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Does the Development Discourse Learn from History?

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Summary. — What is the nature and extent of historical awareness in the development discourse? Does the development discourse learn from history, including its own? Set in the contexts of aging development institutions and a changing geopolitical climate, this paper provides one account through a historiographical survey of 136 journal articles across 10 leading development journals. It uncovers a substantial body of works, which offer descriptive histories, derivative lessons, and historiographical critiques. Altogether, they evidence two modes in which the development discourse attempts to learn from history. The first lies in the proactive use of external histories as empirical evidence for a variety of development issues. This is the predominant mode exhibited in the survey. A second mode lies in the use of internal histories of the development discourse, itself. Here, the survey finds a number of noteworthy but largely disparate efforts. This suggests a relative dearth in historiographical self-consciousness for a narrow but influential segment of the development discourse. A number of consequences are considered, ultimately responding to the legitimacy, efficacy, and sustainability of development action. In sum, our survey finds that the mainstream development journal discourse is adept at learning from external histories, but not necessarily from its own. Evidence, however, suggests that it can. A case is made for why it must.
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Key words — history, historiography, discourse analysis, theory, policy

1. INTRODUCTION

What is the nature and extent of historical awareness in the development discourse? Does the development discourse learn from history, or does it ignore the past to be, in George Santayana's words, 'condemned to repeat it' (Santayana, 1905, p. 284)? These questions carry particular significance in light of two present contexts. The first is a development enterprise (encompassing both theory and practice) that has marked 70 years in its post-World War history. As it now enters its eighth decade, it seems fitting to reflect upon the history of development—and upon development's own awareness of it.

The second context motivating this work is a geopolitical climate that is markedly different from the one in which the post-World War development enterprise was originally built. Old geopolitics of decolonization and the Cold War have been replaced by narratives on hegemony and rising powers. Further, the grand optimism and early hopes in development have been replaced by a more reserved sort of development buffeted in a sea of discontent. Recent years, in particular, speak volumes about such discontents—with globalization and elite cosmopolitanism, prolonged economic and humanitarian crises, and rising insecurities for countries both 'developing' and 'developed'. Changing operational contexts have, in turn, spurred calls for reform (e.g., Malloch-Brown, 2014; Weiss & Abdenur, 2014) and even wholesale abandonment (e.g., Escobar, 2011; Esteva, 2010; Sachs, 2010) of the development enterprise.

Altogether, these contexts raise serious concerns in regard to development's future. What will become of development? What should it be? How can it be changed? When faced with such uncertainties about the future, it is useful to reflect upon the past. How did we get here? Why are things done the way they are? What have we learned? It is with such questions in mind that this work delves into the history of development. It cannot provide a comprehensive answer, being limited in a number of aspects. Most tellingly, it comments only on the peer-reviewed English-language journal literature. The aim is thus to provide but a glimpse into the development discourse's knowledge of the past. In light of the timeliness of such a work, however, even a brief glimpse may yet be a valuable one.

The remainder of this work proceeds as follows. Section two explains the study's methodology and associated limitations. Section three summarizes findings from our survey of the journal literature. Section four then discusses the broader significance of said findings. Finally, section five concludes with a summary and suggestions for future work.

2. METHODOLOGY

The methods of this work borrow from intellectual history to examine how the development discourse engages with history, writ large. Namely, it engages in a form of discourse analysis that traces not a pre-determined school of thought or thinkers, but rather the broader flow of arguments across a number of arenas or sub-streams in development thought. The methods and underlying rationale are presented at length, below.

(a) *Discourse analysis*

First of all, how are we to answer the question of whether the development discourse learns from history? Let us first begin with some groundwork: (1) what exactly do we mean by the *development discourse*, and (2) what exactly do we mean by *learning from history*?

For (1), we define the *development discourse* as the collective stream of ideas or thought engaging with development theory and practice. In this work, we focus on the academic discourse

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of development studies. This includes contributions from across the social sciences (e.g., anthropology, economics, geography, politics, sociology) and other allied disciplines (e.g., history, philosophy, gender studies, environmental studies). Further, we focus on this discourse as it manifests in written form. This allows us to subdivide the field into journals, books (e.g., monographs, edited volumes, textbooks), and the so-called gray literature (e.g., working papers, reports, conference proceedings, dissertations). This study focuses on journals, but for reasons that first require us to specify what we mean by 'learning from history'.

For (2), we adopt a rather minimalist stance on *learning from history*. 'Learning' in a discourse could be evidenced in any number of ways, from the gradual accumulation and refinement of some store of knowledge to the drastic paradigm shifts in scientific revolutions and overturned worldviews. Here, we adopt a bare and open-ended conception of learning in asking how and to what extent the development discourse derives knowledge from history, writ large. Beyond this, we find little need to ascribe to any one particular mode of learning; for doing so, in a way, defeats the very purpose of this present exercise.

Having specified our aims, we now return to explaining our choice in (1) to focus on journal articles. To be explicit, journal articles are hardly chosen here to be representative of the development discourse in its entirety. However, journal articles offer two key benefits when investigating how development learns from history.

First, journal articles enable a level of temporal-spatial resolution for our survey that is difficult to achieve with the book-format literature. The latter entails comparatively large commitments of time and energy, which carry disadvantages in terms timely and comprehensive representation. The obvious drawback here is the exclusion of a sizeable body of historical works. Examples include Arndt (1989), Jolly, Emmerij, Ghai, and Lapeyre (2004), Leys (1996), Meier (2004), Pieterse (2010), Preston (1999), Rapley (1997), Rist (2014), and Ziai (2015). These sources warrant a separate study of their own, but journal articles prove more optimal for an initial survey. That said, these very same advantages could also be attributed to the gray literature, as well. It is here, however, that the journal literature's second benefit comes to the fore.

Second, journal articles allow us to note the relative influence of certain arguments in the broader politics of development thought. This stems from the academic journal's key role in mediating development knowledge. That is, academic journals entail distinct (but frequently overlapping) substreams or sub-discourses in terms of the sociology and politics of knowledge. This is rendered by the selection or curation process of each journal's editorial staff and peer-review community, which in turn imparts published articles with an implicit measure of value or recognition. This process is further reinforced by the key role of journal publications—particu larly journal impact factors and article citations—when it comes to academic hiring and promotion. Ultimately, this dissemination and competition of ideas across what Collins (2009) refers to as a 'limited attention space' also come to influence the very ideas that matter in the realm of development policy and practice. This legitimacy and influence is where our *comparatively* unregulated gray literature falls short. This is not to say, however, that such literature has not been influential (e.g., the UN Brundtland Report on sustainable development), and entails yet another limitation to this study.

Finally, when it comes to methodological limitations, it must also be pointed out that this study can only speak of the English-language development discourse. Little can be said of the ideas and debates occupying other development discourses (e.g., Spanish, French, German, Korean); nor of the international flow of ideas and the political relations to be observed between them. With that said, the English-language discourse is hardly exclusive to Anglo-American views. As a de facto *lingua franca*, many 'foreign' (e.g., non-Anglophone, non-Western) perspectives are to be found. Indeed, foreign-language monographs are often translated and abridged into journal articles for wider dissemination in the English-language discourse. This possibly adds another benefit to surveying journal articles over books. Nevertheless, while the English-language development discourse may be *relatively* inclusive, it is not held to be representative of the global development discourse, on the whole. Consequently, some level of Anglo-American bias is to be expected.

(b) *Data selection*

The basic approach for gathering survey data was to compile journal articles with some variant of the term 'history' (e.g., 'historic', 'historical', 'histories', 'historiography') in the title and/or keywords. This was conducted using a wildcard search term ('histor*'), but required—due to pure volume—further culling of search results. Given the aim of this work to identify representative or, alternatively, predominant ways in which history has been used in the development discourse, a second selection criterion was introduced: journal impact factors.

Journal impact factors were referenced from the latest Journal Citation Reports© Social Sciences Edition, published annually by Thomson Reuters (2016). Journals were then retrieved from the category of 'Planning and Development' and filtered to remove journals focused on planning, as opposed to development (e.g., urban planning, management science, public administration). [1] Out of the remaining journals, the top 10 were selected based on highest 5-year impact factors (encompassing 2011–15; see Table 1).

Table 1. *Survey panel of ten top development journals (by 5-year impact factor)*

5-Year Impact Factor *(2011–15)*	Journal Title	First Issue
3.102	World Development	1973
2.268	Sustainable Development	1993
2.251	Development and Change	1970
2.075	World Bank Research Observer	1986
2.057	World Bank Economic Review	1986
1.638	Economic Development and Cultural Change	1952
1.381	Third World Quarterly	1979
1.253	Journal of Development Studies	1964
1.245	Studies in Comparative International Development	1965
1.178	Progress in Development Studies	2001

Source: 2015 Journal Citation Reports® Social Science Edition (Thomson Reuters, 2016).

With the search domain narrowed down to what might be characterized as the most frequently cited or the most 'mainstream' journals in the development discourse, a new search produced a more manageable but sufficiently large sample set ($n = 136$) of original research articles, editorials, and special issue introductions. Table 2 provides an overview of their distribution across journals and across time.

3. SURVEY FINDINGS

Perhaps the most immediate finding of our survey was the sheer variety of historical works found in the development literature. Example dimensions of variation included subject matter, geographical focus, time period, research methods, and intellectual or ideological stance. Further compounding this variety were multiple senses in which a work could be referred to as 'historical'. Specifically, three types of historical analysis were found.

The first type consisted of *descriptive historical accounts* of some form. Example works include a history of migrant labor in Mauritius (Kothari, 2013) or the history of the idea of agricultural self-sufficiency (Morrissey, 1982). Such works were typically—though not necessarily—followed by a second type of historical analysis.

This second type entailed historical lessons or *first-order historical analyses* that were often derived from descriptive historical accounts. Examples include historical lessons for monetary and fiscal policies to counter hyperinflation (Solimano, 1990) and guidance on land reform for post-apartheid South Africa (Binswanger & Deininger, 1993).

Finally, the third type of history is referred to as historiographical or *second-order historical analysis*, in reference to its greater abstraction or critical reflection relative to the previous two types. Second-order analyses often addressed broader questions on how and why to do development history. Examples include arguments on what development stands to gain from history (e.g., Adelman & Morris, 1997; Woolcock, Szreter, & Rao, 2011) and on how *not* to do history (e.g., Hopkins, 1986; Leach & Fairhead, 2000; Niemeijer, 1996). Second-order analysis was often premised on descriptive and first-order arguments, though the direction across types was rather cyclical and could go both ways (see Figure 1).

The survey findings that follow are structured according to this basic typology. Works that included multiple types of analysis (which was typically the case) were disaggregated and reviewed accordingly. Thus, Section 3(a) presents a review across all of the survey's descriptive accounts. Section 3(b) follows with a review of first-order lessons, while section 3(c) closes with second-order historiographical arguments.

(a) *Descriptive historical analysis*

(i) *Variation across development topic*

The surveyed histories reflected the wide variety of topics covered in development, with a sample of recurring themes presented in Table 3. Of these, particular subjects received more attention than others. Six prominent themes are highlighted here: (1) agricultural/rural and industrial/urban development; (2) land/property rights; (3) colonialism; (4) technology and innovation; (5) the global economy; and (6) migration.

First was the broad area of agricultural/rural development, industrial/urban development, and the relationship between the two. This arguably classic question in development studies was addressed widely across journals (e.g., *Development and*

Table 2. *Distribution of surveyed articles (by journal, time)*

Est.	Journal	1951–55	1956–60	1961–65	1966–70	1971–75	1976–80	1981–85	1986–90	1991–95	1996–2000	2001–05	2006–10	2011–15	2016	*tot*
1952	Economic Development and Cultural Change	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	*11*
1964	Journal of Development Studies			0	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	1	4	0	*12*
1965	Studies in Comparative International Development			0	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	*9*
1970	Development and Change				0	1	1	1	1	1	6	5	0	1	0	*17*
1973	World Development					1	1	1	3	4	5	2	7	8	1	*33*
1979	Third World Quarterly						0	2	0	3	5	8	9	10	0	*37*
1986	World Bank Economic Review								0	0	1	1	0	0	0	*2*
1986	World Bank Research Observer								2	0	0	2	0	0	0	*4*
1993	Sustainable Development									0	1	1	0	3	0	*5*
2001	Progress in Development Studies											0	1	5	0	*6*
	TOTAL (n = 136)	*3*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*5*	*4*	*9*	*9*	*10*	*19*	*22*	*21*	*31*	*1*	

Note: Establishment year corresponds to the year of each journal's first issue; publication statistics for 2016 are incomplete, and cover only the period from January 1–September 19, 2016.

Table 3. *Survey of development histories*

Historical subject	Sample references
Agricultural and/or rural development	Graulau (2008), Lu and Lora-Wainwright (2014), Wiemers (2015)
Industrial and/or urban development	Lampard (1955), Schmitz (1984), Wood and Jordan (2000)
—on the relationship between the above two	Arrighf (1970), Harriss and Harriss (1984), Udall (1980)
Land reform, common property, property rights	Edelman and León (2013), Johnson (2004), Runge and Defrancesco (2006)
Ecology, environment, and sustainability	Goossens (1997), Hayami (2001), McDaniel (2003)
Technology and/or innovation	Binswanger (1986), Lybæk et al. (2013), Parker (1961)
Trade and development	Mushtaq (2015), Özler et al. (2009), Sandberg *et al.* (2006)
Macroeconomic policy	Dooley et al. (1996), McLure (1992), Solimano (1990)
Development administration	Goode (1993), Hirschmann (1999), Singer (1953)
Poverty and/or inequality	Logan et al. (2012), Ludden (2012), Williamson (1979)
Public health and welfare	Bishai and Nalubola (2002), Chaiken (1998), Gooch (2017)
Education and development	Gellman (2015), Wietzke (2014), Wietzke (2015)
Gender and development	Benjamin and Brandt (1995), de Haan (2002)
Internal colonialism	de Alcántara (1974), Love (1989), Peralta and Hollenstein (2015)
Globalisation	Broad and Heckscher (2003), Bunker and Ciccantell (2003), Cardoso (2009)
Migration	Dobby (1952), Gottschang (1987), Hatton and Williamson (2008)
Human rights and law	Dawson (2013), Robertson (1982), Szreter (2007), Waltz (2002)
NGOs and civil society	Beauchemin and Schoumaker (2009)), Fowler (2000), Lewis (2008)
Democracy and development	Blaney and Pasha (1993), Gerring, Kingstone, Lange, and Sinha (2011), Omgba (2015)
Institutions and development	Hoff (2003), Iverson, Palmer-Jones, and Sen (2013), North (1989), Wietzke (2015)
Peace and security	Akhavi (2003), Arquilla (2007), Bieber (2000)
US hegemony	Beeson and Higgott (2005), Connell-Smith (1984), Munro (2014)
State- or nation-building	Bilgin and Morton (2002), Dodge (2006), Hawkins (2014)
Socialism and development	Gills (1992), Iliev and Putterman (2007), Wu (2008)

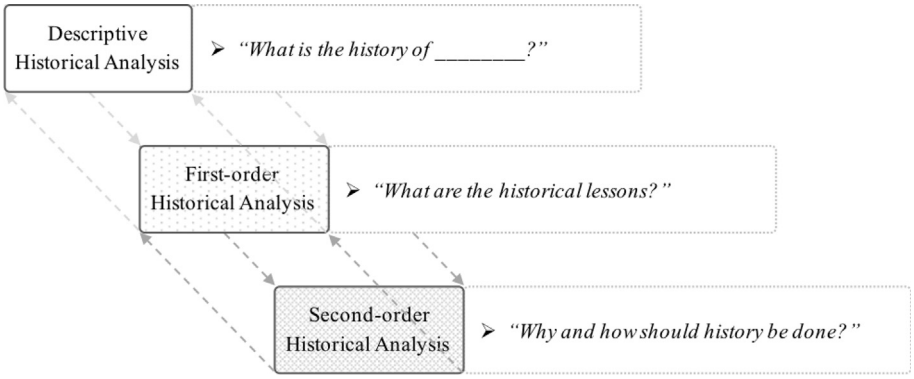


Figure 1. *Typology of historical analyses rendered from surveyed works.*

Change, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *Journal of Development Studies*, *Progress in Development Studies*, and *World Development*) and across time (e.g., from Arrighf, 1970; Lampard, 1955 to Iversen, Palmer-Jones, & Sen, 2013; Wood & Jordan, 2000).

Second was the subject of land reform and property rights. This included a variety of sub-topics, from the history of common property resources (Johnson, 2004; Mosse, 1997) to case studies of land reform (Binswanger & Deininger, 1993; Logan, Tengbeh, & Petja, 2012), global land grabs (Edelman & León, 2013; Edelman, Oya, & Borras, 2013), and intellectual property rights (Runge & Defrancesco, 2006).

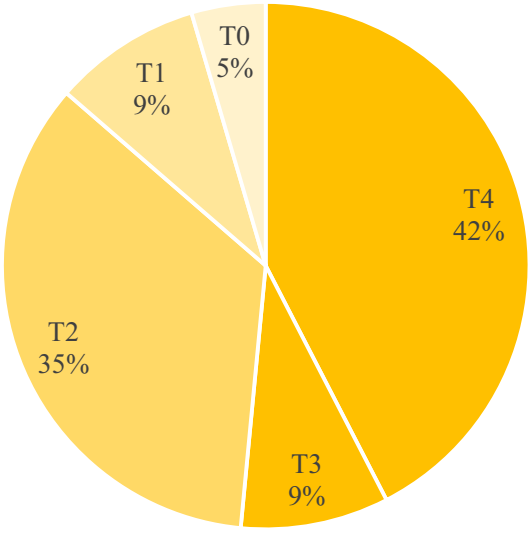
Third was the frequent study of colonialism's impact on development. Following the distinction between *economic history* and *the history of economic thought*, these studies reflect the distinction between *development history* and *the history of development thought*. Works falling under the former largely stemmed from historical institutionalist approaches popularized by Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001, 2002, 2005) and Engerman and Sokoloff (1997, 2002, 2008). Examples here include Hoff (2003); Woolcock et al. (2011); Wietzke (2015). In the latter category are a number of works that trace 'false' (e.g., colonial, imperial, modernist) histories underlying development thought. These were most commonly found in reference to colonial historiographies of Africa (e.g., Chauveau & Samba, 1989; da Silva, 2005; Fairhead & Leach, 1995; Leach & Fairhead, 2000; Niemeijer, 1996) and Asia (e.g., Grabowski, 1985; Mosse, 1997; Naik, 2014; Sivaramakrishnan, 2000). These works, along with a number of histories on particular development ideas, present a corpus of works on the history of development thought (see Table 4).

Fourth was the historical role of technology and innovation in development, with these subjects taking on a wide variety of forms. Examples included agricultural technology (e.g., Binswanger, 1986; Goossens, 1997) and innovation models for sustainable development (Lybæk, Christensen, & Kjær, 2013). One striking example from development's earlier years even details an explicit form of 'technological determinism' driving development (Parker, 1961).

Fifth was development history in the contexts of the global economy. Examples ranged from histories of globalization (e.g., Robertson, 2004) and the capitalist world system (e.g.,

Table 4. *Survey of histories of development thought*

Historical Subject	Sample References
the idea of…	
Development	Arndt (1981), Grampp (1972), Ruttan (1984), Watson (2012)
Failed states	Bilgin and Morton (2002)
Fair trade	Low and Davenport (2005)
Globalisation	Robertson (2004)
Nationalism	Desai (2008)
Self-sufficiency	Morrissey (1982)
Sustainability	Harlow, Golub, and Allenby (2013)
Third world/South	Berger (2004), Korany (1994), Solarz (2012)
false histories of…	
Africa	Chauveau and Samba (1989), da Silva (2005), Fairhead and Leach (1995), Niemeijer (1996)
Asia	Grabowski (1985), Mosse (1997), Naik (2014), Sivaramakrishnan (2000)
US	Peloso (1972)



Interval	Starting Period	# of works	% of works
T0	pre-15 th century	6	5%
T1	15 th century	12	9%
T2	18 th century	46	35%
T3	20 th century	12	9%
T4	post-WWII	56	42%

Figure 2. *Temporal coverage of surveyed works (n = 132, four works did not apply).*

Bunker & Ciccantell, 2003; Cardoso, 2009) to econometric studies characterizing development and trade (e.g., Sandberg, Seale, & Taylor, 2006; Özler, Taymaz, & YIlmaz, 2009).

Finally, a sixth theme was found in historical studies of migration and development. These included perspectives from both origin countries (e.g., Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009) and destination countries (e.g., Kothari, 2013). Alternatively, Baldwin-Edwards (2008) presented a historical interpretation of migration as a structural feature and not just a temporary abnormality in modern capitalism. An early study on internal resettlement in Malaysia (Dobby, 1952) also provided an intriguing glimpse into some of the anti-communist and pro-colonial sentiments coloring early development thought.

A number of less common aspects or dimensions of study—typically limited to only one or two works—were also found. Some of these were rather eclectic, such as Giulianotti and Armstrong's (2011) history of military peace-making initiatives through sporting activities. Another was Rogers (1989) study on the link between urban development and crime. Other subjects, however, were surprising in light of their prominence in the wider development discourse. Three examples stand out here: gender, education, and human rights.

In the case of gender, Benjamin and Brandt's (1995) study of women's economic roles in pre-1949 China provided the only concerted history on gender and development. Other studies referenced gender, but as a secondary focus or factor, such as de Haan's (2002) case history on labor migration in Bihar, India. Peluso (2012) provided another example, using a feminist political ecology framework for a history of rubber as a socio-natural commodity.

Similarly, education often played a sideline role in historical analyses, and was rarely the concerted subject of study. Gellman (2015) offered one of the exceptions, focusing on national history education in post-conflict societies. Wietzke (2014, 2015) provided the others, with studies on the long-term consequences of colonial missionary education in Madagascar.

Finally, the subject of human rights continued the above pattern. Fifteen works made reference to human rights, but only three discussed the subject at length. Waltz (2002) and Szreter (2007) were two of the exceptions, with histories on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the right to identity registration, respectively. The third (Emmerij, Jolly, & Weiss, 2005) discussed human rights at length, but within the contexts of UN intellectual history.

(ii) *Variation across temporal coverage*

In addition to subject matter, the descriptive histories can also be characterized according to their variation in temporal bounds. Some histories, for example, concentrated on very short periods of time. Dooley, Fernandez-Arias, and Kletzer (1996) was one example, examining the 1980s debt crisis during 1986–92. Others took a longue durée approach, spanning several centuries or more. Runge and Defrancesco (2006), for example, provided a history of common property that dated back to the eleventh-century Norman conquest of England. Akhavi's (2003) history of Islam-West relations, meanwhile, began with seventh-century Islamic communities. Finally, Arquilla's (2007) history of terrorism and unconventional warfare was perhaps the longest, referring back to the Roman Empire and through the Middle Ages.

Not all of the surveyed histories, however, adopted such a long-term perspective. When disaggregated according to historical start dates, only 5% of the works reached back prior to the fifteenth century (see Figure 2). Another 9% reached back to between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries—often in reference to early Western colonialism or globalization (e.g., Bunker & Ciccantell, 2003; Robertson, 2004). The second most frequently referenced starting period rested between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, correlating to 35% of the surveyed works. These often described Western historical precedents, non-Western histories, and/or particular aspects of colonialism. Humphries (2003), for example, examines the Western history of child labor as a foil for today's industrial economies. Similarly, Williamson (1979) references the Kuznets growth-versus-equity relationship in US history. In contrast, Hopkins (1986) and Sivaramakrishnan (2000) document local African and Indian histories, respectively, and the effects of European colonial historiographies.

Over half (51%) of the works, however, began in the twentieth century, with the majority (42%) situated in the post-World War II era. These can be further sub-divided into the Cold War (1945–91) and post-Cold War (1991–) periods. Many histories produced during the Cold War reflect that era's geopolitics. Examples include Dobby's (1952) study of anti-communist resettlement in Malaysia, Sauvant's (1981) study on the New International Economic Order, and Connell-Smith's (1984) study on the US invasion of Grenada.

Histories post-1991 evidenced a number of efforts to reconcile with the sudden shifts following Soviet collapse. Gills (1992), for example, addressed speculation on socialist collapse in North Korea, while Utting (1992) described historical precedents for post-Soviet state reform. Korany (1994), meanwhile, offered a historical perspective on the new geopolitical challenges faced by the Third World. Finally, recent years have marked yet another shift, with histories on structural adjustment (Berry, 1997; Gills & Philip, 1996), US hegemony (Beeson & Higgott, 2005; Munro, 2014), and civil society (Fowler, 2000; Lewis, 2008).

(b) *First-order historical analysis*

Histories often contain, whether implicit or explicit, a moral to their stories; that is, lessons derived through causal analysis across time and space. In our survey, the majority (89%) of works contained such prescriptive arguments. The few exceptions here include what might be termed 'pure descriptive histories'. Examples include Arndt's (1981) semantic history of development or Berger's (2004) overview of Third World history. Similar to our descriptive histories, prescriptive arguments surveyed here also reflected a wide variety in subject matter. To abstract from particular focal topics, however, most of these historical lessons attempted to revise purported errors in theory and practice.

With respect to theory, Lybæk et al. (2013) provide one example that offered a model of innovation that argued against gradualist and linear assumptions to emphasize dynamic processes across multiple actors. Another was Reid's (2006) warning against assuming that democracy would entail the resolution of class conflicts and structural inequities, as argued with a case history of the Philippines. Finally, Forsyth (2007) critiqued prior assumptions of political unity within environmental movements, via examples from Thai history.

Lessons were also offered for development policy and practice. For example, Bishai and Nalubola (2002) stressed the importance of cultural integration and public–private partnership when implementing food fortification efforts. Another was Emmerij et al. (2005), who suggested a number of ways in which the UN, as an institution, might contribute to the future of development thought and action. It is also worth noting the many references to local knowledge and its practical significance. Some of these arguments stemmed from aforementioned works on false history (e.g., Fairhead & Leach, 1995; Sivaramakrishnan, 2000). Here, colonial biases were traced to development prescriptions that harmed instead of helped. In terms of first-order lessons, these studies emphasized the importance of local knowledge in not only the implementation, but also the very conceptualization of development. Coming from more of an on-the-ground perspective, Astone (1998) also argued for closer and earlier integration of local knowledge in the planning process, based on past shortcomings in participatory development. Finally, Graulau (2008) and Logan et al. (2012) also advised local engagement, but from the perspective of correcting for the failures of neoliberalism and modernist 'mega-narratives'.

(c) *Second-order historical analysis*

Having summarized our findings across descriptive and first-order analyses, we now move on to our final category of second-order historiographical arguments. These moved beyond narrowly specified descriptive and prescriptive topics to address development history at the general level. Namely, we find two broad sets of arguments responding to the questions of (i) *why to do development history* and (ii) *how to do development history*.

(i) Why to do development history

Arguments here entailed variants of the claim that 'history matters' (e.g., "institutions matter", "culture matters", "environment matters"). Hoff (2003), for example, argues in support of the research agenda within economics to establish that institutions matter, in contrast to prior ahistorical premises. In the practical domain, McDaniel (2003) argues that history matters by showing how development practitioners have to operate in two overlapping institutional contexts. His case study on Chiquitano culture in Bolivia further extends into arguments that culture matters, demonstrating how culture can shape local distribution patterns for development aid. Mosse (1997) also comments on how culture matters through the use of a cultural ecology framework to explain common property history.

Further, arguments could be subdivided according to whether they appealed to development theory or to development practice. Johnson (2004) provided an example for development theory, calling for more history amidst an over-reliance on positivism, methodological individualism, and formal modeling in US political science. Bhatt (1976) presented complementary arguments for the field of economics. Here, history's significance was premised on the bounded nature of economic observations, the limited scope and stability of economic laws, a tendency toward over-simplified and static explanations, and the risk of fostering ideological biases. Edelman and León (2013) and Edelman et al. (2013) further argued for the necessity of history when it came to understanding long-term phenomena, such as land-grabbing. This was also echoed in Peluso (2012), who argued that history enables an expanded view of a particular subject's time and space, which might otherwise be missed in scientific analyses. History thus helps to overcome some of the blind spots found across various epistemic frameworks in the social sciences (Robertson, 1982). In summary, Adelman and Morris (1997) highlight the misplaced universality and the tunnel vision that

arises in the absence of history. History, then, is a necessary complement to the social sciences when investigating and understanding development.

In terms of practice, Woolcock et al. (2011) argued that an appreciation of history fosters a greater awareness of contexts and complexity for development action. More specifically, McDaniel (2003) and Mosse (1997) described the challenge presented by dual contexts in development scenarios (i.e. that of the development practitioner and that of the recipient). Here, history was necessary for identifying path-dependencies or development trajectories in their target contexts (Edelman & León, 2013; Gills & Philip, 1996; Grampp, 1972). Furthermore, as Adelman and Morris (1997) argued, development theories and policies each have their appropriate time and place. Thus, history plays a key role not only for theory building, but also for application. Lastly, Edelman and León (2013) and Edelman et al. (2013) offered a specific point on the significance of history in determining appropriate baselines for impact evaluation.

(ii) *How to do development history*

Having addressed arguments on *why* to do development history, we now proceed to arguments on *how*. Most of the arguments surveyed here seemed to reflect lessons on how *not* to do history. For example, two common arguments were to be wary of over-simplification (Adelman & Morris, 1997; Bernard, 1996; Bhatt, 1976) and of over-rationalization (Grampp, 1972; Kaviraj, 1992; Woolcock et al., 2011). Highlighted was the danger of over-zealously positing correlations and causations in historical analysis. For example, Grampp argued that Lord Robbins' history of economic development theory "misconceives the past because he sees it from the present and not in the way it saw itself. [...] He sees relations where they are not and does not notice them where they are" (Grampp, 1972, p. 542). There are limits to the power of reason in comprehending the complexity of the past. In doing development history, one is thus exhorted to mind the biases resulting from their own particular time and space. Accordingly, repeated calls were made to strive toward *diachronic* versus *synchronic* histories (e.g., Casanova, 1973; Grampp, 1972; Jacoby & Kothari, 2014; Lu & Lora-Wainwright, 2014; Stump, 2010).

Finally, multiple works argued for vigilance in the interpretation and production of development history, as perspective biases may also hide political biases tying knowledge to power. Peluso (2012), for example, investigated the politics of knowledge production, legitimization, and mobilization through case histories on how aspects of nature are commoditized and appropriated in varying social contexts. Further, the way that development concepts and the very notion of development, itself, are defined can be linked to hidden political motives. For example, Sivaramakrishnan (2000) drew links between the development discourse within forestry management and environmental histories reflecting colonial interests from nineteenth- and twentieth-century Bengal. In another, Leach and Fairhead (2000) drew from the sociology of science and public policy to show how false 20th century histories on African deforestation have influenced present statistics, scientific analyses, and aid flows. Finally, Bilgin and Morton (2002) linked US intellectual hegemony in the social sciences to the rise of notions such as 'failed states' or 'quasi-states' as legitimate subjects of academic study. In all, these historiographical arguments warn that development history is not immune from the social, political, and intellectual climates in which they are produced. While there were no sure solutions offered (nor suggestions that they exist), it was a methodological dimension highlighted for greater awareness.

4. DISCUSSION

(a) *Does the development discourse learn from history?*

Having presented our survey findings, we now return to our original question: does the development discourse learn from history? The survey certainly finds evidence of substantial interest in history within said discourse. However, the resulting variety and types of studies lead us to first distinguish between two different modes in which the development discourse attempts to learn from history.

In the first mode, studies look outward to external histories as a source of data. Such studies reference, for example, historical accounts of globalization, colonization, or migration to evaluate some aspect of development theory or practice. Indeed, the surveyed works excelled at this mode, with the majority of works utilizing historical accounts in this manner. If Section 3.3's surveyed critiques of a dominant positivist tendency in economic and political science are to be believed, then this result is of little surprise. This first mode of learning is highly compatible with scientific methods of investigation, in which history serves as a rich source of empirical data for theory building and evaluation.

In contrast to the first mode's outward focus on external histories, the second mode looks inward to reflect upon the history of the development discourse, itself. Examples here include Grampp's (1972) critique of Robbins' history of economic development, Arndt's (1981) semantic history of economic development, and—most recently—Woolcock et al.'s (2011) analysis of how and why history matters for development policy. Such works, however, were few and far in between. Further, while many of the surveyed works were critical of some aspect of development (often a form of neoliberalism or Western imperialism), critical theory did not necessarily entail critical historiography. The notable exception here and our second body of evidence were the works engaged in disentangling past ecological historiographies used to premise colonial and post-colonial development. Beyond these two sets of works, however, there was little indication of broader engagement with the history of the development discourse, itself.

With this in mind, does the development discourse learn from history? Evidence certainly suggests that it does do so in the first outward sense. That is, the discourse actively incorporates external histories as empirical evidence for development theory and practice. However, historical study of the idea of development and the discourse, itself, was rare. Consequently, this suggests that a limited but influential segment of the development discourse actively engages with external histories, but not necessarily with its own.

(b) *Why does this matter?*

If the development discourse does indeed fail to actively learn from its own history, then what are the consequences? Why does it matter? Here, the answer is simple: it endangers the efficacy and sustainability of development theory and practice.

For one, limited awareness of development's own history impairs the ability to learn from past successes and failures. It also fosters intellectual dogmas that may impair the very ability to recognize success or failure, in the first place. Thus, claims of progress in development studies should be viewed with some skepticism if absent of historical evidence. Conceptual innovations, for example, may entail the unwitting rediscovery of old development ideas. Such claims may, even

worse, belie less than benign attempts to repackage old wine in new bottles. A lack of broader historical reflection further impairs awareness of structural issues in the sociology and politics of development knowledge. The potential result is an ineffective discourse characterized by palliative measures and recurring crises, due to the inability to recognize and resolve more deep-rooted problems.

It is in light of this danger that historiographical research holds strategic importance for sustaining the development enterprise. Ultimately, its absence may jeopardize the development discourse and its very reason for existence—to realize the possibility of progress or development.

(c) *What does development history do well?*

The above critique, however, should not be conflated to be an all-encompassing denouncement of the present state in development history. While it raises the possibility that influential segments of the development discourse remain largely unconscious of its own history, this does not invalidate the areas of history that the discourse does well. Namely, our survey reveals two aspects in which the development discourse excels.

First, the surveyed histories evidence a very responsive discourse. This can be seen in the breadth and timeliness of historical subjects surveyed in the aforementioned Cold War and post-Cold War periods. These included historical analyses responding to the radical shifts in the role of NGOs (e.g., Fowler 2000; Lewis 2008) or the pressing concerns with terrorism, religious fundamentalism, and multiculturalism (e.g., Akhavi, 2003; Arquilla, 2007; Beeson & Higgott, 2005; Dodge, 2006). Thus, while the surveyed discourse may fall short in sustaining research on its own history, it has been expedient in incorporating external histories across a wide variety of concerns.

Second, this responsiveness is perhaps enabled by the diverse intellectual and multidisciplinary perspectives evidenced in the survey. This can, at least in part, be attributed to the multiple journals constituting the survey. Table 5, for example, summarizes some of the distinguishing features observed across journals.

Development and Change, for example, was marked for its critical analyses of colonial historiographies since the 1980s (e.g., Chauveau & Samba, 1989; Grabowski, 1985). These included many of the critical environmental historiographies of Africa and Asia produced since the mid-1990s (e.g., Leach & Fairhead, 2000; McDaniel, 2003; Murray Li, 2002; Niemeijer, 1996; Peluso, 2012; Sivaramakrishnan, 2000).

Economic Development and Cultural Change (EDCC) was the oldest journal surveyed, dating back to 1952. Interestingly, its works exhibited notable methodological shifts over the decades. Early examples relied heavily on qualitative and historical methods, and are notable for their Western modernist biases (e.g., Dobby, 1952; Lampard, 1955; Parker, 1961; Williamson, 1979). Literature from the 1970s and early 1980s, however, produced some of the most compelling historiographical analyses in the entire survey (e.g., Arndt, 1981; Grampp, 1972). Literature since the late 1980s, however, exhibited a shift away from historiography and toward econometric analysis, alongside diversification in subject matter (e.g., Benjamin & Brandt, 1995; Gottschang, 1987; Molini, Keyzer, van den Boom, Zant, & Nsowah-Nuamah, 2010).

Journal of Development Studies was notable for its strong social anthropology and geography perspectives alongside emphasis of anti-reductionist and pro-historical views during the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., Arrighf, 1970; Harriss & Harriss, 1984; Schmitz, 1984). Similar to the EDCC literature, works surveyed since the 1990s exhibited a diversification in development topics and increased prevalence of econometric methods—though not to the extent of EDCC.

Progress in Development Studies was the newest journal surveyed, with its first issue published in 2001. Partly due to a special issue that produced three out of six of the journal's surveyed works, its works carried a heavy emphasis on sociology and critical theory.

Studies in Comparative International Development produced a rather eclectic mix of methodological approaches in its historical works. The most distinguishing feature observed here was a responsiveness to political contexts, such as Peloso's (1972) questioning of US historiography amidst third world objections, Morrissey's (1982) history of agricultural self-

Table 5. *Some distinguishing methodological and subject features across journals*

Journal	# of works	Prominent Features	
Development and Change	17	*Methods*	Intellectual history, critical theory, in-depth case history
		Subjects	Environmental history, methodology, globalization, common property
Economic Development and Cultural Change	11	*Methods*	Intellectual history, economic history, econometrics
		Subjects	Social welfare, inequality, migration, Western history
Journal of Development Studies	12	*Methods*	In-depth case history, ethnography, comparative history, econometrics
		Subjects	Industrial development, migration, trade, institutions
Progress in Development Studies	6	*Methods*	Critical theory, sociology
		Subjects	Social theory, rural development
Studies in Comparative International Development	9	*Methods*	Intellectual history, in-depth case history, econometrics
		Subjects	Globalization, national development, political issues
Sustainable Development	5	*Methods*	In-depth case history, intellectual history
		Subjects	Sustainability, innovation, environment
Third World Quarterly	37	*Methods*	Comparative politics, in-depth case history, intellectual history
		Subjects	Political issues, cultural issues, non-Western perspectives
World Bank Economic Review	2	*Methods*	Economic history, econometrics
		Subjects	Debt crisis, child labor, policy advice
World Bank Research Observer	4	*Methods*	Economic history, econometrics
		Subjects	Hyperinflation, institutions, policy advice
World Development	33	*Methods*	Intellectual history, comparative history, ethnography, econometrics
		Subjects	Rural development, colonialism, law, environmental history, policy advice

sufficiency amidst the shift to basic needs, and Allende's (1988) history on the tension between Pinochet's neoliberal views versus incumbent Latin American attitudes toward privatization.

Sustainable Development was the second most recent journal published, dating back to 1993. Here, our survey found relatively few historical works. Common to the works that were found was a relative emphasis on innovation and technology, in addition to environmental and broader ecological perspectives (e.g., Goossens, 1997; Lybæk et al., 2013).

Third World Quarterly produced the most historical works in the survey, with a total of 37 articles. In contrast to the predominance of economics in development studies, this journal was marked for its pronounced emphasis on politics, foreign policy, and international relations. Economic issues were invariably treated in political or social contexts, with a complete absence of econometric studies. In contrast to early EDCC works, the literature here predominantly gave voice to non-Western perspectives, though Western historical views were not entirely absent (e.g., Arquilla, 2007; Watson, 2012).

The *World Bank Research Observer* and the *World Bank Economic Review* produced the fewest results despite publication since 1986. Early works provide some of the few macroeconomic and finance-oriented works surveyed here (e.g., Dooley et al., 1996; Solimano, 1990). This is perhaps of little surprise given the World Bank's historical preference for neoclassical economic methods and subject matter. More recent works, however, evidence a broadening in perspectives (e.g., Hayami, 2001; Humphries, 2003). Though few in number, these works held merit in presenting clear guidance for policy and practice.

Finally, *World Development* produced the second most number of works, with a total of 33 articles. These exhibited diverse methodological approaches, similar to *Journal of Development Studies*, though with more comparative analyses. Early volumes from the 1970s and 1980s produced relatively few historical works. However, the late 1980s mark a turning point, with historical works growing in frequency across subsequent decades. The subjects of study proved diverse, covering not only economic (e.g., trade, fiscal policy) and social issues (e.g., migration, social welfare), but also political subjects, as well (e.g., democracy, civil society). Noted here were a number of critical environmental historiographies, joining those found in *Development and Change* (e.g., Fairhead & Leach, 1995; Stump, 2010).

Though some journals seemed to favor certain subjects or approaches over others, their combined output evidences a diverse and responsive discourse, on the whole. Thus, despite the more obvious methodological conflicts between 'scientific' versus 'situated' views, the histories observed here represented an impressive breadth of epistemological orientations from across the social sciences. Accordingly, it would be another kind of failure in critical reflection to disregard such strengths and overzealously throw the baby out with the bathwater, so to speak.

(d) *What now?*

To be clear, we do not wish to pose historical self-consciousness within development studies as the next cure-all for development problems. Rather, the above arguments have attempted to illustrate history's more subtle but far-reaching benefits for development theory and practice. As argued in the history and philosophy of science, history can serve a highly complementary role in advancing theory (Chang, 2004). In particular, it can help recover overlooked ideas and lessons in development's past, while moderating theoretical dogmas and their consequent polemics. What needs to be done, then, to realize such benefits?

We thus close with two suggestions for future work. The first is further investigation to examine whether other sectors of the broader development discourse also remain similarly unengaged with the development discourse's past. Corollary to this is further consideration of the concrete ways in which development theorists, policymakers, and practitioners stand to gain from reflective histories of development thought. If history is to occupy space in the development discourse, it ought to make clear its value for neighboring efforts and its commitment to proving its worth. In this respect, the surveyed work by Woolcock et al. (2011) stands out as an exemplary step in this direction. Alongside such works as Adelman and Morris (1997), Arndt (1981), and Grampp (1972), there are a number of opportunities for continuing this conversation.

The second suggestion for future work lies in the organization of concerted historical dialog within the larger development discourse. This is an area where opportunities lie for those willing to bring together the various efforts scattered across time and disciplinary space. Some of the precedents and original researchers to constitute this specialized discourse have already been identified in this survey. Many other individuals and works exist, however, in the broader development discourse and in neighboring domains (e.g., Cooper, 2010; Cullather, 2000; Frey & Kunkel, 2011). Such efforts would need to be brought together not only in the literature, but also in person (e.g., conferences, seminars, workshops). Otherwise, past, present, and future efforts may end up lost in relative obscurity—like ships passing each other in the night.

5. CONCLUSION

Amidst a development enterprise now more than 70 years in the making and not without signs of institutional aging, we have examined here whether development learns from history. To do so, we surveyed 136 articles from 10 leading development studies journals spanning the period from 1952 to 2016. We found significant diversity and interest in historical research within this literature. Through the survey, we produced a basic typology distinguishing between descriptive historical accounts, first-order historical lessons, and second-order historiographical arguments. After reviewing each type of historical analysis, we found a very active use of history to respond to pressing issues of the times. Further, the multidisciplinary nature of these efforts produced a diversity of views and methodological approaches.

However, while the survey evidenced an active use of external histories, it did not necessarily find the same when it came to development's own. The two notable exceptions were an eclectic mix of intellectual histories of particular development ideas and the critical investigations on colonial historiography. In the overall survey, however, such works were few and far in between—though highly insightful when found. Consequently, there was little evidence of *sustained* dialog reflecting upon the broader history of the development discourse, itself. This suggests a relative unconsciousness about the myriad ways in which we have talked about and engaged with the idea of development in the past up to the present. The practical consequence of this is the risk of repeating past proposals, past mistakes, and past critiques without realizing it—a sort of institutional amnesia inhibiting the efficacy, legitimacy, and sustainability of the development endeavor.

The major disclaimer here, of course, is whether the study's findings are indeed true. Methodologically, the study can only

comment on a narrow—though influential—slice of the development discourse as it flows through leading peer-reviewed English-language journals. Further work is warranted to examine other strands in the development discourse, whether in the realm of theory, policy, or practice. If it does hold true that the development discourse remains largely unreflective of its past, then this paper calls for two actions. The first is for more in-depth investigation as to why the more historically enlightened arguments evidenced here have not garnered more attention in the past and the present. The second is for organization across past and present efforts to sustain a concerted discourse on development's own history and to provide insights for theorists, policymakers, and practitioners, alike.

A development discourse that is largely unaware of its past bodes poorly for its future. For better or worse, development is now part of twentieth-century history. If it is to be effective and sustainable in the twenty-first, then it will need to reflect upon this past in order to envision its better future. The present survey finds that it generally does not. The presence of some exceptional past works suggests that it can. A case has been made here for why it must, ultimately resting on development's efficacy and the possibility of progress.

NOTES

1. The category of 'Planning and Development' is defined by Thomson Reuters (2016) as follows: "Planning & Development is concerned with resources on the economics and social development of both underdeveloped and industrialized areas. The resources in this category focus on subjects such as economic forecasting, development studies, policy-making strategies, theories of planning, and the growth of the third world."

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The Idea of Development: A Historiographical Turn?

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Summary. — What is the history of international development? How has this history been written, and why does it matter? Addressing both theorists and policymakers, this work responds to recent calls from Woolcock, Szreter, and Rao (2011) and Park (2017) for concerted work on history in development. Our study offers three contributions: (1) a historiographical review of 20 comprehensive development histories, published between 1982–2017; (2) corollary arguments outlining the political significance of history; and (3) a research agenda for future work, alongside a historiographical database of 189 works. In all, we find a rich body of insights, evidencing a historical turn in development studies in the mid-1990s. This largely reflects the work of critical theorists responding to a development 'impasse' near the end of the Cold War. However, these contributions also evidence a fragmented and at-times polemical historiography. Consequently, we call for more organisation, synthesis, and scrutiny across disparate works to sustain a more diplomatic and inclusive historiography. Its value here lies in endowing theorists and policymakers with stronger grounds for critically *and* constructively engaging with the politics and possibility of social progress. This culminates in our study's call for a historiographical turn to lay stronger historical foundations for not just the discipline, but the entire enterprise of international development.

Key words — history, historiography, politics, social science, policy

OLD DRAFT — currently undergoing revision

1. INTRODUCTION

What is the history of international development? How has this history been written? Furthermore, what are the consequences for development theorists and policymakers? These questions are raised as part of an exercise in collective stock-taking amidst present development uncertainties. Namely, two dimensions of uncertainty are highlighted here.

First are concerns regarding global governance and twenty-first-century international order. Globalisation may have brought our lives closer together, but we do not yet seem to know *how* to live so close to one another. As citizens in the Global South have long pointed out, the ties that unite are also ties that bind. Notable in recent years, however, is the rapid and often unanticipated ways in which citizens in the West have added their voices to globalisation's discontents. Combined with the rise or return of non-Western powers, these factors spell significant changes for the geopolitical contexts of international development.

Second, this exogenous uncertainty is compounded by endogenous concerns with the social sciences underlying development theory. The turn of this century has not reflected kindly upon certain social sciences—particularly in US and European contexts. Economics is one example, with the global financial crisis and the European sovereign debt crisis kindling much scepticism in present economic mores. Political science is another, following US foreign policies behind a protracted 'war on terror', alongside domestic inequality and rising populism.

While the link between such social sciences and their concurrent social realities remains contested, it seems hard to deny evidence of growing scepticism. Notably, while critiques of social science (e.g., 'neoliberal' economics) are hardly new, recent years have seen leading members from *within* mainstream circles signal a shift in views (e.g., Ikenberry, 2017; Nye, 2017; Summers, 2016). It is of little surprise, then, that development has also been subject to much criticism. Amidst the many calls for reform, postdevelopment theorists have notably sought to dismantle the entire development enterprise for what is now the better part of three decades (e.g., Escobar, 2012[1995]; Sachs, 2010[1992]).

It is thus timely in many ways that historians have shown growing interest in development (e.g., Engerman, 2009; Gilman, 2003; Helleiner, 2014; Immerwahr 2015; Macekura 2015). To borrow a title from Cullather (2000), "Development? It's History." A question remains, then, as to whether development still holds a place in the future. Amidst such geopolitical and epistemological uncertainties, now may be a good time to revisit the past to consider development's possible futures. It is to this task that we now turn.

This study consists of three parts. First, we review *the history of international development and how it has been written*. Section 2 thus explains our approach to historiographical analysis and data selection. Section 3 presents our findings, based on 20 comprehensive histories spanning 36 editions from 1982–2017. Here, we find a rich but fragmented and at-times polemical historiography. It further indicates a historical turn in the wake of a development 'impasse' near the end of the Cold War.

Part two then asks *why development's historiography matters*. Section 4 thus illustrates how historiography shapes politics, and vice versa. Conjoined in both vicious and virtuous cycles, we find more awareness of the vicious cycles in development knowledge. To ballast this, we remind of the possibility of a more virtuous or productive politics—namely, politics as the art of the possible, and history as a means of fostering said art.

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Part three finally considers our study's practical implications. Section 5 thus mounts a call for a historiographical turn, detailing a possible research agenda and its value for theorists and both national and international policymakers. Section 6 finally concludes with an executive summary and closing remarks.

2. METHODOLOGY

(a) *Historiographical Analysis*

Let us begin by specifying what we mean by the *historiography* of international development. To be precise, 'historiography' can refer to: (i) the study of how a given body of historical work is written, and (ii) the body of historical work, itself. The term's etymology (*historia*: narrative + *graphia*: writing) offers one point of reference. In referring to the historiography of international development, we thus refer to both the body of written works on the history of development *and* the ways in which these histories have been written. Studies on development's historiography seem, as of yet, somewhat rare (see Park, 2017). We thus present our approach to historiographical analysis here in detail.

Our analysis spans the breadth from empirical findings (§3) to theoretical contexts (§4) and practical implications (§5). The empirical analysis centres on 20 comprehensive histories of international development. We disassemble these here into constituent parts. Section 3(a) *('Aims & Methods')* thus asks *why* and *how* these histories were written. Examined here are their motives, theoretical perspectives, and data sources. This is followed by the more arduous task of sifting through *what* their substantive narratives entail. Section 3(b) *('Historical Narratives')* thus considers separately the creation myths, temporal coverage, and topical scope of our histories. To this we add Section 3(c) *('Metanarratives & Morals')*. Here, we gather and compare metanarratives and moral lessons found across our sample. Finally, we cap off our empirical analysis with a consideration of collective strengths and weaknesses. Altogether, these provide the empirical foundations for our remaining analysis.

To understand the significance of our historiography, we then step back to outline the relationship between history and politics. For this, we employ a thought experiment to illustrate a basic epistemological challenge (i.e. the problem of access) and how this manifests in history and politics. When applied specifically to international development, it provides the theoretical contexts with which to evaluate the political and practical implications of our empirical results. Consequently, our analysis ends on a practical note. Taking into account its political significance, we derive a research agenda on development's historiography. Here, its value is considered from the standpoint of both development theorists and national and international policymakers.

Our historiographical analysis thus traverses multiple domains from history into theory and practice. Its breadth, however, comes at the cost of being limited to a relatively narrow sample. A caveat follows that we are only able to speak for a small segment of development's historiography. In recognition of these limits, we take effort to include sources beyond our sample in our analysis. This includes a larger historiographical database, which is shared in the appendices to highlight neglected works. Altogether, this study contributes but an additional layer to prior sketches by Woolcock, Szreter, and Rao (2017) and Park (2017) on development's history and its political and practical significance.

(b) *Building a Historiographical Database*

Having outlined our approach to historiographical analysis, we now address the issue of data selection. To classify available works, we borrow a division into journal articles, books, and grey literature used in Park (2017). This prior survey of development journal articles found relatively few self-reflective histories of development. Consequently, we steer our focus here to the book-format literature.

Our approach to compiling a historiographical database entails a somewhat unconventional mix of old and new. This is largely due to the seemingly informal state of this historiography. That is, the absence of standard terms of reference to identify our target works (i.e. histories of international development or development histories) meant that it was necessary to cast a relatively wide net.

First, a large-scale search was conducted using two online databases: *WorldCat.org* and *Google Books*. Search parameters were tailored to each to help filter out irrelevant results (see Table 1). Bibliographic records were then downloaded for the first 300 search results in each database, using freely-available web scraping tools—in this case, ParseHub for *WorldCat.org* and Mendeley for *Google Books*.

To this, we add a manually-compiled set of 158 works. This involved digital and manual *in situ* searches of physical library collections, and was conducted intermittently over three years (2014–17) and at three institutions (Univ. of Cambridge; Graduate Institute, Geneva; Seoul National Univ.). While not the most elegant solution, it proved functional nonetheless. Notably, it identified many older works (e.g., Larrain, 1989; Preston, 1982) and difficult titles (e.g., *Biography of a Subject* by Meier, 2005).

From a raw set of 758 sources, filtering for irrelevant and repeat entries produced a refined set of 388 sources. Given the volume of results, we employed strict criteria for selecting our final sample.

Table 1. *Database search parameters*

Database	Search Parameters
WorldCat.org *(retrieved 20 Mar 2017)*	Subject: *development history* Keyword: *-child -curriculum -biology* Content: *non-fiction* Format: *print book, ebook* Language: *english* Sort: *by relevance only* (31,831 results) » first **300 results** recorded
Google Books *(retrieved 20 Mar 2017)*	Boolean Search: *development AND history OR theory OR thought OR introduction -child -curriculum -biology* Search domain: *all books* Language: *english* Sort: *by relevance only* (¬7,000,000 results) » first **300 results** recorded
Library Collections *(retrieved Oct 2013 – May 2017)*	Site: *Univ. of Cambridge; Graduate Institute, Geneva; Seoul National Univ.* (digital + manual *in situ* browsing) » additional **158 results**

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First, the full book—not just a part or section—had to be dedicated to development history. This removed many textbooks, some of which are listed in Appendix A5. Second, edited volumes or compilations were removed. Some valuable works here (e.g., Cooper & Packard, 1997; Kothari, 2005; Srivatsan, 2012) are listed in Appendix A1. Third, books had to be comprehensive in temporal and topical scope. This eliminated some excellent period histories, disciplinary histories, and organisational histories, which are listed in Appendices A2–A4.

These criteria produced a final set of 20 comprehensive development histories (Table 2). They span 24 authors and 36 english-language editions, published between 1982–2017.[1] An additional 189 books are further organised in Appendices A1–A5 to inform students and assist future work.

3. THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(a) *Aims & Methods*

With our historiographical sample in hand, we can now proceed with analysis. First, *why* and *how* were these histories written? That is, what were their aims and methods?

In terms of aims, we can highlight three motivating circumstances, often found in combination. One is an *instrumental aim*, utilising the history of development as a means to observe some other domain. Williams (2012), for example, uses development history as a window into global politics and international order. Alternatively, Preston (1982) uses development history to examine the nature of social theorising. To this, we can add *pedagogical aims*. A number of histories, for example, were written as student textbooks (e.g., Greig, Hulme, & Turner, 2007; McMichael, 2017; Peet & Hartwick, 2015; Willis, 2011). In the case of at least one work, the lack of available histories was also cited as a motivating factor—a possibly disconcerting but telling claim, given the volume of prior art in our survey.[2]

Most prevalent, however, are *problem-oriented aims* responding to perceived challenges in development. These further reveal a common concern with asymmetric power relations in development theory and practice. History is thus pursued in response to development's politics, whether in the realm of historiography (e.g., Halperin, 2013), social science (e.g., Preston, 1996; Somjee, 1991), or the very structure of the development discourse, itself (e.g., Escobar, 2012; Ziai, 2016).

In terms of methods, the variety of theoretical perspectives on display reflects the multidisciplinary origins of our sample. Examples include not only intellectual history and historiography, but also discourse analysis (e.g., Pieterse, 2010; Ziai, 2016); international politics (e.g., Williams, 2012); historical materialism (e.g., Larrain, 1989), radical geography (e.g., Peet & Hartwick, 2015); and the sociology of knowledge (e.g., Preston, 1982).

Data sources, in contrast to the variety of theoretical perspectives, remain largely consistent. Works here rely heavily on past scholarly works for primary sources. This is paired with the frequent use

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Table 2. *Core set of 20 comprehensive histories of international development*

Source *(ed.)*	Book Title *(disciplinary affiliation)*
Preston, 1982	Theories of Development *(sociology)*
Larrain, 1989	Theories of Development: Capitalism, colonialism and dependency *(sociology)*
Somjee, 1991	Development Theory: Critiques and explorations *(politics)*
Hettne, 1995 *(2nd ed.)*	Development Theory and the Three Worlds: Towards an international political economy of development *(peace, development studies)*
Cowen & Shenton, 1996	Doctrines of Development *(economics, history)*
Leys, 1996b	The Rise and Fall of Development Theory *(politics)*
Preston, 1996	Development Theory: An introduction to the analysis of complex change *(sociology)*
Mason, 1997	Development and Disorder: A history of the third world since 1945 *(history)*
Greig, Hulme, & Turner, 2007	Challenging Global Inequality: Development theory and practice in the 21st century *(sociology, development studies)*
Rapley, 1997 *(3rd ed.)*	Understanding Development: Theory and practice in the Third World *(government)*
Hettne, 2009	Thinking about Development *(peace, development, global studies)*
Pieterse, 2010 *(2nd ed.)*	Development Theory: Deconstructions/reconstructions *(global studies, sociology)*
Willis, 2011 *(2nd ed.)*	Theories and Practices of Development *(geography)*
Escobar, 2012 *(new preface)*	Encountering Development: The making and unmaking of the Third World *(anthropology)*
Williams, 2012	International Development and Global Politics: History, theory and practice *(international politics)*
Halperin, 2013	Re-Envisioning Global Development: A horizontal perspective *(international relations)*
Rist, 2014 *(4th ed.)*	The History of Development: From Western origins to global faith *(anthropology)*
Peet & Hartwick, 2015 *(3rd ed.)*	Theories of Development: Contentions, arguments, alternatives *(geography)*
Ziai, 2016	Development Discourse and Global History: From colonialism to the Sustainable Development Goals *(development, postcolonial studies)*
McMichael, 2017 *(6th ed.)*	Development and Social Change: A global perspective *(development sociology)*

Note: Disciplinary affiliation based on the author's explicit statement of disciplinary affiliation in the text, the author's title (e.g., Professor of '____'), or the author's departmental affilition—in that order of priority.

of official documents (e.g., reports, resolutions, sourcebooks) from governmental and intergovernmental bodies. The UN and World Bank, in particular, garner significant attention. Beyond english-language sources, we also note the inclusion of literature from sources in *german* (Ziai, 2016), *french* (Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Rist, 2014), and *spanish* (Escobar, 2012; Larrain, 1989). A limited few made use of archival data, statistical databases, or interviews (e.g., Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Escobar, 2012; Williams, 2012).

One final observation linking these aims and methods is a heavy influence of *a priori* or pre-existing arguments in shaping consequent narratives. This is not *necessarily* a problem, as value-laden views are unavoidable to an extent. Data selection and interpretation biases are two perennial challenges in writing history—thus a general emphasis on primary sources and morally detached or diachronic views. Here, however, there are limited instances in which the strong impetus from problem-oriented aims raise concerns of historical arguments being derived from the conclusions, and less-so the other way around. To play devil's advocate, one could debatably argue for such historical hypotheses as a valid form of investigation—a scientific approach to history, so to speak.[3] However, the strong rhetoric colouring some of these works add reason for concern regarding the soundness of such arguments. This counters some of the practical merits of such problem-oriented aims—a point we will revisit later in the study.

(b) *Historical Narratives*

Following our aims and methods, what are the consequent narratives that emerge? Here, we divide our analysis to address their creation myths, temporal coverage, and topical scope.

Creation Myths

Here, we find three recurring eras—modern, ancient, and contemporary—for locating the origins of the idea of development. *Nominally*, origins are most frequently located in European or Western modernity. Two major reasons stand out here. One is the global expansion of colonialism and industrial capitalism as exogenous drivers of development. The other is development's endogenous origins in modern (or 'classical' or 'Western') social science. In combining Western industrial expansion with modern social science, development's birth is often traced to the Enlightenment in the eighteenth-century onwards. The early modern period also makes an appearance when Western colonialism and capitalism are traced back to fifteenth-century roots (e.g., Halperin, 2013; Hettne, 2009; McMichael, 2013; Willis, 2011).

A second but less-frequent reading of development's origins extends back to Antiquity. While the idea of development is often presented alongside ideas of civilisation and modernity, it is the *idea of progress* that provides an intellectual genealogy tracing back to ancient times. Here, we find clear evidence of the historiography on progress, with its standard narrative tracing modern 'Progress' back through ancient Greece and medieval christianity (e.g., Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Preston, 1996; Rist, 2014).[4]

Substantively, however, the largest volume of analysis was afforded to contemporary origins in the first half of the twentieth century. Three recurring factors can be identified here: decolonisation, US hegemony, and the Keynesian revolution.

Decolonisation provides both a precedent and a catalyst for development. As a *precedent*, development is posited as inheriting the intellectual and institutional legacies of colonialism. Examples include ideas of trusteeship (Cowen & Shenton, 1996) or Western visions in social science (e.g. Somjee, 1991).[5] As a *catalyst*, decolonisation accompanies the rise of US hegemony. For example, Escobar (2012) and Rist (2014) interpret development's semantic birth as a ploy to establish US hegemony over decolonising nations.

Tying development's birth to US hegemony (namely, Truman's Point Four speech on 20 January 1949) is a common motif in post-development theory.[6] Yet, while Escobar (2012) and Rist (2014) associate a *semantic birth* with US hegemony, they do not conflate it with the birth of development, as a whole. Indeed, colonialism plays a large part in their narratives. Only one work here attempted a hard attribution of development's birth with US hegemony (Williams, 2012). In contrast with postdevelopment views, however, US hegemony is posited here as more of a blessing than a curse.[7]

Finally, contemporary origins are also located in the Keynesian revolution following the Great Depression, with its endorsement of limited state interventions and departure from incumbent neoclassical views. Here, Keynesian economics plays a key role in the origins of development economics and in the policy regime institutionalised in the Bretton Woods system (e.g., Leys, 1996b; Preston, 1996; Rapley, 2007). It is worth noting, however, the limited and often indirect treatment of the concurrent rise of Soviet planning, despite extensive coverage of Marxism in its various forms (exceptions include Hettne, 2009; Preston, 1996).

Temporal Coverage

Following the above, starting bounds in temporal coverage range from Antiquity to the immediate postwar period. Given our selection of comprehensive histories, coverage extends virtually up to the time of publication. The distribution of analysis across this timespan, however, varies significantly (see Figure 1). Here, we can point out three types of temporal distributions, based on one of the few landmarks shared across our sample: the qualitative shift between pre- and post-1945 development.

The first type, consisting of two out of 20 works, focuses on pre-1945 contexts. Cowen and Shenton (1996) provide one account, which focuses on the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Unique in its coverage of Newman's theology in Latin America, it traces the idea of development and its capture by doctrines tied to capitalism and notions of trusteeship. Halperin (2013) provides the other. It offers a striking contribution that departs from Eurocentric conventions to attempt a view from global history. Here, the history of development and present-day globalisation is reinterpreted as but part of a much larger history of transnational capitalism.

In contrast to pre-1945 contexts, significantly more ink was spilled on post-1945, which occupied the larger part of 14 works. Highlighted here are debates between mainstream and alternative approaches (e.g., the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and dependency theory; the Washington Consensus and neoclassical economics). The 'lost decade' of the 1980s often serves as a key turning point here. Coinciding with the end of the Cold War, the decades since are also often treated in terms of the rise of neoliberalism and globalisation (often combined as 'neoliberal globalisation'). Aside from the aforementioned account by Williams (2012), however, these narratives do not entail a rejection of the modern era's significance. Rather, all give at least nominal recognition to its significance—though some in decidedly abridged form (e.g., Leys, 1996b; Rapley, 2007; Willis, 2011).

Finally, the third type of narrative in terms of temporal coverage attempts to balance treatment of both pre- and post-1945 periods. Reassuringly, three out of four of these works were written as general introductions or textbooks (Hettne, 2009; Peet & Hartwick,

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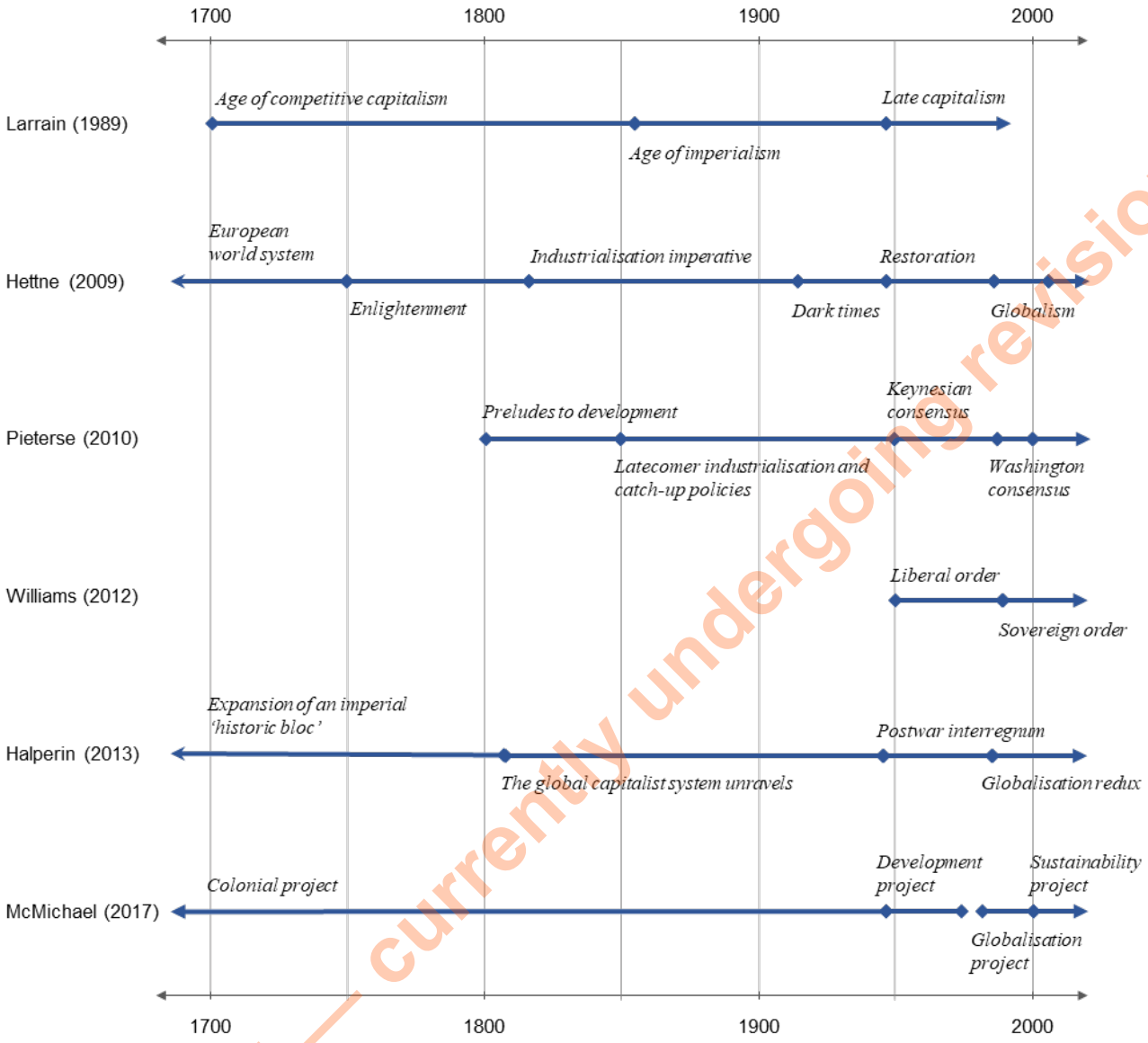

Figure 1. *Sample periodisations for structuring the history of international development*

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2015; Preston, 1996). On the whole, however, post-1945 history receives considerably more attention. A near-universal acknowledgement of pre-1945 contexts, however, may suggest an opportunity for future work (see, for example, Helleiner, 2014).

Topical Scope

Finally, what sort of subjects populate these narratives? Here, topical scope often reflects the *narrative structures* used to subdivide development's history. Namely, we highlight two such structures, distinguished here as stream- versus era-based narratives.

In *stream-based narratives*, development's history is broken down into distinct schools or streams of thought. It consequently renders a viewpoint located within development theory and oriented towards endogenous actors and their historical debates. For example, Preston (1982) traces competing views on the nature and identity of development studies in its postwar discourse (i.e. the 'positivists', 'radicals', and 'marxists'). Alternatively, Peet and Hartwick (2015) structure a narrative around the divide between 'conventional' and 'nonconventional' or 'critical' theories. Combined, these narratives offer an almost encyclopedic coverage of development theories and their affiliated social sciences.

In *era-based narratives*, development's history is broken down into distinct eras encompassing not only theory, but also policy and practice. Its viewpoint is more located outside of the development discourse looking in, and draws more attention to exogenous factors. For example, Williams (2012) conceptualises development as a project encompassing theories, practices, and institutions. These further exist within the contexts of international orders (i.e. post-1945 'sovereign' and post-1980s 'liberal' international order). The notion of a project is also employed by McMichael (2017) to narrate development's history through a succession of colonial, devel-

opment, globalisation, and sustainability projects. Here, development is illustrated as a political construct, which reflects shifts in the composition and views of its dominant actors.

That said, the distinction between *stream-* and *era-based* narratives does not entail a complete (nor perfect) set. For example, Larrain (1989) applies both in arguably equal measure by tracing development theories and debates within broader phases of capitalism. Ziai's (2016) discourse analysis is another, exhibiting aspects of both in its archaeology and genealogy of development. Ultimately, however, our surveyed narratives arrive at a similar destination in the systemic and political nature of development theory and practice—albeit from different points of view.

To this, we can add our historiography's *geographical coverage*. While works consistently cover Western history, it is often as a backdrop for non-Western counterparts. Here, significant coverage is found of Latin American history—perhaps unsurprising given the influential work of past and present Latin American scholars (see Kay, 1991). African history also appears often, with repeat cases on Ghana (Mason, 1997; Williams, 2012) and Kenya (Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Leys, 1996b; Mason 1997). South, Southeast, and East Asia receive moderate coverage—though, along with Africa, less so as a source of development thought and more so as a site of its politics. Two regions can be noted for their *relative absence*. One is Russia and Central Asia. They are often mentioned nominally in the contexts of Marxism-Leninism or the end of the Cold War, but rarely in depth. One exception is Williams (2012), which considers the geopolitical significance of the Soviet Union and Soviet aid. The second absence is the Middle East, which is overshadowed by its African and South Asian neighbours. Exceptions here can be noted in Halperin's (2013) inclusion of Middle Eastern history in its global narrative and Mason's (1997) focused coverage on Egypt, Iran, and Turkey.

(c) *Metanarratives & Morals*

Having reviewed these narratives, what sort of metanarratives can be found? By 'metanarratives', we refer here to any patterns, motifs, or essential characteristics of development underlying our histories. Further, what are the consequent morals (i.e. lessons regarding what is good or bad, right or wrong) to be found?

Metanarratives

We identify three common metanarratives in our historiography. One is development's nature as a *social construct*. Era-based narratives, for example, tie development ideas to shifting geopolitical tides. Stream-based narratives further illustrate development's normativity across time and space. This motif can also be found in the many critiques of positivist, rationalist, or scientific accounts that portray development as otherwise.

Second, is development's nature as a *space for politics*. Namely, our sample shares a common concern with how development reflects and reproduces uneven power relations. Here, politics is evidenced in multiple domains, whether in its policy space or in its underlying social sciences and historiography. Notably, these histories shed much light on the politics of knowledge often obscured by development's more overt politics.

Third is a pattern of change in development thought that is *not necessarily continuous nor constructive*. Rapley (2007), for example, explains the swing from state- to market-driven development in terms of Kuhnian paradigm shifts in social science. Pieterse (2010) similarly depicts a 'zigzag' pattern in development theory over time. Hettne (1995) also references Kuhn, but from a slightly different angle. Unlike paradigm shifts that replace each other in the natural sciences, development theory entails a growing and increasingly contradiction-ridden mass of 'social science sects'. Borrowing from Foucault, Ziai (2016) further reveals similarities beneath the more superficial differences in colonial and development discourses. The development discourse can give off the appearance of progress, but with very little structural change. Thus, development is not nearly as straightforward nor as obvious as its semantic familiarity may suggest.

Morals

Consequently, our histories provide a number of morals to their stories. Following from their metanarratives, all promote the need to see development as a social and political construct. Further, all recognise past failures and present problems in development. Half of our works end here on a range of optimistic (e.g., McMichael, 2017) to bitter notes (e.g., Mason, 1997). The other half, however, offer further morals, which hinge on the purported *redeemability* versus *irredeemability* of development.

On the side of development's *redeemability*, eight works offer proposals for reform. These entail alternatives to structuring development knowledge, such as 'ethnodevelopment' (Somjee, 1991); 'critical modernism' (Peet & Hartwick, 2015); 'critical globalism' (Pieterse, 2010); or a form of integrated historical social science (Hettne, 1995, 2009). That said, not all lessons were compatible. For example, Halperin (2013) promotes the importance of the state amidst global capitalism—the same contexts in which Cowen and Shenton (1996) point to the state as a frequent source of failure. In another, Somjee (1991) seeks to rid development of Western social science, whereas Preston (1996) finds value to be recovered in its more classical forms. Ultimately, however, development is possible. The question is how.

Conversely, for those asserting development's *irredeemability*, development is itself the problem and dismantlement the cure. This is argued in our two postdevelopment histories (Escobar, 2012; Rist, 2014).[8] Here, development is viewed as irrecoverably tainted by hegemonic politics. In consecutive editions, Rist (2014) provides updated remarks on how history has continued to expose development's failures and unfounded faith. In a new preface, Escobar (2012) thus offers 'pluriversal studies' as an alternative to development. A new field that departs from academic precedents, it fosters a mutually-beneficial co-existence or 'pluriverse'. The extent to which this substantively differs from aforementioned calls for critical or multiple modernities, however, remains yet to be seen.

(d) *Summary: Strengths & Weaknesses*

We now rewind to our starting point: what is the history of international development, and how has it been written? We conclude with a consideration of collective strengths and weaknesses.

We first highlight strengths to be found in a *proactive* and *problem-oriented* set of histories. This is particularly pronounced in the many attempts to grapple with development's politics amidst post-Cold War capitalism, neoliberalism, and globalisation. Further evidence of these characteristics emerge upon taking a look at our sample's publication history (Figure 2). The *first editions* of our 20 histories were published between 1982–2016. Of these, 40% were published in the three years spanning 1995–7. In addition to the problems of capitalism, many of these works explicitly respond to

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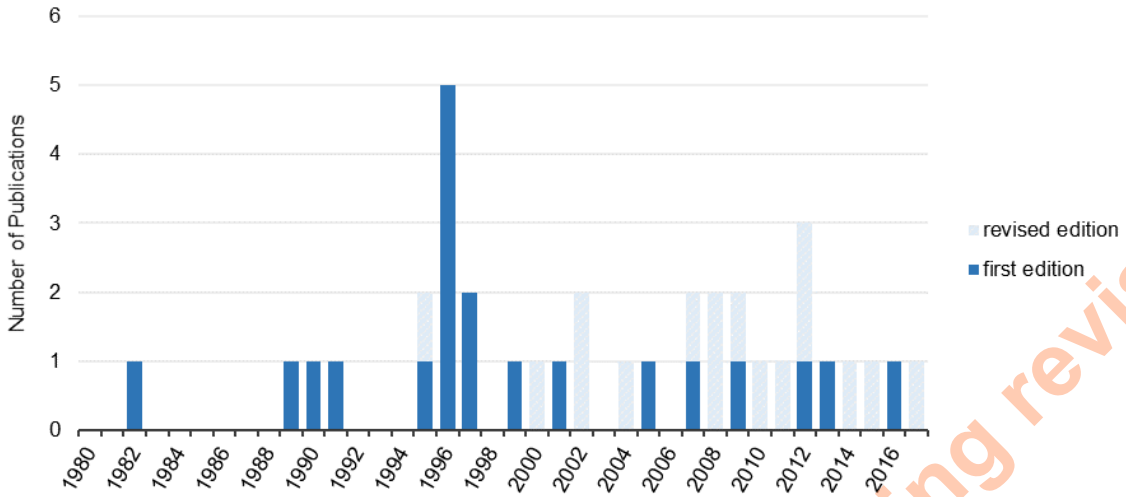

Figure 2. *Publication history of our sample of 20 histories (36 editions, when counting Escobar (2012) as a separate edition)*

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an *impasse in development theory*. This impasse refers to the implosion of marxist-inspired solutions, signaled by Booth's (1985) seminal work.[9] Highlighting their fatal teleological premises, it marks the decline of one major front in development thought (e.g., neomarxism, dependency theory, development sociology) and the start of a renewed search for another. Further, this historiographical response to the development impasse has arguably been sustained since the mid-1990s. Authors have remained committed to updating these histories, with 15 of the 22 volumes published since 2000 entailing revised editions. Consequently, we posit here the existence of a *historical turn* in development studies in the mid-1990s, in the wake of the development impasse and the Cold War.

As a result of this proactive and problem-oriented historiography, we consequently find a rich body of historical views. Some of the many dimensions of their similarities and differences have been unpacked in our preceding analysis. The ensuing variety certainly draws from their multidisciplinary origins. Standpoints include those from anthropology, economics, geography, history, politics, and sociology (see Table 2). Collectively, they offer kaleidoscopic views of the history of development. This rich body of views further extends beyond the more tangible or readily-apparent problems of development. In questioning the very nature of development, itself, these histories throw open the door to much deeper issues in the politics of development knowledge and in the history and philosophy of social science. In doing so, this historiography recovers a fundamental dilemma in international development. Namely, *how does one define and realise development amidst our global diversity and political constraints?*

Conversely, we contrast these strengths with two weaknesses in a *fragmented* and *at-times polemical* historiography. In terms of fragmentation, two prior hints were mentioned in the lack of common terms of reference when compiling this historiography and in Williams' (2012) claim of a lack of prior art (see endnote [2]). To take a closer look, we consider relative influence and mutual awareness across our sample, as proxied through citation counts and cross-referencing patterns (see Table 3). Here, we find evidence of fragmentation across disciplinary lines.

Works from the postdevelopment anthropologists Escobar (2012) and Rist (2014) prove to be two of the most influential works. These rank first and third, respectively, in citation counts, and are tied for first in terms of the frequency in which they are cross-referenced within our sample.

On the opposite end is the relative neglect of works from politics and international relations (Halperin, 2013; Leys, 1996b; Rapley, 2007; Somjee, 1991; Williams, 2012). Outside of Leys (1996b), who had contributed to discussions on the development impasse,

Table 3. *Indicators of relative influence*

Source	# citations	# editions	Cited	Cited by
Preston, 1982	105	1	–	16%
Larrain, 1989	467	1	0%	28%
Somjee, 1991	24	1	0%	6%
Hettne, 1995	1,091	2	33%	53%
Cowen & Shenton, 1996	1,355	1	40%	46%
Leys, 1996b	1,088	1	40%	31%
Preston, 1996	431	1	40%	31%
Mason, 1997	70	1	40%	8%
Greig, Hulme, & Turner, 2007	206	1	53%	10%
Rapley, 2007	536	3	20%	8%
Hettne, 2009	81	1	31%	0%
Pieterse, 2010	1,182	2	63%	18%
Willis, 2011	479	2	38%	0%
Escobar, 2012	10,439	2*	0%	67%
Williams, 2012	23	1	0%	0%
Halperin, 2013	17	1	28%	0%
Rist, 2014	2,097	4	11%	67%
Peet & Hartwick, 2015	1,194	3	11%	33%
Ziai, 2016	22	1	32%	0%
McMichael, 2017	2,376	6	21%	25%

Note: Citation counts include all english-language editions; retrieved from Google Scholar, 13 Jul 2017. 'Cited' indicates the percentage of other sampled works cross-referenced by a given source. 'Cited by' indicates the percentage of other sampled works that cross-referenced given said source. Percentages are based on works published before and after the given source, respectively. *Escobar (2012) is a reprint of its first edition with a new preface.

the other four works garnered few cross-references within our sample.[10] This is somewhat surprising, given the prevailing focus on politics in our sample. Regardless of one's moral persuasions, works here offer valuable contributions, whether in Halperin's (2013) re-contextualisation of development in world history or in Williams' (2012) comparatively rare arguments for US hegemony.

To anthropology and politics, we can add the many works associated with sociology (Grieg, Hulme, & Turner, 2007; Larrain, 1989; McMichael, 2017; Pieterse, 2010; Preston, 1982, 1996). This presence can be linked, at least in part, to the role of development sociologists in the aforementioned impasse. Our two earliest histories both stem from the sociology of development (Preston, 1982; Larrain, 1989). To this, we add the most recent history in our study (McMichael, 2017), which holds the most number of editions and the second-highest number of citations. Its influence within our historiography, however, is comparatively low. It ranks ninth out of 20 in terms of being cited by fellow works and, conversely, twelfth in terms of citing others. All combined, these works also serve as a reminder of the very existence and historical significance of the 'sociology of development' as a distinct field, which continues to this day—albeit in reduced form (see Figure 3).

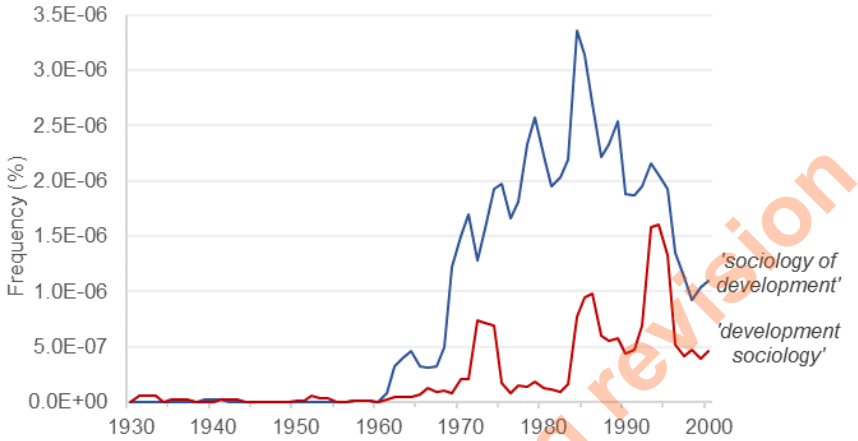

Figure 3. *Historical use of the terms 'sociology of development' and 'development sociology' in english-language publications, worldwide. Source: Google Ngram Viewer (2012 index), smoothing factor = 1 (moving three-year averages), retrieved 27 July 2017.*

From economics, we only find one contributing author (Cowen from Cowen & Shenton, 1996). In contrast to this absence from our comprehensive histories, we find excellent works more narrowly focused on the history of economic thought (see Appendix A2). This includes authoritative works from the likes Arndt (1978, 1981, 1987) and Meier (1987, 1994, 2005). While there have been fierce territorial debates on whether development belongs to economics or whether economics belongs as but one facet to development, it is worth noting that not *all* economists (even mainstream ones) spurn their disciplinary counterparts. For example, Arndt (1987) explicitly points out the existence and need to include the politics and sociology of development in the history of development thought.[11] That said, the fact that such efforts ultimately arose from outside of economics, at least within our survey, is also telling.

Consequently, the similar problems and metanarratives observed in our survey seem to arise more from a broader zeitgeist in post-Cold War development thought and less from a coordinated attempt to grapple with a common set of issues. Thus, shared starting points diverge into a wide variety of views. In this sense, Hettne's (1995) description of 'social science sects' might be appropriate not only for development theory, but also for its historiography, as well. With only two historians (Shenton and Mason) in our 24 authors, our sample indeed reflects more development theorists exploring history, and less historians exploring development theory. That this historiography reflects development's disciplinary divides, then, is of little surprise.

Our second concern lies in an *at-times polemical* historiography. Specifically, we refer to polemics in the occasional but insistent arguments adhering to particular historical interpretations and moral conclusions—often with the aid of rhetoric. This is unfortunate, given that the strength of the original arguments are often provocative in their own right. For example, Escobar (2012) provides valuable insights on the role of science in the development discourse. It is seminal in establishing a space for post-structuralist views of development. However, arguments here are sometimes couched in a rhetoric that, while emotionally gratifying, may uphold more reductionist and less nuanced views (see endnote for sample passages).[12] This is hardly to suggest the absence of strong reasons. Indeed, many of its arguments raise important critiques that expose deeper, more structural problems in development. However, the addition of unnecessary polemics introduces a risk of over-extending sound arguments into more provocative but self-undermining ones.

Rist (2014) provides another example, which points out the role of an unfounded faith—particularly in economics—in development. The frustration colouring some of these arguments provide some indication of the author's times (see endnote for sample passages).[13] However, it may also do the author's own arguments a disservice in unnecessarily committing to reductionist views of development (e.g., straw man fallacies). This is not limited to postdevelopment views. For example, Peet and Hartwick (2015) hold an insistence on a moral imperative to pursue development. This further extends into arguments for democratic socialism as providing the only reasonable route (see endnote for sample passages).[14]

Beyond a tendency towards reductionism, the use of such polemical arguments also result in narratives that reflect present politics more than the past. Entailing synchronic (versus diachronic) histories, this produces a hazard in which one "sees relations where they are not and does not notice them where they are" (Grampp, 1972, p. 542). In the absence of historiographical scrutiny, such works may thus offer ways of framing development that are expedient in the present, but ultimately misleading and self-undermining in the long run. Thus, our rich but fragmented works produced in the *historical turn* observed here warrant a *historiographical turn* to better organise, scrutinise, and build on past contributions. Thus concludes part one of our study. To illustrate the significance of these findings, we now take a detour into more theoretical terrain to draw the relationship between history and politics.

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4. THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

What is the significance of our empirical findings? Why does development's historiography matter? For part two of our study, we take a step back to consider the nature and role of history in broader context. We begin with a thought experiment to derive one possible conception of history and politics.[15]

(a) *History & Politics: A Primer*

Just what is it that we refer to when we speak of history? Moreover, what role does history play, and in what manner is it political? To answer, we delve briefly into philosophy to derive a conception of history at the most general level. We shall begin with a blank slate, or what Hegel might call 'presuppositionless beginnings', as our point of departure (Pinkard, 1994).

1. Blank slate; presuppositionless beginnings

We start in a state of full-blown scepticism, in which one no longer holds confidence in any claim to knowledge—only the lack thereof (i.e. global or epistemological scepticism). The dissolution of certainty helps clear away extraneous preconceptions and provides a useful point of departure. This lack of knowledge or certainty, however, leaves us in a self-annihilating (and rather unhappy) state. One possible way out of this quandary is to start by recovering the existence of oneself—a step made famous by Descartes's *cogito ergo sum* ('I think, therefore I am').

2. Recovery of the self; the subjective-objective distinction

Thus, we posit the existence of oneself, as evidenced by one's thoughts. By correlation, we can also posit a category of things that exist independent of said self and said thoughts. We refer to these two categories or domains as the subjective and objective realms, respectively. We will also refer to them more colloquially as internal and external realms. This subjective-objective distinction provides the categories with which to then enunciate a consequent problem.

3. Problem of access; our knowledge of the external world

While we claim to know of the existence of oneself, what can we know of the external world? For a classic example, consider any nearby tables or chairs. From different angles and under different lights, they take on different appearances. What, then, defines the essence of said objects? Can one prove whether a chair exists independent of oneself, or whether it is but a projection of one's mind (e.g., Russell's realism, Berkeley's idealism)? Whether in Kant's noumenal realm or Zhongyi's butterfly dream, our knowledge of reality has remained a persistent problem of philosophy. In this mystery that is human existence, we arrive at a *problem of access*. Our knowledge of this existence remains limited by the lack of direct or unmediated access between our internal and external worlds.

4. Introduction of time; distinctions of past, present, future

We now extend this problem of access and its subjective-objective distinction to the dimension of time. Just as one's knowledge of the external world is limited by one's subjective perceptions, so too is one's knowledge of the past and future further limited by one's location in the present. One's present location, of course, is constantly changing. However, presents that have passed will irrecoverably remain in said past, so long as we are not able to travel through time. The problem of access can thus manifest as a problem of history, as well.

5. Problem of history; our knowledge of the past

History, here, entails both the pursuit and the resulting body of knowledge regarding the past. In the problem of history, the problem of access is compounded by one's restriction to only one point in time. In having to thus rely on incomplete traces of the past, the task of historical reconstruction remains a decidedly imperfect affair. Imperfection, however, does not doom history as an exercise in futility. On the contrary, it is *due* to this imperfection that the pursuit of history becomes all the more necessary—for history's significance lies not only in the past.

6. Present significance; history as a wellspring of identity

To understand history's role in the present, we recall our earlier recovery of the self. Here, we expand the notion of 'self' into the more general notion of 'identity'. Whether individual or shared, an identity entails notions of what one is, what one is not, and one's relative place in the world. As a constantly-renewing source of such knowledge, history serves as a wellspring of identity. Each identity, whether individual or shared, pulls from history its own historiography and its consequent historical worldview. This endows a particular way of framing one's present circumstances and future actions. However, history's problem of access means that identity's historiographical grounds are not infallible. History thus offers a means of shaping identity, including that of others. And it is in the context of 'others' that we finally arrive at politics' front door.

7. Problem of politics; the struggle for recognition

We now introduce politics. Here, politics entails competing demands between co-existing identities, whether individual or social. Beyond its more immediate forms (e.g., office politics, national elections), politics can be traced to more fundamental demands for existential security and control. We can thus also describe it as a struggle for recognition, which can manifest in both psychological and physical or material forms. Examples include Hegel's master-slave dialectic, Marx's class struggle, or Lenin's *kto kovo?* ('who, whom?' or 'who will overtake whom?'). Amidst this struggle for recognition, it is identity which forms our linchpin between history and politics.

8. History and politics; a cyclical, two-way relationship

We finally arrive at the juncture between history and politics. What does our knowledge of the past have to do with our demands for security and control? We offer two answers. First, *historical knowledge shapes politics*. By shaping identity and its worldviews, history shapes consequent political demands and their justifications. In some cases, political conflicts explicitly boil down into historiographical ones (e.g., disputes over war crimes or territorial claims). A powerful way to control the emergence and outcome of political conflicts, then, is to control historiography, itself. Accordingly, *politics also shapes historical knowledge*. For example, Zinn (1980) points to a self-reinforcing historiography in the US that upholds its tolerant and liberal origins while downplaying a long history of racism and violence. Politics can also shape history in more direct

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ways, whether in explicit censorship under state control or in history reform in the wake of a civil war. It is thus *due to* and *not in spite of* history's capacity to mediate politics that it consequently renders a powerful mode of political control.

Accordingly, the relationship between history and politics runs both ways. History shapes politics in influencing and mediating its demands. Politics shapes history in regulating memory as a means of control. In more vicious cycles, history can be captured to serve particular political interests. In more virtuous forms, however, politics can foster more critical views of the past, which can then more reliably identify and realise future possibilities.

(b) *The History and Politics of Development*

We now return to the specific contexts of international development. How does our general relationship between history and politics apply? Here, we point out three implications before reintroducing our empirical findings.

First, this general relationship puts into relief *the sheer magnitude of the development endeavor*. Namely, we invoke here problems of access, history, and politics at a global scale. To attempt development at an international or even national level thus incurs significant historiographical and political burdens. Development thus entails significant challenges in grappling with international history, international politics, and arguably global ethics.

Second, our general relationship points to the existence of *two domains of development politics*. One is development's more overt politics, which address matters already perceived to be political in nature. This includes, for example, matters regarding governance, civil society, or foreign aid. Beneath this, however, lies a more obscured domain in the politics of development knowledge. Politics here entails competing knowledge claims, whether regarding the nature of development, its history, or human nature, itself. In development, this can extend across both interdisciplinary dimensions and international ones.

Third, our general relationship further opens up the possibility of *two concepts of politics*. One is the politics of violence, oppression, and a *zero-sum game*—what we will call its negative or destructive form. Here, this entails vicious cycles wherein politics captures history for oppressive ends. The other is the politics of diplomacy or the *art of the possible*—what we will call a positive or productive form. This speaks to the possibility of history enhancing politics by promoting mutual understanding and the political imagination in a more virtuous cycle. With these aspects of the history and politics of development in mind, we revisit our empirical findings to consider the political significance of our results.

When it comes to the magnitude of the development endeavor, our sample is consistent in upholding its sheer scale. In light of our selection of comprehensive histories, these entail big-picture views that adopt more of a *long durée* than a microhistory approach. This enables views into the larger systemic nature of development and its structural issues across time.

When it comes to the two domains of development politics, we find strong coverage of both. Era-based narratives excel at highlighting development's more overt politics, including its exogenous and geopolitical factors. Stream-based narratives, on the other hand, excel at addressing the politics of development knowledge. Indeed, one of our sample's key strengths lies in the many ways in which these histories shed light on this more-often obscured domain. Tangentially, many of these works thus also present valuable findings for the history and philosophy of social science.

Ironically, however, there was much less discussion on their own political role in development's contemporary historiography. To recall, historiography is also a space for politics. These histories can thus be seen as attempts to shape perceptions of development's past—and consequently, its present and future. As Orwell (1950, p. 248) writes, "Who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past." Yet, while critiques of Eurocentric historiography abound, there is less coverage of development's many contemporaneous accounts. This leads us to ask, if history is watching politics, then who is watching history? Without historiographical oversight, our knowledge of development's past also risks undue political influence or capture.

Finally, when it comes to the two concepts of politics, we see a clear emphasis on a negative history of oppression and violence. Still, positive aspects frequently remain in the possibility of 'true' development, to borrow from Cowen and Shenton (1996). However, the dominant influence of more polemical accounts raises concerns of whether they might overshadow other constructive attempts amidst a fragmented historiography. If so, then an important and pragmatic side of politics may be lost. We thus remind of politics as a source of not only oppression and inefficiency, but also as a challenge of charting new possibilities in the face of perpetual constraints and imperfect choices.

(c) *Summary: History, Politics, Progress*

History is political. We have attempted to illustrate this here at the most general level, in outlining their two-way relationship. In grounding identity and its historical worldview, history frames politics and its struggle for recognition. As a source of identity and its ensuing demands, however, history also offers a mode for political control. Consequently, politics also influences history, given that the production of historical knowledge is also situated in political space. The resulting ties can thus produce both vicious and virtuous cycles in how history shapes politics, and vice versa.

When applied to international development, this puts into relief the scale of development as a historically- and politically-charged endeavor. It also highlights two domains of development politics and two concepts of politics, itself. In these contexts, our sample stands out for its valuable contributions in documenting development's grand scale and its internal politics of knowledge. However, concerns arise in the unchecked and at-times polemical ways in which history is used to further political ends in our historiography.

Consequently, there is a need to reflect on not just development's history, but also the way in which we go about writing it. Amidst its problem of access, history is also subject to interpretation and political control. History, after all, is swayed by the same waves of normativity and politics that permeate development and the social sciences. It is thus that we call for a historiographical turn in light of development historiography's role in framing the politics and possibility of social progress—whether by development or by any other means.

5. A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TURN?

We thus arrive at the third and final part of our study. Here, we expand on the practical implications of our preceding arguments. Considerations are divided into a proposed research agenda towards a more diplomatic and inclusive historiography and its significance for development theorists and policymakers.

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(a) *A Research Agenda*

Having now made repeated calls for a historiographical turn, what exactly does this turn entail? Here, we specify this turn in terms of a more diplomatic and inclusive development historiography. Three concrete opportunities are offered for bringing about such a turn.

Opportunity #1: Bridging across past and present works

One is in bridging across interdisciplinary and international divides. The rich diversity in our historiography offers little value if absent of a cross-communication or cross-pollination of results. This is put into further relief when considering that our sample only constitutes one of five pockets of work that we are aware of in development's broader historiography.

A *second pocket* lies in the burgeoning works coming from the broad field of international history—particularly, since the 2000s (see Appendix A3). Some of these are already well-known and well-received in development studies (e.g., Gilman, 2003), but the pace of recent contributions (e.g., Borowy, 2014; Helleiner, 2014; Immerwahr, 2015; Macekura, 2015) means that much has likely yet to make its way over to development audiences.

A third pocket lies in the prolific works that emerged from the United Nations Intellectual History Project (UNIHP), which ran from 1999 to 2010. This encompasses 17 volumes and 79 in-depth interviews (all transcribed) with key figures in UN history. These present a wealth of historical data on development's intellectual history and its surrounding politics, as witnessed from the UN.

A *fourth pocket* lies in what can arguably be seen as prior historical turn in development studies in the 1970s and 80s. Circumstances here include the end of the Bretton Woods system in 1971, the oil crisis and US withdrawal from the Vietnam War in 1973, and the call for a new international economic order (NIEO) in 1974. One strand can be found on the demise of development economics (e.g., "The birth, life and death of development economics," Seers, 1979; "The rise and decline of development economics," Hirschman, 1981; *The poverty of 'development economics,'* Lal, 1983). To these, we add the World Banks' valuable two-volume series on *Pioneers in Development* (Seers & Meier, 1984; Meier, 1987). Beyond economics, we also find prescient development histories centred on US political science and foreign aid (e.g., Packenham, 1973; Wood, 1986).

Finally, our *fifth pocket* is somewhat deceptive, as it entails less a pocket and more a portal into further worlds. Echoing Arndt (1987), we point to the international bridges that need to be laid in referencing non-Western historiographies (see endnote [12]). As argued in our sample, international development rests on an international history that largely reflects Western historical worldviews. It only follows, then, that a more inclusive and accurate global historiography requires the inclusion of missing historical perspectives. Doing so may carry the added benefit of addressing some of the whitespaces in our historiography, detailed below.

Opportunity #2: Whitespaces in development historiography

Our second opportunity thus lies in the whitespaces or blindspots observed in historical coverage. We point to three areas here.

One is the conspicuous absence of Soviet and Third World development thought. Indeed, one might wonder whether significant or novel forms of Soviet or Third World development thought had even existed. However, the notable exception of Latin America points to the possibility of otherwise, in addition to scattered mentions of the Bandung Conference, Tanzanian *ujamaa*, or the NIEO. This may indeed be an area that international historians are already working on, with two known works on Soviet-Third World aid forthcoming *(Engerman, 2018; Iandolo, to be announced)*.

A second absence is in in-depth coverage of pre-Cold War historical contexts. While almost all of our sampled works acknowledge the significance of pre-1945 contexts, only six of our 20 address the period in depth. However, notable works, such as Halperin's (2013) global development history or Helleiner's (2014) re-evaluation of development's Bretton Woods origins, point to insights to be gained from looking further back

A final absence can be found amidst not the historical subjects, but rather amidst our *de facto* historians, themselves. Our sample attests to the influence of the author's background on their consequent narratives. For example, Larrain (1989) provides our sample's most nuanced analysis of Latin American dependency theory, while Somjee (1991) explicitly addresses the intellectual contributions of 'development expatriates'.[16] Absent, however, are authors based outside of Western academia. The same can be said of gender, with only two women among our 24 authors. One (Hartwick) writes the history of gender and development in a larger work (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). The other provides the most historiographically-engaged narrative in our sample (Halperin, 2013). There are obvious reasons for why this is (e.g., language selection bias, historical precedents). However, if our sample provides any indication, then, the inclusion of more representative viewpoints is something that would be not only necessary, but also most welcomed.

Opportunity #3: Establishing a diplomatic space

Our first two opportunities speak to the need for a more inclusive historiography. Realistically, however, such interdisciplinary and international engagement requires a diplomatic space for communication and co-existence to take place. Accordingly, we highlight here the need to organise formal standards and forums for exchange. Formal standards can range from common terms of reference to methodological standards in order to enable interdisciplinary communication without the perils of talking past on another. Realising such standards, however, may first require forums for organising present efforts on development's historiography.

We can point to a few examples moving in this direction. One is in interdisciplinary gatherings, such as a recent conference on the history of development convened at the new Center for the History of Global Development at Shanghai University or a recent seminar series on 'Contested Histories of International Development' convened at the University of Cambridge. Given the explicit political origins and ends of this historiography, we also point to the need to bridge the theory-practice divide. Examples here include the aforementioned UN Intellectual History Project or the forums convened by the Academic Council on the UN System (ACUNS). Given the international and interdisciplinary scope of development's history, such forums may provide an important space for communication, association, and critique.

(b) *Value for Development Theorists*

What do development theorists have to gain from this historiographical turn? Aside from the general arguments above, we highlight two specific benefits.

The first is in history's contributions to theory-construction and testing. One means is through the supply of more comprehensive

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and accurate empirical data for theory-testing or validation. Historical narratives and their insights may further offer valuable origins for these theories, themselves. Development history may also provide grounds for closer engagement with development practice. In pulling information from the policymaker or practitioner's standpoint, it fosters grounded theories that may ultimately prove more effective in practice. Paul Streeten, for example, comments on some of the differences in how policy and academia operate, noting that "Practical men reach agreement by blurring distinctions, academics by sharpening them" (Jolly & Streeten, 2001, p. 127).[17] Better knowledge of development theory's operational realities may foster more ideas that come to matter amidst the challenges of their day.

The second is in addressing fundamental issues in development theory. As argued prior, development's history opens the door to all sorts of deeper questions in the history and philosophy of international development and social science. In examining development theory over time, history aids in the identification and resolution of its more structural problems. As many of our sampled histories argue, these problems often entail the structure of social science, itself. Development's history thus offers insights into disciplinary reforms. As hinted in the introduction, these are reforms that may already be underway in development's adjacent social sciences, such as the historiographical turn underway in international relations (see Bell, 2001). Thus, Park (2017), in referencing Chang (2004), points out the highly complementary role history can play for development theory and the social sciences. If our sampled histories are to be believed, such reforms in development theory are long overdue.

(c) *Value for Development Policymakers*

What, then, do development policymakers have to gain from a historiographical turn? Here, we divide our considerations in recognition of the differing priorities between international and national development policymakers.

For International Policymakers

In practice, development's history offers a sort of historical map or guidebook into the operations of development's policy space and its possible trajectories. For international policymakers, then, a challenge lies in attempting to design or architect a more optimal state or set of rules for development. This extends to the possible reform of international organisations, themselves—a driver behind the UN Intellectual History Project, for example.

Our treatment of history also offers a general reminder of history as a space for international politics and diplomacy. A wider recognition of non-Western historical worldviews directly aids a mutual understanding that can help pinpoint and resolve political conflicts. As argued, for example, political conflicts sometimes boil down into historiographical ones. In promoting mutual understanding, a historiographical turn thus offers more fertile grounds for realising the possibility of a more multipolar and sustainable future in a complex and interconnected world.

For National Policymakers

For national development policymakers, the same mapping function of history can reveal the rules of the international development game and how best to play. Given the critical views of social science, it may also provide a more nuanced understanding to judge how to make best use of such theories to inform policy decisions. In calling for a more diplomatic and inclusive historiography, this turn further offers an opportunity to promote mutual understanding through the recognition of one's own historical worldviews. As history serves a role in grounding political legitimacy, greater recognition of different historical views may enable a more productive and less destructive development politics.

Altogether, a historiographical turn may enable more political agency for those attempting to realise development. While history unveils the many constraints faced by developing countries, it is *due to* and not *in spite of* said constraints that increased agency becomes possible. Knowledge is power, and it is in first having an accurate knowledge of one's constraints that an attempt towards creative solution then becomes profitable. This not to justify the present state of affairs, but rather to highlight the consequent value of a pragmatic response (i.e., playing the development game). A better understanding of development's history may thus promote a 'polyvalent' use of the development discourse, to borrow from Ziai (2016). Thus, development may entail a history of oppression, but it can also serve as a source of empowerment. More eloquently put by the late UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld (1964, p. 63): *"We are not permitted to choose the frame of our destiny. But what we put into it is ours."*

6. CONCLUSION

Having trespassed through a number of domains, we finally take a step back to provide an executive summary of our findings. We summarise in the following eight points:

1. *Part one of our study* examined the history of international development and how it has been written. Our core analysis relies on 20 comprehensive development histories, spanning 36 editions from 1982–2017. We also reference a historiographical database of a further 189 works, which is shared in the appendices.
2. Our main empirical results point to the existence of a very rich but fragmented and at-times polemical historiography. Works share a common concern with asymmetric power relations in development, but can differ markedly in their moral conclusions regarding the redeemability or irredeemability of development.
3. Our sample further evidences a historical turn in development studies in the mid-1990s, in response to an impasse in development theory near the end of the Cold War.
4. *Part two of our study* then asked why development's historiography matters. Here, we emphasise that the way in which we write development's history carries political consequences in shaping the way we frame development's present and future. Consequently, history, itself, can become a target for political control.
5. Our sample excels in illustrating said politics, with particular emphasis on the role of Western historiography and social science in the politics of development knowledge. However, reflection on the collective political role of our sample's contemporary historiography, itself, is lacking.
6. Amidst a rich but fragmented historiography, the dominant influence of more polemical narratives thus raises concerns of whether history is being used effectively to ground a productive political discourse—regardless of whether this entails development's dismantlement or reform.
7. *Part three of our study* finally addressed practical implications with a call for a historiographical turn towards a more diplomatic and inclusive historiography. Concrete opportunities are identified

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in bridging disparate pockets of work, filling gaps in the historical record, and establishing a diplomatic space for organising and overseeing historical research.

8. We end by highlighting the practical benefits. For theorists, we point to benefits for theory construction, practical application, and disciplinary reform. For international policymakers, we point to benefits for institutional design and reform, along with an expanded space for diplomacy. For national policymakers, we point to benefits for promoting political agency through historiographical representation and through more accurate knowledge of development's policy space, its constraints, and its possible trajectories.

To close with some final remarks, history matters for development theory and policy, to echo Woolcock, Szreter, and Rao (2017). Considered alongside the findings of Park (2017), we argue that there is a problem with the present state of development history. Namely, we highlight a rich historiography that may be held back by its fragmentation. Along with its more influential polemics, this may entail poor grounds for productive engagement with development's politics.

Our call for a historiographical turn, then, entails an acknowledgement and embrace of development's inescapable politics—and of history's role in mediating it. Such a history does not ensure against political ills or future development failures. When it comes to human society, we are loathe to suggest that such solutions or political cures even exist. "Out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing was ever made," as Isaiah Berlin often quotes from Kant (Berlin, 1997, p. 16). Amidst present uncertainties, however, what a more diplomatic and inclusive historiography *can* do is to illuminate politics and its unfolding possibilities for realising social progress amidst an imperfect but ever-changing world. Marx was wrong to claim that philosophers have only interpreted the world without changing it. Interpretation *itself* is a powerful mode of change—and historiography is one place where it starts.

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[1] Escobar (2012) is a reprint of its 1995 first edition with a new preface, but will generally be counted as a separate edition here. In addition to these 36 editions, we can point out three others. Rist (2014) was originally published in french in 1996. Its first english-language edition was published in 1997. Peet & Hartwick (2015) was originally intended as a revision of an earlier work (Peet, 1991), but entailed enough changes to warrant publication as a new title. The same applies to Greig, Hulme, and Turner (2007), which was originally intended as a revision of Hulme and Turner (1990).

[2] From Williams (2012, p.4): "Many contemporary books on international development have a summary chapter on what happened in the post-1945 period, but almost all books written on the subject are focused on the contemporary period, roughly from the rise of neoliberalism during the 1980s. This book takes as a starting point the view that a more thorough historical approach is necessary for several related reasons."

[3] Indeed, there have been many attempts to argue for history as a form of science. In the UK, for example, some early 20th century historians—in following the intellectual fashions of the times—argued for a realist approach to historical studies. This includes the Cambridge historian J.B. Bury, who wrote what is arguably *the* seminal work in the historiography on the idea of progress (Bury, 1920). Bury, of course, was opposed by contemporaneous historians with more idealist inclinations, such as Oxford historian and philosopher R.G. Collingwood, who derided the methods of 'scissors-and-paste' history (Collingwood, 1939, p.82). The particulars of this historical and philosophical minefield, however, fall comfortably beyond the boundaries of this present work.

[4] Rist (2014), for example, heavily references Nisbet (1969); see Chapter 2, footnote 1. Other works cited from the historiography of the idea of progress include Bury (1920), Nisbet (1980), Passmore (1970), and Pollard (1968).

[5] As an aside, this is also a common theme in the literature outside our core sample. Meier (2005), for example, points out the lineage of development studies at Oxford from 'colonial studies' to 'commonwealth studies' and then 'development studies'. Richard Jolly also points out—in personal recollections of African decolonisation—that "many colonials [colonial officers] simply re-treaded themselves as technical assistance experts" when their jobs suddenly disappeared in the early 1960s (Weiss & Jolly, 2005, p. 27).

[6] Two examples from the classic postdevelopment volume, *The Development Dictionary,* are as follows:

"We propose to call the age of development that particular historical period which began on 20 January 1949, when Harry S. Truman for the first time declared, in his inauguration speech, the Southern hemisphere as 'underdeveloped areas'." (Sachs, 2010, p. xvi)

"Underdevelopment began, then, on 20 January 1949. On that day, 2 billion people became underdeveloped." (Esteva, 2010, p.2)

[7] Colonialism is acknowledged, but rebutted in favour of the importance of US hegemony (see Williams, 2012, p. 16-7). Williams also presents arguments in line with a form of American exceptionalism, in upholding the distinct and benevolent characteristics of US hegemony relative to its historical precedents. Citing Ruggie (1998), "the crucial things is not America *hegemony*, but *American* hegemony" (p. 14; emphasis in original).

[8] One might be inclined to include Ziai (2016) as a postdevelopment history, given a shared post-structuralist tradition. However, Ziai's particular approach to applying Foucault is arguably different and less polemical than, say, Escobar's (2012). Its moral conclusions also differ, in adopting a more pragmatic stance regarding the need for constructive measures. From the conclusion of Ziai (2016, p.231): "To the critics of discourse analysis, one point must be conceded: We must not stop at deconstruction and provide alternatives. Even if the current discourse of development includes Eurocentric, depoliticising and authoritarian features, it is the most influential discourse in which claims to material improvements for the poorer classes can be articulated today. The challenge remains to construct the problem of global economic inequality in a way that is devoid of these futures, in a way that offers more political and more progressive possibilities of engaging the problem."

[9] In addition to Booth (1985) and Schuurman (1993), further examples of work on the development impasse include Corbridge, 1990; Kay, 1993; Kiely, 1994; Leys, 1996a; Manzo, 1991; Sklair, 1988; Vandergeest & Buttel, 1988.

[10] See also Leys (1986, 1996a) for other examples of engagement with the development impasse—in addition to frequent references to prior works in the 1970s and 1980s in Booth (1985). Beyond Leys, Somjee (1991) and Rapley (2007) were each cited once. Williams (2012) and Halperin (2013) were not cited in any of the works.

[11] From Arndt (1987, p. vii): "I am conscious of two debts I should have incurred but did not—to authorities on the politics and sociology of development and to writers on development in languages other than English. Had I attempted to fill these two gaps, the book would have never been finished. I can only hope other studies will complement this one in both respects."

[12] Sample passages from Escobar (2012):

"This book tells the story of this dream and how it progressively turned into a nightmare. For instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression. The debt crisis, the Sahelian famine, increasing poverty, malnutrition, and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development." (p. 4)

"After all, what we are talking about when we refer to hunger or population is people, human life itself; but it all becomes, for Western science and media, helpless and formless (dark) masses, items to be counted and measured by demographers and nutritionists, or systems with feedback mechanisms in the model of the body espoused by physiologists and biochemists." (p.103-4)

"The development discourse has turned its representations of hunger into an act of consumption of images and feelings by the well nourished, an act of cannibalism, as Cinema Novo artists would have it." (p.153)

"The world of official science and the nation-state is not only destroying soils and silting up lakes, it is *freezing the imagination*. . . . We have to see the Bruntland [sic] report as a form of published illiteracy and say a prayer for the energy depleted and the forests lost in publishing the report. And finally, a little prayer, an apology to the tree that supplied the paper for this document. Thank you, tree. (Visvanathan 1991, 384; emphasis added)" (p. 199)

"[…] what awaits both the First and the Third World, perhaps finally transcending the difference, is the possibility of learning to be human in posthumanist (postman and postmodern) landscapes. But we must be mindful that in many places there are worlds that development, even today and at this moment, is bent on destroying." (p. 226)

[13] Sample passages from Rist (2014):

"…*the history of 'development' merges with the history of the progressive destruction of self-reliance.*" (p. 125; emphasis in original)

"'Development' has never been more than a pretext for expanding the realm of the commodity, but throughout the 'messianic' period this was obscured by a stream of promises and policies, declarations and measures, which kept up the illusion whereby people could be made to act in certain ways." (p. 224)

"*Economic 'science' has nothing scientific. It is no more than a battle of opinions, which fluctuates according to the conjecture in ways that enable the strongest to impose their will.* […] The enterprise is one of 'mental colonization', then, from which we need to be released as quickly as possible." (p. 277-8; emphasis in original)

"*Ultimately, the belief in 'development' rests upon the credence given to economics. Neither can be shaken off unless the other is shaken off too.*" (p. 278; emphasis in original)

[14] Sample passages from Peet and Hartwick (2015):

"This is an area of profound significance for the interests of the world's most vulnerable people, an area where shifts in emphasis—like the World Bank's shift in focus from basic needs during the 1970s to economy-wide "structural adjustments" by the 1990s—can (and did) end up killing millions of babies and made life far more desperate, miserable, and short for countless millions of others in countries far removed from the sterile "think tanks" of London, Geneva, or Washington, DC." (p. 4-5)

"They just stared at us in a way that haunts us still—because in the city of their dreams that they had just risked their lives to reach we had a house to go to, food to eat, a safe bed to sleep in that night (behind rolls of barbed wire!), and they did not. […] Think of a street filled to overflowing with trucks, cars, cabs, and three-wheeled motorcycle rickshaws, all pushing to gain a few yards, with drivers who do not spare the horn, and yet little naked kids tottering a few inches away, their mothers distractedly trying merely to ensure survival for their families that day. […] in New Delhi, a 5-year-old girl singing to herself to relieve the rejection she received a thousand times a day while begging at a traffic light amid the hordes of people going to and fro. Kids desperately trying to experience bits of childhood lost to a life mired in perpetual poverty. Snippets of reality seared permanently into our memories rather than statistics gleaned from tables flood our minds as we write this book." (p. 15-6)

"[…] there is nothing of importance in this book that you cannot understand if you simply persist in making a conscientious effort to do so. Just keep reading and rereading, thinking and discussing, until you do understand. We think that everyone can be intelligent, given the chance. We think that everyone has a conscience. Combine the two: read this book with conscientious intelligence." (p. 22)

"But far more importantly, critical developmentalism, in the socialist sense, has to root material development at the very base of the transformation of society. Democratic development is a project highly deserving ethical respect, political support, intellectual creativity, and practical activism. Let us work tirelessly to make its realization achievable." (p. 324)

[15] In this section, we borrow broadly from the following works: Appiah (2006, 2010), Bell (2001, 2008), Collingwood (1939), Geuss (2008), Kuhn (1962), Pinkard (1994), Putnam (2004), and Russell (2001[1912], 1914).

[16] From Somjee (1991, p. 37): "Within political development studies, one of the least recognised contributions is the one made by scholars from developing countries, either resident or expatriate. Their contribution is still in its early stages. Since most of them are trained in Western universities, or even based there, they have taken some time to distance themselves from the various influences which have shaped their thinking and perspective on developing societies."

[17] Full excerpt from Jolly and Streeten (2001, p. 127): "Perhaps lack of clarity and sharpness is the price you have to pay for getting agreement on action. Practical men reach agreement by blurring distinctions, academics by sharpening them. If you spell out your meaning too clearly, there will be some interests that will object. The academic reaches agreement by clarifying his meaning, by heightening distinctions, so that he knows what the difference is about. It is partly the lack of clarity, of sharpness, that the UN documents suffer from that has the virtue that they can lead to action."

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APPENDIX A1. *History of International Development -- Compilations (edited volumes, readers, handbooks, etc.)*

Year	Editor(s)	Title
AREA & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES		
1988	Harvey Glickman	The Crisis and Challenge of African development
1995	Margaret C. Snyder, Mary Tadesse	African Women and Development: A History
1999	Carlos Dávila, Rory Miller	Business History In Latin America: The Experience Of Seven Countries
2003	David C. Engerman, Nils Gilman, Mark H. Haefele, Michael E. Latham	Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War
2003	Ronald H. Chilcote	Development in Theory and Practice: Latin American Perspectives
2004	Yves Berthelot	Unity and Diversity in Development Ideas: Perspectives from the UN Regional Commissions
2005	Margaret A. Majumdar, Mohammed Saad	Transition and Development in Algeria: Economic, Social and Cultural Challenges
2011	Lansana Keita	Philosophy and African Development: Theory and Practice
ECONOMICS		
1972	Walter L. Johnson, David R. Kamerschen	Readings in Economic Development
1975	H.W. Singer	The Strategy of International Development: Essays in the Economics of Backwardness
1979	Albert O. Hirschman, Dudley Seers, Paul Streeten	Toward a New Strategy for Development: A Rothko Chapel Colloqium
1981	Albert O. Hirschman	Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond
1994	Gerald M. Meier	From Classical Economics to Development Economics
1995	Paul R. Krugman	Development, Geography, and Economic Theory
2005	Gerald M. Meier, James E. Rauch	Leading Issues in Economic Development ***(8th ed.)***
2005	K.S. Jomo, Erik S. Reinert	Origins of Development Economics: How Schools of Economic Thought Have Addressed Development
2005	Silvana De Paula, Gary A. Dymski	Reimagining Growth: Towards a Renewal of Development Theory
2006	Yiorgos Stathakis; Gianni Vaggi;	Economic Development and Social Change: Historical Roots and Modern Perspectives
2009	James E. Rowe	Theories of Local Economic Development: Linking Theory to Practice
2015	S. Sugiyama	Economic History of Energy and Environment
GENDER STUDIES		
1995	Margaret C. Snyder, Mary Tadesse	African Women and Development: A History
2002	Kriemild Saunders	Feminist Post-Development Thought: Rethinking Modernity, Post-Colonialism and Representation
2006	Jane S. Jaquette, Gale Summerfield	Women and Gender Equity in Development Theory and Practice
2016	Wendy Harcourt	Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development: Critical Engagements in Feminist Theory & Practice
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (GENERAL/OTHER)		
1970	S.N. Eisenstadt	Readings in Social Evolution and Development
1979	David Lehmann	Development Theory: Four Critical Studies
1982	Anthony Jennings, Thomas G. Weiss	The Challenge of Development in the Eighties: Our Response
1983	Peter Limqueco, Bruce J. McFarlane	Neo-Marxist Theories of Development
1984	Gerald M. Meier, Dudley Seers	Pioneers in Development
1985	P.W. Preston	New Trends in Development Theory: Essays in Development and Social Theory
1986	Alec Nove	Socialism, Economics and Development
1987	Gerald M. Meier	Pioneers in Development: Second Series
1987	Myron Weiner, Samuel P. Huntington	Understanding Political Development
1988	P. F. Leeson, Martin Minogue	Perspectives on Development: Cross-disciplinary Themes in Development Studies
1993	Frans J. Schuurman	Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory
1994	David A. Booth	Rethinking Social Development: Theory, Research and Practice
1994	Leslie Sklair	Capitalism and Development
1996	Jo Marie Griesgraber, Bernhard G. Gunter	Promoting Development: Effective Global Institutions for the Twenty-First Century
1997	Frederick Cooper, Randall M. Packard	International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge
1999	Ronaldo Munck, Denis O'Hearn	Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm
2000	Finn Tarp	Foreign Aid and Development: Lessons Learned and Directions for the Future
2001	J.K. Coetzee, J. Graff, F. Hendricks, G. Wood	Development: Theory, Policy and Practice
2001	Uma Kothari, Martin Minogue	Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives
2003	Nigel Cross	Evidence for Hope: The Search for Sustainable Development.
2004	Tim Forsyth	Encyclopedia of International Development
2005	Jeffrey Haynes	Palgrave Advances in Development Studies
2005	Uma Kothari	A Radical History of Development Studies: Individuals, Institutions and Ideologies
2006	David A. Clark	The Elgar Companion to Development Studies
2007	Aram Ziai	Exploring Post-Development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives
2008	Gary Craig, Keith Popple, Mae Shaw	Community Development in Theory and Practice: An International Reader
2010	Andrea Cornwall, Deborah Eade	Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords
2010	Sing C. Chew, Pat Lauderdale	Theory and Methodology of World Development: The Writings of Andre Gunder Frank
2010	Wolfgang Sachs	The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power ***(2nd ed.)***
2011	Henry Veltmeyer	The Critical Development Studies Handbook: Tools for Change
2011	Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., Gary Paul Green	Introduction to Community Development: Theory, Practice, and Service-Learning
2012	R. Srivatsan	History of Development Thought: A Critical Anthology
2014	B.Currie-Alder, R.Kanbur, D.Malone, R.Medhora	International Development: Ideas, Experience, and Prospects
2014	David Simon, Anders Narman	Development as Theory and Practice: Current Perspectives on Development and Development Co-op…
2014	Vandana Desai, Robert B. Potter	The Companion to Development Studies ***(3rd ed.)***

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APPENDIX A2. *History of International Development -- Disciplinary Histories*

Year	Author(s)	Title
ANTHROPOLOGY		
1996	Katy Gardner, David Lewis	Anthropology, Development and the Post-Modern Challenge
2015	Katy Gardner, David Lewis	Anthropology and Development: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century
COMMUNICATIONS		
2009	John V. Vilanilam	Development Communication in Practice: India and the Millennium Development Goals
2012	Emile G. McAnany	Saving the World: A Brief History of Communication for Development and Social Change
ECONOMICS		
1968	Lionel Robbins	The History of Economic Development in the History of Economic Thought
1978	Heinz Wolfgang Arndt	The Rise and Fall of Economic Growth: A Study in Contemporary Thought
1982	Ian Malcolm David Little	Economic Development: Theory, Policy, and International Relations
1983	Deepak Lal	The Poverty of 'Development Economics'
1987	Heinz Wolfgang Arndt	Economic Development: The History of an Idea
1992	Berch Berberoglu	The Political Economy of Development: Development Theory and the Prospects for Change in the Third World
1999	Keith B Griffin	Alternative Strategies for Economic Development
1999	Ozay Mehmet	Westernizing the Third World: The Eurocentricity of Economic Development Theories
2002	Ha-Joon Chang	Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective
2005	Gerald Meier	Biography of a Subject: An Evolution of Development Economics
2009	Shahid Yusuf	Development Economics through the Decades: A Critical Look at 30 Years of the World Development Report
2014	Shahrukh Rafi Khan	A History of Development Economics Thought : Challenges and Counter-Challenges
2015	Eiman O. Zein-Elabdin	Economics, Culture and Development
GENDER STUDIES		
1994	Naila Kabeer	Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought
2005	Devaki Jain	Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty Year Quest for Equality and Justice
POLITICS & SOCIOLOGY		
1973	Robert A. Packenham	Liberal America and the Third World: Political Development Ideas in Foreign Aid and Social Science
1983	Richard A. Higgott	Political Development Theory: The Contemporary Debate
1988	David Harrison	The Sociology of Modernization and Development
2003	Nils Gilman	Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America
POPULATION STUDIES		
1988	Ozzie G. Simmons	Perspectives on Development and Population Growth in the Third World
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (GENERAL/OTHER)		
1973	Robert S. McNamara	One Hundred Countries, Two Billion People: The Dimensions of Development
1984	A.F. Robertson	People and the State: An Anthropology of Planned Development
1984	Magnus Blomström, Björne Hettne	Development Theory in Transition: The Dependency Debate and Beyond: Third World Responses
1985	Dieter Senghaas	The European Experience: A Historical Critique of Development Theory
1992	Benjamin Howard Higgins	All the Difference: A Development Economist's Quest
1994	Richard B. Norgaard	Development Betrayed: The End of Progress and a Coevolutionary Revisioning of the Future
1996	John Brohman	Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development
1997	Rune Skarstein	Development Theory: A Guide to Some Unfashionable Perspectives
2008	Robin Broad, John Cavanagh	Development Redefined: How the Market Met Its Match
2009	E.A. Brett	Reconstructing Development Theory: International Inequality, Institutional Reform and Social Emancipation
2014	Rosalind Eyben	International Aid and the Making of a Better World: Reflexive Practice
2014	William Easterly	The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor
2015	Myles A Wickstead	Aid and Development: A Brief Introduction

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APPENDIX A3. *History of International Development -- Policy History, Diplomatic History, International History*

Year	Author(s)	Title
ENVIRONMENTAL & SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT POLICY		
1970	H.V. Nelles	The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro-electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941
2010	Nico Schrijver	Development without Destruction: The UN and Global Resource Management
2011	Jessica B. Teisch	Engineering Nature: Water, Development & the Global Spread of American Environmental Expertise
2013	Anne E. Egelston	Sustainable Development: A History
2014	Iris Borowy	Defining Sustainable Development for Our Common Future: A History of the World Commission on Environment
2014	F.Dodds, J.Laguna-Celis, L.Thompson	From Rio+20 to a New Development Agenda: Building a Bridge to a Sustainable Future
2015	Stephen Macekura	Of Limits and Growth: The Rise of Global Sustainable Development in the Twentieth Century
FOREIGN AID -- UK COLONIAL POLICY		
2006	Jeff D. Grischow	Shaping Tradition: Civil Society, Community and Development in Colonial Northern Ghana, 1899-1957
FOREIGN AID -- US COLD WAR POLICY		
1959	P.T. Bauer	United States Aid and Indian Economic Development
1973	Robert A. Packenham	Liberal America and the Third World: Political Development Ideas in Foreign Aid and Social Science
1986	Robert E. Wood	From Marshall Plan to Debt Crisis: Foreign Aid and Development Choices in the World Economy
2002	Yves Dezalay, Bryant G. Garth	The Internationalization of Palace Wars: Lawyers, Economists, and the Contest to Transform Latin American States
2003	David C. Engerman	Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development
2003	Nils Gilman	Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America
2004	Samuel Hale Butterfield	U.S. Development Aid--An Historic First: Achievements and Failures in the Twentieth Century
2007	Alice Amsden	Escape from Empire: The Developing World's Journey through Heaven and Hell
2007	Jeffrey F. Taffet	Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Latin America
2014	Thomas C. Field, Jr.	From Development to Dictatorship : Bolivia and the Alliance for Progress in the Kennedy Era
2015	Daniel Immerwahr	Thinking Small: The United States and the Lure of Community Development
FOREIGN AID -- CHINA CONTEMPORARY POLICY		
2009	Deborah Brautigam	The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa
2009	Jamie Monson	Africa's Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania
2013	Emily T. Yeh	Taming Tibet: Landscape Transformation and the Gift of Chinese Development
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY		
1978	Gary W. Wynia	The Politics of Latin American Development
1994	James Ferguson	The Anti-politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho
1996	Claude Ake	Democracy and Development in Africa
1996	Toyin Falola	Development Planning and Decolonization in Nigeria
1998	Clyde Adrian Woods	Development Arrested: The Blues and Plantation Power in the Mississippi Delta
1998	James Scott	Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed
2002	Timothy Mitchell	Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity
2006	Pietro P. Masina	Vietnam's Development Strategies
2011	C.Y. Kim	From Despair to Hope: Economic Policymaking in Korea, 1945-1979
2012	Susan Vincent	Dimensions of Development: History, Community, and Change in Allpachico, Peru
2014	Rafael Rossotto Ioris	Transforming Brazil: A History of National Development in the Postwar Era

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APPENDIX A4. *History of International Development -- Organisational Histories*

Year	Author(s)	Title
ORGANISATIONAL HISTORIES -- FOREIGN AID AGENCIES		
1976	William Rendell, Sir	The History of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, 1948-1972
1998	David R. Morrison	Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA and Canadian Development Assistance
2001	Michael McWilliam	The Development Business: A History of the Commonwealth Development Corporation
2010	Inge Brinkman, Anne-Lot Hoek	Bricks, Mortar and Capacity Building: A Socio-cultural History of SNV Netherlands Development Org…
2013	Barrie Ireton	Britain's International Development Policies: A History of DFID and Overseas Aid
2015	Patrick Kilby	NGOs and Political Change: A History of the Australian Council for International Development
ORGANISATIONAL HISTORIES -- INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS		
1985	UNCTAD	The History of UNCTAD, 1964-1984
2001	L. Emmerij, R. Jolly, T.G. Weiss	Ahead of the Curve? UN Ideas and Global Challenges
2004	John Toye, Richard Toye	The UN and Global Political Economy: Trade, Finance, and Development
2004	R. Jolly, L. Emmerij, D. Ghai, F. Lapeyre	UN Contributions to Development Thinking and Practice
2004	UNCTAD	Beyond Conventional Wisdom in Development Policy: An Intellectual History of UNCTAD 1964-2004
2004	Michael Ward	Quantifying the World: UN Ideas and Statistics
2005	T.G.Weiss, T.Carayannis, L.Emmerij, R.Jolly	UN Voices: The Struggle for Development and Social Justice
2006	Craig Murphy	The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?
2007	Ian Taylor, Karen Smith	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
2008	Digambar Bhouraskar	United Nations Development Aid: A Study in History and Politics
2009	Olav Stokke	The UN and Development: From Aid to Cooperation
2009	Richard Peet	Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO ***(2nd ed.)***
2011	Dan Plesch	America, Hitler and the UN: How the Allies Won World War II and Forged a Peace
2013	Digambar Bhouraskar	United Nations Development Aid: A History of UNDP
2014	Eric Helleiner	Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods: International Development and the Making of the Postwar Order
2014	UNCTAD	UNCTAD at 50: A Short History

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APPENDIX A5. *History of International Development -- Related Textbooks*

Year	Author(s)	Title
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (GENERAL)		
1997	John Martinussen	Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development
2000	Frik de Beer, Hennie Swanepoel	Introduction to Development Studies ***(2nd ed.)***
2003	Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter	Southern Exposure: International Development and the Global South in the Twenty-First Century
2005	Adam Szirmai	The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Development: An Introduction
2007	Maggie Black	The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development ***(2nd ed.)***
2008	Andy Sumner, Michael Tribe	International Development Studies: Theories and Methods in Research and Practice
2009	Arjan de Haan	How the Aid Industry Works: An Introduction to International Development
2016	B.K. Pattanaik	Introduction to Development Studies
2016	D.Kingsbury, J.McKay, J.Hunt, M.McGillivray, M.Clarke	International Development Issues and Challenges ***(3rd ed.)***
2017	Paul Haslam, Jessica Shafer, Pierre Beaudet	Introduction to International Development: Approaches, Actors, and Issues ***(3rd ed.)***
ANTHROPOLOGY		
1984	Lucy Mair	Anthropology and Development
2005	Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan	Anthropology and Development: Understanding Contemporary Social Change
2012	Emma Crewe, Richard Axelby	Anthropology and Development: Culture, Morality and Politics in a Globalised World
ECONOMICS		
1957	Gerald M. Meier, Robert E. Baldwin	Economic Development: Theory, History, Policy
2012	E. Wayne Nafziger	Economic Development ***(5th ed.)***
2012	Edward J. Blakely, Nancey G. Leigh	Planning Local Economic Development: Theory and Practice ***(5th ed.)***
2012	Subrata Ghatak	Introduction to Development Economics ***(4th ed.)***
2013	D.H.Perkins, S.Radelet, D.L.Lindauer, S.A.Block	Economics of Development ***(7th ed.)***
2014	Julie Schaffner	Development Economics: Theory, Empirical Research, and Policy Analysis
2015	Michael P. Todaro, Stephen C. Smith	Economic Development ***(12th ed.)***
2016	Alain de Janvry, Elisabeth Sadoulet	Development Economics: Theory and Practice
2017	A.P. Thirlwall, Penélope Pacheco-López	Economics of Development: Theory and Evidence ***(10th ed.)***
GEOGRAPHY		
1998	Arthur S. Morris	Geography and Development
2000	Rupert Hodder	Development Geography
2003	Marcus Power	Rethinking development geographies
2017	R.Potter, T.Binns, J.A.Elliott, E.Nel, D.W.Smith	Geographies of Development: An Introduction to Development Studies ***(4th ed.)***
POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS		
1999	Olle Törnquist	Politics and Development: A Critical Introduction
2013	Brian C. Smith	Understanding Third World Politics: Theories of Political Change and Development ***(4th ed.)***
2015	Danielle Beswick, Paul Jackson	Conflict, Security and Development: An Introduction ***(2nd ed.)***
SOCIOLOGY		
1988	Tony Barnett	Sociology and Development
1990	Andrew Webster	Introduction to the Sociology of Development ***(2nd ed.)***
2001	Norman Long	Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives
OTHER (Communications, Education, Environmental Studies, Gender Studies, Law, Regional Planning)		
2001	Srinivas R. Melkote, H. Leslie Steeves	Communication for Development in the Third World: Theory and Practice for Empowerment
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2013	Jennifer A. Elliott	An Introduction to Sustainable Development ***(4th ed.)***
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2001	Jayasri Ray Chaudhuri	An Introduction to Development and Regional Planning: With Special Reference to India

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