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Emotional geographies of development

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Abstract

Hope, despair, fear, hate, joy, desire and anger; the social sciences has increasingly recognised the role of emotions in shaping society, and in defining and transforming people and place. Such concerns have clear implications for the study of development. Emotions help create development subjects and define subjectivities. They are imbricated in the production of exclusions and colonialisms yet they can also empower resistance and progressive change. In short, they are intimately bound up with the way development functions in all its messiness. In this paper, I begin to explore the generative role of emotions in the discourses and practices of development. I draw on empirical work with land reform participants in the Philippines to consider the ways emotions are central to participants' experiences. Emotions inform how the land tillers act and react, and how they understand the past, present and future. I find that consideration of emotions, and indeed of all that is *beyond-the-rational*, is imperative if we are to move beyond development's modernist roots towards more postcolonial understandings.

Keywords

Emotional geographies, Land reform, Philippines, Affect, Social movements

Introduction

What is the feeling of justice? How does it related to its oppositional quality of injustice? And how do we connect these feelings of justice and injustice to the knowledge of their difference?¹

So when you are listening to somebody, completely, attentively, then you are listening not only to the words, but also to the feeling of what is being conveyed, to the whole of it, not part of it.²

As a quintessential child of modernism, it's perhaps no surprise that mainstream development has avoided emotions³. Indeed, the idea that emotions might have a role to play in life, in the creation and development of people and places, is somewhat of an anathema to modern, development thinking in its quest to create developed (rational, non-emotional, modern) people and developed (rational, non-emotional, modern) places⁴. Development studies, as postdevelopment and postcolonial scholars have pointed out, tend to equate rationality with a state of non-emotion⁵. Emotions and emotionality are part of the very things that development has been trying to fix.

Yet development invokes, provokes and produces emotions. Postcolonial scholars such as Edward Said, Gyatri Spivak, Neville Hoad and Stuart Hall, have highlighted that colonised peoples, women, the working classes, homosexuals and Indigenous people have long been considered by the powerful to share common characteristics of childishness, irrationality and emotionality.⁶ Both historically, and in contemporary life, the 'othered' are regularly portrayed as incapable of thinking or acting rationally in direct contrast to the exalted rational, male, white, heterosexual developed subject. Such judgments are powerful, drawing upon and reinscribing that most false and impoverished binary that attempts to dichotomise reason and feeling. Development purportedly fixes emotions, it somehow removes them, leading people from one side of the binary to the other. Yet at the same time as it denies emotions, it relies upon them for its very existence. How can the concept of development itself *not* be emotional? In development, we find emotions both in its proponents and opponents, in those that receive development aid,

those called upon to donate, those doing development and those impacted upon by it. Hope, despair, confidence, angst, acceptance, defiance; it's time to take on the intractable silence of and about emotions in development.

Emotions have recently emerged as an important area of study in the social sciences.⁷ This work points out that emotions are important to how we make sense of the world in myriad ways. As Sara Ahmed points out, 'emotions do things'.⁸ They work through boundaries to create like and unlike. They produce divisions separating people, cultures and societies, they perpetuate and (re)create colonialisms and racisms, yet they also bring people, places and things together, and are an important part of the visioning and production of development alternatives. A policy may be propelled by fear, an action taken through distaste, a struggle created by hope, a collective created through joint suffering. People live in messy, emotional, sensory worlds. Their understandings, their actions, the ways they relate to each other, their attachments, differences, losses and dreams require keen attention. In this paper, I begin to explore the generative role of emotions in the discourses, practices and experiences of development.

At this stage, I should be explicit, my call for attention to emotions is in no way meant to dismiss or downplay the material conditions of poverty, questions of politics and power, or efforts for social change. On the contrary, it is these issues that propel my interest. Negotiating the pathways between emotions and politics is the central point underlying this paper. Emotions are fundamental to the ways we comprehend the world and to our experiences of it. To understand what it means to be deprived, to experience the world differently and to be motivated to change it means attending to the way we are affected by it and how we affect others.

In order to grapple with these issues, I'll look to the experiences of land reform for the people of Hacienda Bino, in Negros Occidental in the Philippines, a community who successfully took possession of their land in 1998 after a long, often bitter, struggle. Land reform has long been central to visions of development. In vastly different guises, land reform has been promulgated and (occasionally, partially, inefficiently, corruptly etc) implemented by revolutionary movements, colonial administrations, 'postcolonial' governments, and development agencies alike. The importance of land reform, and the passions it invokes, has resulted in a robust body of literature with studies drawn from across the world with a particular concentration on the Philippines. While much attention has been paid to questions of efficiency, to whether reform efforts are successful in terms of land distributed and income gained by recipients, less attention has been paid to the experiences of the land tillers themselves. To better understand land reform, what it is, why people remain committed to it, what they hope to gain, what they stand to lose, it is vital that the experiences of those undertaking the land reform are heard, and heard deeply.⁹

While the story of the land reform recipients of Hacienda Bino is in many ways a successful one (land was distributed, incomes were increased),¹⁰ my attention to their experiences reveals a much more complex story. The suffering experienced in the struggle for the land, the loss and heartbreak, the pride of success, the hopes that suddenly burst forth for the future, are given meaning through emotionally charged descriptions of the tillers' experiences. It becomes clear that we cannot afford *not* to attend to affect if we are to understand poverty. To do justice to the experience of poverty, to the struggle, the meaning of experience, the subjectivities of those involved, requires attention to what is valued, what is felt and sensed, to the messiness, pain, joy and hope of experience. To listen, as Krishnamurti eloquently expresses, to the whole of it, not the part.

Emotions are mobilised by the tillers of Hacienda Bino in complex ways. They help produce and are produced by both connection (as solidarity, shared experience) and distance (geographical, of class, of experience). They also animate in unpredictable ways as the participants undertake pickets, find alternate employment, move, struggle, win and are defeated. The relentless teleology of development is subverted, the dry, dead descriptions of land redistribution are rendered incomplete if not completely inaccurate, by these experiences. Here then, is a call for development to go beyond its modernist roots, to go beyond the absurd and violent division of rationality and emotions, of reason and 'sense.' It is a call to seek the 'more-than-rational',¹¹ to get to the *more-than* worlds of development.

Emotional geographies

Having long existed on the fringe of many disciplines, work on emotions is increasingly central to study in the social sciences, in geography in particular. Emotions have been recognised for their important role in shaping not only what the world is, but also how it comes to be this way. This work has clear implications for development studies. Emotions are implicated in the 'making and remaking of the social'¹² in ways both expressible and inexpressible.¹³ Emotions, for example, can be manipulated to enhance different political agendas. Pain and Smith explore the ways that discourses and practices associated with the 'war on terror' have been mobilised in sharply unequal and unjust ways.¹⁴ On the other hand, emotions can engender an ethics of caring or help cultivate active, hopeful subjects engaged in social change.¹⁵

Central to the way that emotions have been understood are their social, political and, above all, relational qualities. Emotions, in these accounts, are not purely personal feelings that lie within stable, coherent subjects. They do not swell up independently from within our deepest psyches. Rather, emotions are relational, they are found *in-between* people, and *in-between* people and

place. Ahmed points out that emotions are circulatory, they gain ‘value’ as they move between individuals, collectives, things and places, producing and (re)producing associations. They both produce and are produced by encounters. As such, attention to emotions does not imply a retreat from the material or from the political. It is quite the opposite. Attention to emotions helps us understand what the material really is and to delve into the *how* of politics, inclusion and exclusion.

Within development studies, this is important. The work that mainstream development and the development industry does to create development subjects and divide people into groups as either ‘Developed’ (successful) or ‘Developing’ (in need of help or somehow lacking) has long been a preoccupation of development thought.¹⁶ Attention to emotions as they work to distinguish sameness from difference helps us understand just how this process works. ‘Self’ and ‘other’ are recognised and (re)created through emotion while emotions are crucial in creating affinities and disjunctures, bringing people together (and separating them), and establishing collectives through shared sentiment. As Ahmed states:¹⁷

It is not just that we feel for the collective (such as in discourses of fraternity or patriotism), but how we feel about others is what aligns us with a collective, which paradoxically ‘takes shape’ only as an effect of such alignments. It is through an analysis of the impressions left by bodily others that we can track the emergence of ‘feelings-in-common.’

Such ‘feelings-in-common’ can be both progressive and regressive, categorising, labeling and determining what belongs as well as what does not belong. It follows that emotions are centrally bound up with the experience, production and maintenance of racisms, inequalities and other forms of exclusions. Slocum’s study, for example, looks at how people can be displaced from an

idea of the ‘American’ nation through a politics of hate. As she points out, ‘Emotion is central to how race is felt, discussed and produced in the US’.¹⁸ Sultana traces the experiences of women collecting water in Bangladesh pointing out that resource struggles are not just material, but also emotional struggles tangled up with class-based and gendered experience.¹⁹

While emotions are experienced in deeply personal ways, they are powerfully imbued with colonial, sexist and racist logics.²⁰ From a development studies perspective, Aisbett looks at the complex roles emotions play as development workers both reproduce and resist orientalisms in HIV/Aids work in PNG. For Ho, experiences of belonging for Singaporean transmigrants in London are emotionally fractured through racialised social positioning. These studies illustrate that emotions turn social processes into personal ones, and vice versa, and provide the means of both constituting and contesting those social process and structures.²¹ Considering emotion, then, may contribute to what Spivak calls ‘work on the *mechanics* of the constitution of the Other,’ and thus lead to a more nuanced approach to inequality in development theory and practice.²²

Emotions, however, are tricky subjects. While they are heavily implicated in the production and reproduction of colonialisms, they are also bound up with the creation and production of resistances and alternatives to development. There is, for example, a newly burgeoning literature on the role of emotions in social movements and activism that attempts to understand the links between action, activism, social justice and emotion.²³ In this work, emotions are understood as central to the ‘interior’ dimensions of social movements and to the dynamics of collective action.²⁴ Wright looks at a network of subsistence farmers in the Philippines who practice farmer-led sustainable agriculture to explore the existence of hope and ‘tenacious practices of possibility’ that exist within contexts of threat, poverty and violence. She finds that

hope is a political strategy cultivated by the network as farmers generate active new subjectivities and forge alternative pathways of development.²⁵ Bosco's study of two different human rights networks in Argentina found that emotional bonds and emotional labour were very important in creating and sustaining the networks.²⁶ Clearly, emotions, are mobilised in complex ways. The question is not whether their affect is progressive or regressive; it is both. What matters is that they not only *matter*, but they (re)create the material in a myriad of ways.

Getting real

To acknowledge emotions is to better understand the material, to better understand agency, practice and knowledge. As such, emotions and emotional geographies have an important role to play if we are trying to move beyond Western, Cartesian ways of learning, knowing and being. If development studies is to go beyond its modernist roots, to think beyond the constraints of a Cartesian reality to understand peoples' experiences and to join them in imagining new worlds, it must begin to recognise the sensory, to acknowledge emotions and the ways that we are all touched in different ways by things, histories, places and experiences.

This is important when trying to grasp, and do justice to, the ways that poverty is experienced by, what it really means for, different people in different places. Development's objects of old are not categories, pathologies, stereotypes or unified, easily understood people. Rather, they are 'feeling subjects',²⁷ complex, intense and alive. They touch and are touched. They imagine, dream, experience pleasure, suffering, ecstasy, (dis)comfort, they taste and smell. As Kouzal points out, attention to emotions (in this case suffering) can deepen our understanding of material conditions by recognising the 'experience of hardship, countering a tendency in development research to ignore subjectivity.'²⁸ Kouzal elaborates the ways that women's experiences are poorly represented if they do not attend to the emotional pain, values and

relationships that underpin and inform women's, indeed, all people's, agency. Moore, furthermore, points out that claims to entitlements and rights to land in Zimbabwe, and the establishment of collective identity, pivot on notions of suffering. Suffering, struggle, identity and place are intertwined. Struggle and suffering they are not only situated in place but actively produce those very places. This is important in both the understanding of the past, but also connects to contemporary struggles and the envisioning of different kinds of futures²⁹.

This point is underscored by Gilroy who calls for an acknowledgement of emotions, particularly pain and suffering, to become an integral part of creating alternative futures. He states, 'We (also) need to consider how a deliberate engagement with the twentieth century's histories of suffering might furnish resources for the peaceful accommodation of otherness in relation to fundamental commonality'.³⁰ Gilroy's call is important as it suggests the importance of acknowledging the power geometries of our present as linked to our pasts. He also points out that this is necessary if we want to reimagine different kinds of futures.

It is not just suffering, however, that needs to be attended to. Indeed, to focus unremittingly on pain and suffering risks reinscribing dualisms (suffering=Third World, pleasure=First World), and reproducing the worthy subject of development as someone who (only) suffers. This call for attention to emotions and affect in the creation of new futures is not only about lack, although suffering and pain are important. Rather, it is more complicated; it means recognising complex, sometimes hopeful and joyous, sometimes grieving, fearful, anxious, sometimes compassionate and centered, or selfish or grasping, sometimes healthy, sometimes tired or sick, subjects who live in compelling, textured, tangled, ordinary and extraordinary, but never straightforwardly teleological or compartmentalised worlds.

This is the *more-than* of emotions and affect. It is the messiness of experience, the complex emodiments, the ways people, animals, and things move through messy, complex, contingent and intense worlds. The material is always more than what can be represented in writing and textual or data analysis.³¹ It is certainly more-than the dry (dead?) renditions found in development indicators, IMF Country Reports and NGO workers' log frames. It follows that there is a need for attention to emotions and affect if we are to begin to move to postcolonial understandings. This is a world, culturally imbued and embodied, that stands in strong contrast to the stark, modern, developed utopia/distopia imagined by development's founding theorists. Little of this attention to other-worlds, however, has permeated development studies to date. To explore a little further what this might mean to development studies, I will turn now to land reform and the people of Hacienda Bino.

Land reform

Land reform has long been a central plank of the development agenda. Indeed, efforts to ensure development through the redistribution of land predates the contemporary development industry.³² In the Philippines, calls for land redistribution were a part of nineteenth century independence struggles against Spanish colonialism while the first official land reform programs were established during the period of American colonisation of the country.³³ Land reform has long had a dual history of sorts, proposed both by independence movements and by the colonial administrations that wished to placate them. This double movement is powerfully evident in the Philippines. A long history of failed land reform ventures is paralleled by a history of calls for effective and radical land reform. The Huk rebellion, short for *Hukbalahap* or 'Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army' that began as resistance to the Japanese occupation in the Second World War, featured land redistribution as a central platform. Communist in orientation, the rebellion had strong agrarian roots and attracted many peasants through its promises of land reform. In the

early 1950s Ramon Magsaysay, then Secretary of Defense, tried to quell the rebellion by offering 25 hectares and a government house to the Huks and other peasants. Although only 300 Huks and a total of 1000 families were resettled, this new policy had an important symbolic value and was successful in shifting broader public sentiment in favour of the government.³⁴

In the contemporary Philippines, land reform falls under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP). In 1988, then President Cory Aquino initiated CARP in response to the widespread uprising against the authoritarian government of Ferdinand Marcos and in an attempt to satisfy extensive demands for redistribution of land. The program has had mixed success. CARP, in its inception and in its ongoing implementation, is the result of intense negotiation from pro and anti-land reform elements. Since 2000, real reform has slowed, bowed down by a strengthened anti-reform lobby, the introduction of market-led approaches and intensified corruption and intimidation. An underfunded Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) has also contributed to the slow implementation of existing programs and heavy reliance on corporate donations.³⁵

Diverse social movements continue to call for a land reform based on a radical redistribution of power through a program of compulsory land transfer with land provided free to tillers in the context of broad agrarian support. The World Bank, on the other hand, promotes a market-led, ‘non-confrontational’ approach based on voluntary, rather than compulsory, land transfer. The bench-marks of the World Bank scheme is its purported economic viability through which land transfers do not ‘distort’ the market for land.³⁶ While major criticisms have been leveled at the market-led approach, there is little doubt that the World Bank’s renewed attention to land reform has put it squarely back on the mainstream development agenda.

It is little wonder, given this complex landscape, that analyses of land reform have revealed mixed results. Many studies cite a positive link between egalitarian land ownership and economic growth and point to the success of redistributive land reform in Japan, Korea and Taiwan.³⁷ Other studies, drawing evidence from Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, have criticised specific agrarian reform programs finding little evidence that they have raised the living standards of the rural poor.³⁸ The new market-led approach of the World Bank has also been widely criticised as ‘anti-poor’ rather and ‘anti-poverty’.³⁹

The question of whether or not land reform delivers on its promise of poverty alleviation dominates the literature. While these studies address central issues, questions do remain, particularly in terms of the social aspirations associated with land reform. The studies tell of corruption, violence, obstruction, land grabs of Indigenous and public lands, as well as empowerment, food security and (limited) poverty alleviation. Most of these accounts, however, are focused on outcomes, on income, on the area of land redistributed, on the number of recipients, on the cost. The voices of the tillers, the perspectives of the recipients themselves, tend to be missing while social aspects are underplayed.⁴⁰

In all the discussion of land distribution and agrarian change, in the questions about implementation, assets and areas of land, something of the compelling quality of land reform seems to be missing. What of the experiences of the land tillers? Not just their income but their lives? Their aspirations? What does it mean to live on a hacienda bound to a single *enkargado*, to line up every morning to see if you are selected, to be issued with chits for the hacienda store in lieu of money? What does it take to struggle for change? And what are the costs of that struggle? Here, we might find answers to both the enduring place of land reform in struggles for

justice, in the risks that tillers are willing to face to pursue it despite such immense hurdles, and in their dreams for a different future. We might, in short, begin to listen to ‘the whole of it.’

Land reform in the Philippines and Negros

In this section I look at the experiences of one land reform community, Hacienda Bino, from Negros Occidental on the island of Negros in the Philippines. The research was undertaken as part of a broader project on land reform with three major networks of farmers’ organisations: PDG, Paghida-et sa Kauswagan Development Group, an organisation involved in agrarian reform, institution building of peoples’ organisations and environmental protection; MAPISAN, a federation of farmers groups in southern Negros that represents more than 5000 households, and, MASIPAG, a network of over 30,000 farmers, peoples organisations and scientists working on sustainable agriculture and farmer empowerment. The findings presented draw upon on the collaborative research that involved five agrarian reform communities employing semi-structured interviews (n=40), focus groups (n=5) and a two day collaborative research workshop with 35 participants from the five communities. For the purposes of this article, I draw on quotes from one of these five participating communities, Hacienda Bino.

Hacienda Bino was a 211 hectare sugar plantation located in Kabankalan City, Negros Occidental. The landowner, former congresswoman Hortencia Starke is one of the staunchest opponents of land reform in the Philippines. She is notorious for calling her workforce *ulipon*, slave. Hacienda Bino was placed under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) in 1995. 82 regular farmworkers were identified and registered as beneficiaries of the land redistribution process. Later that year, workers organised themselves into an organisation *Katilingban sa Bino para sa Buhi kag Hilway nga Palangabuhi-an* (KABBUHI-AN). The

group was supported throughout the process by PDG. Hortencia Starke strongly resisted the transfer of the lands.

The group of farmers took possession of the land in 1998 in the presence of the Department of Agrarian Reform and the Philippine National Police. In 1999-2000, the community started converting 29 hectares into a communal rice field and five hectares into a banana plantation. The remainder was left as sugarcane. They used the *dagyaw* system of communal labour at this time. Later, a process of redistribution was organised by the Association which allocated 1.5 hectares to each family. One hectare was to be devoted to sugarcane and half to rice. There are also 42 hectares for a communal sugar farm, and a communal meeting place. The group is still facing legal challenges and are threatened by reclassification of the land.

Hacienda Bino

On 18 July 1996, the workers from who had registered as beneficiaries under CARP were retrenched. They were also blacklisted by the management of nearby haciendas as ‘troublemakers.’ As one participant explained:

We were terminated for three years. We worked on other haciendas wherever we could but often there was no work and not enough food. Instead of eating three meals a day we would eat just twice or once, and only rice, no meat or vegetables, just rice. Some of the community went to Manila or moved to other places. Anything to get work. One of the members, his wife died during that time. She was 26 and had given birth to twins. One of the twins died because there was no money for the hospital. We in the community couldn’t help because there was no money, not even enough for us to eat. Then the mother herself died of heartbreak. The member left for Manila and didn’t come back until we got the land.

The suffering described in this quote is immense. The experience of applying for land reform, what *matters*, what is real, tangible and important for the participants are the myriad of sorrows, challenges and strategies used. It is the lack of food, the feeling of hunger, the frustration and helplessness of not being able to feed children. It is the sorrow, the inability to help a neighbour in need. Death by heartbreak. Loss, exile. The stark facts of the matter are encapsulated in that first, short sentence, 'We were terminated for three years.' Here is the data. Here is the technical description so beloved by mainstream development. What this means to the people involved, however, is what follows. It is in the description of the sacrifices, in the recognition that not all who start this process will live to see the end. To do justice to the experience of poverty, to the struggle involved, requires attention to what is valued, what is felt and sensed, to the messiness, pain and hope of experience. There is nothing two-dimensional or inconsequential in this quote. Hope is held out by the community, action is taken. Yet the realities that face those who take action on their hope is so much more complicated, so much *more* than what might be anticipated.

Emotions animate in complex, unpredictable ways. To act is to respond to affect and to produce other affects. Above, a man moves to Manila to escape heartbreak. Hunger dictates movement and different kinds of work. In the following description of a picket held early in the campaign, one member describes her actions and those of the LandBank employees:

We held the mobilisation at LandBank to get the land evaluation. I was asked to hold the banner. Because it was the first time that I had held it I was very shy. We wore costumes. Well we call it costumes because we were wearing it in a rally but really it was what we wore for work every day - our work clothes. They were full of holes. The managers of the bank had really good clothes. The LandBank people

said, 'Can you go back home and wait for us to send you the evaluation?' We said, 'No, we will wait.' They only took until 10 o'clock that night although we were determined to wait as long as it took. When they gave us the evaluation the Landbank people said it was the first time to have such a picket. I replied, 'You know, Sir, it is also our first time.'

There is a chasm between those wearing good clothes and those wearing the everyday 'costume' of a landless agricultural worker. The representatives of Bino are alien to the LandBank employees. They are shy; they are out of their element. By bringing difference into close proximity, what might be hidden is brought to the fore. Here is power in place. Here is shyness and shame. Probyn suggests shame 'arises from a collision of bodies, ideas, history, and place.'⁴¹ In this case, in this place, the bodies, ideas, and history collide differently. By taking the ordinary poverty of everyday life and making it into a costume, the shame is thrust unexpectedly onto the LandBank workers. The costumed picketers disturb the promise of a normal day. They bring poverty to an unexpected place. It is the LandBank employees who would be relieved of this spectacle, who quickly push through the evaluation.

Emotions help produce and are produced by both connection and distance. Connection is in the solidarity of the 'we' who wear work clothes, who are determined to wait as long as it takes. Community is created by a sense of what it may make possible, what it has made possible; pickets, costumes, the holding of a banner for the first time, struggle, transitions. And land? Distance is in the different clothes, the different experience, it is in the 'Sir' addressed to the LandBank manager. Emotions emerge as important in compelling, propelling the participants to act. Above, emotions lead the LandBank employees to push through an evaluation at 10 o'clock at night. Yet in this, in awarding the evaluation, in the act of handing it over, a new tenuous

connection is found, it is the first time to 'have such a picket' for both groups. Below, the participant describes the DAR as nervous. Emotions weave through her story of struggle, entirely imbricated with the actions of the group.

I felt very sad during that time. There was lots of crying, lots of tears in those days. But ultimately we found we could survive all these things happening to us. We realised we were strong and determined. We held a picket at the entrance of the landowners' subdivision and one at Landbank to encourage them to do the land evaluation so that the Congresswoman could get her compensation... They knew we wouldn't go home until we had the CLOA, We took pots for cooking and our children. The DAR was nervous to see us there. But we got the CLOA. Ma'am Starke never thought we would.

Here subjectivities are implicated. From crying victims, the participant describes an emotional journey that ends with strength, survival and determination. Once again, ordinary items, cooking pots and children, bind the 'we' of the land reform applicants, while othering the now 'nervous' DAR workers. The cooking pots and children 'amount to something',⁴² they are both a promise and a threat. Both actions and their consequences are more-than a technical description. It is in the emotional, in the affective, that this question of what compels, what is being attended to, what chances will be taken, what consequences will be felt, begins to be answered.

What then, of the *more-than* worlds of development? What about a movement towards a more postcolonial understanding of the world, of going beyond the modernist project of development? This particular land reform project is generally considered a success. The tillers were awarded the land, they won their battle, they have been trained in sustainable agriculture

and have diversified their income earning significantly more than they did pre-reform. Yet the teleology of development is subverted too. The workers continue to struggle. The pain, the aches, the work lingers. Consider the following:

We work hard, just as we did before. It is a difficult life. We are still all day on the land, we have back ache and work all day crouched over in the hot sun. We get frozen in the leaned over position and can't stand [laughter]. But now we have our freedom and can make our own decisions. The fruit of our work can be used to benefit our families, our children and our community rather than the rich elite. We have won ourselves hope - for ourselves and our children. That is the difference.

The happy ending that was sought is so much more complex, so much more (and not all in a good way) than the number of acres distributed, of income increased (or not), of school attended. The insights come from the texture of this quote, from the laughter, from the prioritisation of self-determination, of self-expression and hope. It is in sorrow, beauty, loss, in frozen backs, in sweat (but our own sweat to benefit our own children), good food, in laughter. As the participant above states, 'That is the difference.' The difference is in the contingency, the sense that different things may happen, in the new configuration of body, place, history, mind, emotion, labour and politics that has been created. The future is no longer perceived as foreclosed. There has been a disruption, an opening. The difference is that the participants have generated a new, complex, uncertain and contingent way of living in the present and relating to their past and their future. As the participant below explains, they have won the right to live their own lives:

Before, when we worked on the hacienda, we were always instructed what to do, and where to go. We were completely dependent on the landowner. Now we are realising we have the right to express ourselves and to live our own lives... It has

brought us together too. Now if there are problems we are united. We take on the problems as a group and solve them together. Before, we were often too ashamed to go into a rich persons house or to stand up to politicians or rich people. Now we can express ourselves, we are welcome in each others' houses, we are free.

The meaning of success is defined in more-than-rational terms. Success is to feel a lack of shame, to be able to enter any house as a fellow land-owner, as one who has stood up to elites and won. It is to be able to welcome others into your own home. Success is in expression, in the option of going where you would go, making your own mistakes if needed. This is a heightened awareness of what Stewart, drawing on Deleuze, calls the 'capacity to affect and be affected.'⁴³

There *are* problems and it is important to resist the tyranny of a happy ending. The journey was so long, the loss so great that the participants that win the land are utterly different from those that began the process. Yet they have found 'a track for a flourishing of some sort.'⁴⁴ Problems can be dealt with by the group, by this affective community who have struggled together and reassembled, who continue to reassemble, their world in vastly different, more hopeful, ways.

Conclusions

And I do believe I am sensible - only sensible too of the wrongs being done here and that there are living worlds that people are refusing to see or even here about. I know that this sensibility is born of my affection for my new friends but it is no less trustworthy for that.⁴⁵

The dry descriptions of land reform, of bureaucratic inadequacies, of implementation failures often found in literature and policy on land reform in no way capture the richness of the

experiences related by the people of Hacienda Bino. While data and statistics can and often do tell a compelling story, and can be used for important political effect, such stories clearly leave many aspects unaddressed. We don't know what people do, how and why they act and react, what they experience. We miss their practices, their senses, the ways they relate to each other, to other people, things, flows, events. There are policy implications of this call for attention to senses and emotions but it's more than that. It's about respecting experience, understanding materialities.

This paper ultimately is a call for development to be *sensible*. Sensible in its original, late fourteenth century meaning of 'perceptible to the senses,' from the Latin *sensibilis*. This is a call for development to be keenly aware, to be sensible, as Ahdaf Souief states, of the wrongs that are done, sensible to the diverse, complex and nuanced worlds that exist that development, colonial powers, governments and myriad experts often refuse to see or acknowledge.

Attending to what is happening requires an openness to the emotional, to movement, to the sensory, to attachments, distances, difference, loss and possibility, to affect. This means being sentient to the world we are in, the more-than-rational world, and being aware that there are other worlds, more-than-rational worlds, that others inhabit. These are the *more-than* worlds of development.

Emotions are connective. They bring together, sometimes blur, sometimes define and always help (re)create context and practice, self and other, action and reaction, inner and outer worlds. To study them is not to depoliticise or objectify them. Rather, it is to understand them as relational, entirely imbricated with development agendas, and the people and places of development. Emotions, as they articulate with affect, mutuality and empathy, cannot be excised from critical research agendas, from our understanding of how development is imagined and

enacted, or our reflections on how knowledge is produced and authored. Indeed, to go beyond the dualism of reason and emotion, to explode it, means understanding that 'life is composed in the midst of affects.'⁴⁶ It means understanding that reason does not, cannot, exist separately from emotions, that emotions are what help define and create reason. But there is more. There are those things that elude the written word, that hover beyond the grasp of our rational minds, that escape us. To go beyond a Cartesian vision of development-as-modernism means considering the *more-than* and attending to the complexity of our affective, smelly, feeling, surprising, textured and material worlds. To attend to affect and emotion is to better understand how the workings of emotion and all that is beyond-the-rational are fundamental to the workings of society and our dreams for the future in all their unfinished messiness.

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¹ M Wright, 'Geography and Gender: Feminism and a Feeling of Justice', *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(6), 2010, pp 818.

² J Krishnamurti, *You are the World*, Chennai: Krishnamurti Foundation, 2001, p49.

³ A Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995; J Ferguson, *The Anti-politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

⁴ J Crush, *Power of Development*, New York: Routledge, 1995; Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 1995; Ferguson, *The Anti-politics Machine*, 1990; N Shrestha, 'Becoming a Development Category,' in J Crush (ed), *Power of Development*, New York: Routledge, 1995, pp266-277.

⁵ C Alvares, *Science, Development and Violence: The Twilight of Modernity*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992; W Sachs (ed), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, London: Zed Books, 1992; See also J French, 'Understanding the Politics of Latin America's Plural Lefts (Chavez/Lula)', *Third World Quarterly*, 30(2), 2009, pp349-370.

⁶ S Hall, 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,' in S Hall and B Gieben (eds), *Formations of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, pp257-331; N Hoad, 'Arrested Development or the Queerness of Savages: Resisting Evolutionary Narratives of Difference', *Postcolonial Studies*, 3(2), pp133-158; E Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon, 1978; G Spivak, 'A Critique of Postcolonial Reason', Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999. This dichotomy has also been critiqued by feminists. See, for example, J Sharp, 'Geography and Gender: What Belongs to Feminist Geography?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(1), 2009, pp 74-80.

⁷ K Anderson and S Smith, 'Editorial: Emotional Geographies', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 26, 2001, pp 7-10; Sharp, 'Geography and Gender', pp 74-80; S Pile, 'Emotions and Affect in Recent Human Geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35, 2010, pp 5-20.

⁸ S Ahmed, 'Collective Feelings: Or, the Impressions Left by Others', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 21(2), 2004, p 26.

⁹ S Borrás, C Kay and A Akram-Lodhi, 'Agrarian Reform and Rural Development: Historical Overview and Current Issues', in A Akram-Lodhi, S Borrás and C Kay (ed), *Land, Poverty and Livelihoods in an Era of Globalisation*, London: Routledge, pp 1-40; R Sobhan, *Agrarian Reform and Social Transformation*, London: Zed Books, 1993; D Moore, *Suffering for Territory: Race, Place and Power in Zimbabwe*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

¹⁰ See L Bachmann, B Cruzada and S Wright, *Food Security and Farmer Empowerment*, Los Baños, Philippines and Aachen, Germany: MASIPAG and MISEREOR, 2009; G Diprose and A McGregor, 'Dissolving the Sugar Fields: Land Reform and Resistance Identities in the Philippines', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30, 2009, pp 52-69.

¹¹ B Anderson, 'Becoming and Being Hopeful; Towards a Theory of Affect', *Environment and Planning D*, 24, 2006, pp 733-752.

¹² Sharp, 'Geography and Gender', p 75.

¹³ While emotions are generally considered expressible, work on affect emphasises the inexpressible, the visceral and instinctive energies, intensities, senses, smells and all those things and flows that make up our world in ways that cannot be named (see H Lorimer, 'Cultural Geography: Non-representational Conditions and Concerns', *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(4), 2008, pp551-559). Sometimes used as synonyms, other times as distinct or even diametrical, I follow Wright to treat the difference between emotions and affect as a difference in emphasis. As she states, 'I see no reason to insert cleavage between otherwise friendly terms' (Wright, 'Geography and Gender: Feminism and a Feeling of Justice', p 821.)

¹⁴ R Pain and S Smith and S Graham, *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

¹⁵ S Wright, 'Practising Hope: Learning from Social Movement Strategies in the Philippines', in R Pain, S Smith and S Graham (ed), *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, pp223-234.

¹⁶ Crush, *Power of Development*, 1995; Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 1995.

¹⁷ S Ahmed, 'Affective Economies', *Social Text*, 22(2), 2004, pp 117-139.

¹⁸ R Slocum, 'The Embodied Politics of Pain', *ACME*, 8, 2009, p19.

¹⁹ F Sultana, 'Suffering for Water, Suffering from Water: Emotional Geographies of Resource Access, Control and Conflict', *Geoforum*, 42(2), 2011, pp 163-172.

²⁰ D Tolia-Kelly, 'Affect – An Ethnocentric Encounter?', *Area*, 38(2), 2006, pp. 213-217.

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- ²¹ J Aisbett, *An Emotional Geography of HIV/AIDS Development Work in PNG*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Newcastle, 2011, E Ho, 'Constituting Citizenship through the Emotions: Singaporean Transmigrants in London', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 99(4), 2009, pp. 788-804.
- ²² G Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988, p 294.
- ²³ See the 2009 special edition of *Emotion, Space and Society*, on 'Activism and Emotional Sustainability' edited by Brown and Pickerall.
- ²⁴ L Pulido, 'The Interior Life of Politics', *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 2003, 6:47.
- ²⁵ Wright, 'Practising Hope: Learning from Social Movement Strategies in the Philippines', p 223.
- ²⁶ F Bosco, 'Emotions that Build Networks: Geographies of Human Rights Movements in Argentina and Beyond', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 98, 2007, pp545-63.
- ²⁷ D Thien, 'Death and Bingo? The Royal Canadian Legion's Unexpected Spaces of Emotion,' in M Smith, J Davidson, L Cameron and L Bondi (ed), *Emotion, Place and Culture*, 2009, Ashgate, pp 207-226.
- ²⁸ L Kouzal, 'The Subjective Side of Development: Sources of Well-Being Resources for Struggles', in K Bhavnani, J Foran, P Kurian (ed), *Feminist Futures: Re-imagining Women, Culture and Development*, Zed Books: London, 2003, p256.
- ²⁹ Moore, *Suffering for Territory*, 2005.
- ³⁰ P Gilroy, *After Empire*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p3.
- ³¹ K Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2007.
- ³² Here I refer to the emergence of the contemporary development industry post WWII.
- ³³ J Larkin, *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippines Society*, New Day Publishers; Quezon City, 2001; R Polestico, A Quezon and P Hildeman. *Agrarian Reform in the Philippines*. IIRR and German Agro-Action: Cavite, Philippines and Bonn, Germany, 1998; C Reyes, *Impact of Agrarian Reform on Poverty*. Makati: Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 2002.
- ³⁴ *Ibid*.
- ³⁵ S Borrás, D Carranza and J Franco, 'Anti-poverty or Anti-poor? The World Bank's Market-led Agrarian Reform Experiment in the Philippines', *Third World Quarterly*, 28(8), 2007, pp 1557-1576; J Putzel, *A Captive Land: The Politics of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines*, London: CIIR, 1992.
- ³⁶ K Deninger, *Land Policies for Growth and Poverty Reduction*, Washington D.C and Oxford U.K.: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2003.
- ³⁷ C Kay, 'Why East Asia Overtook Latin America: Land Reform, Industrialisation and Development', *Third World Quarterly*, 23(6) pp 1073-1102; Sohban, 1993.
- ³⁸ See for example, J Amid, 'Land Reform in Post-Revolutionary Iran Revisited', *Middle East Critique*, 18(1) pp 73-87; P Malope and N Batisani, 'Land Reforms that Exclude the Poor', *Development Southern Africa*, 25(4), 2008, pp383-397.
- ³⁹ Borrás, Carranza and Franco, 'Anti-poverty or Anti-poor?', 2007.
- ⁴⁰ More recently, Diprose and McGregor, 2009, begin to tackle the question of identity and social change drawing on the responses of peasant communities to land reform in Negros. Moore, 2005, also gives a nuanced and detailed account of land rights and the cultural politics of development in Zimbabwe.
- ⁴¹ E Probyn, 'Writing Shame', in M Gregg and G Seigworth (ed) *The Affect Theory Reader*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2010, p82
- ⁴² Stewart, 2007, p340
- ⁴³ *Ibid*, p343
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p349
- ⁴⁵ A Soueif, *The Map of Love*, London: Bloomsbury, p240
- ⁴⁶ Lorimer, 'Cultural Geography: Non-representational Conditions and Concerns', pp552.