

Development based on *Local Wisdom*

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Abstract: Development theories adept to the dialectic of human progress. The dominant development theory in developing country is modernism. Progress in development theory is historically classified in two generations. There are also alternatives to conventional development theory namely people oriented development theory and local wisdom development theory. People or human centered development is important because when quality of life is improved, then societal progress will be achieved. Local wisdom is the ability of a society to develop and sustain itself without being connected to the modern developmental paradigm. Citanduy and Subak Bali are chosen as example for a well-established local wisdom development. Modernization does not develop a developing country, but it develops in developing countries; it has destructive effect because the public plays the role of a spectator, not a developer. That is why, local wisdom based community-oriented development is important to be implemented in developing country because the capitalists do not act as developer but instead the community is the developer.

1 INTRODUCTION

Paradigm, perspective, theory, including ideology and development theory, will always evolve following the dialectic of the human thought development in accordance with the changing of the culture and the civilization of society. Adelman (2004) identified 3 (three) changing factors of development theory. **First**, ideological changing. Each generation has a different socio-economic reality base and divergent *policy prescriptions*. **Second**, revolution and technological innovation. The great success of the information and the revolution of communication technology impacts on the economic activity. For example, the inception of *knowledge-based economy* development paradigm. **Third**, the changing of international environment (globalization). Economic globalization has made the economic activity among nations more integrated (*borderless economy*). The critical outcome and the theoretical reformulation and established development paradigm, the human development paradigm (*human development paradigm*).

Development, in developing countries generally uses *developmentism* (*modernism*) ideology. Developmentism is seen as an "evolutionary"

process of the underdeveloped society toward a more advanced society. Modernization theory began in the 1940s, especially on January 20, 1949, when the President of USA (Hary S Truman) made development policy for third world countries. He said that "the world should get *Fair democratic deal*" through US intervention to resolve the problem of global poverty. Truman's policy becomes the milestone of *developmentalism* discourse in the world until today.

Since the 1950s-1960s, *developmentalism* was produced by American Social Science theorists to demonstrate (and determine the choice) the future dream to a newly independent third world society. For that purpose, social scientists have developed *discourse* academic concepts *development* through *The Center for International Studies* in *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* (MIT) United States.

One of the result is a *development* and modernization concept. Social scientists and the US private sector provide enormous assistance in various fields to third world countries. The result is the birth of a new generation of political scientists, economists and experts of Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology and Population experts with dissertations and monographs of the Third World so

as to form a stream of multidisciplinary perspectives that incorporated in *a school of thought of modernization*. Since then, studies of the modernization theory had turned into "industry" until the mid-1960s.

As this discourse has become part of US foreign policy, with the enormous support power of American political influence has succeeded in making the concept of *developmentalism* as massive ideas and doctrine throughout the world. This political doctrine of development is introduced both conceptually (academically) as well as through various US aids and foreign technology, which is implemented by USAID. Since then, almost all governments of third world countries, NGO, educational institutions in the west have simultaneously made this discourse as a new trade. Starting from that moment, almost all universities in the world opened a new study program about "*developmental studies*".

The dominative influence of America in influencing the development paradigm in most third world countries (*underdeveloped countries*) is completely successful. These newly independent poor countries cannot resist the concept of *ex-Marshall Plan* (the importance of capital, the orientation of GNP, the role of a strong State and social transformation) in the development program.

Conceptually, *developmental studies* make the Marshall Plane concept which in its follow-up also contains the process of absorption of capitalism accelerated worldwide, through technocrats, intellectual NGO, third world leaders which become the main targets of the program. Therefore, it is not exaggerated to say that modernization is a historical product of Marshall Plane program which then puts the United States (US) as the dominant power of the world; followed by other Western countries (England, France and Germany weakened). The economic strength of the United States practically makes it world-class controller, starting in the 1950s.

Since then, the concept and implementation of a world development paradigm under the control of the modernization concept of America and the European countries is referred by almost all developing countries. The development policy's orientation and choice spawns inter-contestative dynamics *stakeholders* both in the process, its implementation and its problematic impact over decades. Critics of the developmentalism which later got the Nobel are Jan Tinbergen (1960s the Nobel

Laureate), Simon Kuznets (1970s), John Nash (1990s) to Amartya Sen.

2 DISCUSSION

Since the era of modernization (developmentalism), the dynamical progress of development theories can be grouped into some generations:

First generation (1950 - 1970)

Since 1940 - 1950s, post World War II, western economists had successfully introduced the concept of development to newly independent countries, especially about 4 (four) fundamental issues: (i) growth, (ii) capital accumulation, (iii) structural transformation, and (iv) role of the government. These four issues are central themes that became the main study in the evolution of first generation development thinking (1950-1975) as the arena of academic debate within a quarter of a century.

Basic concepts of *developmentalism* are capital, investment and industrialization. These are the main driving forces for structural transformation. It is assumed that there will be a leap of development from a subsistence agrarian economy to an industrial-based economic development. With industrialization, it will absorb a lot of labor which then becomes one of the main elements in the production process. If the production process is running well, the national income will be able to increase rapidly. The logic of such linear thinking (in fact) is parallel with the pundits of the neoclassical and structuralist schools of economics development such as Paul Rosestein-Rodan (1944), Ragnar Nurkse (1952), Arthur Lewis (1955), and Irma Adelman (1961): "*Capital accumulation, investment, and well-designed industrialization are very crucial components to accelerate development.*". To implement the industrialization development concept, the role of a strong State is required.

Strong countries control the market and manage economic transactions despite of being a source of criticism. The opposition argue that not the strength of state control (which is counterproductive and inefficient), but the importance of deregulation and de-bureaucratization in order to foster efficient economic development and develop a healthy market climate. The crucial issue, then, becomes *bone of contention*, emerging the mainstream of neoliberal thinking, which emphasizes on three *policy prescriptions* namely: (i) deregulation, (ii)

privatization, and (iii) liberalization. *"The essential tenet of neoliberalism is the extraordinary importance of attributed to market mechanisms; prices in a market economy provide the best possible information about the relative efficiency of many possible combinations of physical and human resources affecting the link between supply and demand"* (Stromquist, 2002).

Second Generation (Social Issue)

Despite of many weaknesses and criticisms, the concept of first generation development must be admitted creating important changes among the live of third world communities. Many of the former western colonies have been able to go to the stage of modernization as a jumping point toward modern life. Nevertheless, the development paradigm, which is formulated by this first generation, continues to be heavily criticized; because the 'success' of development has (in fact) created imbalance and inequality (polarization) and *disparity* which is prominent in the community, making it vulnerable to both vertical and horizontal conflicts; also increasingly fettered the most basic human freedom. This criticism is very well appreciated by second generation development thinkers (1975-2004), which focus more on four fundamental issues: (i) income distribution, (ii) injustice, (iii) poverty, and (iv) freedom and democracy.

These second-generation development thinkers are generally more advanced in thinking with raising the issue of freedom and democracy. The last issue has already been voiced by sociologists, political scientists and economists who pay great attention to the development issue and the progress of political democracy (Lipset 1959, Diamond & Linz 1995, Amartya Sen 1999, Przeworzki & Alvarez 2000, and Meier & Stiglitz 2002). They argued, in addition to growth, increased national income, and capital accumulation, the development needs to be able to deliver a nation to a free and democratic political life, reflected in the recognition that called as *civil rights and political liberty*.

Looking at the previous theoretical conceptual discussions of development, it shows how the economists of each generation adjusted, renewed, and altered the old development theories by absorbing new ideas so as to remain relevant and contextual with the spirit of the times (*zeitgeist*). The emergence of a theory will undoubtedly be debated by its advocates and opponents, to test its degree of scientific validity.

The dialectics of the theoretical thinking of the mainstream masterminds of the two-generational development, also show the disparity and mismatch between the development goals (which will prosper the society) and the reality on the ground which is in fact a lot of harm, imbalance and counterproductive. Critical issues that emerged later received an adequate appreciation; second-generation thinkers seek to revise the basic premise of development proposed by the first generation. In depth, there will be adjustments, changes, and revisions to the theory and development paradigm.

Based on the debate of development theory perspective above, the history noted that the emergence of a number of variants of new paradigms in development such as growth with distribution, *basic needs*, independent development (*self-reliant development*), sustainable development with attention to nature (*ecodevelopment*), development that concerns with the inequality income according to ethnicity (*ethnodevelopment*) (Kuncoro, 2003).

Third Generation (People Oriented)

Success story of high economic growth in some third world countries occurs despite having to be accompanied by a number of social problems such as inequality income distribution, unemployment, rural poverty, and structural imbalance (Sjahrir, 1986). It may be that it reinforces the belief that economic growth is a necessary but not sufficient for the development process (Esmara, 1986, Meier, 1989 in Kuncoro, 2004). Economic growth only notes an increasing in the production of goods and services nationally, while development has wider dimension than just an increasing of economic growth.

Mahbub ulHaq, in his book *Reflections on Human Development* (1995), stated the need for a change of development paradigm from *"national income accounting"* to *"people-centered policy."* The paradigm shift that he meant *"is concerned with human capability through investment in people and capturing the human capabilities through the enabling framework for growth and employment."*

The human-centered development paradigm become a central theme in the discourse of the debate on development issues in the world. Development orientation also shifted from macro economic goals to attempt the strengthening of social development (*societal development*). There are, at least, six reasons why the human development paradigm is considered as important: (a) development that aimed

at improving human dignity; (b) eradicate poverty; (c) encourage maximal productivity improvement and improve over goods and services control; (d) maintain natural conservation (environment) and maintain ecosystem balance; (e) strengthen the *civil society* base and political institutions to develop democracy; and maintaining conducive socio-political stability to the development implementation (Kaushik Basu, *On the Goals of Development*, 2002).

Improved quality of human is a main prerequisite in the production process and meets the demand of industrial society. Another alternative to human development strategy is called as *people-centered development* or borrowing the term from Korten (1981) as *putting people first*. It means that people are the main purpose of development, the human will and capacity are the most important resources. It is clearly broader than simply forming professional and skilled people to be useful in the production process. The placement of human beings as the subject of development emphasizes the importance of human empowerment (*empowerment*), the human ability to actualize all of their potential.

At least there are 4 (four) elements that must be considered in *people-oriented paradigm*. **First**, equality and similarity of communities in gaining access to economic and political resources. **Second**, empowerment which is aimed to develop capacity of the community by transforming available potentials and capabilities within, which lead to gain the independence, autonomy, and authority in carrying out the work and overcoming social problems. **Third**, productivity as a result of economic and human resource development, infrastructure and financial planning to support economic growth, which has an impact on improving the community welfare. **Fourth**, sustainability (*sustainability*), in other words, the ability to choose, to manage and to care for development capital: physical, human, financial, and environment in order to be utilized to achieve the main purpose of development, the welfare of community. Therefore, the refreshment, renewal and preservation of development capital are very important and necessary to maintain the sustainability of the future development process.

Even the development of human quality particularly needs to be designed based on the social investment perspective (*social investment*) so that it has the independence to manage the resources more optimal. It is no longer a social investment policy fulfilling *basic needs* model, but rather a social investment policy that is oriented towards the restoration of

community's self-confidence so as to empower themselves in overcoming the problems faced; because in the globalization era, the government will no longer be able to overcome the social problems without community support.

Human-oriented development (community) must be the main goal of development. For this purpose, the development strategy must be explored, prepared and formulated based on the interests, needs and potentials that available within the community. Thus, every step of development must be oriented to personal reinforcement (Human Resource Development), self-reliance, productive and investment value, based on local conditions and potential: *local wisdom*.

Local Wisdom

Local wisdom, according to Levitt (2003) become not only as a process, revitalization product and transformation of knowledge and culture, but also customary practices. Furthermore, along with local wisdom, it is possible for people to be able to behave more strategic in negotiate with the exposure of globalization stream which intends to equalize human being in every aspects of life. There are three points, as Levitt stated, that needs to be concerned: (i) local wisdom is created by the member of community itself; (ii) become a role model for the member of the community in order to do their daily activity; (iii) local wisdom cannot emerge itself, but it is the result from revitalization and the transformation of knowledge and culture, which has social norm within (*social norm*).

Although local wisdom has various definitions, but a number of similarities are perceivable, for example: the presence of knowledge, ideas, values, skills, experiences, behaviors, habits and customs that are done by the community in specific area (Keraf, 2002; Ardana, 2005; Aprianto et al, 2008, Mukti, 2010; Yamani, 2011). Sunaryo (2003) viewed that the knowledge and the experience of community merge with norm systems, beliefs, solidarity, expressed justice as the result of abstract custom and their interaction with nature and their surroundings in a long time. Therefore, it is natural that the local wisdom can be a guideline in behaving and acting to fulfill the requirement of community daily life (Wardana, 2005).

Human efforts that always prepare to adapt for the nature alteration and the need to organize themselves in order to survive become the background of the emerging of the social institutions, i.e. the local rules that arise and develop through a long social process

(through induction) so it become the basis in regulating life and life together in a community. The social rules are the ones to be locals *collective consciousness* (Emile Durkheim). Local social rules exist not only to manage about how living together (horizontal) is done, but also to manage about how the relationship with the power of Mighty One (God), including about how to build life along with noticing the natural environment. Thus, local wisdom, at least, encompasses five social dimensions, such as local knowledge, local culture, local skills, local resources, and local social processes (Aprianto et al, 2008). Particular kind of social institutions are commonly called as local wisdom (*local wisdom*)

The word, local wisdom (*local wisdom*), indicates the ability of locals, who are often traditional and live in remote areas. They capable to live and survive with their own way; different and not even logical for modern community. Local wisdom may be the result of a long process of human adaptation as a concept *survival of the fittest Theory of Evolution* - community can live, grow and survive because of their ability to adapt with nature alteration. The nature that makes humans to adapt on the nature alteration around them. The human adaptation ability over their environment, then called as social and culture institution as mentioned in WG Sumner theory about the foundation of emerging and developing social institution (*social institution*) - social institutions begin with the human effort which want to attempt everything they interest and must be done to live in social order (*social order*).

Regarding its long process, the local wisdom is actually the local community itself. It has unified and integrated with the existence of community. Locals, since the beginning of existence, have managed to build life and live accordingly with their natural environment. Therefore, local wisdom not only serves as a guideline for community in managing the living together, but also organizes life thoroughly and comprehensively both in dealing with nature, with God, with *adikodrati* powers. Local wisdom, eventually, is a positive human behavior in dealing with nature and the environment that can be sourced from religious values, customs, ancestors or local cultures that build naturally in a community to adapt with the environment (Wietoler 2006).

Local wisdom encompasses five social dimensions, such as local knowledge, local culture, local skills, local resources, and local social processes (Aprianto et al, 2008). These five dimensions can be illustrated

in the example of water management on Citanduy watershed and Subak Bali as follows.

Local knowledge about the making of water flow from bamboo and planting *dadap* and *kiara* tree by Bingkeng DAS Citanduy villagers, and making of river catcher building which is placed at the edge of river by Subak farmer in Bali.

Local culture such as prohibition (taboo and pamali) by the people in the Citanduy Watershed, and the concept of Tri Hita Karana by the community (Subak) in Bali.

Local skills form as making the flow of water in the Cintanduy watershed, and the construction of water catchers / empelan that can be adjusted if required in Subak Bali.

Local sources along with utilization of local potential, such as *dadap* trees in the Citanduy basin, and irrigation tunnels are curved to rely on the strength of the original rocks in Subak.

Local social processes in the form of *keramatisasi* management of water resources in the Citanduy watershed, and before-work ritual ceremonies in the fields in Subak Bali.

Communities meet their water needs by utilizing and managing the water resources in their area, in accordance with local wisdom that has been practiced for generations. The form or type of local wisdom varies according to community and area, but as social source, local wisdom has the same universal value, namely mutual assistance and helping each other to get the water and preserving its resources (Hidayati, 2016). According to her opinion, the existence of local wisdom in the management of water resources in Indonesia, unfortunately, has decreased. This condition is illustrated by less implementation of the abundance of local values, and in many places, the existence of local wisdom has been 'ignored' and remains a community story.

Locals in the world may need to learn from Vandana Shiva when voicing the impact of globalization on the life of the Indian community. Local communities in India exists and survive from the flow of globalization with its own style, form and way. Community of *Pattuvam Panchayat* can really show its independence without interference from other parties, including the government. They work on every aspect naturally such as agriculture which is free from chemical substances, planting trees to compensate for logging and destruction of the environment, etc. What does the *Pattuvam*

Panchayat community do? As the resistance to the capitalistic modern style development which is good to be a reflection that the adverse effect that emerge from capitalistic economy development which needs to create the movement to slowing and decreasing the adverse effect of globalization. Therefore, it is necessary that the "local wisdom" owned by each region or community to "fight" the rapid flow of globalization.

3 CONCLUSION

The choice of an economic-oriented development strategy with the support of political stability (the role of a strong state) should be recognized, obviously, as a difficult choice for developing countries. The choice of development-oriented *developmentalism* through industrialization as the *Marshaalplane* Program are, of course, different (opposite) to the needs of community development in mostly newly independent countries that are generally agriculture-based. The development strategy that depends on the growing cannot gain the welfare, but it is distortive and causing social polarization.

Therefore, it can be understood that the modernization style is judged as ***not developing the country, but it develops in developing country***. If developing country development means to develop for benefit of the community within (*constructive*). In fact, it develops ***in*** Developing country, then the outcome is *deconstructive (destructive)*: the public will only be a spectator of development, not as a developer. Community-oriented development (*people oriented*) is based on the existing condition of local wisdom (local wisdom), i.e. development, and for society: develop the community; Not develop ***in*** society as which has been generally done in many developing countries, the developer are the capitalists; not community.

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