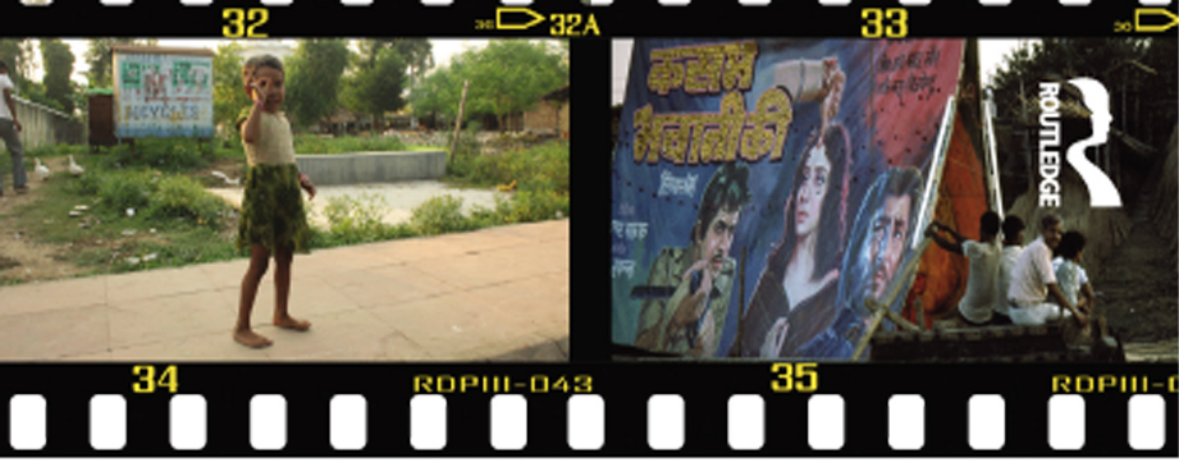

Edited by DAVID LEWIS, DENNIS RODGERS
and MICHAEL WOOLCOCK

POPULAR REPRESENTATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Insights from novels, films, television and social media

Popular representations of development and poverty have always been all around us, and scholars need to understand these alternative conceptualizations of reality to enrich their own discipline-based analysis and policy recommendations. This excellent volume suggests some ways in which this can happen, setting out the gains and the pitfalls of engagement. It is a thought provoking contribution to an important issue in development studies.

Ravi Kanbur, Cornell University, USA

This book is for a worthy cause, that of going beyond the currently popular quantitative and experimental approach to economic development, to look into wider, often more insightful, humanistic forms of representation of the development process. It shows how representations in literature, films, television, and internet may capture the complexity and nuances of the social processes involved in development in ways not considered in the standard approach.

Pranab Bardhan, University of California, Berkeley, USA

This wonderfully engaging and thought-provoking collection provides many lessons about representation and power for researchers and students alike. It will prove to be an invaluable teaching resource and will become a benchmark for much future research.

Cathy McIlwaine, University of London, UK

An important milestone in development studies which shows how literature, film and other discourses need to be part of the mix when we try to understand how other people live.

Giles Foden, author of The Last King of Scotland *and* Turbulence

An essential analysis of the world of international development… and essential reading for rock stars everywhere.

Richard Bean, author of The God Botherers *and* One Man, Two Guvnors

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Popular Representations of Development

Although the academic study of development is well established, as is its policy implementation, less considered are the broader, more popular understandings of development that often shape agendas and priorities, particularly in representative democracies.

Through its accessible and provocative chapters, *Popular Representations of Development* introduces the idea that while the issue of 'development' – defined broadly as problems of poverty and social deprivation, and the various agencies and processes seeking to address these – is normally one that is discussed by social scientists and policymakers, it also has a wider 'popular' dimension. Development is something that can be understood through studying literature, films, and other non-conventional forms of representation. It is also a public issue, one that has historically been associated with musical movements such as Live Aid and increasingly features in newer media such as blogs and social networking. The book connects the effort to build a more holistic understanding of development issues with an exploration of the diverse public sphere in which popular engagement with development takes place.

This book gives students of development studies, media studies, and geography as well as students in the humanities engaging with global development issues a variety of perspectives from different disciplines to open up this new field for discussion.

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Rethinking Development

Popular Representations of Development
Insights from novels, films, television and social media
Edited by David Lewis, Dennis Rodgers and Michael Woolcock

Popular Representations of Development

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—The Editors

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Part I

Introduction

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1 Introduction

Popular representations of development

David Lewis, Dennis Rodgers and Michael Woolcock

Development is one of the dominant organising ideas of our time, and there are of, course, many ways to approach it. Most people – whether development professionals or ordinary members of the public – learn about development through predominantly economics-focused research studies and policy documents, or from sometimes informative but often unhelpfully simplified news reports. The humanistic side tends to receive less attention, as does the proliferation of different representations of development beyond academic texts and forums. Yet, as John Durham Peters (1997: 79) has observed:

> Part of what it means to live in a modern society is to depend on representations of that society. Modern men and women see proximate fragments with their own eyes and global totalities through the diverse media of social description.

Taking our initial cue from a once well-known but now largely forgotten book called *Sociology through Literature* by Lewis Coser (1963, revised and reissued in 1972), this volume aims to broaden our understandings of development by explicitly promoting a move to include sources beyond the conventional.

Development is an increasingly wide-ranging system of ideas and institutions that take shape in diverse and complex ways. Although the academic study of development is well established, as is also its policy implementation, less considered are the broader, more popular understandings of development that often shape agendas and priorities, particularly in representative democracies. These are arguably critical to comprehend if we are to understand development better, and more importantly, if we are to realise the goals of development more effectively. Partly for this reason, in 2008 we made a case in an article entitled "The Fiction of Development" – published in *The Journal of Development Studies*, and included in abridged form in this volume – that novels ought to be seen as potentially valuable sources of information about the development process, and their renderings of it taken seriously. We were writing not as scholars of literature but as development researchers who were becoming aware of the far wider forms of representation of development issues that could be drawn upon in debate and discussion.

This book extends this initial exploration of these themes by continuing, but also going beyond, the world of fiction to consider other forms of representation and media that intersect with the worlds of development.[1] We also deploy the idea of representation along both of the lines implied by its two different but nevertheless interconnected meanings. On the one hand, representation can be taken to refer to the way that art, literature and media are transformative, not so much mirroring reality but instead 'representing' it according to conscious or unconscious conventions. On the other, the word *representation* takes us into political territory and revisits older, but still relevant, debates about representative and participatory democracy. When we engage with the issue of public representations of development, the importance of recognising power relations within the public spaces in which representations are constructed and projected, or silenced and ignored, is a central theme.[2]

We were, of course, not doing anything new by seeking to bring the study of literature into social science research or indeed into public policy debates in our previously published article. This was ground that had been usefully explored previously by Coser (1963: 3), who contended that

> Fiction is not a substitute for systematically accumulated, certified knowledge. But it provides the social scientist with a wealth of sociologically relevant material … The creative imagination of the literary artist often has achieved insights into social processes which have remained unexplored in social science.

More recently, Martha Nussbaum's book *Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life* (1997) mounted a solid defence of the arts, and the novel in particular, as helping to develop what she calls the "sympathetic imagination". She suggested that a realist novel with social themes such as Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* has useful social effects (see also chapter 3 by John Harriss). Nussbaum (1997: xviii–xix) argues this on the basis of her attempt to develop

> a vivid conception of public reasoning that is humanistic and not pseudo-scientific, to show how a certain type of narrative literature expresses and develops such a conception, and to show some of the benefits this conception might have to offer in the public sphere.

The novel is a form that recognises the importance and diversity of individuals, and Nussbaum sees this as informing a particular conception of public reasoning, and as fostering the sympathetic imagination – the capacity to recognise the inner lives of others – as a social effect.[3] Nussbaum's work aims to contribute to the critique of what she sees as the dominant culture within public policy of utilitarian rational-choice models that are biased towards quantitative analyses of the public good. This dominant culture, she argues, operates in undesirable ways within public policy worlds and tends to generate depersonalised, reductive public policies. At the same time, our aim in our initial article was also to build upon the established

tradition of the humanistic method within the social sciences, whose proponents have long argued the need to correct tendencies among researchers to prioritise a narrow search for objective truth that increasingly ignores "the concrete historical yet human experiences out of which societies are invariably composed" (Plummer, 1983: 5). This tradition stands in contrast to positivist social science that prioritises quantification and the search for generalisable laws over gaining a fuller and more holistic understanding of the lived realities of people's lives. As Nussbaum (1997) argues, such models are limited by their reliance on principles of aggregation and maximising, which tend to assume a qualitative sameness among individuals' preferences and their desires that is acutely at odds with the real world.

Forms of representation of social reality, of course, reflect wider social and economic changes. Peters (1997: 78) shows how the emergence in the eighteenth century of two new – but very different – forms of narrative in the shape of the novel and the science of statistics was strongly linked to the rise of a middle-class reading public and the establishment of rationalised bureaucratic administrative systems:

> The novel and statistics are each a narrative mode answering the problem of how to display a cross section of a quantitative complexity. One uses narrative, one uses aggregation. Both enact – and depend on – a new apprehension of space and time: the possibility of envisioning spatially dispersed events at a single moment in time … The polarity of narrative and data marks the twin limits of modern social description, with many hybrid forms between. Academic battles between number crunchers and tale-spinners are only a local variant on this larger theme.

In the world of development, we suggest that a corrective towards humanistic approaches may be particularly relevant at the present time. Over the past decade, many development agencies and researchers have increasingly considered the definition and scope of knowledge about development to be based on rather narrow orthodoxies of 'results-based management' approaches on the one hand, and, on the other, to the supposedly definitive logic of once and for all proving 'what works', generally via standardised methodologies such as randomised controlled trials. Certainly, there has been a palpable shift away from interest in issues of substance and process towards preoccupations with management, mechanisms and the measurement of aid, as is perhaps best embodied in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the aid effectiveness agenda that emerged after a landmark Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) meeting in Paris in 2005.

Although there have been various efforts over the years to broaden the range of knowledge and representation, such as the World Bank's "Voices of the Poor" initiative that was undertaken over a decade ago (see Narayan et al., 1999), these seem to have lost popularity among mainstream donor agencies in recent years. One exception is the Swedish International Development Agency's (Sida's) Health and Education Reality Check project that started in Bangladesh in 2006.[4]

For five years, this project has attempted to listen to and document the voices and experiences of people living in poverty using an approach based on annual residential household visits by specially trained field researchers. This work seeks to 'humanise', using a methodology that emphasises face-to-face two-way communication, the information that policymakers use to plan and evaluate the two large multi-donor sector-wide reform programmes operating across that country.[5] However, this remains a rare exception. Even *PLA Notes*, the practitioner journal that for many years served as a repository for unconventional thinking and practice around alternative development approaches,[6] is finding it increasingly difficult to secure the comparatively small amount of funding it needs to maintain publication.

Indeed, the new proponents of evidence-based development policy – for example, Banerjee and Duflo (2011: 16) in their influential book *Poor Economics* – tend to make their case for a new positivism in development research in a confident and unambiguous manner that brooks little argument:

> The studies we use have in common a high level of scientific rigor, openness to accepting the verdict of the data, and focus on specific concrete questions of relevance to the lives of the poor.[7]

Yet, as Woolcock (2009) has argued, the appeal of what have increasingly become seen as 'gold standard' methodologies for acquiring knowledge do not relieve us of the need to engage with context and process by means of as wide a range as possible of qualitative, quantitative and historical social science tools. Within the approach we take in this book, we favour a more open and diverse view of what constitutes credible evidence akin to that advanced by Jennifer Greene (2009), whose work, in contrast to some current trends, recognises multiple voices, history and complexity and who prefers to see evidence more modestly in terms of "inkling" rather than "proof".

There is also a further dimension to exploring popular representations of development that we touched on in our earlier article: the reach of sources of information such as novels compared to academic texts and policy papers. There are few sources of information about poverty that have reached as wide an audience as Rohinton Mistry's novel *A Fine Balance*, for example, which has sold over a quarter of a million copies and counting, compared to less than 20,000 for a classic academic study of the phenomenon such as Janice Perlman's *The Myth of Marginality*, first published in 1976, for example. This aspect of more popular representations alone justifies taking an interest in them; as Joseph Stalin once put it, "quantity has a quality of its own".[8]

Building on the debate generated by our earlier article around literary sources, and following the logic of exploring further the diverse media now engaging with development issues, we decided to broaden our interest to other popular representations of development by commissioning researchers to contribute to an edited collection on this theme. Coser drew much of the material in his book from nineteenth and twentieth century literature,[9] but today the locations and sources of

public knowledge relating to development and social change have diversified enormously to include film, television and the Internet. The aim of this volume is thus both to reveal the extent of alternative sources of information about development issues, as well as to explore the ways in which development, as a key idea of our times, is discussed beyond more conventional academic and policy texts. Diversity of representation is therefore a key theme among the contributions included here. At the same time, the book also explores the various ways in which particular development themes have been taken up in non-academic and non-policy contexts, and considers the potential impact and influence that such non-conventional, more popular representations of development may have, both positive and negative.

Representation and the growth of modern media

A discussion of issues of popular representation in any field necessarily leads us to consider the growth of the media, its generation, and exchange of meaning through the institutions of the mass media. The work of Jurgen Habermas – and in particular his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) – provides an important initial reference point for our exploration. In this book, he elaborated his concept of the public sphere, analysing the rise of mass media by documenting the emergence during the eighteenth century of what he terms "publicity" as a new form of political organisation, associated with changes in the way modern states seek to build their legitimacy. In particular, Habermas argued that the state no longer governs through the production of forms of staged display that used to underline the feudal king's power (such as the spectacle of processions and public executions), but instead now tries to secure its legitimacy by making its deliberations visible to the public (the generation of legitimacy through the reason of public opinion).

Yet Habermas also recognises that this process of change is complex and remains incomplete. The public sphere all too easily becomes "re-feudalised" by market and state. For example, the mass media may continue to keep citizens "in awe" rather than provide them with accurate information, so that informed, rational discussion remains elusive and often illusory within the public sphere. Television, for example, is normally characterised by the tension between its role in informing citizens through news reporting, documentary, or drama, and its presentation of powerful advertising messages that are designed to sell commodities to consumers. These effects may also be seen in the representation of development issues, such as disaster or conflict reporting – part of what Lilie Chouliaraki (2006) has characterised as the "the spectatorship of suffering".

The impact of technological change on the organisation and projection of knowledge is a theme that also underpins several of the contributions to this volume. Here we also find resonances with the work of Manuel Castells (2000), whose concept of the "network society" is informed by the idea that technological change has in recent decades helped to move capitalism into a new stage of "informational capitalism" after its stagnation during the 1970s. He shows how a new

immediacy of constantly circulating financial, technical and cultural information helps to shape economic relations, politics and organisational structures – and peoples' lives – in new and unpredictable ways, and where crises now arrive regularly and unexpectedly. New forms of work associated with these changes rely on flexibility, connectedness and alertness to opportunity, while to succeed, organisations of all kinds increasingly access new capabilities in the form of media-friendliness, Internet skills and global networking. In the world of development, these trends can be seen in the increasing efforts by international NGOs to boost their communications departments and by donors such as the World Bank's experimentation with alternative media (see chapter 4 by Davidov).

The field of "informational development" is clearly an area that increasingly demands more attention from researchers. At the same time, however, concern with the ways in which development issues are represented in the media is a long-standing issue, particularly with regard to the way that people who live in poverty are portrayed. In a recent study of the visual language of British NGOs, Dogra (2012: 3) explores the way that fund-raising imagery and messaging often construct ways of seeing that ultimately reinforce colonial stereotypes and depoliticised and ahistorical understandings of poverty despite a surface level that may claim to project counter-hegemonic messages:

> NGOs' messages project many colonial discourses even as they ironically erase the period of our connected history and its legacies that continue to shape existing global economic structures, power relations and the current state of poverty and prosperity across various regions.

In the flurry of mixed messages that she identifies from studying the range of public images used by a set of leading UK development NGOs in the media over a period of 12 months, Dogra's analysis finds a set of "mainly one way projections" (Dogra, 2012: 119) in which the voices of people who live in poverty, and those of the "majority world" more generally, remain largely submerged and unheard. For example, a recent campaign for the NGO Water Is Life run by marketing firm DDB – a leading US advertising company set up in 1949 by Bill Bernbach, Ned Doyle and Maxwell Dane – presents citizens of Haiti reading out and responding to tweets on the semi-ironic popular Twitter feed *#firstworldproblems*. The feed carries the tag line "Living in the first world can be so hard. Sometimes people just don't understand how difficult our life can be …." One campaign video simply shows a laptop with the sentence "Slow Internet is the worst thing that can happen to you" while the camera slowly pans back to reveal a medical worker in an impoverished Port-au-Prince clinic where the huge scale of suffering is immediately apparent. The worker says "Slow Internet is not the worst thing that can happen to you". There is a simple eloquence to the way this further subversion of an ironic discourse communicates and underlines the obvious point that many of the problems facing wealthy citizens of the globe pale into insignificance against the scale of deprivation endured by many Haitians.[10]

The structure of the book

The 12 chapters that follow are organised into five sections: literature and fiction, television, film, history and technology. In Part II (following this introduction), we begin by reprising in abridged form our earlier paper on fiction and development. This chapter is followed by a contribution by John Harriss that reflects upon his recent efforts to incorporate fiction in the teaching of development studies, drawing on three novels: *Hard Times*, *Half of a Yellow Sun* and *The Quiet American*. Notable here was his interest in situating works of fiction alongside key academic texts, such as Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. He shows how the analyses of social scientists and of historians are complemented by the work of creative writers, and documents the ways that the use of fiction served to deepen student interest in academic and policy texts by adding meaning to them. Finding that the novels he taught with served to humanise development knowledge, he suggests that such an approach helped to bring home "the significance for people of ideas and events and social trends", and helped students "to understand the experience of others".

Chapter 4 moves the discussion to a different type of literature: the Japanese manga comic book, which emerged in its modern form in the 1950s. Shifting the discussion from the classroom to the contemporary world of development agencies, Veronica Davidov's contribution analyses the *1 World Manga* series, a World Bank initiative to improve development education with narratives that loosely follow the MDGs. While manga comic books are not a new form, their use within a mainstream development agency such as the World Bank is highly innovative. However, despite its accessibility, Davidov's work suggests that this form of representation is limited by the way it structures the narrative of the protagonist's quests through sequential, compartmentalised encounters with the global issues being targeted. The books consequently generate a pedagogical metanarrative of 'development' that engages proximal and situational, rather than structural, causes of inequality and disenfranchisement that impede the characters' human development.

Part III moves the discussion of development representation to the world of popular mainstream television. Martin Scott's chapter is concerned with the ways that popular television programmes such as *The World's Strictest Parents* provide new opportunities for Western audiences to engage and respond emotionally to individuals from the global South. He begins by considering the different academic literatures on the "public faces of development" alongside that concerned with "public media and morality" and argues that both literatures need to engage more fully with the rise and current popularity of "factual entertainment" within the world of television. He demonstrates this by applying a modified version of Lilie Chouliaraki's "analytics of mediation" approach. This is followed by Simon Parker's contribution, which moves us from the global South to the inner cities of the United States. This chapter is concerned with *The Wire*, the widely acclaimed HBO TV series that was created by former crime reporter David Simon and

ex-police officer Ed Burns, and which set out to explore aspects of a city that "America left behind". Parker builds on analyses of the "the social science of fiction" linked to this and other recent television dramas to show how *The Wire* makes visible important aspects of urban poverty as the state withdraws and capital disinvests from abandoned post-industrial urban spaces.

Part IV considers representations of development within the world of film. In a follow-up to "The Fiction of Development", chapter 7 explores the ways that movies provide different kinds of insights into development issues. Briefly exploring examples mainly, but not exclusively, drawn from commercial feature films, we identify ways in which the underlying logic of cinema as a representational medium both facilitates and constrains the projection, and consequently the understanding, of development issues. We also comment on how Western cinema since the 1980s can be very much analysed as reflecting changing attitudes to and knowledge about the "developing world". Esha Shah's contribution that follows (chapter 8) is concerned with narratives of poverty within Indian popular cinema. Shah shows how popular Hindi-language cinema can be seen as playing the role of a laboratory in its capacity for sensing and "intuiting" key aspects of Indian contemporary life within popular culture since Independence. The analysis is situated within a critique of mainstream development literature that tends to understand poverty in limited terms merely as a lack – of health, well-being, or income – with an emphasis on economic rationalities related to acquisition, allocation, or distribution of resources. The analysis of cinematic representations, argues Shah, shifts the analytical ground towards understanding poverty as an affect rather than simply as an effect. It becomes possible then to consider the changing "inter-subjective experience of poverty" in terms of less visible themes such as loss of self, bad luck, social dignity, disgrace and fear of pauperisation. In this way, she argues, popular cinema frames a new form of politics that is only rarely considered within mainstream development literature.

We turn to history in Part V. In chapter 9, Uma Kothari discusses how ideas about civility, modernity and progress, foundational to development discourse and practice to this day, are similar to those once deployed in popular visual representations of the British Empire. She analyses the British Government's Empire Marketing Board poster campaign that ran between 1926 and 1933, which aimed to demonstrate the humanitarianism upon which the Empire had supposedly been built. Kothari identifies continuities between past and present in such representations, where we find post-independence tourist products still actively marketing idyllic, deserted, exotic and isolated islands; she also draws parallels with important contemporary visual campaigns, such as the one associated with the promotion of fair trade. This is followed by Cheryl Lousley's contribution (chapter 10) that moves our discussion towards more recent history in the form of the July 1985 Live Aid music events, which took place in the United Kingdom and the United States as part of the West's response to the Ethiopian famine. Live Aid pioneered the modern practice of media-led fund-raising events for global poverty based on popular music concerts,[11] and Lousley analyses the longevity of this strategy within the popular imagination. She argues that continuing

representations of this event in the form of memorabilia, as well as further events such as Live 8, should not only be read as representations of Africa and Africans, but also as an aspect of a Western "culture of sentimentality" in development. This culture uses mass media images of the "famine child" to facilitate a feeling of global connectedness, produced partly in the spheres of global communications media, celebrity, pop music and consumerism. Lousley draws on Alex de Waal's (1997) idea of the "humanitarian international" to argue that tracing the intersections between the circulation of affects and the circulation of capital is critical to understanding the political economy of a public media event such as Live Aid.

The final section, Part VI, moves from the argument that we need to broaden our sources of knowledge about development to examine recent claims that new information technology and social media may open up new ways of 'doing' development, or at least help create new forms of engagement with development by ordinary citizens. In chapter 11, Tobias Denskus and Daniel Esser take us into the rapidly expanding world of social media by analysing the blogs and tweets that related to a specific high-profile event in the recent international development policy calendar: the three-day Millennium Development Goals Summit held at the United Nations in New York in September 2010. A detailed analysis of these data reveals that far from opening up new space for critical or alternative commentary or ideas, it appeared that the content within this social media was mainly reproducing mainstream development discourse and practice. Finally, Ryan Manning's chapter 12 focuses on representations of development within the 'blogosphere'. This contribution perhaps provides a more optimistic view, arguing that online blogs constitute a form of the Habermasian 'public sphere', even though it is at present a public space that remains heavily dominated by elites. Following this final section, we offer some concluding thoughts outlining a preliminary agenda for future research.

Concluding reflections

In putting together this book, our aim is to try to frame and open up popular representation as an important new field of study that has to date been largely neglected by those engaged in research on international development. We ourselves write from the perspective of development studies, and we do not claim to bring the specialist knowledge to the subject that those more versed in media studies, literary theory, or postcolonial studies can bring to this topic (although some of our contributors are able to do so). However, we very much hope that this collection will draw closer attention to the field, and that it will stimulate new work across these boundaries and disciplines.

What can be learnt from the different contributions on popular representations of development offered in this volume? In the first instance, following on from our earlier article (Lewis, Rodgers and Woolcock, 2008), we believe that this volume reiterates the fact that development knowledge – or more specifically, what counts as serious or legitimate knowledge about development – has often been too narrowly represented within academic and policy discussions.

The papers here serve to counteract, or at least broaden, what feels like an increasing narrowing at the present juncture. Secondly, this collection highlights how if we look beyond conventional academic studies and policy reports – for example to films, posters, or fiction – then we may learn something new. For example, we may find forms of knowledge and representation that humanise development processes, or historicise our perspective in illuminating ways. Documents such as films or novels can also help us to make sense of the past in ways that may still inform the present.

At the same time, however, the rapid evolution of new information technology means that there are increasingly new and diverse areas of public (and private) space where popular representations of development take place – from blogs and social networking, to reality television and film. This may have implications both for the ways that development ideas are understood more widely in both Western and non-Western societies, as well as for the ways people participate in, and try to influence or critique, mainstream development processes and their understandings in the public sphere. Technology plays a role in transforming representation in both senses of the word raised by Williams (1976). Certainly, such an approach can throw new light on the ways established wisdoms and categories in development may be breaking down. For example, relationships between 'developers' and 'developed' have always been problematic and regularly contested, but new technologies may offer new spaces for representing and perhaps challenging these.

In a related manner, another theme that emerges from some papers is a critique of narrow (Western) development professionalism and expertise, and an implicit call for actively incorporating other voices and other forms of knowledge into the deliberative spaces wherein key development ideas, evidence, policy and practice are adjudicated. Popular representations of development are often more inclusive, being less imbued with exclusionary jargon, elitism and theoretical posturing. New media may also be more democratic in nature, yet questions of access, both technological and skills-wise, remain critical and problematic. Just as simplistic binaries between developed and developing, or North and South, are rapidly breaking down in the real world at the macro level – as a result of the ongoing financial crisis, or the rise of large middle-income countries such as Brazil and Indonesia, for example – perhaps we will continue to see more examples of challenges to traditionally unequal power relations within the public spheres of popular representation and knowledge. At the same time, we cannot be naïve about the inequalities that exist and the contestations taking place within this public sphere, as development knowledge becomes a commodity that is increasingly bought and sold by marketing firms.[12]

Finally, public representation has implications for how we conceive of development studies as a field of research and teaching – and reminds us of the wider options that are available in terms of both legitimate objects of, and techniques for, analysis. As Kregg Hetherington (2012: 143) has pointed out, development knowledge "is the name given to an appropriate (i.e., predictable) relationship between signal and response within a systematic totality" that is "tightly tied to a dream of certainty, order and efficiency". As such, it is "quite the opposite of the