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<i>With dwindling social gains, the promise and certainty of "development" as a universally applicable and beneficial model is increasingly being called into question. The stories of people from around the world who struggle with the exclusionary consequences of this model are the focus of this book. These stories reveal social struggles otherwise hidden from view, in part because they invoke values different from those of the development paradigm. Examining social and cultural contention with development from "below" allows greater appreciation of its shortcomings and of alternative possibilities for justice and self-realization of the peoples involved.</i>	
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<i>Depicts a grassroots struggle against a decision by West Bengal political elites to license home production of liquor in the name of revenue and job creation. It claims greater risk to community health from licensing and questions the assumption that the poor have no other choice. This essay suggests that a market orientation to development pursued by elites may undermine the social fabric in a poor community, and that contrary to elite assumptions, the poor (women in this case) are quite capable of mobilization in defense of community values and championing "human development."</i>	
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<i>Examines the question "development and democracy for whom?" Despite the fact that the African National Congress drew its support from the poorest South Africans in the struggle against apartheid, the ANC government has betrayed this constituency by prioritizing middle-class propertied interests, failing to fulfill promises to provide housing to shackdwellers. The consequence is a sprawl</i>	

of shackdweller communities, as cities without citizens, who have theorized and reframed the meaning of (a community-based) citizenship, politicizing our understanding of what democratic development might mean.

4. Where Does the Rural Educated Person Fit? Development and Social Reproduction in Contemporary India 50

KARUNA MORARIJ

Brings into question our commonsense association of education with development. Rural villagers in northern India experience and evaluate modern education in contradictory and ambiguous ways. While education is viewed as a solution to the "problem" of agrarian decline, educated youth fail to gain employment, yet have difficulty returning to rural livelihoods, thus devaluing the moral economy of village community. This essay questions the foreclosure of sustainable rural livelihoods by the neo-liberal development model, given the failure of this model to provide jobs for educated citizens (and urban-industrial incapacity to absorb those expelled from rural areas), despite narratives of social mobility through educated market participation.

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In the context of the debate over nature protection and sustainability, the chapter examines development for whom? International conservation agencies in northern Pakistan have pushed for converting village pastures into national parks and trophy hunting reserves, and tried to compel local communities to abandon the practice of livestock grazing. This model of conservation and development has been successfully resisted by Shimshali villagers, who argue that it reflects a Western tendency to divorce nature from society, reinforces state control and abuse of resources, and undermines local livelihoods as well as ecologies by prioritizing the desires of elite tourists.

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Examines the alternative to export agriculture in Malawi, where agribusiness deepens monoculture, environmental degradation, and dependence on costly inputs (seeds, fertilizers). A countermovement of Soils, Food and Healthy Communities Project in over a hundred villages, dedicated to agro-ecology and supporting inter-generational and gender relations on the land, demonstrates that smallholder peasant agriculture, supported by government policies (excluded by the neo-liberal development model), may be more productive and successful as a development strategy for food security and sustaining local economies.

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Explores the way military occupation serves neo-liberal policies and opens up the Mexican state of Chiapas to resource exploitation. In particular, militarization heightens the vulnerability of indigenous women and undermines the masculinity of indigenous men, deploying a discourse of indigenismo that justifies development intervention. This essay shows how political education and community organizing enable the development of cooperatives that reframe gender relations, bridge class and ethnic divides, and promote community-based resistance to divisive neo-liberal policies.

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Addresses a paradox: Why do Brazilian soy farmers misplace their struggle within a power structure that enables agribusinesses to promote and profit from neo-liberal development, while the risks of producing for global markets are borne by the farmers themselves? This essay documents how, in the name of the free market, soy farmers target the government when the market fails rather than the grain traders to whom they are deeply in debt, and who shape government policy anyway. While the global soy market structure is uncovered, the soy farmers remain steadfast in their neo-liberal belief that the state, rather than agribusiness, is the source of their distress.

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Offers a vivid account of Mumbai slum dwellers who contest their exclusion through developing a unique capacity for self-organization and resistance to the everyday violence of slum clearance. Squatting illegally on public space, the alliance of pavement dwellers creates a political space by directly addressing the methods through which they are rendered insecure and denied the rights of citizenship. Tactics of self-enumeration in a slum census, savings networks, and federation among other slum dwellers create a politics of accommodation through struggles to survive and obtain recognition in a revanchist global city, infiltrating categories of rule to claim civic rights.

- 11. Mobilizing Agrarian Citizenship: A New Rural Paradigm for Brazil**

HANNAH WITTMAN

Shows how Brazil's Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) mobilizes the landless to claim land and to develop an alternative development vision. As one of the largest social movements in the world, the MST challenges two key assumptions in the development narrative: first, that smallholder agriculture is a thing of the past; second, that a productive society depends on a culture of self-improving, market-oriented individuals. The MST's struggle is dedicated to forging a culture of mutual support and collective responsibility on the land, in the service of national food security and preserving ecology—in short, a new “agrarian citizenship.”

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KELLY DIETZ

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ANDREAS HERNANDEZ

Describes how the World Social Forum, emerging in 2001 as an activist counterweight to the power of the World Economic Forum, established in 1971, provides a venue for a spiritual critique of market culture. The essay argues that an ecumenical vision of spirituality offers a more complex and ecological understanding of humanity, compared with the reductionism of neo-liberalism and fundamentalist religion. The World Social Forum brings a new religious subjectivity to social change movements, countering the identification of development with self-interest and advocating a new ethic of “global citizenship.”

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PHILIP MCMICHAEL AND KARUNA MORARJI

Struggles of the disempowered offer perspective on development claims, and new ways of thinking about social change—approaches that question the development narrative and the market episteme, advocating for the right to represent and realize different ways of living in this world, and transcending the development impasse.

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