 7 of Ecuador's constitution with 219 quotations and 100 codes. The *Arusha Declaration* had 106 quotations and 63 codes identified. Lastly, the Karachi Resolution had 27 quotations and 39 codes.

Table 4: Decontextualising Coding Results

Texts Analysed	Groundedness of Codes	Total Codes
India: Karachi Resolution	27	39
Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration*	106	63
South Africa: *Ready to Govern*	357	139
Ecuador: Titles 6 and 7 of the Constitution	219	100
Total	709	341

Both the South African and Ecuadorian texts functioned as prescriptive texts regarding the developmental paths of both countries. As a result, both documents were more expansive in their deliberations of development. *Ready to Govern*, in particular, functioned as the ANC's blueprint for social and economic development and sought to direct development across 18 areas, including economic development, establishing a form of local government; education; healthcare; sports and recreation; and international relations, among others. As stated in *Ready to Govern*, it sought for the state:

- *To strive for the achievement of the right of all South Africans, as a whole, to political and economic self-determination in a united South Africa;*
- *To overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid in a swift, progressive, and principled way;*
- *To develop a sustainable economy and state infrastructure that will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans.*
- *and, To encourage the flourishing of the feeling that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, to promote a common loyalty to and pride in the country and to create a universal sense of freedom and security within its borders.* (African National Congress, 1992)

Ready to Govern was an aspirational text produced by a political party that had just been unbanned by the apartheid government and required a formalised economic project for its developmental plans. In comparison, the Ecuadorian text is underpinned by the constitutional imperative of the 2008 constitution that "Sovereignty lies with the people, whose will is the basis of all authority, and it is exercised through public bodies using direct participatory forms of government as provided for by the Constitution" (Ecuadorian Constitución, 2016). It represents the developmental principles of the state enshrined as a constitutional imperative. The constitution envisaged the radical transformation of Ecuadorian development to establish a more socially and ecologically informed approach to sustainable development over the long term (Radcliffe, 2012, p. 241). Chapter 6 and 7 of the constitution works explicitly toward incorporating sumak kawsay into the structure of development as it argues:

> *The good way of living shall require persons, communities, peoples and nationalities to effectively exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities within the framework of interculturalism, respect for their diversity, and harmonious coexistence with nature. (Ecuadorian Constitución, 2016, p. 100)*

In contrast to both the South African and Ecuadorian texts, Tanzania's *Arusha Declaration* functions less as a developmental plan than it does as a political statement of intent regarding the form of development that Tanzania would follow. Though the document provides several developmental objectives, these objectives function more as political desires of TANU regarding the need to change the mental schema that informed the form of development that the state had adopted. It differs from the three texts in one particularly important way. It focuses on constructing a nation of peasants within the construction of an African socialist society. This is particularly evident in part two of the *Arusha Declaration*, which focuses on the use of socialism in eliminating exploitation, controlling the means of production, building a sense of democracy, and establishing socialism as a system of belief.

This latter point is particularly cogent when assessed against the following quotation:

> *Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practice, the principles of socialism. A committed member of TANU will be a socialist, and his fellow socialist – that is, his fellow believers in this political and economic system – are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to accept these socialist principles, and to live his own life in accordance with them. In particular, a genuine TANU leader will not live off the sweat of another man, nor commit any feudalistic or capitalistic actions.*
>
> *The successful implementation of socialist objectives depends very much upon the leaders, because socialism is a belief in a particular system of living, and it is difficult for leaders to promote its growth if they do not themselves accept it. (Nyerere, 1968)*

Unlike the other documents, the *Arusha Declaration* did not only seek to guide the development of the state but also inform how members of the ruling party, TANU, would engage with the rest of the state, including its citizenry.

On the other hand, the Karachi Resolution was neither a prescriptive document regarding development nor a political statement by a ruling party. Instead, the Resolution functioned as a set of rights that the INC believed would unite the citizenry of India and galvanise them towards the ideal of self-determination. The Resolution intended to provide the means "to imagine the contours of an independent India" (Maclean, 2017). It functioned as an implicit social contract meant to achieve unity and transcend caste and religious identities to achieve an overarching social identity for Indian citizens within a future self-reliant state (Patnaik, 2013, p. 6).

8.1 Recontextualising the texts

Upon further analysis of the texts and axial coding, initial codes were assigned to categorical and conceptual groupings (i.e. themes) that created a series of broad categories of interlinked codes and sub-categories (The results of this can be seen in Table 6 below, with the extended coding list in Appendix A).

Table 5: Recontextualising the Text

Texts Analysed	Total Quotations	Total Codes
India: Karachi Resolution	27	24
Tanzania: Arusha Declaration	104	32
South Africa: Ready to Govern	354	58
Ecuador: Titles 6 & 7 of the Constitution	214	51
Total	699	165

As seen in Table 5, The *Ready to Govern* and Ecuadorian texts had, through axial coding, the most coded quotations (354 and 214, respectively) and codes (58 and 51, respectively). This is expected since both documents were more detailed than the *Arusha Declaration* and Karachi Resolution and, as discussed above, were developed for different purposes. Furthermore, both texts functioned as detailed plans for developing their respective countries. The *Arusha Declaration*, which was more of a political statement, had 104 identified quotations and 32 codes. The Karachi Resolution, the shortest of the documents in terms of text, had 27 coded quotations and 24 total codes.

All the identified codes were then allocated to 26 thematic codes with Tanzanian, Ecuadorian, Indian and South African texts respectively displaying 18, 22, 15 and 26 of the thematic codes (see Table 3 below). These themes varied in this articulation, but all were coded to convert the text into conceptual artefacts that allowed for the comparable representation of the documents in a comparable manner. These codes were used to undertake a cross-cutting analysis of the various levels of co-occurrence and conceptual networks of interest.

To compare the documents, all the codes were assorted into thematic groups, and the distribution of codes was normalised. The results of this can be seen in Table 4 below. The absolute values represent the normalised absolute number of codes for each document, while the column-relative figures represent the distribution of quotations of each document. GR on the table represents the groundedness of the codes, which refers to the number of quotations coded by a code or the quotations created in a document. At the same time, GS represents the number of sub-codes that make up the theme.

Table 6: Thematic Codes and Definitions

Thematic Codes and Definitions	
Thematic Codes	**Definition**
Acknowledging the Initial Conditions	Documents openly acknowledge the historical-social-political circumstances that required the establishment of the various documents. This includes both colonialism and coloniality.
Active State Intervention and Control	An explicit requirement for the state to actively involve itself in the development and state-building of the country
Advocating Dignity	The advocation of human dignity
Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs	The use of ancestral and/or indigenous knowledge systems
Conflict and Violence	The need for the establishment of forms of conflict and violence within the state
Culture and Language	The acknowledgement of the importance of the preservation of the arts, culture (including pluriversal cultural systems) and language
Economic Development	Economic development related to collective ownership, redistribution and distribution of resources, economic justice, economic restructuring, management of public debt, taxation and international trade
Education and HCI	The establishment of an educational system (basic and higher) and the investment in human capital
Environment	Sustainable conservation of ecological systems and the management of natural resources and agricultural interventions
Establishing a Legal System	The establishment of a legal system

Establishing Freedoms and Rights	The establishment of various freedoms and rights related to access to information, freedom of association, the freedom to bear arms, the freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, freedoms related to the preservation of family and home, rights associated with the allocation of housing, freedom of movement and other rights associated with common understandings of a bill of rights.
Governance	The establishment of systems of governance. These systems are characterised as but are not limited to the maintenance of equal and diverse representation, localised/decentralised systems rebuilding structures of public administration, and the establishment of systems characterised by self-organisation.
Guiding Principle	A guiding principle is used to guide the underlying motives and logic of the state's overall development. These principles vary across the texts but include principles such as Affirmative Action, building democratic systems, building civil society, acknowledging a nation of peasants, socialism, sumak kawsay, and swaraj.
Healthcare	The establishment of a healthcare systems
Human Safety and Security	The preservation of human life and security through state institutions and/or laws
Inclusion and Equity	The acknowledgement of the need to ensure the inclusion, equality and shared equity of all citizens
International Relations	Policies related to cooperation or awareness of the actions of states beyond each country's own borders. This also includes the acceptance of development aid and financing and integration with the global economy.
Knowledge	The establishment and use of various knowledge systems not linked to ancestral or indigenous knowledge systems
Labour Rights, Unionisation, Return on Labour	The acknowledgement and/or recognition of labour rights, the roles of unions within the state, fair pay and the need to ensure a return on individuals' labour
Land	Policies related to the distribution, access and use of land within the state

Media	The acknowledgement of media freedom and the democratisation of the media
Private Sector	Policies related to the private sector, including increased marketisation, the establishment of preferential financing and encouraging private sector cooperation
Property Rights	Policies and laws related to the protection of property and/or the acknowledgement of property rights allocated to the environment
Quality of Life	Policies and/or the institution of interventions meant to improve the quality of life of individuals. This includes interventions related to habitat and housing, life expectancy, sexual integrity, social security, sport and recreation, and the general improvement of welfare.
Self-determination, Self-reliance, Sovereignty	The establishment of forms of self-determination, self-reliance and/or sovereignty related to the economy, energy, food, leadership
Women's Rights/Patriarchy	Interventions related to the elimination of gender discrimination and forms of patriarchy
Youth	Interventions related to youth development

The absolute values represent the normalised absolute number of codes for each document, while the column-relative figures represent the distribution of quotations of each document. GR on the table represents the groundedness of the codes, which refers to the number of quotations coded by a code or the quotations created in a document. At the same time, GS represents the number of sub-codes that make up the theme.

8.2 Distribution of thematic codes for all texts

As can be seen from Table 7, the two most prominent themes are 'Economic Development' and 'Guiding Principle', with 16.6% and 11.3% of the total share of codes across all four texts. For the particular text, 'Economic Development' represented the largest thematic code for the South African and Indian texts with an 11.26% and 24.24% respective split. Self-determination, Reliance, and Sovereignty was the largest thematic code for the Tanzanian text, with 18,47%, and the Guiding Principle was the most dominant theme for the Ecuadorian case, with 19,79%.

The Guiding Principle represented codes and concepts related to each document's underlying motives and logic for the state's overall development, which are informed by various principles unique to the texts, such as *sumak kawsay*, affirmative action and swaraj. As expected, the Ecuadorian texts, which placed *sumak kawsay* as an overall theme for both chapters (in particular chapter 7), had 19.79% of all codes in the text, representing the most dominant theme of the document. The Karachi Resolution represented an 8,48% share, while Ready to Govern had an 11,3% of themes.

The two prominent themes are then followed by 'Acknowledging the Initial Conditions'; 'Active State Intervention and Control'; 'Environment'; 'Labour Rights, Unionisation, and Return on Labour'; and 'Self-determination, Reliance, Sovereignty' with 5%, 5.5%, 5.9%, 7.2% and 7.5% share of the absolute codes respectively. 'Acknowledging the Initial Conditions' refers to codes related to how each document explicitly acknowledged the historical-social-political circumstances. These included mentions of concepts or themes related to colonialism (and coloniality). The thematic code of 'Active State Intervention and Control' is related to codes linked to the explicit requirement of the state to actively involve itself in the development and state-building of the country. The codes related to the theme of the 'Environment', which related to concepts in the documents, focused on the preservation and sustainable conservation of ecological systems, the management of natural resources, and agricultural interventions.

All of the other codes had less than a 5% distribution of the texts but accounted for 42,8% of the overall share of codes. Codes from this group that were significantly represented across the documentation included: 'Inclusion and Equity' (4,5%), 'Governance' (4.8%) and 'Education and HCI' (4%). Inclusion

and Equity represent quotations and codes related to the insurance of inclusion, equality and shared equity of all citizens.

The Karachi Resolution had the highest number of thematic references to ‘Inclusion and Equity’ of all documents, with 6.06% of all codes. ‘Governance’ represents the establishment of systems of governance characterised, but not limited to, localised/decentralised systems, rebuilding public administration and systems characterised by self-organisation. *Ready to Govern* and the Ecuadorian text showcased the largest representation of ‘Governance’ themes with 8.48% and 5.16% representation. Lastly, ‘Education and HCI’, similarly to ‘Governance’, had the largest representation in South African and Ecuadorian texts (7.69% and 4.73%, respectively).

Table 7: Normalised Thematic Codes

Normalised Thematic Codes	India: Karachi Resolution Gr=27		Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration* Gr=104		South Africa: *Ready to Govern* Gr=354		Ecuador: Titles 6 &7 of the Constitution Gr=214		Totals	
	Absolute	**Column-relative**	**Absolute**	**Column-relative**	**Absolute**	**Column-relative**	**Absolute**	**Column-relative**	**Absolute**	
Acknowledging the Initial Conditions **Gr=** 51**; GS=** 1	19	3,03%	77	12,10%	31	4,87%	0	0,00%	127	5,0%
Active State Intervention and Control **Gr=** 88**; GS=** 1	0	0,00%	45	7,01%	30	4,71%	64	10,11%	139	5,5%
Advocating Dignity **Gr=** 11**; GS=** 1	0	0,00%	24	3,82%	5	0,78%	0	0,00%	29	1,1%
Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs **Gr=** 22**; GS=** 1	0	0,00%	4	0,64%	7	1,10%	19	3,01%	30	1,2%
Conflict and Violence **Gr=** 8**; GS=** 1	0	0,00%	28	4,46%	1	0,16%	0	0,00%	29	1,1%
Culture and Language **Gr=** 31**; GS=** 5	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	17	2,67%	19	3,01%	36	1,4%
Economic Development **Gr=** 171**; GS=** 9	154	24,24%	110	17,20%	73	11,46%	86	13,55%	423	16,6%

Education and HCI **Gr=** 73**; GS=** 2	19	3,03%	4	0,64%	49	7,69%	30	4,73%	102	4,0%
Environment **Gr=** 82**; GS=** 3	39	6,06%	20	3,18%	30	4,71%	62	9,68%	151	5,9%
Establishing a Legal System **Gr=** 17**; GS=** 2	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	16	2,51%	1	0,22%	17	0,7%
Governance **Gr=** 83**; GS=** 6	19	3,03%	16	2,55%	54	8,48%	33	5,16%	122	4,8%
Guiding Principle **Gr=** 165**; GS=** 8	39	6,06%	69	10,83%	54	8,48%	126	19,79%	288	11,3%
Healthcare **Gr=** 36**; GS=** 2	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	24	3,77%	16	2,58%	40	1,6%
Human Safety and Security **Gr=** 31**; GS=** 2	58	9,09%	0	0,00%	26	4,08%	3	0,43%	87	3,4%
Inclusion and Equity **Gr=** 57**; GS=** 4	39	6,06%	16	2,55%	30	4,71%	29	4,52%	114	4,5%
International Relations **Gr=** 31**; GS=** 5	0	0,00%	49	7,64%	16	2,51%	4	0,65%	69	2,7%
Knowledge **Gr=** 36**; GS=** 3	0	0,00%	8	1,27%	20	3,14%	19	3,01%	47	1,8%
Labour Rights, Unionisation, Return on Labour **Gr=** 57**; GS=** 2	97	15,15%	37	5,73%	21	3,30%	30	4,73%	184	7,2%

Land **Gr=** 24**; GS=** 2	19	3,03%	4	0,64%	20	3,14%	3	0,43%	46	1,8%
Media **Gr=** 19**; GS=** 2	19	3,03%	0	0,00%	17	2,67%	1	0,22%	38	1,5%
Private Sector **Gr=** 11**; GS=** 4	0	0,00%	4	0,64%	6	0,94%	5	0,86%	16	0,6%
Property Rights **Gr=** 20**; GS=** 3	19	3,03%	4	0,64%	7	1,10%	15	2,37%	45	1,8%
Quality of Life **Gr=** 65**; GS=** 7	39	6,06%	0	0,00%	46	7,22%	23	3,66%	108	4,2%
Self-determination, Self-reliance, Sovereignty **Gr=** 70**; GS=** 8	19	3,03%	118	18,47%	11	1,73%	40	6,24%	188	7,4%
Women's Rights/Patriarchy **Gr=** 26**; GS=** 2	39	6,06%	0	0,00%	19	2,98%	7	1,08%	64	2,5%
Youth **Gr=** 7**; GS=** 2	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	7	1,10%	0	0,00%	7	0,3%
Totals	637	100,00%	637	100,00%	637	100,00%	637	100,00%	2548	100%

8.2.1 Distribution of Thematic Codes within the Documents

8.2.1.1 Karachi Resolution

As discussed earlier, the most predominant theme within the Karachi document was 'Economic Development', with a 24,24% share of all the thematic codes identified in the document. This was followed by the 'Return on Labour' with a 15,15% share of the codes. The next set of codes represented in the document were 'Environment', 'Guiding Principle', 'Inclusion and Equity', 'Quality of Life', and 'Women's Rights/Patriarchy', which all had a 6.06% share of codes within the text. The clustering of these particular codes resulted from a strong level of co-occurrence between the codes and particular aspects of the document.

Of particular importance for this document were the themes that did not find any resonance with the Indian text. Of the total thematic codes identified, 11 codes could not be allocated within the text. Of these 11, 5 require particular mention, namely: 'Active State Intervention and Control', 'International Relations', 'Knowledge', 'Private Sector' and 'Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs'. While the first four can be attributed to the fact that, at that point, the document represented pre-liberation beliefs of fundamental rights, and unlike the South African case, the Resolution had no clear linkage to the idea of what actions the state would take once colonial subjugation was ended within the Indian state. The lack of reference to the Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs is particularly noteworthy and may be due to the modernist influences regarding state-building in India at the time.

8.2.1.2 Arusha Declaration

While 'Self-determination, Reliance, Sovereignty' was the largest thematic code for the Tanzanian text with 18,47%, this was closely followed by 'Economic Development' with 17,2% and 'Active State Intervention and Control' with 12,10%.

The *Arusha Declaration*'s 'Guiding Principle' had a share of 10.8%, including the sub-codes of 'Socialism', 'Nation of Peasants' and 'Building a Democratic Society'. However, what was unexpected was the relatively small influence of Ujamaa as a thematic code within the text and the greater use of understanding the state as a 'Nation of Peasants' and the use of 'Socialism' as guiding principles. This discrepancy is accounted for when extending the meaning of socialism to Ujamaa. For reasons elaborated below, this is somewhat unsatisfactory for the framework but provides a helpful insight into the framework's functioning.

The distribution of three other codes requires further exploration. The first relates to the acknowledgement of initial conditions, which had a share of 12% of the distributed codes within the text. This can be accounted for by the relatively large focus the text placed on understanding the

economic climate within Tanzania at the time because the Declaration function had a response to this climate.

The second theme within the text relates to 'International Relations'. As Sharp (2019, p. 3) explains, the *Arusha Declaration* was not only cognisant of the neocolonial power relations that defined the period but also functioned as "a stand against the emerging indigenous elite and a statement about a form of development that was independent of existing models promoted by the United States or USSR". The third theme relates to 'Labour Rights, Unionisation, Return on Labour'. Upon reading the text, this is self-evident as the text places a large amount of focus on the idea of working hard.

8.2.1.3 Ready to Govern

Unlike the other texts assessed, the *Ready to Govern* text had a relatively equitable distribution of codes across the document, with all the identified thematic codes represented in the text. All codes identified within the text had a share of less than 10% of the distributed codes, with the only exception being 'Economic Development' with 11.46%. This could be because of the researcher's familiarity with the text compared to the other documents or the relative size of the document compared to the other texts. However, considering the document was a developmental plan focused on the realisation of an extensive list of basic rights, the scope of the document's thematic distribution is understandable.

Four of the thematic codes above 5% were identified: 'Governance' and 'Guiding Principle' with 8.48%, 'Education and HCI' with 7.69%, and 'Quality of Life' with 7.22%. Both 'Governance' and 'Guiding Principle' are discussed more extensively in sections 8.3.1.1 and 8.3.1.2. Compared to the other texts, *Ready to Govern* had the highest focus on 'Education and HCI'. This is probably a result of the focus placed on education and training as a basic human right. As stated in *Ready to Govern*:

> *We believe that education and training is a basic human right and that all individuals should have access to lifelong education and training, irrespective of race, class, gender, creed, age, sexual orientation and physical or mental disability. Furthermore, we believe that the right to education and training should be enshrined in a Bill of Rights which should establish principles and mechanisms to ensure that there is an enforceable and expanding minimum floor of entitlements for all (African National Congress, 1992, p. 45).*

The relatively higher distribution of 'Quality of Life' can be attributed to the extensive focus on *Ready to Govern* placed on undoing the injustices of apartheid, which functioned to eradicate the quality of life for people of colour in South Africa. The theme had several sub-codes related to 'Life Expectancy', 'Sexual Integrity', 'Social Security', 'Sports and Recreation' and 'Welfare Improvement' (see Appendix A). As a result, the Quality of Life found continued expression throughout the text.

8.2.1.4 Titles 6 and 7 of the Ecuadorian Constitution

The Ecuadorian text had three codes with a distribution larger than 10%: 'Guiding Principle' with 19,79%, 'Economic Development' with 13,55% and 'Active State Intervention and Control' with 10,11%. The large representation of 'Guiding Principle' can be attributed to the specific focus on using sumak kawsay (see section 7.1.4.2) throughout the document, and unlike the other texts, was explicitly using the principle as a guiding decolonial principle. As stated in the document:

> *The development structure is the organized, sustainable and dynamic group of economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental systems which underpin the achievement of the good way of living (sumak kawsay) (Ecuadorian Constitución, 2016).*

The Ecuadorian text also focused on encouraging economic development through state activities, explaining the relatively large share of 'Economic Development' and 'Active State Intervention and Control'. As the text states:

> *The general duties of the State in order to achieve the good way of living shall be:*
>
> 1. *To guarantee the rights of people, communities and nature.*
> 2. *To direct, plan and regulate the development process.*
> 3. *To make and implement public policies, and to control and sanction any breach thereof*
> 4. *To produce goods, to create and maintain infrastructure, and to provide public services.*
> 5. *To boost the development of economic activities through a legal system and political institutions that promote, foster and defend said activities in observance of the Constitution and the law.*
> 6. *To promote and bolster science and technology, the arts, ancestral wisdom and, in general, activities resulting from the creative initiative of communities, associations, cooperatives and the private sector. (Ecuadorian Constitución, 2016, pp. 101–102)*

The thematic code of 'Environment' also had a share of 9.68%, which requires due consideration. As Akchurin explains: "Ecuador became the first country to extend legal rights to nature itself" (Akchurin, 2015, p. 938). According to her, the constitution utilised language that "affirmed nature's intrinsic right to exist, to maintain and regenerate its vital cycles, and to be restored if damaged, as well as establishing the right of individuals and communities to bring cases on behalf of nature to public authorities" (Akchurin, 2015, p. 938). As a result, the Ecuadorian text showed the largest representation of thematic codes related to the environment.

8.3 Categorisation and Compilation of the Data

The 26 thematic codes identified for this study were further categorised through the colonial matrix of power, as seen in Table 8.

8.3.1 Categorisation and Compilation according to the Colonial Matrix of Power

The open-coding process formed the foundation for the inductive analysis of the liberation texts. However, to further triangulate the findings from the documents, a series of questions was used to further probe the documents based on the findings and determinations of Chapter 3 through Chapter 6. As discussed in Chapter 3, the colonial matrix of power provides the logic for legitimised relations of domination and consists of four interrelated domains, namely: (1) control of the economy (land appropriation, exploitation of labour, control of natural resources); (2) control of authority (institutions, army); (3) control of gender and sexuality (family, education) and (4) control of subjectivity and knowledge (epistemology, education and formation of subjectivity). Thus, it was determined that the themes from the open coding process should be organised according to each theme's relationship with the matrix.

The distribution of the thematic codes across each domain of the colonial matrix of power (see Table 8) was not mutually exclusive, with certain themes such as ‘Quality of Life’ presented in both the pillars of ‘Economy’ and ‘Public Sphere’. The pillars of ‘Authority’ and ‘Knowledge and Subjectivity’ had the most thematic codes, with 12 themes allocated to each. The pillar of ‘Economy’ had 8 thematic codes, while ‘Public Sphere’ had 7 thematic codes.

Table 8: Themes organised around the pillars of the Colonial Matrix of Power

Authority	Economy	Knowledge and Subjectivity	Public Sphere
‘Acknowledging the Initial Conditions’	‘Active State Intervention and Control’	‘Advocating Dignity’	‘Women's Rights/Patriarchy’
‘Active State Intervention and Control’	‘Advocating Dignity’	‘Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs’	‘Advocating Dignity’
‘Culture and Language’	‘Economic Development’	‘Culture and Language’	‘Quality of Life’
‘Establishing a Legal System’	‘Environment’	‘Education and HCI’	Advocating Dignity
‘Establishing Freedoms and Rights’	‘Guiding Principle’	‘Establishing Freedoms and Rights’	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Access to information
‘Governance’	‘Private Sector’	‘Guiding Principle’	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Association
‘Guiding Principle’	‘Property Rights’	‘Inclusion and Equity’	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Family and Home
‘Inclusion and Equity’	‘Quality of Life’	‘Knowledge’	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Movement
‘International Relations’		‘Land’	Guiding Principle Public Sphere
‘Land’		‘Media’	Quality of Life: Sexual Integrity
‘Self-determination, Self-reliance, Sovereignty’		‘Quality of Life’	Women's Rights/Patriarchy: Women's Rights and Patriarchy
‘Human Safety and Security’		‘Youth’	

Table 9: Normalised Co-occurrence of Thematic Pillars with Documents

	India: Karachi Resolution Gr=27	Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration* Gr=104	South Africa: *Ready to Govern* Gr=354	Ecuador: Titles 6 &7 of the Constitution Gr=214	Totals
CoM: Authority **Gr** = 139**; GS** = 12	33,33%	50,00%	46,21%	41,59%	42,78%
CoM: Economy **Gr** = 99**; GS** = 8	0,00%	28,33%	26,52%	41,59%	24,11%
CoM: Knowledge and Subjectivity **Gr** = 33**; GS** = 12	0,00%	11,67%	9,09%	12,39%	8,29%
CoM: Public Sphere **Gr** = 37**; GS** = 3	66,67%	10,00%	18,18%	4,43%	24,82%

8.3.1.1 Themes related to Authority

As seen in Table 9 above, establishing a sense of authority was an important consideration in all the documents, with 42,78% of codes focused on this theme and over a third of all codes in each document further illustrating this point. For the *Arusha Declaration*, 50% of the themes coded were associated with authority.

As seen in Table 10 below, though the co-occurrence of authority-related themes ranged across all four documents, the themes of 'Establishing Freedoms and Rights', 'Guiding Principle', and 'Self-determination, Self-Reliance, Sovereignty' displayed the most significant amount of co-occurrence across all four documents.

Table 10: Themes on Authority

	India: Karachi Resolution Gr=27	Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration* Gr=104	South Africa: *Ready to Govern* Gr=354	Ecuador: Titles 6 & 7 Constitution Gr=214
Acknowledging the Initial Conditions **Gr=** 51**; GS=** 1	5,26%	19,19%	9,09%	0,00%
Active State Intervention and Control **Gr=** 88**; GS=** 1	0,00%	11,11%	8,80%	18,73%

Culture and Language **Gr=** 31**; GS=** 5	0,00%	0,00%	4,98%	5,58%
Establishing a Legal System **Gr=** 17**; GS=** 2	0,00%	0,00%	4,69%	0,40%
Establishing Freedoms and Rights **Gr=** 62**; GS=** 9	42,11%	2,02%	10,56%	6,37%
Governance **Gr=** 83**; GS=** 6	5,26%	4,04%	15,84%	9,56%
Guiding Principle **Gr=** 165**; GS=** 8	10,53%	17,17%	15,84%	36,65%
Human Safety and Security **Gr=** 31**; GS=** 2	15,79%	0,00%	7,63%	0,80%
Inclusion and Equity **Gr=** 57**; GS=** 4	10,53%	4,04%	8,80%	8,37%
International Relations **Gr=** 31**; GS=** 5	0,00%	12,12%	4,69%	1,20%
Land **Gr=** 24**; GS=** 2	5,26%	1,01%	5,86%	0,80%
Self-determination, Self-Reliance, Sovereignty **Gr=** 70**; GS=** 8	5,26%	29,29%	3,23%	11,55%

With regards to 'Establishing Freedom and Rights', the Karachi Resolution - which primarily focused on establishing a series of rights meant to inform the future development of India - showed the most substantial focus on authority. As the opening line of the Resolution states:

> *This Congress is of opinion that in order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. In order therefore, that the masses may appreciate what Swaraj as conceived by the Congress will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. The Congress therefore declares that any constitution that may be agreed to on its behalf, should include the following items, or should give the ability to the Swaraj Government to provide for them. (Indian National Congress, 1931)*

This quotation provides an interesting example of the interconnected manner in which Authority ranges across the other pillars, especially that of 'Economic Development'. The relationship between Authority and Economic Development across all the texts displayed a particular preponderance on the desire to use the state to rectify past or present economic injustice. This is further illustrated by the strongest co-occurrence of codes related to authority and economic development, being between 'Economic Development: Economic Development' and 'Active State Intervention and Control'. The following quotes from the Tanzanian, South African, and Ecuadorian texts particularly evidence this:

To see that the Government mobilises all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease (Nyerere, 1968)

We acknowledge that the state has a major role in meeting the legitimate and realistic expectations of all, especially the poor, disadvantaged and other vulnerable persons. – Ready to Govern (African National Congress, 1992)

The State shall regulate, monitor and intervene, as necessary, in commerce and trade; and shall punish exploitation, usury, hoarding, deceit, and the speculative practices of middlemen for goods and services, as well as any form of damage to economic rights and public and community assets (Ecuadorian Constitución, 2016)

In addition to the above, authority also seemed to dovetail with an acknowledgement of the initial conditions within the state. The three texts focused on guiding authority based on acknowledging the state's initial conditions were from Tanzanian, Indian and South African. Tanzania, compared to the other texts, had the highest focus, and this can be attributed to both Nyerere's own political beliefs and the Declaration functioning as a critique of both the country's colonial position within the Cold War and its response to the previous developmental plan taken on by the state after the end of colonialism. While the Ecuadorian texts did not focus on the initial conditions linked to the country, the constitution as a whole did.

Though each text focused on controlling authority through differing mechanisms, the themes related to authority across all texts related to Governance and Inclusion and Equity. Much of the focus on governance is related to establishing or reforming governance structures beyond just the state and towards more participatory forms of engagement. Of the three sub-codes associated with Inclusion and Equity, Equality had the strongest co-occurrence across the texts. Indicating a strong need for the creation of reciprocal recognition within the state.

8.3.1.2 Themes related to the Economy

In a similar sense to the themes on Authority, the predominant themes within the pillar of the economy were 'Economic Development' and 'Guiding Principle' (see Table 11). While this is self-evident for the former, the dominance of 'Guiding Principles' indicates that all the texts need an ideological framing of their development. As shown in Table 12 below, these principles were easy to identify for India and Ecuador, India – purna swaraj, and Ecuador – sumak kawsay. The Karachi Resolution shows a relatively strong influence of 'Building a Democratic System' with a strong connection between the concept of purna swaraj to achieve complete independence and the establishment of a democratic system.

Table 11: Themes on the Economy

	India: Karachi Resolution Gr=27	Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration* Gr=104	South Africa: *Ready to Govern* Gr=354	Ecuador: Titles 6 &7 Constitution Gr=214
Acknowledging the Initial Conditions **Gr=** 51**; GS=** 1	6,25%	25,00%	12,30%	0,00%
Advocating Dignity **Gr=** 11**; GS=** 1	0,00%	7,90%	1,98%	0,00%
Economic Development **Gr=** 171**; GS=** 9	50,00%	35,53%	28,97%	27,15%
Environment **Gr=** 82**; GS=** 3	12,50%	6,58%	11,91%	19,40%
Guiding Principle **Gr=** 165**; GS=** 8	12,50%	22,37%	21,43%	39,65%
Private Sector **Gr=** 11**; GS=** 4	0,00%	1,32%	2,38%	1,72%
Property Rights **Gr=** 20**; GS=** 3	6,25%	1,32%	2,78%	4,74%
Quality of Life **Gr=** 65**; GS=** 7	12,50%	0,00%	18,25%	7,33%

It is less clear what the overall guiding principles are for Tanzania or South Africa. As shown in Table 12, when assessing the influence of the Guiding Principles for Tanzania and South Africa, respectively, the results of the inductive analysis showed that the Tanzanian text split its Guiding Principle between socialism and Ujamaa as organising principles (socialism and Ujamaa should not be seen as synonymous, but complementary concepts) and the reconceptualisation of development efforts towards understanding the state as a "nation of peasants". The modernist need for improvement underlines both principles; however, there seems to be a tension between the two, as illustrated by the following quotes from the *Arusha Declaration*:

> *Tanzania is a nation of peasants but is not yet a socialist society. It still contains elements of feudalism and capitalism--with their temptations. These feudalistic and capitalistic features of our society could spread and entrench themselves. (Nyerere, 1968)*

> *A state is not socialist simply because its means of production and exchange are controlled or owned by the government, either wholly or in large part. If a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. (Nyerere, 1968)*

Throughout the *Arusha Declaration*, socialism is seen as the ideal state for Tanzania. However, achieving this goal required an equal acknowledgement of the inability of socialism to adequately account for the class categorisation of citizens as *peasants* rather than the working class. To account for this, the *Arusha Declaration*'s section focused on the 'Policy on Socialism' sought to ensure that workers and peasants would control the major means of production. It states that:

> *To Build and maintain socialism it is essential that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their Government and their co-operatives. Further, it is essential that the ruling Party should be a Party of peasants and workers. (Nyerere, 1968)*

For this thesis, what is of interest is how the *Arusha Declaration* avoids the modernist desire for improvement through socialist beliefs but provides a form of border thinking that adapts this need for development with the incongruent construction of the nation of peasants within socialist rhetoric. It could be argued that Ujamaa extends socialism beyond its traditional understandings as it attempted to incorporate the role of the Tanzanian peasant within its discourse. As Spalding (1996, p. 105) explains, peasants in Tanzania "demonstrated individualist qualities, and could make independent choices concerning subsistence and lifestyle preferences which were relatively unconstrained by complex and intrusive systems of prescriptions". The incongruence between these two principles had long-term consequences for Tanzanian development (see Mandalu et al., 2018) but is beyond the scope of this thesis. The need to ensure that plans related to decolonial development do not have countervailing guiding principles is of significance. This is especially important if the modernist, totalitarian notions inform a particular principle of progress.

Though Tanzania had an incongruence between its guiding principles, the South African text showed indecisiveness in selecting its guiding principles. The three dominant 'Guiding Principles' were identified through the open-coding of *Ready to Govern*: 'Affirmative Action', 'Building a Democratic State' and 'Building Civil Society'.

Table 12: Guiding Principal Codes across documents

	India: Karachi Resolution Gr=27	**Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration* Gr=104**	**South Africa: *Ready to Govern* Gr=354**	**Ecuador: Titles 6 &7 Constitution Gr=214**
Thematic Code				
Guiding Principle Gr=165; GS=8	40,00%	45,95%	49,54%	50,00%
Guiding Principle Sub-codes				
Guiding Principle: Affirmative Action Gr=11	0,00%	0,00%	10,09%	0,00%
Guiding Principle: Building a democratic system Gr=32	40,00%	2,70%	26,61%	0,00%
Guiding Principle: Building civil society Gr=15	0,00%	0,00%	13,76%	0,00%
Guiding Principle: Good way of living Gr=92	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	50,00%
Guiding Principle: Nation of peasants Gr=8	0,00%	21,62%	0,00%	0,00%
Guiding Principle: socialism Gr=11	0,00%	29,73%	0,00%	0,00%
Guiding Principle: Swaraj Gr=1	20,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%

When assessing how the 'Guiding Principles' related to South Africa co-occurred with themes related to Economic development, four themes were identified: 'Collective Ownership, Redistribution and Distribution of Wealth'; 'Economic Development'; 'Economic Justice'; and 'Economic Restructuring'. Building a democratic system had the largest co-occurrence of codes across all four codes of economic development. 'Affirmative Action' and 'Building Civil Society' only co-occurred with Collective Ownership and Economic Development. However, the spread of guiding principles across economic development themes and sub-codes highlights its importance to all the documents' approaches to economic development. However, it also highlights the dangers of having incongruent principles or a

set of congruent principles that are unevenly applied, which creates competing economic motives within a document.

In addition to the above, Acknowledging the Initial Conditions also had a strong co-occurrence with the economy across all the texts. However, similarly to authority, this only pertained to the Indian, Tanzanian, and South African texts. Due to the focus on the state stimulating economic development, the Ecuadorian, South African, and Tanzania texts seemed to view the private sector as auxiliary to stimulating the economy. That being said, the protection of property rights remained important for all the texts. Lastly, 'Environment' showed a strong co-occurrence across all the texts with regard to the economy. Much of this is related not to the protection of the environment but to the use of natural resources.

8.3.1.3 Themes on Knowledge and Subjectivity

As seen in Table 9, when assessing the role of Knowledge and Subjectivity (K&S) within the framework compared to the other themes within the colonial matrix of power, K&S plays has the lowest amount of co-occurrence across the texts. However, this belies the importance of controlling K&S, which is displayed across all the texts. When assessed at a sub-theme level, the importance of K&S becomes increasingly apparent, as can be seen in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Knowledge and Subjectivity

	India: Karachi Resolution Gr=27	**Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration* Gr=104**	**South Africa: *Ready to Govern* Gr=354**	**Ecuador: Titles 6 &7 Constitution Gr=214**
Advocating Dignity **Gr** = 11**; GS** = 1	0,00%	18,75%	1,84%	0,00%
Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs **Gr** = 22**; GS** = 1	0,00%	3,13%	2,57%	7,11%
Culture and Language **Gr** = 31**; GS** = 5	0,00%	0,00%	6,25%	7,11%
Education and HCI **Gr** = 73**; GS** = 2	11,11%	3,13%	18,02%	11,17%
Guiding Principle **Gr** = 165**; GS** = 8	22,22%	53,13%	19,85%	46,70%
Inclusion and Equity **Gr** = 57**; GS** = 4	22,22%	12,50%	11,03%	10,66%
Knowledge **Gr** = 36**; GS** = 3	0,00%	6,25%	7,35%	7,11%

Land **Gr** = 24**; GS** = 2	11,11%	3,13%	7,35%	1,02%
Media **Gr** = 19**; GS** = 2	11,11%	0,00%	6,25%	0,51%
Quality of Life **Gr** = 65**; GS** = 7	22,22%	0,00%	16,91%	8,63%
Youth **Gr** = 7**; GS** = 2	0,00%	0,00%	2,57%	0,00%

Twelve sub-themes were identified within the pillar of K&S. The selected sub-themes, in various ways, showed a sufficient link towards the creation of particular knowledge systems and forms of subjectivity within the state. Across all the documents, the sub-themes of 'Youth', 'Media' and 'Quality of Life' showed a lack of connection with other sub-themes or any proposals meant to create substantial changes in policies that would deviate from modernist subjectivities.

An initial qualitative assessment was made regarding the presence of sub-themes within each document that related broadly to K&S. A further assessment was made regarding whether they may perpetuate or disrupt colonial subjectivities. This assessment provided a means to elaborate on the findings while accepting levels of uncertainty. It should be noted that the disruption of subjectivities for this thesis refers to attempts to move away from Wynter's ideal descriptive statement.

Of these revised sub-themes, the 'Guiding Principle', 'Education and HCI', and 'Quality of Life' showed the highest levels of co-occurrence across the documents at 19.85%, 18.02% and 16.91%, respectively. Surprisingly, 'Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs' and 'Culture and Language' had a relatively low influence across the documents. Considering the achievement of a decolonial turn within K&S through forms of indigenous knowledge systems and subjectivities detached from Eurocentric modernism would, at least to decolonial scholars, be seen as the best possible outcome of development. The lack of both within this theme poses particularly interesting questions regarding the ability of these texts to create this turn.

The first is whether the documents, at their core, seek to disrupt subjectivities amongst citizens beyond the admonishment of formal systems of colonisation. Both the *Arusha Declaration* and the Ecuadorian texts are more overt in advocation for this decolonial turn, as seen by the prominent role of Ujamaa/Nation of Peasants and Sumak Kawsay had in both texts. This is further confirmed by the findings in Table 13, with the 'Guiding Principles' in both documents being relatively higher for those two nations than in the Indian and South African cases. Both principles show a variety of influences

across multiple aspects of their texts, specifying a particular means of changing dominant subjectivities regarding progress.

One may expect this to be similar to the Karachi Resolution; however, Purna Swaraj is a call for complete independence and not necessarily a decolonial turn in subjectivities. The diversity of guiding principles within the South African text makes it harder to determine whether *Ready to Govern* sought to create a disruptive subjectivity. This further highlights why competing guiding principles within a text create inconsistencies in the overall objective to achieve a decolonial turn. That being said, the focus on 'Building a democratic state' in the *Ready to Govern* text, or the other principles it includes, does not make a definitive statement of intent to change subjectivities but rather to achieve liberation and self-determination.

The second question is whether adherence to ancestral and indigenous forms of knowledge, cultures and language should inherently be seen as a means of changing subjectivities within a state. This is clearly the case for Ecuador, with 'Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs' and 'Culture and Language' enjoying a higher combined occurrence (14,22%) than the other three texts combined (11,95%). This may result from the homogenous influence that Latin America has to date on decolonial scholarship; however, this cannot be proven. In contrast, the *Arusha Declaration* pays little to no attention to 'Culture and Language' with a predominant focus on 'Advocating Dignity', 'Inclusion and Equity' and 'Knowledge'. What is certain is that Knowledge and Subjectivity play a crucial role in achieving a decolonial turn. However, how one triggers this turn remains uncertain.

In comparison, the theme of Education and Human Capital Investment is considered to be important for all texts with regards to K&S. After establishing 'Guiding Principles', 'Education and HCI' showed the highest co-occurrence across all the respective documents, indicating a particular focus on establishing a particular system of knowledge production. However, upon further inspection, only the Ecuadorian and South African texts show a significant interest in the matter. Only two quotations make fleeting references to the theme in the *Arusha Declaration*, and one quotation advocates for education to be available for all within the Karachi Resolution. Though this is expected for the Karachi Resolution as it is a list of fundamental rights, it is curious that the *Arusha Declaration* does not pay the issue much regard. This thesis postulates that, unlike the Ecuadorian and South African texts, which functioned as traditional developmental plans, the *Arusha Declaration*, as a political statement, overlooked the matter as an ideological concern.

As mentioned above, the Ecuadorian and South African texts provide a more significant reference to the role of education and human capital investment. The Ecuadorian text states that a

> *…national education system shall be aimed at developing the population's individual and collective capabilities and potential, enabling learning and the generation and use of knowledge, techniques, wisdom, arts and culture. The system shall have as its core focus the learning subject and shall function flexibly and dynamically with an inclusive, efficient and effective approach.*
>
> *The national education system shall incorporate an intercultural vision in line with the country's geographical, cultural, and linguistic diversity and respect for the rights of the communities, peoples and nations.* (Ecuadorian Constitución, 2016)

Meanwhile, according to *Ready to Govern*:

> *We believe that education and training is a basic human right and that all individuals should have access to lifelong education and training, irrespective of race, class, gender, creed, age, sexual orientation and physical or mental disability. Furthermore, we believe that the right to education and training should be enshrined in a Bill of Rights which should establish principles and mechanisms to ensure that there is an enforceable and expanding minimum floor of entitlements for all* (African National Congress, 1992)

A key difference between the two countries' approaches is the focus on using indigenous and localised knowledge within the production system of education. While the Ecuadorian text places a firm preponderance on the matter, the South African text advocates establishing a new education system. This difference could be explained by the South African context requiring an expansion of education previously denied to certain segments of the population. The Ecuadorian text focused on the reformation of the educational system according to the demands advocated for by CONAIE. Regardless, education plays a dominant role in three of the four texts.

8.3.1.4 Public Sphere Themes

Assessing the control of the public sphere provided a challenge for the open coding. As discussed in section 6.1.1, the control of the public sphere within the framework refers to the subjective understandings of the nuclear (Christian) family, gender, and sexuality informed by Wynter's descriptive statement. This domain within the matrix is regulated by legal prescripts that manage individual habits and routines and mediate their utterances within society as a whole.

The concept of the public sphere can be generally understood as follows:

> *…a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion--that is, with the guarantee of freedom*

> *of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions-about matters of general interest. (Habermas et al., 1974, p. 49)*

However, Western epistemes have traditionally conceived the conception and role of the public sphere and, as de Sousa Santos argues, should be challenged (Santos, 2012). According to de Sousa Santos (2012, p. 40):

> *The concept of public sphere reflects, in a stylised way, the political practices of the European bourgeoisie at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It expresses the emergence of the bourgeois citizen as a political actor through practices and institutions (coffeehouses, salons, newspapers, clubs, etc.) that mediate between the private sphere of civil society (family and the economy) and state political authority. Accordingly, its theoretical and cultural presuppositions are entirely European: it is based on the individual bourgeois and life experience; it assumes the separation between the state and civil society; it sees the bourgeois citizen and his public sphere as external to the structure of power; it takes for granted its informal and equal inclusiveness (which, as Habermas himself later recognised, concealed flagrant exclusions, such as women, workers and non-proprietors in general); its dynamic component is the reasonable discussion and a culturally shared discourse (reasonable arguments and counter-arguments, recognised as such by the participants) through which a consensus is reached on matters of common concern; political action consists of political discussion, not political action and transformation. These presuppositions are today highly problematical, even in the global North.*

For de Sousa Santos (2012), a shift from the predominant view of the public sphere as understood through a Eurocentric lens toward a public sphere informed by epistemologies of the South provides the South with the means to create its own view of the world. However, as Habermas and Lennox (1974, p. 49) argue, there is a natural opposition between the state and the public sphere. Though the state is the "executor of the political public sphere, it is not part of it" (Habermas et al., 1974, p. 49). Their connection depends on the state's political control being "effectively subordinated to the democratic demand that information be accessible to the public" to ensure an institutionalised influence over the state through law-making bodies (Habermas et al., 1974, p. 49).

Using the western conception of the public sphere limits the ability to determine factors that may create an emergence of a new public sphere within the countries under discussion. Furthermore, understanding the natural contestation between the public and the state creates difficulty in pinpointing how each state intended to influence this sphere, if at all. Furthermore, according to Lugones (2016), the inclusion of gender within this public sphere analysis is essential to avoid a potentially hegemonic reliance on race as the predominant marker of the ideal and non-ideal. As such, any exploration of the public sphere must also acknowledge how heteronormative sexualities and the naturalisation of gender roles in

relation to forms of authority of principles guiding economic practices have been imposed upon society as a means of enforcing dual "natural" gender relations (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009, p. 135).

Table 14: Public Sphere (Normalised)

	India: Karachi Resolution Gr=27	**Tanzania: *Arusha Declaration* Gr=104**	**South Africa: *Ready to Govern* Gr=354**	**Ecuador: Titles 6 &7 Constitution Gr=214**
Advocating Dignity **Gr** = 11	0,00%	25,00%	5,26%	0,00%
Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Access to information **Gr** = 9	0,00%	0,00%	9,47%	0,00%
Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Association **Gr** = 4	20,00%	4,17%	2,11%	0,00%
Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Family and Home **Gr** = 2	0,00%	0,00%	2,11%	0,00%
Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Movement **Gr** = 1	0,00%	0,00%	1,05%	0,00%
Guiding Principle Public Sphere **Gr** = 165	40,00%	70,83%	56,84%	92,93%
Quality of Life: Sexual Integrity **Gr** = 5	0,00%	0,00%	3,16%	2,02%
Women's Rights/Patriarchy **Gr** = 26	40,00%	0,00%	20,00%	5,05%

To assess the public sphere, as can be seen in Table 14, 8 themes were selected: 'Advocating Dignity'; Establishing Freedoms and Rights related to Association, Family and Home, Movement; 'Guiding Principles' related to the Public Sphere; Sexual Integrity and 'Women's Rights and Patriarchy'. Of all the themes, only the 'Guiding Principle' showed a significant co-occurrence across all four texts. Except for '*Ready to Govern*', though the other themes remain present within the documents', they remain concentrated in particular texts. *Ready to Govern* is the only text with thematic representation across all 8 categories. Though 'Women's Rights/Patriarchy' had the second-highest co-occurrence across the documents, its relative weight of influence was considered low.

This point is particularly cogent when assessing the co-occurrence of the 'Guiding Principles' and 'Women's Rights/Patriarchy'. From this assessment, only two quotations (both of which were in *Ready to Govern*) were found across all four texts that represented the co-occurrence of these thematic areas. However, both quotations do not expressly charge how women should participate in creating the public sphere but rather how they should be included in particular economic processes linked to rural development and affirmative action. Furthermore, all the documents relied on heteronormative approaches to gender and sexuality. However, it should be noted that '*Ready to Govern*' dedicates a sub-section of the text to the establishment of the rights for women in particular.

Based on the findings of Table 14, it is unclear how liberatory texts can specifically target influencing the public sphere outside of the general influence of the guiding principles of each text. As a result, this thesis excludes the notion of controlling the public sphere.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter undertook both a thematic and content analysis of the four documents deemed to be relevant to understanding the nature of liberatory texts as developmental plans, namely: the *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights* signed by the Indian National Congress in 1931, which functioned as the formative document that influenced the; the *Arusha Declaration* devised by Julius Nyerere and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) 1967; *Ready to Govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa*; and *Title 6 and 7 of the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution*. The content analysis provided a quantitative view of the various thematic codes throughout the texts, which was then used to develop an overall thematic analysis of each document, which was then extended to a thematic analysis of all the documents. This inductive analysis aimed to provide insight into how the framework for emergent decolonial development could be appropriately augmented.

Two thematic codes showcased the highest level of co-occurrence and relative importance of all the documents assessed: 'Guiding Principle' and 'Economic Development'. What should be drawn from this finding is that regardless of the geographical, historical, or temporal differences between the documents, of primary concern of these texts was ensuring that economic development was informed by an ideologically informed principle determined by those considered to be the wretch of that society (in the Tanzania case, a wretch within the global economy). While for both the Indian and Ecuadorian texts, there was only one guiding principle in each text, for both the Tanzanian and South African texts, multiple guiding principles were identified that, in various instances, seemed to create incongruencies with the ability of each text to adequately determine a clear developmental agenda. What is certain is that the guiding principle, if viewed as an ideal of sorts, becomes the new ideal, meaning that these texts remain linked to the modernist project. The above point is further compounded by the fact that both

‘Economic Development’ and the ‘Guiding Principle’ were strongly linked to the control of authority and the economy.

Chapter 9

Augmenting the Framework

In Chapter 1, a question was posed as to whether the field of decolonial studies should find a means to establish its influence in the field of development to shift the framing of decolonisation from self-determination towards an ongoing developmental programme. The context of the question emanated from the argument that the relationship between the coloniser and colonised in the 21st century has become exceedingly complex and nuanced, making the link between decolonisation and self-determination opaque. This is the result of the increasing pluriversality of truths, the enunciation of new ways of being, and the resurgence of hidden ways of being proliferating across the globe in response to coloniality. As Chapter 3 explained, within this context, decolonial studies have fallen victim to primarily focusing on the nature of the violence created by decoloniality and has not sufficiently worked towards creating a tactical plan required to stimulate this violent break without a clearly defined dialectical stimulant.

As a result, this thesis proposed a framework for emergent-decolonial development. This framework should not be viewed as a means to replace traditional and state-led development processes but rather as a collection of policy prescriptions that can augment development in a manner consistent with challenging the emergent characteristics of coloniality. The framework's purpose is to create a toolkit for forms of development that allow for the exercise of decolonisation as an ongoing activity throughout various state sectors. Based on the discussions in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the following framework was developed:

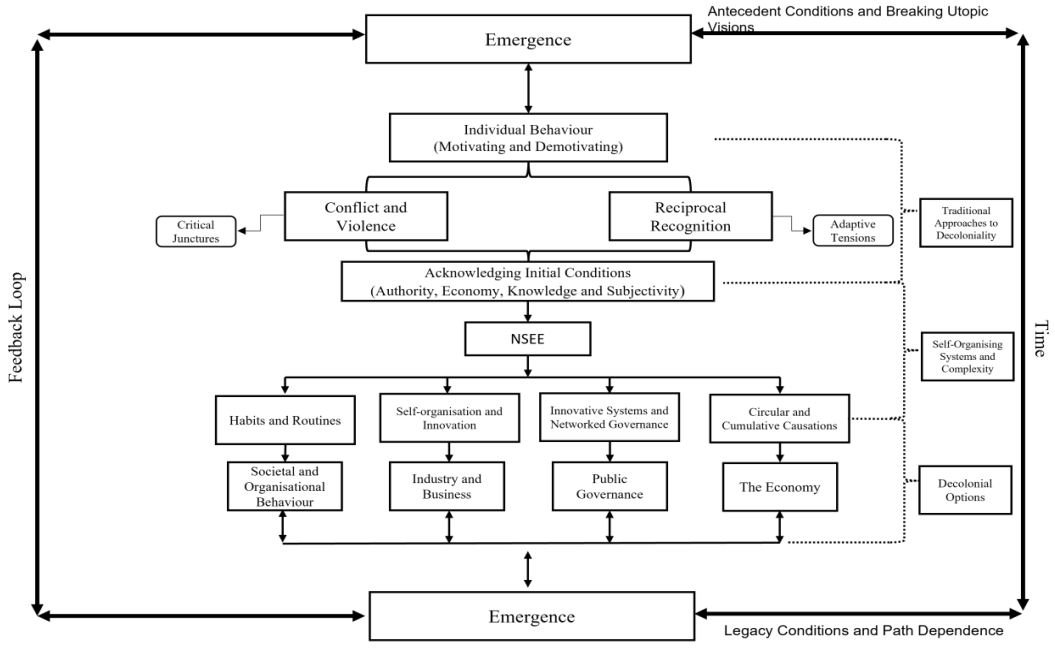

Figure 13: Framework for Emergent-Decolonial Development

However, this framework, on its own, needs to be further augmented by drawing from previous attempts to create developmental plans by previously colonised nations. The following chapter will discuss how the findings in Chapter 8 may be used to adjust the framework.

The framework views nation-states as open, complex adaptive systems consisting of various agents interacting with one another under certain restrictions and mandates. Viewing the state in this way provides a means of understanding development as the creation of emergent characteristics within society that create decolonial feedback. Three factors determine the creation of decolonial feedback within the framework, namely: (1) Traditional Approaches to Decoloniality, (2) Self-organising systems and Complexity, and (3) Decolonial Options.

9.1 Traditional Approaches to Decoloniality

'Traditional Approaches to Decoloniality' within the framework functions to break away from modernist understandings of what it means to be human. As explained in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, decolonial thinking functions as the rejection of being told *what is* and *who are* the wretch by those situated within the privilege of the zero point.

This exercise involves two interlinked concepts traditionally associated with decolonial studies: conflict and violence and reciprocal recognition. Two other interlinked concepts are also utilised and were brought from complexity studies, namely: individual behaviour informed by inductive reasoning and an acknowledgement of the initial conditions. Three of these four interlinked concepts - motivating and demotivating individual behaviour, increasing levels of reciprocal recognition, and acknowledging the initial conditions - were particularly influential in the four liberation documents analysed. While conflict and violence gained no direct mention in any of the texts, the work by Fanon regarding the necessity of conflict and violence to ensure reciprocal recognition remains important for the framework. Furthermore, the evidence from the historical accounts of the documents indicated the importance of the conflict and violence that led to the creation of documents.

While the documents do not directly address conflict and violence, this thesis argues that without it, the pursuit of reciprocal recognition will remain confined to modernist relations between the ideal and the non-ideal. Without conflict and violence, development will not be able to create recognition focused on the creation of new humanism. Therefore, although none of the attached documents explicitly sought to create a 'new' humanism, conflict and violence remain core to the framework.

These traditional approaches to decoloniality, complemented by complexity, are intended to provide an initial avenue to pursue a form of epistemic decolonisation within the modernist discourse of development that ranges across both the political and economic. While traditional understandings of

political and economic decolonisation within developmental discourse relied on achieving self-determination, this approach - while acknowledging the importance of self-determination - relies on the continued expression of this determination through the continued reordering and reimagining of the relations between the ideal and the wretch.

9.2 Self-Organising Systems and Complexity

The second level of the framework explains how the reconfigured and reimagined relations interact with various social, economic, and political structures within society. These interactions and structures are viewed through the lens of self-organising systems that exhibit complex relations. That is to say, relations that are both non-linear and dynamic. Each document assessed sought to guide development - and economic development in particular - through an a priori acknowledgement of the initial conditions in which development would occur. The framework maintains the same logic. The framework maintains the importance of acknowledging the conditions that inform structures and institutions pertaining to authority, the economy, and knowledge and subjectivity. As argued earlier, the public sphere will be removed from the framework's focus. Viewing this new, ever-evolving set of relations between the wretch and ideal through this lens provides insights into approaching development within post-colonial states and situations in a manner that is unified (the relation between the wretch and the ideal) but provides the expression of contextual differences that do not necessitate a desire to shift towards a predetermined ideal state of affairs.

As seen in the findings in Chapter 8, the use of 'Guiding Principles' has been a central tenet across the pillars of the colonial matrix of power. The same will be true for the framework. Both the acknowledgement of the initial conditions and the use of guiding principles retain a priority position in this second level of the framework. Both will be used to influence and understand approaches made to influence authority, the economy, and knowledge and subjectivity.

The second component of the self-organising system level of the framework pertains to the use of NSEE to provide tools and guidelines that inform policy development based on the new humanism meant to be formed in the first level of the framework (see Figure 14). NSEE is applied to institutions, policies and systems that pertain to the management and control of the real economy. These institutions, policies and systems are informed by initial conditions created by reciprocal recognition within society and the outcomes of the conflict and violence within said society. In addition, a state's guiding principle is also used to inform the philosophy of change applied to these proposed changes.

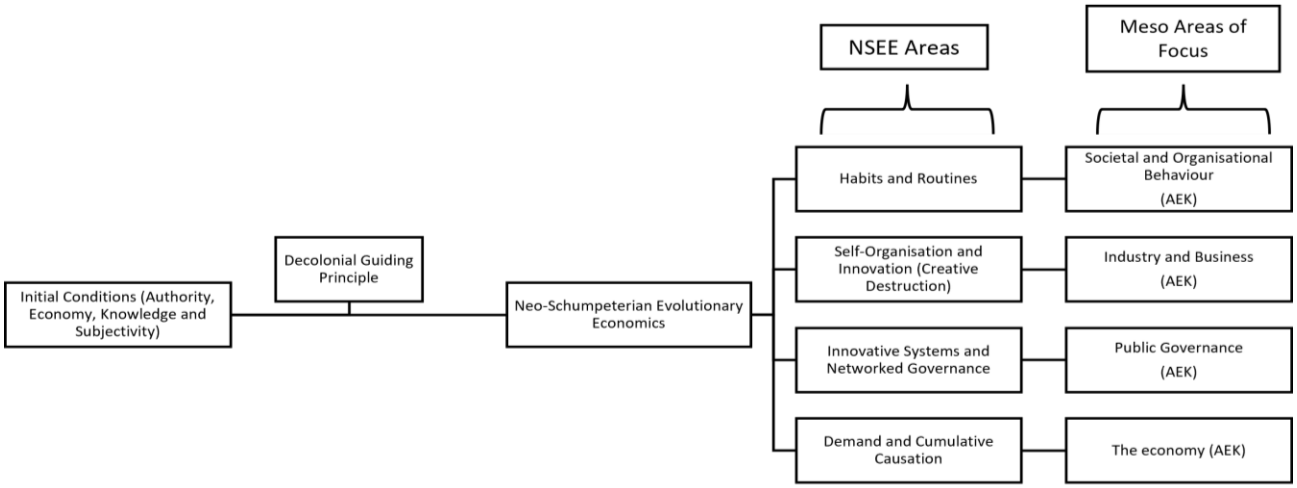

Figure 14: NSEE within the Framework with Guiding Principle

9.3 Decolonial Options

Based on the findings of Chapter 8, of the four areas of concern pertaining to NSEE and the chosen decolonial options, one of the four requires further amendment, namely: habits and routines. The other three areas require further research as the findings from the chosen liberatory texts do not seem to provide sufficient evidence to alter the framework significantly.

9.3.1 Habits and Routines

Habits and routines - understood as both a hierarchical and modular system of relations (see 6.4.1.1) - within the Indian, Tanzanian, and South African texts sought to alter the pre-established social parameters of individual engagements that were informed by the initial conditions of the state (colonialism and coloniality). These pre-established parameters informed social relations between the ideal and the wretch. While the Indian and South African texts sought to provide a blueprint of habits and routines within a newly formed democratic state, the Tanzanian and Ecuadorian texts sought to shape them after achieving liberation. Ecuador, in particular, which is further removed from the colonial context compared to the other documents and countries, still sought to re-arrange these social parameters with the specific intention of combating coloniality. As discussed in section 7.1.4, this was the result of the emergence of indigenous groups within the political life of Ecuador, not as observers of change but as the driving force behind the establishment of the new constitution.

That said, each document still focused on reordering forms of inclusion and equity, new structures of governance, a renewed sense of self-determination and self-reliance, and human capital investment. While all these speak to habits and routines in various ways, of particular importance was the considerable concern with Establishing Freedoms and Rights across all the texts, with a particular focus on using these freedoms and rights to further maintain authority.

The link to Habits and Routines here pertains to an understanding of state-building as an exercise that requires purposeful action to balance the demands of institutions and societal actors through building state capacity and the norms and procedures that entrench the social relations of the state (see section 6.2.2). The state within the framework is seen as a vital mechanism for rebuilding and managing the interrelations between individuals. The reordering and re-establishment of rights and freedoms to manage modular relations are particularly important when viewing these changes through a decolonial lens.

As argued, coloniality does not need formal institutions to control behaviour in society but only requires continued hierarchical and modular relations between the ideal and the wretch. While establishing new rights and freedoms may alter modular relations, the impact of these rights may be limited when confronted with coloniality. As such, the focus of this aspect of the framework is less on the establishment of an ideal state of relations, for instance, creating a new constitution with a bill of rights and more on the continued improvement of modular and hierarchical relations through the use of rights and freedoms underpinned by reciprocal recognition. This approach does not valorise freedoms and rights as the end outcome but instead provides the means of creating innovative approaches to rearranging relations to create new forms of humanism. Sumak kawsay, for instance, holds such an innovative place as it shifts conceptions of being human away from Wynter's descriptive statement. Furthermore, greater emphasis should be placed on eradicating the hierarchy between the wretch and the ideal and a renewed focus on the modularity of relations between the two to alter habits and routines.

9.3.2 Industry and Self-organisation

At varying levels, all the texts emphasised Inclusion and Equity within their respective economies. Both the South African and Tanzanian texts particularly emphasise this. This aligns with the argument made in 6.4.1.2 that from a decolonial perspective, the wretch must be introduced into the economic operations of various industries from which they were previously excluded or had limited participation due to structural or instrumental reasons. However, the texts do not elucidate how this will be done in a manner that does not obfuscate coloniality's real structural and instrumental limitations. Much of this can be attributed to the fact that the documents are only liberatory and are not considered economic or industrial directives from the state.

What is understood is that these limitations can be attributed to the lack of reciprocal recognition of conflict and violence. Without disruptions to the relations between the ideal and the wretch and the augmentation of their habits and routines, then the inclusion of the wretch within any industrial policies is a relatively moot point. Instituting policy arrangements meant to alter the relations incrementally without reciprocal recognition underpinned by violence (i.e., diversification of the workspace, specialised interventions to increase the wretch's economic participation, etc.) simply entrench and normalise the dominant relations between the ideal and wretch. As earlier argued, so long as the wretch

and the ideal remain in conflict, the ability to create prolonged interactions and opportunities for welfare-enhancing innovations remains limited.

Targeted research is required to view the role of the wretch and ideal within industries from the perspective of complexity and self-organisation. Specific focus should be placed on structural changes within industries underpinned by reciprocal recognition and assessing the emergent aspects of change rather than the linear outcomes of interventions. In other words, change within the industry should be understood as beyond number counting or the creation of diverse workspace, but the ongoing cultural and social evolution of relations between the wretch and ideal.

9.3.3 Public Governance

This thesis, up till now, has used the notion of governance as the "institutionalized politico-economic process that organizes and coordinates activities among a wide variety of economic, political, and social actors" (Kim, 2006, p. 20). With the introduction of complexity, governance was also seen as a complex adaptive system where the resultant factors of the system – the emergence of mesostructures within society that allow for the emergence of new humanism - allow actors both within the state and external to it to generate modes of self-organisation that contribute to bottom-up creativity (Haynes, 2018, p. 982).

Regarding the framework, there is insufficient data from the texts to create an addendum to the approach to governance beyond what was discussed in 6.4.1.3. The texts all proposed different mechanisms to manage governance, focusing on forms of participatory governance. A broader study of post-colonial forms of governance structures utilising the perspective of decoloniality and complexity would be required to augment this particular aspect of the framework.

As a result, governance remains unchanged while networks that encourage the continued interaction between all internal and external agents of the state with the explicit incorporation of the wretch into the structures and activities of state governance are prioritised. In addition, the state's mechanisms, though varied, should remain focused on creating sustainable mechanisms for reciprocal recognition. Lastly, based on this reciprocal recognition, one subsystem of relations between the wretch and the ideal within any system of governance.

9.3.4 The Economy and Business

As discussed earlier in this chapter, adopting a decolonial guiding principle is central to any attempt to create emergent-decolonial development. Furthermore, decoloniality and complexity both contend that modernist notions of economic development lack a level of understanding of the relations between the wretch and ideal and that this prevents movement along the modernist track of development. This view is further substantiated by the findings in section 8.3.1.2 but remains inconclusive. While the

Ecuadorian text showcases a desire to break from modernist approaches to development, the other documents are somewhat inconclusive on the matter.

In addition, the usage of Circular and Cumulative Causation (CCC) has limited explanatory use within India, Tanzania and South Africa contexts because of the temporal differences and the recency of this approach. However, studies understanding the structural complexity of the state and the multi-causal relations between variables have shown increased prominence (see Bhorat et al., 2019). More work is required to link these approaches to decolonial understandings of the state.

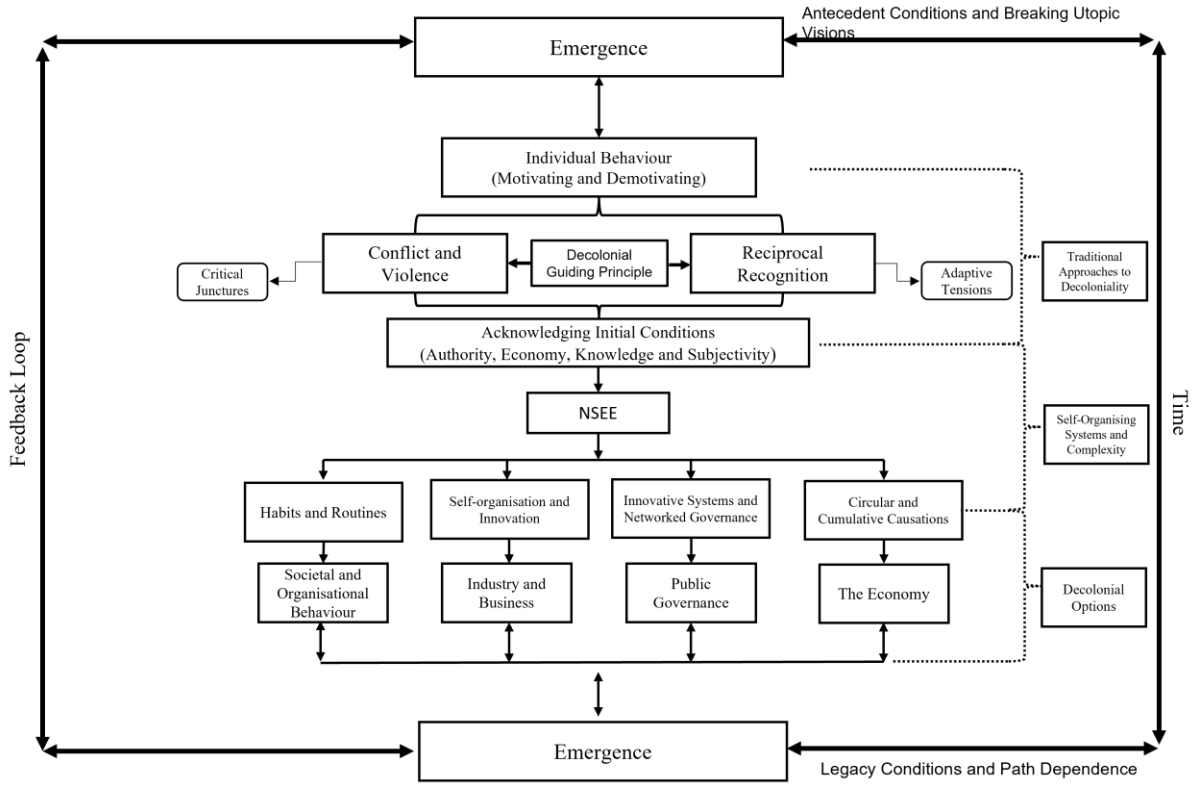

Figure 15: Amended Framework

9.4 Limitations of the framework

It should be acknowledged at this point that the framework, like any other theoretical framework, has limitations. This thesis identifies three limitations of interest. The first relates to the nebulous nature of a decolonial outcome. While the thesis set out to understand how public policy might begin to think of its interventions within the field of development with the intent to create decolonial outcomes. What it found, in the end, was that by viewing decoloniality as emergent, it thus masks what is certain. In the same vein, coloniality continues to evolve and alter as a complex adaptive system, thus often making it unpredictable. Modelling decoloniality as a complex adaptive system may also render unpredictable outcomes. Thus, EDD remains inherently unpredictable as a framework to assist in predicting and articulating policy intended to combat coloniality. However, it can still be argued that emergent

decolonial development remains an important philosophical and theoretical retort to colonial emergence. The framework remains opaque when establishing exactly what the necessary articulations of the meso-structures would be required to create these emergent decolonial outcomes. At this point, the exact nature of these outcomes may currently be undetermined, but the framework arguably creates a higher possibility of achieving decolonial outcomes when compared to current approaches of decolonial thinking linked to linearity.

The second limitation of the framework, though it may function as an opportunity in certain instances, is the inability to decipher where one should start. The framework is designed to have no beginning and no end and views development as non-linear and fractal. As a result, while the framework's developmental paths may prove useful, they may also keep one stuck within similar macro and micro-interactions between the ideal and the wretch. Including conflict and violence is intended to halt this pattern and provide avenues for phase transitions within a society marked by coloniality that lead to a new humanism. Achieving this new humanism remains intimately tied to establishing a new ideal of being. Attempting to ignore this in favour of blindly following the framework's logic requires the abandonment of decolonial guiding principles that must remain at the heart of the framework. More research is required to show the importance of maintaining a decolonial guiding principle to tame the developmental paths chosen by a state vis-à-vis being tamed by these principles. This point shares close similarities with Al-Ahmad's notion of westoxification.

Thirdly, the framework remains theoretical. While the thesis has argued that it remains a useful and novel philosophical approach to development and decoloniality. As a form of public policy praxis, the applicability of the framework to the contemporary policy challenges related to and informed by coloniality requires further research. The augmentation of the framework based on only four historical texts ensures that the framework's logic remains dependent on these documents. To bring the framework into contemporary thinking and possibly into a space of praxis requires the augmentation of the framework based on a larger sample of historical texts, possibly across the 20th and 21st centuries, as well as current struggles of liberation from coloniality. For instance, how would the framework, if at all, be augmented or adjusted when confronted with the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States of America, the decolonial project that Western Sahara is currently undertaking, policy responses to the concerns of western Anglophone Cameroon's belief that eastern Francophone Cameroon seeks to colonise them or the call of liberation by Catalonians within Spain during the 21st century? All of the above, for all intent and purpose, exist as situations of calls for liberation within societies where colonialism no longer exists in its formalised nature.

Chapter 10

Conclusion: Embracing Chaos and Complexity

In a world ordered by deceit, whether ontological or epistemological, the active pursuit of truth brings with it the emergence of chaos, chaos that threatens order. Thus, to preserve order, chaos and truth must be suppressed. Regardless of the merit or utility of this truth, it must curtail its emergence to preserve itself; to bring itself back into a centred subjectivity that views the wretch as pathological. Something that, if not brought into order through treatment, must be extinguished from memory. While the conquest of colonialism provided the treatment for this pathology, it is coloniality that extinguishes it. Creating order within a world of pluriversal truths has seen the emergence of coloniality as a hegemonic tool used for ontological and epistemological dominance. A structural and instrumental reimagining of the possibilities and pathways of development is required to provide a means of development that shifts away from the influence of coloniality. However, while this exercise of reimagining has found expression within the world of decolonial thinking, it has not translated into policy prescriptions within the discourse of development.

At the heart of decolonial studies is the pursuit of truth in a world ordered by lies. However, as this thesis has shown, there is no one truth of the world but rather a pluriversality of truths. These truths provide competing understandings of world systems that lead to contestation and conflict; Fanonian violence. Within this violence and the embrace of chaos, this thesis argued for emergent-decolonial development.

The purpose of the thesis was to devise a socio-economic framework that can be used to understand the impact of coloniality on society and provide the means of understanding a nation-state in a manner that provides a more appropriate means of devising tools to challenge coloniality. It is a form of development informed by chaos rather than order. A form of development in which those hidden and extinguished by the modernist order of the world are provided with an opportunity to embark on their own truth unencumbered by the pressure to adhere to a predetermined ideal of truth; modernity.

The thesis brought together decolonial studies and development, often at odds with one another, through the use of complexity science and economics. The thesis argues that decoloniality, as it stands, provides little in terms of public policy interventions that states can utilise to tackle the continued impact of coloniality. In addition, developmental studies often fail to appropriately consider the utility of decolonisation as an ongoing process of development rather than simply a process of self-determination upon which traditional forms of development can take root.

10.1 Addressing the objectives of the thesis

A series of arguments were devised within the thesis to address the study's primary aims and its various research questions. The primary aims were: (1) to argue for the need for emergent-decolonial development and (2) to develop the framework informed by the arguments made in the integrative literature review and the documentary analysis of liberation texts of India, Tanzania, South Africa and Ecuador. The result was the formulation of the framework seen in Figure 16 below.

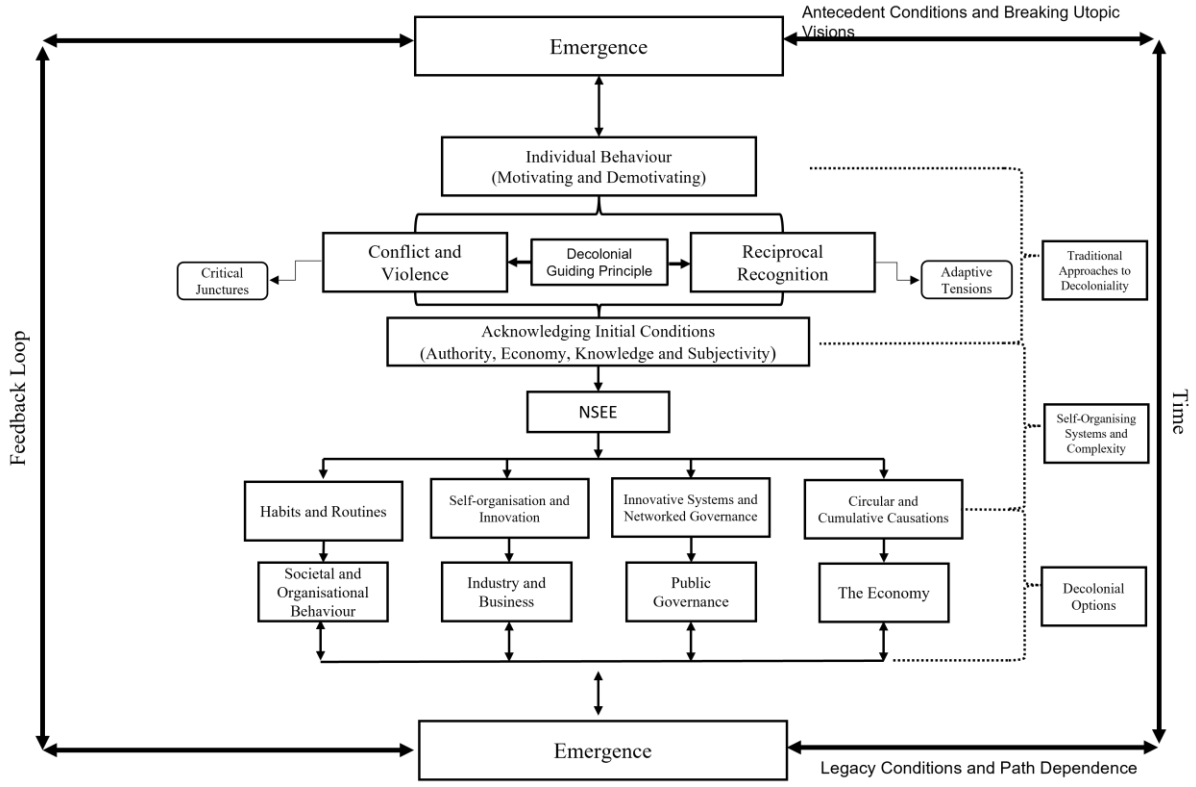

Figure 16: Final Framework for Emergent-Decolonial Development

To address the first aim, the thesis makes three central arguments that address the following research questions posed in Chapter 1:

1. What would the conceptual understanding of emergent-decolonial developmental framework be?
    1.1. Can the ideas related to complexity thinking replace the linearity intrinsic to development?
    1.2. Is coloniality the emergent property of not only colonialism but modern development?
    1.3. Can decolonisation in development discourse be delinked from the process of self-determination?

The first argument is that decolonisation must not be viewed as a process of self-determination as currently understood by the development discourse. The second argument relates to the need to view coloniality as an emergent outcome of development and understand the limitations of decolonial

thought to address coloniality when viewed through this lens. The third argument is that there is a need to embrace the ideas related to chaos and complexity to challenge the nature of coloniality as a form of emergence.

10.2 First Argument: Limitations of decolonisation as self-determination

The first core argument developed in this thesis related to how modernity has limited decolonisation within the discourse of development to the pursuit of self-determination. The danger posed by this limitation is that it allows for the unencumbered proliferation of coloniality at a global scale because decolonisation within the context of public policy, as it stands, does not have a clear set of policy prescriptions specifically designed to challenge the emergent nature of coloniality. Decolonisation within the discourse of development is currently understood through two means. The first is political decolonisation, which has traditionally been limited to political independence before it was expanded to the transformation of institutions that previously reproduced ethnic and racial subjectivities legally enforced by colonialism (Mamdani, 2016, p. 78). The second approach to decolonisation is that of economic decolonisation, which has been limited within the discourse to what Mamdani argues to be a shifting of the field of economics reliance on achieving localised property ownership towards the transformation of internal and external institutions that sustained colonial-era economic relations (Mamdani, 2016, p. 78).

Both approaches view decolonisation as part of a teleological process, informed by modernity, for colonised countries to utilise their liberation to converge on a predetermined ideal concept of a nation-state. As a result, the thesis argued that the act of decolonising became less about being free from the imposition of the coloniser and, instead, becoming more akin to them. This convergence ensured that both development and decolonisation became preoccupied with the desirability of converging on forms of progress characterised by particular value orientations. These value orientations were explained within the thesis as those aligned with Wynter's ideal descriptive statement.

The evolution of Wynter's ideal descriptive statement showcased how development, because of modernity, has remained enmeshed with the need to create an ideal human while maintaining the presence of the wretch, seen as a pathology that must be cured. While the wretch is encouraged to become like the ideal, they will always be fixed to the position of being sub-human with only the ability to mimic the ideal, but never themselves become the ideal. Because of this, development, as a policy toolkit, becomes ill-equipped to challenge coloniality if it does not extend its ambit towards a complete reconfiguration of the relationship between the ideal descriptive other and the wretch.

What would potentially allow for this reconfiguration would be the understanding of decolonisation as an ongoing political and public policy exercise. This exercise considers political and economic decolonisation necessary but dependent on epistemological decolonisation. This approach to

decolonisation views development as the idea of making, unmaking and remaking notions of what it means to be human and what it means to be universal (Mamdani, 2016). It is an approach that Grosfoguel (2011, p. 17) argues would shift development away from "hegemonic Eurocentric paradigms that have informed western philosophy and sciences in modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal worlds" while avoiding the temptation to embark on this delinking through a western lens. Unlike political and economic decolonisation, it is an approach that focuses on decolonisation as the process of creating something new as the subject of knowledge rather than thinking from perspectives that view those at the periphery as objects of knowledge. It functions as an act of freedom rather than an enunciation of it.

As such, viewing decolonisation as a continuous public policy process rather than a process of self-determination expands how the wretch can begin to view and assess their development. It requires creating development that is not trapped by the pursuit of the ideal, whether informed by modernity or decolonial scholarship.

10.3 Second Argument: Coloniality as emergence and the limitations of decoloniality

By exploring the literature related to modernity, development, decolonial thought and complexity, a unique opportunity arose to combine these various fields into a coherent framing of societal interaction that provides a means to addressing the emergent nature of coloniality. The importance of viewing coloniality as emergent comes from the argument made in Chapter 4. Unlike colonialism, coloniality can not be broken down into its constituent components. Coloniality does not function as the sum of discriminative and exploitative institutions. If that were the case, removing these institutions would be the logical approach to dismantling coloniality. However, as discussed, removing these institutions, though necessary, has historically been insufficient to address coloniality's impact on society. Its ability to evolve and adjust accordingly as the relations between the ideal descriptive statement and the wretch adjust themselves makes the task of addressing coloniality elusive.

In response to the elusive nature of coloniality, the field of decolonial studies has sought to address this challenge by shifting the focus from dismantling colonial institutions (an approach favoured by postcolonial thinkers) towards reinvigorating indigenous and peripheral institutions. This approach, described as border thinking, embraces the search for alternatives to the hegemonic ordering of modernity. However, as argued, this approach is limited for two reasons. First, this approach still functions using the logic of achieving some form of new and predetermined ideal. In addition, while challenging the hegemonic influence of modernity/coloniality, this approach maintains the underlying logic of the relationship between the wretch and the ideal, which is dialectical and remains open and exposed to the reproduction of renewed forms of master-slave interactions. As described earlier, simply

providing the opportunities for localised histories and ways of being to guide the construction of new global designs presupposes that these local histories and ways of being will not perpetuate similar forms of violence (associated with modernity) on people it deems to be the other. It is an approach that reimagines nationalist approaches to targeting colonialism as a form of pluriversality. However, this is not the case. At best, it is a form of decolonial nationalism of old.

In addition, the search for a new predetermined ideal detached from modernity/coloniality unintentionally shames the pursuit of modernist reasoning and rationality that is not linked to the occident but rather the result of the actions of those deemed westoxified. Border thinking is dependent on the argument that occidental modernity is unique to the occident. Nevertheless, as shown by the work of Jalal Al-Ahmad and his conception of rushanfekri, this is far from the case. As a result, border thinking opens itself to becoming a new hegemonic construct: decolonial nationalism (see section 3.4.2.3)

Second, the decolonial approach is limited because border thinking endeavours to view freedom as a retreat into one's self-consciousness to build a decolonial reality. This retreat is characterised by the reinvigoration of (1) language as a form of communication and culture that brings one closer to cultural freedom and (2) a retreat into the prior stage of the Hegelian dialectic that espouses a self-certain ego characterised by a primal value that demands that its subjective certainty of its state, black consciousness, becomes objective truth (Gibson, 2002).

While both forms of retreat are admirable in intent, the thesis argued that it is more beneficial to view decoloniality as a means of understanding the decolonised mind as one particular independent element of a system whose notion of 'freedom' is influenced by its engagement with other decolonised and colonised minds, creating the emergence of a decolonial society that cannot be broken down to its individual constituents elements. That is to say, decoloniality must function as a complex adaptive system. If not, both forms of retreat make the dangerous assumption that the system in which the retreat takes place remains amendable to the introduction of border thinking.

Viewing decoloniality through the lens of complexity provides the means to understand how coloniality reproduces itself through autopoiesis. The introduction of border thinking is less of an introduction as much as it is an allowance made by coloniality. Even with the inclusion of border thinking into the system, this does not alter the underlying operations that inform the overall logic of the system: modernity/coloniality. While the work of decolonial scholars remains important to provide the tools to identify forms of coloniality within society through the colonial matrix of power, the field does not provide the means to challenge this power.

To address this challenge, the thesis argued for understanding decoloniality through rushanfekri. *Rushanfekri* approaches the critique of the historicity of modernity as useful but ultimately superfluous. For Al-Ahmad, modernity was and remains inevitable and needed to be tamed rather than be tamed by it. The argument provided in section 3.4.2.4 elucidates this point, further contending that coloniality – the darker side of modernity - functions as a toxin within the system of development. Therefore, dealing with the toxicity of modernity/coloniality requires remembering the past in a manner that does not entrench one in a state of unjustified nativism or decolonial nationalism that removes the ability to think freely and question. *Rushanfekri* is evolutionary by nature, taking in rather than expelling the complexities of world history to rationalise a complex view of the current and future states of the world. *Rushanfekri* seeks not to understand the present within a vacuum but to acknowledge the abundance of new ways of being available within our phase space of possibilities and their deficiencies. The argument provided by Al-Ahmad provided the means and the language to introduce the field of complexity into decolonial thought while avoiding its own set of nationalist pitfalls.

10.4 Third Argument: Embracing Chaos and Complexity

The third argument is that complexity studies provided an argument and the language (alongside *rushanferki*) to begin understanding how coloniality could be viewed as the emergent property of systems of development. Through complexity, the thesis argued that modernity could be tamed without being tamed by it. This is done by not viewing coloniality as the constitutive outcome of the arrangement of particular institutions that maintain the colonial matrix of power but viewing it as a non-linear dynamic system of chaos. Both complexity and chaos theory view development not as a linear system of interactions but as a multivariable non-linear relation between agents within a state that exhibits the characteristics of dissipative and autopoietic system relations.

Through this lens of chaos, development is understood as the trajectory taken by a nation-state within a phase space. A phase space in which coloniality functions as a set of attractors that influence the developmental trajectory of a nation-state through the phase space. This approach shifts the idea of development away from a linear and constitutive process towards a more dynamic and non-linear process where the relationship between the wretch and the ideal descriptive statement are critical initial conditions that determine a developmental path but views this relationship as one that can evolve, adapt and self-organise in a manner that shifts away from this path. When viewed as non-linear and dynamic, this adaptation provides the means to understand border thinking and its associative decolonial turn as more of a decolonial break described by this thesis as a phase transition.

The argument proposed by the thesis is that once decolonisation is viewed as a phase transition that is dynamic and non-linear, it provides the means to view decolonisation as a process open to feedback

loops. When positive, these feedback loops create forms of increasing returns on decisions made by the wretch and the ideal that create fundamental critical junctures that shift development away from path-dependent colonial attractors. These phase transitions thus view decolonisation as the process of creating small changes underpinned by reciprocal recognition, conflict and violence and guided by decolonial principles, which allow for the bifurcation of development away from attractors characterised by coloniality. However, if these feedback loops are negative - they exist without reciprocal recognition, conflict and violence - then the interactions return to colonial attractors and remain on developmental trajectories underpinned by coloniality. The framework for emergent-decolonial development is thus a response to the current presence of negative feedback and a means to derive positive feedback loops that create phase transitions.

Through the use of NSEE and the arguments posed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, a framework for emergent-decolonial development was devised to provide an avenue to create positive feedback loops that create critical junctures along a nation-state's decolonial trajectory. The framework does not intend to provide a utopic imagining of society but rather specific interventions designed to create its own counter-emergence to that of coloniality through the proliferation of increased forms of reciprocal recognition.

In addition, it was discussed that the inclusion of complexity into the discourse of development and its ability to provide new insights into Wynter's descriptive statement has several implications for both. As shown in Table 2 in Chapter 5, it was argued that complexity would be doubtful of liberal modernist and collectivist approaches to development as universally applicable. Secondly, it was argued that context provides a means of understanding development beyond the ambit of modernity. Thirdly, the continuum approach to development functions as a diversion from pursuing forms of development relatable to the wretch. Based on the three arguments above, it was suggested that developmental plans should thus focus on providing a guide for adaptive change rather than prescriptive decision-making and incorporate more dynamic planning approaches to ensure that learning objectives are balanced with performance objectives. In this sense, development functions as an evolutionary thought process that embraces policy experiments, accepting failure and learning by doing.

Regarding Wynter's descriptive statement, it was argued that complexity would require understanding the relationship between the ideal and the wretch, one based less on dialectical recognition but on reciprocal recognition. Shifting this focus allows for reimagining the interactions between the two in a manner that acknowledges the impact of modernity/coloniality while avoiding colonial mimicry. This conclusion resulted from the argument that the relations between the ideal and the wretch should be seen as a form of self-regulating and self-organising dynamics that have resulted in the emergence of

modernity/coloniality. This argument shows that colonialism should not be seen as an external shock to development. Rather, colonialism should be seen as an autopoietic-influenced internal rearrangement of the operations of a society that remained dependent on that society's initial conditions; forms of communication and interactions; cultures and governance processes; the environment and the pre-established aspects of that community before colonialism. It is within the context of the changing logic of the above factors interacting with one another that provides the form of coloniality present within that society and explains how coloniality continues to evolve within that society.

Secondly, it was argued that the wretch within the descriptive statement should be seen as one component of the closed system of ideal-wretch interactions. The result of this, as was argued, is that the sociogenic decolonial turn, often argued for by decolonial theorists, remains bound to the present sociogeny created by the complex adaptive system of modernity/coloniality. This point provided further evidence that supports the first argument of this conclusion that viewing decolonisation as self-determination is superfluous.

10.5 Additional contributions to the field of decolonial studies

In addition to the arguments developed above, the thesis elaborates further on the colonial matrix of power. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 6, the colonial matrix of power represents the combination of both the rhetoric and logic of coloniality and how both maintain "contemporary global inequalities and the historical basis of their emergence" (Bhambra, 2014, p. 119). It was also acknowledged in Chapter 3 that Lugones further extended the framing of coloniality towards the acknowledgement of the role that gender plays in further constituting the nature of colonial modernity and the erasure of colonial and racial identities of women. Attempts to further augment the explanatory use of the matrix have so far been limited to applying the matrix to particular situations.

Figure 17 illustrates the matrix as discussed in Chapter 6.

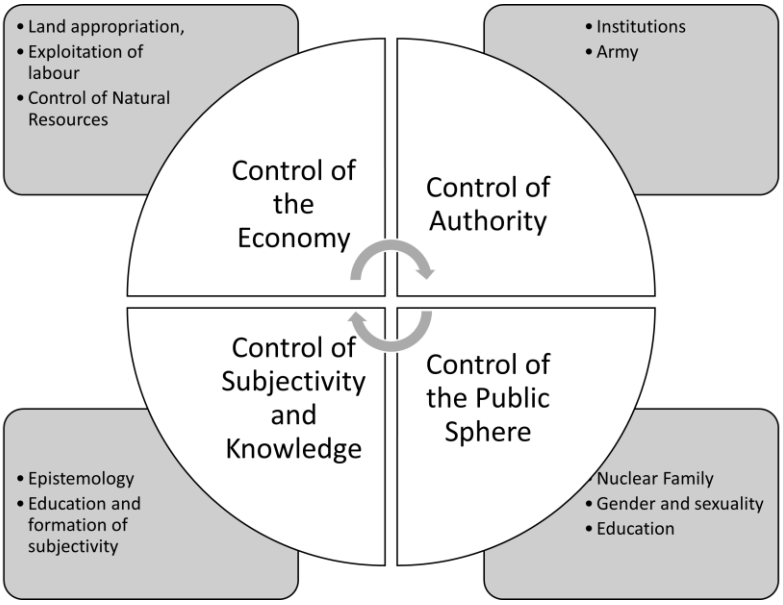

Figure 17: Colonial Matrix of Power (Author Illustration)

However, this thesis provides a means to begin considering how the currently understood pillars can be extended to consider various other factors, as seen in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Extension to the colonial matrix of power

Authority	Economy	Knowledge and Subjectivity	Public Sphere
'Acknowledging the Initial Conditions'	'Active State Intervention and Control'	'Advocating Dignity'	'Women's Rights/Patriarchy'
'Active State Intervention and Control'	'Advocating Dignity'	'Ancestral Wisdom/Indigenous Knowledge/Customs'	'Advocating Dignity'
'Culture and Language'	'Economic Development'	'Culture and Language'	'Quality of Life'
'Establishing a Legal System'	'Environment'	'Education and HCI'	Advocating Dignity
'Establishing Freedoms and Rights'	'Guiding Principle'	'Establishing Freedoms and Rights'	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Access to information
'Governance'	'Private Sector'	'Guiding Principle'	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Association
'Guiding Principle'	'Property Rights'	'Inclusion and Equity'	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Family and Home
'Inclusion and Equity'	'Quality of Life'	'Knowledge'	Establishing Freedoms and Rights: Movement
'International Relations'		'Land'	Guiding Principle Public Sphere
'Land'		'Media'	Quality of Life: Sexual Integrity
'Self-determination, Self-reliance, Sovereignty'		'Quality of Life'	Women's Rights/Patriarchy: Women's Rights and Patriarchy
'Human Safety and Security'		'Youth'	

While the matrix had initially set out a limited set of ideas that require control within each respective pillar, the thesis vastly extends this analysis based on the thematic coding undertaken in Chapter 8. While the above still requires further research to understand their applicability and utility towards the

matrix, it does provide a start towards thinking more specifically about how coloniality continues to evolve and reproduce itself and the areas and institutions of society that should be targeted to mitigate against this.

10.6 Is the Framework replicable?

Though theoretical, the framework is intended to provide a base understanding of how decolonisation may be understood as a continuous process of development supported by policy prescriptions regarding the types of institutions that must be put in place to contend with coloniality. As a result, there was a need to understand how the framework could be augmented by the experiences of countries that sought to embark on or design a form of development to contend with the legacies of colonialism and coloniality.

The framework was subsequently augmented by documentary analysis of the content and themes of four liberation texts from India, South Africa, Tanzania and Ecuador, namely: The 1931 *Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights*, The *Arusha Declaration* and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self Reliance, Reconstruction and Development Programme, *Arusha Declaration*, the ANC's 'Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa' - commonly known as *Ready to Govern* and Title 6 and 7 of the 2007 Ecuadorian constitution. The texts were assessed to see how their respective developmental paradigms influenced each country's developmental plans and how these documents could be used to augment the developed framework for emergent-decolonial development.

However, as noted in Chapter 7, analysis of the texts was not undertaken to compare the countries' respective historical contexts but to uncover the nuanced decolonial considerations each document made, whether intended or unintended. Though a historical account of each document's creation was provided, this was only done to highlight how each document represented the developmental beliefs of those who published them and how the documents represented developmental plans and objectives for the state. The exercise intended to establish a link between the framework developed in this thesis and attempts made by specific nation-states to inform their development through their own varied decolonial intentions. As a result, while inductive coding was used to draw out particular themes discussed across all the documents, these themes were then assessed against the core tenets of the framework and the colonial matrix of power.

A quantitative content analysis was provided in Chapter 8, which assessed the various themes identified across the four texts in relation to the framework. It was found that the South African and Ecuadorian texts functioned as prescriptive documents focused on charting particular developmental paths for both countries. The *Arusha Declaration* functioned as a political statement regarding the renewed intention to alter Tanzania's post-colonial developmental trajectory. The Karachi Resolution was deemed to be

neither prescriptive nor a political statement. Instead, it functioned as a liberatory set of rights meant to provide the foundations for the contours of a future independent India. The chapter's findings also showed that two themes were significantly associated with all the texts, namely: ‘Guiding Principle’ and ‘Economic Development’. Both these themes exhibited a strong relationship with themes related to the control of the economy and the control of authority, with the former also showing a strong relationship with the control of knowledge and subjectivity. Insufficient evidence was found to include the control of the public sphere within the analysis and was thus excluded from the framework.

Based on the findings of Chapter 8, the primary alteration to the framework was the inclusion of decolonial guiding principles as an influencing factor over the traditional approaches to decoloniality, the initial conditions that must be acknowledged regarding any approach to emergent-decolonial development, and the subsequent policy prescriptions organised through the framing of society through the lens of NSEE. It was also noted that certain aspects of the framework require further research to understand the possibilities available to augment it.

The first aspect is the need to understand the role of the wretch and ideal in industries from the perspective of complexity and self-organisation. While work has been done to understand the role of complexity within industry and business, no pertinent research has been done to understand the agents within the analysis through a decolonial lens (see section 6.4.1.2). Or, as stated in Chapter 4, the limitations of homo economicus contrasted against Wynter’s work on the descriptive statement. This research should focus on how structural changes within an industry can be underpinned or influenced by reciprocal recognition, conflict, and violence. This provides a means of understanding decolonisation within this sector away from efforts centred on diversity towards research on the ongoing cultural and social evolution of relations between the wretch and ideal.

The second area of research, beyond the scope of this thesis, is the usage of Circular and Cumulative Causation (see section 6.4.1.4) within the field of decolonial thought. The assessed texts showed a limited connection to concerns regarding the economy as a complex adaptive system. Much of this can be ascribed to modernity's hegemony on economic development. Studies within the field of economic development have begun to show increased interest in understanding the structural complexity of the state, and the multi-causal relations between variables have shown increased prominence (see Bhorat et al., 2019). These studies are also not underpinned by decolonial perspectives of human interactions, whether hierarchical or modular.

Despite these areas that require further research, the framework, as it stands, provides a helpful tool to begin understanding and developing decolonial approaches to public policy. The use of complexity

opens a window of opportunity to reconceptualise what decolonisation means within an increasingly globalised world where formal structures of colonialism have become less apparent. This is not to say that these structures no longer exist formally but that their impact has been obscured by coloniality.

The colonial situation experienced by the wretch has created an exceedingly complex and nuanced understanding of the coloniser and the colonised within the 21st century. As a result, the need to devise an approach to understanding decolonisation within this new world has become increasingly important. This framework provides the means to begin the resurgence of decolonisation and decolonial thought as an active public policy tool that others can adopt.

(Word Count: 97 843)

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Appendix A: Extended Code List

	Karachi Resolution Gr=26	***Ready to Govern_* ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa 1** Gr=83	**Ecuador_2008 For data analysis** Gr=40	**Arusha 2** Gr=17	**Totals**
○ **Adaptative Agents** Gr=2	1	1	0	0	2
○ **Affirmative Action** Gr=1	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Aggregate Production** Gr=0	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Autopoiesis** Gr=0	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Bureaucratisation** Gr=0	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Chaos** Gr=0	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Codification of Progress** Gr=1	1	0	0	0	1
○ **Co-evolution** Gr=0	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Collectivist** Gr=0	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Colonialism** Gr=0	0	0	0	0	0

○ **Coloniality** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Complexity** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Complex Adaptive Systems** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Conquest** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Convergence** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Creating a new descriptive statement** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Critical Junctures** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Cultural Development** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Dichotomous Development** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Dissipative Systems** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Domination and Subalternisation** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Economic Development** **Gr=2**	1	1	0	0	2
○ **Economic Liberalism** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Education and Health** **Gr=15**	1	6	8	0	15

○ **Emancipation** **Gr=2**	2	0	0	0	2
○ **Emergence** **Gr=4**	0	3	1	0	4
○ **Enlightenment Development** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Environmental Conservation** **Gr=2**	0	0	2	0	2
○ **Equality** **Gr=13**	3	6	2	2	13
○ **Eurocentric Modernity** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Fanonian Rationality** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Feedback** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Freedom of conscience** **Gr=1**	1	0	0	0	1
○ **Freedoms and Rights / Sen Argument** **Gr=37**	5	28	3	1	37
○ **Governance** **Gr=2**	1	1	0	0	2
○ **Great Transformation** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Ideal Type** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Industrialisation** **Gr=2**	2	0	0	0	2

○ **Kantian Rationality** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Labour Rights** **Gr=12**	3	3	5	1	12
○ **Language and Cultural Rights** **Gr=1**	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Liberal Democratic Politics** **Gr=3**	2	1	0	0	3
○ **Liberal/Libertarian** **Gr=1**	1	0	0	0	1
○ **Living Standards** **Gr=1**	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Localised / Decentralised Governance** **Gr=19**	0	18	1	0	19
○ **Machine Life** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Negative Feedback** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **NSEE Innovation** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Nuclear Families** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Order** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Org::the All India Congress Committee** **Gr=1**	1	0	0	0	1

○ **Path Dependence** **Gr=1**	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Phase Space** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Phase Transition** **Gr=1**	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Philosophy of Liberation** **Gr=2**	2	0	0	0	2
○ **Political Modernity** **Gr=1**	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Positive Feedback and Increasing Returns** **Gr=1**	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Rationalisation** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Reciprocal Recognition** **Gr=21**	3	9	6	3	21
○ **Redistribution and Law** **Gr=8**	0	7	1	0	8
○ **Reductionism** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Religious neutrality** **Gr=1**	1	0	0	0	1
○ **Religious Freedom** **Gr=1**	0	1	0	0	1
○ **Rhetoric of Modernity** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Rural Development** **Gr=14**	0	14	0	0	14

○ **Rushanfekri** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Scientific Technologies** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Secular World Views** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Self-Determination** **Gr=20**	2	7	4	7	20
○ **Self-Organisation** **Gr=2**	1	0	1	0	2
○ **Shift away from modernity** **Gr=6**	0	0	3	3	6
○ **Social Development** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Specialisation** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **State Use of Knowledge** **Gr=8**	1	2	5	0	8
○ **State-led economic growth** **Gr=8**	0	4	1	3	8
○ **Swaraj Government** **Gr=1**	1	0	0	0	1
○ **Teleology** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Totalitarian Nature of Modernity** **Gr=0**	0	0	0	0	0
○ **Violence** **Gr=3**	2	1	0	0	3

○ **Women's Rights** **Gr=9**	1	5	3	0	9
○ **Youth Rights** **Gr=1**	1	0	0	0	1
Totals	40	125	46	20	231

Appendix B: Ethics Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

Registration number: REC-101114-044

28 October 2022

Re: Mr. Rekgotsofetse Chikane (463944)

Waiver letter number: HRECNMW22/11/09

To whom it may concern,

Mr. Chikane is a registered PhD student at the School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This letter is to confirm that, at the time of writing, Mr. Chikane does not need ethical clearance for his PhD study entitled *'Using Complexity Theory to Unlock Emergent-Decolonial Development in Public Policy'.* This decision has been reached based upon a description of the project supplied by Mr. Chikane to the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), which has been evaluated by the Chairs and Deputy Chairs. If, however, if Mr. Chikane changes the methods of data collection and analysis for this study, this decision may no longer be valid. If such changes take place, this should be communicated to the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non- Medical) as soon as possible. This waiver letter is valid until 27 October 2025.

Please feel free to contact me should you require any further information.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,
S Schoeman