Development pathways as a lens to understand maladaptation and maldevelopment

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Why maladaptation and maldevelopment? Introduction and gap

- The developing world is yet to shake off the legacy of past developmental trajectories, which continue to shape current vulnerabilities.
- Review of 70 adaptation projects (Singh et al. 2016) climate change projects are limited in their adaptation potential.
- Terminology of adaptation and maladaptation is insufficient to critique the implications of previous development decisions, especially in the face of climate change.
- Conceptual contradiction: Actions not conceptualised as adaptation can't be called maladaptation but development trajectories shape maladaptation.
- Maladaptation has remained "elusively defined and sparingly used, and therefore difficult to apply" (Juhola et al. 2016:135).

"literature is replete with advice to avoid maladaptation, but it is less clear what is precisely included as "maladaptation" (Nobel et al. 2014:28)

Maladaptation

Existing definitions

- Barnett and O'Neill (2010):
 - "action taken ostensibly to avoid or reduce vulnerability to climate change that impacts adversely on, or increases the vulnerability of other systems, sectors or social groups" (p.10)
 - 5 types: increasing GHG emissions, disproportionately burdening most vulnerable, high opportunity costs, reducing incentives to adapt, and path dependency
- Juhola et al. (2016)
 - Has to be understood in context of "adaptation as an intentional action"
 - "a result of an intentional adaptation policy or measure directly increasing vulnerability for the targeted and/or external actor(s), and/or eroding preconditions for sustainable development by indirectly increasing society's vulnerability" (p.139)
 - * Three maladaptive outcomes: Shifting vulnerability, rebounding vulnerability, eroding sustainable development
- Noble et al. 2014
 - Any changes in natural or human systems that inadvertently increase vulnerability to climatic stimuli; an adaptation

ASSAR that does not succeed in reducing vulnerability but increases it instead.

Maldevelopment

Conceptual ideas

- Definitions
 - Goulet (2006) Maldevelopment is bad development.
 - Gasper (2012:1006) "...judged against a set of principles that have become accepted in the international system over the past two generations, including promotion of well-being and respect for equity, empowerment, and sustainability."
 - Hessel (2009) makes clear links with sustainability "Patterns of maldevelopment—unsustainable human production, consumption, and reproduction—threaten to undermine human development and the prospects for sustainable living." (p.1) and "Sustainability ethics, when put into practice, embody a positive alternative to destructive economic maldevelopment and consumption." (p.4)
- Conceptual linkages with sustainability (Hessel 2009; Gasper 2012) and wellbeing (St.Clair, 2014; Drydyk, 2013; Gasper, 2012).



Development pathways as a lens Conceptual ideas

- Pathways approach (Leach et al. 2010) is a useful conceptual frame to understand and explain past and current instances of policies and practices that shape current actions.
- CCA and path dependencies: "adaptation is essentially about 'persistence through change', which raises the questions of what persists and what changes" (Rickards and Howden 2012:242).
- Most adaptation in India is an extension of development work (Singh et al., 2016)
- We are critiquing maldevelopment as a trajectory that is eroding the *potential* for sustainable development and adaptation.



Urban development and lakes in Bangalore

- Lakes as reservoirs: lake network conceived as interconnected system to support growing settlement
- Integral to the city: acquired cultural significance, ecosystem regulating functions
- Rapid urbanization: population growth 40% (2001-2011), concretization, expansion from 226 km² to 696 km², incorporating seven towns and >100 villages.
- Sites of elite activism and protectionism: citizen activism for aesthetics/recreation/CSR, not as a network of water bodies for multiple uses by all social groups.
- Current state: urban floods, chronic water scarce, unsustainable reliance on water sources beyond the city.

Photo essay by Sumetee Pahwa Gajjar: <u>http://www.thenatureofcities.com/2016/02/25/life-and-water-at-rachenahalli-lake/</u>





Input-intensive agriculture An example from rural India

- Post-independence: land redistribution, initially pro-farmer
- 1960s-1980s: Green Revolution (GR)
 - Input-heavy, ecologically extractive, mechanised agriculture that was at odds with dryland farming practices and ecological limits.
 - Focussed on addressing food security, not factoring in CC concerns.
 - Landholders in resource-rich regions benefitted most (Bardhan 1970)
- 1990s: Market liberalization, predatory commercialization of the countryside (Sainath 2007)
- 2000s: Climate change discourse takes over
 - International pressure and emerging science on CC impacts drive mainstreaming adaptation in national policies.
 - 'climate smart agriculture' vs. investment in large irrigation projects, technology-based solutions, no market reforms





http://www.huffingtonpost.in/chandni-singh-/what-farmers-really-need- 1 b 8299824.html



(Mal)adaptation implications

The city and its residents have a progressively narrower relationship with city nature			Input-intensive, market-centric agriculture as an unsustainable pathway		
Sustainability indicators (for development)	Maintaining climate regulation and water recharge functions of lakes becomes expensive. Economic		Individual lakes cut off from the complete network only	Regional concentration of benefits, entrenched existing inequalities, changed aspirations	Agrarian crisis (debt, suicide), exposure to global price fluctuations Economic
	Access to lakes, surrou denied to social classe lacking political power Social	unds s	serve narrow purposes for city residents. Environmental	hegemonic construction of <i>aadarsh kisan</i> Social	Groundwater, soil, and ecosystem multi- functionality degradation Environmental
Vulnerability	Increased exposure to urban floods, water scarcity due to erratic rainfall. Exposure	Lower capacity to access nature and its services for particular social groups, entrenching unequal distribution of resource		Increased exposure to natural resource and market price fluctuations Exposure	Lower capacity since institutions, processes for iterative learning, flexibility, adaptive management and integrated systems approach to rural
indicators (for adaptation)	ncreased sensitivity based o heat island effect Ada nd during heat pells		aptive capacity	Lower diversification in cropping system Sensitivity	livelihoods missing. Unequal asset and power regime being further entrenched. Adaptive capacity
	Sensitivity				

Conclusion

Are the two cases examples of maladaptation?

- The cases are descriptions of development trajectories that were never articulated as adaptation but are locking the system into a pathway that will exacerbate vulnerabilities and lock out certain adaptation options.
- Development and adaptation action have to be assessed across spatial and temporal scales to test maladaptative outcomes.
- Locked in vulnerability: Certain development decisions lock in vulnerability, close down the response space (options available), and increase opportunity costs.
- Literature: need to distinguish between maladaptation and failed/unsuccessful policy implementation (Juhola et al. 2016)
- But failed policies (or even successful ones) have adaptation repercussions and lock systems into trajectories of *potential maladaptation*.





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