Material and Spiritual Conceptions of Development: A framework of ideal types

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Abstract

By many accounts a global revival of religion is afoot – not simply a revival of individual religious belief, but of the public role of religion. Correspondingly, development scholars and practitioners have increasingly recognized that we must reconsider the meaning of national development in light of religious worldviews.   However, scholars have yet to fashion an empirically grounded, synthetic framework for understanding the range of approaches to development, both material and spiritual, that are at play in the world today. This paper presents such a framework, drawing on 200 interviews with development practitioners sampled from across 9 countries in the global south.

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Introduction

By many accounts a global revival of religion is afoot – not simply a revival of individual religious belief, but of the public role of religion in shaping modern politics, public policy, and social welfare (Almond, Appleby and Sivan 2003; Berger 1999; Casanova 1994; Hurd 2007; Juergensmeyer 1993; Rinehart 2004).[1]   Samuel Huntington (Huntington 2004: 356) has gone so far as to pronounce that "the twenty-first century is beginning as an age of religion. Western secular models of the state are being challenged and replaced." Jürgen Habermas, similarly, has declared that humanity has entered a "postsecular age" (Habermas 2006)

What does this resurgence of religion mean for the sociological study of "national development," and for the very concept of "progress" which has been so central to modernity? The sociological study of development has historically been heavily influenced by the classic secularization hypothesis that religion would gradually disappear from the modern world or at least from the public sphere, as well as, by modernist dismissals of religion as an irrational obstacle to human progress which must be actively contested and tamed (Berger 1969; Gorski and Altniordu 2008; Luckmann 1967; Sharma 2006; Tyndale 2006; Wallace 1966). However, the rise of Islamist movements internationally, the diffusion of Charismatic Christianity globally, Hindu nationalism in India, and the power of the religious right in the United States have lead

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[1] (For a dissenting account, see Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.).

many scholars to question both the assumption of progressive secularization in the modern world, as well as the modern ideal of secularity (Gorski and Altniordu 2008; Mahmood 2005; Tugal 2007; Wilcox 2000).

Development scholars and practitioners have recognized that we must reconsider the meaning of development in light of the continuing importance of faith perspectives about human well-being and social progress in the modern world (Clarke 2007; Giri 2004; Harper 2000; Haverkort, van't Hooft and Hiemstra 2002; Ryan 1995; Sharma 2006; Tyndale 2003; Tyndale 2006). However, while an emerging literature on religion and development recognizes the potential for religion and spirituality to suggest radically new or holistic visions of development, it has yet to sufficiently examine and theorize what those visions might be. This paper draws on global interview data to present a comparative framework for understanding the primary visions of human progress and development at play in the world today.

Background

Development and Religion

At the invention of the sub-field of development studies in the 1950 and 60s, modernization theorists saw development and secularization going hand in hand as part of a universal march towards progress. As they tried to understand how the bulk of the world's nations could transform from poor, agricultural societies with inadequate modern education and medical systems into wealthy and prosperous nations, they looked for economic and political solutions, and for the cultivation of rational, entrepreneurial values – not for religious or spiritual solutions (Lipset 1967; Rostow 1960). Religion was either ignored or critiqued by theorists of development who saw themselves as practicing a scientific discipline (Sharma 2006; Tyndale

2006).   To the degree that religion was acknowledged as important in development, it was as the

Weberian Protestant Ethic which first impelled the formation of capitalism, but which later

became irrelevant as capitalism had become locked into a modern iron cage of mechanical

reproduction (Weber 1958). The same secular preference was also true of the dependency

theorists who radically criticized modernization theory from a Marxist perspective (Dos Santos

1970; Frank 1969). Having inherited Marx's critique of religion, many dependency theorists

saw religion as impeding socialist development and human progress.

    Since modernization and dependency theory of the 1960s and '70s, mainstream

development theorists have debated a number of new theoretical incarnations, such as, world

systems theory and the capabilities approach, as well as new practical emphases, such as, the

basic needs approach, women in development, human development, and sustainable

development (Buvinic, Lycette and McGreevey 1983; Evans and Stephens 1988; Lange,

Mahoney and Hau 2006; Portes and Kincaid 1989; Sen 1999). All of these incarnations,

however, kept to secular, and primarily material, understandings and measures of development.

    Despite obstacles posed by both the postmodern critique of development and the

neoliberal challenge to the developmental state in the 1980s and 90s, the development enterprise

has continued strong to the present (Agrawal 1996; Bourdieu 1999; Escobar 1995; Ferguson

1994; Harvey 2005; Portes 1997; Sachs 1992). In 2000 the Millennium Development Goals

(MDGs) were adopted by the largest gathering of world leaders in history (UNDP 2005). A

major intellectual shift has occurred, however, as recent scholarly analysis of development has

begun to acknowledge the important role of religion in development the economic effects of

religiosity (Giri 2004; Harcourt 2003; Haynes 2007; Rakodi 2007). Relatedly, a growing

literature is increasingly examining the economic effects of religion (Barro and McCleary 2003; Keister 2008; Noland 2005).

Religion shapes development both via organized religious actors involved in providing community development programs, such as health services, education, and microfinance; and as a cultural institution which shapes worldviews about what the world is, what is possible to create in the world, what society should be, and how to create social progress (Ryan 1995). Even large development agencies – such as the World Bank, the Canadian International Development Research Center, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, UNESCO, the ILO, and the Interamerican Development Bank – have all increasingly acknowledged the importance of religion and spirituality as a part of the global development enterprise, and sought to make some programmatic efforts to engage with religious leaders or Faith Based Organizations as part of their development work (Clarke 2007; Holenstein 2005; Marshall and Keough 2004; Ryan 1995).

The Meaning of Development

An important aspect of this re-examination of development and religion has been the opening of epistemic space for new conceptions of what "development" may be. The word development suggests a teleology, a positive unfolding of society. But, an unfolding towards what? This question has no easy answers, but instead implies some of the most fundamental normative questions faced by humankind: What is the common good? What is the purpose of life? What does it mean to progress in a society? What is the ultimate aim of society? As Gustava Esteva (1992: 8) explains, "Development occupies the center of an incredibly powerful

semantic constellation. There is nothing in modern mentality comparable to it as a force guiding thought and behavior."

However, contrary to the claims of Esteva and his fellow postmodern development critics, the word development is not a monolithic term (Agrawal 1996; Escobar 1995; Ferguson 1994; Sachs 1992). Not everyone actively engaged in "development work" throughout the world accepts the Western, secular, economistic vision for how their society should "develop" (Tyndale 2006). Rather, current "development" practitioners throughout the world hold diverse and at times conflicting ideals about how they want their society to transform as part of "development" – and very often religion plays a crucial role in shaping those ideals. For many practitioners throughout the world, development is much more than the process of constructing the modern material shell in which humans live and work. Development is about creating a society filled with certain kinds of people, with particular types of skills, capabilities, desires, values, and motivations. Development in its many formulations is a diverse, deeply ethical and often spiritually oriented project of human transformation.

The emerging academic literature on religion and development, however, has only skirted around the question of what development might mean if theorists move beyond materialist and modernist conceptions, to include religious and spiritual dimensions (Clarke 2006; Clarke 2007; Marshall and Keough 2004; Marshall and Keough 2005; Tyndale 2006). One effort in this direction has been to ask how religious cosmologies might shape attitudes towards modern developmental concerns like poverty (Davis and Robinson 2006; Marshall and Keough 2004; Sachs 1992). However, scholars have yet to fashion an empirically grounded, synthetic framework for understanding the range of approaches to development, both material and spiritual, that are at play in the world today. This article, analyzing 200 interviews with

development practitioners sampled from across 9 countries in the global south, presents such an empirical framework.

Data and Methods

Data

Because the goal of this research is to identify under-theorized approaches to development, interviews provided the best way to have intense contact with as broad a range of people as possible in order to obtain rich and deep data about people's understandings of development. An organizational representative strategy was employed which selected interview respondents as representatives of particular organizations engaged in community work and development policy. This research focused especially on examining some of the most prominent development movements and ideologies within specific countries in the global south. The aim was to conduct truly global research. Such research is broad, though not particularly deep. It provides a necessary big picture view to accompany the typical in-depth case study approach of academic investigations.

The first step in this research was to select a sample of countries that represented a diversity of positions across the global south. Three countries were selected from Africa, three from Asia, and three from Latin America. These nine countries were: India, Thailand, Malaysia, Kenya, Ghana, Egypt, Mexico, Guatemala, and Venezuela. These countries were selected to represent an array of economic, religious, and political situations. Table 1 demonstrates some of the key differences across these nations, with statistical information drawn from the online CIA factbook, and the political information from interviews with respondents (CIA 2008).

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

After selecting these nine countries for investigation, this research focused on sampling organizations involved in a variety of development activities within each country. A large set of possible organizational cases was identified for each country using key informants, development directories, organizational rosters, and web searches of governments, multilateral institutions, civil society organizations, foundations, and academic sources. For countries such as India, the compiled list included thousands of possible organizational cases. From these lists, organizational cases were then prioritized for contact according to the strategy of creating a sample which maximizes range (Weiss 1995). The objective in this selection was not to generate a random sampling of a particular population, but rather to maximize the diversity of perspectives and positions across interview cases. Organizations were selected to represent major categories, such as formally secular vs. formally religious organizations, specific religious adherence, political ideologies, government versus non-governmental organizations, and local vs. national vs. transnational organizations. Organizations were also sampled to represent varied interests and expertise in themes related to key development debates, such as economic policy, gender, environmental sustainability, rural-urban migration and inequalities, micro- and meso-finance, development financing, human rights advocacy, radical social movements, and governance.

Once the sample of organizations was prioritized for a country, contacts were made and interviews were scheduled. Generally one or two representatives were interviewed from each organization selected and, when available, organizational literature was gathered from these representatives. A roughly equal number of organizations were interviewed across Africa, Latin

America, and Asia. Just under half of the interviews were with representatives of secular organizations – including governments, NGOs, social movement organizations, multilateral institutions, and informal community organizations – involved in development programs, development advocacy, development policy, provision of community services, and promoting alternative models of development.   Just over half of the interviews were with representatives of religious groups, religious oriented non-profits, churches, and spiritual communities similarly engaged in development or community activities, development policy, or promoting alternative models of development. Representatives of Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Indigenous Based Traditional, Sikh, Baha'i, and New Age religious organizations were interviewed. Respondents were sampled across all 9 countries such that the total proportion of the respondents from these religious organizations roughly corresponded to a rank order of the total proportion of their religion in the world's population.

Table 2 summarize basic characteristics of the 155 organizations from which respondents were interviewed. It shows which religions the religious organizations represented, and the organizational types of the secular organizations.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

In total, 200 in-depth interviews were conducted with representatives of 155 organizations.   Most interviews were one-on-one, though some involved conversations with multiple people, and on a few occasions interviews were conducted with groups of more than ten people at once. Interviews generally lasted at least one hour, and frequently longer. All but a few

interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Respondents were guaranteed confidentiality.

When necessary, interviews were conducted with the assistance of translators.

Interviews were loose and open ended conversations with expert informants, structured

around a number of primary themes.   Respondents were initially asked about their vision of

what development is, or about how their organization promoted development. In some cases,

respondents rejected the idea of development as a Western or imperialistic concept. They were,

then, asked to describe their vision of a good society and how they would like to advance their

current society.   Respondents were further asked about the specific activities and strategies of

their organization, about the ethical and spiritual dimension of development, about what is

necessary overall for human well-being, about the type of internal transformation of humans

needed for development, and about the relationship between their own religious beliefs and

development.

Analytical Strategy

By interviewing both secular and religious organizations, this research allows for a

comparative analysis of the parallels, divergences, and interconnections between spiritual and

secular discourses as part of the development process.   Investigating the perspectives of

respondents across such a range of global regions and religions is particularly important given

that the modern development project and development theory are global in scope. While it is not

possible here to create an exhaustive list of all specific visions of development, it is instead the

purpose of this paper to identify a discrete set of ideal type visions of development.

Interview notes and transcripts were analyzed in line with a Weberian style interpretive

sociology (Weber 1968: 4).   After the first couple dozen interviews, a hypothesized

classification system was set up which sought to capture the basic ideal type views of

development that respondents held. Then with each additional interview, this system was reconsidered, refined, and revised. The primary goal of the analysis was to map out the "universe" of ideal type development visions by which people subjectively understand what "development" means. Such a mapping exercise is somewhat similar to the analytical task of drawing out a "field" of social action (Martin 2003; Noy 2008). However, in mapping the "universe" of development visions, the point was not to understand, as field theorists do, the way that different actors relate to each other from different positions of power within a field of action, but rather to conceptually map a discreet set of ideal type development visions and their relations to each other.

Findings

Four Quadrants of the Universe of Development Visions

The first primary task in mapping the "universe" of development visions was to orient the space of the map.   Unlike a geographical map, the very coordinates of the conceptual space of the universe of development visions had to be analyzed and determined. This conceptual space was divided into four quadrants – Quadrant 1: Market Oriented Modernist, Quadrant 2: Egalitarian Modernist, Quadrant 3: Individual Spiritualist, and Quadrant 4: Communitarian Spiritualist. Taken together these four quadrants bound and organize the universe of development visions.

Quadrant 1: **Market Oriented Modernist**	Quadrant 3: **Individual Spiritualist**
Quadrant 2: **Egalitarian Modernist**	Quadrant 4: **Communitarian Spiritualist**

Each of these four quadrants can be distinguished conceptually in terms of key indicators of development, the internal human transformation seen as part of development, the key actors involved in promoting development, the key mechanisms through which development is promoted, the approach to the environment, and the guiding image of development. So for example, within the Market Oriented Modernist quadrant, development is primarily about national wealth creation, alongside expansion of educational and medical services. In order to achieve this development, humans must be transformed internally by expanding their skills and "human capital," by installing a culture of productivity and entrepreneurship, by diminishing individual's tendencies towards crime and corruption, and by ending culturally "backwards" anti-modern attitudes, such as gender segregation. The key actors involved in stimulating this type of development are businesses and banks, national governments, international development institutions, NGOs, and churches. Businesses and banks stimulate this development primarily through investment and productive use of capital. National governments create proper economic policies, and foster education and good governance. International development institutions provide guidance in development policies, loans, and instruments for measuring development. NGOs and churches provide health services, education, human capital development, and market access for marginalized groups through programs such as micro-credit lending. The Market Oriented Modernist vision of development views nature as resources which can be exploited or sustainably managed for development; and the guiding image for this vision of development is the process of modernization.

Chart 1 - 4 describe each of these dimensions for the four quadrants of the universe of development visions.

INSERT CHART 1-4 HERE

These four quadrants set the conceptual space for the universe of development visions. This space is categorized based off orderly and logical divisions. Individual humans, however, tend to have complex and multivalent views on the world, which incorporate diverse logics (Swidler 1986). Any particular individual may have a vision of development which simultaneously involves elements from more than one quadrant. For example, a staff person at a development bank or finance ministry may primarily look upon development in terms of growing GDP, but might also see the development of a moral society in which individuals are honest and hold family values as an important aspect of development also. In this case their views would fit into both Quadrant 1 and Quadrant 3 of the universe. In fact, many interview respondents, both within government finance ministries and multinational development banks, strongly believed that individuals cultivating spiritual values such as honesty and following religious teachings were crucial to making markets work.

One officer in the East African Development Bank explained that he believed religion helps to enhance people's moral backbone and as such their propensity both to engage in honest business and to pay back any loans the bank gives them. Speaking of loan repayments to the bank, he said:

> "Generally you tend to find that the more religious a person is, and if he is genuinely religious, the more unlikely it is that he will willfully default. The project can still go off, but it will be not because of the action of the sponsor. But because either the economy was performing badly or some controls were not put in place or some reason. But not because of the intentional action of the borrower…. It doesn't matter whether it's Christian or Muslim or any of the other religions. But as long as he believes, he has got a faith in some supernatural being who oversees his actions…. In the sense that you know, it's not a matter of what somebody else is seeing what you are doing, but it's your belief that there is somebody up here who is watching over me and is not just watching what I am doing but even he is able to see through me and tell what I'm trying to think about that tends to keep people who are religious in line. And, that, then

controls their actions and their interactions with the rest of the environment. And it's through that that, then, we are able to see, we are able to get, we as a financier, the best from the sponsor. The probability of him intentionally deceiving us in order to get away with our money is much more reduced the more religious the individual is." (February 2007, Kenya)

A senior official in Kenya's Ministry of Development similarly pointed to religion and religious practice as crucial to productive market-based development. He stated:

"Religion is a positive thing as far as productivity is concerned…I think when we come from church … we have been given a good heart because when they make reference to the bible they even say in order for man to live he needs to work hard, not to steal, you can't steal from your neighbors. When we talk of development of our country, it is also seen in terms of how many people are able to earn an honest living." (January 2007, Kenya)

Six Ideal Type Approaches to Development

While the viewpoints of development held by respondents combined logics from across the four quadrants presented above, they did tend to cluster together in particular spaces within the universe. Six distinct clusters were identified in this research, each representing an ideal type approach to development. These six clusters are: 1) Market Based, 2) Purification Spiritualist, 3) Human Rights, 4) Transformative Spiritualist, 5) Radical Movement, and 6) Indigenist Bio-Community. Understanding the universe of development visions as involving these 6 clusters of ideal type approaches mapped onto the four quadrants provides unique analytical advantages which will be addressed in the discussion below.

While the four quadrants demarcate analytical space for the mapping of development visions – an analytical space devised largely based modernist, scientific categories such as the materialist secular vs. the spiritual religious, and the individual vs. the community – the 6 clusters of ideal type approaches to development identify common conceptual approaches which

development workers and policymakers draw upon in formulating and interpreting on the ground development efforts. These approaches serve as the "cultural toolkits" which development policy makers and development workers can utilize and mix together in orienting their activities (Swidler 1986; Swidler 2003). Whereas the four quadrants of the universe of development visions identifies and organizes the conceptual space of development visions, these 6 clusters are the primary bodies of thought which development policymakers and workers belong to and act from.

The first cluster, the market based approach to development, is most fully located in Quadrant 1 of the universe, but also extended some into Quadrant 3. The Market Based approach focuses on using markets, entrepreneurship, and human capital to stimulate economic growth, while also recognizing – as the two respondents just quoted did – that some aspects of moral order in society and spiritual-ethical values such as honesty underpin the function of markets. Respondents holding this approach were found in government ministries, in regional and global development banks, amongst business associations, and in NGOS, such as local micro-credit agencies.

The second ideal type vision of development, the purification spiritualist approach, is located largely in the third quadrant of the universe. It emphasizes the role of individual purity, religious morality, and individual religious adherence as key to developing a good society. Additionally, within this approach, charity to help the poor succeed within the economy is also seen as important aspect of development. Thus this approach, while based primarily in Quadrant 3, also extends some into Quadrant 1. Religious professionals and representatives of religiously based charity, health, or educational organizations frequently held this approach. An example of someone who drew largely from this ideal type of development in his own work was the director

of an evangelical orphanage in the outskirts of Guatemala City. He explained, "Most people think of development as communities prospering economically, but development must be integral, it must be intellectual, and also about values, about all that entails morals, ethics." (December 2006, Guatemala)

The purification spiritualist approach to development as an ideal type of development is not limited to any particular religion, but rather is a way of understanding religion and the relationship between religion and social progress that was held by particular respondents across religions. A large number of Buddhist, Sikh, Hindu, Muslim, and Christian respondents all expressed the belief that individual purity, religious morality, and individual religious adherence played a key role in the development of society. This does not mean that they did not also draw from other developmental ideal types or see other factors of development also, only that they saw spiritual purification and its promotion as a key aspect of development – just as important, or even more so, than economic growth or material progress.

The third ideal type development vision is the Human Rights approach. This approach incorporates logics both from Quadrant 1 and 2, as well as, to a lesser degree, from Quadrant 3 and 4. It recognizes the importance of markets and market participation in generating wealth for individuals, while also seeking to insure that a minimum standard of distribution of wealth, health care, education, and other human rights is guaranteed by the state. At the core of the human rights perspective is a dual belief in the importance of legal frameworks for human rights, as well as the empowerment of citizens to claim those rights from the state. Interview respondents working within United Nations agencies, as well as across government agencies and NGO's broadly held to this approach.

A United Nations Development Program staff person summed up this view of development, when she said, "if there is some source of overarching strategy or philosophical underpinning to what we do, I think, that distinguishes the work of UNDP, is that it's grounded in the UN charters and in turn refers to the Human Rights treaties. So in theory all that we do is based in this view that there are rights and they have been ratified by the states. States have an obligation to deliver those rights, and the rights holders, among those the most disadvantaged, have to be able to claim these rights. To claim and obtain, but mostly for us it's about empowerment to claim the rights." (April 2007, Thailand)

The fourth ideal type vision of development is the transformative spritualist approach, which is located primarily in quadrant 3 and 4, but also extends slightly into 1 and 2. Within this approach, development involves the creation of a new, evolved human order based on spiritual principles of unity, justice, expansion of consciousness, and moderation of human consumption. The key to this development is spiritual transformation, either purely internally or combined with social action.   Respondents holding this approach could be found largely within religiously or spiritually based social movement organizations, and amongst highly politicized religious professionals. Progressive activist religious movements, such as engaged Buddhism, Liberation Theology Catholicism, and organizations based in Gandhian philosophy, held this transformative spritualist vision.

Some new age religious movements also fell within this fourth ideal type. Like the engaged religious activists just mentioned, they also sought a progressive transformation of human society. However, they seek this transformation primarily through internal evolution of human consciousness, and not social action. For example, a follower of the Hindu Saint Sri Aurobindo explained that in his view, true development of society can only come through the

spiritual cultivation of a new consciousness, which transcends ego and evolves the human

species into a new form of existence. He stated:

> "The secular world view – the kind of development that western, and the other religions want – that everybody is free, everybody has enough to eat, everybody has a right to educate himself, everybody has a right to share the wealth of the world; this will not happen until the human consciousness undergoes a fundamental change… I have, you know, highest respect for these people who sit and they study in Frankfurt and Washington and wherever the United Nations make plans for world peace. But none of this is actually going to happen because the spoil sport is the mind and its ego. The problem is man's resistance to rise beyond the mind, where the evolutionary thrust is pushing him towards… Whoever has set up charitable institutions, okay whether providing free food or etc, etc, has not solved the problem of hunger.   Whoever has set up homes for the destitute has not solved the problem of destitute. What he has done is that he has rushed to assuage them, okay now if you keep rushing to assuage them, then there is a tendency to forget to ask the fundamental questions: Are people hungry because the world is not producing enough? Are people destitute because we can't build enough homes? Are people on the road because there isn't enough wealth in the world to keep everybody, well you know, protected in a house? And then you will find it is not that what produces poverty, what produces destitution, what produces the economic feeling of being deprived economically. It is once again this tendency in man to use, to exploit the weak so this is once again a play of the ego." (May 2007, India)

The fifth ideal type vision of development, the radical movement approach, is located

primarily in Quadrant 2. This approach was adhered to in various ways by respondents

representing different social movement organizations, by anti-globalization activists, by

revolutionary insurgent organizations, and finally, by some representatives of socialist

government agencies in Venezuela. Similar to the human rights approach, the radical movement

approach generally sees guaranteeing universal human rights, especially economic rights, as a

key to development. However, the radical movement approach is distinct from the human rights

approach in its particular emphasis on mobilizing social movements and political struggle by the

poor against elites, corporations, and capitalism as the key to development.

In Southern Mexico, a spokesperson for the Zapatista social movement, embodied the radical movement approach to development. He explained:

"We continue to struggle so that one day we will all have a place to work, food to eat. Many men and women in the cities look for food in the garbage cans of the rich. Millions look for their food in the garbage that the rich have thrown out. It is for this reason that we carry on, in our struggle with our brothers and sisters, to one day arrive in one single road together: a road where we can all go, men, women, workers, students, doctors, professionals. We can all go there together. A road to have a better life. What we want is democracy, liberty, and justice for all. Not only for our people, but for all. We cannot continue to live the way we have lived for the last five hundred years of oppression, marginalization, and mistreatment. We have said it is enough." (November 2006, Mexico)

Finally, the sixth ideal type vision of development is the indigenist-bio community approach. Located largely in Quadrant 4, this approach emphasizes the interconnection between humanity and nature, and envisions the creation of alternative, sustainable communities as the future of humanity. This approach was found amongst representatives of indigenous people's organizations, amongst some religious professionals who came from or worked in indigenous communities, and amongst representatives of the "global eco-community" movement. An important point for many of the respondents holding this view was a rejection of the Western materialist model of development. For example, a Guatemalan Mayan leader and intellectual who represented this view explained:

"We are putting forward our visions against the universal model that is called development, that they have tried to impose on us by force. For us, this model does not represent the possibilities for seeking the reign of peace, for seeking balance and harmony… With the development of the whole industrial civilization, indigenous peoples became human resources, with the development of capitalism, in its highest expression it then no longer said that we are human resources, but told us that we are human capital. Trees are ecological capital, because this is the economistic mind. We did not accept that because we are neither human resources nor are we human capital. We are human talents, the trees are neither resources nor capital, but are gifts of life." (December 2006, Guatemala)

Mapping Ideal Type Approaches to Development

Now that both the 4 quadrants which comprise the space of the universe of

development visions and the 6 ideal type visions of development have been identified, it is

possible to map them together. The advantage of this mapping is that it illustrates the internal

logics by which each of the 6 visions of development relate to each other. It also demonstrates

conceptually, as will be discussed in more detail below, the specific ways by which these 6 ideal

type visions of development incorporate both spiritual and material approaches to creating

human well-being. Figure 1 maps how these 6 ideal type approaches to development locate and

overlap within the four quadrants of the universe of development visions.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

Each of the 6 ideal type approaches to development mapped in Figure 1 involve some

beliefs and concepts that converged with neighboring approaches. For example, the market

based approach and the human rights approach to development have overlaps in as much as

some development actors seek to use market mechanisms and market participation as a means to

directly insure that basic human rights, such as housing, income, and health care, can be met.

Many NGO's working to stimulate local enterprise in poor areas, such as through offering

microcredit, creating value added processing of agricultural products, providing job training, or

developing community economic development plans, operate out of such a perspective. They

believe that these activities which enhance market participation are the key to insuring human

rights. The director of one such NGO who was interviewed in this research exemplified this

overlap of the market based ideal type approach to development and the human rights approach.

Not only does his organization run micro-credit programs, but he calls for a "human right to credit." He explained, "labor must be used as collateral if you are living in poverty, the access to credit must be a human right. We'll lend to you on your labor. You are rich in labor but nobody buys it, that's why you are unemployed." (April 2007, Thailand)

As another example of the overlap of these 6 ideal type approaches to development, the transformative spritualist approach also overlaps with the human rights approach, as well as with the radical movement approach. Leaders who adhere to the transformative spritualist approach often represent a bridge between traditional religious institutions, radical secular social movements, and secular human rights agencies. One of the common tactics of such leaders is to take traditional religious rituals and symbols and to infuse them with specific social or human rights meanings. For example, an Indian religious leader and human rights activist explained how he was trying to rework the meaning of an annual Hindu pilgrimage. He said:

> "we are initiating an all together new, modern program. [Each year] there are about 3.5 million to 4 million youth, young men, who carry Ganga water, Ganges water on their shoulders, all the way from Haridwar up to their village or whatever Shiva Temple. After about nearly 11, 12, 13 days they pour that water on some Shiva Linga. This year we are saying that instead of just doing it for yourself, for salvation or devotion, add a social dimension to it – that is the world is passing through a crisis of global warming, climate crisis. So they should plant a tree and minimum one tree each one of them, and secondly they should raise slogans and take a pledge to fight against female infanticide." (July 2007, India)

Each of the 6 approaches to development identified in Figure 1 are also themselves *heterogeneous* spaces that contain a diversity of positions within them. For example, a range of different beliefs fit within the purification spiritualist approach to development. These diverse beliefs can be mapped out spatially in relation to the orientation of the universe of development visions. On the far right side of the purification spiritualist approach is the belief that strict

adherence to religious law and religious practice is the central element of social well-being and progress. Some Muslim respondents calling for strict Shar'ia law demonstrated this type of belief; as did some Charismatic Christians in both Africa and Latin America who believed that all human success, including economic growth, was entirely dependent on adopting a particular denomination of Christianity. In the center of the cluster of beliefs which form the purification spiritualist ideal type approach to development is the emphasis on the spiritual and religious formation of good humans as the key to creating a good society. For respondents holding this belief, society is a collection of individuals, and the progress of society can only be achieved through the cultivation of good individuals via religious and spiritual endeavors. At the left of the purification spiritualist approach to development is the concept that religious morality and adherence supports a strong, growing economic market. It is here that the purification spiritualist approach to development converges with the cluster of beliefs that make up the market based ideal type approach to development, as the quote above from the official of the East African Development Bank exemplified.

The following mapping of the universe of development visions, Figure 2, demonstrates some of the overlapping beliefs, ideologies, tendencies, and development strategies that span across the 6 ideal type approaches to development.

INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

Discussion and Conclusions

Beyond Paradigms

This paper uses empirical methods to analyze and generate a framework for systematizing diverse material and spiritual visions of development at play in the world today.

The result of this empirical investigation is neither a singular monolithic version of teleological development – as with modernization theory – nor a dismissal of the concept altogether and a call for a devolution into endless local heterogeneities – as with postmodern development theorists (Agrawal 1996; Escobar 1995; Ferguson 1994; Sachs 1992). Rather, this paper presents a discrete "universe" of ideal type approaches to development. It demonstrates how material and spiritual approaches to development fit together within this "universe," as well as how they relate to and overlap with each other.

The mapping of development visions presented here allows an understanding both of the overlap across different ideal type visions of development and the variation within those visions. It provides a far more sophisticated approach to understanding how ideas shape development efforts and development practitioners actions than the usual social scientific concept of paradigms. The six ideal type approaches to development identified here are not, distinct battling "camps." Rather they are *conceptual toolkits* which can be drawn upon in orienting development policy and activities (Swidler 1986; Swidler 2003). Each of these 6 approaches are themselves diverse bodies of thought in which debates and differences occur; and each of these bodies of thought have some concepts that converge with other development approaches.

Since Thomas Kuhn's seminal work, the idea of the paradigm has become a predominant conception used by social scientists for comparatively understanding different theoretical approaches to a broad array of topics (Kuhn 1963).[2] However, this use of the concept of the paradigm, especially in relation to development studies, is misleading. Theoretically, it is misleading because Kuhn originally coined the idea of the paradigm specifically in reference to

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[2] A search in CSA Illumina social science abstracts found 4218 citations with the word "paradigm" in their title between 2000-2006 alone.

the scholarly community engaged in natural sciences. In his later works, Kuhn actually disclaimed the relevance of his theory of paradigms for the social sciences – though as Terence Ball pointed out in 1978, this disclaimer "fell on deaf ears" (Ball 1979: 265; Kuhn 1978). Kuhn explains, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, that scientific paradigms form particularly because of the isolation of scientific communities and the specific process of initiation of new natural scientists largely through textbooks. In contrast, Kuhn writes, a student in the humanities or social sciences "is constantly made aware of the immense variety of problems that the members of his future group have, in the course of time, attempted to solve." (Kuhn 1963: 165)

This is all the more true for development practitioners and policymakers. Despite some public portrayals of development practitioners as mechanically implementing totalistic ideologies, interviews conducted for this research, found that the bulk of development practitioners working in NGOs and government agencies do not frame their work as completely adhering to one theoretical concept of development or another. Rather development practitioners tend to be more pragmatic, adopting multiple viewpoints on development, while still perhaps emphasizing one conception as predominant in their approach.

Beyond Secular and Religious Dichotomies

The unique advantage of understanding development by drawing out the 4 quadrants of the universe of development visions, and then overlaying onto it the 6 ideal type approaches is that this helps illustrate that there is no clear line which demarcates secular ideal type development visions from religious ones. Quadrant 1 and 2 of the map focuses largely on secular and materialistic dimensions of development, whereas quadrant 3 and 4 focus largely on religious, ethical, and spiritual dimensions of development. This division, following modernist understandings of the world, highlights the split between the material and the spiritual, between

the religious and the secular (Spretnak 1999). However, the six ideal type approaches to development identified in this research, do not limit themselves strictly to one side or the other of this spiritual-material, secular-religious split. To the contrary, these conceptual toolkits cross over the boundary of secular and religious. Moreover, individuals build development efforts and policies drawing on conceptual tools from across these ideal types.

On the ground, many religious adherents engaged in development, though their worldview is largely oriented by a body of religious thought, still employ secular logics and often work through religious practices towards "secular," material goals. The attempt by the Indian religious leader mentioned above to use a religious pilgrimage to address global warming and female infanticide is a perfect example of this. At the same time, as also demonstrated above, many workers within secular, market based development agencies see spiritual cultivation and religious practice as fundamental to creating the ethical basis for secular economic activities and development. Moreover, every quadrant and ideal type approach in the universe of development visions included some aspect of internal human transformation as part of the development. The secular space in quadrant 1 and 2, included elements of subjective human transformation, just as the spiritualist space in quadrant 3 and 4, had implications for material organization.

Finding ways to analytically see through the conceptual line dividing the secular and the religious is crucial to understanding development efforts in countries throughout the non-Western world where religious institutions are often key players in development efforts, and where many staff of even the most secular development agencies motivate and understand their work as part of their religious life (Giri 2004; Harper 2000; Ryan 1995). Tyndale explains, "Religious involvement in matters that are now broadly described as 'development' – health,

education, agriculture and so on -- is as old as the hills. The dichotomy we now experience between religion and development, spirit and matter was unknown before the dualistic ways of thinking brought in by the European thinkers of the Enlightenment." (Tyndale 2006: xvii)

At the same time that the dividing line between secular and religious is shown to be porous by the mapping of development visions presented here, this research also suggests that specific religious adherence is not the only or even most important category by which to categorize different development visions across the world. A common tactic within the study of religion and development is to solicit viewpoints from each of the different religions, i.e. the Christian perspective on development, the Islamic perspective on development, the Hindu perspective, etc.. However, quite often, religious respondents interviewed in this research had more in common in their views of development with respondents of other religions, than they did with some people who share the same faith as them. For example, there were Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu respondents all of whose views fell strictly within the purification spiritualist approach to development, and there were also Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu respondents whose views fell within the transformative spiritualist approach to development. How these respondents interpreted and employed the symbols and doctrines of their religion in relation to questions of development and social change strategies was often more important than the specific doctrine or religious identity to which they adhered.

This situation parallels the finding of some scholars of America religion that denomination is no longer the central organizing principle of religion in America. Wuthnow, for example, argues that religion in the United States has come to be organized along a conservative – liberal axis that cuts across denominations (Wuthnow 1988). Taking this argument even further, Hunter claims that this split between what he calls the orthodox camp and the

progressive camp in American religion has come to trump theological or doctrinal disagreements across different religions (Hunter 1991).

This article has provided a mapping which can help orient much deeper scholarly engagements with specific examples of religious and secular development, and their interrelationships. It provides a bird's eye view, something that is necessary as development theory turns to consider the religious and spiritual dimensions it has until recently shut out of its purview. Both postmodern critiques of development and the growing literature on religion and development have shown that it is not possible to fully study development without delving into deep normative, spiritual, and philosophical questions about the nature of human reality and the meaning of human progress. The global growth of explicitly religious and spiritual approaches to development such as Islamic Economics, Sufficiency Economy, and Gross National Happiness confirms this (IDB 2006; UNDP 2007; Ura and Galay 2004).

Sociology of Development in a Postsecular Age

In Habermas's writings on postsecularism, he argues for a rethinking of the role of religious discourse and concepts in public and political spheres (Habermas 2006). Habermas claims that in the contemporary post-secular context, religion and religious consciousness has a new significance, and must be allowed to enter public discourse as a fundamental justification for political proposals. It is the duty of secularists to understand religious rationales, as much as it is the duty of the faithful to translate their thinking into secular reason. Habermas (2006: 15) requires of the secular citizen "a self-reflective transcending of a secularist self-understanding of Modernity," as well as a willingness to consider the cognitive substance and possible truth of religious statements. For Habermas, both religious and secular consciousness must transcend

their limitations and seek to understand each other. The key to this is a dialogic learning process between the faithful and the secular.

Habermas's assessment suggests a vital and expanded new role for sociology as an empirical social science orienting public policy. Sociological analysis can play a crucial role in aiding the dialogic learning process between secular and religious worldviews. The baseline knowledge needed for this dialogic learning process can be generated through empirical investigation of comparative normative secular and religious ideas of human progress and well-being. While development policy has been dominated by the discipline of economics, sociology has a unique advantage in this type of investigation.

Surveys such as the World Values survey are one approach to this type of analysis (Inglehart 2003). But they must be complemented with other sources of thick, rich and deep data collection. Indeed what is needed is a contemporary update of Weber's classic examination of the normative and ideological trajectories of the world's faiths (Weber 1946; Weber 1993). This paper presents the results of an empirical analysis which attempted to take some steps forward in such a project.

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TABLE 1: Country Characteristics

Country	GDP per Capita	Religion	Political Situation	Population
India	$2,700	Hindu 80.5%, Muslim 13.4%, Christian 2.3%, Sikh 1.9%	Federal Republic. Largest Democracy in World. Frequent violence between religious and caste groups.	1,129,866,154
Thailand	$8,000	Buddhist 94.6%, Muslim 4.6%, Christian 0.7%	Constitutional Monarchy, with highly revered king. At the time of this research, ruled by a military coup government.	65,068,149
Malaysia	$14,400	Muslim 60.4%, Buddhist 19.2%, Christian 9.1%, Hindu 6.3%, Confucianism, Taoism, other traditional Chinese religions 2.6%	Constitutional Monarchy. With ethnically based political parties, and strong rising Islamist movement and political party.	24,821,286
Kenya	$1,600	Protestant 45%, Roman Catholic 33%, Muslim 10%, indigenous beliefs 10%	Republic. In 2008, social unrest and ethnic violence emerged around presidential election.	36,913,721
Ghana	$1,400	Pentecostal/ Charismatic Christian 24.1%, Protestant 18.6%, Catholic 15.1%, other Christian 11%, Muslim 15.9%, traditional 8.5%	Constitutional Democracy. Includes in its governance a strong formal role for traditional tribal chiefs, and indigenous governance. Most stable country in West Africa.	22,931,299
Egypt	$5,400	Muslim (mostly Sunni) 90%, Coptic Christian 9%, other Christian 1%	Republic. With limited democratic elections, highly unpopular president, and strong Islamist opposition party.	80,335,036
Mexico	$12,500	Roman Catholic 76.5%, Protestant 6.3%	Federal Republic. Long history of one party rule up until 2000. In 2006, presidential elections strongly contested with many claiming fraud.	108,700,891
Guatemala	$5,400	Roman Catholic, Protestant, indigenous Mayan beliefs (No accurate census of percentages)	Constitutional Democratic Republic. Still recovering from a 36-year, bloody civil war that ended officially in 1996. Large indigenous population.	12,728,111
Venezuela	$12,800	Roman Catholic 96%, Protestant 2%	Federal Republic. Hugo Chavez, president since 1999, seeks to implement "21st Century Socialism."	26,023,528

TABLE 2: Organization Characteristics

Religious Based Organizations	Number of Organizations
Christian (including Catholic, Protestant, and Charismatic)	26
Islamic (including mostly Sunni and some Shiite)	18
Hindu	10
Indigenous Spirituality (including African and Mayan Traditions)	9
Buddhist (Theravada)	8
Ecumenical, New Age, Sikh, and Baha'i	9
Total Religious:	**80**
Secular Organizations	
Multinational Development Organization / Bank	11
Governmental	16
International NGO	5
Local NGO or Social Business	27
Social Movement Organization	16
Total Secular:	**75**
Total Secular and Religious:	*155*

CHART 1-4

Quadrant 1: Market Oriented Modernist

Key Indicators of Development: Primarily national wealth generation. Also education, medical services.	
Internal Human Transformation as Part of Development: Build human capital, productivity and entrepreneurship culture, end "backwards" cultural tendencies, anticorruption/good governance, reduce crime	

Key Actors	**Key Mechanisms of These Actors**
Business and Banks	investment, productive use of capital, markets
National Governments	right economic policies, education, good governance
International Development Institutions	guiding developing nations in proper policies, loans, providing instruments for measurement
NGOs/ Churches	increasing health, human capital, education and vocational training, and market access
Ecological Approach : Exploitation or sustainable management of resources for development	
Guiding Image : Modernization	

Quadrant 2: Egalitarian Modernist

Key Indicators of Development: Wealth, power, education, and health care equitably distributed	
Internal Human Transformation as Part of Development: Empowering marginalized and grassroots communities and individuals, increasing political participation and democracy, promoting a culture of equality, raising respect for human rights, expanding environmental awareness	

Key Actors	**Key Mechanisms of These Actors**
Social Movements	Pressure on political elite
National Governments	Programs to redistribute economic and political resources
International Institutions	Set basic standards and goals which should be adhered to, international financial assistance
NGOs/ Churches	Projects to reduce poverty, increase political participation, education, empowerment, improve standard of living, and protect environment
Ecological Approach : Local participation and control of resources for sustainable livelihood	
Guiding Image : Participatory Democracy	

Quadrant 3: Individual Spiritualist

Key Indicators of Development: Creation of a moral and harmonious society via spiritually developed and ethical individuals	
Internal Human Transformation as Part of Development: Enhancing qualities in the individual of charity, generosity, adherence to religious codes, honesty, family responsibility and values, happiness through spiritual cultivation or experience	
Key Actors	**Key Mechanisms of These Actors**
Family	Creating a healthy and safe environment for children and teaching them good values
Spiritual Community	Providing guidance and inspiration for individual to live morally and with concern for others, providing individual access to divine or transcendent, tending to the poor and providing hope
Individual	Engaging in faith and spiritual practice to cultivate morality, generosity, compassion, and spiritual happiness
Ecological Approach : Domination or Stewardship of Nature as Divine Gift	
Guiding Image : Holy Society	

Quadrant 4: Communitarian Spiritualist

Key Indicators of Development: Respect for and social alignment with intrinsic interconnection of humanity, ecology, and culture	
Internal Human Transformation as Part of Development: Recognizing interconnection and kinship amongst members of human community, nature, and spirit world, awakening individuals to the reality of injustice and their power to change it, cultivating prophetic inspiration and movements	
Key Actors	**Key Mechanisms of These Actors**
Local Community / NGOs	Promoting non-market values and traditions of economic solidarity and redistribution
Spiritual Community	challenging worldly economic and political authorities to provide justice, cultivating a path to transcendence to a new form of human community
Individual	Participation in community processes, experiencing connection with nature and working to preserve it, answering call to be a justicemaker and peacemaker
Ecological Approach : Spiritual harmony and interpenetration with nature	
Guiding Image : Sacred Community	

FIGURE 1: The Universe of Development Visions
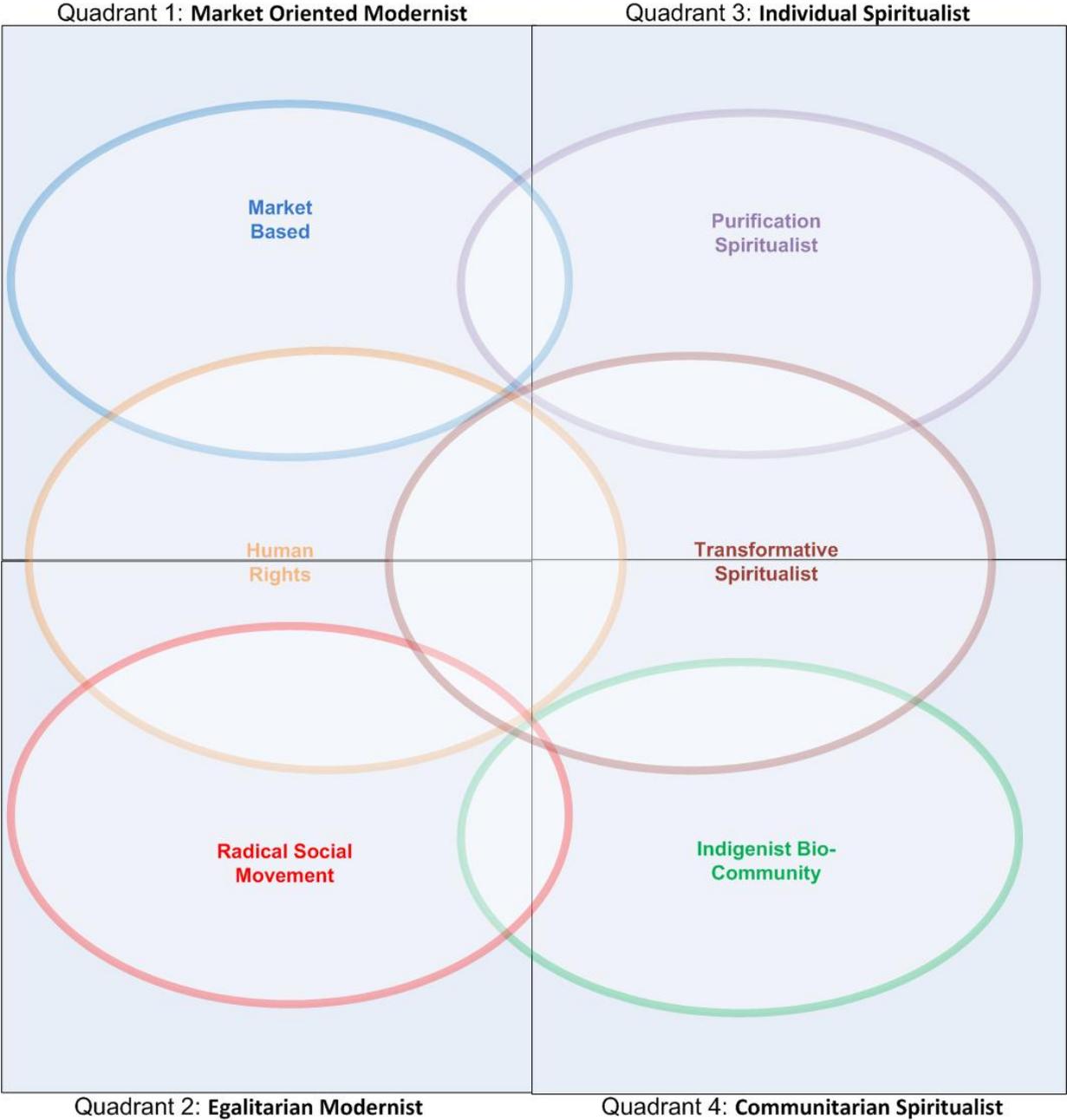
FIGURE 2: Detailed Universe of Development Visions

Quadrant 1: **Market Oriented Modernist**

Quadrant 3: **Individual Spiritualist**

Market Based

Neoliberal Macroeconomic Policies

Human Capital Building Programs

Purification Spiritualist

Religious Values as Moral Basis for Market

Spiritual and Religious Formation of Moral Humans

Strict Adherence to Religious Law

Human Rights Law

Human Rights

Universal Education and Health

Transformative Spiritualist

Evolution of Human Species through Expanded Consciousness

Anti- Corporate Globalization

Spiritual Unity of Humanity and Nature as Basis For Utopian Social Order

Radical Social Movement

Centralized Revolutionary State

Indigenous Sovereignty and Cultural Autonomy

Indigenist Bio-Community

Rejection of Modern Technology and Knowledge as False Path

Quadrant 2: **Egalitarian Modernist**

Quadrant 4: **Communitarian Spiritualist**