The Development Contact Zone

Practitioner Perspectives on Culture, Power and Participation in Cambodia and the Philippines

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Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Abstract

This research examines the function of culture and power in Development praxis, as defined by Post-Development theory, the Participation approach to Development, and Development workers in Cambodia and the Philippines. Practitioner perspectives have been gathered by means of informal interviews conducted in Cambodia and the Philippines. The primary inquiry of this thesis is whether Development is culturally destructive, whether the current paradigm can deliver effective results, and what effect power relations have on these outcomes.

The research approaches Development as a contact zone, in which Southern Development workers function as border crossers, moving between the cultures of funders and local communities as they work to implement Development projects and programs. This affords practitioners privileged insight into the cultural negotiations of this contact, making their input critical to this inquiry. Their input is placed in the context of Post-Development theorists' assertion that Development is a culturally destructive discourse, and the proposal by other theorists that a participatory approach to Development adequately addresses Post-Development's key concerns. Participation addresses issues of power and context in Development practice from a different perspective from the Post-Development theorists, and outlines a series of strategies designed to overcome well-recognised limitations of Development practice.

Practitioner responses are grouped into three discussions, addressing their overall perspective on Development and Participation, their attitudes to cultural

change and Development's role within that, and their experience of power in Development funding relationships. Their responses were overwhelmingly supportive of participatory approaches to Development, and advocated a stronger role for the grassroots organisations that are pivotal to the Post-Development approach. Different attitudes to cultural change were expressed by practitioners in the two countries, however they consistently named Development as a source of positive cultural change, naming this as a key aim of their work. Finally, practitioners were critical of their relationships with funding organisations, which they felt were unduly controlled by the funders.

This research concludes that participatory Development fosters cultural liberty by reinforcing collaborative cultural traits and strengthening communities to make choices about culture. While Post-Development provides important critiques of Development, its proposed alternative of turning to the grassroots is not supported by practitioners, who seek ongoing relationships with Northern organisations and individuals. In particular, practitioners desire a model of funding relationship that reflects their own practice, by conforming to the *paradigm of people* that underpins the participatory approach to Development.

This thesis contributes to Development debates by presenting Southern perspectives that contrast with Post-Development, and by proposing a framework that can underpin further development of funding partnerships. Furthermore, it demonstrates that practitioners believe that Development is a reinforcing factor at a time when cultures are exposed to increasingly diverse cultural influences.

I declare that this thesis does not contain any material previously published or written by another author except where due reference is made in the text.

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I am indebted to many people and organisations for help in completing this research:

Terms and Abbreviations

AusAID	The Australian Agency for International Development
Barangay	Village (Philippines)
Bayanihan	Cooperation (Philippines)
Dah-leng	Driving aimlessly (Cambodia)
GRO	Grassroots Organisation
Haçienda	Large landholding with tenant farmers (Philippines)
Haçiendero	Landlord on a haçienda
INGO	International NGO
IP	Indigenous People (Philippines)
LGU	Local Government Unit (Cambodia)
Localising	The process of transferring NGOs to the control of Cambodians (see page 218)
Lower	People with relatively low power (see page 124)
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
Paradigm of people	Framework for the participatory approach to Development, explained on page 7. Also referred to as the participatory paradigm
PO	People's Organisation
Salvaging	Experience described by Filipino respondents, in which men are taken away by the military and either found murdered or never seen again
Upper	People with relatively high power (see page 124)
VDC	Village Development Council (Cambodia)

Introduction

The 2004 *Human Development Report* published by the United Nations
Development Program (UNDP) focuses on *cultural liberty*, which it calls
'vital' to human development on the basis that 'being able to choose one's
identity – who one is – without losing the respect of others or being excluded
from other choices is important in leading a full life' (UNDP 2004, p. 1).
Demands for cultural freedom are being heard from many regions, and the
globalisation of communications is making these calls more audible and their
repression more difficult (UNDP 2004, p. 27). In this context Development
has been accused of being a repressive system forcing the homogenisation of
Southern cultures in accordance with a Western model. This argument is
particularly prominent amongst the group of theorists known as the Post-
Development school, who propose that Development as we know it should be
discarded in favour of the actions of grassroots movements independent of
external influence. Participation theorists, on the other hand, propose that
adjusting the focus of Development can make it more responsive to the needs
and aspirations of the poor, on the understanding that if people are able 'to
participate in, and to shape, decisions affecting them' (Eade & Williams 1995,
p. 15), they will create outcomes that are more appropriate than if outsiders had
controlled this process. I draw from this the implication that local people will
shape Development in a culturally appropriate manner – in other words, it is
expected that participatory Development will be more relevant and effective
than non-participatory forms. Both approaches therefore respond to issues of

cultural liberty, but take very different perspectives on Development's role in achieving it.

Development refers to a range of praxis covering a broad spectrum of goals and values, as well as embodying many assumptions about what is desirable. Pieterse suggests that 'we can probably define development as the organised intervention in collective affairs according to a standard of improvement,' noting that even this allows for a broad scope of interpretation (Pieterse 2001, p. 3). Hart extends this by proposing a distinction

> between "big D" Development defined as a post-second world war project of intervention in the "third world" that emerged in the context of decolonisation and the cold war, and "little d" development or the development of capitalism as a geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of historical processes (Hart 2001, p. 650).

On this basis, this thesis is concerned with "big D Development," the deliberate intervention by "developed countries" into the affairs of "developing countries," with the aim of improvement. 'Development' will therefore be capitalised throughout the thesis whenever it refers to 'big D' Development.

The proposal that I test in this thesis is that when Development is participatory, it does not have the destructive effect on culture proposed by Post-Development, but is transformed through its engagement with people and context. I explore this problem by comparing these two bodies of theory (Post-Development and participatory Development) with the perspective of people actively engaged in implementing Development on a day-to-day basis. The research begins by acknowledging that Post-Development offers important

insights in relation to Development, notably in the emphasis placed on power in their analysis of Development. Brigg's analysis of Post-Development is more generous than some others, in that while others seize on the theory's shortcomings, Briggs notes that no single group can be 'expected to offer both sophisticated critical insights and to solve the problems of world poverty' (Brigg 2002, p. 421). Recognising this, the aim of this thesis is to build on the critical insights of *both* Post-Development and Participation[1], and use them to explore ways forward in the Development arena. One of the strengths that Post-Development theorists call upon is their connection with the grassroots, which also functions as a certain moral high ground because as long as Post-Development theorists can claim special and exclusive access to grassroots perspectives, they can dismiss criticism as being out of touch with "real needs". Understanding the extent to which this claim is valid will add a further dimension to critical engagement with Development theory and practice since it may enable critics to engage more effectively without fear of being labelled as imperialist.

This thesis therefore engages with Post-Development's claim to represent Southern views of Development and its effect on culture. In doing so, this research attempts to follow means consistent with Post-Development thinking, in the sense of going to the grassroots to test the theories of Post-Development and seek locally produced answers to Development problems. Since it is not possible to find a single Southern "voice", this research seeks a particular perspective, namely that of Development workers with community

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[1] For the sake of clarity, I have capitalised Participation throughout this thesis where it describes a particular approach to Development.

development-focused NGOs and People's Organisations (POs) in Cambodia and the Philippines. Although these workers have a clear investment in Development, they also occupy a unique position that affords them close contact with the grassroots *and* implementing and funding bodies, giving them very practical experience of the complexities of Development. This research is specifically concerned with people working with NGOs as opposed to bilateral organisations or other donors, due to NGOs' reputation for being closer to the grass-roots (see Hudock 1999).

In this way, this thesis considers the Post-Development critique of Development, and asks whether another model (specifically Participation) might be a better response to the question of cultural liberty in Development. I argue that Post-Development theorists too readily dismiss Participation as a means of securing improved outcomes for Southern people and their cultures, but I also acknowledge that a range of participatory approaches exists, not all of which adequately respond to Post-Development concerns. This argument is tested by interviewing Development workers in Cambodia and the Philippines to discover their perception of Development's cultural impact, and whether their favoured strategies align more closely with Post-Development or with Participation.

Post-Development

There has been extensive criticism of Development for several decades, based to a large extent on the equation of Development with Westernisation, and the way Development has "Otherised" and disempowered the poor. According to

Watts, Development thinking has reached a crisis or gridlock, with many critiques made, but few viable alternatives proposed (Watts 1995, p. 46; see also Schuurman 1993). Post-Development theory emerged in this context, and through a discourse analysis approach concludes that Development is a Western imposition that affords neither agency nor benefit to the poorer countries of the South – and which in fact *creates* the Third World by means of a 'new political economy of truth' (Escobar 1995b, pp. 212, 213). A central concern for this group of theorists is 'that development [has become] a force so destructive to Southern cultures, ironically in the name of people's interests' (Escobar 1995a, p. 44). This destruction is one aspect of the "violence" that Escobar and his colleagues believe is the main outcome of Development for the people of the South. Post-Development theorists hold that Development is deeply homogenising, and views all countries as being located at different points on a universal trajectory to a predetermined end, 'moving along one single track toward some state of maturity, exemplified by the nations "running in front"' (Sachs 1992, p. 3). This leads the Post-Development theorists to a profound concern for the preservation of diverse ways of being that they believe are devalued or destroyed by Development.

Out of their analysis, Post-Development theorists draw the conclusion that Development should be abandoned and that grassroots groups should be looked to as a source of a 'more radical imagining of alternative futures' (Escobar 1995b, p. 213). This proposition is based on an assessment that Development processes are violent towards the marginalised, and an assumption that the actions of grassroots movements will always be less violent since they are grounded in the desires and actions of the people themselves. While much of

Post-Development's criticism was shared by other critics, this radical rejectionism is a critical point of difference. This thesis is primarily concerned with Post-Development claims about culture and power in Development, specifically addressing the question of whether Post-Development accurately represents the views of the South on culture and Development, and in light of this enquiry seeks to discern a strategy that effectively addresses the desires and needs of people in the South, as understood by Development workers in Cambodia and the Philippines.

A final distinguishing feature of Post-Development is the implied 'politically correct position' (Pieterse 2001, p. 366), achieved in large part by the claim to present the views of the 'social majorities' (see Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 12). Post-Development claims to be a Southern theory, on the basis that the origins of many of its progenitors lie in countries which are part of the South, and they have had extensive and close dealings with the poor of Southern nations. The Post-Development theorists claim that their position is grounded in rejection of Development by Southern people , who 'see their resistance as a creative reconstitution of the basic forms of social interaction, in order to liberate themselves from their economic chains' (Esteva 1992, p. 20). It is important to reflect, however, that Post-Development theorists speak from a very different space from that of the people on whose behalf they speak, since many live and work in First World countries (or have done so), and all are able to engage critically with Development theories and debates. This distinguishes them quite markedly from Development's "target group", most of whom have had very little access to education and even less ability to travel internationally

or to engage in written academic debates taking place in English, often in expensive and specialised books or journals.

Participation

Long before the Post-Development concerns gained prominence, Participation held an important place in Development debates (Dudley 1993, p. 159). Like Post-Development, Participation gives particular attention to power in Development, especially as it relates to the marginalised and the influence they are able to have over changes in their own lives. A key difference is that Participation builds on Development rather than wholly rejecting it in the way Post-Development does, advocating instead a shift of focus from 'things' to people (Chambers 1995a). Participation therefore functions *within* the broader Development framework, but seeks to change it dramatically by flattening existing hierarchies and turning the focus back on the actions of the powerful - that is to say, making development not just about poor people and 'their' problems, but also about the rich and powerful and the impact of their actions (Chambers 1995b, p. 6). In practice, the "paradigm of people" is achieved by encouraging the involvement of poor people in the Development processes targeted at them, not only as cheap labour in the implementation stages, but at all points of the project cycle, from needs identification through to evaluation (Turner & Hulme 1997, pp. 141-142). Participation recognises that the power of people in the North – Development professionals in particular – has a direct effect on the ability of people in the South to meet their needs, however Participation's proponents suggest that it is possible to overcome this, and for Northern workers 'to be sensitive, to decentralise, and to empower, enabling

poor people to conduct their own analysis and express their own multiple priorities' (Chambers 1995b, p. 22). Although Post-Development theorists do not feel that Participation goes far enough, Participation has been widely adopted within mainstream Development practice, including major national aid and Development bodies such as the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), which requires Australian NGOs to incorporate Participation as a key Development strategy (see AusAID 2004c).

This Research

This thesis is also concerned with power and culture in Development as it is experienced in the transformative space in which "local" people engage with Development. Specifically, it enquires into the ways in which Development power structures affect Development workers and their ability to do their work, as well as seeking the perspective of those workers on the impact of Development on local cultures. It also explores Development worker perspectives on the effectiveness of Participation as a response to these central concerns of power and culture. Unlike Post-Development, Participation seeks to respond to these issues within the fundamental framework of Development, but on the basis of considerable critique of that framework. By exploring the efficacy of Participation with Development practitioners, it is possible to deepen these Development discussions.

Participation and Post-Development do not need to be viewed as a binary pair, in the sense that they represent the exact opposite of each other, or that one must choose between the approaches (although some Post-Development

proponents[2] appear to set up a Development - Post-Development binary which includes Participation in the former category). Both of these approaches have positive contributions to make to Development theory and practice and each can benefit from the insights of the other. This research considers the two approaches because they have both achieved prominence in Development and both attempt to respond to Development's shortcomings. I do not ask practitioners to choose between the two approaches, but rather to contribute to the debate by giving their perspectives on the positives and negatives of each.

NGO Development workers are to some extent mediators of the Development process, and they have insight into both the community in which the project takes place and the organisation in which it (or its funding) originates. Further to this, often they are themselves part of the grassroots who form the core of the Post-Development model, the people to whom Development is encouraged to turn for inspiration and guidance. Although Development practitioners may be viewed as part of the Development machine, I do not regard them as "corrupted" by this, but rather in a privileged position of insight into two worlds, and perhaps two worldviews. In this sense, they provide a much wider perspective than could be found amongst "ordinary" community members. Added to this, they are likely to be more confident to engage with a foreigner conducting research, on the basis of their contact with other foreigners and with imported ideas.

In performing this research, I had several hypotheses, grounded in the Post-Development critique of Development. The first was that there would be a

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[2] Such as Esteva and Prakash (1997, 1998), Escobar (1992, 1995) and Rahnema (1992, 1997).

high level of consistency in the responses, which include practitioners from two nations (Cambodia and the Philippines). While anticipating important differences at the level of detail, I expected that it would be possible to extrapolate some broadly applicable principles on which to base an alternative Development strategy. The second hypothesis was that power and culture are important issues for Development practitioners. While this may be expressed in various ways, relating to specific issues and situations that affect the practitioner, it was anticipated that these would be important concerns which practitioners have considered to some degree as they have performed their work. The third hypothesis was that Post-Development's assessment that Development inflicts an unacceptable level of cultural damage would be consistent with the views of practitioners, but that they would not agree that Development should therefore be rejected in its entirety. My expectation was that practitioners would instead call for a greater equity regarding the control of Development, especially the input of those whom it most affects, and that this would be seen as an effective strategy for mitigating cultural damage.

Thesis Organisation

The thesis commences by discussing the context of this research, starting with the conceptualisation of Development as a contact zone, in which people engage across differences of culture, power and experience. This is followed by a consideration of the theoretical location of Development workers and the agency they exercise, in the context of a consideration of NGOs and Development workers. Development workers' unique position constitutes them as the link between the funder and/or implementer and the community,

locating them simultaneously at the bottom of the NGO hierarchy and as highly important in the eyes of the community. This is followed by a discussion of the ways that NGOs have evolved and how their structure and history enable them to develop a quite distinctive approach. This NGO niche provides a perspective that is relevant to this discussion since although NGOs are products of the Western institutional context, they work more closely with the grassroots than, for example, bilateral agencies are able to do. Historically, NGOs have been able to be more participatory in approach than government-related agencies, due in part to their philosophies and in part to their proximity to the people they work with. Chapter One concludes with a discussion of partnerships between funding and implementing organisations.

Chapters Two to Four address the theoretical context of this research. Chapter Two addresses Post-Development theory, exploring its discourse analysis approach to mainstream Development and the key criticisms it draws, with particular attention to the impact of Development on culture. This is followed by Post-Development's conclusions, namely the rejection of Development and the proposed turn to the grassroots, then a summary of the broader response to Post-Development theory. The third chapter discusses approaches to culture, in order to facilitate a clear assessment of the cultural assumptions on which Post-Development is grounded, and alternative positions. In particular it addresses modernist and cultural studies approaches, exploring the implications each approach would have for understanding Development. It also examines Hall's (1992) description of three key interpretations of the effects of cultural change, namely homogenisation, heterogenisation and hybridity, and how these interpretations colour people's attitudes to cultural change. This leads into

Chapter Four, which concerns Participation as another response to
Development critique, opening with a consideration of the variety of
interpretations of Participation, and in particular the paradigmatic approach to
participatory Development. This is followed by a discussion of the way
unequal power is dealt with in this approach, and the ways culture is
understood and dealt with. Finally, the practical application of participatory
Development is discussed, in light of the breadth of participatory approaches
and the heavily critiqued distance between theory and practice within this
approach.

Chapter Five commences the second half of this thesis, which focuses on the
field work results, providing a third perspective alongside Post-Development
and Participation. This chapter describes the research approach and the
distinctive problems anticipated. A case study approach has been selected as
the most appropriate way to explore the questions posed in this research, and
the case studies focus on Development workers in Cambodia and the
Philippines. The rationale for this approach is outlined, with a discussion of the
benefits and limitations of the study.

Chapter Six considers Development workers' understanding of Development
and whether they share Post-Development's assessment of Development. This
is followed by an exploration of the extent to which they support participatory
Development approaches, and the methods they use. Chapter Seven discusses
the attitude that these Development workers have towards cultural change, and
where they see the strongest cultural influences stemming from. Development
workers' underlying approaches to culture are explored, together with the

implications of this for their approach to Development. Chapter Eight offers a discussion of Development workers' perceptions of their funders'[3] approach to Development and the extent to which this is consistent with their own approaches. Relationships between these NGOs and their funding agencies are explored in the context of their impact on the Development practice that results. Chapter Nine summarises the work and highlights the most significant outcomes.

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[3] I have chosen to use the term funders, rather than the more usual 'donors', since the latter term may obscure the conditions that these bodies tend to put on the funds they grant, rather than donating them unconditionally, as may be implied in that term. 'Funders' more closely reflects the economic and contractual nature of the relationship.

1 The Development Contact Zone

This chapter explores some of the key concepts for framing the thesis, namely the 'contact zone' in a Development context, the location of Development Workers, the function of NGOs and the Partnerships between funding and implementing organisations. Each of these components is important in locating this study, focused as it is on the perspective of practitioners working with Development NGOs in (or in search of) partnership relationships with foreign funders. The contact zone is 'the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations' (Pratt 1992, p. 6). In the Development context this refers to a space in which the North and South are directly in contact with each other in a profoundly unequal engagement. In this Development encounter, quite different cultures rub up against each other and must negotiate meanings and outcomes, providing opportunities for transformation. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on how that contact zone is experienced by NGO Development workers in Cambodia and the Philippines. The diverse individuals who work as local Development practitioners are border-crossers, negotiating relations between communities and implementing NGOs, and in some cases between these organisations and their funders. To do this effectively, they must engage with a variety of cultures and act as a conduit for their communication. Their location within NGOs is important because NGOs are recognised as key shapers of participatory Development praxis. Considering the evolving role of NGOs, and the advantages and disadvantages

that they bring to Development practice, gives insight into an important component of the context in which practitioners work.

Development as a Contact Zone

Mary Louise Pratt uses the notion of a contact zone to describe 'the space of colonial encounters,' exploring in particular the differences and inequalities that emerge in such spaces (1992, p. 6). In applying this concept, my argument is not that Development constitutes a form of colonisation but rather that contact is a concept that can usefully be extended to apply to the space of Development encounters. This is augmented by an understanding of theories about borders and margins, and their transgression, as discussed by hooks (1990), Anzaldúa (1987) and Bhabha (1990;1994). Together these concepts provide a broad framework for this research.

As Somerville and Perkins point out, theories on the contact zone share a common focus on the 'mobility, fluidity and hybridity' of this space and the negotiations that take place within it (2003, p. 256). The contact may not necessarily be between different national cultures, as there can also be sites of contact within a society comprised of diverse cultures or within these cultures themselves. bell hooks theorises the experience of people marginalised by a society and living on its borders or 'margins' in what she sees as a 'site of radical possibility, a space of resistance' (1990, p. 146). This "radical possibility" emerges from the unique perspective gained from these margins, and on this basis hooks distinguishes between 'that marginality which is imposed by oppressive structures and that marginality one chooses as a site of

resistance,' since the former position extinguishes creativity while the latter encourages it (1990, p. 153). In this way, the space of contact and inequality may also constitute opportunities to redress oppression, and 'imagine alternatives [and] new worlds,' a perspective which is a fundamental part of encouraging creativity amongst 'oppressed, exploited, colonised people' (1990, pp. 149, 150). Anzaldúa also writes of minority groups, and the 'borderlands' in which they exist, naming these as 'a source of intense pain' (1987, p.80). In particular, Anzaldúa writes of women who cross those borders continually, never belonging completely to either group: 'she learns to be an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view' (1987, p. 79). These women are never "at home" in a culture, but are always "Other" in some way. I draw on Anzaldúa's description of this "in-between-ness" to consider the experiences of Development workers, whose role demands that they must fit into several cultures, but always as a go-between for another culture, which means that they can never be simply themselves but always a border-crosser. Development workers therefore have an ongoing engagement with the culture of the funders, the implementers and the local community, and their continual border crossing may also give them some understanding of outsider perspectives on their own culture.

While hooks and Anzaldúa are interested in transformative outcomes of contact or border-crossing experiences, others such as Carter (1992) and Bhabha (1990; 1994) are interested in the actual space of contact. According to Bhabha, 'it is the "inter" – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *in-between* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture' (1994, p. 38). For him, the production of cultural meaning takes place in this 'Third

Space,' between 'the I and the You' of communication (Bhabha 1994, p. 36), and culture is (re)negotiated in this enunciative process. This highlights the temporality of this exchange, in which the stability of historical culture competes with the adaptive needs of the present context, bringing about the negotiation of meaning (Bhabha 1994). A similar interest can be seen in the work of Arturo Escobar, one of the best known Post-Development theorists, when he points to the 'cultural contestations that take place as capital attempts to transform the life of communities' (Escobar 1995a, p. 99). In speaking of contestations, Escobar points to the negotiation that takes place in the transformative engagement between local communities and the d/Development[4] project.

The focus in this space of engagement is on effective communication, in which 'the greatest differences can be expressed simultaneously and, instead of cancelling each other out, be instantaneously transferred from one side to the other' (Carter 1992, p. 180) in an open engagement that transforms both parties. This draws attention to the relations of power within the contact zone, in which the participants are not generally on an equal footing, in an engagement that 'usually involve[es] conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict' (Pratt 1992, p. 6). This in-between space is therefore interesting to these authors for the negotiations that take place within it, and the power that each party has in the encounter may determine the shape and outcomes of those negotiations, although they may not exercise the same level

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[4] The processes of little d development and big D Development are often intertwined and complementary, making it difficult or redundant to distinguish between them. I indicate such cases by using the term 'd/Development.'

of power they exercise in other contexts since 'this third space displaces the structures of authority' (Bhabha 1990, p. 211).

The contact zone can therefore be summarised as a site of cultural production, interaction and negotiation. As Pratt writes,

> [a] 'contact' perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other … not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power (1992, p. 7).

In this sense, the focus of this research is the way in which engagement, copresence and power asymmetry are experienced in the Development encounter. In this context, my particular interest is in the contact experience of Development workers – the extent to which they feel that Development embodies an interaction or interlocking between the various parties, the ways they perceive power differentials within this 'zone', and how they perceive and perhaps mediate the cultural outcomes of this exchange. The Participatory approach to Development promises a fuller and more equitable engagement in the contact zone, which could respond to Post-Development concerns about the effects of Development contact.

Development Workers

This study engages primarily with people from the South working in their own countries as Development workers. It is important to consider carefully the benefits and drawbacks of addressing Development workers in this study. Their experience affords specific insights into the question of Development's

impact on culture, and the particular question raised in this thesis, of whether these practitioners perceive Post-Development or Participation as best able to achieve desirable outcomes for communities. They are not intended to be a representative sample that could present a unified voice to speak about Southern concerns, nor is there an assumption that the Development workers in this research speak for all practitioners in this field. Development workers are a varied group and their motivations vary greatly, ranging from a commitment to social change to a desire for power or simply the need for paid work (and every possible permutation in between). They are drawn from diverse backgrounds and have differing views of the world. Their engagement in Development work is no greater guarantee that they are alike than a shared nationality or gender. Within this diversity, it is possible to identify certain shared characteristics or roles, and to talk on a very general level about certain commonalities. This discussion addresses some of these areas of commonality (or assumed commonality) in order to explore the context in which individual Development workers are located.

Development workers constitute a very specific group, selected because of their potential to give certain insights: these people are actively engaged with and invested in Development, and they have both a proximity to the grassroots and a familiarity with outsiders. Each of these factors functions as a positive in this discussion, because these Development workers have necessarily thought about the focus and impact of Development, which enables them to engage critically with the research topics. These practitioners are in continual communication with local people in ways that a foreign researcher could never be, affording a more reliable perspective on how Development affects those

people than could be gained through more direct contact between researcher and community members. Furthermore, Development workers' ongoing contact with foreigners – whether as co-workers or funders – means that they are likely to be slightly less intimidated by a foreign researcher than would local people who perceive themselves as of particularly low status relative to field workers, office workers and foreigners.

Since research is also a site of contact, this has been a further factor in the choice to focus on Development workers, as they are likely to be more experienced in dealing with foreigners than local people "receiving" or participating in Development, and therefore to feel more confident in this engagement. I make this assumption because local Development organisations regularly seek overseas funding, and when they receive it they must engage with the funders regarding monitoring and evaluating the projects. Even this level of contact, with its implicit power imbalance, is greater than that of most villagers, and therefore the distance between the researcher and the participant has potentially been narrowed slightly. Although slight, this improvement is important, since the act of performing field work or research is in itself a demonstration of power (Katz 1996, p. 172), and unequal power relationships can cloud the results. This is highlighted in critiques of participatory Development which assert that people in positions of less power may not be honest, saying instead what they believe will either please the powerful person, or help to attain the outcome they seek (Jackson 1997, p. 243). Further to this, through their work, Development workers gain specific knowledge and experience that I wished to learn about, and this enabled them to see their own

importance to the research and thus to feel themselves to be on a more equal footing..

The term "Development worker" may be used to refer to a wide variety of people, including village-level field workers, office-based local and expatriate workers, and a range of workers in the funding country, though these groups are often classified as though they were homogenous. Development workers were chosen because they may be seen to be mediating the Development relationship, or shaping projects and processes in small ways (Goetz 1996; Jackson 1997), or in the words of one Northern Development worker writing pseudonymously, 'we are the honest brokers who stand between the ignorant poor and the powerful rich ... [w]e stand in the path of an irresistible force and try to keep it decent' (Frank 1997, p. 266). While this latter comment betrays a less than positive view of the parties involved in Development, it is part of a broader picture that reveals a perception of Development workers playing an active role connecting and communicating between the parties, and influencing (and improving) Development by doing so.

Development workers are dynamic and integral to Development processes and may constitute 'the starting point and life force' of their organisation (Rugendyke 1992, p. 294). They function in regions of liminality between NGO and community, between bureaucracy and local traditions, and often between different languages, and like many people they function out of an often unconscious framework of experience and values (see Worchel & Shebilske 1983, p. 375). There is pressure on these practitioners to function according to community expectations and Development theory or project

demands, which may be in conflict with each other (O'Leary & Meas 2001, p. v). This can be seen, for example, in the loss of authority experienced by field workers who attempt to operate in an egalitarian fashion, sharing their power with local people (Jackson 1997, p. 246).

If practitioners do not recognise the ways that they and others shape each Development experience it may impact on Development processes. The Development worker's own understanding of poverty, Development, and of him- or herself as an agent within it, are fundamental to his/her approach to the process (O'Leary & Meas 2001, pp. 116, 29). An aspect of this is the opportunity and ability to reflect on their work and to modify it, as advocated in Freire's models for community education and conscientisation (1970). In their study of the attitudes and practices of Cambodian Development workers, O'Leary and Meas (2001) contend that Cambodian practitioners are often unaware of the power that they hold in relation to the communities they work in, not alert to the extent to which they affect the Development process because they believe that they are a neutral component of Development processes. This contrasts with Constantino-David's assessment that Development workers in the Philippines 'have always had a romanticist streak that runs side by side with a messianic complex' (1998, p. 40), by which she means that they have a strong belief in their own agency, alongside a romantic vision of society. This reveals that a variety of perceptions exist regarding Development worker function and power, even amongst Development workers themselves.

Working directly with community members, the local Development worker is closer to the grassroots than staff of funding bodies based in other countries, or

even expatriates based in the country concerned, and it is from this position that their reflection is sought on Development processes and effects. Moving between the communities and the funding organisations, Development Practitioners are boundary-crossers who have special insight into the complexities of implementing Development, and they have privileged access to the communities in which they work. Bhabha notes that cultural negotiations occur in the interstices where there is overlap between two areas of difference (1994, p. 2), and this is true of the space Development workers inhabit, giving them privileged insight into cultural negotiations that are of particular interest in this research.

Development workers, as staff and leaders in NGOs, may be viewed as 'brokers' of Development processes, who 'mediate between different knowledge systems' (Olivier de Sardan 1995, cited in Hilhorst 2003, p. 190). Development practitioners may be seen to have made a commitment to advance the Development project, and are employed (and therefore potentially controlled) by it, which could be perceived as precluding these workers from giving unbiased consideration to the issues at the heart of this work. These are important factors to consider in this research, however the same factors mean that Development workers are in a position to consider Development processes from their own experience as implementers, but also to share their perspectives on the experience of a range of communities they have worked with. This allows them to develop a strong sense of the intricacies and effects of the Development encounter, and to reflect on the participatory approach in a manner that would not be possible for people less invested in the process.

Expatriate Development Workers

Development workers are not always people from the South, but may also be people from the North who live in the South and work with implementing agencies, or indeed people working in the North (although this latter group is not part of the focus of this research). Expatriate Development workers in the South form a small part of this research, providing another perspective on Development and Participation. The agencies with which expatriates work may be arms of Northern NGOs in which the expatriate has a leadership role and perhaps a mandate to resource local people to take full responsibility for this work. Alternatively, the organisation may be a Southern NGO, but in this case too, expatriates tend to work in leadership positions. Like local Development workers, these practitioners build an understanding of their context and relationships with the people they work with, and bring these to their work, however their perspective is different since their experience is framed by the cultural influences of their lives in other countries, which at times offers unique insights, particularly regarding cultural contact. Like other Development workers, however, expatriates are also 'increasingly governed by organisational rules' and therefore constrained in what they are able to do (Bebbington 2004a, p. 736). Further to this, the perspective of an agency Director may be quite different from that of a person working in a community in that the Director may have greater contact with funders, or may need to consider different aspects of the Development encounter. Another dimension of this is that foreigners, especially foreign 'experts', are accorded great respect in many countries, giving them greater power than local people in the same position or with the same knowledge. Expatriate practitioners nonetheless function in the contact zone as an intermediary between groups and cultures,

and like local practitioners may find themselves 'in between,' always considered somewhat foreign by their local counterparts as well as by those in their country of origin.

Development Worker Agency

Development planners often regard Development workers as neutral in the Development process and make the assumption that they are able to perform their function – including data collection – neutrally and with full and free input from Development participants (Pottier 1997, p. 222). Such perceptions frame the Development worker as 'desirably passive, responding to the initiatives of the villagers but not imposing his or her own subjectivity' (Jackson 1997, p. 238). This is an unrealistic expectation of Development workers, who are active participants in the process as much as the other people involved. The influence of each party varies greatly in degree, in the extent to which it is formally acknowledged or invited, and in the openness with which it is executed, but it is always present (Villareal 1992, p. 263; Jackson 1997, p. 238). When discussions of Development workers do ascribe them agency, it is not always complimentary, often focusing critically on their negative effect on Development outcomes, as for example with Constantino-David's criticism on page 22 above. Others accuse Development workers of being self-proclaimed experts confident of a mandate which they themselves have defined, based on an implicit definition of Development 'as a transfer of knowledge from "developed" to "undeveloped" societies' (see Porter 1995, 73; Edwards 1989, 118). Edwards believes that Development workers may perpetuate disadvantage, because their heavy investment in Development as a concept and

their role as experts will influence their behaviour in ways that do not benefit locals (1989, p. 119).

A more positive approach acknowledges that in the face of a great number of pressures, Development workers generally desire to do the right thing (Hintjen 1999, p. 388). According to Edwards, 'anyone who has worked in a field position for an NGO knows how difficult it is to find time to read, think and write,' keeping up with current practice and contributing to debates (1989, p. 133). Similarly, Chambers notes that workers are under pressure 'to produce a portfolio of projects quickly; to spend budgets, especially aid budgets, by deadlines; to include capital goods from donor countries as part of projects; [and] to reduce staff numbers' (1988, p. 4).

The power of Development workers is complex, in that they occupy a lowly position in the Development hierarchy, being the field workers and relegated to the "dirty" jobs, yet they may find themselves in a position of significant power in the context of the village, where they may attract respect and gratitude (Jackson 1997, p. 244). In this respect, Development workers are 'often on the lowest rung of the organisation in terms of status and authority but [are] capable of making, or breaking, a project' (Jackson 1997, p. 237). This power comes from being a conduit of funding and information, both "down" to the villagers and "up" to the implementers and funders, interpreting each to the other, and in many cases able to exercise an element of discretion in the implementation (Goetz 1996).

O'Leary and Meas also found that Development workers identify their place within the Cambodian hierarchy quite clearly, with "upward" accountability and "downward" responsibility to direct, viewing villagers as 'objects, not subjects' and 'beneficiaries rather than actors' (2001, p. 34, 30), an attitude that denies people the agency that is necessary for their effective participation in Development (Nelson & Wright 1995, p. 18).   Such attitudes may also leave these practitioners susceptible to pitfalls that include believing that Development is not occurring without the aid of external professionals like themselves (Nelson & Wright 1995, p. 2), or attempting to be advocates rather than empowering people to be agents of change (Panayiotopoulos 2002, p. 54). This sort of attitude creates a space in which the poor receive all of the blame for project failures, while Development workers are able to take credit for project success (Hintjen 1999, p. 392).   In part, these attitudes and behaviours may be a result of the training Development workers have received, which may have overestimated their capacity or existing knowledge, such that the training may begin at the wrong point and therefore be falsely targeted, resulting in a much lower potential for success.   For example, trainers may falsely assume that practitioners are able to facilitate groups effectively, to conceptualise and critically analyse information, and to integrate it with their existing knowledge and procedures (O'Leary & Meas 2001, p. 82).

In terms of their function as border-crossers, Development workers may perform "translation," which is described by Bhabha as

> a way of imitating, but in a mischievous, displacing sense – imitating an
> original in such a way that the priority of the original is not reinforced but

by the very fact that it *can* be simulated, copied, transferred, transformed

(1990, p. 210).

In other words, in the act of translating information between the NGO and the community, Development workers are able to transform the information. They may do this with the aim of making the information more easily understood or more attractive to the other party, or they may adapt the information according to their own values or goals. In doing this, they are exercising significant power, though they may not recognise their own agency. Thus the Development encounter is not neutral and therefore predictable or able to be contained within neat plans that presage all steps of the engagement. Rather it is affected by many factors, from organisational preferences and donor fashions to the individuals involved and it is an interaction fundamentally concerned with and affected by *people*. This means that Development is always interpreted and influenced when it is encountered, and that this agency lies not only with the people of the South, as pointed out in critiques of both participation and Post-Development, but also by Development workers since 'development interventions do not pour down on a village like a rain shower; they are mediated by local development brokers' (Hilhorst 2003, p. 82). Development workers are constantly crossing a variety of borders and with each crossing they change their relative identity – their accountability, their role, their power. Yet they are integral to the ways in which other parties experience Development, since they have the opportunity to translate and reinterpret each to the other. They come from diverse backgrounds and many assumptions are made about their agency and capacity. Most importantly, they are people, and as such are active agents within the Development encounter.

On this basis it can be seen that the Development worker functions in a complex environment, negotiating contact between disparate groups and their respective expectations. This research engages with a particular group of Development workers, namely those working for NGOs, specifically in Cambodia and the Philippines, and it aims to contribute to the relatively small body of work that seeks to engage directly with the experience of local Development workers by exploring their perception of the cultural impact of Development and their own contact role.

Non-Government Organisations as Key Development Actors

NGOs are central to this study because of their reputation for being more participatory, flexible and relevant to the needs of Development's "target groups" than state or multilateral actors, and therefore embodying the possibility of being more in tune with the grassroots people who are the central focus for Post-Development theorists, as will be discussed in the next chapter. While governments are the key funders of Development they are increasingly using NGOs as channels for that funding, and this has been partly responsible for the exponential growth in NGO numbers in recent decades (Boli & Thomas 1999b, p. 20), spawning diverse organisations with a wide variety of origins, aims and strategies. NGOs are particularly relevant to a discussion of responses to Post-Development concerns, since many of the supposed advantages of NGOs reflect Post-Development critiques of problems with mainstream Development. In particular, NGOs claim a proximity to the grassroots that is consistent with calls from both Post-Development and Participation to reorient the Development paradigm and bring grassroots

people to the forefront (Silliman 1998, p. 71). This claim sets NGOs apart from bilateral and multilateral Development programs, but there are some questions about the degree to which the claims reflect the reality of NGO practice.

As David Korten points out, in general parlance the term NGO applies to a 'bewildering variety of organisations that have little in common with one another,' beyond the key defining factor of being both not-for-profit and non-governmental (1990, p. 95). Hulme and Edwards propose that there is also a shared '*raison d'être*' of reducing poverty (Hulme & Edwards 1997, p. 14), but this still leaves a low number of common features and thus leaves a wide scope for heterogeneity amongst NGOs in aims and style (Tvedt 1998, p. 137). This diversity is often viewed as a great strength of the NGO sector because it adds breadth to their work and appeal (Rugendyke 1992, p. 35), yet the absence of clear and shared understanding of what constitutes an NGO also evokes lament and creates a body of literature 'as imprecise and as diverse as the organisations it seeks to capture' (Porter 1991, p. 56). One response to this vagueness has been the identification of a variety of NGO subsets or alternatives, resulting in the emergence of a range of acronyms distinguishing between NGOs. In the international Development literature, there is a range of classifications, including INGOs (International NGOs), SNGOs (Southern NGOs), POs (People's Organisations), GOs, GROs or GDOs (Grassroots Development Organisations), VOs (Voluntary Organisations) and PSCs (Public Service Contractors) (Turner & Hulme 1997; Korten 1990; Clarke 1991; Silliman & Noble 1998b). In the Philippines these groupings are further differentiated, with names defining organisations' roots, function and

legitimacy (see Constantino-David 1998)[5]. Another approach is to recognise

that NGOs are embedded in an 'international network of relationships that go

up to make what might be called an aid chain - networks linked to international

aid and cooperation, and channelling funds and offer resources and information

for the purpose of fostering social change' (Bebbington 2004a, p. 729). In light

of this interrelationship it is less easy to make hard and fast distinctions

between NGOs according to their origin in the North or the South, since many

of the people in these networks are border-crossers, living and working in

different places at different times (Bebbington 2004a). This is certainly true of

the NGOs in this research, which are diverse in origin, networks and funding,

and which are often hard to pin down into a discrete box.

International NGOs have existed in a recognisable form since at least 1875,

according to Boli and Thomas, who refer to almost 6,000 NGOs 'classified as

genuinely international bodies' in the *Yearbook of International Organisations*

published in 1995 by the Union of International Associations (1999a, p. 20).

Several authors have noted that the organisational forms of the NGOs reflect

the dominant ideologies of the era in which they were established, for example

INGOs established prior to World War One tended towards one of three forms,

namely 'missionary organisations, specialised humanitarian organisations, [or]

professional, labour and political solidarity groups,' with each group sharing a

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[5] Constantino-David (1998) distinguishes Filipino NGOs in a variety of ways. She distinguishes according to whether NGOs are run by individuals, organisations, ideological forces and institutions or agencies, and also makes further distinctions that include GUAPOs (genuine, autonomous people's organisations), MUNGOs (mutant NGOs) and GRINGOs (government run and initiated NGOs). Korten (who worked with Philippine NGOs for many years) also defines four categories of NGO, according to who runs them, namely voluntary organisations, public service contractors, people's organisations and 'governmental non-governmental organisations (1990, p. 2).

set of moral goals (Chabbot 1999, pp. 227-8). New NGO forms emerged between the World Wars, namely 'private philanthropies, specialised sectoral organisations, and relief organisation,s, while most of the INGOs formed since 1945 fall into another set, specifically 'UN support organisations, development support organisations, issue-based organisations, geographically based solidarity organisations, and regional organisations in Africa, Asia and Latin America' (Chabbot 1999, pp. 229, 232). In each case, the organisations were grounded in an ideology dominant at the time, as for example the successive notions that Development should be guided and controlled by the state (in the 1970s), the market (in the early 1980s) or 'the market plus civil society' (in the late 1980s) (Hulme & Edwards 1997, p. 276). This has significantly affected the type of work they take on and the solutions they propose to Development issues.

The number of local, national and international NGOs throughout the world has grown exponentially, more than doubling in OECD countries in the 1980s (Porter 1991, p. 57). In Australia the number of nationally-based organisations doubled between 1970 and 1990 (Rugendyke 1992, p. 34), and in the Philippines totalled 58,000 in 1993, with the addition of countless local organisations in both countries (Silliman & Noble 1998b, p. 10). There are a number of hypotheses surrounding the growth of NGOs, including that NGOs have emerged to fill the gap left by the continuing erosion of government services, accentuated under World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs, or that the growth has been fed by the extraordinary increase in the level of funding administered by NGOs, which has benefited from the perception that NGOs are 'better conduits for the distribution of multilateral and bilateral aid'

than the governments of the receiving countries (Zaidi 1999, pp. 260, 263; see also Tvedt 1998). Whatever the reason for their increasing numbers, NGOs are now significant Development actors, as illustrated by Hulme and Edwards' reflection that the proportion of OECD member countries' aid channelled through NGOs 'increased from 0.7 per cent of the total in 1975 to 3.6 per cent in 1985 and to 5.0 per cent in 1993/94', with these funds now constituting almost one third of total NGO income (Hulme & Edwards 1997, pp. 6, 7). Consequently the past three decades have seen NGOs establish themselves in a highly significant role within the international Development arena (Silliman & Noble 1998b, p. 7; Farrington, et al. 1993, p. 1). Even so, Fowler calculates that NGO work only touches 'some 15 to 20 per cent of the population in the developing world that are classed as poor and marginalised,' a reach that he calls 'modest at best' (2000, p. 7).

NGO Function

Many discussions regarding Development NGO operations and effectiveness are based on the assumption that NGOs operate on a 'clearly articulated set of values and ideological purpose … commonly based around ideas of: people-centred development; participation and empowerment; local legitimacy and sustainability; good governance and democratisation; transparency and shared learning' (Hailey 2000, p. 404; see also Henkel & Stirrat 2001, p. 171; Zaidi 1999, p. 262). These values are presumed to translate into practices which give NGOs a 'comparative advantage in delivering development services' (Hudock 1999, p. 8; also Tvedt 1998, p. 129). This relates in particular to the manner in which they carry out Development work, with an emphasis not only on the outcome but also on the process or experience of achieving that outcome

(Rugendyke 1992, p. 39). These processes emphasise the power of people to control or participate in the various facets of the overall Development experience and thereby become empowered (Silliman & Noble 1998b, p. 8; Rugendyke 1992, p. 331). This translates to a perception of NGOs, particularly small ones, as 'better able to utilise participatory methods successfully' (Korten & Siy 1988, p. xviii; see also AusAID 1995, p. 14; Chambers 1994c, p. 1447). In many ways, the relatively small size of most NGOs works to their advantage in gaining these characteristics, since their smaller base of stakeholders allows them to build on a 'more coherent values consensus … [thus they] are able to define positions more clearly, to press for innovative solutions, and to experiment in ways that governments find difficult' (Korten 1990, p. 99). One aspect of this is their commitment to participation and engagement with local people and places, which allow them to gain ongoing feedback and to apply relevant knowledge and strategies to emerging situations. In addition, they are seen to have skills which are not generally part of the repertoire of large donors, such as 'facilitating complex social and institutional change processes' (Korten 1990, p. 114). Size is also seen as an advantage when combined with 'flexible [and] responsive' practices (Hailey 2000, p. 403) to afford NGOs proximity to the grassroots and strong connections with 'the neediest groups in the developing world' (Rugendyke 1992, p. 39). This translates into a greater understanding of, and affinity with, 'the everyday reality of the countries in question than many other authorities and more paternalistic donor agencies' (Verhelst 1990, p. 3; see also Zaidi 1999; Tvedt 1998). NGOs are also seen to be well networked with local people and other organisations (Hudock 1999; Silliman 1998), having their organisational roots in people's movements or organisations and often drawing their staff from local communities (Hailey

2000, p. 404). Through these connections NGOs become 'instruments for distributing power within society by strengthening the economic and political power of the previously marginalized ... [and] training grounds for democratic citizenship and the institutional building blocks of democratization' (Korten 1990, pp. 101-2).

The sum of these perceptions has a strong pulling power in the North, where connections with the South or with Southern NGOs afford legitimacy to Northern NGOs (Lister 2000, p. 229), thereby increasing their ability to raise funds for their work. Hilhorst asserts that the term NGO is in fact a 'claim-bearing label,' meaning that an organisation uses this name to convey certain implications about behaviours or beliefs, generally to improve its perception by others, especially funders (2003, p. 7). In this context the claim is a moral one, of working for others' benefit, ascribing credibility and integrity to the organisation, which is in some respects 'more important … than their ability to implement projects' (Hilhorst 2003, p. 25). The importance of this lies in the vast number of organisations seeking funding, which ensures that there is always competition and therefore the requirement to find clear ways to demonstrate eligibility and attraction.

This combination of features appears to dovetail well with concerns of both Post-Development and Participation regarding power imbalances and local needs and values, yet there is a significant body of criticism surrounding the efficacy of NGOs and the veracity of their claims. It cannot be assumed, for example that all of the positive features outlined above are fulfilled by all NGOs, for while it is true that many NGOs have grown from grassroots

organisations or associations working towards meeting the needs of very poor people and communities (Aldaba 1993, p. 10), many NGOs are firmly rooted in the North, or are run by middle class people in the South (Edwards 1989, p. 122; Constantino-David 1998). While Hulme and Edwards reflect that there is a paucity of data relating to the success or otherwise of NGOs (1997), Rugendyke acknowledges that 'some of the harsh criticisms of NGO activity which have emerged from the developing world seem to be well-founded for some agencies' (1992, p. 334). Taking a much stronger position, Zaidi writes that 'much' recent evidence shows that NGOs 'have failed at making a substantial impact upon the perceived beneficiaries they were expected to benefit,' asserting that there are actually few success stories, though their repeated reporting makes them sound more numerous (1999, pp. 263, 267). These critiques are summed up in Turner and Hulme's statement that 'a doctrine of assumed effectiveness has grown around NGOs much of which is either erroneous or unsubstantiated' (1997, p. 203). Indeed, it may be that it is the very characteristics often valued in NGOs that are the factors that lead to these problems, namely 'small size, restricted impact, distance from policy decisions, professional and technical limitations, poor coordination, problems of representativeness and accountability' (Farrington, et al. 1993, p. 25).

In 1990, David Korten reflected that 'there seemed to be a definite pattern of evolution within the [NGO] community,' which he modelled as three stages, namely direct delivery of services; developing capacities and sustainability; focusing on 'policy and institutional settings' (1990, p. 115, 121). He proposed that through their ongoing practice NGOs developed a deeper understanding of poverty and of ways to respond that addressed the long term structural issues

that perpetuate marginalisation and disadvantage, and the ability of communities to respond in a sustainable and transformative manner. Korten named these stages as generations, using this term because successive generations live harmoniously together rather than erasing those that have gone before (1987, p. 156), creating an image of an NGO community in which all three generations exist and complement each other. He also proposed a fourth generation, in which NGOs become 'catalyst organisations,' enabling other local organisations and nurturing a cohesive network of local groups (1987, p. 152; 1990, p.124). Almost a decade and a half later, however, he had concluded that most NGOs remain in the initial service delivery phase, responding to the symptoms of poverty and disadvantage and not progressing through the other phases of addressing causes and working with communities to build their capacity to make their own responses (Korten 2004, pers. comm., 8 July). Rather than viewing NGOs as part of a strategic response to poverty, it might be more accurate to say that they provide a fractured series of bandaid measures.

For most of the period to the 1980s, states and large multilateral organisations were perceived as the best agents for the delivery of Development, and NGOs remained on the margins. This has gradually changed in response to ongoing critiques, including those coming from both Post-Development and Participation sources. As a result, people's participation has become much more important, and NGOs have been able to claim a space in which they can demonstrate a clear advantage with the result that NGOs have been able to become relatively powerful actors within Development discourse. Particular forms of NGO have been less successful in this respect, an example being

union organisations, which have not always been seen as legitimate NGO actors, and while POs are experiencing increased status correlating with improved ability to secure funding from NGO partners (see Constantino-David 1998, p. 40), it would be false to say they were able to exert a strong influence over these discourses. Part of this is perhaps because POs and unions do not fit with the mainstream perceptions of organisational form dominant among Northern funders, nor do they tend to be sufficiently familiar with Development and NGO discourse to engage in the manner necessary to influence them.

Hilhorst points to the existence of NGO discourses which define acceptable approaches, interpretations and strategies and which are 'more lasting than fashions … [and] effective in re-creating the past, stipulating policy for the present, reshaping organizational forms and practices, and including, excluding and reshuffling people's relations' (2003, p. 10). Yet there are growing challenges to this discourse, for example regarding the veracity of the connections between NGOs and the grassroots, including the extremely poor and their effectiveness in ensuring that the needs of these people are heard and met (Zaidi 1999, p. 263). In her research on the policies and practices of Australian NGOs, Rugendyke found that the 'commonly accepted' notion that NGOs operate with participatory processes led from the grassroots was 'clearly not valid' (1992, p. 333).   It has also been claimed that NGOs function on a double standard whereby the expectation of participatory and democratic processes do not extend to the NGO itself (Nyoni 1987, p.53). There are also questions about whether the need to work on links with funding agencies such as donors and governments is taking too much of NGOs' time that should be

spent attending to the grassroots connections (Hulme & Edwards 1997). Additionally, the growing tendency for NGOs to channel funds is seen by some critics to bind the NGOs into a position of dependence on the donor, thereby tying them to the values and conditions of these funders and detracting from their 'independence and legitimacy' (Hailey 2000, p. 404; Silliman 1998, p. 56; Zaidi 1999, p. 264; Chambers 1997).

Lister suggests that Northern NGOs (NNGOs) in fact have a double dependency, relying on the funding body (the 'upwards' dependence for resources) and also the local implementing NGO (the 'downwards' dependence for the grassroots linkage), though the latter resource is not well recognised or valued and is more often viewed as the locals' "upward" dependence on funding (2000, p. 232). This arrangement is further complicated when implementing NGOs (usually Southern NGOs) 'usurp the role of their beneficiaries' in the sense that the NNGO is more focused on building the capacity of the SNGO than of the people with whom the SNGO works (Hudock 1999, p. 13). This is a complex point, since the strategy may be employed in the name of building sustainability, however Hudock names it instead the building of 'democracy by proxy' (1999, p. 13), meaning that the SNGO becomes the proxy of the grassroots who stay marginalised, having substituted one locus of power for a more decentralised one.

Partnership

It is important to recognise that NGOs interact with their environment, and when they work closely with the grassroots, there is an interface of many factors. Tvedt summarises this encounter as 'an outcome of complicated

processes where factors like international ideological trends, donor policies and NGO agendas interact with national historical and cultural conditions in complex ways' (1998, p. 4). One aspect of this environment that has a significant impact on NGOs is their relations with funders, and it has been asserted that 'donors' control over funds totally conditions' these relationships (O'Leary & Meas 2001; see also Dudley 1993, p. 161; Hoksbergen 2005, p. 19). The 'partnership' approach evolved in part in response to this critique, and more generally 'to address the perceived failure of development intervention and aid, blamed on a failure to "transfer" skills and responsibilities to "local" agencies' (Harrison 2002, p. 590; see also Ng 1997, p. 148). The concept of partnership has been 'largely borrowed from the business sector' (Tresoriero 2001, p. 48), and began to gain traction in Development in the 1970s, reflecting 'the ideological aspiration of international solidarity' (Fowler 1998, p. 140). Aiming to redress power inequalities in relations between donors and NGOs, and to replace the conditionality that donors have been able to impose, partnership is 'a term which tends to de-emphasise Northern dominance, [and] help people in the South become the architects and engineers of their own development' (Hoksbergen 2005, p. 18; see also Maxwell & Riddell 1998, p. 259; Kayizzi-Mugerwa 1998, p. 223). The model has become so well accepted that Elizabeth Harrison reflects that 'for international NGOs generally, partnership is also a popular, if not obligatory strategy' (2002, p. 589).

In spite of the pervasive adoption of partnership in the Development mainstream, it may be interpreted in a variety of ways, since 'the term "partnership" reflects an idealistic notion of what interactions between northern

and southern NGOs should be like, rather than providing an accurate description of what they are actually like' (Hudock 1999, p. 20; Harrison 2002). Characteristic descriptions of partnership include 'mutually enabling, inter-dependent interaction with shared intentions' (Fowler 1998, p. 144), and 'a collaborative and non-coercive relationship' (Ng 1997, p. 152). What emerges is a focus on the form of the relationship, and the shared values and intentions of the parties. While this is a laudable aim, Kayizzi-Mugerwa reflects that common values amongst northern NGOs, including those concerning gender, democracy and pluralism may not be shared by recipient countries, and that as a result, 'by their very nature partnerships will be exclusive,' by selecting only those organisations that are willing to adopt these values (1998, p. 224).

This reflects in part the fact that inequitable power relations have not been remedied through the introduction of partnership, but instead have been obscured by new terminology and processes (Harrison 2002, p. 587; see also Eade 1997, p. 277). Abrahamsen points to the way that partnership is a discourse that 'confers obligation and duties at the same time as it opens up new possibilities for decision and action' (2004, p. 1460). A positive approach to this recognises the ongoing negotiations that occur within the relationship between partners, as in a marriage, in which 'the relationship is as much a site of struggle as a cause of harmony' (Stirrat & Henkel 1997, cited in Hilhorst 2003, p. 211). This level of faith, however, does not dominate literature on the practice of partnership, which instead points to the power retained by funders on the basis of 'the ownership of financial resources, and the definition of this resource as the base of power' (Lister 2000, p. 235). Crawford reports results of a study which 'would suggest that the power asymmetries within North-

South relations, as expressed through the aid relationship, have not significantly changed, despite the current fad for the language of "partnership" and "national ownership"' (2003, p. 155; see also Hudock 1999, p. 15). These perceptions and experiences are so common in Development experience that Fowler muses that 'one might expect the term [participation] to have been quietly dropped' (Fowler 1998, p. 141).

As with Participation, there is a suggestion that partnership may be implemented in an instrumental fashion, whereby it is 'perceived as an instrument or a means by which to accomplish agency objectives' (Crawford 2003, p. 143). In this way, partnership may not have been adopted on the basis of the ideals of equity and relationship on which it was founded, but rather to cut costs, improve compliance by implementing partners, or even gain legitimacy 'in the eyes of their own donors, governments, constituencies and finally the public at large (mediated through the media)' (Hilhorst 2003, pp. 211-2). Partnership that is not instrumental is more focused on relationship – what Fowler calls 'authentic partnerships,' based on mutuality and trust (1998, p. 147), characteristics that are called for repeatedly in this literature (Hudock 1999; Hilhorst 2003; Mawdsley, Townsend & Porter 2005).

A less common perspective on these relationships implies that NGOs are in fact able to exercise significant power in this relationship, on the basis that they are able to select from a variety of donors those which are most compatible with their own goals (Farrington, et al. 1993, p. 188). By this account, NGOs are able to "shop around" and find a funder that is compatible with their own goals, and this diminishes the negative effect of conditionality

because NGOs can exercise choice. This is positive from the point of view of SNGOs since it makes them better able to secure regular funding and other support, however Verhelst points out that such "shopping around" is likely to result in 'Western, or very Westernised organizers' being most able to secure support, while the organisations or organisers that are truly localised organisations will continue to be excluded (1990, p. 114). NGOs are therefore important Development agents and have in the past capitalised on their marginality in the sense that bell hooks discusses, by drawing on their outsider perspective as a creative source. This has enabled NGOs to work creatively with ideas such as Participation and partnership which have now become mainstream. Similarly, as NGOs have gained a greater role in Development, it is likely that they have begun to integrate into the mainstream themselves, losing some of the exclusivity advocated by hooks. Perhaps in this sense, NGOs are like Development workers, crossing borders and acquiring different identities in different settings.

Conclusion

In this chapter, both NGOs and Development workers have been shown to be complex Development actors, mediating Development processes in a variety of ways. NGOs are channelling ever-increasing proportions of Development funds, and derive much credibility from the implication that they are participatory and grassroots focused in their approach, and this makes NGO work particularly relevant to this research. Development workers further mediate Development through their pivotal role in implementation. It is expected that NGO Development workers will be able to give insights into the

impact of Development on culture, since they have first hand experience of facilitating change in communities, and ongoing personal contact with members of those communities. This also places them well to consider whether the Post-Development call to dispense with Development is representative of the desires of the grassroots people of the South, since even though these workers have invested in Development, they work very closely with community members giving them insight into grassroots views on Development.

Post-Development theory suggests that the cultural engagement of Development – the interactions within the Development contact zone – is so destructive that Development work should cease in order to prevent cultures from being erased. Participatory approaches to Development attempt to gain input and involvement from local people, and in doing so to make Development more responsive to their needs. In this sense, culture is addressed directly by Post-Development, but is implied in Participation's acknowledgement that Development should be adapted by local people to ensure relevance and appropriateness.

2   Post-Development Theory and its Detractors

This chapter considers the Post-Development school of theorists, particularly with regard to their position on culture and power in Development, which provides the impetus for this research. Post-Development theorists believe that Development has promised but failed to deliver better lives and livelihoods for the people of the South, and has not fulfilled the optimism with which it was taken up in the second half of the Twentieth Century. Their critique is rooted in Foucauldian discourse analysis, centred on the key areas of knowledge, power and culture, which leads them to the conclusion that Development is a discourse leading to the destruction of cultures, disempowering participants and leaving its objects worse off than before the interventions. They believe that Development is predicated on an Orientalist approach to Third World nations that sees these nations as intrinsically inadequate and strives to set them on a path of modernisation, viewed as universally applicable and desirable. On the basis of this analysis, Post-Development theorists turn their backs on the Development project, stating that they are 'interested not in development alternatives but in alternatives to development, that is, the rejection of the entire paradigm altogether' (Escobar 1995a, p. 215). They therefore advocate abandoning Development and turning instead to the initiative of locally-based grassroots movements. In this call for a return to the grassroots, the Post-Development theorists claim to represent the people of South, who have been unable to have their voices heard. Although other Development theorists accept much of the Post-Development critique, most baulk at the conclusion of

totally rejecting Development, based on the belief that this will lead to worse outcomes for poor communities, and is not therefore a realistic alternative. In turn, the Post-Development school assess this response as reflecting the reality that those theorists are too firmly rooted in the Development paradigm to see any genuine alternatives.

It is hardly surprising that Post-Development has received considerable criticism, given its rejection of the entire paradigm of Development, however this should not be dismissed as bickering between two incompatible worldviews since many critiques acknowledge positive aspects of the Post-Development approach. Critics do not accept the Post-Development rejectionism but concede that 'addressing Post-Development's shortcomings without dismissing its sensibility is productive for improving our understanding and analysis of development' (Brigg 2002, p. 342), and reflect that it 'provides useful insights to examine Development projects and their discourse' (Van Ausdal 2001, p. 579; see also Munck 1999, p. 203). This research is driven by Post-Development's questions about the impact of Development, especially as it relates to culture in the communities "receiving" Development. On that basis, this chapter considers the main aspects of the broader Post-Development position, acknowledging critiques of Post-Development. This discussion serves to outline the theoretical context for the main questions of this research, namely whether Development is culturally destructive, and what effect power relations have on these outcomes. It does so by considering Post-Development's critiques of Development and its conclusion that Development is a Western and Westernising discourse that is culturally violent. The chapter also explores Post-Development's alternative

paradigm and the role of the grassroots social movements of the South that are its central actors.

Critiques of Development

Criticism of Development is so prevalent that for some time Development theory has been said to have reached an impasse, which Munck attributes to the absence of 'a magic fix that would make development both viable and politically liberating' (1999, p. 202). The implication of this is that many theorists recognise that Development is not necessarily liberating, nor is it creating viable outcomes for people, and yet there is no consensus on how to bring about real change. Development practice is not immune from criticism either, and Development literature is replete with reflections on the paucity of practice, whether because of the failures of Development theory or in spite of its strengths. There is an extensive body of literature on the ways in which Development has failed (see for example Cohen 1961; Crittenden & Lea 1989; Crittenden & Lea 1991; Mompati & Prinsen 2000). Even authors who are committed to the Development process have been highly critical, as seen in comments like 'we could have done so much good, if it hadn't been for the project' (Porter, Allen & Thompson 1991, p. 71). In this sense, the criticisms are offered as a reflection on the successes and failures of Development. The focus on the failings is perhaps unsurprising since, as Hintjen reflects, 'on the whole it is likely that the development profession includes quite a high proportion of idealistic, hard-working, and committed individuals' (Hintjen 1999, p. 388). Such committed individuals are most likely to be dedicated to ensuring positive outcomes for the poor and excluded, and therefore to wish to

redress any failings that impede Development as a method for improving lives and livelihoods.

In the mid-1990s, Arturo Escobar discerned that there was an emerging body of writing (which would become known as Post-Development) which sought not alternative forms of Development but an alternative *to* Development, and whose authors shared 'an interest in local culture and knowledge; a critical stance with respect to established scientific discourses; and the defence and promotion of localised, pluralistic grassroots movements' (Escobar 1995a, p. 214). Within the broader critique of Development, Post-Development theorists are particularly scathing, noting that 'huge numbers of people are affected adversely by development' (Sheth 1997, p. 331), and asserting that the value of Development must be measured in relation to its cost, which is the erasure of the 'self-sufficient, environmentally sound and unconsumptive lifestyle of local rural people' (Sittirak 1998, p. 130) and 'the mutilation of the human soul, the escalation of violence, [and] the degradation of everyday life' (Galeano 1997, p. 222).

The strategies that were supposed to ensure that Development reached the poor as well as the rich have, according to Latouche, proven to be 'an imposture' (1997, p. 142), illuminating the power dynamics and political game playing inherent in Development, and leading to the suggestion that it is 'politically naïve' to ask how aid programs can be made to help the poor, since they currently benefit the powerful (Ferguson 1997, p. 228). Furthermore, Post-Development theorists assert that as long ago as 1976 it was 'explicitly recognised that development … would surely worsen the levels of "absolute

poverty"' of up to two fifths of the world's population, but that this only resulted in a series of superficial changes which have not addressed Development's role in this process (Esteva 1992, pp. 15-17; see also Rahnema 1997b; Seni N'Dione, et al. 1997, p. 367). This led Ivan Illich to state that 'the ploughs of the rich can do as much harm as their swords,' suggesting that the desire to "help" causes greater pain than it redresses (1997, p. 94; see also Gronemeyer 1992).

The Post-Development critique charges Development with consequences that include underdevelopment itself, as implied in the title of Escobar's book *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (1995a). This argument is not unique to Post-Development, having formed a central plank of dependency theory, which emerged in the 1960s, claiming that dependency arose within the global system when 'a certain group of countries have their economies conditioned by the development and expansion of another country's economy' (Dos Santos, cited in McGovern SJ 1989, p. 274)[6]. Post-Development theorists explain that Development practice systematically dispossesses 'the excluded from their means of sustenance' (Rahnema 1997b, p. 391), turning many self-sufficient nations into 'net food importers' (Escobar 1995a, p. 104) and thus *creating* hunger amongst the very people it is supposedly saving from that fate. This is done by changing the cultural and agricultural practices of nations away from traditional sustainable methods and

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[6] This argument encompasses both 'little d' and 'big D' development (see page 2 above), meaning both the immanent Development which concerns the spread of capitalism and modernisation, *and* the planned Development which constitutes the focus of this research. Although these are necessarily intertwined, for the purposes of this discussion I focus on the aspects of the argument which most concern 'big D' Development.

structures, and by luring countries into international trade relations focused

more on profit (or the elusive promise of it) than on the livelihood of that

nation's citizens. These examples extend beyond agricultural practices to

include cultural and social practices imposed by means of the global North's

domination of Development. Post-Development theorists view these examples

as evidence of paradigmatic failure, demonstrating time and again

Development's inability to see its own inadequacy and to recognise that this is

not just a string of unfortunate incidents, but that it represents a system that

causes the very problems it sets out to address (see Sachs 1992; Rahnema &

Bawtree 1997).

In the face of this, Post-Development authors advocate moves 'to "relativise"

radically the concept of Development,' asserting that Development's

universalism does not correspond with a unanimity of desire and vision

amongst the people of the South (Verhelst 1990, p. 63). In making statements

such as this, however, Post-Development theorists report hitting a defensive

shield that renders Development almost impermeable to criticism, to an extent

that several authors equate it with a religion, calling it a 'new Gospel'

(Ramonet 1997, p. 179) and 'such a sacred cow that it appeared totally

irresponsible to question its relevance' (Rahnema 1997a, p. ix; see also Pieterse

1998, p. 360). This high status has been reinforced by the United Nations'

adoption of Development as a human right (United Nations 1986), carrying the

imperative 'that every decent human being must be morally committed to [its]

active global defence' (Esteva & Prakash 1997, p. 277; see also Hintjen 1999,

p. 392). This is a distinctively different position from the Post-Development

perspective that Development is a culturally specific imposition, and it makes

open and critical debate about Development very difficult, since as Escobar notes, 'one could criticize a given approach and propose modifications or improvements accordingly but the fact of Development itself and the need for it, could not be doubted' (1995a, p. 5).

While much of this criticism is accepted by other Development theorists, there is widespread rejection of the way Post-Development presents its criticisms and the conclusions it draws (Pieterse 2000, p. 188). Pieterse, who has addressed this body of theory at length, agrees that there are positive points in Post-Development, none of which he sees as unique, or leading conclusively to the rejection of Development, leading him to assert that Post-Development fails to build a constructive response out of its deconstruction of Development (2000, p. 184; 2001, p. 34; 1998, p. 361). One of the few writers to concede that Post-Development does proffer solutions to the issues it raises is Schuurman, who nonetheless labels the alternatives 'astonishingly naïve,' suggesting that the Post-Development position is to push 'the poor in the Third World [to] forget about needs which resemble our own needs … because these needs draw them into the development process with all its implied negative connotations' (2000, p. 15). Post-Development has also been charged with relying on 'rhetoric and posturing' (Pieterse 2000, p. 188), basing its arguments on 'glib assumptions' (Parpart 2002), taking an approach that is 'facile [and] oppositional' (Brigg 2002, p. 422), and supporting 'overstated' conclusions with 'weak examples' (Van Ausdal 2001, p. 580; Pieterse 2000, p. 180). Parfitt adds that Post-Development's failure to address participatory Development approaches as distinct from other Development approaches results in a 'characterisation of development [that] takes the form of an

unconvincing straw man that is easily knocked down' (2002, p. 34). These comments reveal an antagonistic position towards Post-Development theory and to its proponents' outright rejection of Development.

The Idea of Development as a Discourse

This rejection is reached 'not merely on account of [Development's] results but because of its intentions, its worldview and mindset' (Pieterse 2000, p. 175). These intentions, worldview and mindset are part of Escobar's overall assessment that while Development 'was supposed to be all about' people, instead it

> was – and continues to be for the most part – a top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the charts of progress. Development was conceived not as a cultural process (culture was a residual variable, to disappear with the advance of modernisation) but instead as a system of more or less universally applicable technical interventions intended to deliver some "badly needed" goods to a "target" population (1995a, p. 44).

This damning assessment focuses on the effects of Development's unequal power dynamic, with the result that implementers are able to *impose* Development on a target population as though they had a right to do so, and irrespective of whether the target group welcomes the actions. It also treats the target population as neutral and passive, receiving Development like an empty vessel to be filled, and existing only in relation to the modernist evolutionary path.

According to Nustad, most Post-Development thinking is 'in some way inspired by Foucault, and tends to see Development as a discourse that orders and creates the objects that it pertains to address' (2001, p. 480). Attention to the production of truth (or knowledge) is a function of a focus on 'the nexus between knowledge and power in discourse' (Pieterse 1998, p. 362), which is critical to the Post-Development framework, due to its theoretical, political and methodological debts to post-modernism (Pieterse 1998, p. 361; also Brigg 2002; Porter 1995). According to Foucault, power, knowledge and discourse are intricately entwined, for:

> in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth. This is the case for every society, but I believe that in ours the relationship between power, right and truth is organized in a highly specific fashion (1986, p. 229).

Foucault thus believes that Western societies have a tightly structured relationship between truth and power, whereby power reinforces truth and vice versa. This makes it very difficult for any but the most powerful to challenge knowledge, and they would be unlikely to do so since the status quo generally functions in their favour.

Arturo Escobar was one of the first people to apply Foucauldian methodology to Development (Rahnema & Bawtree 1997, p. 85), and to consider the power

dynamics inherent in the relationships and language of Development, the valorisation of particular forms of knowledge, and the ways that the discourse constrains people acting within it. Escobar sees the discourse of Development as a 'political economy of truth,' whereby Development's supposedly neutral course is unquestioned because the premises on which it is based are accepted uncritically by leaders of both "developed" and "developing" nations (1995b, p. 213). Escobar explains the usefulness of this approach to Development as follows:

> Discourse analysis creates the possibility of 'standing detached from [the Development discourse], bracketing its familiarity in order to analyse the theoretical and practical context with which it has been associated' (Foucault 1986, 3). It gives us the possibility of singling out 'development' as an encompassing cultural space and at the same time of separating ourselves from it by perceiving it in a totally new form (1995a, p. 6).

This demonstrates that Post-Development's attention is oriented towards the expression and use of power within Development, revealing the 'novel and subtle ways in which established international interests have been maintained' (Porter 1995, p. 84). As a result, Post-Development theorists work to shift the focus of debate, for example from issues such as how to administer aid, to the unequal power inherent in transactions in which one party is able to give and the other has no choice but to receive (Anderson 2000, p. 496).

Escobar views Development as a 'domain of thought and action' which hinges on three axes:

> the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories, and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this

discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped (1995a, p. 10).

Thus a particular knowledge system creates Development discourse, grounding it in certain already established "truths" in such a way as to fit Development naturally into that knowledge system. The discourse is reinforced from "above" and "below" because the discourse provides a strong categorisation of people based on the knowledge systems, thereby marginalising those not conforming with it and rewarding those who function within it. An important aspect of the functioning of discourse is the 'unwritten (and sometimes unconscious) rules that define what can and cannot be said' (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia 2001, p. 53). The comments on page 50 above regarding the "sacred" status of Development allude to these rules and their function in establishing Development as an unquestionably good and natural process for all people. One of the effects of this is cultural, and Edward Said's analysis of Orientalism illustrates the ways in which "knowledge" can affect culture and become a tool for cultural domination (Said 1995), as seen in the way that 'European knowledge, by relentlessly constructing its subject within the discourse of Orientalism, was able to maintain hegemonic power over it' (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia 2001, p. 53). For some authors, Orientalism is 'inscribed in development history and development practice' (Watts 1995, p. 53) and Escobar builds on Said's work by focusing on 'the deployment of the [Development] discourse through practices' – in other words, looking at the concrete expression of discourse within Development and the ways it "produces" the Third World (Escobar 1995a, p. 11).

This discourse allows Development's proponents to identify problems from a seemingly neutral position, which on closer inspection is revealed to be 'presented in such a way that some kind of Development program has to be accepted as the legitimate solution' (Escobar 1992, p. 140; see also Ferguson 1997, p. 224; Van Ausdal 2001). The Development discourse controls not only its objects, however, for its institutions imprison even those who formed it, limiting their thinking to within the boundaries of the existing discourse (Illich 1997, p. 95). Further to this, the political element which underpins many alternative discussions of poverty is discredited by the dominant discourse, which regards nations as being at different points along a shared path to a homogenous Development outcome (Ferguson 1990; Schuurman 2000, p. 8; see also Skelton & Allen 1999, p. 2; Tomlinson 1999, p. 23; Constantino 1985). This is what is referred to as the hegemonic effect of discourse, through which 'the Third World has been produced and controlled' by Development (Van Ausdal 2001, p. 578), which presents its goals as universal and its knowledge base as incontestable. Escobar points to the hegemonic power of Development, which he believes is revealed in the difficulty 'to imagine a truly different domain' (Escobar 1995b, 215).

Post-Development theorists have, however, been criticised for their use of theory. In a thorough critique of Post-Development's use of post-modern theory, Parfitt concludes that 'they have not always used it particularly effectively, and they do not appear to have read very widely' (2002, p. 5). He claims that this is particularly evident in Escobar's position on power, which although pivotal is inconsistent, since he

wishes to contend that the problems and categories that development deals with (such as the urban poor, rural hunger, and so forth) originate with the development discourse itself. However, he seems to be residually aware that this affirmation of the power of discourse to constitute reality entraps him in an ultimately relativist position that discredits his own theoretical commitments. If we can only know reality through discourse, what criteria are available to enable us to make truth claims in favour of one discourse (such as Escobar's post-development position) as compared with another (such as the development discourse)? (Parfitt 2002, p. 30).

This critique of the theoretical foundations of Post-Development is a critique often levelled at post-modern approaches, suggesting that the uncontrollable reflexivity (Lehmann 1997) of post-modernism means that its conclusions lack credibility.

Parfitt also challenges what he sees as Post-Development theorists' 'rather simplistic reading of Foucault [in that] … [t]hey have eagerly embraced the insights into the repressive aspects of subjection and normalisation, but have completely ignored the recognition that these same processes can also be productive and beneficial' (2002, p. 50). Brigg agrees that Post-Development exhibits a 'certain lack of scholarship', particularly in its use of Foucault, which at times misses 'both the nuances and profundity of a Foucauldian understanding', as well as being somewhat 'limited' (Brigg 2002, p. 422). In particular, she accuses Post-Development of considering only Foucault's notion of sovereign power, and not biopower, which describes 'a way of acting upon one or more acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action' and considers how this agency is shaped (Foucault 1994, 341). In other words, Brigg accuses the Post-Development writers of overlooking the agency

of the people of the Third World, due to a limited understanding of power. The notion of biopower allows recognition that Development's subjects not only *resist* Development but that they transform it by their engagement with it, turning it into something that is more useful and relevant to them.

While these critiques raise very important questions for Post-Development theory, they do not fully discredit it. The Post-Development theorists have applied discourse analysis to the field of Development and revealed some important questions about the function and significant effects of power in this context. One of these questions concerns the cultural impact of Development.

The Equation of Development with Westernisation

A unifying factor in Post-Development critiques is an 'antagonism to Development as a normalising, deeply destructive, discursive formation emanating from "the west"' (Hart 2001 p. 654), in which Development has mainly been conceived of as 'a monocultural project [in which] modernisation and Westernisation were virtually synonyms' (Pieterse 2001, p. 15). Post-Development theorists do not agree with the view that modernity – as characterised by the societies of the North and their more recent history – constitutes the necessary and inevitable destiny of all societies (see Eisenstadt 2000, p. 1), nor do they agree that there are key institutions and behaviours which must be reflected in all modern societies (see Wittrock 2000, p. 32). Rather they reject 'the monoculture of any one true global God' (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 118). They point instead to a reality that the 'selves of the Third World are manifold and multiple,' leading to 'a hybrid modernity

characterised by continuous attempts at renovation, by a multiplicity of groups taking charge of the multitemporal heterogeneity peculiar to each sector and country' (Escobar 1995a, pp. 215, 218). Esteva and Prakash write of a 'radical pluralism' in which the Other is embraced, 'without ever losing one's own identity' (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 130).

Other theorists share the Post-Development objection to the hegemonic push of this monolithic vision of modernity, recognising that 'Western discourse on modernity is a shifting, hybrid configuration consisting of different, often conflicting, theories, norms, historical experiences, utopic fantasies and ideological commitments' (Goankar 2001, p. 15; also Faubion 1988, p. 365). This challenge has bred a body of theory known as "multiple modernities," which asserts that rather than creating homogeneity, the spread of modernity leads to the reinterpretation, hybridising and localising of the modern (see for example Appadurai 1996; Eisenstadt 1999; Graubard 2000). Pigg's writing about Development in Nepal provides a very clear example of the ways in which "modern" ideas and practices are adopted by Nepalese farmers, and integrated with their "traditional" ideas and practices, such that both become integral to their everyday lives, and while each is potentially transformed, neither is erased (Pigg 1995; 1992). This is an example of an alternative form of modernity arising from the d/Development experience of a society and functioning in accordance with the needs and desires of the local community.

Escobar explains that his consideration of Development is, at root, 'a study of culture,' in which discourse and power are integral (1995a, p. vii). This is based on the idea that Development has its own specific ways of understanding

the world, of perpetuating itself and of functioning (Escobar 1995a; see also Seni N'Dione, et al. 1997, p. 367). This culture is rooted in the culturally-specific discourse of modernisation and expressed in behaviour such as professionalism, bureaucracy and project orientation. Thus while Post-Development theorists may criticise the 'transfer to the "underdeveloped" South of the North's development culture' (Carmen 1996, p. 41), mainstream practitioners and theorists would perhaps view this as an appropriate description of their aims, given the supposed universality of Development.

Theories that fail to recognise this culturality are said by the Post-Development theorists to impose 'a false uniformity on the diverse and multiple encounters of non-Western cultures with the allegedly culture-neutral forms and processes … characteristic of societal modernisation' (Goankar 2001, p. 17). It is this perspective that envisions a natural trajectory of all societies towards 'the' modernity of the North, and it is for this reason that modernisation is often equated with Westernisation (see Eisenstadt 2000; Goankar 2001). Modernisation and Westernisation are therefore often used interchangeably, and as both have been associated with Development, in some cases the three concepts are used synonymously. The equation of Development with Westernisation (see Brigg 2002, p. 424; Parpart 2002, p. 43; Watts 1995, p. 46), is hardly surprising, since apart from a few notable exceptions, Development's 'grand theories have typically been fashioned in the West and therefore articulate Western political interests and follow Western intellectual styles and priorities' (Pieterse 2001, p. 8). Post-Development theorists react against the 'almost unanimous support' achieved by these theories (Rahnema 1997a, p. ix), which they believe contributes to a *'pensamento único'*, a

singular way of thinking in which 'economic interests, particularly those of international capital' are translated 'into ideological terms that claim to be universal' (Ramonet 1997, p. 179). In other words, economics is viewed as constituting the only framework within which people can viably function, and nations therefore participate in 'a linear, evolutionary process' towards modernity (Simmons 1997, p. 244; Edwards 1989, p. 4; Escobar 1992).

This devalues other approaches, including those that are rooted in non-Western cultures, since they do not fit comfortably with a Development paradigm that is firmly grounded in the notion of progress, 'on a route from poverty, barbarism, despotism and ignorance to riches, civilisation, democracy and rationality' (Shanin 1997, p. 65). Wilber considers this the result of the stature of economics in modernisation, noting that 'since [economists] assume that the question of the nature of a good society is already answered, the issue becomes one of solving certain problems' (1992, p. xv) – in other words, the problem and necessary solutions are predetermined, and only the method for achieving those solutions remains to be decided. Development interventions are thus based on notions rooted in science, which is 'projected as a universal, value-free system of knowledge which has displaced all other belief and knowledge systems' (Shiva 1988, p. 15). On the other hand, Nanda warns against valorising local knowledge, pointing out that it must not be assumed that 'the subaltern … embrac[e] "their own" local knowledge', to the exclusion of other knowledge systems, which may be quite attractive to them either in part or in whole (2002, pp. 213, 217). While there is growing interest in Indigenous knowledge(s), these forms of knowledge are not generally regarded as displacing non-Western knowledge systems. This is evidenced in the fact that

the Indigenous knowledge systems are not validated as a whole but rather dissected, and only certain components are integrated into the Western framework. In other words, the Western knowledge system continues to provide the framework and aspects of Indigenous knowledge can be used to enhance its effectiveness in specific situations (Briggs & Sharp 2004, p. 667).

Post-Development theorists are particularly critical of the 'sense of the superiority of the "modern" and the "scientific"' in Development (Jayawardena 1990, p. v), and the assumed desirability (and applicability) of the Western economic model (Escobar 1995a; de Rivero 2001; Lehman 1997). They are concerned that Development is measured only according to the values of modernity/the West, and that Development thus becomes a 'comparative adjective whose base of support is the assumption … of the oneness, homogeneity and linear evolution of the world' (Esteva 1992, pp. 11-12; see also Gronemeyer 1992, p. 59). A 'monochrome Third World' must therefore be deficient because of its position in relation to the World's "developed" nations (Escobar 1992, p. 138), creating an 'original exclusion' (Craig & Porter 1997, p. 230) of peoples and nations based on intrinsic deficiency. Stemming from this is the perception of the people of those nations only in terms of what they lack, such that they are labelled as consistently 'miserable' (Escobar 1992, p. 137), 'poor', 'resourceless' and 'dependent' (Nuitjen 1992, p. 203). These deficiencies thus become the defining feature of those countries (in the eyes of the West, at least), and are seen as problems that must be solved. On this basis, Development creates '"abnormalities" (such as the "illiterate", the "underdeveloped", the "malnourished", "small farmers", or "landless peasants"), which it would later treat and reform' (Escobar 1997, p. 88). Such

conceptions allow the West to view these nations as immature and powerless (Kabeer 1994, p. 224) at the same time as apparently legitimising the actions of developers and rich nations.

Many Post-Development theorists locate the origin of this universalist attitude in US President Harry Truman's 1949 inauguration address, which outlined a concern for the "underdeveloped", who were compared negatively to the success achieved by the North American model. Some authors credit this speech with coining the term "underdevelopment", thus diagnosing the majority of the world's population with a disorder when they themselves were not aware they were suffering (Esteva 1992; see also Escobar 1995a; Porter 1995). It is indeed striking how strongly Truman's address aligns with the modernist approach to economic development in his key policy area concerning America's engagement with poorer countries:

> [W]e must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas … For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people ... I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. …Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge… Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies-- hunger, misery, and despair (Truman 1949).

This speech was delivered in the wake of World War II, when international cooperation was prioritised by many nations, as evidenced in the establishment of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. At this time, the USA assumed a pre-eminent place in world leadership and Truman pointed to the responsibilities inherent in such a position, especially in terms of sharing knowledge in order to help less "advanced" countries to grow.

Cowen and Shenton challenge the idea that this speech "created" the Third World, stating that neither development nor underdevelopment 'was invented during or after the Second World War and neither was originally construed as part of a new imperial project for the colonial and post-colonial "Third World"' (1996, p. 7). Nonetheless, Escobar points to Development's particular way of seeing 'not only poverty but health, education, hygiene, employment, and the poor quality of life in towns and cities … as social problems' requiring specific knowledge and models, and asserts that this is a construction of reality that will not be replicated by all who look at the same situation (Escobar 1995a). Stated another way, Escobar questions who has the power to name "problems", asserting that what is considered a problem would vary depending on who is making that judgement. In part, these examples relate to the Post-Development critique of Development's interaction with culture.

According to the Post-Development theorists, these notions are based on an assumption of cultural superiority. Escobar points to a tendency 'to discuss otherness principally in terms of the limits of Western logocentricity' (1995a, p. 17), by which Western ways of being are perceived as the pinnacle in a

hierarchy of cultures that represents a necessary route for the Development of less developed (non-Western) cultures. Post-Development rejects this position and its implications on the basis that it 'twist[s] the humble satisfaction of belonging to the cosmos into the arrogance of pretending to know what is good for everyone and attempting to control the world' (Esteva & Prakash 1997, p. 285; also Ramonet 1997, p. 179; Illich & Rahnema 1997, p. 103). According to Pieterse, progressing towards 'modernisation is no longer an obvious ambition' (Pieterse 2001, p. 1), yet his confidence that this realisation corresponds with an actual shift in attitude is not shared by the Post-Development authors such as Sachs, who reports that Development's special form of universalism promises a system that will bring success to all nations (Sachs 1997, p. 292), not allowing for the possibility that there may be other valued priorities or methods.

Development as Cultural Violence

According to Pieterse, another key platform of Post-Development is 'interest in culture [and] local knowledge' (1998, p. 362), as seen in Escobar's calls for recognition of what he calls 'the sheer fact of cultural difference,' referring to developers' tendency to overlook their grounding in a specific (non-universal) system of knowledge (1995a, pp. 225, 13). Of key importance to this research is Rahnema's claim that Development is not desired by those at whom it is targeted, and that claims to the contrary are 'a myth, well maintained by foreign and national authorities for their political, economic, military and sometimes geopolitical objectives' (1997b; see also Van Ausdal 2001, p. 585; Esteva 1992, p. 15). For Post-Development theorists, assumptions of cultural

superiority combine with Development's power to create devastating effects for Third World people, namely cultural change or destruction, which according to Rahnema 'has destroyed the old fabric of communal societies', broken human relations and community cohesion and created divisions and dependencies (1997b, pp. 384, 391; also Goulet 1992, p. 468; Carmen 1996, p. 42). The pervasive effect of Development is therefore seen to be the erasure of non-modern cultures. Nanda's summary of the Post-Development critique is useful in understanding this position, describing a reaction against

> the violence [that] comes from subjecting non-Western people to a culturally alien, ethnocentric and colonial imaginary of what it means to be developed; forcing them to measure the worth of their lives and their communities by Western norms; and, in the process, silencing their own norms of a good society (2002, p. 215).

This approach is reinforced by reference to the successes of Western society and illustrations of the ways "traditional" beliefs and practices prevent such achievements. Rahnema asserts an explicit intentionality in this, whereby Development's proponents 'set out to devastate the very foundations of social life' (1997a, p. x) since the modernisation perspective holds that traditional culture can inhibit "progress" and should therefore be changed.

In contrast, Nanda also argues that the "culturalism" of Post-Development is biased towards Third World and indigenous cultures and therefore fails to acknowledge the negative aspects of traditional cultures, which may include strong hierarchies and gender roles that function to maintain power structures just as Development is accused of doing. Parfitt also asserts that the Post-Development theorists' position on cultural change constitutes a 'metaphysics

of origin in the sense that they are identifying traditional society as an originating principle or arche, a repository of traditional virtues, from which modern society is a debased breakaway' (2002, p. 33). Such an approach ignores the way that traditional societies also function to marginalise and repress their members, valorising tradition and demonising the modern. Further to this, Nanda also charges that Post-Development 'puts culture beyond a reasonable critique' (Nanda 2002, p. 216), making it almost impossible for there to be any comment on the part culture can play in maintaining inequitable relations, for this becomes labelled as paternalistic, blinkered and stuck in the modernist Development model. The choice that remains is therefore to take the side of *either* tradition *or* modernity – and Post-Development asserts that the people of the Third World express an unmitigated preference for the former, despite Brigg's claim that part of the power of Development stems from its attraction to many of the Third World poor (2002, p. 342).

In spite of these shortcomings, there is great value in the Post-Development theorists' attention to culture in the Development context, because it highlights the fact that there are different ways to understand culture and different perspectives on whether a modern culture represents the pinnacle of achievement. This opens the possibility of addressing the location of culture in Development theory and practice, which may in turn enhance outcomes for Southern people.

A Call for a Change of Paradigm

One of the significant challenges that faces the Post-Development writers in having their work understood is their desire to work in a new paradigm. While Post-Development theorists acknowledge that there has been an extensive critique of Development and its processes, they feel that these critiques can not go far enough because they accept the Development model and work within it (see Escobar 1995b; Munck 1999). Since these critiques have failed to bring about responses that satisfy Post-Development assessments, Post-Development theorists assert that it is time for an alternative to the existing Development paradigm, rooted as it is in Western cultural systems and based on Western industrial history and market-driven economic models (Escobar 1995b; Van Ausdal 2001; Goulet 1992; de Rivero 2001, p. 115). They believe that it is no longer possible to keep adjusting the existing model (see Hintjen 1999, p. 383) and thus turn to a paradigm rooted in 'other worldviews and other visions' (Watts 1995, p. 46). This new paradigm rejects specific characteristics of the Development model such as the overpowering drive to consume (Illich & Rahnema 1997, p. 105; Watts 1995, p. 49; Carmen 1996, p. 3) and the treatment of people as commodities (Escobar 1992, p. 139) and instead advocates 'such qualities as attention, sensitivity, goodness or compassion … supported by such regenerative acts as learning, relating and listening' (Rahnema 1992, p. 129), focused on the local and specific (Esteva & Prakash 1997; Escobar 1995a). These are not values that sit well with the dominant paradigm, which valorises modernity and science.

The goal of paradigm change is complicated because in order to engage in public debate about Development, the theorists must function within

Development's existing paradigm, and from within this space attempt to explicate their alternative paradigm. This exposes Post-Development theorists to criticism for inconsistency, and yet it is the only way that they are able to present Post-Development to the audience they wish to reach. Unfortunately for these writers, this also means that they will be critiqued from within that paradigm, leading to comments such as Kiely's critique that 'instead of a politics which critically engages with material inequalities, we have a post-development era where "people should be nicer to each other"' (in Pieterse 2000, p. 186). This fails to engage with the 'moral mindfulness'[7] (MacKay 2004) of the Post-Development paradigm, which seeks a drastic change in approach to relationships. This demonstrates how difficult it is to achieve effective dialogue between quite disparate paradigms, especially when alternatives to the Western model have been systematically 'suppressed, devalued, delegitimised and marginalised' (Sittirak 1998, p. 131), consolidating the construction of people's desire to conform to the Development model (Rahnema 1997b, p. 386). Similarly, while Post-Development rejects existing paradigms associated with Development, Parpart notes that these have been used by people and groups in the South 'to legitimate their demands for change' (2002, p. 54; see also Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 120), yet it is impossible to know whether this was because of a specific desire to use those paradigms, or due to a lack of an alternative that would convey their message equally effectively.

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[7] MacKay draws on the Buddhist concept of 'mindfulness' and Aristotle's notion of contemplation to form the concept of 'moral mindfulness', which is an attitude that seeks awareness of the ethical dimension of the situation, previous learning, and likely consequences of any action.

The Importance of Grassroots Resistance to Development

"The grassroots"[8] is a pivotal concept in Post-Development, and the core principle in Post-Development's new paradigm is that it 'privileges the local, the grassroots' (Pieterse 1998, p. 362; Van Ausdal 2001, p. 579; also Hart 2001, p. 654; Watts 1995, p. 58). Esteva and Prakash acknowledge criticism that the term "grassroots" is too ambiguous (see Parfitt 2002, p. 79), but they define this group as 'ordinary men and women, who autonomously organise themselves to cope with their predicaments' (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 3). A degree of ambiguity allows flexibility in the application of the term, which at times includes Development practitioners, who Post-Development writers suggest are generally ignored while 'theorists of development have fought their conceptual battles on paper,' leading to a 'yawning gap between discourse and practice' (Parpart 2002, p. 46). Also included in the grassroots are 'Third World scholars', whose particular contributions are 'less mediated by the needs of the U.S. and European academy' than the contributions of Western scholars (Escobar 1995a, p. vii). This allows for a breadth of response under the banner of "Southern voices" which are said to be unevenly represented - even silenced - in relation to Development's dominant voices (see Parpart 2002, p. 43) and allows Post-Development theorists to speak of and for the grassroots.

More specifically, the term concerns the 'social majorities', particularly those of the South, and it implies particular forms of collective action taken by these people, to meet certain goals, namely resisting the state, welcoming difference

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[8] Terms used by Post-Development theorists for this concept include 'the grassroots', 'grassroots movements', 'the people' and 'new social movements'. Except in quotations, the term *grassroots* will be the usual term of reference in this thesis.

and working for the interests of the community (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 13).

Quite detailed definitions have been given by Post-Development theorists, such

as the explanation that these movements are characterised by:

> a concern for public issues which range from ecology to education, recreation
> and civic action. Their guiding principle is to proceed from *the grassroots
> upwards,* rather than from the top down, as occurs in the classic power structure
> which tends to disregard the views of the masses. Their most effective weapons
> for mobilisation are based on *popular culture*, rather than on elitist referents.
> Their greatest ontological challenge is the *practical rationality* of traditional
> knowledge; that is, the rediscovery of forms of wisdom which have become
> obscured or discarded by Cartesian methods and Kantian empirical
> presuppositions. Their goal is political in the old sense of the word: *the
> achievement of power* to exercise a superior philosophy of life (Fals Borda
> 1983, p. 66).

This highlights several important aspects of these movements, and in particular

the fact that they may be overtly political (see also Sheth 1997, p. 335), which

sits in contrast with the depoliticisation of poverty that Ferguson (1990)

identifies as a result of mainstream Development, and the view of Post-

Development's critics that its proponents are less concerned with political or

structural change than with 'new ways of social communication (solidarity and

mutual understanding) and a new harmonic relationship with nature'

(Schuurman 1993, p. 189). An important feature of grassroots movements is

that they are conceived of as 'firmly rooted [in] local thought' and inspiration

(Esteva & Prakash 1997, p. 282), and as functioning on a larger scale by

working in coalition with each other for shared causes, even when their

specific motivations differ (Esteva & Prakash 1997, p. 286). It is true that it is

not entirely clear to what extent these "political acts" are focused on issues

beyond those immediately affecting their members or the degree to which the structural issues of inequality can actually be addressed by these movements or coalitions, but it is clear that they provide a means for addressing the immediate concerns of grassroots people (see Pieterse 2000, p. 186).

This focus on grassroots is consistent with a perception that 'interventions based on local knowledge and experience are more likely to be relevant, "home-grown" and therefore sustainable' (Kothari 2001, p. 139). Post-Development theorists extend this notion, stating their conviction that interventions should not just be *based on* the grassroots but should be initiated and completely controlled by them. The belief is that something entirely different from Development will eventuate, because they do not share the goals or values inherent in Development (Esteva 1992, p. 15). The Post-Development theorists claim that their outright rejection of Development reflects the position of the grassroots (Escobar 1995a, p. 11; Rahnema 1997a, p. ix; see also Watts 1995, p. 58; Garret 2001). Escobar believes that an effect of discourse is that it creates new resistances, and that grassroots movements represent the mobilisation of popular resistance to Development (1995a, p. 155; also Rahnema 1997b, p. 401). It is in fact difficult to investigate whether Development generates resistance amongst the grassroots for two main reasons, the first of which is that resistance is hard for researchers to identify since it is 'usually theorized in relation to the cultures of the West' (Escobar 1995a, p. 168), which means that certain forms will go unnoticed since they do not fit with the predetermined criteria. The second reason is that it is generally passive and subtle, leading Scott to talk about it as a 'hidden transcript' (1990, p. 31). A key function of this subtlety is protection from retaliation or

appropriation by the powerful, but it also adds to the difficulty in detecting it (Scott 1997).

Said also calls for an understanding of resistance as 'an alternative way of conceiving human history' (1994, p. 260), in the sense that when people resist their oppressors, they do so because they already understand their history and their strengths, and reject the oppressors' attempt to erase these and replace them with a single story created and manipulated to serve the insatiable desires of the oppressor. Resistance is therefore not a simple act of disobedience to a group that holds power by right and virtue. Rather, it is an active assertion of the veracity of different perspectives and of the right of people to dignity, equity and their own story. This can facilitate a move towards 'a more integrative view of human community and human liberation' (Said 1994, p. 261), with the result of more equal relations and Development that leads to outcomes aligned with the goals and desires of those at whom it is supposed to be targeted.

For Escobar, a significant outcome of resistance is Southern people's construction of new identities that are not formed in line with the dominant ideas about characteristics that unify people, such as class and gender, but rather use 'flexible, modest, and mobile' processes to wage a 'fundamentally cultural' struggle (1995a, p. 216). In this way, Development discourse has also shaped its objects, both through its direct effects on them and by controlling the ways in which they can resist. Theorists such as Brigg (2002) and Pigg (1992; 1995) believe that people exercise agency in their encounter with Development, and therefore transform Development as well as transforming

their own contexts[9]. Thus even when Southern people embrace Development,

they do not take on the modern paradigm in its entirety, for they are

interpreting it and integrating it into their existing framework, thereby creating

alternative modernities. The implication of this is that what Escobar describes

as a fundamentally cultural struggle in opposition to Development can also be

seen in conversation with Development, such that even those embracing rather

than resisting Development form new identities, create new forms of modernity

and avoid homogenisation. The best outcome may therefore be to promote

recognition of multiple expressions of modernity, rather than to try to shield

supposedly non-modern people from any engagement with modernisation.

This allows for an acknowledgement that there are positive aspects of

modernity, but that it is naïve to think that this and local agency balance out

Development's unequal power relations (Mohan & Hickey 2004, pp. 61, 257).

The substitution of grassroots activism for Development work is viewed by

some critics as an unrealistic response to the issues Development seeks to

address, leading them to conclude that Post-Development provides no way

forward (see Nustad 2001, p. 479). A core aspect of this is the belief that the

Post-Development perspective on the grassroots romanticises and valorises the

poor, a sentiment well summarised by Pieterse, who reflects that it is

characterised by 'reverence for community, *Gemeinschaft,* the traditional …

[and] equating poverty with purity and the indigenous and local with the

original and authentic' (1998, p. 361). It is not the attention to the indigenous

and the local that is seen to be at fault, since this is accepted in other

Development approaches, rather it is the elevation of these to a position of

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[9] See also discussion on page 57 above.

superiority. Part of this challenge is to the Post-Development belief that the

grassroots will succeed where other Development strategies have failed,

whereas

> examples of gross incompetence don't mean that outside help is never required,
> nor that local answers are always sufficient… the most successful projects are
> the ones that find the right mix between local and non-local knowledge, *inside* a
> framework of priorities that is locally controlled. Good results are always based
> on a judicious blend of tradition and challenge (Edwards 1999, p. 81).

This means that more is required for success than membership of the

grassroots, which Post-Development theory implies is sufficient.

Another critique addresses Paolo Freire's *conscientisation* approach, which

underpins some Post-Development theory. According to Freire, '*co-intentional*

education' is needed to enable the oppressed to achieve liberation since 'the

oppressed' may need help to 'realize that they, too, "know things"' (1970, pp.

43, 44). Freire notes that the oppressor and the oppressed need each other, for

the 'revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people

for the leaders, but by both acting together in unshakable solidarity' (1970, p.

110). Thus while Freire places enormous trust in "the people", he also states

that they need help to achieve liberation and that there needs to be relationship

and collaboration rather than segregation. To leave grassroots groups entirely

to their own devices would therefore conflict with Freire's position, while a

more consistent approach would be for Development organisations to work

alongside them to co-create new outcomes. Parfitt points out that Rahnema

both agrees with Freire's conscientisation approach and contradicts it by taking

the position that 'the people will always resist oppression' (Parfitt 2002, p.

157). On this basis Parfitt wonders whether the Post-Development intention is that 'the poor and oppressed be left to organise themselves or starve' in situations where grassroots movements have not emerged spontaneously or are not mobilising an effective and equitable response to issues of survival (2002, p. 145). He lends weight to this argument by pointing out that part of Freire's argument is that in many cases the Southern poor have internalised their oppression and therefore have 'too little confidence to make their own initiatives' (Parfitt 2002, p. 146), and asserts that Post-Development therefore abandons or ignores those people of the South who are unable to participate in grassroots movements that redress poverty and oppression, and in this way it is as exclusive as the mainstream forms of Development. This is part of Parfitt's rationale for concluding that Post-Development deprives the people of the South of the opportunity for change, since

> it must be acknowledged that much of what passes for aid is neo-imperialist, or harmful in other senses … [but] the position of eliminating all aid is violent in that it deprives many of the poor at the grass roots of the opportunity to receive resources that could be of practical help to them (2002, p. 164).

According to Nanda, 'the insistence on local rationalities as progressive standpoints of the oppressed flies in the face of real movements of the oppressed' (2002, p. 217). Likewise the assertion that the poor do not want Development is challenged by Pieterse (1998), who cites as evidence the existence of grassroots movements focused on issues around Development and its application, and Pigg's (1992; 1995) descriptions of the multiple forms of modernity that emerge when people engage with d/Development. This is consistent with accusations that Post-Development's overall treatment of the

people of the Third World, especially its poor, is itself homogenising and essentialising (Pieterse 2000; Kapoor 2004a, p. 627), failing to do precisely what it advocates itself, that is to attend carefully to nuance and difference. A salient example of this diversity of Southern opinions is the report by Anderson that presents a variety of examples of differing local voices about Development and its desirability, in which 'some demand "more" while others say "no more"' (2000, pp. 495-6). Schuurman also feels that Post-Development theorists' exhortations to "listen to the voice" of the people in the Third World, and to attend to the variety in these voices, can be a distraction and a delay rather than offering a constructive solution, and he argues that it is in fact possible and helpful to arrive at some universals, such as a 'context-sensitive notion of justice' (Schuurman 2000, p. 14).

Another important critique is found in the claim that Post-Development has a tendency to "control" definitions, for example of indigeneity, claiming greater legitimacy for indigenous, local, traditional or original viewpoints than others, accompanied by a definition of what these viewpoints are (see Aggarwal 2002). This creates 'a politically correct position' that centres on these particular views, which has the effect of de-legitimising those people who might see themselves as part of these groups but do not share the Post-Development viewpoint (Pieterse 2000, p. 188). Added to this is the Post-Development claim that only the people of the Third World are able to speak about the problems and solutions relevant to that part of the world, which is problematic in that it 'ignores transnational collective action, the relationship between social movements and international relations, the trend of post-nationalism and the ramifications of globalisation' (Pieterse 2000, p. 183).

Esteva and Prakash assert that it is dangerous and counterproductive to believe that it is possible to fully understand global or distant issues, which they call 'the Promethian lust to be godlike: omnipresent' (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 21). Instead, they believe that it is better for movements to be more humbly local in their focus and to stand in solidarity with other local movements on larger issues.

The Post-Development theorists' use of the term "grassroots" and conception of the role they are to play leaves some important questions unanswered, such as what happens if they do not spontaneously organise, and how they can ensure better outcomes than other groups. In the context of Post-Development's proposed paradigm this begins to be clearer, since enhanced communication, respect and compassion could transform relationships between these and other groups, including similar locally formed groups in the North. While this is a very valuable goal to strive for, it constitutes a significant change from current practice, which means that grassroots groups trying to function in the current environment may not have the capabilities or options that are assumed for them under the new paradigm. In what might be considered (or hoped) to be a period of paradigmatic transition, it may therefore be useful to work on an "assisted grassroots model," in which grassroots groups are *supported* by external groups, including Development agencies, with careful attention to power relations within this arrangement.

Conclusion

Post-Development is rooted in an analysis of Development that concludes that Development functions as a discourse. In this way Development works to impose a particular world view on others under the guise of humanitarianism and "progress", in a manner that is very difficult to challenge. Post-Development theorists are concerned by both the processes and the end goal of Development, charging that neither is universally desired or accepted as a path to an ideal future. Rather, they see Development as a Western imposition emanating from the West's belief in its own superiority and its characterisation of all that is non-Western as poor, backward and miserable. Development's proponents are therefore portrayed as ignoring local cultures or circumstances, except in order to devise ways to change them to become more developed. To the extent that Development achieves this, Post-Development views it as violent, irreparably destroying traditional cultures and life-sustaining practices, causing further hardship and "creating" the Third World. Post-Development theorists claim to report and represent a broad Southern movement of rejection of Development, concluding that Development is beyond redemption because it is so firmly rooted in its dominant Western heritage. Although many of Post-Development's specific critiques of Development have been affirmed by other Development theorists, this outright rejection of Development has drawn significant criticism. The notion of multiple modernities offers an alternative way of conceiving cultural change, in that it recognises people's agency in adapting new influences, rather than being overrun by them, as implied by Post-Development.

The Post-Development theorists build a strong argument about the destructive elements of Development, particularly the cultural impact on Southern cultures, and the desire of Southern people to resist Development. If these charges are accurate, they have very serious implications for the cultures of the countries targeted by Development, and for the future of international relations if Development continues to be imposed by powerful outsiders against the wishes of a national majority. These key Post-Development contentions provide the theoretical origins of the broad questions explored in this research. The concept of culture is of central importance in a consideration of these arguments, since the Post-Development theorists share a view that local cultures should be protected from the deliberate destruction wrought by Development on Southern cultures, and ways of understanding culture will be explored in Chapter Three.

3 Ways of Understanding Culture

Cultural change is one of the staples of our time. Hugh Mackay, a leading Australian social researcher, reflects that thirty years of social, cultural, technological and economic change, have resulted in a widespread sense of uncertainty amongst Australians, who feel that they are not in control of their own futures, but are 'merely pawns in someone else's global chess game' (1999, pp. ix, x). This experience is not limited to the Australian context and is reflected in diverse disciplines, including sociology and development studies. In some realms, Development has been implicated in these processes and labelled as imperialist or colonising, leading to cultural damage or destruction (Esteva 1992, p. 6; Nandy 1983, p. xi) Edwards reflects that Post-Development theorists fear a 'global homogenising of values, cultures and aspirations' (1999, p. 5) in which cultural differences are eroded until all cultures are the same, cast in the image of the dominant one, and alternate cultural identities are lost. They accuse Development of decimating Third World cultures by destroying 'the old fabric of communal societies,' breaking human relations and community cohesion, and creating divisions and dependencies (Rahnema 1997b, pp. 384, 391; see also Goulet 1992, p. 468; Carmen 1996, p. 42). Since this thesis sets out to explore those claims, it is important to give careful consideration to the concept of culture, and the ways it may be understood and used by different groups.

The interaction between culture and Development is also important to the United Nations, as seen most clearly in its *Human Development Report 2004*, which is concerned with "cultural liberty", a concept that encompasses the ability to make rational and informed choice about one's identity, and the ability to have multiple identities and to choose how to prioritise them (UNDP 2004). The notion of multiple identities is that people identify themselves in a variety of complementary ways, such as in terms of 'ethnicity, language, religion and race as well as citizenship' (UNDP 2004, p. 2). Different aspects of identity may be highlighted depending on the situation (UNDP 2004, p. 17), for example in some contexts language may be more important than ethnicity, whilst at other times religion may be the primary identification. Human rights form an interdependent web with culture and Development, because

> [h]uman development requires more than health, education, a decent standard of living and political freedom. People's cultural identities must be recognised and accommodated by the state, and people must be free to express these identities without being discriminated against in other aspects of their lives. In short: cultural liberty is a human right and an important aspect of human development (UNDP 2004, p. 6).

Esteva and Prakash describe human rights discourse as a cultural 'Trojan horse of recolonisation', pointing out that although human rights are imposed as a universal model, 'moral concepts that enjoin human decency' are not exclusive to a Western human rights discourse and are present in many non-Western cultures (1998, pp. 118-9). While these theorists may not agree with the framing of cultural liberty within the discourse of human rights, they certainly agree with the UNDP's position that all people are entitled to practise and

maintain their own cultures. The right of communities to make their own

cultural choices rather than have these imposed on them is a key theme of Post-

Development theory, and despite the fundamental difference about whether

Development promotes or destroys this liberty, it is consistent with the

UNDP's concept of cultural liberty. This can be seen for example in Escobar's

description of Columbian communities' struggle 'to articulate and set into

motion a process of cultural affirmation that includes, among its guiding

principles, the search for ethnic identity, autonomy, and the right to decide on

their own perspectives on development and social practice generally' (1995a,

p. 169).

The UNDP does share some of the Post-Development theorists' concerns about

the power of Westernisation, observing that

> one of the worries that many people have in contemplating the safeguarding of
>
> cultural liberty today concerns the overwhelming influence of Western culture,
>
> especially its 'consumerism', in the globalised world in which we live. The
>
> point is often made, plausibly, that being free to choose one's lifestyle is not, in
>
> the present world, just a matter of being allowed to choose freely. It is also an
>
> issue of whether people in more marginalised civilisations are able to resist the
>
> Western influence (UNDP 2004, p. 20).

The ability to resist the force of Westernisation is an important component of

cultural liberty, since people are not free to choose their culture if the Western

model is the only choice. An interesting question that is left unanswered by the

UNDP is what happens if people *choose* the Western model over their own,

exercising their cultural liberty by choosing to embrace rather than resist

Western influence. Post-Development theorists do not address the possibilities

of this option either, except perhaps in the context of the colonisation of the mind (see Nandy 1983), whereby colonised people (including those colonised by Development) "choose" their colonisers' culture because they have accepted the propaganda of colonial superiority. The UNDP sees Development as a tool to reinforce cultures against an unwanted advance of Westernisation by expanding people's freedoms and increasing their capabilities in the interrelated arenas of economy, politics and society (UNDP 2004, p. 13), in turn reducing dependency on others that might lead toward cultural pressures, and increasing people's ability to participate in (and thus influence) important decisions. For Post-Development, this resilience is gained by returning to the grassroots. This therefore constitutes two very different frameworks which nonetheless share the goal of strengthening cultures so that people may practise them unimpeded by discrimination or cultural violence.

These different perspectives are central to this research, which classifies Development practice as a cultural contact zone in which different cultures encounter each other, and in which power is unequal. Development workers are border-crossers, negotiating cultures and switching between different structures, in order to translate between the key actors in Development engagements. While the UNDP believes that culture and Development interact positively to create good outcomes for people of the South, the Post-Development position is that Development destroys culture and should therefore be replaced by the work of autopoietic grassroots organisations, which will promote and strengthen local culture. On this basis it is helpful to explore in greater depth the notions of culture and cultural change, particularly as they relate to Development.

In what is arguably the most cited statement about culture, Raymond Williams states that 'culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English Language' (1983b, p. 87). This indicates the difficulty in finding agreed meanings, since 'culture means many different things to different people and the concept is widely used in ways that are unclear and imprecise' (Tucker 1997, p. 1; see also Gasper 1996, p. 637; Hall 1996). One attempt to define culture identified one hundred and sixty-four definitions, sharing only the common thread that culture consists of 'patterns of and for behaviour … acquired and transmitted by symbols …the essential core [being] ideas and especially their attached values' (Archer 1998, in Worsley 1999a, p. 13). Acknowledging this variety and imprecision, I do not attempt to provide a catch-all definition, but rather to address two key approaches to the concept of culture (the bounded approach and the cultural studies approach) and explore the implications for Development. This discussion is extended to include consideration of three key ideas about the outcome of current processes of cultural change, namely homogenisation, heterogenisation and hybridisation.

Culture as a Bounded Entity

One important understanding of culture is the bounded approach, which has its roots in anthropological studies of other cultures, and although it has lost favour amongst contemporary anthropologists it pervades many popular notions of culture, and much writing in other disciplines (see for example Ferguson 1990; Geertz 2002). Bounded perspectives on culture can be said to share a common understanding of culture as 'a discrete, bounded entity,

consisting of particular sets or structures of social relations, practices and symbolic systems which forge a cohesive unity for the group, whether as a society, nation, community or class' (Schech & Haggis 2000, p. 22). According to this approach, culture is a distinct facet of society, separate from the other arenas of economy and politics, and theoretical attention focuses on cultural continuity, or the ways in which cultures are transmitted and maintained (Worsley 1999a). Each society was seen to have 'a distinctive culture all of its own … built around certain shared ideas and values' (Worsley 1999a, p. 14), and the distinctiveness of a culture lies in its being 'a self-contained system' comprised of characteristics different from those of other cultures (Bauman 1973, p. 35). Culture is therefore defined in the context of its "Other," most often the West's Other since anthropology is a Western discipline that 'presumed to organise a discourse about other cultures' (Tomlinson 1999, p. 27). The bounded approach has been central to modernisation theory, which rests on an assumption of Western cultural superiority and believes that cultures progress along a prescribed pathway that begins with "primitive" non-Western cultures and proceeds towards the goal of "Western culture" (Giddens 1994, p. 97).

Modernisation served as the starting point for 'mainstream thinkers' in Development (Ferguson 1998, p. 1). Modernisation theorists claim that nations, like children, go through predetermined stages of development (or growth), each stage a prerequisite for the ensuing stage (see Rostow 1960; Miller 1989). This connection with contemporary theories of child development was consistent with a long-held inclination to draw analogies between national and human growth, such as the equation of pre-industrial

societies with infants at the beginning of the developmental process (see Mill 1975). Capitalism was seen as 'human nature' (Harrison 2000, p. xxv), the adulthood or maturity achieved by those towards the end of their natural growth trajectory, and as with humans, for nations this growth was viewed as irreversible (Myrdal 1968, p. 57). According to Ferguson,

> [w]hile a positive aspect of these presuppositions is that they are connected to a belief in fundamental human equality, a negative aspect has been the implication that countries that are more economically developed … are, for that very reason, farther along the path to the rational human ideal of progress and equality than other countries (1998, p. 2).

This notion of progress and economic development encompasses much more than just technology, since there is also a perception that the West has 'exclusive access to the values that lie at the foundation of rationality and reasoning, science and evidence, liberty and tolerance, and of course rights and justice' (Sen 2000a, p. 36).

This line of thinking led to the conception of cultures or societies within a hierarchy, with modernised industrialised nations located at the pinnacle and other nations arranged below, depending on their conformity with this model (Sen 2000a, p. 11). Those who are at the bottom of the hierarchy - members of 'traditional' societies - supposedly occupy a 'world of shared and unquestioned beliefs … of habit rather than reason' (Pigg 1996, p. 178), while highly valued attributes such as reason and freedom are falsely perceived as 'culture-specific,' namely of being exclusively Western (Sen 2000b, pp. 34-5; see also Fukuyama 1995, p. 37), reinforcing the idea of cultural hierarchy and the necessity that non-Western cultures make a full and rapid transition to the

"correct" end of the cultural spectrum. This is considered in depth by Edward Said in his discussion of Orientalism and the power of the West to name and "Otherise" that which is non-West (1995). In a context in which 'the First World, or "the West," clearly represented the most advanced type of society on earth, and the greatest achievement of humanity' (Schech & Haggis 2000, p. 66; see also Nandy 1983) planners and implementers of Development did not challenge the applicability of this Western-oriented model of Development (see Nandy 1983, p. 91; Carmen 1996, p. 5). Developed nations believed that they were not only entitled to instruct less developed nations on how to structure their societies, but that they had a responsibility to do so in an extension of the notion of "the white man's burden" (Huntington 1996, p. 66). Development thus becomes the *responsibility* of Western or developed nations, 'conceived of as a transfer to the "underdeveloped" South of the North's development culture, and as a relentless … accumulation of goods, services and know-how that will automatically deliver a … better future' (Carmen 1996, p. 41). In fact, a critical assessment of this framework reveals that the location of developed societies at the top of the hierarchy says less about their supposed cultural superiority and the universal applicability of Western culture than it says about their control over the definition of the terminology (Shanin 1997, p. 68; Sen 2000a, p. 35; Shiva 1997, p. 162; Shiva 1988).

Accompanying the concept of cultures as discrete entities (i.e. bounded) is the tendency to represent them, particularly non-Western cultures, as undifferentiated, 'hermetic and sealed wholes' (Benhabib 1995, p. 240). In other words, each culture constitutes a whole system and tampering with any aspect of that system destroys its integrity and causes it to collapse. Cultures

are also seen as internally homogenous and unchanging, and non-Western

cultures are viewed as having certain commonalities with each other, especially

that of being 'tainted by "poverty"', which is equated with ignorance and

despised in the rational hierarchy (Benhabib 1995, p. 34). This is also the case

with other collectivities such as gender, in which there is often a 'critical

assumption that all of us of the same gender, across classes and cultures, are

somehow socially constructed as a homogenous group identified prior to the

process of analysis' (Mohanty 1984, p. 337). People who share a locality,

national government, gender or even Development status may thus be grouped

together and ascribed a commonality that does not necessarily reflect their

differences and even conflicts. On this basis, outsiders may tend to view the

culture of a particular community (whether a village, nation or region) as 'a

seamless whole, without any cracks' (Mukhopadhyay 1995, p. 14). In the

context of Development, such a view will affect both the planning and

implementation of Development work, carrying the danger that it will lead to

exclusions and disadvantage.

The homogenisation of the West in these discussions should not be overlooked.

The West is often portrayed as a single coherent culture, dominant and

voracious, with an overt desire to dominate and subjugate the South (see

Tomlinson 1999, pp. 23-4). It should not be forgotten in this debate that there

is diversity in "the" West (or "the" North), just as there is in "the" South, and

that overarching statements about either will be both misleading and unhelpful.

This perspective implies that the West itself is not negatively affected by

globalising factors, or indeed by the presence of people from many different

cultures within it, while these same factors have a negative effect on other

cultures. In addition to this, it implies that Western culture constitutes a unique cultural spectre for nations concerned with their physical and cultural survival, whereas these nations may in fact see a more tangible cultural or physical threat from their neighbours and other sources (see Inda & Rosaldo 2002, p. 23).

In the modernisation model, economic development is viewed as 'the only engine which can pull countless millions from their present hopeless plight in the poverty trap' (Carmen 1996, p. 3), and the values and attitudes of certain cultures are therefore viewed as 'a major obstacle to progress' (Montaner 2000, p. 58), such that improving the lives of the people requires the destruction of those cultures and their replacement with modern culture (see Schech & Haggis 2000, p. 76; Weller 1998, p. 80). This approach is grounded in several assumptions, namely 'that modernization is desirable and necessary, that the indigenous culture is incompatible with modernization and must be abandoned or abolished, and that society must fully Westernize in order to successfully modernize' (Huntington 1996, p. 73; see also Worsley 1999b, p. 30). Tomlinson reflects that this conception of Western or modern culture as an indivisible package is not limited to the West, and he cites a study in which Southern Development workers considering cultural aspects of modernisation revealed a belief in the importance that 'the whole package of modern Western values and social institutions' be adopted in order for Development to take place (1999, p. 31). To Latouche, this attitude leads inexorably to an end to cultural diversity, heralding a framework in which 'sometimes ancestral cultures were abandoned spontaneously; sometimes economic competition or the centralising, civilising state, had to destroy them by main force' (1996, p.

65). Promotion of a universal trajectory thus equates to cultural destruction by both seduction and force (Verhelst 1990, p. 55), and thus Post-Development theorists fear precisely this outcome if Development continues on its current path (see Lawson 1999, p. 264; Escobar 1992; Shanin 1997).

Cultural Change from a Bounded Perspective

Stuart Hall (1992, p. 300) proposes that in the current globalised context, cultural change can have one of three possible outcomes: erosion, reinforcement and the creation of new identities. The concept one adopts is affected by the broader cultural approach taken, in the sense that if for example cultures are seen as bounded, then cultural change equals cultural destruction because the integrity of the whole has been breached. Two of Hall's concepts are consistent with a bounded approach to culture, namely erosion (homogenisation) and reinforcement (heterogenisation), both of which are rooted in a belief that change can cause a culture to disappear.

The first of these notions – homogenisation – is based on the 'assumption that increased interaction among peoples … is generating a common world culture' (Huntington 2002, p. 67), and it is consistent with the modernising project's aims to transform cultures in order to facilitate modernisation. As Verhelst puts it, 'modernisation will bring about the universalisation of the culture peculiar to modern industrial society' (2002, p. 11). The implication is that culture is transferred intact, from the West to the non-West, overriding the "host" culture, (Inda & Rosaldo 2002, p. 12), and therefore Development and globalisation are dangerous forces because they foster a drive towards global cultural homogeneity. This response relies on a perception of Western culture

as dominant, carrying the strength to bring about conformity in other supposedly weaker cultures (see Tomlinson 1999, p. 23; Pieterse 2000, p. 178; Edwards 1999, p. 6). What is interesting is the juxtaposition that (apparently homogenous) Western culture survives by continuing to change, adapting to its global environment, while traditional cultures are lauded for *not* changing, with the implication that Western culture is less valuable than the traditional cultures since it has neither integrity nor stability. This model also implies that changes are *imposed* on non-Western cultures, and does not address the people's agency in choosing to adopt aspects of what they perceive to be Western. Traditional cultures may be viewed as especially vulnerable, perhaps because there are so many small changes that could take place and thus compromise the whole, leading to the erosion of those cultures in an unstoppable march towards homogenisation.

Those warning of the dangerous role Development plays in this homogenising process tend to express a romantic view of the past (or even the present), and to equate 'the indigenous and local with the original and authentic' (Pieterse 2000, 26, p. 177). Such an approach risks failing to acknowledge that a local culture is also 'a terrain of power,' in which people are marginalised and hierarchies invoked whether the culture is Western or not (Pieterse 2001, p. 65). Romantic attitudes to culture are not limited to theorists or to the powerful, and may also be found amongst less powerful community members in the form of selective or "nostalgic" memory of culture prior to the introduction of changes that 'have worked decisively against their material interests' (Scott 1990, p. 179). This attitude to the past may also lead to the past being interpreted or reinvented to serve a particular purpose or interest in

the name of tradition, a process that can be discerned for example in colonial experiences, in which local traditions have been reconfigured by the colonisers in the interest of reshaping the local culture to make the colonised people more compliant (see Mani 1987). This is not the only cause for which culture and its reproduction become political tools, and traditions may also be invented or reinterpreted in order to prevent communities from Westernising.

Appadurai (1996) reflects on the effects of deterritorialisation, or the movements of people away from their place of origin as a result of the changing options and pressures in today's world. With deterritorialisation comes cultural flux, and interpretations of culture become politicised, since in this context

> the search for steady points of reference, as critical life choices are made, can be very difficult. It is in this atmosphere that the invention of tradition (and of ethnicity, kinship, and other identity markers) can become slippery, as the search for certainties is regularly frustrated by the fluidities of transnational communication. As group pasts become increasingly parts of museums, exhibits and collections … [culture becomes] an arena for conscious choice, justification, and representation (Appadurai 1996, p. 44).

One of the key dangers here is what Pieterse calls 'ethnic fundamentalism', in which local or traditional cultures become receptacles of truth, that must stand firm against the evils of modernisation (Pieterse 2001, pp. 65-66). Certain aspects of a culture are thus seized upon as embodying the truth or essence of that culture. These are then cemented as unchanging and central aspects of cultural identity, irrespective of whether they oppress members of the group, or are appropriate to a changing environment. The traditions that are invented,

reinterpreted or valorised work to the interests of certain community members, generally those already in power, and the people and the traditions themselves work to maintain this imbalance.

The homogenisation thesis can therefore be seen to be a set of attitudes to culture that view change as absolute in that once a culture has experienced change it becomes a new entity. While this may be promoted as an important facet of modernisation, detractors of modernisation may also denigrate this as a destructive process. The heterogenisation approach is based on the same principles as homogenisation – that globalising processes are changing cultures and making them more alike, leaving them vulnerable to destruction – but a key difference is that the heterogenisation thesis concludes that increased contact between cultures leads to the accentuation of differences between cultures. In other words, in reaction to the perceived danger of homogenisation, cultures differentiate themselves from each other to establish or reinforce their unique identity. Francis Fukuyama is a well known proponent of the position that rather than homogenising, cultural pressures will bring about both a greater consciousness about differences between people or groups and a resultant pressure to differentiate culturally (1995, pp. 5, 353). This leads to the irony that 'as actual places and localities become ever more blurred and indeterminate, *ideas* of culturally and ethnically distinct places become perhaps even more salient' (Gupta & Ferguson 2002, p. 69). As the risk of homogenisation (or Westernisation) approaches, that which is seen to distinguish a community from the homogenising force is reinforced or valorised. Notions of authenticity are used to invoke a unitary culture that

must be adopted, nurtured and defended by a society in order to protect their existence.

If Fukuyama is correct, then "globalisation of culture" (or the perceived threat of it) sets in train a process which precludes its success by heterogenising cultures and strengthening them in their desire to assert their difference and to amplify it. Like homogenisation, the heterogenisation thesis is founded on a notion of culture as something fixed and static, and both approaches appear to affirm a belief that the integrity of these cultures lies in their authenticity. The encounter with modernisation is portrayed as a one-way, totalising imposition of something not desired by its recipients and any cultural exchange is denied, as is the indigenisation of introduced practices or beliefs (Appadurai 1996, p. 32). Huntington believes that this can be seen in a variety of expressions of modernity today, stating that 'non-Western societies can modernise and have modernised without abandoning their own cultures and adopting wholesale Western values, institutions, and practices,' leading to a strengthening of those cultures (1996, p. 36). One question that this leaves open is whether rejection of the West is actually a convenient way to privilege particular values, irrespective of their true origin, since within 'these portrayals of unchanging "national culture, traditions and values" … an *extremely selective* rejection of "Westernisation"' can be discerned (Narayan 1997, p. 22). The languages of homogenisation and heterogenisation may therefore be used to manipulate culture, utilising people's fears about cultural change to perpetuate or enhance the advantage of the powerful.

In summary, the bounded view holds that cultures are independent entities that lose their integrity if they change, and that culture determines behaviour but is separate from the spheres of economics and politics – 'a separate and explanatory variable' (Huntington 2000, p. xv). Modernisation has strong ideological ties to this approach, viewing cultures within a hierarchy that represents a predetermined, linear path along which all societies must travel. Traditional societies are viewed as an impediment to modernisation, and "progress" entails cultural change from the traditional to the modern. This approach can foster two distinct perspectives on the likely outcome of cultural contact, namely homogenisation and heterogenisation. Homogenisation is the concept that all cultures converge, with weaker cultures becoming more like the dominant culture until they disappear altogether. The heterogenisation thesis holds that the attempts of one culture to dominate others results in fragmentation, whereby smaller cultures seek to differentiate themselves more starkly from others, resulting in the amplification of cultural differences.

Post-Development theorists show some inclination towards this understanding of culture, expressed particularly in their concern about cultural homogenisation and their desire that the work of grassroots groups replace Development (see Chapter Two). It is true to say, however, that these theorists have a complex approach to culture that is not easily pinned down to a single theory. Their work is also characterised by concepts that are key to the cultural studies approach, which addresses culture in a very different manner.

Cultural Studies and a Focus on Power

Edward Said challenged the idea that cultural change was absolute and unidirectional, stating that 'culture is never just a matter of ownership, of borrowing and lending with absolute debtors and creditors, but rather of appropriations, common experiences, and interdependencies of all kinds' (1994, pp. 262-3). This notion can be seen in an important development in cultural studies over the last decade, namely a shift of focus from 'discrete, filiative national or ethnic identities' to 'cultural flow' and its effects (During 1999, p. 23). This constitutes a significant shift from the conception of culture as rooted in a particular place, as 'a bounded entity that occupies a specific physical territory' to a focus on how culture functions (Inda & Rosaldo 2002, p. 11). Redirecting attention from "culture/s" to focus on "the cultural" emphasises 'the dimensionality of culture rather than its substantiality [and] permits our thinking of culture [to be] less as a property of individuals and groups and more as a heuristic device that we can use to talk about difference' (Appadurai 1996, p. 12). The emergence of this approach is related to the increasing connections between cultures that are often referred to as "globalisation", denoting the ways that contact and communication are facilitated between people, affording greater cultural interaction (Sen 2000a, p. 242). This is important to cultural studies because the process of globalisation both 'unifies the world *and* divides it' (During 1999, p. 24), in that people come into contact with each other more, and also want to differentiate themselves more. The school of cultural studies emerged towards the end of the 1950s, on a wave of increased attention to culture that resulted from attempts 'to deal with change in our lives' (Williams 2001, p. 42; see also During 1999, p. 2). It represents a fundamental change in perceptions of

culture, resting particularly in a move to focus attention on power and its function within culture (Schech & Haggis 2002, p. xiii). Like Post-Development, cultural studies is concerned with the ways that power is reproduced through discourse – in this case the discourse of a particular culture – and this school of thought is 'grounded on a moral and political critique of late capitalism, and more generally of oppressive cultural and social formations' (Slack & Whitt 1992, p. 572).

The broad approach taken by cultural studies theorists is that meaning is produced through individuals' engagement with their experiences, such that Williams described culture as 'a mode of interpreting all our common experience, and, in this new interpretation, changing it'(Williams 1983a, p. 18). Meaning is therefore not intrinsic but is constantly negotiated as culture is 'made and remade' in an ongoing process of selection (Williams 1967, p. 337), and in this sense, 'cultural practices are signifying practices,' in which there is always a struggle over meaning (Grossberg 1996, p. 157; see also Hall 1997a, p. 24). This struggle is 'active' and 'local', taking place everywhere and at all times (Chen 1996, p. 312), and therefore it involves not only the powerful whom discourse privileges, but also those who are more commonly thought of as least powerful, with cultural studies paying particular attention to how they 'practically develop their own readings of, and uses for, cultural products' (During 1999, p. 6). Out of the struggle over meaning, people build up ways of interpreting the world and 'are able to build up a shared culture of meanings and thus construct a social world which we inhabit together' (Hall 1997b, p. 18).

As academia's interest in culture has expanded substantially since the beginning of the 1990s, cultural studies has experienced a 'boom' (During 1999, p. 24). This cultural turn has led to a renewed interest in culture within Development theory, as part of 'an attempt to go beyond the current malaise in development thinking and practice' (Tucker 1997, p. 1). Even during this period of increased popularity, cultural studies has undergone 'continual shifts of method [which are] a normal healthy part of any developing field of enquiry' (Sparks 1996, p. 71; During 1999, p. 17). Stuart Hall, as perhaps the best known cultural studies theorist, expresses a spirit of continual critical engagement with cultural theory, in what Grossberg describes as 'the ongoing attempt to understand the complexity, contradictions and struggles within the concrete lives of human beings' (1996, p. 152).

In spite of this continuing evolution of theory, it is possible to discern specific 'normative assumptions' on which cultural studies is built, namely:

> 1) that human beings – whether as a species or as individuals – are intrinsically valuable and enjoy moral standing, which must be respected and reflected in how they are treated; and 2) that oppressive social and political formations are objectionable and to be resisted to the extent that they are indifferent to this (Slack & Whitt 1992, p. 573).

Cultural studies is therefore open and consistent in its focus on the most disadvantaged, and is lauded as having 'served as a voice for those individuals and groups who are variously seen as subjugated, silenced, repressed, oppressed and discriminated against' (Slack & Whitt 1992, p. 573). By respecting the value of diverse individuals rather than just those who are powerful or visible, cultural studies affirms the "other" and rejects the 'meta-

discourse' (During 1999, p. 13), taking an overtly humanist, 'caring' stance (Probyn 1992, p. 504). On this basis, 'attention to culture always equals attention to displacement' (Hall 1999, p. 105), locating power at the centre of cultural studies' vision. This is consistent with Post-Development's focus on the people who are targeted by Development but do not have much control over the outcome.

This focus on power turned attention to the domination of particular cultures and to how cultures interact with and are represented by each other. Particular attention is paid to groups that are marginalised within a given society, revealing the way the culture itself functions to exclude them while benefiting those in power (Slack & Whitt 1992). Foucault's concept of biopower (as described in Chapter Two) is important, providing a model of power that is circulatory, multi-centred and diffuse, residing in all people, although exercised in diverse ways (Schech & Haggis 2000, p. 28). In this context, rather than viewing Development "recipients" as people who have little or no power, a cultural studies approach would be interested in the ways that they do express their power, whether 'in fun, in resistance, or to articulate their own identity' (During 1999, p. 6).

The tendency noted above to romanticise the past and the 'authentic' leads to an inclination 'to view local culture in terms of prelapsarian purity and unity, homogenising the local community as the last stand of *Gemeinschaft,'* at the expense of recognising that power is equally at play at both national and local levels (Pieterse 2001, p. 63). A cultural studies approach to this attends to the expression of power in such engagements, as seen in Scott's reflection on the

practice of culture, in which he points to a 'more or less constant ideological struggle' between the rich and poor members of any given community (1990, p. 199). Occurring on a subtle level, these struggles are fought 'over facts and their meaning, over what has happened and who is to blame, over how the present situation is to be defined and interpreted' (Scott 1990, p. 178). This happens in communities in the North and South alike and belies representations of Southern communities as homogenous and harmonious.

Cultural Flows not Cultural Change

Within cultural studies, the attention is to 'cultural flow' rather than changes between self-contained systems. According to Appadurai, globalisation creates a 'complex, overlapping, disjunctive order' which calls for new ways of understanding cross-cultural influence (1996, p. 32). He suggests an 'elementary framework' for understanding the new ways of relating, proposing attention to 'the relationship among five dimensions of global cultural flows that can be termed (a) ethnoscapes, (b) mediascapes, (c) technoscapes, (d) financescapes, and (e) ideoscapes' (Appadurai 1996, p. 33). Labelling these dimensions as "scapes" indicates that they are not internally homogenous, and that there are many ways of understanding each of them. These cultural flows do not act on passively receptive culture, but 'are always reinscribed (however partially or fleetingly) in specific cultural environments' (Inda & Rosaldo 2002, p. 12). An important implication of this for Development is that the interactions and effects of these flows are unpredictable and therefore challenge anthropological concepts of order and hierarchy. Further to this, Development contributes to all of these flows (though to mediascapes to a

lesser extent), since it is fundamentally concerned with the communication of technology, finance, ideologies and people across traditional borders.

While Development is clearly a factor in these flows, another important contributor is "deterritorialisation", or human movement around the world, through which people leave the space that was once coterminous with their identity and seek new ways to maintain their identity in the absence of the traditional physical connection (Appadurai 1996, p. 36; Gupta & Ferguson 2002, p. 68). This reflects the reality that 'virtually all the world's societies are multicultural in composition,' contributing greatly to the fracture of the nexus between national identity and culture (Pieterse 2001, p. 62), which occurs in the context of ethnoscapes, or the global 'landscape of persons' (Appadurai 1996, p. 33). Rather than expecting "traditional cultures" to give way to "modern culture," this model anticipates a dynamic interface in which 'the intersubjective and collective experience of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated' (Bhabha 1994, p. 2). It is the process of this negotiation that is highlighted in a cultural studies approach, for this reveals "the cultural" in action, and it is consistent with the understanding of Development as a contact zone, constituting an important part of that dynamic interface of cultural negotiation.

Attention to the process of this negotiation in the midst of the scapes is an example of the shift of focus from "cultures" to "the cultural", focusing on the interaction between these specific aspects of global flow and the interpretation and adaptations that take place. Appadurai states that notions of homogenisation and heterogenisation are inadequate because they do not

account for the reality that 'at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenised in one or another way' (1996, p. 32). While the homogenisation thesis denies agency to people in non-Western cultures (except where they succumb to the seduction of Westernisation), heterogenisation describes a reactive agency in which people return to and reinforce their roots in response to external cultural pressure. A third approach to cultural change sees a different expression of agency: one that interacts with local and introduced cultures to create a new form of culture. This model - hybridisation - views cultures as continually adapting and evolving, reflecting the notion of culture and identity as embodied in social practice rather than dictating it, such that culture and identity come to be understood as processes (Nuitjen 1992, p. 198; Ashcroft & Ahluwalia 2001, p. 5). Thus a culture may adopt certain characteristics of another, changing and adapting them while incorporating them into the existing cultural framework, which is also changed by the encounter. Tambiah describes hybridisation as one of a set of attempts to describe the ways in which people 'selectively incorporate and synthesise [transnational influences] with our varied roots of origin, senses of our path, distinctive migration histories, pre-existing practices, and new encounters' (2000, p. 178). This synthesis alludes to change and adaptation of both the specific influence and the "receiving" culture, such that both are transformed by the encounter. This view ascribes agency to the members of the "receiving" cultures in a manner that contrasts with the common representation of people of the South as homogenous and powerless in their engagement with the all-powerful Western influence (Inda & Rosaldo 2002, p. 15). Within this framework, the implications of global interaction are less insidious - that is to say that if all cultures are evolving and there is no

preconceived cultural hierarchy, it is more likely that a multi-directional flow between cultures will be anticipated and viewed positively (Tomlinson 1999, p. 24).

For Bhabha, hybridity emerges from the negotiation that takes place in the interstices that are constituted by 'the overlap and displacement of domains of difference' (1994, p. 2). In this space, there is an 'active moment of challenge and resistance against a dominant cultural power' (Young 1995, p. 23), whereby the dominant culture is engaged, and in the process is transformed into something new and unique. This encounter 'deprives the imposed imperialist culture, not only of the authority that it has for so long imposed politically, often through violence, but even of its own claims to authenticity' (Bhabha 1991, pp. 57-8). From the perspective of the dominated culture, this is 'a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorise cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation' (Bhabha 1994, p. 2). Benhabib proposes that there is an integral cultural component that must survive hybridisation, and that culture loses its identity if in the process of responding to stimuli it does not retain 'the belief of its members in its normative systems and value structures' (1995, p. 238). In other words, although adaptation is important, what is central to a culture is a set of controls and values which may change but must continue to draw compliance from the group's members. This is a notion of a central core of cohesion that binds the group together around an implicitly agreed code, and which holds within it the identity of the group. While there may be some scope for adaptation within this belief system, if there is too much change its integrity is lost and the culture is not hybridised but fully changed. The balance is very delicate, as can

be seen in critiques of cultural authenticity, for example Narayan's discussion

of the 'Idea of Venerability,' which she explains as 'the suggestion that

practices and institutions are valuable *merely* by virtue of the fact that they are

of long-standing' (1997, p. 21). Hybridity therefore entails the ongoing

negotiation of change and stasis, to maintain cultural integrity and avoid

cultural fundamentalism.

For some authors, hybridity is not an esoteric theory but rather a reflection of

contemporary cultural reality, as 'countless human communities nowadays

possess a hybrid culture' (Narayan 1997, p. 54). Hybridity challenges many

existing notions of culture, querying 'imperialist and colonialist notions of

purity as much as it question[s] the nationalist notions' (Bhabha 1989, p. 64 in

Gupta & Ferguson 2002, p. 76). Escobar agrees with this and believes that

hybridity provides possibilities for the acknowledgement of cultural difference,

but he warns against celebrating hybridity for its own sake, since it 'may or

may not be (re)inscribed into hegemonic constellations' (Escobar 1995a, p.

220). A danger identified by other Post-Development authors is that

hybridised cultures will receive even more criticism from people within

Western cultures, as seen in the example of "reproductive rights" given by

Esteva and Prakash (1998, p. 119). They recount a situation in which a

community adopted certain Western technologies and attitudes as they strove

for certain family planning goals, but met with 'outrage' from Western critics

who failed to see their choices as a product of the community's active

engagement with the West (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 119).

As was discussed in Chapter Two, Escobar states that modernisation has historically been viewed as a universal target and culture as only 'a residual variable,' whilst the Post-Development view is that this form of Development represents a culture in itself (1995a, p. 44; see also Esteva 1992). Post-Development identifies Development as a discourse, leading to the identification of a *culture of Development*. This is a set of values and processes that are part of the modernist paradigm and which function in a colonial fashion to erase the cultures of Development's "recipients." It is an interesting dilemma that Post-Development theorists appear to subscribe to both bounded and cultural studies perceptions of culture, speaking of homogenisation, heterogenisation *and* hybridisation. The key to this paradox is perhaps the Post-Development theorists' perception of the imperialism of the West, with its tendency to give 'one culture's moral concept … pre-eminence over others' (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 119). Under imperialist pressure, it may indeed be very difficult for a culture to hybridise (or to hybridise in desired ways) rather than conform to the dominant culture. In spite of this, Escobar concludes that 'rather than being eliminated by development, many "traditional cultures" survive through their transformative engagement with modernity' (1995a, p. 219). This is a site for the creation of diverse forms of modernity, as communities transform and translate the meaning of modernity in relation to their own experience and culture, creating a new form that is unique to their situation. The problem comes in recognition of these multiple modernities, since the modernisation paradigm authorises only one ultimate expression of the modern. While the community may see no need to have "their" modernity validated by others, without it they remain vulnerable to the evangelical passion of modernisation's fundamentalists.

The Fine Line between Hybridity and Extinction

This discussion leads to an important question, namely at what point hybridity or the creation of multiple modernities leaves that sphere and becomes cultural domination or extinction. At the heart of this question is Benhabib's conceptualisation of a fundamental core within cultures, in which cultures undergoing change need to retain a central set of values or beliefs in order to maintain their cohesion. If that core is maintained, the culture is seen to have hybridised, or perhaps to have created a unique form of modernity, but if that core is lost, then the culture itself is said to be lost. It is very difficult to pinpoint what constitutes a culture's core, or perhaps even to articulate a unified sense of these values and beliefs for any particular culture, yet it would seem that it is obvious to some when it is lost. This means that the line between perceived cultural hybridity and extinction is not absolute, but rather is contested and arbitrary. A fundamental difference between hybridity and the homogenisation thesis is the perception of agency of the "recipient" culture, since homogenisation describes a passive recipient while hybridity assumes agency and power in the transforming encounter (although it does allow for differing degrees of power). Agency may therefore be regarded as being of key importance in ensuring that hybridisation does not become forced conformity with the dominant culture.

It would seem that agency is prioritised by both the UNDP and Post-Development theorists for retaining culture and cultural liberty, in the sense that where people have power, they will use it to protect what is important to

them culturally. For Post-Development, this agency is embodied in grassroots movements working locally (though sometimes with broader networks) on specific issues, strengthening communities against Westernisation or Development. For the UNDP, the agency is expressed by communities (as groups and as individuals) participating in their own Development, and in that way protecting themselves from Westernisation. The participatory approach to Development aims to increase local people's control over the Development process, however the Post-Development theorists reject it along with the broader Development project. It is important therefore to explore whether Participation promotes agency, especially cultural agency. This comprises a key component of the research addressed in the second part of this thesis and will be addressed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This discussion reveals that there are different ways of conceptualising culture, and that the approach taken impacts on the resulting attitudes to cultural change. A bounded understanding of culture has underpinned much of the modernisation paradigm, and it leads to attitudes to change that view culture as an "all or nothing" entity, in which a culture is valid in its entirety only, and change constitutes destruction. This approach underpins the perception that cultures are undergoing a process of homogenisation, in which they are becoming more alike and more modern. The heterogenisation thesis is also founded on this understanding of culture and it attempts to circumvent homogenisation by reinforcing and valorising local and national cultures. Post-Development shares some ground with this approach to culture, in its desire to

resist the imperialist and homogenising forces of Development, and the valorising of tradition and "the local".

An alternative approach is to consider "the cultural", or the way culture functions rather than attempting to analyse culture itself. This cultural studies approach considers the way culture constitutes ongoing struggles over meaning, particularly in the interfaces between 'domains of difference' (Bhabha 1994, p. 2). By shifting the focus in this way, cultural studies also leads to a different perception of the impact of cultural change, which is viewed as constant and bidirectional, as interaction takes place and agency is exercised. Even where new cultural practices are adopted, they are indigenised or interpreted and made into a hybrid of both new and old practices. Post-Development adopts aspects of this approach too, exploring the hybrid expressions of modernity that arise from the transformative engagement between Development and "the grassroots".

Both cultural liberty and the Post-Development framework rely on conceptions of human agency in contact between cultures, although they believe that different pathways enable people to express that agency. Participatory Development is a fundamental plank of the UNDP's conception of cultural liberty, although it is rejected by Post-Development theories as an inadequate response to Development's inadequacies. These concepts are particularly important to this discussion of Development's impact on culture because of the different beliefs about cultural change and people's ability to exercise power in the current global context. Understanding Development workers' approach to culture and agency will help in interpreting their attitudes to cultural change in the Development context. It is now important to examine Participatory

Development and the ways that it may be seen to respond to the Development

issues discussed by the Post-Development theorists, particularly in the context

of the contact zone of Development.

4 Participatory Approaches to Development

Participation is a Development strategy that attempts to address issues of power and privilege in Development processes by focusing on local people and advocating a "bottom-up" approach in which poor and marginalised people are able to direct the processes that affect them. Although Participation appears to respond to many of Post-Development's criticisms of Development, it is dismissed by those theorists for remaining within the Development paradigm. This chapter will explore whether Participation constitutes a viable alternative to the forms of Development identified as damaging by the Post-Development theorists, and will point to the ways in which it attempts to ensure an effective response to people's needs and aspirations. It will also consider whether Participation addresses – or has the capacity to address – cultural factors inherent in the Development exchange.

Participation is one of a raft of strategies which has emerged in response to 'the perceived failure of development intervention and aid' (Harrison 2002, p. 590; see also Chambers 1995b). The central critique on which it is founded is that Development has generally disregarded the people it most affects, whose needs and aspirations it was supposed to address. In particular this critique focuses on Development's "top-down" approach and unequal power relations. Participation's focus on self-reliance is grounded in the Freirean philosophy of empowering people to drive their own learning and development (see Freire 1970; Freire 1974; Chambers 1997, esp.s p. 106). This approach also proceeds

from the notion that people have a right and a desire to exercise agency in their own lives, and in particular in externally initiated or assisted Development processes (Eade & Williams 1995, p. 15). The right to Participation is part of the right of all people to Development itself, a pairing that the United Nations clearly expresses in its statement that

> the right to development is the right of individuals, groups and peoples to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy continuous economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realised. This includes the right to effective participation in all aspects of development and at all stages of the decision-making process (United Nations 1991, para 143).

The right to Participation also features in the Philippine Constitution, which states that 'the right of the people and their organizations to effective and reasonable participation at all levels of social, political, and economic decision-making shall not be abridged' (Republic of the Philippines 1987, Article 13, Sec. 16). Taking this concept further, Robert Chambers (arguably the main proponent of participatory Development practice) claims that people also have a right to their own analysis, allowing them to assess their situation and develop an appropriate response to it (1995b, p. 36). Naming Participation as a right in this way effectively places it beyond critique, because any challenge can be labelled as an attack on human rights more broadly. In spite of challenges to their universality, human rights carry a significant moral power and this means that a challenge to any one right may be perceived as a challenge to human rights as a whole. This moral weight has helped participatory Development to become 'the central issue of our time' (Karl 1995, p. 1), spawning a vast array of literature about Participation and

associated concepts such as partnership, which concerns the form of Development relationships (Harrison 2002, p. 587).

Attempting to Define Participation

Defining Participation is not easy, especially given the range of approaches referred to under this banner. Nelson and Wright point to several layers of meaning that are at play with Participation:

> First, the word participation has historically accumulated certain meanings and these are all available to be drawn upon, with the possibility of slippage from one to another. Second, where, with the best of intentions, "participation" is used to mean "empowering the weakest and the poorest", institutional procedures may work out in other ways. Third, in any contemporary context, participation is imbued with different ideologies or given particular meanings by people situated differently within any organisation. In other words, the ideal definition of participation is only the start to exploring what meanings are attached to it in any context, how they are contested and deployed, and who gains and who loses in the process (1995, p. 1).

This means that even having an agreed 'ideal definition' leaves room for interpretation, and Chambers suggests that Participation is in fact evolving too fast to ascribe to it an authoritative definition (1994a, p. 953). Elizabeth Harrison suggests that one reason that it may be futile to attempt to pin a single meaning to the concept, is that the principal users of this terminology may *choose* to be vague about definitions (2002, p. 590). This imprecision may be useful because it allows implementers to apply specific strategies that fit under this broad heading while at the same time appearing to embrace funder priorities which may in fact be different. As a result, this chapter does not

attempt to pin down a single, universally acceptable definition of Participation, but rather to explore the range of possible meanings and uses, and the effects of these in the context of the Post-Development critique of Development discourse and practice. A starting point is necessary, and I begin with the broad notion that Participation is a deliberate attempt to include 'those individuals and groups previously excluded by more top-down planning processes, and who are often marginalised by their separation and isolation from the production of knowledge and the formulation of policies and practices' in the decisions that affect them (Kothari 2001, p. 139).

A Spectrum of Participatory Approaches

I propose that the best way to understand the variety of uses of Participation is as a spectrum, since approaches to Participation range from an exclusive attention to implementation strategies, to an overarching philosophy. Several authors have discussed this definitional elasticity, and have formulated typologies in order to be able to distinguish between the various groups claiming to be participatory. In 1971, Arnstein reflected that there was great variance in the degree of Participation in social programs in the USA, and he discerned three key classifications, namely non-participation, tokenism and citizen power, each of which had further subsets (see Rebien 1996, p. 58). Well into the 1990s, theorists were still devising systems of classification, demonstrating that the definitional slipperiness had continued to be a significant issue (see Rebien 1996, p. 60; Michener 1998, p. 2106; Chambers 1995b). Figure 1 shows some of these classification systems on a spectrum. Although it is simplified in that it allows for only three degrees of Participation

(low, moderate and high), this illustration is helpful in demonstrating the range of terms applied within each of the broad areas on the spectrum.

LOW	**MODERATE**	**HIGH**
Non-participation	Tokenism	Citizen power
Instrumental participation	Local labour input only	Empowerment
Co-option		Paradigm of People
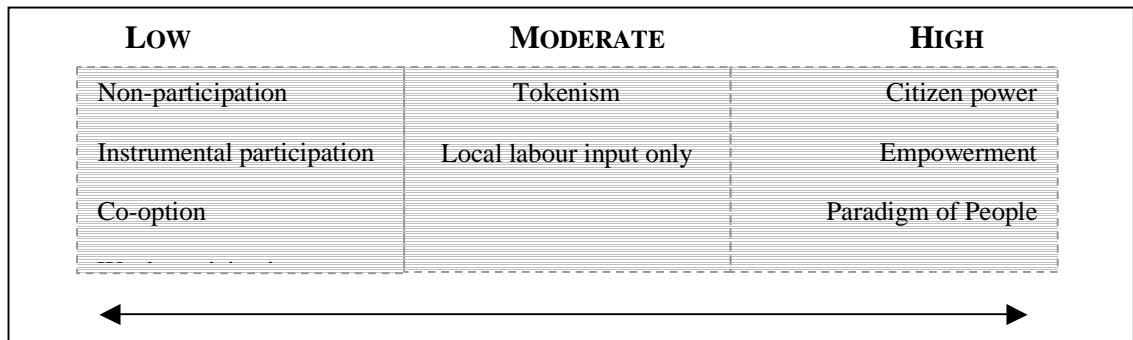
Figure 1: The Spectrum of Participatory Approaches

David Korten (1991) provides a useful insight to the various approaches to Participation by pointing to the differing theories of poverty which underlie each of the participatory approaches. One key strategy is based on the belief that poverty alleviation is brought about by *economic growth* fostered through capital investment, and this leads to a Participation model in which people constitute a growth input and 'are expected to participate in the growth process as labourers, consumers and entrepreneurs' (Korten 1991, p. 3). This approach would be located in the left and central areas of the spectrum, as would the *basic needs* model, which is based on 'the implicit assumption that the [economic] growth theory is fundamentally correct' but that those in most need must be cared for until it takes full effect, leading to a participatory approach focused on the poor as 'co-producers in the implementation of donor funded service delivery projects' (Korten 1991, p. 4). The *empowerment model,* which would be found at the right of the spectrum, regards poverty as being caused by structures that benefit elites, and Participation 'is measured in terms of the control and use of significant economic and political assets and is achieved through the transformation of economic and political structures' (Korten 1991,

p. 5). Recognising the theoretical foundations of participatory approaches gives more depth to any engagement with (or criticism of) these approaches.

Another response to the variety of definitions comes from Brett (2003), who suggests a distinction between *weak Participation* and *strong Participation*. Weak Participation encompasses those strategies which are covered in Arnstein's categories of tokenism and non-participation or Chambers' classifications of cosmetic or co-opting Participation (see Michener 1998; Chambers 1995a), whilst strong Participation is seen to be those strategies which are empowering. Participation therefore reaches its peak "strength" when it results in "citizen power."

At the "low" or "weak" end of the spectrum, funders may adopt Participation for reasons relating mostly to their own outcomes or priorities since this approach has been shown to increase project effectiveness in a number of ways. Financially, Participation is attractive because personnel hours and costs can be significantly decreased by using local labour and structures, particularly in project implementation stages (Salmen 1987, p. 128; Rahnema 1992, p. 119). It may also be felt that when projects are participatory they are more likely to meet their goals, because engaging the input of local people decreases the likelihood of opposition to the plan whilst increasing the probability of community members being committed to project objectives (Turner & Hulme 1997, p. 116). However when Participation is adopted for these reasons, it runs the risk of being instrumental rather than empowering, occurring only at certain funder-controlled points rather than pervading the entire process (Chambers 1995a). This would be seen for example in limited opportunities for locals to

participate in projects or programs, primarily taking the form of committee

membership or the contribution of free labour or information, whilst the funder

retains tight control (Mompati & Prinsen 2000, p. 633; Cleaver 2001, p. 44).

In such instances, planners retain the power to choose whether to incorporate

input gained through participatory processes or whether simply to proceed

according to their own plans (Mompati & Prinsen 2000, p. 629). Also at issue

here is the extent to which communities are actually able to influence the form

and goals of Development, rather than simply participating in a project initiated

and controlled from outside, potentially with little relevance to local needs or

goals (Dudley 1993, p. 161).

At the other end of the spectrum lie the forms of Participation that are driven

by the needs and goals of local people, and proponents of these forms

recognise that this path is neither a cheap nor easy to follow, placing

'significant demands' on all those involved (Korten 1991, p. 27). It 'implies a

loss of central control and proliferation of local diversity' (Chambers 1995a, p.

32) and is therefore 'disruptive' since it cannot fit within a predetermined,

carefully controlled plan (Eade & Williams 1995, p. 17). It is time consuming,

both in duration and intensity, and it is does not support the development of

blueprints, or models that are formed with the intent of applying them in a

variety of situations (Jackson 1997, p. 245). These empowerment-focused

forms of Participation may thereby lose some of their attractiveness to

Development funders and implementers, because they are not compatible with

a drive for short-term, measurable and funder-driven outcomes.   On the other

hand, they facilitate long term sustainability by resourcing community

members to control their own development and rely less on others.

Another way of expressing this idea is to exemplify the distinction as a dichotomy between Participation as an end in itself and as a means to other Development goals. An example of people-focused Development can be seen in Oxfam International's definition of Development, which emphasises 'both the process and outcome' of Development, characterising an approach in which Participation is itself an important outcome for people (Eade & Williams 1995, p. 9). The approach is explained as follows:

> participation is both an end and a means to that end. As women and men achieve a more meaningful form of participation in some of the decisions affecting them, so their capacity to take control over other areas of their lives also expands. Development is about enhancing the capacity of people to demand social and economic justice. In the process, women and men become more able to determine the nature and extent of participation in civil society that they themselves require (Eade & Williams 1995, p. 17).

In other words, Participation is a fundamental plank in an approach that aims to enable people to take control of their own lives and to bring about positive change, whether through their immediate actions or by demanding structural changes. According to Parfitt, 'participation used purely as a means is simply a variant on traditional top-down development,' whereas 'participation as an end includes a clear emancipatory moment inasmuch as organisation and empowerment have increasingly been identified as central aspects of participation as an end' (2002, p. 147).

Nelson and Wright explain this as a distinction between the situation 'where the community or group sets up a process to control its own development' and

the desire 'to accomplish the aims of a project more efficiently, effectively or cheaply' (1995, p. 1; also Parfitt 2002, p. 147). While there may still be equivocation over the definition of Participation as an end, the important word in that statement is *'process'* – that is to say that the act of participating is an important experience that fosters learning and skill development which are at least as important as the tangible, planned outcomes. This *process* is seen to be the vehicle for *empowerment* and *sustainability,* both key Development concepts. Chambers' work is heavily process-oriented, and he extends on the work of Korten to describe an overarching *paradigm of Participation* (Chambers 1997, p. 37).

A Participatory Paradigm

The notion of Development being *people-centred* (Korten & Klauss 1984) or of "putting people first" (Chambers 1983) is a deliberate distinction from Development which is centrally concerned with factors such as economics, politics or modernisation ideals. Korten and Klauss's book on people-centred Development focused on "little d" development, or the broader spread of capitalism, however the notion is still applicable to the "big D" Development that is the focus of this research, in the sense that people-centred Development 'looks to the creative initiative of people as the primary development resource and to their material and spiritual well-being as the end that the development process serves' (Korten & Carner 1984, p. 201). Chambers calls this Participation as 'an empowering process' (1995a, p. 30), clearly defining power and empowerment as central goals of participatory Development. He champions a continued movement towards the paradigm of people, in which

human beings are the central focus and drivers, and away from the historically

dominant paradigm of things (in which objects such as roads hold primacy)

(Chambers 1995a). It is a movement in which 'reductionism, linear thinking,

and standard solutions give way to an inclusive holism, open systems thinking

and diverse options and actions' (Chambers 1992, p. 66). Figure 2 outlines key

differences between these two ways of thinking. Specifically, a shift to the

paradigm of things represents a move towards an approach focused on process

and grounded in 'an adaptive, bottom-up process of program and

organisational development through which an adequate fit may be achieved

between beneficiary needs, program outputs, and organisational competence'

(Korten 1980, p. 502; see also Cusworth 1994, p. 59).

Point of departure and reference	Things	People
Mode	Blueprint	Process
Keyword	Planning	Participation
Goals	Pre-set, closed	Evolving, open
Decision-making	Centralized	Decentralized
Analytical assumptions	Reductionist	Systems, holistic
Methods, rules	Standardized, universal	Diverse, local
Technology	Fixed package (table d'hôte)	Varied basket (à la carte)
Professionals' interactions with local people	Instructing, 'motivating'	Enabling, empowering
Local people seen as	Beneficiaries	Partners, actors
Force flow	Supply-push	Demand-pull
Outputs	Uniform	Diverse
	Infrastructure	Capabilities
Planning and action	Top-down	Bottom-up

Figure 2: Two paradigms - of things and people

(Chambers 1997, p. 37)

The distinction between the paradigms of people and of things demonstrates

the yawning gap between the two ends of the participatory spectrum, and any

shift from one to the other would require changing not only the mode and models used, but also the methods, resources and approach. It would require a change from Development as carefully managed, predictable and consistent to an approach that is flexible, open and locally-driven, and also a recognition that people are complex and cannot be understood 'by statistics alone' (Salmen 1987, p. 129). The paradigm of people is not just a generalised sense of prioritising people rather than more material motivations (because for example economically focused Development could surely be said to be focused on the particular group of people who will profit from it), but of prioritising those people who are most disadvantaged– namely those who are 'poor, weak and vulnerable' (Chambers 1995b, p. 37). In a book subtitled 'putting the last first' Chambers justifies the prioritising of the poor by stating that 'the extremes of rural poverty in the third world are an outrage … not just that avoidable deprivation, suffering and death are intolerable; it is also that these coexist with affluence' (Chambers 1983, p. 2). By focusing on those who are most marginalised and disadvantaged, a paradigm of people would strive to narrow the gap both within and between countries. In this context this paradigm attends to 'whole communities which are poor, but equally to those who are disadvantaged – the poor, weak and marginalised, whether women, or a social or economic group – within communities' (Chambers 1995b, p. 37).

According to Hickey and Mohan, critics underestimate the work of Robert Chambers because they take it

> at face value and thereby ignore both the strategy that underpins it (namely to
>
> fight the economism, 'professionalism' and other biases that pervade

mainstream development thinking and research) and the genuine gains that

might be had for marginal people from such approaches (2004, p. 12).

Certainly the accessible language used by Chambers and his focus on praxis rather than grand theoretical claims may deceive readers into interpreting it as simplistic (Uphoff 2002, p. 762). In contrast, an approach of putting people first fundamentally entails recognising the complexity in the lives of poor people, rather than homogenising them or treating them as uncomplicated - a point that Chambers believes is 'so obvious and so universal that it pains to have to make it' (Chambers 1997, p. 13). Neither people nor their livelihoods are simple: they are complex, multifaceted and adaptive, and Development that engages with people therefore needs to take this into account. On this basis, the paradigm of people rejects what has become known as the blueprint approach to Development, which is based on the idea that it is possible to create a single model that could be applied to achieve effective Development outcomes in all situations. Chambers acknowledges that blueprinting is 'needed and brilliantly successful in engineering,' as in the construction of large infrastructure projects such as bridges and roads (1997, p. 189), however this approach is unable to be sufficiently flexible for Development situations that are located in a human environment, with all the variables of individuals, communities and social or governmental structures. Instead, Chambers calls for an approach that recognises the distinctiveness of each situation and develops specific and relevant plans that are tailored to the context.

Participation and Power

One of the major criticisms of the theoretical foundations of Participation is its 'almost exclusive focus on the micro-level, on people who are considered powerless and marginal [which] has reproduced the simplistic notion that the sites of social power and control are to be found solely at the macro- and state levels' (Kothari 2001, p. 140). At the same time, some critics claim that Participation in fact is not driven by the poor, nor does it work primarily towards their interests (White 1996, p. 14; Mosse 2001, p. 22). Indebted to the conscientisation approach of Paulo Freire (1970), Participation earns criticism for preventing a focus on social change by focusing initially on individual change (Gilbert & Ward 1984, p. 771). This is perceived as a reluctance to engage with politics and power issues (Kapoor 2002, p. 115; Cleaver 2001, p. 36) and is seen as crippling Participation by preventing it from engaging with structures of poverty and inequity, with the consequence that it 'frequently serves to sustain and reinforce inequitable economic, political and social structures' (Hildyard, et al. 2001, p. 56; Henkel & Stirrat 2001, p. 171). An important way in which this is said to occur is by obscuring the power dynamics that determine whose goals or values predominate in participatory processes, with the implication that this reveals a bias towards planners and towards powerful and articulate community members (Kothari 2001, p. 146; Hildyard, et al. 2001, p. 56). A particularly clear example of the power disparities at play is that the organisations encouraging or demanding Participation are not necessarily participatory within their own structures (Hildyard, et al. 2001, p. 70).

Many Participation theorists and practitioners do, however, share Post-Development's concern about the disparities of power within Development and even within participatory Development. Recognising the spectrum of participatory approaches, Nelson and Wright state that '"participation", if it is to be more than palliative, involves shifts in power' (1995, p. 1). Chambers (1995a) uses a terminology of uppers and lowers to describe the hierarchies in play in interactions both within Development and beyond it. This has earned him criticism for having 'a view of the world … structured in terms of binary oppositions' (Henkel & Stirrat 2001, p. 175) and also praise for using simple language to describe complex situations (Uphoff 2002). These binaries are said to constitute a simplistic approach to complex realities, thus betraying Participation's intrinsic inadequacy, essentialising the poor (Mohan 2001, p. 160) and assuming that abuses only occur at the hands of the powerful (Kothari 2001, p. 140). Furthermore, Participation is accused of regarding communities as incapable of spontaneous organisation (Cooke 2001, p. 105), and at the same time of assuming 'that communities are capable of anything, that all that is required is sufficient mobilisation' (Cleaver 2001, p. 46). Participation is therefore denounced for failing to account for the ways communities interact with its processes and thereby change them.

The paradigm of people recognises that there are many agents in Development and that each of these contributes to the success or otherwise of the Development intervention. Within this engagement, Development workers are often "uppers" because they have great control over whose voices are heard and therefore their priorities are emphasised. Chambers recognises that 'power relations vary by person and context' (1997, p. 58), and that uppers therefore

exist in local communities as well as the North, but he pays particular attention to the ways that Northern uppers impact upon Development processes. Chambers is also concerned with the wilful ignorance of the powerful that allows poverty to continue on a macro level, and which allows continuation of Development approaches that have a negative impact on the poor when 'there is more insight than ever before, accessible to those who want it, about how to enable poor people to do better' (1995b, p. 4). At the same time he recognises that uppers may be trapped by their own power and unable to see or hear important information because their power insulates them against conflicting input (Chambers 1997, p. 92).

On this basis, Development practitioners and organisations are exhorted to relinquish some of their power by shifting their focus towards learning. This would entail letting go of their 'normal professional orientations, concepts, values, methods and behaviour [that] reinforce the dominance of the North' (Chambers 1995b, p. 31) and developing 'a capacity for embracing error, learning with the people, and building new knowledge and institutional capacity through action' (Korten 1980, p. 480). Chambers also advocates a change in 'how uppers behave with lowers, and handing over the stick, sitting down, listening and learning, facilitating … and being respectful and considerate' (1995a, 39). This takes time and skill on the part of the practitioner, since Development participants 'seldom express their concerns openly and unambiguously [and] they may lack the status or the skills to participate in collective decision-making' (Eade & Williams 1995, p. 15). Participation is not as simple as holding a community meeting and asking people to say what is on their minds, since it involves introducing new ways of

behaving, and even such situations are sites of power and inequality in which people may not feel able to speak, or to speak truthfully (White 1996, p. 13). It is for these reasons that he calls for Participation to be 'weighted to give voice to women, weak and poor people' (Chambers 1995a, p. 42), because without this weighting they may be unable to participate. Recognising that as a theorist he too is an upper whose power distorts, Chambers (1997) emphasises that his work is a starting point, the beginning of a conversation that he envisages as interactive and dynamic, involving practitioners and theorists committed to participatory philosophy and therefore to finding appropriate practice consistent with this ethos. In doing this, he attempts to negate the finality and status often attributed to theory, and to deflect the power embodied in the act of writing.

These examples demonstrate a clear concern for power within the Development exchange, and for power beyond the individual, in contrast to the claims of Participation's critics. In spite of this, Glyn Williams believes that the understandings of power that underlie Participation are theoretically weak and that as a result 'participation remains a highly malleable discourse in political terms' (2004, p. 101). Further to this, local people may be represented as passive until Development arrives (Nelson & Wright 1995, p. 2). There may also be an assumption that individuals and communities are powerless, based on a narrow definition of power (Rahnema 1992, 123), which in turn obscures the power exerted within groups, that can distort the participatory processes (Cooke 2001, p. 102). Kapoor also asserts that advocates of some participatory strategies are naïve in believing they can enable oppressed people to speak since it has failed to redress the power imbalances within its own

practice (Kapoor 2004a, 636; see also Kapoor 2004b). An important aspect of Chambers' attempt to "put the last first" includes displacing 'normal professionalism,' or the ways that professionals' power makes it difficult for them to perceive and engage with the complexities of other people's lives. Amongst other things, normal professionalism includes a hierarchy of knowledge that locates theory above practice, denigrating knowledge that is not based on precision and measurement. It is ironic that Williams' assertion of Chambers' theoretical weakness so closely mimics Chambers' description of one of the prejudices that prevents professionals from being able to perceive the realities of others (1997, Chapter 3, especially p. 34).

Malleability or slipperiness within Participation has already been discussed, however at this point it is important to reflect that Foucault's notion of *biopower* may be discerned within the paradigm of people, in the sense of acting upon agents who are capable of action. The call for people to be allowed and enabled to control all aspects of their own development necessarily entails recognition that people are capable of doing so. Further evidence of Participation theorists' engagement with issues of power in participatory theory and practice can be seen in publications such as Nelson and Wright's collection entitled *Power and Participatory Development* (1995), the first chapter of which engages in a discussion of different approaches to power and their application to Participation. A key to these conflicting positions may perhaps be found in the subtitle of that book: 'Theory and Practice.' The distinction between the theorising of Participation and its practice is of central importance to this discussion, since both critics and supporters of participatory Development discern a gap between them.

Participation in Practice

Given the range of participatory approaches outlined above, it will naturally follow that there is a range of participatory practice. There is variety in the extent of the involvement sought within participatory approaches, from the provision of (free) labour for the implementation of externally controlled projects, to full control of the design, implementation and evaluation of projects. The degree of Participation sought is dependent on the goals of the Development intervention (and interveners), whether they be economic efficiency, satisfying funding criteria, ensuring sustainability, or empowering the poorest and most marginalised people in a specific area. Where Participation is rooted in a desire to empower people to initiate and control their own Development in a relevant and sustainable form, it shares many of Post-Development's concerns about mainstream Development, including power differentials in the Development relationship and the agency of people most fundamentally affected by Development, namely its "recipients".

Although Cleaver derides what she sees as a misplaced concentration on 'getting the techniques right' (1999, p. 598), this focus is not surprising given that this set of strategies has been developed primarily by practising Development practitioners rather than academics and it has been expanded and changed as practitioners have discovered new strategies and refined existing ones (Chambers 1997, p. 104). Thus while critics may see this as a weakness, others may see it as a strength of Participation that 'theory has been induced from practice, not deduced from propositions' (Chambers 1997, p. 208).

Chambers describes Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (also referred to as

Participatory Learning and Action, or PLA)[10], as a 'growing family of

approaches and methods' (1997, p. 102) that has evolved from 'many sources,'

most notably Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA)[11] (Chambers 1994b, p. 1253).

As an approach, PRA is founded on three central principles, namely 'methods,

behaviour and attitudes, and sharing' (Chambers 1994c, p. 1438). It may seem

inconsistent to purport to address participatory practice and begin by discussing

principles, yet this is part of PRA's complexity. *Attitudes and behaviour* are

vital, in that practitioners' attitudes may have significant implications for the

implementation of Development, both in the ways that their power may prevent

them from learning (Chambers 1997, p. 76), and in that they may not be aware

of their own attitudes and the ways they affect practice (O'Leary & Meas 2001,

p. 26). The implications for practice are that 'outsiders [have] to step off their

pedestals, sit down, "hand over the stick," and listen and learn' (Chambers

1994c, p. 1438), in order that "locals" may be perceived (by themselves and by

practitioners) as having valuable input, be heard, and be able to participate

genuinely in their own Development. The *sharing* component includes sharing

of knowledge amongst and between locals and outsiders (Chambers 1994c, p.

1439), and partnerships between funding and implementing organisations

(Chambers 1997, p. 215). The *methods* are aimed at changing the focus of

Development practice 'from closed to open, from individual to group, from

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[10] Chambers refers to PLA as an emerging term that more accurately describes these
processes than PRA, although he uses PRA throughout his text because while it is less
accurate, it 'is the term people are using' (1997, p. xvii). I will use the term PRA in
this thesis for the same reasons.
[11] Rapid Rural Appraisal is the predecessor of PRA, with its greatest spread in the 1980s
(Chambers 1994a, p. 953). PRA built on the foundations of RRA, with a greater focus on the
involvement of local people, fulfilling roles held by practitioners in RRA.

verbal to visual, and from measuring to comparing' (Chambers 1997, p. 104).

The specific strategies include information gained through personal contact

between practitioners and local individuals and groups; the practitioner

learning how to do important village tasks; locals performing information

collection and analysis; visual representations (especially maps) of the physical

and human aspects of the community; extensive observation; collecting

information about local tasks and schedules*;* analyses of specific groups in the

community and differences between them; case studies; participation in

planning, budgeting and monitoring as well as implementation; and extensive

group work (Chambers 1994a, pp. 959-61). Importantly, these approaches

seek full participation in all aspects of the Development experience, including

(but not limited to) needs identification; data collection and analysis; project

preparation, appraisal and selection; implementation; and monitoring and

evaluation (Turner & Hulme 1997, p. 141-2; Crittenden & Lea 1989, p. 484;

Rebien 1996, p. 60).

Significantly, these strategies were guides rather than rules, as seen particularly

in the view

> that manuals of methods should be avoided; that the PRA principle of "use your
>
> own best judgement at all times" permitted and encouraged creativity; that
>
> manuals led to teaching and learning by rote, the ritual performance of methods
>
> for their own sake, and a loss of flexibility (Chambers 1994a, p. 959).

Thus what emanates from the paradigm of people are guidelines for

practitioners and strategies that other practitioners have found to be helpful in

their own attempts to discover and prioritise the needs and aspirations of the

most excluded. Discerning those needs and aspirations is not as

straightforward as it may initially appear, since the power dynamics within Development practice may distort outcomes, and the poor may be suspicious of change imposed by rulers or the rich, or of the strangeness of non-dictatorial strategies and inadvertent emphasis on the foreign aspects of the program (Cohen 1961, pp. 31-34; Cleaver 1994, p. 49; Dudley 1993, pp. 57, 60). In addition to this, Participation is in fact quite costly for the poor, who have fewer resources, and their decision to participate remains dependant on their own assessment of the costs and benefits for them (Turner & Hulme 1997, p. 114). The provision of guidelines or examples of what works can help practitioners to overcome some of these obstacles, however the biggest obstacle may be practitioners' own attitudes and beliefs, which can prevent people from participating, or from participating to the fullest extent (see Porter 1991, p 58; Chambers 1994b; Chambers 1997).

A primary criticism of Participation is the theory-practice gap. It is fair to say that Participation theory and participatory practice are not always identical, and this is hardly surprising given Chambers' insightful reflection on the differing priorities and values of practitioners and theorists, whereby academics may criticise practitioners for being 'philistine, too close to their practical work to be able to take a wider view,' while practitioners may view academics as 'abstruse, too theoretical and too far from practical reality' (Chambers 1997, p. 34). Bebbington believes that there is evidence that

> [p]articipatory development *necessarily* requires an engagement with practices
> that pose awkward questions about attitudes and behaviours (Chambers'
> messages still resonate), unexpected outcomes, and normative commitments.
> Meanwhile, practicing participation *necessarily* requires engagement with

theories that pose difficult questions and challenges that force the practitioner

never to lose site [sic] of the wider picture (2004b, p. 281).

It should be a significant advantage for participatory praxis that practitioners have often been the theorists, writing on their successful strategies, yet there is significant critical literature emanating from advocates and critics alike, bemoaning the extent to which participation in projects often extends only to the implementation stage of the process, even when it is claimed to extend further (Carmen 1996; Chambers 1988; Acuna & Tuozzo 2000). Cleaver claims that when it comes to the application of participatory Development, 'the reality rarely reflects the rhetoric' (1994, p. 46), so that even where an organisation expounds Participation as a key plank of its approach, this rarely reaches the full scope of participatory potential. Participation thus becomes tokenistic, with participants required to fit into a predetermined framework in order to be heard.

This is largely due to the variety of participatory approaches, as demonstrated in the participatory spectrum on page 115 above, but also because from its roots as a radically alternative development strategy, Participation has been effectively absorbed into mainstream Development theory, to the point that it is seen as a fundamental and compulsory aspect of any project plan. For example, the World Bank stated in 1994 that it 'needs to broaden its business practices to encourage the participation of a much wider range of stakeholders, in order to improve and sustain its development efforts' (1994, p. i), and AusAID stipulates that

> to be eligible for funding, [NGO] activities must … encourage and facilitate
>
> community self help and self reliance through local participation in defining

goals, formulating development strategies, contributing to costs (including contributions in-kind), and in the implementation and management of such activities (AusAID 2004b).

Clearly, however, not all organisations understand and implement Participation in the same way, nor in fact is this mainstreaming necessarily welcomed (see for example Rahnema 1992, p. 117). Participation is particularly targeted by critiques regarding the theory-practice gap, with many organisations said to give only 'lip service' to Participation by adopting it in name without appearing to adopt the undergirding philosophy (Harrison 2002, p. 593), or in other words to have adopted a weak rather than a strong participatory approach. While Participation theorists may strive to redress their concerns with Development by forming practice that is inclusive and equitable, it is not possible to control the ways in which it is applied – or appropriated – and some commentators feel that most mainstream participatory practice remains at the instrumental end of the Participation spectrum. These critiques about participatory practice are sharply summarised in the reflection that Participation has become 'a well-honed tool for engineering consent to projects and programs whose framework has already been determined in advance – a means for top-down planning to be imposed from the bottom up' (Hildyard, et al. 2001, pp. 59-60). Further to this, Chambers asserts that the extent to which participatory approaches are actually applied is exaggerated by organisations falsely claiming to be participatory (1994a, p. 962).

Another perspective on Participation exhorts that the use of participatory strategies should not be taken as proof of increasing equality within a community or group, since even these strategies can fail to be inclusive.

Agarwal (2001) points to the ways women are systematically excluded in community forestry projects in South Asia, pointing to the ways that participatory strategies may disguise certain groups' continued exclusion from important processes to which they have much to contribute. Even when there is broad inclusion in the processes, different members of a community may not have the same level of influence over the processes, nor be given the same amount of 'space' in which to speak. This means that there can be different *levels* of participation by members of the same community, depending on pre-existing factors. Indeed, these pre-existing factors may mean that a participatory project in fact reinforces unequal structures.

Further to this, it should not be assumed that effective community participation leads to outcomes that challenge inequity or injustice, simply because the decision comes from a collaborative community process (see Cornwall 2003, p. 51). As Pretty et al note, the actors within participatory activities are not neutral (1995, p. 70), and this means that power and politics will continue to be important facets of participatory negotiations even though they attempt to reach beyond the normal decision-makers in a community. Since participatory programs are often time-bound, the imperative for consensus may lead to the favouring of dominant interests (since they have been most able to exercise power in various arenas) rather than the creation of opportunities for negotiation and resolution (Chhotray 2004, p. 348). In this way, Participation may in fact perpetuate the exclusion of those with least voice.

These critiques make it important to regard participatory processes critically, continuing to question whose voices have been prioritised, who has been

excluded, and to what extent different people have participated. The application of a participatory label does not automatically translate to inclusive, equitable, indigenous and effective practice - or indeed other outcomes we might perceive as desirable. For Participation to be inclusive, political and transformative, requires extraordinary skills on the part of practitioners, understanding and patience from funders, courage from community members, and willingness to relinquish power amongst those affected. Each of these factors is complex and difficult to achieve.

It should also be remembered that these critiques relate to participatory practice rather than the underlying theory, as can be seen in criticisms of other areas of Development practice in which the implementation falls short of the ideal. It is suggested that this is particularly the case since Participation entered the Development mainstream, where it can now be controlled by those entities who were most threatened by its potential (Rahnema 1992, p. 117). This illustrates the strength of the Development discourse's desire for power over its subjects, expressed in this case by seeking to assimilate Participation into the broader Development paradigm, defusing its ability to destabilise Development's dominance. Naturally, 'the interests that favour top-down development will not necessarily be supportive of initiatives that place control in the hands of the social majorities' (Parfitt 2002, p. 32), since this would involve an apparent loss of power. Thus while some aspects of Participation were attractive to mainstream Development, such as the increased effectiveness and decreased costs, aspects such as general devolution of control were never part of the mainstream agenda. Assimilation of Participation allowed mainstream Development discourse to appropriate and reinterpret Participation to its own

advantage, in 'a new attempt to reassert order, stability and continuity' (Porter 1995, p. 65).

Other critiques of participatory practice include a perceived 'lack of concern for building legitimacy into PRA procedures, ensuring just outcomes and representing sociocultural difference' (Kapoor 2002, p. 104; see also Craig & Porter 1997, p. 229). Advocates of Participation are also charged with being agents of the modernisation they claim to resist (Henkel & Stirrat 2001, p. 183), in that they are working to effect the implementation of Development. Although assessments of poor participatory practice may support this argument, the paradigm of people clearly advocates a shift from the valorisation of things that may be identified in the modernisation approach. A further issue is the narrow framework into which participants' comments must be set – workers may set out with a clear agenda, noting only input which is relevant to the questions asked, or which can easily fit into their set reporting formats (Craig & Porter 1997, p. 231). Such issues may arise due to factors such as cultural insensitivity or a lack of humility on the part of the program's formulators (see Porter, Allen & Thompson 1991; Davies 1997; Cleaver 1994), as well as the organisation's need for evidence which affirms its own indispensable position in what has become a development market-place (Craig & Porter 1997, p. 235).

Effectiveness of Practice

David Korten reflects that in the early 1970s as Participation was becoming recognised as 'universal wisdom,' it was fitted into existing blueprint

approaches, with the result that planners 'not only planned the project, they planned how the poor would participate in its implementation as well' (1991, p. 7). Addressing Development practices thirty years later, Carmen indicates that in many cases this has not changed, saying that 'the "choices" appear to be those of the planner and policy maker first and foremost' (2000, p. 1022). This lack of choice is also seen to incorporate the decision about whether to participate at all, or whether Participation is 'compulsory' (Eade 1997, p. 227), in some cases bearing heavy punishments for non-participation (see Harrison 2002, p. 600). The issue is also closely related to the underlying drivers which motivate organisations to adopt Participation, and when these are financial rather than people-centred, this gap is likely to open (Hildyard, et al. 2001, p. 59). Further to this, Frances Korten and Robert Siy Jr state that empowering participatory policies 'implicitly demand that the relevant implementing agencies undergo a fundamental transformation in their operating styles' in order to achieve the desired outcomes, but that this 'rarely' occurs (1988, p. 61).

Cleaver is correct in reporting that 'there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of Participation in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable or as a strategy of social change' (Cleaver 2001, p. 36). I propose that there are two key reasons for this, namely that both supporters and detractors will point to the areas of weakness in hopes of improvement, and also because it is very difficult to assess (and to fund the assessment of) long term effectiveness of any Development or social change strategy. Supporters of Participation (particularly the paradigm of people) are no less critical of its application than their critics, appearing to be Development's perfectionists.

This can be seen, for example, in the way David Korten introduced a series of case studies illustrating participatory Development successes, writing that 'as discouraging as the general picture is, not all efforts at participative approaches to rural development have failed' (Korten 1980, p. 485). Importantly, each of the diverse case studies is presented by Korten as a "work in progress," since the organisations concerned were not formed simply for one time-bound project, but rather strove to address ongoing issues relevant to their constituencies. On this basis, Korten thus discusses their successes at the time of writing, the foreseeable challenges, and their impact on their respective communities. Other authors have also described participatory projects which have had some success, pointing to success while at the same time highlighting the major challenges (see especially Shah 1995; George 1998).

In measuring the success of Participation, it is difficult to separate the effects of this approach from the effects of Development intervention, and in turn to separate the effects of that intervention from local factors and other inputs (including small d development) (Lindahl 2001, p. 70; Hickey & Mohan 2005, p. 252). Thus even if there were ample examples of the success of participatory approaches, it would be very difficult to point to Participation as the irrefutable factor in successful outcomes. While it is vitally important to ensure that Development has positive outcomes for those it most directly affects, and measuring outcomes is a valuable part of this, it is also worth considering Keough's reflection that participatory practices should be used 'not out of a sense of it being the most efficient way to achieve results, as it often is, but that it is the right way to conduct oneself with other human beings' (Keough 1998, p. 194). I have no doubt that Development will continue to be

implemented for the foreseeable future, even were its long-term impact

conclusively shown to be negative, and on this basis I think that Keough's

insight is of utmost importance in determining Development approaches.

Linked to this, and echoing critiques of Post-Development, Participation's

advocates are accused of presenting the bottom-up approach as 'morally

superior' (Henkel & Stirrat 2001, p. 171; Kapoor 2002, p. 103), pointing to the

ways that all perspectives on Development betray their own roots in a

worldview with particular values. For Post-Development, Participation

constitutes a discourse consistent with the Development discourse, controlling

interpretations of conditions and predetermining participatory Development as

the only appropriate response (Cooke & Kothari 2001, p. 15), ironically the

same criticisms made of Post-Development. Perhaps a key difference between

the respective "high grounds" of each of these approaches is that Post-

Development appears to limit the exercise of judgement on the effectiveness of

Development to people of the South, while Participation expands this to

include self-critical practitioners and theorists from the North. As a person

from the North who has strong views on Development, it is unsurprising that I

welcome an approach that in principle allows me the possibility of having a

valid contribution.

The two schools address many of the same areas, such as power inequities, but

come to different conclusions about the best way forward. Parfitt (2002)

proposes Derrida's principle of least violence as a useful tool for making

judgements about Development in the context of these divergent and

competing positions. In this context, violence is constituted by the exclusions

that necessarily result from the adoption of any position or the utterance of any statement. Since every conclusion necessitates exclusions, the logical question is how violent each of the potential exclusions is. Parfitt explains this position by saying that

> violence is inevitable. A more salient question pertains to the amount of violence that is caused by our actions. Do we take the course of least violence, or do we maximise violence? (2002, p. 163).

For Parfitt, violence can be found in the experience of the poorest people of the South, who are excluded by the politics of d/Development, with dire personal consequences that include poverty, malnourishment and increased morbidity. For him, it is clear that 'to stand aside in a situation where people are left in a state of poverty is to acquiesce and accept their deprivation. It is violent' (Parfitt 2002, p. 145). Thus although Parfitt agrees with Escobar's assessment that Development does damage by imposing external goals and values that are rooted in power disparities, Parfitt does not agree with the assessment that the only reasonable conclusion is to cease all Development that does not originate in the Southern grassroots organisations and movements. The path of least violence is found in the approach that attempts to 'remain open to alterity, to welcome the other' (Parfitt 2002, p. 115), and this can be found in Participation, which extends to marginalised people opportunities which would not otherwise be available to them, ultimately preventing poverty-related deaths. Participation constitutes an appropriate alternative to the "violence" of mainstream Development in that it 'applies a corrective to the over-technical, authoritarian top-down approach by placing an emphasis on local initiative and control of the direction that development should take' (Parfitt 2002, p. 32). Chambers (1995b) appears to take a similar approach, pointing to the

increasing access to knowledge about the conditions of people in the South, together with greatly increased luxury for the small number of people in the North, and advocating continuing Development but making it participatory so that it is sustainable and appropriate.

Edwards (1989) reflects that Development is 'about processes of enrichment, empowerment and participation.' Certainly, process emerges as a key to many Development debates: *how Development is performed* is widely recognised as fundamental to Development outcomes, although there is less agreement on which strategies are most desirable. Unfortunately, this is often placed in opposition to *what Development achieves,* setting up means and ends as binary opposites that compete, rather than as components that interact. This puts pressure on theorists and practitioners to locate themselves in one camp, fighting for their beliefs in opposition to the other camp.

This creates an artificial division between two entwined and mutually independent components. Development has no place if its ends are not perceived as valuable, while every process creates and shapes an outcome. To propose that the end product of Development is more important than the process is an exercise of power, since it obscures the means that must be employed to attain that end. The discourse of ends thus silences debate about process and thereby attempts to shield particular means from attack. An extreme process-oriented approach is no more helpful if it silences discussions about outcomes.

The means and the ends of Development are thus inseparable and both Participation and Post-Development attempt to convey this by pointing to the ways in which the 'how' of Development fundamentally shapes the final 'what' of Development. From this perspective, Participation and Post-Development both explore the interaction between process and product and call for careful attention to each. To call either approach process-based is to ignore the fact that both advocate particular processes because they want to achieve equally specific outcomes.

Participation and Culture

Crittenden and Lea suggest that the participatory ideal is actually unattainable, since

> it takes time, dedication and a great deal of sensitivity (not money) to educate both the beneficiaries and the professionals, to make "holes in the net" to get interaction and to simply understand some of the processes and procedures in both planning systems (1989, p. 484).

What they touch on here is the notion that different "systems" are meeting in the Development exchange, those of "developers" and "recipients," and that these subtly constrain each from fully understanding and engaging with the other. They propose that since it is very difficult for the parties 'to simply understand' one another, it will be particularly hard to work together, overcoming power, language, and cultural differences. The idea of making "holes in the net" illustrates the effort needed to create small spaces of understanding. More than this, however, other critics point to Participation as 'a specific cultural concept and part of an equally specific vision of society'

(Henkel & Stirrat 2001, p. 172). In other words, Participation is the imposition of a particular societal model on diverse cultural communities as though it were neutral or universal, and as though the implementers of participatory programs are also neutral (Pottier 1997, p. 204; Mosse 2001, p. 19). Given the variety of participatory approaches and applications, it is undeniable that Participation does at times constitute a cultural imposition, however an important question to be addressed here is the extent to which this is an accurate critique of the paradigm of people.

From a literal perspective, the paradigm of people does not attend to culture as a factor in Development planning and practice. This literal perspective fails, however, to recognise that although culture is a factor that is rarely *named*, it is always present, but in a manner that resists essentialising or valorising either local or Northern cultures. This is achieved by a consistent focus on context and the specific details of the unique situation in which participatory approaches are applied. Each of the strategies of PRA is designed to draw out information on the particular context in question, to discern the makeup of a community, the power relations, the goals and impediments, the resources and the existing strategies. Furthermore, contrary to claims that communities are presented as homogenous entities (Abbott 1995, p. 164; Cleaver 1994, p. 44), participatory strategies specify that practitioners must engage with a variety of community members precisely because their perceptions and experiences will differ, given that communities are not homogenous (Chambers 1997, p. 183). Not only does Chambers point to the existence of multiple realities, in the sense that 'each of us constructs our own [reality] and has our own way of construing what we perceive,' based on factors including personal experience,

beliefs and power (1997, p. 57), he also sees participatory practice as appropriately 'privileging the multiple realities of lowers' (1997, p. 162). This approach therefore goes beyond the consideration of culture as a variable that is discernable and consistent within a country or community, to the level of personal culture, in that even within a particular cultural context, individual experiences differ greatly. This diversity means that Development is 'unplannable' (Chambers 1997, p. 43). This is a key reason for the rejection of blueprint approaches, in favour of case-by-case, specific strategies that are 'contextual and contingent, conditional on a host of complexities' (Cornwall 2004, p. 85; also Chambers 1983, pp. 146, 150).

Although Participation is in part designed to ensure that Development is compatible with its context, it has also been criticised for being represented as a neutral process that carries no cultural implications (see Abbott 1995, p. 162), with the implication that participatory practices and tools such as PRA are not recognised as rooted in a particular culture, namely Northern Development culture. This in turn implies inadequate attention to Participation as a cultural encounter, and the effects that this may have on the community's engagement with Participation and also the impact that this experience may have on the community's culture. The flaw with this critique is that Chambers gives extensive attention to the impact of practitioners' power (1994c), advocates transforming organisational culture (1997, p. 227) and states quite explicitly that problems arise when Development is culturally insensitive (1983, p. 79).

Participation is designed to improve Development, but Post-Development theorists reject even these improvements, because they are part of the culturally

violent discourse of Development, as discussed in Chapter Two. On the other hand, participatory approaches take at least a small step outside of the Development discourse by recognising and affirming multiple realities, which see these as vitally important in determining the forms Development should take and how it will interact with the various members of a particular community. This opens opportunities for local people to engage with Development, and transform it, potentially circumventing some of the problems identified by Post-Development. Furthermore, this acknowledgement of multiple realities affirms culture as an important factor on a variety of levels, moving beyond the homogenisation of Southern cultures that Post-Development is itself accused of.

In summary, although Participation does not address itself explicitly to culture in Development processes, in the sense of stating that "culture is important," this is nonetheless an underlying driver of the approach. Context and diversity are referred to continually, and the approach is focused on improving engagements between the various players. In this context, Participation's proponents appear to recognise that Development is enacted in a contact zone, and thus attend to the issues of power and communication that necessarily arise in such spaces. While it may be criticised for not attending to broader structural issues, this approach is fundamentally concerned with the structural aspects of Development and the ways that these may affect the Development experience. Thus although culture is rarely named in Participation writing, it is a fundamental component of the principles that drive the paradigm of people.

Conclusion

Participation is an umbrella term describing a wide range of Development praxis. Like Post-Development, it advocates a paradigm shift, in this case towards a focus on people rather than things, in particular the human agents and effects of Development rather than the physical structures and economic outcomes. This paradigm shift has not been taken on by all of those who adopt a participatory approach and there is therefore a spectrum of participatory practice spanning from this desire for paradigm shift at one end to instrumental Participation at the other. Participation has been shown to increase the effectiveness of Development projects in meeting funders' budgets and being accepted by the "recipient" community and this has contributed to its acceptance into the mainstream of Development practice; however there is ongoing debate as to the effectiveness of the range of participatory approaches. While the participatory concept has gained widespread acceptance, both critics and advocates reflect that mainstream Participation tends to lie at the instrumental end of the spectrum.

Chambers makes it clear that Participation (and PRA in particular) 'is not a panacea, and will not solve all the problems of the world; but it does open up some ways of trying to tackle these changes' (1997, p. 103), and he states that 'the evolving paradigm is permanently provisional' (1997, p. 197). Together these statements reveal an intellectual position of humility and openness that is primary to the contributions that have helped to form the paradigm of people thus far. It is focused on the inclusion of local people and the recognition of multiple realities, and the ways that these interact with Development. Like Post-Development, Participation is attentive to power relationships in

Development, however Participation focuses on ensuring the ability of disadvantaged people to express and meet their needs, whilst restraining the powerful and helping them to learn. In spite of the critiques of Participation, it is proposed that this approach is less violent to marginalised people than Post-Development because Participation extends opportunities to these people that would not otherwise be available to them, and ultimately prevents poverty-related deaths (Parfitt 2002).

In this chapter I have explored the diverse approaches to participatory Development, and have discerned the paradigmatic approach to Participation as an effective response to the key issues of culture and power in Development practice. In spite of critiques of this approach, I conclude that the paradigm of people presents a more effective and realistic response to Development's shortcomings than is presented by Post-Development's alternative paradigm. Having concluded this in principle on the basis of theoretical discussions of both approaches, I will now proceed to explore the perspectives of a group of Development practitioners, to ascertain the degree to which their experience is consistent with my judgement of the theory. Chapter Five will outline the methodology for gathering the information used in this component of the research. Chapter Six will outline practitioners' attitudes to Participation, and the extent to which they utilise participatory strategies, while Chapter Seven concerns practitioners' perspectives on cultural change and how they relate that to Development. Chapter Eight focuses on their experience of power in Development experiences, particularly 'upward' relationships with Development funders. Together, these chapters paint a picture of these workers' experience of culture, power and Participation in Development.

5 Research: Method and Context

This research aims to establish the veracity of the Post-Development claim to represent Southern opinions on Development, particularly as it relates to culture, and to test the hypothesis that Participation presents a realistic and effective response to the Post-Development concerns about Development.   I explore these questions by comparing these two bodies of theory with the perspectives of people actively engaged in implementing Development on a day-to-day basis. The Development worker perspective is discovered through interviews with Development workers in the Philippines and Cambodia.   This chapter discusses the research methodology for gaining the input of these practitioners, and presents brief background information on each of the two countries in order to highlight some of the specific issues faced by the Development practitioners interviewed for this study.

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, research is generally 'designed and carried out with little recognition accorded to the people who participated' (1999, p. 175), and this project is not immune from such criticism. The initial idea was conceived without consultation with Development workers, on the basis of my own experience of working with Australian NGOs engaged in Development work in Australia and overseas. The concept further evolved in the context of discussions with a number of practising Development workers from both the South and the North. The excitement and encouragement with which they engaged with the idea was later echoed by many of the research participants,

affirming that these questions are important to many Development workers. These initial conversations and later responses and feedback from interviewees were important in defining the details of this research, both at the beginning and over the course of the project. In spite of this, I remain in many ways distant from both the people I interviewed and those with whom they work. I am a highly educated white Western woman who is in the fortunate position of having received a government scholarship to pursue PhD research and university funding to conduct overseas field work. This is a position of great privilege and it has the potential to distort this research. The strategies I have employed to minimise the impact of this are central to this chapter, and draw on insights from both Post-Development and Participation, as well as more specifically methodological sources.

Contact zone research is a particularly fraught area, prone to what Spivak calls 'information retrieval,' which she classifies as a form of cultural imperialism since it negates the ability of the South to represent itself (1990, p. 59). Associated with this is the knowledge system that gives primacy to theory over practice, and to (Western) scientific models over (Other) models that do not use the scientific approach to knowledge formation, and under which 'the researcher does not see subaltern stories as sophisticated theory [which] probably says more about her/him, and what s/he constructs and values as "theory" and "story"', than about the subaltern' (Kapoor 2004a, p. 633). I do not pretend to overcome these limitations in this research, which I acknowledge to be fully located within Western academia, as it must be to fulfil the requirements for acceptance of a dissertation of this nature. I do, however, attempt to engage with these issues, since to ignore the roles and

voices of the South when discussing Development theory and practice would clearly be a silencing act, and to engage with those voices as though there were no power differential would be equally damaging (Kapoor 2004a, p. 631).

In this work I attempt to compare two institutionally recognised bodies of theory with the perspective of Development workers, because in studying and applying Post-Development and participatory approaches, I have often wondered how they are perceived by those who are most affected by them. Naturally, the research is placed in the context of an academic debate located fully within Northern knowledge systems. This is deliberate. According to Beverly, 'if the subaltern could speak in a way that really *mattered* to us, that we would feel compelled to listen to, it would not be subaltern' (1999, p. 66), which is to say that 'we' (the North, particularly Northern academics) are *unable* to hear the voice of the subaltern since we do not recognise the form that it takes[12]. This thesis speaks to the academy and therefore uses the language and idiom of the academy. It does not do so with the intent of "translating" the subaltern voice into the language of Northern academia, but rather with the intent of reporting a discussion with a particular group of people of the South about an issue that centrally concerns them and is debated in Northern academia. In doing so, it cannot escape all of the traps of representation. What follows is an explication of the various steps taken in an attempt to minimise this tendency.

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[12] Although I do not pretend that the Development worker is the subaltern, I acknowledge the usefulness of reflections on the subaltern in guiding the research, particularly in light of the unequal power relations inherent in this kind of research.

Data Collection Concerns

Research strategies, particularly in the context of the South, have been criticised on the basis of their attempt to represent Others, and in treating the South as a passive vessel of information to be tapped for the interest of the North (see for example Kapoor 2004a, p. 633). This extractive approach has seen research conducted amongst minority groups without adequate communication or feedback, with the result that some groups 'believe that researchers are simply intent on taking or "stealing" knowledge in a non-reciprocal and often under-handed way' (Linda Smith 1999, p. 176; also Pottier 1997). Another danger inherent in this sort of research, is that 'a person who is not poor who pronounces on what matters to those who are poor is in a trap' (Chambers 1995b, p.14), in the sense that such a person may succumb to ill-informed representation. These are all important reflections on the ways that researchers use and interpret information in ways that objectivise their sources. Although this research is focused on Development workers rather than 'the poor', these critiques call for critical self-awareness of the ways that researchers and others may distort the information they present. This research therefore takes a qualitative approach, which requires that researchers 'attempt to examine the experiences, feelings and perceptions of the people they study, rather than imposing a framework of their own that might distort the ideas of the participants' (Holloway 1997, p. 8).

For Foucault, whose work is central to Post-Development theory, it is not power itself that is of greatest importance, but the subject, and specifically the ways that 'human beings are made subjects' and the processes that "objectivise" them (1994, p. 326). In other words, the focus should be on the

ways power is used to mould the Other, which is also the focus of Post-Development's exploration of the ways the people of the South have been made objects by Development. Spivak speaks of the subaltern, people marginalised or oppressed on the basis of certain group characteristics, including 'subsistence farmers, unorganised labour, the tribals, and the communities of zero workers on the street or in the countryside' (1988, p. 288). Spivak (1988) concludes that the Otherising of these groups leads to representation by more powerful others that reinforces their marginality, rendering them unable to speak for themselves (or at least to be heard to do so). Indeed, Said points out that acts of representation may imply that the Other is unable to represent itself, and therefore needs to be represented for its own benefit (Said 1995, p. 21; see also Brigg 2002). Stepping outside this regime of representation is complex since 'we cannot encounter the Third World today without carrying a lot of baggage' (Kapoor 2004a, p. 628), and for those of us in the "West", Orientalism is part of this baggage, not only containing and dominating all that is not-West but indeed *creating* it by means of the power of knowledge (Said 1995, p. 40). Where researchers and theorists may attempt to avoid Otherising by foregrounding their own location and inability to speak for the other, Spivak criticises this as 'the kind of breast-beating that is left behind at the threshold and then business goes on as usual' without substantial behavioural change (1990, p. 121). Haggis and Schech call this the 'ritual confession' of normative race-privilege (2000, p. 391) that does not in itself necessarily lead to constructive engagement with the other.

In response to this problem, Ferguson describes a strategy for forming 'bridge identities,' based on the need to 'reconstitute' identities in response to 'multiple

systems of social domination' and acknowledging that people's experience of power often varies according to their context (1998, p. 105). Building these bridge identities therefore works to balance the power dynamic in Development contexts by addressing the power of all parties. Bridge-building tasks that are particularly relevant in this research include the need to 'destabilise given identities and uncover horizons of ignorance' (Ferguson 1998, p. 104), to which Haggis and Schech add the need to acknowledge the power of being able to "create" knowledge about others, in which one must 'recognise and *reveal* the partiality, privilege and situatedness of our knowledge' (2000, p. 397). On this basis I have attempted to approach this research with humility regarding my own knowledge, respect for the knowledge and experience of the Development workers (which in many respects far exceeds my own), and openness to learning. I have also tried to be critically conscious of the ways that privilege can be blinding, in order that I might be aware of the need continually to ask others for their perspective and thereby improve my vision and practice. Whether I have succeeded in these areas can only be judged by those who have participated in the research, but others will judge the extent to which I have Otherised the participants in this research.

Given that a central concern of this research is unequal power within Development relationships, it was important to be cognisant that the research itself might reproduce those inequalities. A primary response to this was the decision to address Development workers rather than Development "recipients" in this research, in recognition that the power differential between myself and Development workers was smaller than that between poor agrarian

Cambodian or Filipino villagers and myself. My belief was that the great distance between myself and villagers would be nearly impossible to bridge, resulting in questionable results, and I therefore turned to Development workers in the hope that this distance would be more possible to bridge. As I have stated in Chapter One, it is not my intention to present Development workers as representatives of those villagers, but rather as individuals who have a unique perspective on the exercise of culture and power within Development practice.

In an attempt to reduce the power differential, I tried to convey the importance of this to the participants in the study, in order to help them to see that while I was more powerful than them in certain respects, they brought the power of specific knowledge that I did not have but valued. Several other strategies were also employed to minimise the extractive and Otherising potential of this research, including striving for clear and open communication between myself and the participants throughout the interviews. I attempted to achieve this by consistently clarifying responses, inviting further discussion on particular topics, and allowing participants to deviate from what appeared to be the main focus of the interview to talk about areas they saw as important. Participant feedback was invited during and after the interviews (in person and by written correspondence), to avoid silencing Development workers by representing them in a way that they did not feel was accurate, or that overlooked points they felt were important. Engagement in the writing up process was sought by sending copies of the work to participants at various stages, inviting them to correct perceived errors and to make further suggestions and reflections, and integrating their responses into ensuing drafts of the work.

Knowing that the work would be read by those who had participated had a significant impact when I was writing up the results, as I was aware that the representation and interpretation in the work needed to be accountable to participants. This process was also an important aspect of demonstrating to the participants that they were central to the research, that it could not happen without them, and that the information was theirs and that I therefore wanted them to retain some control over the information. This gave participants the opportunity to have greater input if they chose to, but did not punish them if they chose not to participate further by denying them access to the material arising from the study. Participants affirmed these strategies by making explicit requests during the interviews for more details of the study's findings, including other participants' responses, conclusions about the theoretical area, and practical suggestions arising from the study.

The method used to gather Development worker input was informal, semi-structured interviews and focus groups. This format was selected because I hoped that it would facilitate the establishment of a rapport with people in order to secure the degree of trust required for open communication in spite of the limitations explored here, as well as fostering a level of informality that would function to defuse some of the issues arising out of perceived inequalities between researcher and Development worker. In addition it allowed opportunities for the practitioner to direct the conversation and to reveal information not initially apparent to the interviewer, and flexibility to respond to the interviewee's responses, since another particular problem in qualitative research is asking the questions that will elicit relevant information

without at the same time predetermining the result – as Hammersley and Atkinson put it, 'finding the right question to ask is more difficult than answering it' (1993, p. 33). For this reason, the interviews comprised a small number of open-ended questions which served as a spring-board for discussion, with prompts arising from the discussion or issues raised by previous respondents. This aspect of the qualitative approach 'is thought to empower the participants, because they do not merely react to the questions of the researchers but have a voice and guide the study' (Holloway 1997, p. 8; Creswell 2003), which was particularly important to me in attempting to uncover my 'horizons of ignorance' by encouraging interviewees to guide the discussions into areas that they felt were appropriate to the research, rather than limiting it to my preconceived ideas.

About half of the interviews in the Philippines took the form of focus groups with two to five members. These followed the same informal format as the interviews, taking the form of a conversation rather than each practitioner answering the question in turn. This gave the participants opportunities to hear and engage with each other's responses, often resulting in very interesting discussions. If one member of the focus group was less forthcoming than the others, I deliberately tried to draw him or her into the conversation by directing a comment or question to that person. While the two largest focus groups (with four and five members respectively) consisted of members of the same organisation the other groups consisted of people working with different organisations.

I tape-recorded the interviews and focus groups in an attempt to try to make them less formal and to be able to engage more effectively and naturally in the

discussions, and to allow me, the researcher, to guide the discussions as necessary without the distraction of transcribing. Taping the interviews afforded me the opportunity to observe some of the non-verbal communication cues which are also important in this kind of information-gathering (Le Compte & Schensul 1999, p. 19). It also allowed me the opportunity to revisit the data in full at a later date, without the fear of missing data or conflating memories, and also meant that I could subsequently search the interviews for information on ideas raised by later participants or arising from consideration of overall results. This is an important aspect of the researcher becoming listener and learner in the interviews, open to the teaching of the interviewee (Holloway 1997, p. 10), reinforcing once more the experience of the research participants as centrally important to this study.

Although it would have been optimal to conduct the interviews in each practitioner's primary language, it was not possible within the scope of this research project to acquire sufficiently proficient language skills to conduct case studies in two countries, especially a country such as the Philippines, which has regional languages as well as a national one. Since time constraints did not allow for learning these languages to the high degree of proficiency required for in-depth research, it was planned that a translator would be used when necessary, which creates further complications in itself. Just as the researcher is "located" by the participants (Goward, Ardener & Sarsby 1984, p. 112), so is the translator, and the researcher is generally unaware of the particular connotations associated with their translator, and to what extent the translator is "gate-keeping" or controlling the researcher's access to the community members (Hammersley & Atkinson 1993, pp. 38, 56). In addition

to this, the researcher is not always able to tell whether the translator is changing the information in the process of translating it (Ellen, et al. 1984, p. 186). In this research, I felt that the importance of including people who did not have a high English proficiency outweighed these concerns.

In the event, translation was only required in a small number of instances due to the level of English language skills amongst the practitioners interviewed, since most practitioners had significant exposure to the English language and much communication with development funders already takes place in English. Part of the reason for this was that in Cambodia, where it was expected that translation would be needed, many NGO workers are former refugees, who had the opportunity to learn English when they were in refugee camps, and have further developed their language skills working with expatriate Development workers in the country. As anticipated, translation was not necessary in the Philippines, where formal education takes place in English and where my personal experience had discovered a reasonable level of English language proficiency. Practitioners also expressed a desire to speak English rather than use a translator, even when using a translator may have been easier. I believe that this was partly to demonstrate their skill set, so that I would recognise them as educated and skilful individuals. An important point here is that people speaking in a second language are rarely able to articulate themselves as well as in their first language, which may mean that nuances in meaning are lost or falsely added. I have tried to be sensitive to this when interpreting the material from this field research, and have not critically deconstructed practitioners' use of language in the way that I would have with native English speakers.

In spite of this, my preparation for the field work included learning basic phrases in Khmer and in Pilipino, in order to be able to build on this in each country and engage in very basic conversations with people in their own language. This was done because research (and my own experience) indicates that attempts to learn the local language are a good basis for initiating relationships and a positive way to establish respect within the host community (Goward, Ardener & Sarsby 1984, p. 106). This was definitely the case, with enthusiastic responses to my use of basic conversational skills and my attempts to learn key phrases in regional languages of the Philippines while in those areas.

Case Study Approach

A case study approach was adopted for this research in order to build a picture of the range of Development worker perspectives on the central issues of this thesis. Punch asserts that conducting 'disciplined' and 'in-depth' case studies that utilise several data sources and methods will allow researchers to develop 'new concepts to explain some aspect of what has been studied' (1998, p. 154). This research fits with Punch's description of the collective case study, which extends on the instrumental case study (in which 'a particular case is examined to give insight into an issue, or to refine a theory') by addressing two or more cases 'to learn more about the phenomenon, population or general condition' (Punch 1998, p. 152). Similarly, Stake proposes that the collective case study 'will lead to better understanding, perhaps better theorising, about a still larger collection of cases' (1994, p. 237). The research therefore aims to give insight

into Development worker perspectives on participatory development and culture on the basis of two case studies of Development workers, one consisting of twenty-one practitioners in Cambodia and the other consisting of twenty-nine practitioners in the Philippines. Conducting case studies in the two countries affords the possibility of comparing them and drawing more generalisable conclusions to contribute to Development discourse. While the Development experience is unique to each country, and every individual and project has different influences and exists in a different context, I nevertheless felt that this comparative approach lent more depth to consistencies and divergences in responses.

These two countries were chosen for several reasons. I recognised that if a comparison were to be made, the countries should be selected from within one region, in this case South-east Asia, in order that differences between those interviewed would not be as vast as might be encountered in the case of comparing, say, Cambodia and Ghana, which although sharing a similar level of human development, have many other regional and Development differences. This would introduce a diverse array of variables that would further complicate attempts to draw out contrasts or consistencies. The countries chosen for this study nonetheless had quite different experiences of colonisation and of ongoing conflict, different dominant religions, and quite different HDI ratings and experiences of Development intervention. I anticipated that these would contribute to differences in attitudes to many of the issues considered, and that any consistencies in spite of these variables could be considered significant.

Another aspect of the research was numerous opportunities provided by Development workers to meet with participants in projects for which they or their co-workers were responsible. These meetings were varied, being with both individuals and groups, and ranging in formality from chance discussions to community meetings that were already scheduled for other purposes. Although these discussions do not feature dominantly in the results presented here, they were very important for gaining a sense of the accuracy of practitioner reports and perceptions[13]. They also provided opportunities to observe interactions between practitioners and villagers and thus to gauge the tenor of those relationships and the extent to which Development workers' practice reflected their self-reports. These strategies were important in achieving a range of data sources and methods, as prescribed by Punch (1998).

The Research Participants

Participants were selected by means of a snowballing technique, that is, 'finding one or more research participants with the desirable characteristics, and then letting those participants and the field setting lead the researcher to other participants' (Franklin & Jordan 1997, p. 111). It is recognised that the use of particular initial contacts can have a profound effect on subsequent networks, both in opening networks of those initial contacts and in potentially closing networks of which those contacts are not part (Clammer 1984, p. 63). This is a difficulty which is impossible to circumvent, however awareness that

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[13] I acknowledge the danger of particular success stories being presented to the short term visitor in order to show a positive image (Chambers 1997, p. 85) and accept that this is a possibility in this case, however most of the visits were arranged spontaneously and I had the opportunity to talk to a wide variety of people in each place.

particular networks and groups have been accessed is important in analysing the results.

In acknowledgement that people doing this kind of work or research often come as an 'uninvited stranger' (Ellen, et al. 1984, p. 195), all of the people interviewed were initially contacted through a personal association. Since the time frame for the field work and the overall research did not allow for the time taken to build trusting relationships between people in more normal situations, this introductory personal contact was extremely important in establishing a basis for trust with the participants, who might otherwise be suspicious of my motivations or connections. Research participants are also curious about the researcher, and attempt to locate him or her 'within their own framework of social statuses and values' rendering this stranger 'less threatening and more human' (Goward, Ardener & Sarsby 1984, p. 112). Making contact with interviewees by means of existing Development worker networks was designed to afford potential interviewees further information to help "locate" the researcher, as well as to allay some of the suspicion that can permeate research relationships and inhibit the collection of accurate information (Gardner 1999, p. 66). Informal conversations prior to and after the interviews also gave participants the opportunity to gather information to help with this locating. These factors were particularly important in a context where workers might fear for the security of their funding relationship or of their own employment, and in some cases for their personal safety.

There were three initial points of contact in Cambodia. The primary contacts were through a Cambodian Development worker I had met at a conference in

Australia, and an Australian working in Phnom Penh, with whom I had a loose

association when we were both working with NGOs in Australia. The third

point of contact was through my professional association with the Director of

an Australian NGO, who introduced me to the Director of the NGO's

Cambodian partner. These people all suggested that it was most appropriate to

make contact with potential participants in person after arriving in Cambodia,

rather than attempting to secure arrangements beforehand. On my arrival, each

of these contacts arranged meetings with a small number of other Development

workers in Cambodia, and suggested several other contacts whom I could

approach, and in turn each of these people suggested a number of other

potential interviewees. In each case, I made initial contact personally (often

accompanied by the person who had recommended them), and explained that a

mutual acquaintance (whom I named) had suggested that they might be

interested in participating in the research, briefly outlined the project, and

asked if they would be willing to take part in an interview. Most people

responded positively, but the few who chose not to participate generally cited

time pressures as their reason for not participating. The majority of interviews

were conducted in the capital Phnom Penh and in and around the second city

Battambang, with some further interviews taking place in the regional areas of

Takeo and Kampong Chhnang (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Map of Cambodia, showing research areas[14]

(adapted from Environmental Systems Research Institute 2004; with provincial boundaries from Department of Land ... 2004)

As well as interviewing Cambodian Development workers, I interviewed four expatriate Development workers in Cambodia, making a total of twenty-one interviews in that country. These practitioners were from different regions internationally, and each of them had a strong commitment to Asia and Southeast Asia and had worked in Development in the region for between ten and thirty years. Two of the four were married to people from Southeast Asia,

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[14] Contemporary sources include different provinces in maps of Cambodia, and even different Cambodian government departments publish different maps. I have erred on the side of caution in this instance, and include the provincial boundaries nominated by Cambodia's Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction 2004, as this Cambodian government source includes all of the provinces represented in current maps of Cambodia.

while another was South Asian himself. Three of them held Director or Assistant Director positions in their organisations, and one worked on a contract basis for a number of organisations, primarily in a capacity-building role. These people provided information that was often quite different from that provided by the Cambodians interviewed, demonstrating that outsiders and insiders may give different insights, as well as providing a different perspective on the position of funder. These expatriate workers are border crossers like the Cambodian Development workers, however their borders are different, just as the power of each group is different. Although the expatriates may have experience the added status of being a foreign professional, they also faced other challenges in performing their work. Anna, one of the expatriates in this study pointed out that she was always being judged by her funding body ('does this woman understand Development work? [Does she understand] the Khmer? Is she a neo-colonialist? [Is she] a spreader of US propaganda?'). She also explained the difficulty she faced in being critical about the situation and the specific needs of the communities, saying that 'when you try to talk about the limitations of the Cambodian population, it is very easy for people to say you are racist … [but isn't it racist] when you have a donor who believes that *any* Cambodian can do [complex Development work]?' This demonstrates a perception of being watched from all sides and therefore of needing to be circumspect in both actions and words. The location of the expatriate Development workers in Cambodia is therefore no less complex than that of the local practitioners.

In the Philippines the contacts were more formalised. Initial contact was made through a Filipino working with an Australian NGO for which I was at that

time a Board member. In general discussions about the project, this person suggested that he introduce me (by email) to colleagues working in the Philippines. After his introduction, I emailed those people and explained the project and the research needs, requesting help in establishing contact with potential interviewees. While it had been anticipated that the Philippine interviews would follow a similar pattern to the Cambodian ones, my contacts in the Philippines, one of whom was a former colleague of mine, prepared a six week itinerary entailing visits to Southern Mindanao, the Western Visayas and the Cordillera region of Luzon, from a base in Manila (see Figure 4). In each location I was hosted by an organisation, three of which were church-based and one an indigenous people's organisation, and these organisations in turn established contacts with Development workers and programmed focus groups and interviews on my behalf. The format changed with each location, although each program included an initial period of orientation to the location and socio-political situation, with a substantial orientation to the national situation at the commencement of my fieldwork, in Manila. One of the organisations understood the research proposal quite well and had arranged interviews and focus groups with a large number of Development workers, including some field trips to project sites and to meet with recipients. Another organisation had initially arranged a number of "exposure" and education sessions for me with relevant workers and volunteers, all of which consisted of a lecture followed by the opportunity for me to ask questions related to the research. After an initial period of this, the format of these meetings was renegotiated to allow for more attention to the research questions. The third organisation did not allow opportunities for interviews with workers (admitting not to have read

my research proposal), but took me to an indigenous leaders' conference, where I was able to listen to proceedings and talk informally with participants.
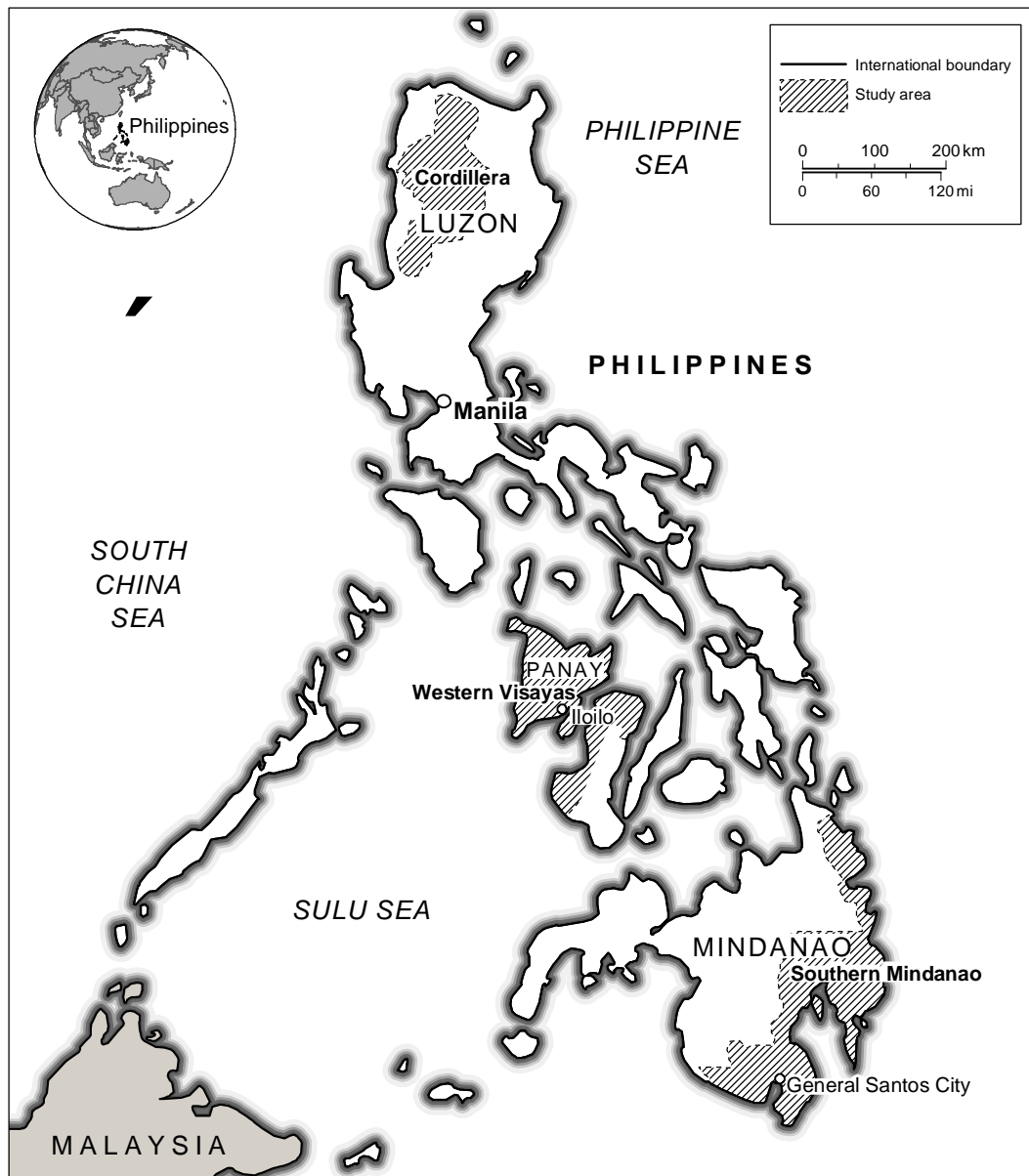
Figure 4: Map of the Philippines showing research areas
(adapted from Environmental Systems Research Institute 2004)

While interviews in Manila at the conclusion of the time in the Philippines had formed part of the initial itinerary, time constraints on workers combined with unexpected changes to travel arrangements meant that this did not occur, however I was able to have informal conversations with a number of

Development workers while I was "in transit" in Manila. In total twenty-nine
Filipino Development workers participated in individual or focus group
interviews. It was initially planned that this group would include expatriate
Development workers in the Philippines, however I did not have the
opportunity to meet any, which is at least partly a result of the decision to
arrange interviews through personal contact, since all of my expatriate contacts
in Cambodia were made through Australian contacts. While this may be a
negative effect of that strategy, it was balanced by the positive effects of
establishing connections through mutual contacts.

There were, of course, challenges in conducting the research in this way. It
takes a lot of time and energy to set up the interviews, and many hot and
frustrating days were spent, for example, walking around Phnom Penh
knocking on the doors of NGOs. Naturally many more organisations were
approached than agreed to participate, and a small number of contributors were
very difficult to keep focused on the general area of the research during their
interview. I did not encounter problems with people who gave only short
answers, with most practitioners eager to talk at length about the topics. I did
have difficulties with technology, for example discovering after one
particularly interesting interview that the tape recorder had switched itself off
after five minutes. Also, using public computers in Cambodia to transcribe the
data was at times very slow and on one occasion a malfunction erased three
weeks of transcription work (with no friendly university technical support staff
on hand to retrieve the data).

A different kind of difficulty encountered in the field work in the Philippines was that my hosts in one research area admitted to not having read my introductory material or research proposal, but said that this 'doesn't matter' because they had organised for me to attend an indigenous conference, so there would not be time for me to work anyway. While the conference was interesting and informative it was also disappointing to have travelled so far and be unable to continue my research. One of my other hosts in the Philippines had misinterpreted my goals and arranged a week of lectures by local people, suggesting that I could 'ask a few questions at the end.' It took several days of negotiation to reach a compromise that allowed space for both the information session and interactive discussions about the research questions. Fortunately, other hosts had interpreted my proposal as I had intended, and in the research therefore went more smoothly with those hosts.

Respondents in both countries held a range of positions within their respective organisations, from National Director to village level Development worker, both paid and voluntary. The majority of respondents were community Development workers who were responsible for community level implementation of projects as well as having reporting and office work responsibilities. Development workers who took part in interviews were not considered to be representatives of their NGOs, and while this distinction is rarely clear-cut, interviewees were invited to reflect on their personal position rather than that of their organisation. In both Cambodia and the Philippines some of the organisations also arranged opportunities to talk with community groups they worked with, and this was a valuable opportunity to see the consistency of opinion between workers and "recipients."

Further details about practitioners as individuals, and an overview of the practitioner groups can be found in the Appendices. Appendix One contains brief biographies of the Development workers who contributed to this study, while Appendix Two consists of summary tables which give an overview of key practitioner attributes.

Interview Content

Stake acknowledges that despite a researcher's desire to present the research discoveries as neutral, 'it may be the case's own story, but it is the researcher's dressing of the case's own story … [for] the criteria of representation ultimately are decided by the researcher' (1994, p. 240; see also Chambers 1997, p. 40). The interviews were structured to give insight into the particular questions raised by the theories discussed above, namely the extent to which Development workers are concerned about Development's cultural imperialism, about power disparities in Development, whether Post-Development's rejectionism reflects Southern desires, and whether Participation is viewed as a viable alternative. The initial interviewees in Cambodia were asked a large number of questions, but the interview content and the feedback explicitly sought from these early participants demonstrated that the desired results could be achieved with a smaller number of questions and a greater responsiveness to the responses. As a result of this, subsequent interviews were based on seven key questions, the basic thrust of which is outlined below. The questions were designed to draw out information directly and indirectly relevant to the research, and together, they give much

information on the key areas of inquiry: culture, Participation and relationship. Most interviews took about one hour, with some taking up to two hours.

Each interview commenced with informal introductions and pleasantries, followed by discussion of the research and the interview format. Consent to continue was gained formally, according to Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee guidelines which require that interviewees read and sign a written consent form, retaining a copy for themselves, or be recorded on tape as having consented to the interview. In a number of cases the use of a written consent form caused discomfort for people for whom placing their signature on a written document was an alien format, or was reminiscent of fraudulent practices they had suffered or heard of associates suffering, with consequences that included losing their land, and I found that this fractured the rapport that had been established. In these cases the consent form and other paperwork constituted an impediment to achieving the research goals, because people became suspicious and uncomfortable at the outset and this had to be allayed before the interview could proceed. As a result, subsequent participants were given the option of having their consent recorded on audio tape rather than in writing, and this appeared to be an effective solution. This problem occurred in both Cambodia and the Philippines, and was less common in urban areas and with people at more senior levels in organisations.

Respondents were asked about their organisation's work, and their own role within the organisation. This initial question was extremely important in setting the tone for the whole interview. It was designed to provide information

about the organisation's type, ethos, priorities and history, as well as information about the worker's position and experience within the organisation as well as prior to commencing that work (where this was not volunteered, it was sought with further questions). Encouraging respondents to share this familiar information also served the strategic purpose of inviting them to talk about something they knew well, thus setting them at ease and assuring them that they were well qualified to participate in this research. It also aimed to reinforce introductory statements to the effect that their knowledge was valuable and important, and that I was interested in their personal experience and opinions.

Participants were asked about funding arrangements for their organisation, covering aspects such as consistency, availability and security of funding arrangements, as well as methods and quality of communication with funders. They were also asked whether they felt that funders 'respect and value' Cambodian / Filipino culture or place priority on their own goals. This allowed respondents the opportunity to describe their funding arrangements and any specific issues surrounding them, and to think about the extent to which funding bodies appeared to take culture into account. Again, open questions were asked with the hope of not predetermining the scope of the answers, gathering a variety of responses.

Participants were asked whether they used particular strategies to encourage Participation. This question sought to discover the extent to which participatory "tools" were used, and whether they were used on the basis of organisational directive and/or personal conviction. It also sought to establish

practitioners' attitudes towards these participatory processes, the level to which Participation was taken within the organisation (who gets to participate in what aspects of the project cycle), the depth of practitioners' understanding of the concept of Participation and its tools and their confidence to modify them. This provided information about practical attitudes to the application of participatory Development, and control of participatory Development was also addressed in sub-questions about ability to change or influence projects and plans. Interviewees were also asked directly how they felt the experience of participation in Development projects affected people's culture. This question intended to reveal the areas practitioners felt were particularly important in the interface between Development and culture, as well as the manner and extent of that influence. The informality of the interviews also allowed practitioners to speak about other factors that they felt might have an influence on culture.

Participants were asked to describe Cambodian / Filipino culture, in an open question that was designed to avoid suggesting that culture might be constituted in a particular way, so that respondents might volunteer key areas they thought of as defining their culture. I felt that it was important to establish how people understood and described their culture before asking the subsequent question of how it had changed, because this would in part reveal whether changes had affected the areas perceived as most important. The question also established the degree to which culture is a current concern amongst Development workers by demonstrating whether they had given extensive thought to the issue prior to the interview, as would be shown in the readiness and style of their answers.

This led to the question of whether Cambodian / Filipino culture was perceived to be easy for an outsider to understand. I anticipated that this would reveal the extent to which outsiders (expatriate workers in the country, as well as foreign NGO workers visiting organisations and projects) attempt to understand local culture and work within it, as well as a reflection on the extent to which they had been successful. I also hoped that respondents would reflect on the complexities of their own culture and particular difficulties encountered in cross-cultural communication around development work.

Participants were also asked whether there was a role for foreigners within Development work in Cambodia / the Philippines. This was designed to reveal attitudes to foreign workers, how healthy these relationships are, whether power is seen to be important in this, perceptions of their own capacity, and whether expatriates were seen as necessary intermediaries. This question wondered about perceptions of appropriate formats and locations for cross-cultural development relationships. It also led to discussions about whether Development should follow the path suggested by Post-Development, of rejecting external assistance and following the lead of grassroots movements.

Each interview concluded with the opportunity for the interviewee to ask questions or give further information that they thought was relevant to the research. This question was designed as a final catch-all responding to Hammersley's (1993) point about the difficulty of knowing what questions to ask (see page 156 above), in the hope that respondents who felt that there were obvious gaps in the interview questions would suggest this information at this point. This was also designed to respond, in a small way, to the issues of the

"extractive" nature of research as reported by Pottier (1997) by allowing participants to question me and in a small way to 'turn the spotlight' around and focus it on me, shifting the power back towards them (Chambers 1995b, p. 6). Many respondents took this opportunity to ask further questions about the research and the responses gathered, with a consistently high level of interest in learning more about the research outcomes.

Together, these responses painted a broad picture of Development workers' perspectives on Development, culture and power. They addressed areas central to Post-Development and Participation, to provide the third perspective sought in this research. The Development workers' reflections on their own work in the Development contact zone give useful insights into the cultural issues of Development praxis. These will be discussed in the ensuing chapters, but before proceeding to this discussion it is important to consider the Development context in Cambodia and in the Philippines. Any consideration of culture that does not acknowledge history is incomplete, particularly in this case, with results sought in two different countries. The Philippines and Cambodia differ greatly, both in recent history and their more distant past, and this has been important in moulding the contemporary nations and their Development strengths and needs. Figure 5 below is a comparative table of key development indicators for each country, and the following section discusses these in greater detail.

Indicator	Cambodia	The Philippines
HDI rank	130	83
Population (millions)	13.091	87.857
GDP (US$ billions)	4.2	80.6
Total ODA received (net	508	737.2

disbursements) (US$ millions)		
Life expectancy at birth	56	70.2
Infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births	97	27
Under 5 mortality rate per 1,000 live births	140	36
Physicians per 100,000 people	16	116
Adult literacy rate (%)	73.6	91.7
% population living under $2/day	77.7	46.4

**Figure 5: Comparative Development Data, Cambodia and the Philippines
(UNDP 2004)**

Interview Analysis

Many of the interviews took place in open areas and this posed a challenge
when it came to transcribing, as it was often difficult to discern the
interviewee's voice from noises such as pigs, chickens, passing trucks and
broadcast chanting from local temples. In addition to this, interpreting
qualitative data provides its own challenges, especially with such loosely
structured interviews. I initially attempted to use a data program (NVivo) to
aid in organising and analysing the transcripts, but found this time consuming
and unhelpful, and instead simply used various word processing tools and old
fashioned piles of paper to sort and higlight key themes.

Certain fundamental aspects of the way I chose to implement the research
mean that analysing the data was not entirely straightforward. The two key
factors were that the interviews were discussions covering key areas rather than
clear-cut and direct question and answer sessions, and that I allowed
practitioners to stray from the immediate topic, on the grounded theory
principle of allowing space for them to introduce topics they believed
important to the research. Similarly, I could not simply ask practitioners 'what
do you think of Post-Development?' since it would not be realistic to expect

community-based Development workers to be *au fait* with development theories and discourses. Rather, such issues were approached from a viariety of directions and in a number of questions. These factors meant that, for example, comments about the impact of development could be found at a number of points in a given interview, and could cover a range of facets of the experience. As a result, interviews had to be analysed as whole units in order to draw out information relating to each key area of the study, and I had to be alert to emerging themes both during the interviews and when transcribing and analysing.

Another challenge of using qualitative data is presenting information in a manner that is sufficiently scientific to 'compensate' for the data not being quantitative. It was often tempting to use quantitative approaches to the data and to speak statistically in terms of of numbers of practitioner responses illustrating a generalised trend, rather than discussing the details of the smaller number of in-depth responses. Instead, I tried to resist this temptation and focus more on contextualising practitioners' comments on particular issues and giving longer quotes from the interviews.

A final aspect of presenting the data that I found challenging was introducing the practitioners. I had promised contributors anonymity as part of the university's ethics procedure and also to encourage contributors to feel more able to be honest in the interviews. It was then quite difficult to present sufficient information about each practitioner to give readers contextual information whilst at the same time shielding the identities of people working in a relatively small and well-connected field. This was especially difficult

with the expatriates in Cambodia, who are part of a small population with highly effective channels of communication. Some readers of this thesis have said that they would have liked to see more information about the contributors, however I did not feel that I could give a greater level of detail that I did *and* be sure of fulfilling my promise of anonymity. The information I present in this thesis concerning the practitioners is therefore a compromise between these competing demands.

Research Context: Cambodia

The 2004 *Human Development Report* of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) ranks Cambodia one hundred and thirtieth of one hundred and seventy-seven countries in its Human Development Index[15], close to the bottom of the UNDP's category of "medium human development" and 'worst but one in Southeast Asia' (Kingdom of Cambodia & UNDP 2001, p. 9), ahead of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The various statistics which comprise this ranking give a telling picture of a nation in which two thirds of the adult population is literate and average life expectancy is fifty-six years, well below Australia's retirement age, let alone its average life expectancy of seventy-nine years. Eighty-eight percent of the Cambodian population lives in rural areas, a figure almost identical to the number of people without access to adequate sanitation. Almost two thirds of adults and just over one in two

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[15] According to the UNDP, the HDI 'is a composite index that measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth; knowledge, as measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined gross enrolment ratio for primary, secondary and tertiary schools; and a decent standard of living, as measured by GDP per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP) US dollars' (2004, p. 137). This measure is used here because it gives a broader picture of human development in these countries than can be achieved by using any of these components alone.

children under age five are adequately nourished, and the infant mortality rate

is almost one in ten live births (Kingdom of Cambodia & UNDP 2001). At

least one third of the population lives below the poverty line, with over fifteen

per cent in 'extreme poverty' (World Bank 2005a, p. 2).

These figures represent a significant improvement in living standards for

Cambodians compared to human development measures over the last decade

and accounts of life under the Khmer Rouge and the subsequent communist

government (see World Bank 2005a; Kiernan 1997; Chandler 1992). In spite

of this, inequality appears to have increased in Cambodia in recent years,

particularly outside urban areas (World Bank 2005a, p. 4), and most

Cambodians have experienced only 'modest' improvements in their living

situation (AusAID 2003, p. 4). Inequality between men and women is

particularly evident, and women experience greater levels of poverty than men

'across all economic groups' (World Bank 2005a, p. 8). UNDP figures reveal

a low status for Cambodian women relative to women in other countries in the

region, with a gender-related development index (GDI[16]) value of 0.557 and a

gender empowerment measure (GEM[17]) value of 0.364 (UNDP 2004). This is

consistent with structural models of gender inequality, which predict relatively

worse conditions for women than for men in agrarian states, and in societies

that are highly militarised as Cambodia has been (Wermuth & Monges 2002,

pp. 4 & 17).

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[16] The GDI adjusts a country's HDI measure 'to reflect the *inequalities* between men and women' in the areas of life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and educational enrolment ratios, and income (UNDP 2004, p. 261).
[17] The GEM measures gender inequalities in terms of 'women's opportunities rather than their capabilities,' by measuring women's political and economic participation and decision-making power, and power over economic resources (UNDP 2004, p. 263).

Despite the modest improvements in living conditions noted by AusAID above, the situation for Cambodians today is complex and challenging, as is shown in the following quote from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in 2000:

> Cambodia's development challenge is formidable … Years of war and neglect have ravaged the country's physical infrastructure. The educated group of teachers, managers, doctors, nurses and other skilled professionals, which was almost entirely wiped out by the Khmer Rouge, is just now being rebuilt. The result is a population aged 18-36 which lacks the basic skills necessary for more than subsistence living and a structure which is unable to support economic growth and the establishment of democratic processes - a situation which contributes to keeping the population in a state of poverty. Added to this has been the failure to achieve a stable political environment, peace and security since the signing of the 1991 Paris Peace Accords (USAID 2000).

This assessment illustrates the magnitude of the challenges still facing the Cambodian people. Similarly, recent reports from both AusAID (2003, p. 1) and the World Bank (2005a, p. 2) express tentative praise about progress in Cambodia, followed immediately by cautions about considerable challenges that remain.

One aspect of this unstable environment has been the continuing presence of the Khmer Rouge in the country. Though significantly diminished, the Khmer Rouge was still present in Cambodia as recently as 2003, when it was described in an Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade document as 'virtually a spent force' (2003). The last Khmer Rouge stronghold province of Battambang was a site of ongoing fighting until the close of 1998 (Langran

2001, p. 156), and until recently NGOs and other groups have been unable to reach remote communities in these areas due to this danger (Lutheran World Federation 2002 pers. comm.). Significant legacies of the Khmer Rouge era include sustained violence and pervasive distrust, together with fear of speaking up or expressing creativity or initiative (Lutheran World Federation 2002).

Foreign aid has played a key role in rebuilding the country since the Paris Peace Accord of 1991, but continued political instability has impacted on this funding, as in 1997 when it led the United States Government temporarily to suspend all bilateral assistance and two thirds of other US assistance (USAID 2000). Even in 2002, local elections, designed to further the democratisation of the country by replacing predominantly government-installed chiefs with democratically elected councils, were marked by considerable intimidation and violence (Jendrzejczyk 2002). Despite the violence, these elections and the 2003 national elections were seen as an improvement on the national elections held four and eight years before, marking a gradual move away from the culture of violence which is the legacy of the country's history since the early 1970s (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2005). After the 2003 elections, it took eleven and a half months to form a government, during which time there were no meetings of the National Assembly, and while this caused general uncertainty it was interpreted by the World Bank as demonstrating great advances in the ability to resolve political conflict without violence (2005a, p. 6).

Economic growth has been erratic in Cambodia, growing in the last half of the 1990s to reach a peak of 10.8 % in 1999 and then dropping to less than half that level by 2003, only to rise again to 6% in 2004 (World Bank 2005a, p. 2). It is expected that this will decline again in 2005 as a result of changes in textile import regulations which will see a drop in the garment manufacturing industry that currently provides three quarters of Cambodia's GDP, but that this will over time be balanced by the rapidly growing tourism sector (World Bank 2005a; Pastor 2005). Although agriculture provides Cambodia's next largest export source, there are significant problems facing farmers, including 'very low' yields compared to other similar countries, low levels of land ownership and security, high vulnerability to changes in climate, and the presence of landmines in close to half of Cambodia's villages despite ongoing mine clearance work (AusAID 2003, pp. 5-6).

Foreign Assistance

From the time of the Paris Peace Accord there has been a steady increase in foreign assistance to Cambodia. In 2003 Cambodia received US$508 million in Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), representing an increase on the previous years' total of US$487 million in 2002 and US$420 million in 2001 (OECD n.d.-a). Finance from foreign donors comprises 'approximately one third of the government budget' (Langran 2001, p. 159; AusAID 2003, p. 8), making aid crucial to the nation's political and economic stability, at the same time as being dependent on that stability. Funding pledges to Cambodia have consistently been accompanied by insistence that 'continued support will depend on accelerated and substantive progress in the government's policy reforms,' particularly in the areas of corruption, transparency and the judiciary

(Kea 2002; see also Langran 2001, p. 160), and Cambodian assurances of 'relentless' pursuit of reform (Foreign Minister Keat Chhon, cited in Barnes 2002). One observer characterised the continuing international funding relationship as 'vague promises from the Cambodian government in response to weak demands by donors for reform' (Jendrzejczyk 2002; also Peou 2000, p. 390).

In terms of official bilateral development assistance, Australia is Cambodia's fourth biggest national donor, after Japan, France and the USA (DFAT 2003). This places Cambodia eighth amongst Australia's ODA recipients, with an annual commitment to Cambodia in 2005 of $25 million plus a further $17.7 million in 'other flows,' constituting a small decrease on the previous year's commitment (AusAID 2005a; AusAID 2004a)[18]. In addition to ODA, NGO sources play a 'very significant role' in Cambodia, both financially and in their practical work (AusAID 2003, p. 10; also Peou 2000, p. 376). Church World Service (CWS) and Lutheran World Federation (LWF) are both NGOs that provided me with a formal orientation to the Development context in Cambodia at the commencement of my field work. Church World Service has been working in Cambodia since 1979, when NGOs were first allowed into the country following the fall of the Khmer Rouge, and its experience reflects how the role of such organisations has changed in the two subsequent decades. The organisation's work has evolved from its initial focus on relief and rehabilitation, and is now built around local capacity building, reflecting 'Cambodia's emergence from the devastation of the Khmer Rouge regime to a

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18 'Other flows' are defined as 'other AusAID programs including humanitarian and emergency support programs, regional programs and NGO co-funding sources' (DFAT 2003).

point at which people are ready to take ownership of, and responsibility for, their own development' (Church World Service 2000).   This is echoed by Lutheran World Federation, another NGO that entered Cambodia in 1979, working to support government structures until LWF changed its focus in the mid 1990s to 'integrated rural development' focused on 'grassroots communities' (Lutheran World Federation 2000). Although de-mining is the most publicised activity of NGOs in Cambodia, both CWS and LWF list a wide span of development activities, addressing issues such as health, refugees and internally displaced people, education, human rights, community development, HIV/AIDS and the environment (Church World Service 2000; Lutheran World Federation 2000).

Development Issues

Thirty years of civil war in Cambodia have left an unavoidable legacy. The Khmer Rouge's 'uncompromising' fight for power was conducted throughout the first half of the 1970s (Chandler 1993, p.191), coincident with extensive bombing of Cambodia by the USA as part of its war on Vietnam (Kiernan 2004, p. 16). Substantially weakened even before the Khmer Rouge took control on April 17 1975 (Mysliwiec 1988, p. 2), Cambodia was subject to three and a half years of the Khmer Rouge's ideological restructuring of the nation, during which time 'millions of Cambodians were displaced' (Chandler 1993, p. 191) and 'between one and two million Kampucheans died from hunger, hard labour or disease, or were executed by the Khmer Rouge'

(Mysliwiec 1988, p. 3)[19]. In January 1979 Vietnam seized control of Cambodia and installed a sympathetic government (Chandler 1993, pp. 192-3). There was continued insurgency in Cambodia until 1989, at which time Vietnam withdrew troops and in 1991 the Paris Peace Accords paved the way for strong external presence and support. The events of the 1970s and 1980s 'devastated much of the country's physical, social and human capital, forcing the nation to start from scratch in rebuilding its infrastructure and institutions' (World Bank 2005a, p. 2).

During the Khmer Rouge period many of the Cambodian people now working for NGOs fled to Thailand to refugee camps that were often controlled by former Khmer Rouge members (Becker 1986, p. 453). Although they received an education in these camps, including learning English, when they returned to the country they had lost their land and were faced with discrimination from those who had stayed, who saw them as cowardly traitors. As a result of this discrimination and thanks to their English language skills, many of them were only able to find work with the fledgling development organisations, and former refugees are still disproportionately represented in the NGO community. This means that Development workers have historically been people who were marked as different from the rest of the community, potentially causing conflicts that would not be apparent to outsiders. In Chambers' language, the Development workers are simultaneously social 'lowers' and Development 'uppers' in the communities in which they work,

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[19] Kiernan's comprehensive discussion of this period *The Pol Pot Regime* (1997) gives a chillingly detailed account of the extensive and systematic atrocities committed by the regime, not only on ordinary Cambodians but as time went on, also on members of different factions of its own leadership. An extensive range of books is available on Cambodian history, including by Chandler (1992 & 1993), and Kamm (1998).

which would provide an interesting focus for further research. As time passes, however, and the post-Khmer Rouge baby boomers grow into adulthood, these issues are fading somewhat, not least because the Khmer Rouge period has been omitted from formal historical education in Cambodia (Kiernan 2004).

Another important Development issue in Cambodia is the broader educational impact of the Khmer Rouge, which deliberately decimated the school system, and operated 'only basic primary schools, with a curriculum centred on agricultural skills' (de Walque 2004, p. 11). Under Pol Pot's rule, 'three-quarters of Cambodia's 20,000 teachers perished, or fled abroad' (Kiernan 2004, p. 17), and educating new teachers and rebuilding the system has of course taken time and significant investment. Even so, like other civil servants, teachers receive such a low wage that 'almost all teachers hold second and third jobs,' and a widely used practice is that students have classes for only three hours a day, while families can pay for 'private lessons' to extend this time (Kamm 1998, p. 12). AusAID recognises that with civil servants paid less than a living wage, their attention is diverted to other work done to supplement their incomes, or they may seek bribes from users of their services, and this means that NGOs are vital in 'taking on roles government has so far been unable to fulfil' (AusAID 2003, p. 5). These factors have significant implications for individual capabilities, for the ability of the nation to grow and rebuild, and for the place of Development work within Cambodia.

Research Context: The Philippines

The Philippines is classified by the UNDP (2003) as having medium-level human development, ranked eighty-third of one hundred and seventy-seven countries measured in 2004. It is a country of inconsistent development, outstripping comparable nations on many indicators, including education, infant mortality, gender equality and access to sanitation, but lagging behind on others such as real GDP per capita, access to health services, number of underweight young children and calorie intake per capita (UNDP 2004). According to McCusker, most Filipinos live 'in dire poverty in a land of plenty' (1993, p. 245), and this can be seen in more recent measures that identify less than two thirds of the population as living above the national poverty line (AusAID 2004e, p. 8), with disadvantage clearly visible in the areas of income, health, access to services, land ownership and political influence. In the three years to 2000, there was a seven per cent increase in the number of Filipinos living on less than US$1 per day, to a total of forty per cent of the population in 2000 (AusAID 2004d; AusAID 2005b), and Rodlauer cites the IMF as reporting that 'inequality has actually increased slightly' during the mid-1990s (2000, p. 108). Half of the population of Manila lives below subsistence level (Viloria 1992, p. 3), yet the average annual household income there is 'more than double' the national average (Mallet 1999, p. 100), and income poverty levels in some provinces are four times that of the capital (Mallet 1999, p. 43), with some regions in Mindanao reaching poverty levels of 55.3 and 62.9 per cent (AusAID 2004e, p. 9). In spite of this evident regional disparity, greater levels of inequality are found *within* the regions than between them (see Figure 6), and this means that lower poverty levels in other regions may mask similarly high poverty within particular groups. Close to two thirds

of Filipinos live in rural areas, yet more than eighty per cent of the land is

owned by less than five per cent of the population, and the unequal relationship

between the landed and landless is often reinforced with violence (Borras &

Franco 1997), and AusAID states that 'the Philippines has one of the highest

levels of income inequality in Asia' (2004d).   The Philippines' GDI of 0.751 is

consistent with other countries with similar HDI rankings, although the country

has a significantly higher GEM, at 0.542. This reveals that while Filipinas

have lower life expectancy, education levels and income than their male

compatriots, they have high levels of political and economic power relative to

women in countries with a similar HDI ranking.
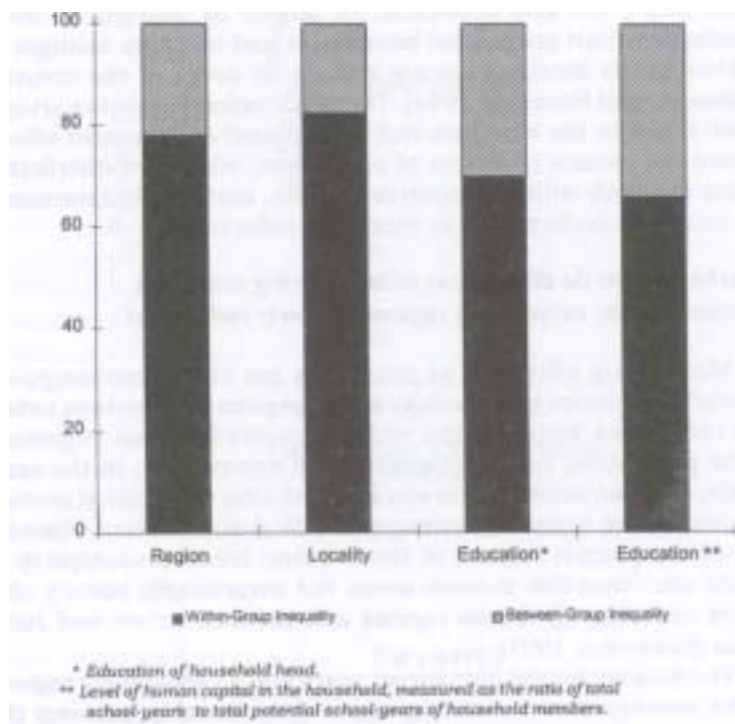
Figure 6: Inequality within and between groups in the Philippines
(Balisacan 1999, p. 30)

A paradox that is repeated in World Bank and AusAID reports on the

Philippines is that 'despite the Philippines' considerable resources and

advantages, overall development outcomes over the last decades have fallen

short of potential' (World Bank 2005b, p. 1; see also AusAID 2004e, p. 1;

AusAID 2005b). This is often followed by a comparison with growth rates in other countries in the region, which have been significantly better than that in the Philippines. The World Bank reports that there is an 'emerging consensus' that this contrast derives from 'the inability of public institutions to resist capture by special interests and thus promote the public good' (World Bank 2005b, p. 2).

The Philippine political system is described as 'revolv[ing] around interpersonal relationships … and factions composed of personal alliances', excluding the powerless and reinforcing the power of the rich (Kerkvliet 1995, p. 401). McCoy (1993) traces much of the character of Filipino politics and society, to the strength of family as the central social unit, to the extent that the Philippine Civil Code refers to the centrality of the family in society and the family's role in caring for its members. Furthermore, the independent nation of the Philippines inherited the elites who were able to flourish under colonial rule, perceived by many Filipinos as puppets for continued vicarious governance by the USA. As it worked to unify the nation, the fledgling government also faced other challenges left by the colonisers, including the regional autonomy which had just been introduced by the Americans, as well as the demands for complete autonomy from some indigenous groups who had resisted colonial influence (Goodno 1991, p. 240). It also inherited political and social systems based on the practices of Spain and the USA, rather than a "Filipino" society, so that it 'could not induce compliance through shared myth or other forms of social sanction' (McCoy 1993, p. 11).

Ferdinand Marcos became president in 1965 and established martial law in 1972, purportedly in response to a spate of violence in Mindanao, but coincidentally at a time when he was seeking a third term in office, which is disallowed in the Constitution (Ringuet 2002). Marcos turned martial law into an effective dictatorship until 1986, bringing inequality to new heights and establishing a reputation for 'crony capitalism' well beyond the bounds of the Philippines (Mallet 1999, p. 152). In spite of continued instability, insurgencies and many coup attempts, Marcos's successor Corazon Aquino oversaw an economic recovery, beginning the cycle of 'boom and bust' which continues to mark this nation's economic performance (Rodlauer 2000, p. 4). Aquino also introduced 'outward-looking and market-oriented economic reforms' which would be continued by successive presidents, gaining the pleasure and continued financial support of the IMF (Rodlauer 2000, p. 1; also Timberman 1998). Despite this, tension has been constant in the Filipino political arena, which has been characterised by popular uprisings, coup attempts and cronyism, and there has been little evidence to suggest any likelihood of a break from the nation's constant 'rhetoric of crisis and reform' (Crone 1993, p. 61). In 2004 President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo commenced her second term as President, overseeing modest growth in GDP which was countered by a greater rise in population, and a continuing budget deficit due to sliding taxation revenue (AusAID 2004e, pp. 7-8).

Amongst the population there is scepticism and lack of trust in the government, and a 'sense of disenfranchisement' amongst poor Filipinos (World Bank 2005b, pp. i, 7, 9). Consecutive governments have also continued to struggle

with significant rebel groups working in different regions, most notably the Muslim separatist groups in Mindanao, and the Communist New People's Army at work in rural areas across the nation, contributing to a situation that one commentator says 'seems like a state of permanent insurgency in rural areas' (Silva 1996, p. 279; see also AusAID 2004e; Labrador 2001; Ringuet 2002). Together these factors create a considerable challenge for government.

Foreign Assistance

Unlike Cambodia, the recent pattern of official Development funding in the Philippines was decreasing at the beginning of the new millennium, consistent with the 'continuing decline' in funding granted by member countries of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee, who provide over ninety per cent of Official Development Assistance (ODA) throughout the world (CODE-NGO 2000). According to OECD figures, however, this decline was significantly reversed in 2003, with an increase of US$185 million over the past year's figures, to US$737 million (OECD n.d.-b). Like Cambodia, the nation's biggest donor is Japan, which contributes half of all donor commitments (AusAID 2004e, p. 22). The nation's other top funders after Japan are France, Germany, Australia and the USA, contributing a considerable portion of the US$2 billion total annual average funding to the Philippines, with Australia slowly increasing its share to four per cent of ODA (CODE-NGO 2000). As the Philippines' fourth largest donor (OECD n.d.-b), Australia allocates $55.5 million in ODA and $8.2 million in other flows[20], for

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[20] Other flows include 'regional projects, volunteer programs, NGO … assistance' agricultural research (AusAID 2004b).

a total commitment of $63.7 million in 2005 (AusAID 2005b), making it

'Australia's fifth largest development partner' (AusAID 2004d).

The NGO base in the Philippines has grown to be 'large, highly organised, and

politically prominent,' with almost 60,000 NGOs at work in that country in

1993 (Silliman & Noble 1998a, pp. 13, 10), and it is seen by some as 'amongst

the most progressive in the world' (CODE-NGO 2000). Social movements

drew strength from the results of Vatican II and the Liberation Theology

movement in the 1960s, which led the church to turn its attention to issues of

social justice rather than just distributing welfare (Constantino-David 1998, p.

32). NGOs have a strong standing in the Philippines, with support enshrined in

the Philippines' Constitution, which sets out that 'the State shall encourage

non-governmental, community- based, or sectoral organizations that promote

the welfare of the nation' (1987, Article 2, Sec. 23). People's Organisations

enjoy a similar standing, with the State directed to 'respect the role of

independent people's organisations to enable the people to pursue and protect,

within the democratic framework, their legitimate and collective interests and

aspirations through peaceful and lawful means' (Republic of the Philippines

1987, Article 13, Sec. 15). This reflects the intimate connection between

People's Organisations, NGOs and politics in a nation whose strong civil

society has been attributed to a symbiotic relationship with NGOs (Silliman

1998, p. 59; see also World Bank 2005b, p. 11).

Development Issues

There are a number of issues that provide particular Development challenges in

the Philippines. Amongst these are the 'perplexing' failure to fulfil potential

(World Bank 2005b, p. 2), as seen in the example that the education system that was introduced by the North American colonisers is wide-reaching (SarDesai 1997, p. 165), yet the system is 'inequitable and inefficient' (Tan 1999, p. 182) with poor outcomes and low completion rates, and student performance amongst the lowest in East Asia (World Bank 2005b, p. 8). These poor educational outcomes in turn make it more difficult for the Philippines to make effective independent progress, as well as making it more difficult for individual Filipinos to improve their circumstances, since 'educational attainment is a key determinant of poverty' (World Bank 2005b, p. 4). Another aspect of this is the inequality entrenched in the social and economic systems of the nation, as especially evident in the land ownership system introduced by the Spanish, which consisted of large land-holdings (haçiendas) owned and operated by an individual or family and farmed by a large number of poorly paid tenant farmers. This system of land distribution continues to be a central political issue (Constantino & Constantino 1978, p. 319; Hilhorst 2003, p. 65; Borras & Franco 1997) and a key contributor to the extraordinary inequalities experienced by poor Filipinos.

This inequality has many ramifications for national development, since the growth of the predominantly poor rural population puts increasing pressure on the environment, in a country that is already 'one of the most hazard prone countries in the world' (World Bank 2005b, p. 8). Further to this, the perceived neglect of the rural areas (particularly, but not exclusively, in Mindanao) 'is manifest in and reinforced by social conflicts' which consume attention and funds that could otherwise be spent on Development (World Bank 2005b, p. 9; see also Ringuet 2002; Labrador 2001). This has been

recognised by AusAID, which has responded by focusing two of its three strategic objectives for 2004-2008 on improving both 'security and stability in the Philippines' and 'the living standards of the rural poor in the Southern Philippines' (AusAID 2004e, p. 28). AusAID also notes that 'the sizeable presence' of aid agencies in the Philippines means that an important priority is coordination of activities, both between donors, and between donors and government (AusAID 2004e, p. 22).

These combined factors make Development in the Philippines complex and multifaceted. The size of the population living in poverty, the structural inequities, and the intense pressure on the environment add up to a daunting list of interrelated issues. The positive aspect is the widely recognised strength of civil society (see for example Mulder 1997; Gonzalez 2001; Silliman & Noble 1998a), which provides a strong framework within which Development organisations can work. It also reduces dependence on external organisations, which is important since although in dollar terms the Philippines receives approximately fifty per cent more ODA funds than Cambodia, when calculated per head of population Cambodia's funding is four times greater at approximately $37 per person, compared to $9.45 in the Philippines. Filipino NGOs, POs and unions are important players in the broader Development context of the Philippines, and this provides international organisations with excellent opportunities for learning and partnership.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a broad outline of the research approach and context for this study. Using a qualitative approach, I have built two case studies that I will use to provide a third perspective on culture and power in the Development contact zone, alongside Post-Development and Participation. The research approach takes into account the significant power disparities inherent in both Development and research contexts and attempts to engage with this constructively whilst resisting temptations to believe that awareness of the issues is sufficient to overcome them. Sixty Development workers have participated in this research and I endeavour to "co-create" with them an understanding of the Development contact zone in Cambodia and the Philippines that accurately reflects the information they have generously shared with me. The stories told in this research are not representative of the experience of ordinary Filipinos and Cambodians but are the combined knowledge and experience of sixty professionals, interpreted and represented in relation to Post-Development and participatory Development theory. They reflect these workers' experience in Development in two countries with very different histories, priorities and aid arrangements. Each has its own advantages and challenges, and each Development worker experiences and interprets these in his or her own way.

The following three chapters are constituted of the results from these interviews, set in the context of the theories already discussed. The results are considered thematically, beginning in Chapter Six with attitudes to delivery of Development by NGOs, and to participatory Development in particular. It also addresses their attitudes to participatory tools and the ways they interpret and

apply them. This chapter reveals a coherently positive attitude toward

Participation that is consistent with the participatory paradigm outlined in

Chapter Four, but highlights some key difficulties in the application of

participatory approaches.

6 Development, Participation and Context

This chapter addresses Development workers' perceptions of Development and Participation, in the context of their own practice. Perceptions differed significantly between practitioners in each of the two countries, reflecting the varied historical and contemporary experiences of Cambodia and the Philippines. While Cambodian Development workers tended to be supportive of NGO-delivered Development, Filipino respondents were careful to distinguish particular forms that they supported from others that they rejected. This reflected practitioners' reports of greater diversity of Development practice in the Philippines than in Cambodia, particularly in terms of organisations' motives and priorities. Development workers in the two countries also reported differing degrees in the application of Participation as a Development strategy, yet described very similar (highly participatory) approaches when discussing their own practice. Rather than describing specific participatory tools, Development workers in both countries explained how they focus on building personal relationships and enhancing people's confidence and capacity.

There was a small amount of slippage in the use of the term d/Development by the practitioners, since the distinction between 'small d development' and 'big D Development' is neither absolute, nor often articulated. Development workers in this research appeared to define Development primarily in a manner consistent with the definition of 'big D Development,' as a 'project of

intervention in the "third world"' (Hart 2001, p. 650). Development was understood as work done with the deliberate intent of improving local conditions, usually with ODA or charity funding, although sometimes using funds from government or local sources. Practitioners occasionally included 'small d development' in their discussions, however this was unusual and generally concerned a particular project that straddled the d/Development categories. An important factor in Development workers' assessment of the quality of these interventions was the extent to which they benefited people at the village level.

To protect their anonymity, practitioners who contributed to this research are referred to by a pseudonym, and a brief biography of each practitioner is given the first time he or she is quoted. Biographies are listed in Appendix One. On most topics there was consistency in the responses from each country, and I have attempted to select representative quotations to capture a sense of the dominant responses, rather than giving a list of similar quotes in each case. Where a practitioner's opinion was inconsistent with the general position of other Development workers in his/her country, I have stated this clearly.

Development Workers' Perceptions of Development

The interviews revealed a consistent attitude to Development amongst the Development workers in Cambodia and the Philippines. Development workers were generally positive about Development, but did point to a dichotomy between unsatisfactory or "bad" Development, which is motivated by profit and administered bilaterally or multilaterally, or by NGOs that are not

grassroots-focused, and "good" Development, which has close connections to the grassroots and is focused on enabling people to take charge of their own Development and to effect political change. The specific context of Development in each location had a clear impact on how workers interpreted and assessed Development. Practitioners all reported that their own organisation engaged in "good" Development, which could be due to a desire to see their own work in a positive light, or a desire to avoid denigrating a donor, however there were various factors that implied that it was mostly due to being in sympathy with the approach of their NGO. In general, Development workers interviewed in this research had worked for the same organisation for several years, demonstrating a strong commitment to that organisation's Development work, even though many of the Filipino practitioners were unpaid[21].

"Bad" Development in the Philippines

Filipino Development workers expressed a nuanced view of Development, making clear distinctions between positive and negative forms of Development. They consistently located their own work in the category of "good" Development and had much to say about the variety of NGOs and other organisations whose work falls outside this category. Bilateral Development, government projects and NGOs set up by multinational corporations were all seen to be motivated by self-interest, and to have a negative impact on Filipino

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[21] While I attempted not to be intrusive about people's means of livelihood, it appeared that volunteer Development workers had a variety of strategies for survival, including a working partner, or support from friends, family, community members or a local church. Many (but not all) of the voluntary workers were young (in their twenties) and may therefore have been financially aided by continuing to live in the family home, and they all appeared to live very frugally.

culture. Development workers supported organisations that prioritised forms of Development that strengthened communities, rather than organisations they perceived as working to benefit governments, corporations or individual speculators. Development workers were acutely aware of injustice and the structures that keep people poor, and attuned to whether Development work maintains those inequalities or builds the resilience of the marginalised.

Many respondents spoke with passion about negative forms of Development, giving examples to support their argument. Edgar is a male volunteer who works in Mindanao with a rural NGO that recently secured multi-year funding, having previously operated on a project-to-project basis (interview 27, 7 November 2003). He referred to the work of an international mining company in his area, speaking of it as another stage of the Philippines' exploitative colonial history which had culminated in 'a puppet government with colonial masters, and poor people.' He believed that international organisations like this mining company used NGOs as a means of furthering their own interests rather than having any real interest in the community's well-being, saying,

> foreign capital comes and goes – speculations - without necessarily addressing the poverty situation of the Philippines. ODA from donor countries is misused. In fact Development's a conduit for foreign investment ... [the foreign investors] want reports from NGOs, which they study, and try to locate where to find a portal to community. [The mining company] engaged an NGO and anthropologists to study the community – they posed as an NGO. They came up with a handbook ... they manipulated data and used it for manipulation.

Edgar saw this company's NGO as a Trojan horse used to gain credibility and information that was then used to pursue the mining company's primary goals

of resource extraction and profit. In this sense, Development was a tool to maximise (small d) development and its profits. Edgar pointed to detrimental effects the company was having in the indigenous community around the mine site, which he said had been a 'remaining frontier' of traditional society until contact with the mining company. In Edgar's eyes, the NGO was breaking apart the community by playing community members off against one another, introducing a competitive, consumption-oriented culture, and distorting the local economy by using financial incentives to gain community support. Furthermore, exposure to the social behaviour of the mine workers was changing culture by promoting 'gambling [and] prostitution.'

These concerns were echoed by Brandon, a male Development worker who works with an NGO in Mindanao formed by an international agricultural corporation, with ongoing funding from this corporation and bilateral sources (interview 25, 4 November 2003). Brandon felt the mining company Edgar referred to had begun its "Development" work in order 'to help the company itself to win over the local population,' agreeing with Edgar's proposition that the mining company's NGO was established to further the interests of the company rather than to benefit the community. Both practitioners saw the NGO's actions as destructive to the local community and focused on making the community compliant with the company's capitalist goals rather than strengthening them to make their own decisions and to ensure sustainability of their chosen lifestyle.

Other Development workers shared this scepticism about the self-interest of bilateral or corporate-funded Development. Leo is a male Development

worker who works with a small NGO in a rural area of the Visayas which receives no external funding and which focuses on the effects of a particular environmental issue (interview 36, 15 November 2003). Speaking of bilateral Development, Leo asserted that the government was allowing itself to become indebted to other countries, which

> give funds for Development in exchange for our national patrimony, in exchange for our sovereignty. They give money so we will give our national resources … for example the VFA:[22] [the American government] gives funds for roads in the countryside in exchange for continuing the VFA.

This very negative interpretation of Development's effects was shared by many Filipino Development workers who contributed to this study.

Another example of unsatisfactory Development that was given by a large number of Development workers in Mindanao was the International Fish Port, which was funded by a bilateral loan and built on land earmarked for land reform[23]. Conditions accompanying the loan resulted in what Brandon termed 'absurdly' expensive fishing permits, which has meant that only large organisations can afford to fish in that area. Brandon explained that fishing was traditionally the main form of livelihood for many families in this region,

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[22] The Visiting Forces Agreement between the US and Filipino governments allows for continuing US military presence in the Philippines. It was perceived negatively by many of the interviewees, because it was seen to reflect the Philippine government's subordination to the former colonisers, as well as aiding the Philippine government's use of the military against the interests of the poor, whether to appropriate land or to repress dissent. The perceived advantage for the US government was not made clear.

[23] One legacy of Spanish colonisation in the Philippines is an inequitable distribution of land, whereby a small number of land-owners own vast amounts of land (haçiendas) which are tilled by tenant farmers. These farmers are often indebted to their landowners (hacienderos), and even those who are not have no opportunity to own land themselves due to their low incomes and the lack of available land. Since the government of Corazon Aquino, successive Philippine governments have committed themselves to land reform, but with little tangible impact.

in which there are 20,000 small boat owners and many more who earn a living on those boats. This has resulted in widespread unemployment and extreme hardship as people are cut off from their traditional source of food and income. Although the project was bringing in income for the government by attracting foreign investment and providing export opportunities (by enabling controls on the quality and handling of the products), any profit was going to the rich, rather than being channelled into programs that would benefit people struggling to survive. Meanwhile the country was saddled with further debt, since the Fish Port was built with 'a loan to be repaid by the Filipino people' according to Yoyong, a male unpaid Assistant Director who has been working with NGOs in Mindanao for a decade (interview 26, 5 November 2003). Interviewees and those who orientated me to the social, political and historical issues in Mindanao pointed to the dissonance of this as a Development project that actually reduced the livelihood of the poor people of the region.

In other examples, negative NGO outcomes were sometimes attributed to incompetence rather than malice or self-interest. Harry is a male Development worker based in a rural area of the Visayas, working with an NGO as well as in education and the media to raise awareness and advocate for Development work, and to train Development workers (interview 38, 18 November 2003). He described the great number of NGOs in his region, stating that

> [on this island] there are so many Development NGOs - or claiming to be. There are hundreds of them, if not thousands, funded by different countries. More than fifty here are supported by AusAID, but most of these ... are not really doing Development work. Many are actually reinforcing the feudal relationship between the powerful and the powerless.

Harry explained that this was happening because of a mismatch between communities and projects, for example micro-credit projects that offered water-buffalo or poultry to people who were landless and thus dependant on their landlord for land on which to keep any animals. The landlords were unlikely to support these projects since it was not in their interest to enable their employees to become financially independent, and as a result, these projects had no long-term viability. Harry felt that the mistakes of such programs hinged on a poor assessment of the local situation, and a lack of capacity or 'willingness to understand what people want.' This reflects Robert Chambers' call for a shift towards methods that are 'open' rather than closed (1997, p. 104), in that they are focused on discovering people's needs and desires rather than proceeding from a presumption of those needs and aspirations. The practice Harry describes is not participatory, at least not in the needs assessment or the formulation of the program, and this has a negative impact on their relevance.

Harry assessed most NGOs in his region as self-interested or otherwise ineffective, such that 'our estimate is that in the last ten years, sixty to seventy billion Pesos ($AU 1.4 - 1.64 billion) have been put into Negros and yet where are the projects now?' His implication was that none of this money had reached the people who really needed it, yet in spite of this he still advocated Development work and supported the few NGOs that he assessed as genuinely working for the benefit of the marginalised, since he felt that the need was very real and the impact of 'good' Development was definitely positive.

"Good" Development in the Philippines

All of the Filipino respondents made a clear distinction between the negative forms of Development they described and what their own organisations were doing. The distinction lay in the focus of the project, whether it centred on the benefit of the majority of the Philippine population who are poor, or whether it benefited overseas interests or the minority rich Filipino population. In this sense, their responses were consistent with both Post-Development and Participation desires to see an end to inequality, as expressed in the focus on the 'social majorities' (Esteva & Prakash 1998) and the 'lowers' (Chambers 1995a).

Development workers expressed a clear preference for Development work initiated by the grassroots, or by NGOs focusing on the grassroots. A turn to "the people" was a consistent theme of the interviews in the Philippines. "The people" are seen as both the source and the prime motivation for Development work, because 'Development starts from the grassroots,' according to Bonifacio, a male Development worker who works with an NGO that has secure funding (interview 33, 13 November 2003). Although no longer in a field-based position, he has extensive experience "in the field," particularly with cooperatives, and is based in an urban area of the Visayas. Bonifacio's comment contrasts with the Post-Development approach which views grassroots movements as the great hope for a post-d/Development era in which 'we will not be oppressed by universal, unique truths' (Esteva & Prakash 1998, p. 193). Rather, Bonifacio was one of the many Development workers who saw a natural connection between grassroots organisations and Development processes. While this may be a partial reflection of practitioners' investment in

Development, it should be recognised that the grassroots organisations they work with apparently also see a logical connection between themselves and the Development processes they seek engagement with. This demonstrates that the rupture Post-Development perceives between Development and the grassroots is not representative of a single Southern perspective. While Esteva and Prakash seek delivery from the universalism of modernity, they may also be perceived as prescribing a universal strategy for the South, in the name of freeing them from a different imposition.

Bonifacio stated that "the people" are disadvantaged by current structures, and often form themselves into grass-roots organisations before they have contact with NGOs. Importantly, this focus on "the people" is centrally founded on the notion that it is the people themselves who must (and do) drive the change. Edgar summarised this point, saying

> keep always in mind that peasants' organisation is the most liberating in terms of ideas and so on ... the peasant perspective leads to the highest [achievement] ... NGOs exist only as long as peasant organisations exist and allow them to exist.

Many of the respondents shared this view, but there was also acknowledgement that people may not already be organised or politically active, and may not recognise their own ability to change their situation, representing a clear task for NGOs in facilitating such movements in these areas. Rosetta is a volunteer with a women's organisation and also works with an NGO (interview 30, 12 November 2003). Both of these organisations currently do their work with little or no funding and are located in an urban centre in the Visayas. She says that in some communities, people 'live in fear ... so mostly we teach them that

they have rights as humans ... to live without fear … [and] the right to health.'
Rosetta and other Development workers emphasised that a central focus of
their work is on organising and politicising the community in order that they
can be independent from the NGO.

In an extensive political analysis of the Philippines, Harry spoke of a need to

> reorient the whole economic structure - come up with a new economic direction
> that starts with the localisation of land and resource profits … moves from a
> mono-crop economy to a diversified economy … and put[s] up anti-centralised
> industries. But this cannot be done without a strong organisation of people.

His Development priorities were thus clearly political in that he hoped to see
political and economic change as a result of a population with enhanced
capacity and capabilities. Seth observed that grassroots organisations in India
are 'self-consciously political' (1997, p. 335), which is consistent with the
reflections of these Filipino Development workers. These interviews
demonstrate that such political goals are not the exclusive domain of self-
starting social movements that eschew Development, but may also be found
amongst groups that embrace Development.

Development and Oppression in the Philippines

These stories illustrate some of the concerns held by Filipino Development
workers about the ways disadvantaged Filipinos are continually marginalised
within their society, which continues to experience problems that have plagued
it for most of the nation's independent history, including cronyism, patronage
and coercion (see Pinches 1997, pp. 105, 117). There is also a strong civil
society in the Philippines, as exemplified most clearly in the People Power

uprisings of 1986 and 2001, but also in diverse people's movements, including those focused on Development.

Injustice and inequality were very real experiences for many of these Development workers, both in their own experience and in the lives of the people they work with. The Filipino military played a significant role in a number of the stories of oppression, including several told by Mila, a female full-time volunteer with an NGO in Mindanao which is focused on indigenous groups and has no consistent external funding (interview 28, 9 September 2003). She is the only full-time worker for the organisation and she is sometimes able to secure funding for a particular project but otherwise does work she can do without funds. Mila told of her own family's experiences of military harassment during the Marcos regime, saying,

> my three uncles and a first cousin of my father were required to dig a hole and the military said "you make it very big" ... then they were killed. My other uncle was told by military to run, but he was blind and said he could not. But they made him run … and then they shot him. Also in September 1979 more than one thousand Moros[24] were killed in a mosque massacre during Ramadan.

She also described a practice known as 'salvaging,' whereby men are taken away by the military and either found murdered or never seen again. Tales of salvaging, harassment and discrimination were described by many Development workers as not only a key source of disadvantage for the people they work with, but also one of the main targets of their Development work, in the form of resourcing people to protect themselves. These Filipino Development workers perceived Development needs as not only centred on

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[24] An Indigenous Islamic tribe in Mindanao.

such issues as sustainable income sources and health care, but also as fundamentally concerned with factors such as injustice and the threat of violence that impeded people from fulfilling their capacity or that limited their capabilities (Nussbaum & Sen 1993).

Harry reflected on other ways in which people are oppressed, and the role of the government in this, reflecting that in his area,

> the majority of our sugar workers are virtually working for the land owners as slaves. They are not paid the regular [minimum] wage mandated by the government of 137 pesos [$AU 3.20], but most of the workers are only receiving 30 to 40 Pesos [$AU 0.70 to 0.94] per day.

Harry reflected on the continued instability and self-enrichment of successive Filipino governments and said that rather than being concerned with equity or the needs of the majority, 'the people who run the government are people who only look after their own interests.' This was indicative of a widespread suspicion amongst the interviewees regarding the motivations of government-related interventions, whether by the Philippine government or other governments, and it is consistent with the perspective of many commentators, who have described the successive governments of the Philippines as 'patrimonial' (Hutchcroft 1991, p. 422), characterised by rent-seeking (McCoy 1993, p. 12) and 'allegations of corruption and cronyism' (Labrador 2001, p. 222). The circumstances Harry described leave sugar workers extremely indebted and entirely dependent on their landlord. On this basis, Harry felt that Development work in his area needed to be targeted at building the capacity of sugar workers to support themselves and also addressing the inequities of the land ownership system. Filipino Development workers perceived structural

problems like this as exacerbating the position of the poor, leaving a clear need for legitimate NGOs.

These Filipino Development workers show the type of political consciousness that Post-Development ascribes to grassroots movements, but practitioners stated that they felt that many of the people they work with do not intrinsically possess that awareness and must therefore be helped to recognise the social and structural causes of marginalisation. This is reminiscent of Freire's conscientisation approach, in which 'the oppressed' need help to 'concretely "discover" their oppressor and in turn their own consciousness,' in order to be liberated from their fatalism (1970, p. 43). A fundamental precept of this is that people must reach a conviction 'that they must fight for their liberation [not as a result of] a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leadership, but [as] a result of their own *conscientização*[25]' (Freire 1970, p. 49). The practices described by many of the Filipino Development workers were consistent with a desire to conscientise people, as in the description by Edgar that

> our strategy is for them to internalise the information. We lectured in the villages; they can do the lectures themselves now …our strategy is to empower the community and develop their enterprise, their leadership capability.

Lecturing was described by a small number of practitioners as important to their approach, with an implication that this was part of a "co-intentional" education program aimed at conscientising villagers. For many respondents, this strategy was based on sharing knowledge with community members, with

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[25] The term *conscientização* is often translated as 'conscientisation', while some translations of Freire's works (such as this one) do not translate it.

the expectation that they would use that knowledge to transform their lives. There was a significant political component, focused on imparting awareness 'of the economic and political situation in our society,' according to Nina, a female Development worker with an NGO with an overseas partner based on a religious affiliation (interview 29, 12 November 2003). For Cora, a female volunteer with a union organisation without ongoing funding that was operating in a rural area of the Visayas (interview 37, 13 November 2003), this encompassed teaching people 'who are the capitalists, who are the workers, what are the exploitations done to the workers.' She made this point while explaining structural inequality and systemic abuse affecting the people with whom she works. An important aspect of this conscientisation-based approach is that the practitioners did not express awareness of their own power in the Development context. An example of this is that some practitioners perceived themselves as benevolent givers of knowledge, helping people who were otherwise unable to gain that knowledge and help themselves. This evokes a clear parallel with Chambers' reflection on the Northern Development workers, whom he urges to recognise their own power and act in ways that minimise its impact (1995a, p. 31).

This initial conscientisation was described by practitioners as being part of an orientation to a political Development approach in which villagers learn to recognise their own capacity and knowledge (see Freire 1970, p. 43), and are empowered to take control of their own Development. Parfitt (2002) expresses concern that people who do not 'organise' themselves cannot fit into the Post-Development paradigm (see Chapter Two), and this example demonstrates one way that Development workers respond to this, as other local people prompting

the organising. The flaw that Post-Development theorists would identify in this connection is that the local people doing the prompting are (primarily) internationally-funded *Development workers*. In this sense, the identity when the Post-Development theorists would highlight is that of the Development worker, while the workers' local origins might constitute the identity highlighted by others. This adds a further dimension to the understanding of these practitioners as border-crossers, in that they are transgressing theoretical boundaries by acting in ways that are consistent with aspects of both Post-Development and Development approaches. Their multiple identities do not rest solely on one side of a theoretical or actual boundary, such as being either local or international, or of drawing on either Development or Post-Development.

Filipino Development workers therefore understood Development practice in their country to be as diverse as, though not always focused on, the needs of ordinary Filipinos. Development was interpreted as 'good' when it was focused on the disadvantage of the poor and the structural causes of this. Filipino practitioners' approach to Development was consistent with some aspects of Post-Development critique, but was supportive of the positive potential of Development when appropriately targeted and implemented.

"Good" and "Bad" Development in Cambodia

In general, Cambodian Development workers expressed a broadly positive view of Development implementation and focused less on negative forms than their Filipino counterparts. The stark contrast between the destruction effected by the Khmer Rouge and the intensive Development work in the country since

the Paris Peace Accord, would have constituted a positive and tangible encounter with Development through NGOs and other agencies. In spite of this, there were a small number of Development workers who expressed concern about particular expressions of Development. Vichet is a male Development worker, who is the Director of a Cambodian regional NGO in the province of Battambang that has dealt with a variety of funders, and he has worked in Development for almost ten years (interview 4, 22 September 2003). He echoed the position of the Filipino respondents outlined above, saying,

> with some funders we believe their funds will reach the poor, but [some are] also using these funds to their own benefit, in terms of [changing] culture or religion or poverty, I don't know … some organisations, I shouldn't mention their names, they very strongly influence Cambodian people to change their morals, to do with religion or whatever.

In addition to Vichet's comments in that interview, I had a number of informal conversations with other Development workers in Battambang, in which they expressed concern about the approach of a particular Christian NGO which they felt was tying both aid and employment opportunities to the profession of Christianity. This was given as an example of the minority of organisations using Development funds in an explicit attempt to change culture in ways that these Development workers did not support. This will be further explored in Chapter Seven.

Concern about government input was also raised as one of the few criticisms of Development practice in Cambodia. This was articulated by Sophal, a male Development consultant with a variety of organisations who has studied overseas and given particular attention to cultural aspects of Development in

Cambodia (interview 7, 24 September 2003). Sophal talked about the

Cambodian government's influence over Development structures and direction,

expressing concern that the government was actually hindering Development

by consistently changing local level government and Development structures,

because

> people now become confused because there are changes every three years. Like
>
> before we had Commune Councils, now we have VDCs[26], we're shifting the
>
> focus. NGOs follow that path because they have to work with government.
>
> This takes a lot of resources, so now many VDCs are left without [support].

Sophal felt that this lack of support arose because NGOs were unwilling to

invest in structures that they believed were likely to change again, and

community members were losing faith in the structure because of continual

change, and therefore did not support their elected representatives. He went on

to compare Development in Cambodia with the Buddhist story of the four blind

men who each attempted to describe an elephant based on the one small part of

it that they were touching[27], in that there are many competing approaches to

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[26] Village Development Committees, which are official local government Development bodies, comprised of members elected by the community. The government requires NGOs to work with VDCs where they are present.

[27] While there are several versions, what follows conveys they key dimensions of the story:
Several citizens ran into a hot argument about God and different religions, and each one could not agree to a common answer. So they came to the Lord Buddha to find out what exactly God looks like.
The Buddha asked his disciples to get a large magnificent elephant and four blind men. He then brought the four blind [men] to the elephant and told them to find out what the elephant would "look" like.
The first blind men touched the [elephant's] leg and reported that it "looked" like a pillar. The second blind man touched the [elephant's] tummy and said that an elephant was a wall. The third blind man touched the [elephant's] ear and said that it was a piece of cloth. The fourth blind man held on to the tail and described the elephant as a piece of rope. And all of them ran into a hot argument about the "appearance" of an elephant. The Buddha asked the citizens: "Each blind man had touched the elephant but each of them gives a different description of the animal. Which answer is right?"
"All of them are right," was the reply.
"Why? Because everyone can only see part of the elephant. They are not able to see the whole animal. The same applies to God and to religions. No one will see Him

Development in Cambodia, but each is based on an incomplete assessment. Unlike the original story, in which an incomplete picture is acceptable, for Sophal, Development required a much more comprehensive picture in order to avoid doing damage. While each interpretation may have legitimate components, Sophal's message was that effective Development could not be built on a partial understanding of the context of the specific intervention.

On the whole, however, Cambodian perspectives on Development were somewhat different from those expressed in the Philippines. Cambodian Development workers distinguished less variety in NGO forms than Filipinos did, which Bunna explained in terms of Cambodia's Development history. Bunna is a male Development worker who was a refugee during the Khmer Rouge period[28], subsequently studied overseas and is the Director of a small regionally based NGO that secures funding on a project-by-project basis (interview 1, 16 September 2003). Bunna explained how in the early 1990s he and a colleague had decided what kind of organisation to establish, saying that

> it seemed that in this new place after the war, forming ourselves as an NGO was
> easier than [becoming] a Community [Based] Organisation or People's
> Organization, because of the political situation, because of a new thinking that
> was brought into Cambodia. So NGOs were more acceptable to operate in the
> communities, so we formed ourselves as an NGO.

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completely." By this parable, the Lord Buddha teaches that we should respect all other legitimate religions and their beliefs. (BIONA 2005)

[28] It should be noted that not all Cambodian Development workers were willing to divulge this particular piece of information about their past. As Ruth (expatriate) pointed out, fleeing the country was made a point of shame and discrimination by those who stayed, and people have only recently become more confident that factional fighting would not arise again and have therefore been able to be less guarded which 'side' they took during the conflict. Since this is a sensitive issue, Cambodian Development workers were not directly asked about this aspect of their past.

Bunna is referring to the period after the Paris Peace Accord in Cambodia and the sudden arrival of UNTAC, bringing with it a particular form of Development. A consequence of this was that alternative organisational structures such as People's Organisations (POs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and unions became peripheral to Development in Cambodia, and NGOs became central. The UN's dominance enabled it to set up a Development framework consistent with UN models, according most value to NGO forms. This is a clear example of the function of Development discourse, and the ways that it may control the management and implementation of Development, in this case valorising particular forms as better conduits for Development. It also demonstrates the ways that certain organisational forms may be excluded, such as the grassroots social movements advocated by Post-Development. This aspect of contemporary experiences of Development in Cambodia contrasts with the situation in the Philippines, where there is a range of types of organisation focused on Development. Rather than railing against such exclusions, however, Cambodian Development workers had a generally positive outlook on Development, its motivations and the role of NGOs.

The Cambodian Development Context

The Development challenges faced in Cambodia have been vastly different from those faced in the Philippines, and the injustice described by the Development workers in the Philippines constitutes a quite different challenge from the extensive rebuilding needed in Cambodia. Vinet is a female Development worker who recently joined the Cambodian arm of an international NGO, having worked with a Cambodian NGO previously

(interview 13, 15 October 2003). According to her, development is a natural and intrinsic human trait, but circumstances may mean that people 'forget about development [and] they can't use their potential.' NGOs thus perform a role as benevolent organisations that help to reinstate a proper order, redressing the effects of the decades of conflict and destruction.

Ruth is an expatriate Development worker in Cambodia who is a consultant with a variety of organisations (interview 22, 25 October 2003). She has lived in Cambodia for a number of years and is married to a Cambodian, and has also worked extensively in the Philippines and with Filipinos in other countries. Ruth pointed out that there is a very different level of political energy in Cambodia than there was in the Philippines:

> our Filipino friends …often come out of that context in the Philippines where they want to overthrow the government, where they have the right to challenge and question and so on and so forth, and it's twenty years since martial law there, people are in a vibrant democracy … [Martial law was awful] but it wasn't the same as two million people disappearing [as happened in Cambodia]...
>
> [People here don't] have energy left to challenge the system. That's like in [the elections in] 1998, people voted for the CPP and said "God, just leave us be. If you want to be in the government, that's fine, just go ahead." I mean that's my perception of what was going on, but I think that people are really fed up with conflict and being moved all the time. They want to go to the beach on the weekend, and hang out with their family in the village. They want to go on the

proverbial *dah-leng*[29], where they can just drive around and just see each other, and feel relaxed. They don't want to have to launch the next democracy movement, or overthrow the government in order to get something that they think is better or whatever, they just want the system to be there.

This points to very different civil society experiences in the two countries. Ruth's interpretation is that Cambodians are exhausted and need time to recover from the conflict.

Many of the comments on Development in Cambodia reflect a concept of a 'new start,' in the sense that while so much was destroyed by the Khmer Rouge and decades of civil conflict, there has been a huge input of money and knowledge since the 1990s. All of the Cambodian Development workers talked about the devastating impact of the Khmer Rouge regime and the civil war, but it was most clearly described by the expatriates interviewed in that nation, who all reflected on the specific Development challenges faced in Cambodia. Max is an expatriate NGO Assistant Director who works with the Cambodian partner of an international NGO with a secure funding base (interview 20, 22 October 2003). He has worked in the region for over ten years, and is based in the capital city. Reflecting on his organisation's desire to 'localise'[30] within the coming decade, Max stated that

the legacy of the war ... [is that] so many people got killed; so many emigrated; then people were educated for a state-controlled economy. So much only started in the 1990s: for example Pol Pot destroyed the education system, so

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[29] 'Cruising', or driving around without a particular destination or purpose, a popular pastime in Phnom Penh.
[30] *Localising* was a term used by many Development workers to describe handing over the management of Development to Cambodians and a movement towards NGOs in Cambodia employing only local staff at all levels.

many people are still at primary level because they haven't had access to
primary education. Our female staff cannot compete [because they have not
had equal access to] education. And then people coming out of university have
no experience.

Max's point is that extensive rebuilding is required in Cambodia, at the level of
basic social services and infrastructure, including education. On top of this,
Cambodians are still attempting a rapid transition from the centrally planned
rural society under the Khmer Rouge and the post-Khmer Rouge Communist
government, to a society able to function independently and sustainably in the
contemporary world environment. This perspective was supported by Anna
(interview 18, 21 October 2003), who is the expatriate NGO Director of the
Cambodian arm of an international NGO, who has worked in this region for
several decades. She noted that 'we can say that the Khmer Rouge was a giant
spectre here until five minutes ago,' since it was only in 1998 that the Khmer
Rouge's last strong hold in Pailin[31] fell.

Ruth pointed out that any new start for Cambodia is a challenging task when
'those who were educated, who would have been thinking differently, were
gotten rid of' by the Khmer Rouge, and thus the country's core of educated and
creative people was almost entirely erased. The community has had little more
than a decade to recover from the era of the centrally controlled Communist
government and as Anna said, 'it's a bit simplistic to think that ten years [of
Development interventions] .... makes up for 30 years of being isolated from
the world.' This has had important effects not only on the country's base of

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[31] This north-western province was where the Khmer Rouge first gained dominance, it became
their base after the Khmer Rouge government was defeated.

skilled workers but also on Cambodians' willingness to express initiative or creativity since these were behaviours that were discouraged under the communist regime and punishable by death under the Khmer Rouge. These statements help to build a picture of a community that is still considered to be in a "post-conflict" situation and that is not only in need of the tangible rebuilding of education systems and so on, but also needs time and help to heal and rebuild personally and socially. Importantly, Development workers feel that reconstruction and a 'new start' are being made possible through positive Development work.

This discussion of Development has sketched a basic foundation on which to base further discussion about the effects of Development in each of these countries. The Filipino Development workers interviewed were quite critical of Development, only supporting forms that they judged to have a positive impact on inequality and disadvantage. Cambodian Development workers did not identify this as a big problem in their country and were more broadly positive about Development as a key part of rebuilding their society. These results are inconsistent with Post-Development claims that people of the South reject Development outright as an imperialist imposition.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Post-Development texts talk of the costs of Development, however practitioners in this study appear to be using Development precisely in order to address or prevent the sorts of costs identified in those texts. In a series of conversations before her interview, Mila talked at length about the conflicts in Mindanao, and discussed Development as a political response to the ongoing violence. She saw it as an opportunity to

help people understand each other and respond positively to the conditions that led to such violence, including the desperate poverty in which people live and the conflicts between different groups. She talked of Development as a path to unity that would help the people of Mindanao to focus on the real problem of how to gain the resources to live a decent life. Similarly, Lida in Cambodia talked of the issue of domestic violence and the work her organisation does to change these behaviours and increase the safety of ordinary people within their own households.

Certainly the practitioners had points of agreement with Post-Development, for example that Development often works to benefit the rich rather than the poor. The International Fish Port in Southern Mindanao (see discussion on page 202) was mentioned to me almost every day that I was in Mindanao, as an example of an enormous injection of institutional funds that rather than improving local livelihoods had deepened the poverty of people in the area. Rather than dismissing all forms of Development, however, practitioners made a clear distinction between forms of Development. They also reported that the communities they worked with have a positive attitude to development. For example Ek in Cambodia reported that even years after a development project, people remember that a project has made a significant change in their lives. Furthermore, the extensive processes that practitioners described for involving community members would be a clear opportunity for people to tell practitioners that they don't want Development interventions. Although practitioners were quite forthcoming in discussing difficulties they face in their work, no practitioner spoke of having to overcome doubts of community members about participating in Development.

Esteva and Prakash point to 'intellectuals and grassroots activists' as 'our flexible swinging rope bridges with the "social majorities"' (1997, p. 5), yet many of the Development workers in this research fit the bill of intellectuals and/or grassroots activists, who have turned to Development as the best medium for their task. This does not detract from the value of the Post-Development critique, particularly the desire to expand possibilities beyond a prescribed form of modernity, however it does illustrate that the Post-Development message is no more universal than the Development model they resist. Similarly, I do not claim to have discovered a universal perspective through this research, but rather point out that there was strong agreement amongst Development workers interviewed in this research, which contrasted with Post-Development theorists' rejection of Development.

Taking a Participatory Approach to Development

As discussed in Chapter Four, there is a spectrum of participatory approaches to Development, and the paradigmatic approach is of most interest in this research. The paradigm of people prioritises communities and individuals over products, and is centrally concerned with the methods, behaviour and attitudes of Development practitioners. Specific strategies have been developed to help Development workers to be more participatory, but it is the underlying philosophy that is most important, since this will necessarily be expressed in methods, behaviour and attitudes.

In general, Development workers took a personalised rather than a formalised approach to Development, by which I mean that Development workers did not necessarily say "I believe Participation is important" but they did describe Development processes based on building strong, communicative relationships. While there appeared to be a high level of consistency in the participatory approaches described, practitioners rejected implementation of Development projects based on a blueprint approach and instead placed great emphasis on discovering and adapting to local diversity. Their participatory strategies consistently started with a single worker establishing communicative relationships within a community, and building on this relationship to implement Development programs. These relationships gave important access and insight into the context and the individuals involved, which were fundamental to the success of the project. Part of this desire to build personal relationships within the communities stemmed from Development workers' expressed awareness of the need to be alert to the specific circumstances of the people they are working with. A theme that pervaded the interviews was that Development workers tailor every project and every strategy to the particular context in which they are working. There was consistency in the Development approach reported by Development workers in both countries, and it was firmly participatory. The primary principle for all of the Development workers was establishing personal relationships with people in the community, and they gave a great deal of detail about how this was done, including important protocol involved in entering a community.

Context-Sensitive Practice in the Philippines

In describing their own methods, Filipino Development workers consistently outlined remarkably similar approaches, which they appeared to have each come to individually rather than being directed to behave in that way or feeling compelled by perceived Development expectations (or discourse). A number of workers expressed concern about the impact of projects which were not situation-specific, as in a comment from Theresa, a female researcher and Development worker with an NGO that has secure funding, and who was interviewed in a focus group with three other employees of the same organisation (interview 32, 13 November 2003). Theresa said that there can be

> misunderstandings when delivering Development in particular areas - we force people to adapt to what we think is best for them but maybe they are not ready, maybe we need to consider the ability and the readiness of the community people to go with the new approach for the better life we are expecting them to experience.

Theresa implies that one aspect of context is the community's ability to take on a Development project. Her concern is therefore that introducing Development projects in a manner that does not take into account the specifics of that context is likely to result in not only wasting Development workers' time and funders' money but also causing ruptures within the community.

Awareness of such considerations seemed to drive the actions of the Filipino practitioners. As Brandon said, 'our approach is based more on the grass-roots approach – it depends on the situation, so you don't have to follow a certain rule.' Norman, a male Director of a Philippine NGO that has an ongoing partnership with an overseas NGO (interview 35, 15 October 2003), pointed

out the necessity to be aware that even within the Philippines 'there are different cultures. Certain provinces have different cultures, so it may be that your strategies in certain provinces may not be applied here.' These concerns are representative of an awareness amongst Development workers that every project they work on is unique and requires a carefully tailored approach.

This harmony was achieved by means of a people-centred approach that was described in detail by Mila, who explained what she does when she first enters a village:

> Mila: … we ask the people, "who is the Group Chairman, who is the *barangay*[32] captain?" You ask, "who are the officers of this place?" And we make a courtesy call first to the group officers. Then we have to explain what our objectives are and why we are coming here, and that is the first [step]. Until you know them and to become close and then you can begin to investigate what happens and what are the problems of that place.
>
> VH: So you have to make a relationship?
>
> Mila: Yes. Go with them, stay with them or walk with them. That is the best thing. Then they can maybe tell you about other people.
>
> VH: So you always do that through the village chief or the chairman?
>
> Mila: Yes we make a relationship with the group chairman and of course you have to first ask about the situation [because] of course the chairman knows everything. So you ask what their problem is and how these people are behaving to each other and what the relationships are. Yes we can talk to the chairman first - maybe if he has relatives in this place or if he has friends [who

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[32] Village

he can put you in touch with]. And when you have that friend or relative you have the first step into the leaders [in their communities].

VH: And then do you ask the same questions of other people?

Mila: Yes, the same. Sometimes our process is very conservative. You must first talk to the leaders. Because if you don't first talk to the elders, they can make you have to leave. That is the custom of the Moro people.

This process was described as a necessary precursor to the introduction of any Development project, since the community leaders will reject any project introduced without showing them respect by adhering to this protocol.   Further to this, as Mila explained, the community leaders have important information about the community, and talking with them can give Development workers a solid starting point. It also helps in establishing connections with appropriate people, since the leaders are able to recommend and initiate contacts. Aware that they need to refer to a variety of sources, in order to build a coherent and accurate picture, workers then begin a process of building networks which will form the foundation for their continued work in that community, including asking the same sort of questions Mila described asking village officials.

What Mila describes is reminiscent of some of the strategies discussed in Chapter Five (see page 161) regarding the ways researchers establish connections. There are clear protocols that must be followed, and personal connections are important, yet they can also be limiting, since they may dictate who is contacted in the early stages. More tellingly, these communications can also dictate who is overlooked or excluded, since community leaders may also have specific networks and strong views on whose opinion is valid. Leaders can, therefore, function as gate-keepers, potentially controlling who

participates, as well as making the ultimate decision about whether a project proceeds.

Some practitioners described a form of assimilation with the community as being necessary for building relationships, suggesting that living with the community was the best way to engage with the people. According to Bonifacio, 'the community worker should be with the community themselves - you have to start where they are and work together.' Yoyong took an even stronger stance, saying that 'the lifestyle of NGO workers should be modelled on the lifestyle of the peasant: they must know how to farm, how to harvest.' In his organisation, a person must satisfy these criteria if s/he wishes to be hired, since this would help to build the trust of the community. Trust forms the foundation of effective and honest communication, and therefore just as the researcher needs to establish trust, it is also integral to the success of Development practitioners' work. This assimilation was also intended to help Development workers to gain a more thorough understanding of the community, and it is another way in which Development workers can be expected to cross borders in their daily work. They must step fully into the "world" of the community, adapting seamlessly to the community's context, and must also be able to function effectively in the office environment of his/her NGO. Bonifacio and Yoyong's comments demonstrate that this is not just an externally imposed expectation, but also one that the Development workers expect of themselves and feel is important.

Development workers described situations in which they engaged with the community to determine their needs and their desired response, with some

practitioners (including Theresa's focus group) mentioning that communities initiate contact with the NGO to discuss a proposal they have devised. Many respondents also spoke of empowering communities to control their own development. Norman exemplified this when he explained that his organisation operates on the basis of a

> basic structure we call a share group ... we mobilise a certain share group... and we develop leaders for that share group [and] have five or six share groups in a community, and those share group leaders are the ones that mobilise.

He explained that these share groups become the fora for discussion and decision-making regarding the Development program. The groups are small units that network with each other, but which function in a ripple effect, with the leader 'mobilising' the group members, who in turn mobilise other community members. In this way, the community members share responsibility for the work, learn experientially, and are then ready to take control of future plans once the project is over. This is consistent with empowerment approaches to Participation, which see power and structural transformation as vitally important aspects of the Development process (as discussed in Chapter Four).

Several respondents also discussed "community organising" as a primary Development strategy, using the term to mean "organising" people into units (such as POs or grassroots organisations) and working with them until they became self-sufficient, able to make their own analyses and plans, and to find ways to put them into practice (including gaining access to external funding). Nina praised the success of 'organising' in the Philippines, saying that

'Development work in the Philippines has come a long way.' Harry explained the importance of this approach, saying that

> people in organised areas tend to be more politically active ... be more involved in community issues, to participate more in seminars … [but] in areas that are not organised, you see people say, "oh no I won't join your meeting because my Amo (my landlord) might dismiss me."

The Development workers were confident about their impact using this strategy, feeling that it was taken up well by the community and that it promoted sustainability.

Development workers described their work as beginning from the premise that the community would take it over when they had developed the capacity. The practitioners also recognised that many communities were already 'strong and organised,' in the words of Eman, who was in a focus group which consisted of five males working for the same NGO with a secure partnership based on religious affiliation (interview 39, 18 November 2003). His point was that these communities understand their situation and what they need to do to change it as they want to, and have the capacity to make these changes. This perspective appears to be informed by Freire's conscientisation approach in which people are encouraged to recognise their own ability and agency, as well as the structures that disadvantage them.

Another aspect of this sensitivity to context was recognising how particular Development strategies would interact with culture. Harry pointed to the way that people are sometimes supported by otherwise oppressive cultural systems, creating an obstacle for communities that wish to address that oppression. An example of this is the haçienda system introduced by the Spanish colonisers,

which Harry explained had particular cultural features that were oppressive at the same time as supporting the oppressed:

> There is a culture of subservience, of depending on the landowner for everything. Economically, people are almost entirely dependent on these haçienderos - for money for a baptism, for trips to the cities, and so on. If the landowner says no, the sugar workers say "ok, we'll just stay in our barracks" … the majority of our sugar workers are virtually working for the land owners as slaves ...

> The other side of this culture of submission is the culture of extravagance ... [whereby] the few people who have money have such an extravagant lifestyle ... and the elite are doing this systematically to look generous ... they organise huge fiestas ... almost monthly, with so much drink, food, etcetera, etcetera.

The result is that the people working on the haçiendas are heavily indebted to their landlords, and entirely dependent on them for the moments of generosity which allow them to reach beyond mere survival – to pay for milestone celebrations, to enable them to visit family, and to give them a festive break from the daily grind. This meant that while these ordinary Filipinos might long for a life without the pressures of being a tenant farmer, they know that they could not survive without their connection with their landlord. Consciousness of this kind of complication was perhaps a key factor in the interest of Development workers in increasing community members' awareness of the structural issues that maintain poverty, and encouraging them to work towards eliminating these. According to Chambers, 'seeking and enabling the expression and analysis of complex and diverse information and judgements' is one of the key factors in participatory learning and analysis (1997, p. 157).

Projects that teach people a little about their rights or that give them access to other small sources of income were seen by Filipino practitioners to be important in enabling these people to reflect on their situation and see that they were entitled to demand change, and could play an integral role in bringing about that change.

Context-Sensitive Practice in Cambodia

As in the Philippines, Development workers in Cambodia spoke of the importance of grounding their Development work in personal relationships. Heng is the Director of a rural NGO that engages in a wide variety of work and does not have a consistent funding partner (interview 3, 22 September 2003). He was a refugee and has worked with NGOs since his return to Cambodia. Like Mila in the Philippines, Heng described the diverse processes his organisation used to ensure effective and accurate collection of information:

> We go to the commune to find out which villages have most poor people in them. Then we go to the village leader to talk about it. We ask what the problems are, then we have a process for narrowing down the list to the poorest people. We talk to the VDC [but then we look at our results] and we might say, no, this is the relation of the village leader or this is the relation of the VDC. So we need to double check our results. Then we go to each family on this shorter list and ask them about what they have and what they can do.

In both countries, therefore, the formal channels are very important for satisfying custom and gaining information, but it was also recognised as important to use more than one source of information. These sources were then compared, with careful attention to distorting factors such as personal

relationships and power dynamics. Sophorn and Pros are a female and male Development worker respectively, working in regional areas of south-eastern Cambodia with the Cambodian partner of an international NGO (interview 10, 1 October 2003). They were in a focus group together and were among the minority of Cambodian respondents who believed that these relationships should be built on a live-in relationship, agreeing that in their organisation 'the community development worker lives in the village with the people because this helps them really understand villagers' problems.'

Practitioners in both countries described the initial points of contact as the most important aspect of participatory Development, since they laid the foundations for the rest of their work. Vinet stated that the investment at the beginning was critical, because 'if you fail at the beginning you fail forever.' After this initial period of relationship-building, practitioners adopted less formalised procedures, preferring to work with existing peasant organisations or village structures, or to establish them if they did not exist already. An informal approach was described as building on these relationships and using them to ensure that Development reaches all of the people in the community and increases their capacity. An important aspect of the process was adapting to the local context and gradually transforming existing structures or organisations to make them more inclusive. This requires significant skills and sensitivity on the part of Development workers, but all of those interviewed had many years of experience in Development work to draw on, except for Marites, a young practitioner in the Philippines (who participated in a focus group with three colleagues, interview 32, 13 November 2003), who described being carefully mentored by more senior staff in her organisation.

Listening was also a very important part of this process. Vinet's comment on this was quite interesting, as she said

> we need to make [the community members] understand, make them confident in the project. By listening to them … sometimes we want one thing but it does not fit with their needs ... we have to listen to them.

Vinet clarified that the community's needs must be the primary concern, indicating that her emphasis is on listening to the community in order to establish mutual understanding as well as to match the project to the needs and thereby gain the confidence of the people. Another Development worker, Vichet, explained that where the communities were not already confident, the role of the Development worker was to help the community to 'share the vision – we are there as a facilitator but they do it.'

Like their Filipino counterparts, Cambodian Development workers explained the need for projects to be tailored to the specific situation. One of the reasons for this was given by Bunna, who stated that 'it is really important to understand people, not only the whole context, because I believe that individuals have a lot of impact on the process of Development, of making change.' Buna's statement highlights the agency of individual community members, picking up on the notion that the community is not simply a blank slate on which Development is imposed, and that 'intervention interacts with people's experience' (Long 1992, p. 20). Adding a human dynamic fundamentally affects the ability of a project to reach its planned outcomes, since truly participatory projects will be influenced and changed by all who participate, just as the participants will be changed by the project.

Bunna gave an example to illustrate the need to be attentive and flexible:

> the theory itself is not sufficient because theory may be based on a certain experience, and ... is not enough for every single context. And so we try out [an idea] and sometimes we have to change it when the situation does not improve and people could not manage the program. For example in 1994, we started a training scheme which we based on the participatory approach and tried to understand the needs of the people by having public consultations and tried to [encourage people to] contribute ideas into projects. But when we actually did the work, it turned out that the need was greater than what they had expressed [in the planning period] and so we have to change the program because the first scheme didn't meet their needs.

This requires a high level of skill, as well as the confidence to act with autonomy. This is of utmost importance, since one of the primary principles of participatory learning and analysis is the ability of practitioners to take responsibility for decisions and to decide appropriate strategies, 'rather than relying on the authority of manuals, or on rigid rules' (Chambers 1997, pp. 157-8). Development workers in both countries reported doing this by adjusting projects because either they did not meet community needs, or evaluation revealed that they were ineffective or were harmful. Relationships with community members enabled Development workers to discover this information, and to tailor projects to remedy or avoid such problems. Flexibility and experience added to the workers' ability to respond to each specific situation and to develop strategies to enable that particular community to meet its specified goals for the project. Despite the significant commitment this requires, Development workers felt it a sound investment, because working

this way meant 'the changes will stick because the ideas come from the people themselves,' according to Lida, who is the female Director of a women's NGO that was set up by an international organisation, and which now has regular funding from another organisation (interview 12, 14 October 2003).

Bunna also described ways in which the strategies might be adjusted from project to project, stating that the approach he takes

> depends on the situation, it depends on the circumstances. We try to use all kinds of participatory approaches. On some particular project for example, like alternative rice farming, we would have communities all come together to discuss ... all the components of the project and what we're going to do, what's the objective, what we're going to make or use as a resource for that particular project, how many people need to benefit, all these kinds of things we discuss as a group. Somehow for *some* projects we have a small group decision rather than a big group. Probably sometimes we have only staff members of the organization to discuss the possible need to build a project. And from those ideas themselves we process an issue into an organizational initiative, and bring that initiative to the communities, and discuss that and approve the initiative and approve a plan and you have to think as well about who's going to support those ideas. And *sometimes* we are influenced by what is available, rather than just what the needs and the community are.

Bunna reveals quite clearly the set of decisions made by Development workers when they approach a project, and the variety of points at which they may involve community members. He reflects that there are different levels of participation for different projects, and in some cases a judgement is made that for particular reasons, certain decisions will be made by a smaller group of people. The circumstances that might prompt such decisions were not

explained by Bunna, though he did indicate that resource availability could have a significant effect on decisions. This reveals that there is not a clear binary between participatory and non-participatory organisations or workers, and also demonstrates the power of the Development worker or organisation to decide whether to be participatory. Whether the agent in this example was the organisation or the worker is unclear, since Bunna is the Director of this small organisation, and he did not explain the process for making these decisions. What was clear in the interviews, however, was that many practitioners are confident to adjust projects and approaches to be more compatible with the context that they encounter in each community.

As in the Philippines, a critical understanding of Cambodian culture was seen to be necessary to ensure that participatory strategies are relevant and effective in this country. For example, Sophal reflected that the strong sense of hierarchy in Cambodian society could make it difficult for Cambodian people to adopt the values and behaviours promoted in participatory Development projects, since 'Development turns the hierarchy upside down and people must respect those below them – and some people struggle with that.' The extent to which they struggle was pointed out by Ruth (an expatriate), who noted that

> the irony is [that] to not play the bigger person role means that you'll lose respect in the eyes of those who are under you, so it's a Catch-22, in that if you actually become too much like the people, they can think, "Well what are you about any way?"

This is consistent with several Cambodian comments to the effect that attempting to reject some of the trappings of power also results in losing respect and thus losing the power itself – and this is important in effecting

Development, since some authority is necessary for the worker to be able to facilitate key processes and present alternatives. The challenge for Development workers is to express authority in ways that are recognisable to communities, at the same time as being agents for transformation of that power according to participatory models. Jackson acknowledges that this can be difficult, for example when field workers attempt to operate in an egalitarian fashion, by sacrificing authority they may also sacrifice a positive response from recipients (1997, p. 246). This is also consistent with O'Leary and Meas' reflection that Cambodian Development workers struggle to function according to both social expectations and development theory or project demands, which may be in conflict with each other (2001, p. v). This was a challenge that did not appear to have an easy solution in either community. It must also be remembered that this research is based on self-reports of practice rather than observations or objective measurements. This necessarily leaves the question of how participatory their practice really is. It is interesting to note that practitioners said "I don't use participatory tools, but I do encourage participation by …" which could be taken to mean that these practitioners do not believe that they are entirely successful in their practice. They may be saying, 'I encourage participation – that is, I *try* to be participatory – but maybe I don't do everything I should do, or everything you expect me to.' The extent to which practitioners' practice reflects their self-reports is a question that is beyond the scope of this research.

The Use of Participatory Tools in the Philippines

A key factor in the flexibility of practitioners appeared to be the greater autonomy they expressed when they did not feel tied to a specific tool, but

were able to proceed with the relational strategies they described. This became particularly evident when Cambodian practitioners discussed the application of participatory strategies or tools, in that they appeared for example to feel constrained by the framework of PRA rather than using it as a springboard that launched them into a more liberated process. This was less evident in the Philippines, where specific participatory tools such as PRA were barely mentioned, even in response to direct questions. Since all the Development workers (in both countries) who said that they or their organisation used PRA worked with an organisation that had secure ongoing funding from overseas bodies, the lesser use of these tools in the Philippines was perhaps linked to the lower prevalence of ongoing relationships with overseas funders and partners (which will be discussed further in Chapter Eight), and therefore of introduced strategies. The only Filipinos to mention participatory tools were Huwan, Jun and Manilyn, volunteers with the same PO working with indigenous and non-indigenous communities in the Visayas, and who were interviewed as a focus group (interview 34, 13 November 2003). They said that although their organisation had a "mapping workshop" planned, 'we're not using many tools from the technical point of view, but go to people and talk to them. It's more of a discussion, facilitating them to open up.' These "informal" strategies constitute the prevalent participatory approach mentioned by Development workers in both countries, consistent with the 'methods, behaviour and attitudes, and sharing' outlined by Chambers as the key to a paradigm of people (1994c, p. 1438).

The Use of Participatory Tools in Cambodia

Although Cambodian practitioners spoke at length in response to a question regarding their use of participatory strategies, they most often described participatory behaviour (for example building relationships with people) rather than the application of participatory tools such as PRA. Most respondents only mentioned these tools in response to a supplementary question specifically enquiring about their use. In contrast, Anna (an expatriate) stated that in spite of practitioners not mentioning them, tools such as PRA are 'generally used' in Cambodia, but are perhaps taken for granted. Amongst the Cambodian practitioners who described using such tools, Sophorn noted that PRA was useful in the early stages of a project, and indicated that it served a particular purpose and should be complemented with other strategies.   Mom is a female Development worker with an NGO that networks and supports other NGOs (interview 15, 15 October 2003), and she reflected that her organisation uses PRA but that practitioners modify it to suit the local situation. She criticised some other Development workers for being insensitive to context, in the sense that

> some people really stick with the theory, to the letter. Like they might be in a community doing PRA, and the community says "we can write, let's do this on paper", but the worker insists on drawing in the dirt because that is what they have been taught. The villagers say, "it's the computer age, we want to write!" but the worker won't listen.

This implies that some workers view PRA as a neat package to be used exactly as given, and that they may not have the confidence or ability to modify it, whereas Mom reported that PRA is useful as long as it is adapted to suit the situation. This raises a question about whether those teaching Development

workers these strategies have fully understood the approach, since Chambers states that 'ground and paper both have pros and cons' as the best medium for mapping, and that these should be assessed by the Development worker, although he does highlight the importance of the "equalising" factor of mapping on the ground (1997, p. 151). It would appear that this element of choice and flexibility has not adequately been communicated to practitioners.

Anna questioned the value of participatory tools, saying 'I have never been in a village in which any of the villagers have referred to a PRA tool or a PRA exercise, or to anything they have gained from the PRA process [unprompted].' Her contention was therefore that PRA was valuable for the implementer or funder rather than the participants, but this also implies that PRA's potential was reached only if people had the courage and autonomy to adapt it. Passionate about the capacity of Cambodians and the need to continue to move towards local control of Development, Anna believed that she risked being labelled as racist by talking about any perceived limitations of Cambodian Development workers (as discussed in Chapter Five), but explained her range of concerns as follows:

> what you have to ask is who is facilitating the tools and what is communicated to the people about the use of those tools, like is it just about meeting donor needs? … I think maybe it's [true] that PRA in itself is good and sprang from somewhere and is really meaningful somewhere, but when you institutionalise it ...For example a syringe is a really great tool, but you don't hand them out for everyone to give each other injections! … You have to ask if you have people who use the tool who have the capacity, the authority, the lack of fear, to modify the tool?

… From my very limited perspective … I believe community development presupposes two things: firstly, that the community has the resources, and secondly, that you have a person who is capable of analytical and conceptual thinking as well as very highly developed and refined facilitation skills. People who are in this kind of work in the West, community mobilisers –well how many people do you know who are involved in this in your circle of friends? It's very, very specialised.

… For example we had this idea about participatory impact assessment, and one manager said to me today, "I think we can do that, we just need training ... on the questions that need to be asked." This is what I mean about analytical thinking and so on [being very specialised skills] because you can't teach that.

Anna points out that these Development approaches require a combination of quite complex skills that is not common in any context, let alone in a post-conflict developing country. This is consistent with the reports of a number of practitioners who appeared to believe – or stated that other practitioners appeared to believe – that the letter of the law is more important than the values underlying PRA strategies. It implies that practitioners are inclined to be participatory, but that participatory training results in practice that is inflexible and not effectively integrated with other aspects of practice. O'Leary and Meas reflect on a similar finding in their study of Cambodian Development workers, in which they discovered that

[t]he attitudes and behaviours which are meant to accompany PRA tools and which, indeed, are what PRA is all about, are generally disregarded – if they were ever transmitted in the training provided to the practitioners and understood in the first place. The focus is the tools (2001, p. 33).

Again, this raises the question of whether the training may be a part of the problem, by not conveying the importance of the underlying philosophy, since Development workers appear not to have understood the underlying values of participatory tools, and yet express participatory attitudes in other aspects of their practice. This implies that Development workers may see their own participatory strategies as different from the Participation sought by the funding body, since they have not recognised the consistency in the values that underpin both their own practice and the strategies required by the funder. Further to Anna's point about capacity, O'Leary and Meas also report that trainers of Development workers appear to have assumed that practitioners possess the ability to facilitate and the capacity to conceptualise and to critically analyse information (2001, p. 82). Where such assumptions are false, the training begins at the wrong point and is falsely targeted, and therefore does not adequately prepare the participants for the planned task. This is not to say that Cambodians are not *able* to implement Development, but rather that there must be awareness about the different approaches adopted in different places in order to tailor training and support to the skills and weaknesses of that specific group. O'Leary and Meas assert that this has not happened in Cambodia, where 'capacity building efforts have largely ignored the attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and coping mechanisms of the practitioner (as well as the target group)' and training has been conducted 'as though the project existed in a vacuum' (2001, p. 115).

Chambers summarises the 'precepts and principles' that embody the desired attitudes and behaviours as

sit down, listen, watch and learn …use your own best judgement at all times …unlearn … be optimally prepared …embrace error … relax … hand over the stick … [assume that] they can do it … ask them … [and] be nice to people … (1997, p. 216).

This list reveals areas that some practitioners in both countries may need to work on, such as the confidence to exercise their own judgement, but it also demonstrates areas in which they are already strong. Many of the Development workers explained that villagers 'can do it' already, and they described consistently asking villagers for a variety of information (though not necessarily for advice), and many talked about the need to take time (relax) in this work.

What appears to happen as a result of this misunderstanding or misapplication of the tools is that they become an *impediment* to the achievement of Development goals, because Development workers feel constrained by the rules. Ironically, these tools are thus used *parallel* to the participatory approaches described by practitioners rather than as an integral component of those approaches, in the sense that those who use PRA seem to use it and then "get on with the real work" of establishing relationships and working with community members. PRA becomes the honour badge of participatory practice, while the more authentically participatory strategies are kept quiet and separate.

Conclusion

These interviews have demonstrated that Development workers are already working in a participatory manner, and that the introduction of tools such as PRA is less useful to local Development workers than it might be to foreigners who may be aided in developing strategies to make initial links and learn about the communities in which they work, or to funding bodies that want a way to monitor whether their implementing partner is acting in a manner consistent with that agreed. A more relevant question might therefore be how to make the funders aware of the breadth of strategies already employed by Development workers to attain Participation and to achieve the outcomes desired in the paradigm of people. In this respect, a key function of tools such as PRA may be to demonstrate to local level workers that funders are (in principle) interested in the local people, to draw attention to the need to be aware of the ways in which people are marginalised by traditional or introduced structures, and to explore ways to ensure their inclusion wherever possible, appropriate, and desired.

The participatory approach outlined by Development workers was consistent with that outlined at the "strong" end of the participation spectrum illustrated on page 115, but they also rejected some of the strategies (or relegated them to a less central position). The overall approach described by Development workers was consistent with the paradigm advocated by Chambers, focusing on people rather than things. What is interesting is that it does not appear to be a paradigm shift for the Development workers, but rather seems to reflect the paradigm in which they already function. Development workers saw nothing odd or unusual in focusing on people and recognising the way the context

(including individuals) affected any project. Thus while the participatory approach may call for a paradigm shift within Northern Development circles, this shift could also be described as reflecting a move towards the paradigm of Southern Development workers. This would explain why tools that have apparently been very useful in enabling Northern Development workers to be inclusive in their practice appear to inhibit rather than liberate Southern Development workers.

These Development workers demonstrated consistency with Post-Development by agreeing with Escobar's statement that 'there are no grand alternatives that can be applied to all places or all situations' (1995a, p. 222). They departed from the Post-Development position, however, by extending this to encompass the fundamental importance of context in any Development situation and the need to tailor Development to the specific community and individuals, turning to participatory Development strategies. There was a perception that not all Development workers achieved this, and that some workers were impeded by their participatory tools, but practitioners generally felt that appropriately applied Participation was an effective response to context. This reflected the interactive nature of Development, rather than the modernisation approach of laying a Development project over an existing community structure and expecting the flow of influence to be unidirectional from the project and developers to the community. Development workers clearly rejected this and worked to tailor every project to its context. This does not equate to a perception that the local situations were already ideal, but rather that change was only possibly by acknowledging the reality and working within it.

These responses reveal that Development workers are committed to both Development and Participation, but that they are quite discerning about the forms of each that they support. Thus while they do not support the Post-Development rejection of Development, neither are they critically accepting of Participation. Practitioners demonstrated support for Development that is clearly focused on the grassroots and does not reinforce the power or wealth of minorities. This implies consistency with Post-Development critiques of the locus of power within some expressions of Development, but practitioners also acknowledged that Development can have effective forms, particularly those that have the sort of grassroots proximity ascribed to NGOs. Development worker perspectives on Development and participation provide a good framework in which to address their attitudes to Development's impact on culture. This chapter has demonstrated that Development workers are supportive of specific forms of Development and that they take a participatory approach consistent with a paradigm of people. In this context, Chapter Seven explores the impact Development workers in each country perceive participatory Development to have on culture.

7 Cultural Transformation through Development

This chapter considers Development workers' attitudes to culture and cultural change, particularly in relation to the impact of participatory Development. In this context the chapter is fundamentally concerned with the Post-Development charge that Development is a tool of modernisation, which views traditional cultures as an impediment to "progress" and thus aims to replace them with modern cultural forms. Practitioners in both countries discussed a variety of contemporary and historical influences on culture that had important effects on the dominant culture of their respective countries. A number of Development workers in each country demonstrated nostalgia toward the "purity" of Filipino culture prior to outside influence, or Cambodian culture prior to the drastic social engineering of the Khmer Rouge. Historical inputs were not the only cultural influence cited, with a small number of contemporary inputs also mentioned, most notably the media.

Forces of Cultural Change

Filipino Development workers in this research were particularly concerned about what they perceived as the Westernisation of culture in the Philippines, pointing to colonisation as a major cause of this. Their comments in interviews demonstrated that they see cultural change as negative, and desire to return to an "authentic" unadulterated Filipino culture, in a position that was broadly consistent with the bounded approach to culture outlined in Chapter Three.

Most Filipino Development workers stated that Filipino culture had been changed fundamentally by a variety of influences over the last four centuries, and saw this as a cause for grave concern. They sought to reject all unmediated external cultural influences and advocated a return to an indigenous and authentic pre-colonial culture. Comments to this effect included Brandon's reflection that Filipino culture is 'quite a mixture of different nationalities [so] it's hard to say that there is still a Filipino identity,' and Theresa's assertion that 'until now we still have to discover a genuine Filipino because they colonised even [our] minds.'

Edgar spoke at length about the impact of external influences on the Philippines, saying

> [we have] a kind of distorted culture. We put the blame on colonisation. The era of colonisation was also the demise of Filipinos culturally, socially, economically, politically to develop in an autonomous manner. There is plenty of proof that before the Spanish arrival, the Filipinos had the ability to independently grow as a nation. Colonisation put an end to the Filipino right to develop as a nation… There was a transition between the colonisers without reform. [The USA] even maintained the haçienda system. They did not want genuine land reform because they needed its very basic social components to survive as colonisers ... they [could then] make contracts with landlords not peasants. Now we have a puppet government, with colonial masters and with poor people. That is Filipino culture, [but] there are surviving cultures like IPs [Indigenous People].

These attitudes were consistent with a bounded perspective on culture, which perceives cultures as clearly delineated, static entities which are destroyed if changed. These Development workers spoke of the positive aspects of pre-

colonial Filipino culture and the ways that this contrasted with contemporary external influences. Practitioners in the Philippines shared a consistent position on culture that viewed external cultural forces as dangerous, and only positive if they enabled Filipinos to re-establish what practitioners perceived as their original culture.

Cambodian Development workers were also wary of Westernisation but were less concerned about the idea of cultural change more generally, expressing a belief that while culture may change in ways that are more or less positive, change itself is normal. Bunna explained this most clearly, as follows:

> Culturally there's always change, from one to another set of traditions. However the effect or the results of that change has a lot to do with what the inputs are. [For example] there was the war input, and traditions changed as a result of that. But now in the time of peace, they have community development [as an input], they have a new economic development in different ways, and there is a lot of change, in different ways, according to the context and the way people are thinking and respond to those inputs.

Development is thus one of a raft of influences on culture in Cambodia, and the "inputs" differ, as do people's responses to those inputs. Aspects of several of the scapes in Appadurai's (1996) cultural flow model were mentioned in the interviews as amongst positive cultural inputs in this country, namely the technoscapes, ethnoscapes and financescapes, with Development workers pointing to the flows of capital, people and technology that had directly and positively changed Cambodia and Cambodians. In general, Cambodian respondents felt that there was some sense in which the essence of Cambodian culture was continuous, despite all of the changes. They were unhappy with

cultural change when they felt that the change was externally driven and that they were unable to mediate or influence it, as with mediascapes, which were viewed in both countries as negative and unmediated cultural influences.

In general, however, Development was viewed as a positive input, as can be seen in a comment from Rith, a male Development worker with the Cambodian arm of an international NGO with secure funding who works in a regional area (interview 8, 26 September 2003). He noted that Development is a constructive factor within a chain of cultural influences, saying,

> during the Khmer Rouge regime they changed people's culture, their traditions. When the fighting ended, that changed culture. When Development came, that changed culture … [for example] Buddhism was destroyed during the Khmer Rouge regime, now Development starts it again.

In this understanding, Development has a reconstructive role that extends beyond areas such as livelihood, physical health and visible reconstruction, to include culture. The Cambodian attitudes to cultural change expressed in these interviews are consistent with Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity, whereby cultures are constantly negotiated and recreated in the face of different influences.

In spite of this difference, respondents in both countries were very supportive of the cultural change when it was a result of participatory Development, since they viewed this as a way to strengthen local culture and reinforce or reintroduce traditional values. I propose that a key factor in the perception of Development as a benign force is the ability of Development workers to mediate it at a grassroots level in spite of controls applied by the funding body.

Negative Cultural Forces in the Philippines

Prime amongst the cultural influences Development workers raised were historical factors, which were seen to have had a strong negative influence on culture in both countries, most notably colonisation in the Philippines and the Khmer Rouge period in Cambodia. Like Edgar's comments about Filipino culture being 'distorted' (page 248) Eman's reflection that 'before the coming of the Spanish we had our own culture' demonstrates a post-colonial cultural consciousness that pervaded the responses of many of the Filipino respondents. They tended to refer to a strong culture and social structure that predated colonisation but which was broken down by the imposition of colonial structures which continue to define the shape of contemporary lives. It is an interesting position, given that the Philippines did not exist 'as a nation' prior to colonisation, but the argument nonetheless reveals anger about the cultural impact of colonisation, dissatisfaction with many of the structures which have come to characterise Filipino society and politics, and lack of faith in those people who now exercise power within these structures. It contrasts with Pratt's position that cultures 'are not "overthrown" like empires, or "taken over" like capital cities, or "razed" like temples and palaces' (1994, p. 26). Cultures are not erased as a result of colonisation, and in fact Pratt would hold that Filipino culture has arisen precisely *because* of its colonisation, since she asserts that cultures are constructed through such processes of domination (1994, p. 26) and thus many of the characteristics practitioners value are a direct result of Filipino responses to colonisation. The processes of domination lead to a culture that is shaped by the colonial experience but is very different

from the culture of its colonisers, in contrast with the assertions of Filipino practitioners.

Whether one believes that Filipino culture has been destroyed by colonisation, or that it is a constructive response to colonisation, Filipino Development workers still reject the outcome. This is demonstrated in an assessment by Anita, a female Development worker with an NGO that has secure funding, who has worked for a local cultural PO as well as a very large and well funded NGO (interview 33, 13 November 2003), that Filipino culture's defining characteristics are that it is 'colonial and feudal,' a description consistently used in interviews and in the many orientation sessions I received. Bong (interview 24, 4 November 2003), a male volunteer with a local PO with little funding, operating in a regional area of Mindanao, reflected that the Philippines needs to 'resurrect' a politically and economically nationalist culture, because this would secure a foundation on which the nation could break free from its semi-colonial position and rebuild a uniquely Filipino culture. He recognised, however, that this would be an long process, since even the education system continues to bear the hallmarks of its colonial origins, with children still taught that 'A is for Apple, but you do not see a single apple in the Philippines.' Bounded notions of culture need an Other, since identity is defined through contrast (Bauman 1973, p. 35), and the former colonisers provide a clear Other for the Philippines. Four centuries of colonisation were thus charged with having replaced an indigenous Filipino culture with a patchwork of its colonisers' cultures.

While colonisation was the primary cultural input discussed, Filipino Development workers also reported contemporary factors they perceived as destructive influences on Filipino culture. Several practitioners reported that the military is used by the government to repress dissent and implement its policies, and that military force can cause cultural change by 'forc[ing] a culture to be a subject: to dictation, to domination, to oppression,' according to Mayong, who is a male Development worker who works with an NGO with a secure overseas partner based on a shared religious affiliation (interview 29, 12 November 2003). This military force was viewed as particularly problematic, especially for indigenous communities. Enrique is the Assistant Director of an NGO network based in a regional area of Mindanao (interview 23, 1 November 2003). His organisation works intensively with indigenous groups and secures funding on a project-by-project basis from a variety of sources. He and Bong reported that indigenous groups are a particular target for persecution by the military, both on a day-to-day basis and also in terms of being forced off their lands, for example to create space for a military base, as Nina described. Mila gave a very specific example of the way military intervention affected culture in the region she worked in, where 'most of the men stay inside because [if they go outside] they are salvaged[33] by the military.' This meant that men could no longer perform their traditional earning role, but the threat of military violence had a positive effect on women's roles since women were no longer expected to stay in the home all the time. Now, according to Mila, the men 'need the help of the wife' to fill roles that men had to give up such as earning income and running errands. As well as changing gender roles, the military's

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[33] As discussed in Chapter Six, this is a practice whereby men are taken away by the military and either found murdered or never seen again.

impact on culture in this region has included fostering fear and thereby discouraging expressions of dissent. In response, women have learned through Development projects to stand up collectively against the military, and thus prevent them from taking the men away. Mila's organisation has had significant success in this regard, such that

> the military do not come [here] any more because the women now turn out and show unity… So no man can be salvaged anymore in that way as long as the organization exists. But before, many, many, many, many men were killed.

In this example, Development was part of a response that has built on cultural changes from another source to constitute a response to a negative cultural, economic and social influence, but this is not always possible.

The media was also mentioned by some respondents as a source of cultural change, although this was not mentioned as often as colonisation or the military. When the media was discussed, the contention was generally that it changes children's behaviour, as can be seen in the following focus group conversation between Nina and Mayong:

> Nina: Kids watch tv -

> Mayong: - then they start to talk back to their parents in a very discourteous manner. They see that in other countries people talk to their professors as if they were equal, call their parents by their first names... and some of us are very sad.…

> Nina: here in the city I don't think any Filipino culture remains because of the bombardment of the .. like the tv, the movies, the dances, the songs

> Mayong: there is a uniformity that results from all this fast information... it does not uphold the cultural uniqueness of peoples. It makes us all wear Levi

jeans. ... so you are made to feel guilty if you are not wearing the garment of the uniform culture

Nina: in the schools, we used to dance [Filipino] dances and [Filipino] songs -

Mayong: and eat fruits -

Nina: but not now. In the past the teachers would teach us those Philippine songs and dances ... but observing these past years because of the tv, I can hardly see that any more ... even a toddler would dance what they see on the tv-

Mayong: - on MTV

Nina and Mayong discussed a range of cultural areas that can be influenced by the media, namely music, clothing, food and personal interactions. In each case, they viewed the change as negative, representing a move from being uniquely Filipino to an expression of 'uniform culture,' which is indicative of the spread of a dominant culture – namely Westernisation. Television is charged by these practitioners with changing the way people interact and their attitudes towards indigenous cultural expression, with children and youth particularly vulnerable to this influence.

A small number of respondents in the Philippines also suggested that poverty was having an impact on culture, as in Bonifacio's statement that in the Philippines 'with the economic situation, everyone seems to be individualistic, just thinking of themselves [in order] to survive, and possibly losing their culture'. The perception was that extreme need could override people's drive to maintain culture. In this context, some respondents acknowledged that the West could be quite attractive for many Filipinos, as described by Mayong, who reported that in a local university study,

> there was a questionnaire given to children of elementary age, [asking] what they wanted to be when they grow up, and I think nine out of ten of them said 'I want to be a foreigner.' That is an actual survey ... The reason for that is that foreigners here earn more money, they look better, they wear better clothes.

It is not only from television and other media that people get this impression, but also from some expatriate Development staff who 'are driving better cars [and] their children are going to better schools,' making their wealth obvious, according to Mayong. Thus there was a reluctant acknowledgement that some Filipinos *want* to Westernise, motivated by the attraction of a lifestyle that appears significantly more comfortable and easy than their own. The practitioners felt, however, that the attraction of the West had less to do with the West itself than with the poor conditions in which so many Filipinos live. Poverty reduced people's resources to such an extent that they could no longer make choices that privileged cultural survival, and practitioners implied that if poverty, inequality and injustice in the Philippines could be addressed, then Filipinos would prefer their 'own' culture, but for the time being many Filipinos viewed Filipino culture itself as the cause of such problems.

Filipino practitioners felt that these varied cultural inputs contributed to the loss of Filipino culture, and they did not express a belief that these inputs were transformed or indigenised. Rather, practitioners felt that the old culture had died and been replaced with something foreign. It is interesting to note that there was as much concern about internal influences on culture such as poverty and the military as about external sources of change, and that Development workers generally attributed these internal influences to the work of the

Filipino government, which they felt had interests divided between personal gain and pleasing the USA.

Negative Cultural Forces in Cambodia

In Cambodia there was also a consistent referral to the cultural impact of a past event, namely the period encompassing the lead-up to the Khmer Rouge seizure of power, the three years under their rule, and the decade of civil war that followed their defeat by the Vietnamese. As Vinet explained,

> in Cambodia there [have been] many problems – like the war and so on. People suffered a lot, they have mental trauma. And now there is no infrastructure … as a result Cambodians lost a lot of tradition and culture … for example in that time if we did something at the community level, we did not pay people, we just worked together, there was solidarity. But after the Pol Pot regime, much of that solidarity, helping each other disappeared, because people's main concern was just living.

One of the primary effects of the Khmer Rouge period was that it made life so difficult for people that their sole focus became survival, which led to a variety of cultural changes, echoing Filipino Development workers' comments on the effects of poverty. The general feeling amongst Cambodian practitioners was that the Khmer Rouge period had successfully attained Pol Pot's vision of Year Zero, in which all of Cambodia returned to a peasant economy without class divisions, a blank slate on which he could draw his social project. Practitioners felt that he had achieved this by creating a new Cambodian society that was disconnected from a wide variety of values, both indigenous and imported, including many of the features of Cambodian society that ordinary Cambodians valued. Heng graphically illustrated the means by which this was achieved,

saying that 'during the Pol Pot regime, everything [you were told] you must do. And if you do not do, [you were] killed.' Extending this, Sophal stated that the danger of being killed, or of dying of starvation meant that 'people developed the culture by themselves as a result of the conflict ... everyone had to develop a new way of life: anything to survive.' The impact of this had not ended with the fall of the regime, and in fact Development workers report that Cambodian people are still behaving in ways they learned under the Khmer Rouge. The regime's impact on diverse aspects of culture was described by many Development workers, including Vichet, who pointed to the breakdown of the sense of community; Mom, who said that people feared for their lives if they said 'what was in their hearts'; and Vinet who noted that people were punished for taking initiative. Some of this perceived danger continued under the post-Khmer Rouge Communist regime, but cultural change was also perpetuated by other means, for example in the State making decisions for people about their education or profession, according to Mom.

While references to the impact of the Khmer Rouge period dominated discussions of cultural change, there was also an undercurrent of lament about the impact of the media on Cambodian culture, and as in the Philippines, the media was seen as particularly affecting young people. Ratana is a middle-aged female NGO Assistant Director who works with an NGO network organisation and she has studied overseas (interview 19, 22 October 2003). She said that television and movies 'always promote other countries' culture, they forget to put [movies/television programs] together for the young generation about our culture' with the result that 'our young people forget the culture.' This meant that young people were learning behaviour that was less

respectful, more individualistic and more consumer-focused, as was the perception in the Philippines.

Ruth, one of the expatriates in Cambodia, pointed out that where Cambodians were concerned about cultural change, Westernisation was not necessarily the spectre haunting them since many Cambodians perceive a much more pressing threat in their immediate neighbours in Vietnam and Thailand. Thus there was a shared fear of external cultural influences, but it was more specific and more proximate than the ubiquitous West. Ruth stated that,

> always the big threat in their mind [is] the Thai culture, not Western culture. [For example] just recently the minister of information or communications (or whoever it is that governs the tv stations) said that there now has to be seventy-five percent Cambodian content on the tv, because there were too many Thai programs, which were deteriorating Cambodian culture.

> So it's not a fear of the West, it's a fear still of Vietnamese and Thai cultures coming in on them, which is just so strong with hundreds and hundreds of years of feeling afraid that those two nations will come in. If you think that [Cambodians] are only ten, well eleven million people in the middle of that, where the Vietnamese are something like fifty-four million, and the Thais are forty-five million or something to that effect, you're a small, small pea in the middle of a great big pod around you that comes in on you. [One result is] that violence is often targeted at Vietnamese people. People believe that Vietnamese spies are still throughout the country here, left behind [after the Vietnamese occupation]. People can tell you where the Vietnamese soldiers have been left behind when [the Vietnamese forces] left the country.

Similar comments came from Samnang, who has worked with community development NGOs and international organisations since he was a refugee during the Khmer Rouge era, and who is now an advisor with an NGO (interview 6, 23 September 2003). He outlined a brief history of the various influences on Cambodia, which spanned 'the French then the Japanese then the Americans', followed by the Khmer Rouge 'with the backing of Chinese government,' then the Vietnamese 'liberation' and the ensuing regime 'backed by the US government.' On this basis, he concluded that 'we still have some influence of whatsoever, I don't know: Western, Eastern, middle ...'. Sok also stated that 'neighbouring cultures are influencing Cambodian culture, but they cannot change Cambodian culture,' expressing no fear about external influences over-running Cambodian culture. Sok is a Development worker employed by the government in a sector which he has many years of experience working in for NGOs (interview 5, 23 September 2003). Thus Cambodian concerns about culture are not simply about a single source, just as Filipino concerns outlined a significant contemporary influence of the USA, as well as the impact of Spanish and US colonisation. These pressures constituted a threat to their cultural liberty, their ability to maintain and practise their culture, and the fear was that this threat would be enacted not just by stealth (as through the media) but also by force, as in their past experiences of colonisation and the Khmer Rouge.

In spite of listing a variety of cultural influences and labelling some as negative, on the whole Cambodian practitioners adopted a hybrid approach to culture, whereby introduced change was seen to lead to new cultural forms that combine aspects of both local and introduced cultures. They did not seek to

resist all of these cultural flows, because they recognised cultural change as a staple, but neither did this translate to an uncritical acceptance of all cultural flows. Practitioners clearly distinguished a small number of influences that were generally detrimental, and Development was not one of these influences, although in both countries, Development workers recognised that it had potential for negative cultural impact.

Practitioners from the two countries named similar forces of cultural change, but viewed their effects differently. Filipino Development workers saw all change as negative, while Cambodian practitioners believed that the effects of cultural change depended on many factors. Responses were remarkably consistent within each of the countries. In contrast, attitudes to the effect of Development on culture were also consistent between the two countries, with practitioners taking a generally positive approach to this. One aspect of practitioners' responses that emerged quite clearly from the results was that they recognise cultural change as an explicit goal of their work.

Development's Perceived Impact on Culture

When asked 'do you think that Development changes [Cambodian/ Filipino] culture?' a small number of Development workers spoke of a detrimental effect, explaining that they felt that there was a capacity for Development to bring about unwelcome changes. This occurred when the implementation or motivation was poor, and relates to the distinction outlined in Chapter Six between 'good' and 'bad' Development. In contrast, other forms of Development were seen as a very positive influence on culture, rejuvenating it in areas negatively affected by other cultural forces outlined above.

Talking about cultural change, Anna (an expatriate in Cambodia) made a distinction between the sensitivity to context described in the previous chapter, and being "culturally appropriate," saying that,

> Nothing we are doing in these villages at all is culturally appropriate. If we were doing what is culturally appropriate, we would be back in Phnom Penh and the village chief would be deciding what was going on and that would be the end of the story and everybody would be going yes, yes, yes, *ba,*[34] *ba, ba* - and all the women would be nodding their heads because they don't have the right to say *ja*, and that would be the end of it.
>
> And so when we go in and form little groups, that's not appropriate. When we go and sit down with the government and see somebody that's higher than us and tell them "we think you should be doing that", that is not appropriate.

Anna recognises that Development focuses on many aspects of culture and tries to change them, for example increasing equality between men and women, but this does not equate to a disregard for culture and context. In fact, comprehension and sensitivity are particularly necessary to any attempt to change culture. Development workers were still critical about Development-driven cultural change, and in both countries, Development workers described Development as having a complex role in cultural change.

Culturally Destructive Development in the Philippines

Lydia is a female Development worker with a local NGO in the Visayas. The NGO focuses on the effects of a particular environmental issue in a rural area

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[34] *Ba* is the Khmer word for 'yes' when spoken by males. *Ja* is the equivalent for female speakers.

of the Visayas and receives no external funding (interview 36, 15 November 2003). She stated that poorly executed Development had the potential to cause detrimental effects, for example when it was simply bestowed upon people, in the style of welfare or charity. Lydia asserted that charity or 'a dole-out' will not result in Development, but rather in people who believe that the sole purpose of being "organised" is 'so that they get something from the NGO.' This would change people's culture from being self-sufficient (which was highly valued by Development workers) to being dependent on others. Taking a different approach, Theresa reflected that Development is sometimes designed to change culture according to modernisation ideals, reflecting that whereas leisure is an important aspect of Filipino culture, 'Development asks how can we convert that unproductive leisure into productive work?' This constitutes a recognition that Development often reflects the culture in which its funders are grounded, in this case a culture that prioritises productivity.

This particular example provided a clear demonstration that Southern responses to Development are not homogeneous, since Norman enthusiastically praised a Development project that increased peasant productivity by decreasing leisure time, describing it as follows:

> People were very lazy before. You know in rural scenarios, in some towns by five pm you cannot see most of the people outside. By six o'clock almost everyone is already in bed. But because of the Development project that was introduced to them, for example livelihood projects for women ... the community has become busy, so people don't tend to go to bed at five o'clock. Some of them stay late at night to finish their work. So Development changes their system. And the pace of their living becomes a little bit faster. It was quite slow when Development was first introduced.

Norman quite often took a different position from that expressed by the majority of the other Development workers in the Philippines, and when I mentioned this particular response to Rosetta in a later interview, she scoffed at his understanding of the rural areas. She noted that many rural people in that region go to bed early because it is when the sun sets and they do not have electricity to keep working, but also because they have been up since dawn and are therefore exhausted. While Norman avidly subscribed to the modernisation paradigm in which productivity and pace are important indicators of progress, Theresa and many other Filipino Development workers were concerned about the destructive cultural impact of this kind of progress. Both positions emanate from the same approach to culture, in that cultural change can lead to erosion of culture in favour of another, but whereas Norman welcomed the move to a modern culture, the other practitioners regretted it.

This raises the issue of the motivation of those funding or implementing Development. Speaking about the potential for Development to have positive or negative effects, Brandon reflected that this was not necessarily only related to the form or motivation of the Development agency, as outlined in Chapter Six. He gave the following illustration to demonstrate that even a well motivated agency could create negative cultural outcomes:

> there are [some NGOs] whose intentions are good ... but they give projects to a community that has no strong organisation yet, and we have experience where instead of strengthening the community, this actually splits it, or brings problems of disunity … [thus Development can be] a dis-unifying factor rather than a unifying one. [With co-op projects] we find that the unity is very shallow because the basis of unity is the project, is getting the money… then

because of the money, some of them will sow doubts about each other, some will become suspicious of those in positions ... Then there are intrigues and it becomes divisive. …

If you have been able to organise them all of a sudden, that's something to keep in mind, because the basis of organisation is only the project. It is better to help them organise themselves.

Whatever the intentions of the NGO, if it does not account for the *context*, it can do much damage to the community, dividing it against itself. In this example, context includes how 'unified' a community is prior to the Development intervention. Some communities have already "organised" or established structures within which they plan and manage change and Brandon believed that when this has occurred prior to the introduction of Development funding it may prevent infighting as community members vie for control. In Brandon's eyes, when local organisations have had the opportunity to establish themselves, or when structures are introduced gradually and carefully, they give communities strength and resilience, perhaps by virtue of the support afforded to individuals by the unity of a group, but perhaps also by unity of purpose, in line with the Post-Development implication that the grass-roots movements have a shared vision of society.

This assessment was an important aspect of the participatory approach outlined by Development workers in Chapter Six. Thus if an NGO introduces a project without awareness of the specific situation of that community, it can misjudge the capacity or needs and thereby damage the community by breaking down networks of personal connection, rather than forging and reinforcing them. When a community is adjusting to those new challenges without the structure

or network afforded by constituting themselves as a social movement, the end goal can become the project itself (or the project funding), rather than the vision of society, and this pressure may lead them to divide against each other in competition. Brandon and other Development workers felt that when these groups have been formed effectively, this unity helped communities to protect their cultural liberty, affording them the solidarity of resisting other cultural forces as a group. The implication of this is that communities should therefore be resourced to become self-sufficient and to form grassroots movements which Post-Development believes will begin of their own accord. Like the Post-Development theorists, Filipino Development workers were very positive about the actions of grassroots organisations and their impact on local communities, but practitioners believed that careful assistance was sometimes needed to help with the formation of these groups. Brandon believed that grassroots organisations benefit from working with NGOs and other organisations, in terms of both capacity-building and funding opportunities, and that participatory Development processes can aid this process.

Culturally Destructive Development in Cambodia

In Cambodia there was also recognition that Development could be detrimental to culture, depending on its implementation, however fewer practitioners raised this as an issue than did in the Philippines. Bunna described the variety of approaches funders might take and the impact this could have on practice, saying that,

> different funders will push different priorities. For some their support will be affected by considering cultures, and some purely based on [their preconceptions] ... probably from their past experience from somewhere else.

So in that regard, it can have different effects. For those [funders] who consider cultures, [the form of Development they promote] would probably allow the community to change in a more natural way, because the community has opportunities to really walk through the tradition first and make an effective transition to a new form of traditions. It's not very ... forceful.

[But] sometimes when there's no consideration of cultures [the results are very] difficult. People would take the support anyway because they need the Development - they would see whatever is available and take it, but to understand what it is about is not that easy. So they would find that the support or funding is often wasted and that people just get the assistance but it is not very sustainable.

In this passage, Bunna highlights the impact of funders' attitudes to the local culture on the Development strategies they employ, which in turn affects the impact of the project. As a result, Development can have a negative impact if funders develop their programs according to their own priorities and their experience in other places, without regard for local concerns or context – in other words, where their approach is not context-sensitive or people-focused. This position was echoed by Sok, who suggested that funders that work in isolation, without the input of their local colleagues, are unable to effect 'good' Development. Being focused on the benefit of the excluded is not sufficient to ensure positive outcomes for local people, and NGOs must also be alert to the specific circumstances of each community, including cultural factors and how these interact with Development.

In spite of these negative stories, Cambodian and Filipino interview responses revealed an understanding of the effects of Development that differed from that of the Post-Development authors. Practitioners explained that Development's

capacity for negative influence is outweighed by positive outcomes, and that Development is not intrinsically a problem, but the way Development is practiced can pose problems. This is more consistent with the participatory approach, which suggests that it is possible to discern and to promote constructive forms of Development in order to achieve cultural outcomes that meet the community's goals and needs.

Culturally (Re)Constructive Development in the Philippines

In response to the negative cultural changes they described, Development workers in the Philippines expressed a clear desire to change certain aspects of culture and a conviction that Development provides the best vehicle for achieving this change. They were particularly interested in areas related to individual agency, for example enabling people to recognise their rights and to be confident to stand up for them. Mila spoke of her work introducing human rights concepts with the Moro, an indigenous Islamic community in the Philippines:

> [the Moro] are very conservative about the women. And the women, previously they could not even be involved with the organization, at the meeting or any seminars, like for example the alternative herbal making. No. [The husbands] don't like it, because according to them it's not good for the women to be outside of the house.

> So after we educate [the women] it is a big improvement for us, for them. They know their rights and they can shout their rights already. Like for example with a husband and wife, the husband is big, he's got the rights. Sometimes we go into a community and the woman is always in the house, to cook the food and to wash clothes and then to care for the baby, like that. And then only after doing what they're doing [can they go out].

> If this woman is a member [of my organisation] already, then she says [to her husband] 'Yes I know that, but I have the right to go outside, to attend any meeting, or to work outside, I don't have to just stay in the house. You don't have to do any work in our house. You only have one job, like if you're fishing only fishing, but the woman has many jobs in the house... So maybe you have to help in the house, not only me, because that is your responsibility also in our family.'

Where this differed from the impact of military action on gender (as discussed on page 253), was that Mila's organisation was creating positive livelihood outcomes, rather than limiting them as the military had done. Also, Mila's organisation worked with the husbands as well as the women, to help them to understand and adapt to the changes, to the point where the husbands 'understand' and 'are happy' with the changes. Mila spoke positively of these changes to Moro culture, and asserted that this sort of change was good for culture, saying that 'I think it is only the relationships that change, not the character,' meaning that the fundamentals of the culture were still retained in Benhabib's (1995, p. 238) notion of a cultural core. Talking about these aspects of gender relations, Mila was the only interviewee in the Philippines to talk negatively about an aspect of Filipino culture without ascribing it to the influence of colonisation or other external factors.

Pedro is a male volunteer with a local NGO particularly concerned with human rights, based in an urban area of the Visayas (interview 31, 12 October 2003). Like Mila, Pedro spoke about using Development to effect change, noting that in many communities 'they live in fear … so mostly we teach them that they have rights as humans … to live without fear… they're used to being ill and

just suffering the diseases, but we tell them they have a right to health … we teach them that they can take matters into their own hands.' This was representative of many of the Filipino responses, conveying a perception that an important aspect of Development work is encouraging people to break out of their oppression and fear, and to find ways to demand their rights, and to live a decent life, changing the culture so that people are confident to address these issues. Filipino Development workers were therefore very political in their approach, in contrast with Ferguson's (1990) claim that Development has been depoliticised. Although these practitioners received occasional or ongoing funding from large and small funders in the North, they still focus on structural oppression, from a perspective of enabling ordinary Filipinos to respond to the issues that most affect them, while at the same time raising awareness and seeking change through other networks. Harry, for example, stated that,

> people in organised areas tend to be more politically active ... [and] more involved in community issues. They [also contribute] more in seminars … In areas that are not organised, you see people say, 'oh no I won't join your meeting because my Amo (my landlord) might dismiss me.'

"Organised" people were described by a number of practitioners as being less intimidated by powerful people or institutions, and being confident to take a stand on issues that they perceived as oppressive or unjust.

Culturally (Re)Constructive Development in Cambodia

On the whole, Cambodian respondents had a consistently positive attitude to Development's impact on culture, often raising this as a response to the

negative cultural influences they mentioned. When Cambodian Development workers turned their attention from the impact of "bad Development" (whether motivated by greed or poorly implemented), and considered the Development forms they advocated, they responded very differently to the question of the impact of Development on culture. An excellent example of the tone of the responses can be seen in the answer given by Max (an expatriate in Cambodia). When asked, 'do you think that Development changes culture', he answered 'I hope so!' While this exclamation reflects a general perception amongst respondents that the function of Development is to bring about cultural change, there was also a clear concept of exactly the change they hope to effect. This can be seen by considering Max's clarification that he hoped that Development brought about change 'in some aspects … [like] focusing on the poorest – for people to do this is a cultural change … [and] women's status is changing as a result of participating in Development.' This reveals a belief that culture can be changed selectively, as seen in Ek's assurance that 'I think [Development] is good for Cambodian people because most of the things we encourage them to change are the bad things. We don't change all of the culture, we change the bad culture.' Ek is a male Development worker with the Cambodian partner of an international NGO with a secure funding base, and he is based in a regional area (interview 11, 1 October 2003).

This notion of good or bad culture reflects the cultural project of Cambodian Development workers in that they talked about desiring to change particular aspects of culture, including ending inequitable behaviours, and familiarising people with new or reintroduced concepts. For example, the position of women that Max mentioned as an aspect of culture targeted for change, was also

named by Lida and Srey Neang, both of whom are female Development

workers based in Phnom Penh, Lida as the Director of a women's NGO with

regular funding (interview 12, 14 October 2003), and Srey Neang with the

Cambodian arm of an international NGO (interview 16, 18 October 2003). In

spite of Vinet's reflection that the Khmer Rouge loosened the gender roles

formerly placed on women, Lida notes that there is still great scope for change,

reflecting that in some communities she works with, there is 'still domestic

violence, but now women complain.' While she acknowledges the significant

improvement in women's confidence to speak up (with support from their

husbands), she also recognises that there is still much work to be done, as

domestic violence is still prevalent. This violence and the fear of speaking up

therefore constitute "bad culture" that is targeted for change. The type of

cultural change that was advocated by Cambodian Development workers

enables people to respond effectively to oppression (whether within a

household or community, or from external factors) and to begin to live lives

that are safe and healthy.

In general, aspects of culture that were targeted for change revolved around the

ways people interacted with each other. Notions of collaboration or

community-mindedness were often mentioned, with Ratana (a female NGO

Assistant Director who has studied overseas and works with a NGO network

organisation in Phnom Penh) saying that 'before they didn't know how to work

together as a team [but] now community participation means they work

together.' As Vinet noted (on page 257 above), voluntarily helping each other

was seen as part of pre-Khmer Rouge culture but was strongly discouraged

during the Khmer Rouge regime, and it is now the target of many Development

projects. This sort of cultural change is not always an easy thing to effect, since the values may be entrenched in social structures, whether these have grown out of the Khmer Rouge period or stem from before that time. Hierarchy was consistently mentioned as characteristic of Cambodian culture, specifically as a target for change, and the expectation was that this would constitute positive change.

This deliberate and selective approach to cultural change reflects Pratt's description of transculturation, whereby in the process of indigenising cultural influences, local people 'determine to varying extents what gets absorbed into their own cultures and what it gets used for' (1994, p. 31). Cambodian Development workers' acceptance of the idea that cultures are consistently changing as they interact with their environment allows them to feel confident to act as part of this process, directing some of these changes. The cultural forms that result from these processes are still seen to constitute "Cambodian culture," and the Development workers have a strong cultural identity, distinct from their neighbours or from the West, but still incorporating aspects of those cultures. For Pratt, the process of transculturation is a particular product of the contact zone, since it is a space of cultural contact and negotiation. This is no less the case when the contact zone concept is applied to Development.
In general, Cambodian and Filipino Development workers named cultural change as their explicit aim and described Development as their tool for achieving it. A cultural studies reading of this approach by Development workers in both countries is that the practitioners are making their own reading of Development, and in doing so they transform Development (as explored in Chapter Three). When one takes Bhabha's (1994, p. 2) perspective that culture

is negotiated in interstitial and overlapping spaces, it is clear that this will be the case in a Development context. Practitioners read Development as a tool that can transform culture and therefore see in it an opportunity to influence this transformation and the forms it takes, hybridising culture through Development, but also hybridising Development itself. Thus in the local and active struggle over Development's meaning, Development workers create their own use for Development, and they share this with the communities in which they work and they have significant power to impose their meaning through practice. Cultural studies, Post-Development and Participation approaches all pay particular attention to power, and the power exercised by Development workers will be further explored in Chapter Eight.

Tradition and Romanticism

Within this transformative Development practice, practitioners' goals were clear. A distinct difference in the responses was that the Filipino Development workers articulated a desire for culture to revert to a pre-colonial form that was perceived as exclusively Filipino, whereas the Cambodian Development workers spoke more of culture's ongoing changes and were explicitly selective about which "indigenous" cultural traits they desired to reinforce or reintroduce and which external influences they wished to foster. In spite of this difference in perspectives, the responses shared a belief that culture can be changed selectively. Part of this was the construction of "nation-ness" by valorising certain expressions of culture over others (see page 102). In this process, identity as a Filipino or Cambodian becomes enmeshed with certain cultural

forms, and to attempt to function outside these is to reject one's national identity.

Authentic Filipino culture

In the Philippines this selective approach to cultural change generally reflected a desire to eradicate traits identified as Western or foreign, and to reintroduce traits identified as indigenous. Lydia spoke of emerging cultural traits that her organisation tried to counter, saying for example that 'people today are very independent – it is hard to get them to band together as a community. So in that way we change them culturally'. This change was described by many practitioners as a reintroduction of the concept of *bayanihan,* an expression of cooperative behaviour, which Brandon explained as 'helping one another as a group for free'. This notion is central to many of the responses in this case study, and also to Filipino identity, as is apparent in Rosetta's comment that 'if we consider what is the genuine Filipino character [we come up with] *bayanihan* culture, the cooperative spirit,' while Theresa reflected that *bayan* means nation and therefore *bayanihan* embodies a sense of nation-ness. In this sense it is a nationalistic notion, reflecting that what unifies Filipinos is the way they collaborate with each other.

Many respondents referred to an 'authentic' pre-colonial Filipino culture, particularly when they talked about their development aims. An example of this is Nina's statement that 'we encourage them to continue their values, their own practice inherited from their various generations.' This statement illustrates the way that many Development workers viewed local cultures as distinct subsets of national culture, and tried to work with communities to

strengthen these local expressions. Development is therefore used as a means to enact cultural change *away* from perceived Western influences and towards an authentic Filipino culture and authentic local cultures within that. It is ironic that this nationalistic term is often used in reference to a pre-colonial culture – that is, a culture from before the Philippines was unified as a nation. Another example came from Rosetta, a female Development worker who works with a securely funded NGO in a rural area of the Visayas and who was in a focus group with three other women from the same organisation. She reflected that 'because of poverty, people have to separate from each other, but the origin is that Filipinos love to be united and to work hand in hand.' Poverty (and its structural causes) was thus a bringer of negative change, while the positive culture was associated with 'original' Filipino culture.

A common aspect of Filipino responses was the equation of pre-colonial (or pre-Westernised) culture with authenticity, and the position that this authenticity is perilously preserved in "surviving" indigenous cultures. Again, this demonstrates a bounded approach to culture, whereby a culture is a discrete entity that functions as a unitary whole and is destroyed if it is changed. A yearning to return to pre-colonial Filipino culture pervaded many of the responses, but no practitioner acknowledged that prior to colonisation the Philippines was not united as a single nation, and is therefore unlikely to have had one cohesive cultural expression. Wishing nonetheless to return to a culture practised in the first half of the sixteenth century, Development workers call on 'a pristine and not colonially contaminated original identity' that Mulder contends must entail 'much conjecture about and conjuring of the past' (1997, p. 59). Edgar alluded to this when he said that Development workers

face a 'very big problem: how are we going to get cultural re-entry when people already forgot their culture?' The solution he posed, however, was quite simple: Development workers just need to 'explain to [people] what their ethnicity is and what their culture is that they should be regaining.' What is not clear, however, is how Development workers have gained privileged insight into cultural forms from so long ago, implying that Mulder is correct in suggesting that there is significant guesswork applied to the process. It is also unclear why Development workers should be the ones who are able to determine precisely what culture should be regained, but they definitely identified this as a key component of their work.

This approach reflects Pieterse's (2001, p. 63) point that cultural integrity may be equated with authenticity. In this case, "original" culture, unadulterated by foreign influences, is seen as more authentically Filipino than forms which have been "corrupted" by other influences. This is a type of 'ethnic fundamentalism' whereby certain traditional cultures are held up as the authentic version of culture that stands in contrast to the corruption of modernisation (Pieterse 2001, pp. 65-6). The Filipino Development workers' affirmation of indigenous Filipino traits and rejection of introduced traits does not necessarily mean that *all* Western traits were rejected and *all* indigenous traits affirmed, but rather that those rejected were *labelled* Western and those affirmed were *labelled* Filipino. According to Narayan, both "local" and foreign people fall into traps such as selective labelling of particular cultural changes as good or bad, reflecting that 'the changes that are resisted tend to be the changes that pose a threat to aspects of the dominant members' social power, and are often changes pertaining to the status and welfare of women'

(1998, p. 5). It is interesting to note, however, that the primary value promoted by Development workers is a collaborative unity which serves the interests of many members of the community. This implies that they may see Westernisation and the individualism they associate with it, as a real threat to the collective power of the poor and of Filipino society, both of which depend on a communal rather than an individual focus.

Authentic Cambodian culture

In Cambodia there was a similar labelling of affirmed tradition as "pre-Khmer Rouge", while rejected culture more broadly was labelled as negative, encompassing influences from the Khmer Rouge and the West, but also indigenous Cambodian culture (for example gender relations). Labelling positive traits as indigenous gives them a level of credibility that makes it easier for the Development workers to (re)introduce these concepts in line with Narayan's (1997, p. 21) notion of venerability, in which ideas or practices acquire status by virtue of their age rather than any intrinsic value. A clear example of this strategy can be seen in Vichet's assertion that 'we have a Development approach based on Cambodian culture, aiming to bring back civil society, and bring back civilisation.' Although several Cambodian respondents stated that Development aims to bring back "original Cambodian ways of living," none of them was then able to explain what they meant, often fumbling with very vague terms such as Vichet's general reference to 'civilisation.' Vichet, Lida and Vinet were able to be more specific, referring to a pre-Khmer Rouge communal focus, while Mom spoke of respect for elders and being assertive. Practitioners appeared to find it much easier to identify the Khmer

Rouge-induced traits that they wanted to eradicate, such as being fearful of speaking their minds.

An important distinction between Cambodian and Filipino responses was that Cambodians displayed a sense that they had been able to retain a cultural "core," while Filipinos did not, in the sense of Benhabib's (1995) proposition that perceptions of cultural continuity rely on the retention of a central core when other aspects of culture are changed. Sok is a male community Development worker with the government, who formerly worked with NGOs with the same focus. He referred to the cultural "threat" of neighbouring countries, but felt that they posed no continuing danger, saying, 'I don't think that Cambodian culture will become like American culture – or other countries' [culture] … Traditional culture will win out.' Throughout the interviews in Cambodia there appeared to be a quiet confidence that this was the case. Although several practitioners mentioned changes that were occurring, they had confidence that their culture would survive these changes, even if it looked somewhat different afterwards. It is perhaps possible to say that Cambodians have survived an enormous cultural challenge in the form of the Khmer Rouge. Although damaged by the experience, Cambodians know that they are unlikely to face such an extreme trial again, so cultural encroachment may be a less frightening and totalising prospect than in the Philippines, where dominating powers maintained direct control for centuries. Perhaps the Cambodian experience of conflict and survival has given Cambodians a strong sense that they are able to withstand such pressures without losing whatever they perceive to be the fundamental components of their identity. Another perspective might be that Cambodia has been exposed

to a series of different influences, while the Philippines has experienced enduring domination by two major forces, and Cambodians are thus more likely to view influences as transitory.

In addition to this, the Cambodian respondents showed less inclination to refer to "authentic" culture as unremittingly good, unlike the case in the Philippines. This was perhaps due to the Khmer Rouge – as the great negative cultural influence – having been Cambodians, and thus products of Cambodian culture which made a romantic perception of Cambodian culture less feasible. Seanglim points out the dissonance experienced by Cambodians in attempting to reconcile the glorious picture of Cambodia's past with the results of the Khmer Rouge regime, noting that the 'contrast between the two extremes, from the very proud and powerful to the very weak and defeated, has to be incorporated into a collective sense of national identity' (1991, p. 84). Cambodian practitioners did not invoke this powerful past when they spoke of "authentic" Cambodian culture, but referred instead to the period immediately prior to the Khmer Rough, speaking of a culture that was experienced by people who are still alive. Vinet challenged the validity of the inference that Development workers were drawing on their own memories of culture, noting that she had been a teenager when the Khmer Rouge came to power. She reflected that many practitioners who had spoken to me about pre-Khmer Rouge culture were young children when Pol Pot seized power, making them too young to really remember Cambodian culture prior to that period. Vinet asserted that they had instead accepted the popular myths that had emerged during and after that time, perhaps as a way of maintaining hope and retaining faith in their fellow Cambodians. One of the reasons Vinet felt strongly about

this was that she felt that the Khmer Rouge had also erased some 'not so good traditions,' such as strong gender restrictions placed on women which had previously meant that 'women had to stay home and take care of the house, take care of the husband, take care of the children.' The Khmer Rouge had helped to equalise gender relations by demanding that women perform the same work as men. For Vinet, this represented a liberating change to Cambodian culture, and to deny this was to romanticise the old culture.

Power and Cultural Change

Appadurai (1996, p. 43) proposes that the current pace of cultural change poses a challenge to "enculturation", or the reproduction of culture. In this context, culture becomes 'an arena for conscious choice, justification, and representation' in which cultural reproduction is politicised (Appadurai 1996, p. 44). This reflects the actions of Development workers, who are making choices about the kind of culture that they want to see, and representing culture in a particular way to achieve the ends they seek. The reverence of Development workers in both countries for past culture may be further understood by recollecting Scott's study of the power relations in a particular village, in which he reflected on the nostalgic and apparently selective memory of the community's poorest members:

> It is not that their memory is faulty. The older customs and practices to which they point did exist and worked to their advantage. Their memory is, however, quite selective... That they do not dwell upon other, less favourable features of the old order is hardly surprising, for those features do not contribute to the argument they wish to make today... The central reason why the account of the village poor smacks of nostalgia is that so many of the innovations of the past

decade have worked decisively against their material interests. They have ample

cause to look back fondly at older arrangements (1990, p. 179).

Scott's observation illustrates the way that people's evaluation of changes will

depend on their assessment of how they have been affected by those changes.

Cambodian and Filipino Development workers in this study are working with

the most excluded, and are attempting to improve their lot in the face of

experiences clearly working against them. The majority of Development

workers in both case studies are poor themselves, or have been so in the past.

In this light, both the Development workers and the communities with whom

they work would be aware of the way particular experiences have worked

against them. The Development workers' negative assessment of cultural

changes reflects their perception that many of the changes they see do not

benefit the people at the grassroots, while their positive appraisal of their own

work stems from their expectation that it will have a beneficial effect on these

same people.

It is helpful to consider whose interests are being served by the cultural

changes advocated by different Development proponents. Anna, an expatriate

who has worked with Cambodians throughout many phases of post-conflict

rebuilding, reflected on selective approaches to cultural change, saying

> I think the thing that is a constant challenge is [that] when you talk about
>
> cultural sensitivity, if one listens to when that is used as a defence, it is always
>
> used as a defence by the group with power who do not wish the group without
>
> power to share that power. So whenever you hear "that is not culturally
>
> appropriate", I would say nine times out of ten that it is a controversial issue

and the person who's speaking is going to have to give up something. I never
hear it used otherwise.

When Development focuses on empowerment of the poor, it is potentially
working directly against the interests of the powerful, and it is important to be
attentive to how this is expressed in Development processes (Eversole 2003, p.
791). It should not be forgotten that Development workers acquire power and
status by virtue of their work with poor communities, and they have been
accused of performing work that is self-perpetuating, based on a heavy
investment in Development and their role within that as an expert (Edwards
1989, p. 119). Certainly Ek (a Cambodian Development worker) valued the
fact that 'Cambodian people have a mind that they don't forget someone who
has helped them. Even [after] two years, three years, four years, five years, six
years. This makes me happy.' In other words, Ek knows that he will be
afforded gratitude for years to come because he has helped to improve people's
lives. While this constitutes a clear benefit to Ek, it is valid to question the
extent to which he (and other Development workers) might support change that
reduced his own status in order to improve the lives of others.

Given that Development workers are powerful in relation to the communities
they work with, they have a degree of power to name cultural change in ways
that authorises or discredits it. At the same time, they are less powerful in
relation to the Development structures within which they function, and this will
be explored further in Chapter Eight. I propose that the power Development
workers have in Development processes is the reason that they believe that
Development effects positive cultural outcomes. Since they are able to
influence the projects as they apply them, they know that they can *mediate*

Development, functioning as 'brokers' who 'stand in the path of an irresistible force and try to keep it decent' (Frank 1997, p. 266). The cultural influences practitioners rejected are all forces against which they have no power: the media, colonialism, national leadership and the military. They do, however, have the ability to change Development, and while they may only be able to make subtle changes, it is significantly more than the changes they can make as individuals in the other arenas. This ability to mediate Development is a key focus of Chapter Eight, which explores partnerships and other Development relationships.

Conclusion

This discussion of Development workers' attitudes to the impact of culture on Development reveals three key points: that impacts such as Westernisation, colonisalism and conflict are perceived to have had a negative effect on culture; that Development workers aim to bring about positive cultural change through their Development practice; and that this cultural change is promoted through references to indigenous culture, especially in the Philippines. Together these points reveal a picture of Development workers who are concerned about culture, and who see Development as a means of strengthening local culture against negative influences.

Respondents in both nations felt that it was possible to discern "good" and "bad" Development, and that the motivations of the implementers or funders had a strong effect on the outcome. They expressed strong support for organisations working to further the interests of the marginalised members of

their communities, and equally strong criticism of evidence of self-interest or of negative effects for Development's target populations. "Bad" or self-interested Development approaches fell in a category with the media, colonialism and the Khmer Rouge, as having a negative impact on culture. "Good" Development was seen as a vehicle for bringing about cultural change that would strengthen local culture and enable these marginal populations to live better. In both case studies, there was consistent reference to positive aspects of indigenous culture and a desire to rekindle these.

Cambodian respondents appeared to have an attitude to cultural change consistent with the cultural studies approach, reflecting attention to cultural flows and an acceptance of the fluidity of culture. As a result, participants in this research spoke of adapting both Cambodian and introduced cultures, with the aim of contributing to the unfolding "Cambodian culture" in ways that would empower marginalised Cambodians – a hybrid culture. The attitude to cultural change of Filipino respondents appeared more consistent with the bounded approach to culture, whereby cultural change equals cultural destruction. As a result, they were fearful of forces of cultural homogenisation, and turned instead to heterogenisation to give them a way of retaining their independence and integrity. They did not believe that they were adapting particular aspects of Western or Development culture into a model that comprises valued aspects of indigenous Filipino culture, as well as certain attractive aspects of introduced cultures. I argue that this is indeed what is happening, despite the fierce nationalism and recourse to authenticity which are invoked by Filipino participants in this research.

I contend that Development workers in both countries are building hybrid cultures, although Cambodian respondents were more aware that they were doing this than the Filipino respondents, whose invocation of authentic and "pure" indigenous cultures excluded any benefits from Western culture. The product of their labour, in combination with other d/Development and cultural forces, is the production of local modernities, drawing on the local and the introduced, traditional and modern, to create cultural forms that are relevant and unique.

This chapter has concluded with a brief consideration of Development workers' power in Development processes and this calls for closer attention to the ways that power may affect Development workers' ability to practise the forms of Development they have described as positive. Development partnerships are very important because NGOs are increasingly being used by larger funding organisations to implement programs, due to NGOs' reputed proximity to the grassroots. Chapter Eight will explore the extent to which this power is retained by funders or is exercised by a variety of Development players, consistent with a biopower model, as introduced in Chapter Two.

8 Controlling Development

This chapter considers the ways Development workers would like to see Development controlled, specifically with regards to their perceptions of grassroots organisations and relations with funders. Post-Development authors propose that the Development project should be abandoned in favour of independent and autonomous grassroots organisations, while proponents of Participation believe that an effective strategy can be found by adjusting Development practices to orientate them more towards the people they most affect. Chapter Six has already revealed that Development workers support participatory approaches to Development and Chapter Seven has shown that they view Development as a positive cultural force. On that basis, this chapter explores Development workers' perceptions of the best form for Development and the relationships that would support this, building on previous chapters to reveal that practitioners do not support a complete turn to the grassroots as advocated by Post-Development, but neither are they entirely happy with existing funding relationships.

Development workers are experienced in working to meet local needs with varying resource levels, and many of the practitioners in this research placed a priority on forming grassroots organisations and enabling them to be more self-sufficient, whether out of necessity (funding availability) or ideology (a desire to see them autonomous). Practitioners have also had contact with funders and expatriate workers, and have had the opportunity to assess the effectiveness of

their input, and together with their local networks, this experience gives practitioners good grounds on which to assess the ability of grassroots organisations and local and international NGOs to meet the needs of local communities. Just as they believe that it is fundamental to build up genuine relationships with the communities, the workers seek a relationship with those who fund their work and influence its parameters. They also want funders to work from a good knowledge-base regarding the country and its people, the situations they are dealing with, and local Development priorities.

This chapter discusses Development workers' perceptions of real and ideal funding relationships and begins with a consideration of their perspective on the power dynamic within those relationships, and whether it would be better to work in isolation from funders, as in the Post-Development model. Some respondents felt that the need for funding meant that NGOs had to accept funding agencies' conditions, while others stated that it was better for NGOs to go without funding than to accept these conditions. In spite of this variety, a significant number of respondents expressed a view that Development was often one-sided – that is, unduly influenced by the funder – and that this has a deleterious effect for the communities involved. Participants in this research indicated that relationships with funding and implementing organisations were not satisfactory, and that they would like relationships with funders that more closely reflect their own relationships with communities, in the sense of being rooted in collaborative, communicative and personal relationships. In the eyes of practitioners, participatory practice needs to be extended to include funding relationships, consistent with a paradigmatic participatory approach, and they want equitable and respectful relationships with their funding bodies. This

leads to a discussion of necessary components of funding relationships, including trust and the idea of 'fit' suggested by Korten (1980). This is followed by Development workers' discussion of the role of grassroots organisations and foreign input in Development.

Response to Funder Conditionality in the Philippines

In the Philippines, Harry asserted that the need for funding is so great that funding bodies are able to pick and choose 'what they want [to do], what they are capable of doing.' Consistent with comments from Edgar and Eman, Theresa's focus group agreed that 'we cannot do otherwise than to accept these funding agencies because we do not have the money to help people – so the workers are having problems.' While they felt that funders' conditions have a negative impact on Development, practitioners believe that local people's needs are so great that Philippine NGOs felt forced into accepting money from an organisation even if they did not agree with its conditions, which gave funders great power.

One reason for this is the difficulty experienced by NGOs seeking funding, as described by Mila, who spoke of her angst in seeking funding each time she was to implement a project. She described feeling embarrassed and ashamed, both for having to ask for money and for not understanding the systems of the funders:

> In 1999 I went to Germany with a funding proposal. Because I was ashamed, I didn't give them my proposal [while I was there]. So [the community has] no money for projects because I took the proposal … and then I don't know, I was ashamed. The woman from Germany who invited me said after, 'Why did you

not give us your proposal?' so I gave it to her, but ... she wrote to me and said

'It's too late now because somebody [has been given the funding], it's too late'

so I said never mind ... because I'm ashamed. That is my problem sometimes …

Mostly now it's different from before because according to them it's very hard

to get money, so oh my God that is my – I am ashamed to ask, that's why I

never make any proposals, any solicitations anymore, because one time I made

a solicitation, they wrote to me, 'Oh it is very hard with money or to give

funding ... because our organization is very poor now, we don't have money

anymore.' So I never seek anymore, that is the last time.

Mila's story describes the uncertainty and discomfort of having to seek money

each time her organisation wanted to implement a new program, and this was a

particular problem in situations where Mila was unclear about the expectations

or conditions of the potential funder, and the sense of shame this caused her

was strong enough to prevent her from asking people for money. This led to

the situation that I observed, in which Mila performed her own work unpaid

and sought money from her (poor) friends and neighbours to pay for small

"projects" like running training sessions. It is positive that the community is

supporting this work, but it is difficult for Mila and her organisation to make

long term plans or to implement projects more ambitious than training

conducted by Mila herself. The confusion and humiliation Mila experienced is

hardly consistent with the empowerment goals expressed in much

Development theory. Where Development workers are humiliated by their

experience of trying to attain funding and hampered in their attempts to meet

the needs expressed by communities they work with, it must surely be difficult

for them to empower others.

Yoyong outlined the difficulties facing those who feel tied to foreign

Development funding, saying that he had seen times

> when there was the wrong notion of funding NGO activities: the notion that
>
> activities have to conform with the priorities of funding agencies. [Funders]
>
> have priorities: and when they fund a project they assert their priorities and they
>
> question the implementation.

> The problem is to manage that conflict because we need the funds. But we also
>
> need to address the problems in the community, which is more important. There
>
> was a case before where we did creative reporting, just to satisfy the funding
>
> organisations. That was when the funding organisation kept insisting, "this is
>
> our contract" [and you must conform to it], so we had a hard time explaining
>
> what we were doing. This is the reality.

> Funding agencies do not believe anymore that community organizing is still
>
> important. They believe in some other NGO reports that Philippine community
>
> has long been organized but in the reality under a feudal society, you cannot say
>
> it has been organized. In this type of society there are many contradictions.
>
> Here every person has to struggle by their own individual means. That's the
>
> turning point of a growing conflict between NGOs and funding organizations.

> Some NGOs deny reality just to secure funds.

Yoyong's first point concerns control of programs and priorities by funders,

who impose conditions and control implementation. Yoyong neatly outlines

the dilemma for implementers, in that they "need the funds" and must therefore

find a way to work with the funding agencies, placing the funders in a position

of power. He describes a case in which the need in the community was such

that the NGO felt bound to accept funder conditions, even though they were

based on a perception of Filipino society that conflicted with the NGO's

perceptions. This pressing need led to the NGO engaging in "creative reporting" in order to satisfy both the needs of the community and the demands of the funder. This involved reporting to the funder in such a way as to imply that funders' conditions had been met, when implementation of the program had not been consistent with the conditions, due to a conflicting local assessment of context and needs. This strategy has the potential to cause mistrust between funders and implementers, or to fracture the relationship altogether, but practitioners like Yoyong and Theresa explain that they see no alternative since they perceive a big gap between funders' priorities and community needs.

There were respondents in both countries who saw a different option available to NGOs, namely not to accept conditional funding at all. Interestingly, Rowena, who was a member of Theresa's focus group, all of whom work with the same securely funded NGO in the Visayas (interview 32, 13 November 2003), and had agreed with the others that there was a compulsion to accept funding because of the great need in local communities, also said 'with or without the funding agency, we go on with our project,' with whatever resources they can gather. Edgar explained that he encountered occasional conflicts between what the funder wanted to do and what the community wanted, so his NGO would

> tell [the funder] this is how the community want it to be done. Then of course after clarification, communication [the funder often agrees]. Of course if they want to pursue their agenda that's fine, we will not deal with them … either they fund it or others will fund it.

Like a few other Filipino Development workers, Edgar felt that his funder was open to input from the local organisation, but that if conflict over priorities was intractable, it was always possible to find other funders. This is consistent with Verhelst's observation that NGOs he studied 'insist that their partners, whatever their inspiration (political affiliation or religious motivation), share their analysis and concept of society and organize projects that conform to the criteria and priorities they have established' (2000, p. 114).

Brandon recounted having to decide between funder and community after a negative experience with a funder, explaining that

> [w]e had one visitor [from our funding organisation] before and had a very heated discussion, because as a funding agency they have particular interests and you have to abide by what they want, rather than our alternative frameworks or what is the need of the community. I was hurt and I even told that representative that if you will insist on only giving [funding] not based on the needs of the communities, you'd better take your finances back to your country. Where is the partnership along that line? It seems that you need to comply because "this is our choice." They tell you what you should do, rather than asking, "where can we help?"

Being willing to end a funding partnership on the basis of such conflicts reveals that while they might prefer to work with partners like Brandon's organisation, they are confident that they are able to continue Development work without external support. This feisty assertion of independence was echoed in a number of interviews in the Philippines, and practitioners appeared divided between the majority who believed that the funders had inordinate control but felt compelled to accept the conditions, and a smaller number who

felt that local groups were better off trying to do the work without funds than with unreasonable conditions if the funder was not willing to conform with the needs and desires of the community. It is salient to recognise that of those practitioners in this research who spoke of rejecting funding, all but one were in a long-term relationship with a funder raising the question of whether it is easier to take a strong stance on this issue if one is not actually faced with this very difficult choice.

Together, these stories reveal that the funding experience is diverse. While some practitioners have difficulty securing continuing funding, others have secure ongoing partnerships, yet all describe some disparity between their priorities and those of their funders. Some have been able to establish constructive and communicative relationships in which they can resolve these conflicts, while others choose to communicate selectively in such conflicts, and yet others are led to end the relationships. What is consistent amongst these approaches is a desire for secure and open relationships with overseas partners who respect their input and share their priorities, primary amongst which is attention to context.

Response to Funder Conditionality in Cambodia

The sense that financial need forced local NGOs to accept unreasonable conditions was weaker in Cambodia, but Cambodian respondents also reported greater ease in securing funding than Filipino respondents experienced. While many Cambodian Development workers stated that their funders' goals were reasonably consistent with their own, they did not report confidence that they could work just as well without external support. Cambodian responses

implied that these practitioners were more likely to accept this conditionality as a necessary part of Development relationships than to rail against the conditions.

A number of Cambodian respondents said that their own funding relationship was collaborative and based on shared values, but they knew of many others that were not. This can be seen in comments made by Vinet, who was unusually direct about criticising donors, but apologised for doing so, saying 'I don't blame them … but I think they need to work harder to understand. Because they have the money they think they don't need to.' This is an aspect of this research that is strongly affected by culture, namely Cambodian practitioners' unwillingness to criticise their funders, consistent with the reflection by O'Leary and Nee that in Cambodian culture, 'challenging, questioning, and holding dissenting views are discouraged, conflict is seen as bad and loss of face is to be avoided at all costs' (2001, p. 91). From this I draw the implication that many of these respondents may indeed have been criticising their own funder, but without wanting to say so directly. This is another sense in which Development practitioners are border-crossers who operate in a space where cultures overlap, in the sense that several Cambodian Development workers attempted to fulfil the role dictated to them in Cambodian culture by respectfully saying that they have funders who are sensitive, but at the same time also try to engage with this research and be honest in a way that is invited in a Western, academic culture.

Two of the Cambodian Development workers (neither from organisations with long-term funding) said that they would only accept funding from organisations whose conditions they deemed to be appropriate or consistent

with their own wishes. Heng reported that conflict over priorities had led him to tell his funding agency that conceding to their conditions would mean that 'Cambodia will look like your country, so you can keep your money.' Taking a different perspective, Vichet noted that his organisation was motivated to reject unreasonable donor demands, by the conviction that 'we don't want to be receiving all the time. One day we want to become the contributor, the giver.' He felt that complying with funder conditions would impede his organisation's ability to become self-sufficient, and this necessitated a critical approach to relationships with funders. Apart from these two practitioners, however, Cambodian Development workers expressed less discontent about funder conditions than did their Filipino counterparts.

Funders' Control over Development Implementation

Development workers contributing to this research were given a number of opportunities to reflect on the influence that funders exert over Development processes. One major difference between the two countries was that although roughly equal numbers of Cambodian and Filipino respondents worked in an organisation with a secure ongoing funding relationship with an International NGO, their reported ability to secure financial support differed greatly. Filipino respondents described significantly more difficulty in gaining funding, whether intermittent or ongoing, than Cambodians in the same situation. In spite of this difference, both groups of practitioners described their funding relationships as unequally weighted in favour of funders' priorities, which tended to differ from their own perception of local needs. This was

exemplified in an undue emphasis on funders' goals (such as spending allotted money within a specified time frame), rather than the local context.

Practitioners in both countries perceived funders to be disinterested in local needs and contexts, to the detriment of local people, although several reported strategies for satisfying (or appearing to satisfy) both funder and community. In spite of this, Development workers still regarded relationships with funders as necessary and desirable. While some stated that they would rather work without funds than with unreasonable conditions, most described tolerating funders' conditions because they felt that they had no other choice. These reflections differ greatly from the literature on partnerships outlined in Chapter One, and reinforce Hudock's (1999, p. 20) perception that the term is idealistic rather than descriptive, and Harrison's (2002, p. 587) observation that partnership terminology has obscured rather than remedied unequal power relations. The notion that partners could "shop around" for their funder (Farrington, et al. 1993, p. 188) was supported by some respondents, but most felt that they were bound to accept unsatisfactory funding relationships.

Funder Control in the Philippines

Close to half of the Filipino respondents felt that funding bodies were more concerned with their own goals than the culture and needs of their target communities. There was considerable variety in the tone of the Filipino responses to this inquiry over funder control. Bonifacio and Anita simply laughed, indicating that they thought the question was rhetorical, clarifying that 'not all but many' funders are working towards their own goals. Pedro asserted that funders do not bring an agenda to their work in the country, and Brandon

acknowledged that some funding bodies have developed a good understanding
of the Philippines through long-term contact. Brandon reflected that 'the
problem with the funding agencies is that they have already made plans ... so
projects are not based on what are the needs ... you need to suit to their line of
interests.' Mayong felt that this was particularly evident in funders' goals,
because funders 'only respond to immediate needs, but not long term needs.'
Participants in one focus group agreed with this, stating that funders are more
interested in their own goals than in the local culture and genuinely
participatory strategies,

> we make project submissions ... but still they have their own bias ... they have
> their own target time but we believe that change in the community takes a long
> time. We believe we should move and work - and work, and work and
> sometimes you are frustrated because the change in the community is very
> small (Rowena).

Rowena acknowledged that although the time taken can be frustrating even for
the Development workers, it is central to the participatory approach (see
Chambers 1997, p. 213), however funders appeared not to understand or
respect this. Her statement also reveals Development workers' perception that
funders' priorities are not consistent with local priorities, and that funders are
not interested in bridging that gap. In the same focus group, Theresa said that
funders' focus on their own priorities meant that 'we force people to adapt to
what we think is best for them but maybe they are not ready,' which could lead
to conflict and other problems within the community, as outlined in Chapter
Seven. Some Filipino practitioners took a positive view of conditionality,
with Eman and his focus group members agreeing that while 'we must follow

criteria or [get] no money,' the conditions were fair because they were 'aimed at the poor.' In other words, the conditions were consistent with the overall shared goal of reducing poverty, and funders' wealth made it reasonable that they retain close control over the details of programs.

Filipino Development workers noted that this problem of priorities was not exclusive to overseas funding bodies, but that many NGOs in the Philippines do not prioritise local needs, for example seeking to enrich themselves rather than foster Development. In Harry's opinion this was symbiotic with funders' disinterest in the local context, which he explained as follows:

> I don't know whether the problem is the NGOs or the foreign funding agencies. Probably it's both. The foreign funding agencies are putting in money without a clear assessment of the basic problems of our people. The question is not only [NGO] capacity, but also the willingness to understand what people want. Most of the NGOs want to do ... what the foreign funding organisations want them to do. There are a few good NGOs, but most are like this.

> Our estimate is that in the last ten years sixty to seventy billion pesos [$AU 1.41- 1.65 billion] have been put into Negros and yet where are the projects now?

This illustrates a complex understanding of the funder-NGO relationship but also points to the inequality in funder-implementer relationships and the power that funders have in shaping NGO priorities, if, as Harry says, most NGOs want to follow funders' directions.

Vinet explained that this degree of funder control obscures their view of the local context, saying that while 'every donor has their policy, their mandate that you have to conform with … I think that the donor should listen to the

local people because the need in the country is different.' Thus far, most funders had been able to avoid listening, since the consequences of not doing so are much greater for the communities than the funders. Development workers in both countries believe that the situation in their respective countries is unique, and that while it might share factors with other countries, it is fundamentally shaped by the context. Rith pointed out that a person 'might come from outside and think [Cambodian social] structures are unfair, but people here just think it's the way it is. So how can you come from outside and make an evaluation?' Part of Rith's point is that even if an outsider identifies the same needs as a local NGO, s/he is unlikely to be aware of any underlying issues that may need to be addressed. In Rith's example, the outsider may not realise the extent to which the structures are accepted in Cambodian society, and the extreme difficulty that may be faced by people trying to break out of them, and the outsider may therefore propose a solution that does not appropriately address these factors. Samnang is a male former refugee who has worked for many years with community Development NGOs and an international organisation and now works with an NGO in an associated area. In spite of this distance from the context, Samnang says, 'the expert gets to choose whether to accept the proposal or to say, "no, take it back and fix it." Meanwhile people are spending some hope.' By this he appeared to mean that communities' investment in preparing projects does not appear to be matched by funders' understanding of this, nor by funders' investment in the process.

Funder Control in Cambodia

There is a much stronger presence of foreign NGOs in Cambodia than in the Philippines, and this translated to a lot more comments about funders' apparent

lack of interest in the context of their Development work than there were in the Philippines. This was most often discussed in the context of the low level of face-to-face contact that they have with funding representatives, most often in the context of initiating or evaluating a project. Vichet captures many of the comments in his statement that 'sometimes [funders] come for just a short term, just a few weeks or whatever, and one: they don't understand the language; and two: [they don't understand] the ways of Cambodians … so they maybe just come in and judge them and say, "I understand Cambodian culture."' This was seen as vastly inadequate to enable foreign staff to develop an effective understanding of the Cambodian context, especially if they did not already know much about Cambodia and its region. This was echoed by several respondents, including Sophal, who said that

> many [funders] don't consult, they just come and sit down and write a proposal, so the initiative comes from the [funding] NGO – there's no process of people's participation. I think that's the most common way [funding] NGOs work.

More than one third of Cambodian respondents said that they believed that there were certain things that were done by local NGOs only because funders demanded them. A particular problem that Cambodian Development workers described concerned time frames, with Rith explaining that NGOs are often faced with a 'donor [who] always complains, "you are very slow and have no activity [to show for it]", so we have to explain – even to [our own] headquarters in Phnom Penh.' Due to the very personal nature of the Development workers' approach they recognise the time taken to effect real attitudinal and behavioural change. There is also an emerging recognition that pushing against the time frame of the community is harmful to their

Development processes, as recounted by Lida, who described how participating in the *Learning for Transformation* study (O'Leary & Meas 2001) taught workers in her organisation 'the effect of pushing [participants] when we're frustrated.' Lida's organisation was horrified at the realisation that by trying to proceed too quickly, they were actually making people less inclined and less able to participate effectively, and the organisation has worked to change its practice in line with the discovery that it is 'better to move slowly.' Lida believes that funders have quite narrow interests, and 'just try to meet their goals rather than try to understand the issues in Cambodia,' and as long as the budget is spent on time, the funders 'don't care' what else happens. While funders may demand Participation, Cambodian Development workers felt that they were not allowed the time required for genuine implementation of such strategies. Although Lida's organisation had the opportunity to explore these issues and improve their practice, achieving a similar recognition from the funder is very difficult, which means that there is a gap in understanding about the project's implementation that may also compromise effectiveness.

Lida described the impact that mismatched priorities had on her ability to meet communities' needs, explaining that

> sometimes I can secure money for project on violence against women before food security - so people can't eat … Also we do not have many HIV patients here and we want to do prevention, but the donor wants to do home-based care, so that is all we can get funding for … I think the donor understands our needs but has the money already allocated for this kind of project so has to spend it on that.

This reveals a variety of ways in which differences in priorities can affect NGOs – or, more accurately, the people with whom they work. It is particularly striking that a women's organisation which acknowledges that domestic violence is a critically important problem in this country, still wishes that it could attain more funding for food security. The implication is that people are at risk of the raft of serious consequences of extreme hunger (including poor health and death) because there is a lack of effective communication between funder and implementer. Lida's solution is to 'keep the main focus [the funders] want, and have the [local priorities] in as well,' attempting to meet the needs of both parties by finding ways to meet the community's priorities within the funder-defined project. An example she gave of this was implementing home-based care programs for HIV patients that incorporated a 'health' component that allowed her to work with the whole community on nutrition, thus addressing issues connected with food security. This is probably not far from the 'creative reporting' described by Yoyong above, though it is expressed in a more palatable form.

Expatriates working in Cambodia were concerned that fashions in the donor community had a greater effect on the forms of Development available within the country than did the contemporary Cambodian context and Development needs. Max reflected that 'in the donor community there are fashions: right now it is gender, and community rights … [whereas] really you should put on the agenda what people want.' Ruth also commented on the fashion-consciousness of funders, but was more direct than Max, saying that the international development fashions are applied in Cambodia, and 'if that's right for Cambodia or not, it doesn't matter, we just go through the phase because

that's where we're at.' These two expatriate workers believed that this focus on international trends rather than the specific context meant that Development was not meeting local needs.

Discussing ways to improve relationships, Cambodian Development workers called for more in-country visits by their funders, including more time spent out of the office, particularly with the people in the villages, and at more points in the project cycle. Vinet suggested that the situation would improve if donors 'come more often and that they listen to the people in the fields, not just visit the offices.' When asked whether the need for the funder to understand the local context was sufficiently important to make it worth spending funds that would otherwise go to communities, she expressed a belief that the initial outlay would be justified by the long term improvement in understanding, which would lead to a reduction in costs. Mawdsley, Townsend and Porter argue that increasing this in-country contact has the potential to 'help enhance the effectiveness of both Northern and Southern NGOs by fostering more open dialogue between partners; improving upward and downward accountability; and by making monitoring and accountability more rigorous and meaningful' (2005, p. 77). They also state that such visits should extend their focus beyond NGO leaders to encompass Development workers and communities (Mawdsley, Townsend & Porter 2005, p. 79).

It is particularly interesting that Vinet wants visiting donors to spend more time in the field rather than in the office, because in Cambodian culture (and in many others) a desk job denotes higher status than field work (O'Leary & Meas 2001, p. 88; Chambers 1997), and many Development workers therefore aspire

to that. Given the general level of respect for Westerners and foreign Development workers, it is surprising that they are asking these people to adopt behaviour that appears a demotion in the traditional hierarchy. This is further complicated by Ruth's comment that in Cambodia, people who try to reject the behaviour dictated by the hierarchy can lose respect in the eyes of those "below" them and therefore have less ability to achieve their aims. The example Ruth gave was of a Development organisation working with people in slums, in which the staff lived in the slums in an expression of solidarity, but the response from the slum-dwellers was that 'this is not going to encourage us to get out of poverty. Because if we only see that people like you end up in poverty again,' then we don't want to follow your lead. While Vinet was not seeking such a startling inversion of the hierarchy, he was yearning for a modification in which the desk-bound foreign observer spends part of his or her short visit making personal contact and visits outside the head office, developing a broader understanding of the local situation and work. This could be interpreted as a means for Northern Uppers to express respect for the Lowers within their counterpart organisations and the people with whom they work, as advocated by Chambers (1995a).

In its Development handbook, Oxfam mentions similar strategies being important to donor agencies:

> Development and relief agencies are usually keen to make face-to-face contact
> with the people for whose work they are considering support, through a
> combination of field visits, meetings, and discussions … Often the value of
> direct contact is in the rapport and trust which are established, and which can

make relief and development work so humanly rewarding (Eade & Williams 1995, p. 123).

This is consistent with the desires but not the experience of many of the Development workers in this study.

In spite of Practitioners' perceptions that funders are not interested in context, it seemed that it would be easy for foreigners to change this. Development workers were positive about very small gestures, such as Samnang's example given that 'if you speak the language, even one or two words, that makes their hearts happy,' and this was definitely my own experience in the ebullient responses to my limited conversational skills in the Khmer language. Ruth (an expatriate) reflected that, 'I think that Cambodian people are very laid back and good humoured people, so when a foreigner does come along they accommodate a lot, so they can actually fit in a lot more easily, and they get away with a lot more than they might if they were somewhere else.' This implies that foreigners are in fact doing very little in terms of learning about customs, context and language, since both Ruth and Samnang pointed out that even the smallest effort makes a big difference. It also indicates that small steps by funders will be embraced by Development workers, who appear keen to enter into closer relationship with their funders.

In summary, practitioners feel that funders have a lot of power in their relationships with implementing organisations, particularly due to their control of funds, but also due to assumptions by some people (in both North and South) about the superior knowledge of Northern partners. This power is used to impose conditions on the implementation of Development, and most

practitioners believe that these conditions are often in conflict with the context of the Development work, including the people, the political situation and the types of programs that would best respond to local needs. Practitioners feel that funders could greatly increase their understanding of context by spending more time in the local context, and paying more attention to the input of those who work there. There is no sense that funders are deliberately fostering programs that they know are incompatible with context, but rather that they have not realised that they have assessed the context incorrectly, and do not listen when their local counterpart attempts to tell them this. They perceive funding organisations as distant and deaf, and feel that as practitioners their role is therefore to mediate Development, attempting to ameliorate the impact of funder conditions and respond to local priorities. Although Participation is a guiding practice in Development (Dudley 1993, p. 159; see also AusAID 2004c), and in the practice of the Development workers who contributed to this study, these practitioners believe that it is not a guiding value for funding bodies. It is hardly surprising that Development workers seek to make their relationships more participatory, since they perceive them as currently very unbalanced, whereas they see in Participation an express attempt to reach a better balance between the parties. This would be demonstrated in more respectful, open and equitable relationships, consistent with the underlying values of the participatory paradigm. In spite of these problems, practitioners continue to seek relationship with overseas funders.

Partnership was not a concept used by practitioners to describe their relationships with funders. Instead they talked about a desire to be in relationship with a funder which had shared values regarding Development and

which respected them and desired to understand the local context. Kayizzi-Mugerwa proposes that it is necessary for partnership to be 'based on a set of minimum or shared values' in order for it to be effective (1998, p. 233), but practitioners in this study reported that funding bodies are not generally interested in discovering local values. While Kayizzi-Mugerwa's approach entails 'standard values' such as democracy and gender equity, Development workers' responses indicate that they seek funders who are open to the possibility of recognising the values of both parties and negotiating a way forward that accounts for those values that are shared and acknowledges that there may be others that are not. Recognising and acknowledging the values that are not common is important to establishing the relationships on which such partnerships must be grounded. This is more consistent with Pugh's description of partnership as 'a working relationship that is characterized by a shared sense of purpose, a mutual respect and the willingness to negotiate' (1987, cited in Lister 2000, p. 229). The Development workers in this research have essentially confirmed the negative literature about partnership, including the assertion that 'donor budgets will no doubt continue to determine the terms of the engagement' (Kayizzi-Mugerwa 1998, p. 224) and that 'the reality of the donor/recipient relationship undermines the possibility of partnership between equals' (Eade 1997, p. 227).

It is important in this discussion to recognise that these reflections by Development workers do not translate into a reality of an all-powerful North dominating a powerless South, since organisations and the people within them behave in different ways and have vastly different opportunities to express power (see Bebbington 2004a, p. 737). It should also be remembered that

many funders have a 'genuine desire' for equitable partnerships (Fernandez 1987, p. 46). Similarly, several commentators suggest that it is important to remember that the flaws in the relationship may not all stem from the Northern partner (see Fowler 1998, p. 142), and in this respect the practitioners in this study did not attempt to portray themselves and their organisations as perfect partners.

Implications of Conditionality

These perceptions of funder disinterest have important ramifications. In the longer term there is potential for significant problems, one of which is the danger of counterparts lying to the funder (as in Yoyong's example of creative reporting above) because they do not feel that the funder is actually interested in the situation, and one ramification of this is that reports to funders may not be accurate, such that evaluations will not lead to the improvements that could arise out of open and communicative relationships. Another threat is that Development practitioners will be disempowered by the process (see Fowler 1998, p. 143), as reported by Mila in the Philippines, who raised small amounts of money from her poor community rather than repeat the humiliating process of seeking funds internationally.

Very few respondents admitted to misleading their funders but those who did admit to having done so were very open about it. In addition to Yoyong's comments, another respondent who faced this difficult situation was Norman, whose Australian funding body receives funds from AusAID. His story evolved through the course of the interview as follows:

Our funders are so supportive of our programs. We have a liaison officer here and work in close coordination ... there is a family culture in our organisation. The voices from down below will be well represented. The Australian government and AusAID really listens to us. ... there's no problem.

Except that before in Australia it was a program more about welfare. Two years ago we had difficulty because AusAID found some technical problems with delivering welfare. So our major partners started demanding that we should have Development programs and that evangelism and discipleship are not allowed. So we are in a dilemma: what should we do then as an organisation? So actually it was not only a dilemma with us, but our Australian partner because we have the same programs …

Now we look for remedies to fill what the demand is, just to get the funds, but maybe we can do some revision with the programs without breaking or drawing away from our direction or program.

This is a dilemma, because we had to overhaul the whole program…

Is it true that in Australia that's usually what's happening? Because if they don't want welfare you need to do things so you can get the funds …

We had to make some revisions without breaking, destroying - oh my, what are they doing to us? It is very un-Christian that we cannot do any evangelism... maybe we will do something like renaming it!

Norman gradually disclosed more about his perception of his funding situation as the interview progressed, and he consistently sought feedback from me on what he said, appearing also to watch for non-verbal cues about how he was being received. He seemed to feel gradually more comfortable, and the final comment was made as the interview wound up and he was clearly feeling very confident. Norman expressed significant distress about this conflict and felt

that perhaps the best response was to continue to fulfil what he saw as the community's needs (i.e. evangelism) whilst appearing to fulfil the funders' obligations, recognising that these were not necessarily values of Norman's funding organisation, but those of AusAID, from which Norman's funder receives its funds.

Some would find it easy to dismiss Norman's assessment of needs on the basis that evangelism in the Philippines is not something that should be funded by Australia's secular government. Such a response becomes less straightforward when the case is Yoyong's assertion that funders are incorrect in assessing that there has been sufficient "community organising" work and communities are now adequately resourced to be able to move on to another phase of Development, or to manage their own Development. Consistency between the funder's assessment and the implementing NGO's assessment is very important because it represents an agreement on the needs and appropriate solutions, whereas disagreement may lead to conflict or manipulation. Although improved relationships between funding and implementing organisations could be seen as a means of using Development to enable more diverse expressions of modernity, I believe that these examples demonstrate that this is happening anyway. Practitioners are finding ways of meeting community goals in spite of funder controls, and in doing so, they are hybridising Development and adapting its outcomes to their needs.

This is consistent with Scott's (1990) notion of the hidden transcript, a notion he developed after realising that a focus on peasant rebellions only revealed part of the way in which peasants resist oppression. What Scott discovered was that 'resistance, like domination, fights a war on two fronts. The hidden

transcript is not just behind-the-scenes griping and grumbling; it is enacted in a host of down-to-earth, low-profile stratagems designed to minimize appropriation' (1997, p. 315). These Development workers are not just grumbling about their relationships with funders, they are working to adapt the Development strategies and projects of external funders to the needs and desires of the communities they are working with. In some cases, as in that described by Lida, the outcome is a compromise that attempts to meet the key priorities of both parties, while in other cases it may involve disguising an action (as proposed by Norman) so that the funder does not know what is taking place. In light of Said's (1994) notion that resistance is the assertion of another version of history (see Chapter Two), resistance can be viewed as an active assertion of the veracity of different perspectives and of the right of people to dignity, equity and their own story. This can facilitate a move towards 'a more integrative view of human community and human liberation' (Said 1994, p. 261), resulting in more equal relations, and Development that leads to outcomes consistent with the goals and desires of those at whom it is supposed to be targeted. In this case, Development workers' resistance in the form of creative reporting, renaming processes or adapting projects equates to their assertion of their understanding of context, in the face of a poor funding fit. They are resisting the imposition of the funder's framework and asserting their own understanding of the local needs. Since they feel dependant on the funds, they do not feel able to have an open conflict and thus resort to a hidden transcript, through which they attempt to meet the demands of both parties.

Grassroots Organisations and Independence from the North

In the light of these reflections on their relations with funders, Development workers might be expected to agree with the Post-Development solution of rejecting external relationships and seeking to continue this work on their own. A number of practitioners stated that they would rather do without funding than be locked into conditions that they did not agree with, yet they did not support the idea of turning to exclusively grassroots organisations to meet the ongoing needs of communities and to develop an indigenous path as an alternative to Development. There were a variety of reasons given for this, one of which was a recognition that not all grassroots organisations are effective, and that their indigeneity does not automatically correspond with better results for "the people". Another reason that Cambodian Development workers did not feel that grassroots organisations should lead the way forward was that they did not yet feel confident to work without this support from foreign organisations, although this feeling was not shared by the Filipino practitioners. Development workers in both countries advocated grassroots organisations working in tandem with foreign organisations, in order to share expertise, practical strategies and funds, and to achieve greater effectiveness. This is similar to the "assisted grassroots model" proposed in Chapter Two, however it differs significantly, in that practitioners do not seek this as a transitional arrangement that helps them to move out of relationships with the North. Rather, they see it as a continuing model that embodies their desire for local groups to be in control, but to be working very closely with Northern partners in ways that improve outcomes for the poor.

About half of the Cambodians and most of the Filipinos in this study worked with organisations that could be termed grassroots organisations, in that they were started by local or grassroots people and continue to be run by them, either voluntarily or paid. They did not themselves highlight the grassroots "credentials" of their organisations or use them as a marker of distinctiveness from other organisations, and even the Filipinos who talked of the variety of NGO types (see Chapter Six) did not valorise grassroots movements in the interviews. In both countries, some Development workers reflected that turning to grassroots organisations does not automatically result in effective and appropriate work. "Bad" Development is not the exclusive domain of foreigners, with local people and organisations also using Development as a means of self-enrichment. Brandon recounted a story of a project in which his organisation was working with a local organisation and discovered that the funds were being used by some relatively powerful members of the organisation to their own ends:

> now it seems that in the process there were individuals who had personal interests ... it seems that [the project] had become a milking cow ... we happened to monitor that and we didn't want things to continue that way, and we decided to stop the project.

> The [funding] representative came and asked, "don't they need help any more?" We told them, "they need it but we don't want the project to become a milking cow for some opportunists."

What is interesting in the context of Post-Development is not only that members of the grassroots organisation were aiming for self-enrichment rather than community benefit, but also that the NGO stopped the project but continued to deliver Development by other means. Although one project was

clearly being abused, there was not a perception that all Development should cease. This is consistent with Filipino Development workers' nuanced attitudes to NGOs, in which they use a variety of terms to distinguish NGOs' legitimacy and effectiveness.

A characteristic Cambodian account of local organisations came in the form of Cambodian Development workers recounting a story of their own organisation having discovered negative effects of its own Development practice through evaluations and working to change it. Dara is a male Development worker with a rural organisation that was started by expatriates and receives ongoing practical support from them, and now seeks funding from a variety of sources (interview 2, 20 September 2003). He described several three-year phases that his organisation had worked through, and the discoveries made in the evaluation at the end of each phase, for example learning from one phase that the 'effect was not to empower the poor, but to disempower them, because it constructed the poor as victims.' He also described the way that each new phase built on the successes and failures of the previous phase, echoing Lida's description of her organisation discovering that they needed to move more slowly with their projects.

In this context of support for 'good' Development – that is, Development that is compatible with the needs of the most excluded, that increases their capacity and benefits them rather than people who are already rich or powerful – practitioners described a clear role for grassroots or local organisations within a broader structure of Development. Like the Post-Development theorists, many Development workers felt that Development should be driven from the

grassroots, or at least should have a much stronger input from the grass-roots. Development workers part company with these authors in that they do not believe that these grassroots organisations should work independently from other Development organisations, including Northern ones. The practitioners in this study viewed grassroots organisations as components in a larger process, important in themselves but part of a much bigger picture. In the Philippines, many of the Development workers interviewed worked for local NGOs and expressed a keen interest in working with existing organisations, or in forming new ones – that is, creating a network of interconnected but self-supporting organisations. This reflects the assertion by Lister (2000) that Northern NGOs have dependencies that extend both up and down, in that they rely on their local counterparts for knowledge, connections and credibility.

Filipino Development workers expressed a resounding conviction in their ability to practise Development unaided, believing that 'foreign partners cannot support us for so long … and it is better for the people to be self-reliant' (Huwan). In spite of this, Filipino practitioners still expressed a strong desire to work with foreigners and overseas organisations, expressed by Rosetta, who said that the Philippines does not need foreigners 'in the sense that we can't live without them ... but that doesn't mean that we really don't need them.' Rosetta's point was that working in collaboration with others who have experience and financial backing contributes positively to Development workers' ability to meet the needs of the poor and marginalised. As Brandon put it, 'I think everybody is welcome, everybody in his right mind. There is still a need to help those who are not in a position to work.' Yet there was also a feeling that it had to be on *their* terms and that foreigners have a role to play

'as long as they look at the situation and don't project too much of their own agenda on the people' (Pedro).

While Filipino Development workers were confident that they could continue Development work without any external support if necessary, Cambodian workers felt differently. Ratana was confident about the future, saying

> yes there really is [a role for foreigners] but not too much. They have to teach the Cambodians, but shouldn't be hoping to stay for ever and ever … Even now I am Deputy Director, and I think one day I will be Executive Director. One day we will not depend on assistance from outsiders [because] we can do it ourselves.

Ratana's forward planning was echoed by other practitioners, who were a little less confident than she was. In the context of a large number of organisations in Cambodia working to "localise" as soon as practical, Ek was one of several Development workers who felt that 'it is not the right time now' to work without foreign support, but that 'maybe in five or ten years we can reduce the numbers,' because that would be sufficient time for Cambodians to consolidate their skills. He was clear, however, about what support was necessary, saying 'we need some foreigners, but not [to be] responsible for small programs ... but for the high positions: one or two or three for an organisation.' One of the reasons he gave for this was that he felt that there were some things that were better done by foreigners, 'for example if I'm a boss and my brother or children have no job, I may find a way to give them one. Or maybe I won't follow one hundred per cent of the laws.' In this way Ek pointed to areas in which he felt Cambodians still needed to extend their capacity, but he also pointed out that progress was being made, and that greater independence would be achieved quite rapidly.

Thus while many Cambodians felt that independence was definitely on the horizon, they were keen to have the opportunity to continue to learn, and not to be pushed too quickly. This demonstrates that Cambodian Development workers see much more than money in their relationships with Northern funders, as seen in Sok's point that 'foreign NGOs play an important role in the Development of Cambodian people, because they not only bring the money but also the knowledge and new skills.' This reveals an attitude shown by many of the respondents, of a desire to continue learning, and to do so in an environment which encourages that and in which they are able to work together with people who have a broad experience that they can respectfully bring to a new situation.

In spite of this desire to work with external organisations, practitioners recognised that a foreign organisation did not necessarily have the same level of commitment that local people and organisations have. Edgar observed that 'some [international] NGOs do their interventions and when their funds run out they just leave, but whatever happens, we have to live here... so we feel responsible for the developments.' Echoing this, Ruth (an expatriate in Cambodia) reflected that Cambodians were also concerned that foreigners might not have a long-term commitment to them, and questioned 'who will walk with them, for a longer journey, and not just come when the crisis is here and it's all glamorous and lovely, and disappear when the "fun" is over.' These comments highlight the reality that non-local NGOs do not necessarily form significant relationships in the area they are working in, whether with their implementing organisations or with the communities, and are therefore able to

think in a more short-term fashion about the application and implications of their work. Local organisations, whether they call themselves NGOs, POs or grassroots organisations, have enduring connections with people and place, and therefore know that they will have ongoing responsibility for the work that they do, whether its effects are positive or negative. These comments reveal suspicion that foreign organisations or staff will not stay long enough to discover the outcome of their work and to take responsibility for any negative impact, making them more careful about their actions.

"Fit" Between Funders and Context

Practitioners' desires for improved funding relationships bring to mind the notion of fit, as described by Korten (1980) in relation to Development collaboration. Korten compared five Development "success stories" and concluded that '[a]pparently the determinants of success cannot be found in an easily replicable program variable' (1980, p. 496). Rather than pursuing an elusive universal model, he found that the common element between the projects he analysed was that 'they had achieved a high degree of *fit* between program design, beneficiary needs, and the capacities of the assisting organisation' (Korten 1980, p. 496), a representation of which is shown in Figure 7. This approach differs from top-down models of partnership in that it recognises the dynamic relationship between three key components in a Development project, namely the 'beneficiaries', the implementing organisation, and the project itself. While a blue-print approach emphasises prior planning and preparation, and assumes that the project is the only active input to the situation, this model of fit anticipates that each component adds to and influences the Development experience, consistent with Long's assertion

that intervention is 'an ongoing, socially constructed and negotiated process'
(1992, p. 35). Whilst a blueprint approach may be well suited to the needs and
procedures of funding bodies, Korten proposes that it is not a viable model,
since in reality 'objectives are more often multiple, ill-defined and subject to
negotiated change, task requirements unclear, outcomes unbounded by time,
environments unstable, and costs unpredictable' (1980, p. 497).
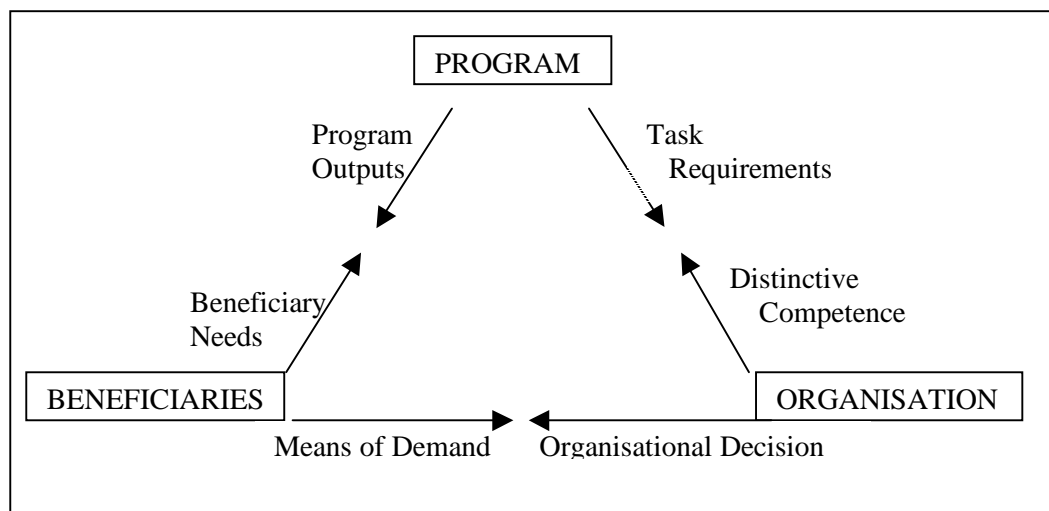
Figure 7: Schematic Representation of Fit Requirements
(Korten 1980, p. 495)

According to this model, Development can be delivered effectively when there
is a good fit between program, beneficiaries and organisation, such that each of
these factors is in harmony with the others. In his study, Korten discovered
that 'each project was successful because it had worked out a program model
responsive to the beneficiary needs at a particular time and place and each had
built a strong organisation capable of making the program work' (1980, p.
496). The program was thus tailored to the specific characteristics of its
context, including organisation and community. To help achieve this, Korten
advocates that both the funder and the operating agency adopt a 'learning

process approach' which is participatory and reflexive, and 'link[s] knowledge building with action' (1980, p. 498). Cambodian and Filipino Development workers interviewed in this research described working in a participatory manner to ensure this fit, and reflected that their relationships with their funders could either aid or inhibit these attempts. The funders appeared to exist parallel to the system of context in which Development workers worked, and I therefore extend Korten's model of fit to encompass what might be described as a "funding fit" between the values and strategies of the funders and local (implementing) NGOs. In this model, local NGOs (and the Development workers working for them) function as an interface between funder and community, and are conscious of working within a specific context in each aspect of this relationship (see Figure 8). The Development workers are important mediators of this relationship, functioning as a conduit for communication between funder and community. The Development workers in this study strove to improve fit between their own NGO, the community and the program, each case constituting a specific *context* according to Korten's original model, which the Development workers attempted to fit with funders. This model recognises that the funder also interacts with its own context and the funding fit thus becomes the nexus between the two contexts. The effectiveness of the nexus between these two contexts has a very important impact on the outcomes for all parties.
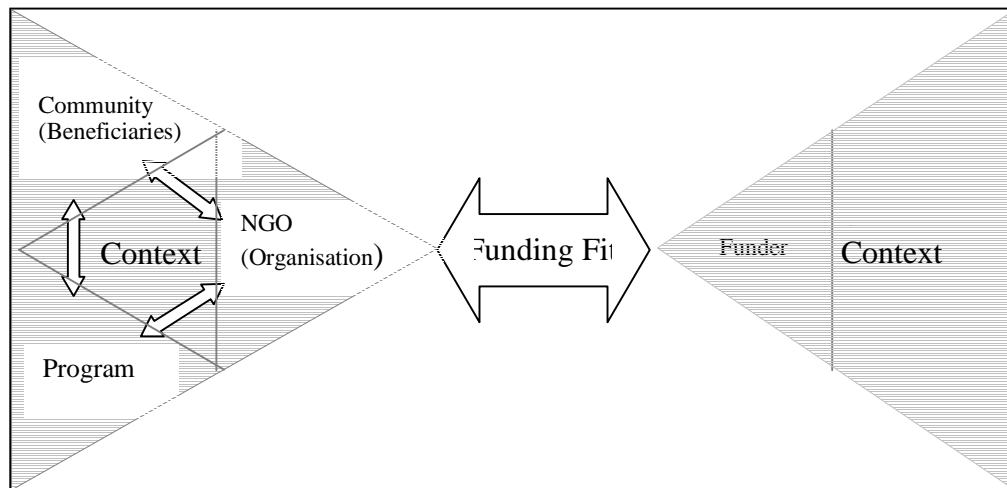
Figure 8: Model of the "funding fit" nexus

This approach appears more consistent with practitioners' approach to funding relationships than the partnership model, which Lister recognises is used more by Northern Development agencies than by Southern ones (2000, p. 235). The fit model describes the factors that help to make these relationships collaborative and effective, rather than jumping to ways to describe or determine those relationships once they have been secured. Practitioners in Cambodia and the Philippines discussed foundations on which effective and supportive relationships would be built, including consistency of values and compatibility of context, while Northern funders tend towards contractual components of the partnership model as a basis for relationship. This invites a closer examination of the nature of trust as the foundation of Development relationships, and the power dynamics within them (Eversole 2003, p. 792; Eade 1997, p. 227).

Building Trust

Throughout these interviews it appeared that respondents had a strong sense that funders do not trust them to spend money and implement projects effectively, and practitioners could not see how to change this situation. Ek, a Cambodian practitioner, suggested that this lack of trust was a good reason for keeping expatriates working with local NGOs, since 'I think it is easier for the foreigner to find funds than the Cambodian, because if you are Australian, you can ask Australians for funds. This is the culture. I think the Australians would believe you but not me.' Rith reflected that some funder decisions about Development projects appeared to reflect a lack of trust in the judgement of those who had put the proposal together in that they might base the proposal on a brief visit to the country, and that funder transparency was quite low in his experience. This was also reflected in Vichet's statement that there appeared to be a 'lack of trust among national and international donors, that local NGOs are not strong enough, are not honest, or whatever.'

Trust is important in maintaining honest communication and effective implementation, since Development workers who feel that they cannot earn their funders' trust may feel that there is no need (or point) to try to earn that trust. This may lead them to feel more at ease with falsifying results and reports, thereby obscuring the gap between donor and implementer goals. Since trust is fundamental to effective communication and collaboration, it is also an important aspect of achieving a funding fit.

Two of the expatriates in Cambodia lamented that funders still do not trust Cambodian NGOs. Anna spoke strongly in favour of accountability but also said,

> I think [funders] should also have enough trust ... to allow an organisation to do the work, [plus] monitoring for what they've paid for. I really believe they need to be in a trusting relationship with those they are funding. Some donors have really, really strong opinions and they're entitled to them ... but sometimes that's accompanied by an inability to listen to the people on the ground.

As the Country Director of her organisation, Anna was in a strong position to assess the attitudes of her funding organisations, and also to have insight into the experience of other national Directors in Cambodia. Anna's acknowledgement of the need for accountability and funders' entitlement to strong opinions show that she does not believe that funders should automatically and uncritically trust local organisations, but she implies that there is inadequate faith in the capacity of local organisations, accompanied by a reluctance to acknowledge value in their perspective or input. Similarly, Ruth said,

> I do think there's a place where we have to trust more that Cambodian people know what they're doing and can run their own country. And one classic example is of an Australian NGO who did localize, and handed over to their Cambodian counterpart that they trained up, but they brought in a foreign adviser to sit beside [the Cambodian Director] and whenever they wrote back to the home office back in Sydney, the weight of the advice of the foreign adviser was much heavier than that of the Cambodian Director. And that makes me ask, what are we saying about responsibility? Are we really handing over, or are we just skirting around the edges? And what's the risk, what are we afraid of …if they took over?

Ruth's example demonstrates that some funders are putting in place structures that imply confidence in their local counterparts, but are acting in ways that contradict this. She believes that these contradictions are very obvious to Cambodians, but that they say a lot more about the funder than the local organisation, particularly the funder's inability to trust the local organisation, and perhaps its inability to release control.

This is not necessarily because Northern organisations do not want to be in improved relationships with their local partners, for as Hoksbergen says, 'relationships of equality have been exceedingly difficult to achieve in practice … The heart and mind of the development community are in the right place. It is the hands and feet that cause the problems' (2005, p. 20). The point here is that while there may be a keen desire for equality in practice, this is hard to realise, for as Chambers (1997, p. 76) notes, power can be a disability, in this case blinding funders to the desires of their partners, and to ways to work together to improve their partnerships. According to Fukuyama, trust 'has a large and measurable economic value' (1995, p. 10) and it is therefore an important component in a relationship such as Development funding relationships. Fukuyama describes three different bases for the formulation of trust, the first of which is that of personal relationship, characteristic of 'familistic societies', in which trust is grounded in family links (1995, p. 28). The second is through shared values, or a moral community, which 'regardless of the specific ethical rules involved, will create a degree of trust among its members' (Fukuyama 1995, p. 36). The third is 'the modern system of contract and commercial law,' which functions differently from the previous models in that it was 'invented precisely to get around the need for business

associates to trust one another as family members do' (Fukuyama 1995, p.

149). Amongst these three forms, Fukuyama asserts that

> the most effective organisations are based on communities of shared ethical
>
> values. These communities do not require extensive contract and legal
>
> regulation of their relations because prior moral consensus gives members of
>
> the group a basis for mutual trust (1995, p. 26).

Using Fukuyama's classification, it appears that Cambodian and Filipino

NGOs decide whether to trust funders on the basis of their personal contact

with them, while Australian NGOs believe that they can trust their local

counterpart on the basis of the contract they have signed with them.

Mawdsley, Townsend and Porter state that the importance of personal

relationships to Development relationships has been recognised within NGO

circles, but that 'formal development discourses and institutions tend to be

anxious, silent, or even hostile on the subject' (2005, p. 77). This not only

impedes the ability of both funders and NGOs to meet their goals efficiently

and effectively (Fukuyama 2000, p. 98), it damages the relationship between

two parties who need each other to meet their goals. The implications of this

are that the funding organisations may not put in the relational work necessary

to ensure compliance with the contract they believe they have secured, while

the local counterpart may disengage from the relationship, feeling less bound to

comply with the contract when they feel that the funder is not behaving

appropriately. Significantly, it appears that there is no shared moral framework

to cement trust between the funding and implementing organisations, a factor

which would help these organisations to overcome the apparent incompatibility

between their approaches. Exploring ways to build or agree on such a

framework should be a matter of priority for both funding and implementing organisations, since it would enable both to express and achieve their goals, and to engage with challenges constructively. This implies a level of responsibility for the funder to be aware of different methods of building trust, in order that they at least understand the expectations and strategies of their partners. I assert that the onus is on the funders here because they have easier access to information such as Fukuyama's works, as well as a literary culture that routinely seeks information from written work. Furthermore, it is in the funder's interest to do this, because it better enables them to build trusting relationships with their partners, establishing conditions conducive to honesty and collaboration – which if nothing else is likely to produce better financial outcomes for funders (because the money is being spent on agreed projects in an agreed fashion).

A further complication in building trusting relationships is the suggestion that as a result of their violent history Cambodian people have 'some difficulty in trusting others' according to Vic, an Asian expatriate NGO Director of an organisation with a secure funding relationship (interview 14, 16 October 2003). This implies that even if the funding body were willing and able to build such relationships, the trust might not automatically be reciprocated, however other expatriates reported that this mistrust did not normally extend to non-Cambodians. Anna reflected that there were certain things that staff told her about themselves that they did not tell each other for many years after the end of conflict, because they felt more able to trust a foreigner than another Cambodian. Building trusting relationships is thus not always straightforward and must include consideration of the broader ability and willingness of local

counterparts to enter into Development partnerships. While many Cambodian

practitioners stated that Cambodians have both the ability and the experience to

work in Development, there was also a certain view that foreigners were more

accomplished at this work. Ek inadvertently demonstrated this conflict by

saying, 'the Cambodian people have capacity. They can do anything as [well

as] the foreigner. But some things they cannot do as [well as] the foreigner.'

Lida, an NGO Director, reflected on this position, noting that Cambodian

people 'think that people from outside are clever … they cannot do anything

without them telling them.' Funders who attempt to enter into genuine

partnership relationships may therefore encounter difficulties with local

counterparts who do not see themselves as equal partners. This should not be

taken as a reason not to attempt to build equitable partnerships, but should

certainly be taken into account when establishing and maintaining those

partnerships.

Implications

What these results may mean for Development on a broader level is that the

concept of partnerships has passed its use-by date. It may have provided

funders with the warm glow of feeling effective and collaborative – or on a less

cynical level, a pathway that promised a way to improved Development

relationships and outcomes. The voices of these practitioners add to the ever-

growing literature that politely points to the failure of partnership to

significantly change Development relationships, or the imperative to ensure

that participation is self-critical and extends well beyond implementation.

More than this, however, these practitioners also propose a solution, but it is

one that is no less complex than the very real contexts in which Development is played out. Their solution is to improve relationships between funder and implementer, without a fancy name and without implications that are not fulfilled.

'Relationship' can and does mean many things, and this meaning must therefore be negotiated. In this context it invites funders and implementers to *engage* with each other and actually learn about each other in order that they can then communicate more effectively about Development needs, planning, processes and evaluation – and all of the contextual factors that feed into that. There are clear benefits to this approach, primary amongst which is trust. When funders do not have faith in the ability or capacity of local counterparts, it is natural that they will not hand over responsibility to them. An effective and communicative relationship facilitates opportunities accurately to assess that capacity, which these practitioners believe has been underestimated. Funders are therefore making more work for themselves by not engaging with counterparts because they do not learn about their skills, which would enable them to see which aspects they could confidently hand over to local counterparts. Where trust is contracted, the contract may be grounded on effective understanding or on misconceptions. Communicative relationships provide opportunities to extend understanding and build trust so that contracts, where they must be used, are based on realistic expectations and assessment.

Simply demand that funders and implementers 'improve Development relationships' is no more helpful than exclusively attributing blame or shame to one actor. For this to be useful, it needs to be clearer than the imperative to be

in 'partnership', however to lay down a blueprint would be about as appropriate as mandating a single model for an effective marriage. Relationships differ and must be negotiated by the individuals or organisations choosing to relate to each other.

The views of practitioners in this study provide some important starting points for funders:

1. be open to relationship (do not try to keep it confined to documentation, but be open to the personal aspects);

2. recognise complexity (relationships cannot be controlled);

3. allow time in both the funding relationship and also in the implementation (this is a human process and there will be conflicts, so there needs to be time available to address them);

4. recognise that the relationships are about much more than money (they are also about knowledge-sharing and solidarity, and this flows in both directions);

5. listen (not in terms of being compliant, but in terms of being open to the possibility that the other party has a valid contribution);

6. recognise the importance of complexity and context (which means that blueprints won't work and that projects and relationships are affected by their environment and changes within it);

7. show an interest in and commitment to the country (learn some of the language, know something about the country and seek the perspective of local counterparts);

8. communicate (talk to implementers about key values such as participation, listen to their key values, talk about goals, so that there is

a greater chance that the program that is implemented closely reflects what was agreed);

9. allow for the possibility of 'failure' (this allows implementers to be honest in reporting and potentially improves future processes and outcomes);

This is not wildly different from what has been said in critical Development literature. Any of these points could be found in numerous books and articles, including those advocating a high level of Participation. What is special is that this is what Development practitioners are advocating from their position as mediators, implementers, interpreters and border-crossers. That it is consistent with existing literature is extremely positive, because it shows that the gap between theory and practice and between North and South is not as big as we sometimes believe. It shows that there is already a clear understanding in both North and South of the key problems of Development implementation, and consistency in the strategies proposed to deal with them.

What is not needed is more fancy terminology but rather an approach that considers how these strategies can be incorporated in the structures of aid bureaucracies and NGOs that report to them. This requires a much greater engagement with Development funders than took place in this study, and constitutes an important area for further work.

Conclusion

Throughout the interviews, Development workers showed no support for the Post-Development desire to discard Development altogether. This did not reflect a naïve perception of Development since Development workers were under no illusion that all implementing NGOs have a positive impact, but neither did they think that all Development is harmful. Bunna stated quite simply that

> I see community development brings a lot of good, but sometimes it also brings a lot of bad things. And the community themselves benefit more if they all participate in the process, even the small members participate and then they bring about some changes, like in the power relationships within the commune.

Bunna recognises that Development is a tool that can be used well or badly, implying that it is the *application* of Development rather than Development itself which is at issue, which is consistent with the participation approach rather than Post-Development. He was also attentive to the issue of power and the effect Development can have on it, which illustrates that he shares some Post-Development concerns but still came to the conclusion that where there is broad participation, Development can bring about desirable change. This notion was shared by many respondents.

Filipino Development workers gave a variety of reasons that they felt Development was positive, many of which hinged on the outcomes that were achieved by the participants, which included learning to stand up against large scale abuses according to Huwan, and losing 'the feeling of fear and of hopelessness, that there is no future for them' according to Cora. These are both notions that demonstrate a commitment to developing people's ability to

be independent and to take charge of their own lives – empowering people, in the Development jargon. In addition to this, some Development workers spoke of a desire for Development amongst the people with whom they work, with Anita reflecting that people are 'hungry for knowledge,' and Theresa asserting that people believe 'that they should work together for Development, that they need Development.' Cambodian Development workers gave similar reasons, for example Ek who said that he felt that Development was helping to fill the gaps left by the civil war, and Heng and Sophal who both said that the improvement in people's lives is quite clear.

Development workers in both countries painted a clear picture of the type of Development they hoped for. The main aspects of this were that it would be collaborative (Development workers wanted to keep working with others), directed by nationals or locals (they felt that they had a better handle on the needs and desires than foreigners who spent little time in the country), and focused on the poor, whom they identified as the clear priority. They did not feel that this was the current state of play in Development. Looking forward, practitioners saw an integral role for local organisations in shaping a more equitable future. This was not a sense of rejecting other strategies but rather of ensuring survival, since many viewed this as the only viable option for the continuation of their work. This position did not constitute a rejection of Development and an exclusive turn to grassroots organisations, as advocated in Post-Development, but rather showed that local organisations had been effective vehicles of social change and of "organising" and strengthening communities, and would continue to be so, especially in the light of the poor

support from overseas organisations and funders. As Harry (in the Philippines) said

> the basic responsibility [for Development] lies on the people here. The foreigner has another role, but before they can perform their role ... we always start with - and we insist on it - what we are, who we are, what our problems are, and start with that. Then there has to be dialogue, then partnership, then a process.

In tandem with effective local organisations, Development workers wanted positive relationships with overseas and international NGOs and funders. These desired relationships are significantly different from the current arrangements, which appear to Development workers to be somewhat one-sided. Achieving the level of collaboration desired requires an investment by funders in face-to-face meetings, which Development workers would like to see extended even if that means less money initially for projects. Building personal connections at the outset of a funder-implementer relationship is seen as conducive to ongoing communication and collaboration.

Further to this, Development workers sought an increase in the trust component of these relationships. For many of them, the increased personal contact would increase their understanding and trust of their funding partners, and they believe that this will also increase funders' trust for them. Another aspect of this is attempting to understand local culture(s), which demonstrates funder commitment to the country as well as enabling funders to understand more about the drivers and priorities of local NGOs, as well as perhaps being more agreeable with their priorities. A component of understanding local cultures is

likely to be an increased appreciation for time factors, specifically why projects take longer than funders would like to reach goals effectively. Increasing trust is also likely to increase communication from local NGOs, as they will start to believe that they can be honest without compromising their funding possibilities. Of course this also requires increased commitment to listening and responding to local input, on the part of funders – which could perhaps be described as an increase of respect, not just the outward appearance of it. This could also mean a greater ability to collaborate on priority areas for funding, as parties would be able to have clearer discussions.

The results described in this chapter confirm the expectation that practitioners would be dissatisfied with their relationships with funders, and that they would not seek a return to the grassroots to the exclusion of Northern bodies. Practitioners' perspectives on funding relationships provided the greatest diversity of topics addressed in this research, but there were still clear points of agreement. The strongest point that has emerged from this component of the results is that practitioners are keen to collaborate with funders, but approach the relationships in a very different way from the contractual approach of Northern organisations seeking funding partnerships. Development workers sought a more relationally-based foundation, and this provides a challenge for funding bodies, who have until this point managed to exert a very strong influence over the form of these relationships.

9

Power, Culture and an Existing Paradigm

This thesis examined Participation, Post-Development and practitioner perspectives on culture and power in Development. Primarily it questioned whether Development is culturally destructive, whether the current Development paradigm can deliver effective results, and how power relations affect Development outcomes. Within this, it aimed to understand whether Development workers in Cambodia and the Philippines view Participation as an effective response to the issues of power and culture raised by a number of critics, including Participation and Post-Development theorists. These goals were all met and this thesis reports that practitioners described working within a participatory paradigm to foster cultural liberty, and desired funding relationships that mirrored this. The forms of Development that they supported were people-focused, worked to the benefit of the poorest people and were attentive to issues of structural disadvantage – in other words, they enabled poor and disadvantaged people to take on the challenges they faced in living decent lives and to make their own decisions about how to do this, with the support of local and international organisations.

The study set out to test a number of key hypotheses. The first was that there would be consistency in Development workers' responses, and this was generally the case. The main area of difference related to the second hypothesis, which was that culture and power are important to Development workers. Culture and power emerged as very significant issues for the

practitioners in this study, and practitioners used their influence over projects to improve outcomes in this area, however practitioners in the two countries differed in their attitudes towards cultural change. Filipino Development workers consistently called for a return to an "indigenous Filipino culture" free of external influence, while Cambodian Development workers welcomed cultural change that they believed would be positive, as well as seeking to reinforce more historical expressions of Cambodian culture. The third hypothesis was that practitioners would agree with Post-Development's position that Development causes unacceptable cultural damage, however practitioners identified Development as a positive cultural influence and described using it to address damage caused by other cultural influences. In spite of this, they felt that unequal power distorted their funding relationships and therefore their Development practice, and expressed a desire for more equal power in funding relationships, consistent with the final hypothesis.

While practitioners did not accept Post-Development's rejection of Development, neither did they affirm all its forms, advocating practice that is participatory, collaborative and slow, rooted in the paradigm of people that appears quite natural to them and yet appears to be a big leap for many Northern funders. The relationships that they desired to have with their funders reflected the relationships that they built with communities, rather than the formalised and distant relationships that they described having with funders now. Moving to these relationships would require funders to approach Development in a more relational manner, becoming more aware of the cultures of their local counterparts, including strategies for building trust and for communicating within the uneven relationships that characterise

Development. Development workers desire to collaborate with people and organisations from other countries, even when this does not entail funding. They do not want to work in isolation, and are interested in sharing information and ideas with others, as long as they feel that they are respected equally in the relationship. They also want Development to take longer, to allow for an effective and transformative engagement between the community and the Development project. These factors can be most effectively summarised within the *paradigm of people*.

Development and Participation

Participation was a central plank in the approach of all of the Development workers who took part in this research, and they described a heavy investment in building personal relationships as a foundation for effective participation within a specific local context. Development workers spoke in detail about strategies to establish these relationships, beginning with formal contact with community leaders, and proceeding to other community members, to build a broad picture of the community, its members and their goals. Participatory tools such as PRA were not reported to be widely used, nor described as helpful. It was primarily Cambodian practitioners who used participatory tools, describing them as secondary to the relationships they formed, and several practitioners reported that the tools were poorly implemented by other practitioners. These tools appear to impede Development workers' attempts to be participatory because practitioners place greater emphasis on following "the rules" rather than adapting to the context, in direct conflict with other aspects of their practice. This demonstrates that they have not understood these tools

in the spirit in which they were designed, falling into the traps of 'teaching and learning by rote, the ritual performance of methods for their own sake, and a loss of flexibility' (Chambers 1994a, p. 959). If participatory tools are to be more than a means to prove to funders that implementation conforms to their conditions, training needs to be tailored to the specific context, which requires extensive contemporary and historical knowledge.

This begs the question of whether the tools should be discarded, in that they may actually constitute part of the 'paradigm of things' (Chambers 1995a) because they result in products that appear not to be valuable to the communities and impede the building of relationships. Anna, an expatriate NGO Director in Cambodia, suggested that the tools were used only to satisfy funders, and that they therefore had little impact on the communities, concluding that 'the map is the thing they bring out for the white guy.' I suspect, however that the tools are important for the relationship between the funder and the implementing NGO, in that they can communicate certain values or actions to each party. It may help the funders to feel that they have a better understanding of the form of project implementation and therefore have greater confidence about the use of their funds and progress towards their goals, and also to convey to implementing organisations their commitment to Participation. In reality, although Development workers may draw subtle support for their own approach from funders' insistence on Participation, practitioners are acutely aware that funders do not have the same participatory expectations for their own practice, and this is demonstrated in funding relationships in which practitioners and implementing organisations have little influence. As a result, several practitioners reported not communicating

honestly with their funders, which means that funders' commitment to Participation may give them misplaced confidence about the effects of their work.

Participatory Development and Cultural Liberty

In the Development encounter, different cultures engage in unequal relationships in a similar manner to the contact zone of colonial contact. Development workers function as a cultural interface, operating in the interstices of the contact zone of Development and crossing borders to work in a variety of cultures, including those of funder and community, bureaucracy and tradition. Bhabha (1994) reflects that negotiations are temporal in this third space of communication, in that the apparent stability of historical culture is competing with the adaptive needs of the present context, and this tension was apparent in practitioners' constant references to "indigenous" culture, contemporary cultural change, and Development as a tool for cultural transformation. The cultural negotiations practitioners described were consistent with the UNDP's goal of cultural liberty, or people's 'capability … to live as they would choose, with adequate opportunity to consider other options' (UNDP 2004, p. 17). In contrast with Post-Development theorists' belief that Development reduces this capability, practitioners in this study saw Development as an opportunity to exercise the choice that is fundamental to cultural liberty, in the sense that the 'normative weight of freedom can hardly be invoked when no choice – real or potential – is actually considered' (UNDP 2004, p. 17). While Post-Development theorists such as Escobar (1995a, p. 44) accuse Development of imposing a predetermined cultural pathway on local

communities, practitioners saw Development as a provider of cultural choice, as opposed to 'little d development,' which they viewed as a force of cultural homogenisation. This is consistent with the UNDP's assertion that the 'asymmetry of power between the West and other cultures' constitutes a risk to local cultures, but can be addressed by using Development to strengthen 'the constructive opportunities that local cultures have - and can be helped to have – to protect their own' (2004, p. 20). Both groups of practitioners identified empowering local communities to resist external (and internal) cultural pressures as a strategic step in ensuring positive long-term outcomes for the communities with which they were working. Even if securing cultural liberty is not the aim of the funders, Development workers are adjusting projects to ensure that they accommodate local cultural priorities.

Practitioners are using Development not only to meet the priorities they share with funders, but also to help them to create the society in which they want to live, unique in its own way as it brings together foreign and local cultures. I contend that practitioners in both countries are acting deliberately to hybridise cultures, although Filipino practitioners view their actions as heterogenisation. While Development workers in both countries view Development as a tool for effecting cultural change, they do not name their actions in the same way. Filipino participants advocated a return to cultural roots, and Cambodian participants promoted an ongoing cultural evolution, yet the result is quite similar, in that each group introduced non-indigenous cultural forms as well as reinforcing or reintroducing others perceived to be indigenous ones.

Filipino Development workers accepted the proposition seen in Post-Development theory that increasing contact with other cultures is leading to Westernisation, and on this basis they saw Development as a tool to aid them in heterogenising, rejecting external cultural influences and returning to an "authentic" expression of their culture. My argument is that rather than resurrecting an original, unadulterated culture, Filipino Development workers were in fact creating hybrid cultures. Some observers, including Filipino practitioners, might label such hybridised culture as Westernised, in that it has adopted some "Western" cultural forms, however Development workers indigenised and adapted a variety of inputs and also reintroduced or strengthened other cultural forms. Escobar (1995a, p. 219) contends that hybridisation does not unmake domination, yet it would seem that the processes adopted by Development workers are targeted at strengthening communities and reinforcing their bonds to each other, so that they might better withstand forces and oppression and even work against them. While the culture may differ from what had previously been called Cambodian culture, it also differs from those cultures it has drawn on. In this process, practitioners valued the ability to mediate cultural influences, and rejected cultural influences such as foreign media which they could not influence, while they affirmed the cultural impact of Development, which they felt able to mitigate and control.

Practitioners are using Development not only to meet the priorities they share As these interviews have shown, culture plays an important role in Development engagements – for example it is not only the power dynamic that prevents Cambodian Development workers from openly criticising their

funders, it is also an effect of many aspects of Cambodian culture, including respect for foreigners, ways of showing respect, and ways of dealing with conflict. In this way, a Cambodian Upper may still have trouble dealing with, say, an Australian Upper, since their respective culturally accepted ways of communicating do not necessarily aid them in understanding each other's ways of communicating. Chambers' work has been seminal in forming participatory approaches, and while he considers personal and professional realities, and the gulf between Uppers and Lowers, he does not specifically mention "culture." I propose, however, that his focus on local realities is an effective way to alert funders and Northern practitioners to the need to understand context without falling into the trap of essentialising cultures in a way that would 'displace a deeper understanding of culture' (UNDP 2004, p. 18). Practitioners contributing to this research have affirmed Chambers' approach and highlighted the distinction that Chambers himself makes between Participation as 'an empowering process,' as 'a co-opting process,' and as 'a cosmetic label' (Chambers 1995a, p. 30). They have illustrated that a people-centred paradigm is familiar to them and is well integrated into their practice, but that it is not evident in their funding relationships.

Power and Funding Relationships

Practitioners described their relationships with funders as being unequal and unsatisfactory, with funders exercising control over implementation but not demonstrating interest in the local context or the relevance of their programs. The unequal power relations in Development practice fundamentally affect practitioners' ability to bring about the outcomes they desire. It also sees them working subversively to adapt externally funded Development projects to

include local goals without necessarily informing funders of these changes. Development workers argue that this strategy allows them to strengthen communities in ways that augment positive aspects of the project(s), tailoring projects to local contexts, cultures and needs in spite of funders' apparent disinterest in these factors. This indicates that there is inadequate participation at the planning stage of the project, since Development workers report being unable to influence funders and feeling that they must adapt projects covertly rather than openly. I argue this demonstrates what Kothari calls 'the capacity of individuals and groups to resist inclusion' (2001, p. 151), in that they are acting on Development in ways that subvert funders' control. They resist inclusion by adapting funders' plans to reflect their own cultural priorities and goals as well as or instead of those of the funders.

This resistance is subtle, in the way of the hidden transcript by which dominated people resist those with power over them (Scott 1990). It is valid to question whether revealing this resistance could alert funders to actions they might not support, and thereby prevent Development workers from continuing this practice, however I believe that this will not be the case. The power of Development workers mirrors Villareal's description of power, in that it is 'of a fluid nature that fills up spaces, sometimes only for flickering moments, and takes different forms and consistencies, which makes it very difficult to measure' (1992, p. 258). Development workers are finding spaces within Development projects which they can fill in ways that enable them to meet local priorities. Although practitioners feel that funding organisations exert comprehensive control over Development, there are many spaces they cannot

reach, and these will continue to constitute opportunities for Development to mould projects according to their ideas of what is appropriate and sustainable.

In spite of these negative perceptions, practitioners consistently expressed a desire for relationships with people from the North, whether these are based on information-sharing, on solidarity or on the exchange of funds. The relationships they sought with funders are based on personal contact and the investment of time to establish trust and communication, mirroring the relationships practitioners build in communities. This reflects a different approach to building relationships and establishing trust from that of Northern funding bodies, which tend to operate out of a model that legislates relationship and trust by means of contracts and formal structures. Due to a combination of the financial power of funders and the deference of their developing country counterparts, this Northern legislative model dominates funding relationships. This study reveals that practitioners find this unhelpful and it may influence the choice of some Development workers not to communicate openly and honestly with their funders. If funders and implementers can find a way to combine their different approaches to the relationship, this could lead to better communication, less need for funders to be fearful of what local partners are doing, and improved experience and outcomes for all concerned. Such a compromise is unlikely to happen until funders acknowledge the different approach that their local counterparts wish to take to relationships and trust. An initial investment in personal relationships would make great improvements to implementing organisations' trust of their funders, which in turn would improve communication. Until this happens, participatory tools are likely to continue to be a means for funders to feel that they are in control of the

implementation that they have delegated to local NGOs. In the mean time, Development workers are attempting to maximise the positive outcomes by seeking funding organisations with which they have a reasonably good "fit", if not necessarily an optimal relationship.

This type of relationship requires a long-term investment that is neither practical nor cost-effective for short term, project-to-project funding arrangements that characterised Filipino Development workers' experience. A number of the Filipino practitioners whose NGOs received small project-to-project grants reported that these funds were often secured through a relationship one practitioner has established with an individual in another country, but this did not tend to result in ongoing funding. In these instances it may be better to establish networks, whereby funders of short term projects have a relationship with a "hub" NGO in a particular country, which in turn has a relationship with a variety of implementing NGOs. Funding could then be channelled through the hub NGO as the initial funding contact, and it could disseminate funds to local NGOs, thereby ensuring that personal relationships are secured at each point of exchange, and building trust and satisfaction for all parties. While a funding network of this kind may be hierarchical and open to abuse, it is likely to be no more so than existing relationships in which implementing NGOs may have little leverage or sense of duty towards the funder.

A People-Centred Paradigm

Amongst the most significant findings from this research is the overwhelming support of Development workers for participatory approaches to Development, and their rejection of Post-Development's proposal that grass-roots groups be left to do this work without contact with or support from external bodies. Further to this, Development workers' responses illustrated a much greater ability to influence Development processes and outcomes than is often recognised. This influence was used to effect specific cultural outcomes in line with Development workers' desire to ensure that the communities they work with are able to live sustainably and with integrity rooted in the ability to live according to their own cultural choices. As the UNDP (2004, p. 22) states, this choice does not necessarily mean greater cultural diversity. The processes described by practitioners indicate that more cultural choice could lead to greater recognition of diverse expressions of modernity. Development workers are transforming both indigenous and introduced culture to create hybrid modernities that are relevant to the local context. If funding and implementing organisations are able to establish the collaborative, honest relationships outlined above, the diverse modernities that exist and are continually being built may become more visible and more acceptable in the North.

Development workers described working from a participatory paradigm, but they perceived funders to be primarily adopting only the external indicators of participation rather than the underlying values. These values are conducive to strong and communicative relationships between funders and implementers, based on personal contact, trust and respect. If cultural factors are to be recognised within participatory practice, perhaps the starting point would be to

consider how well the paradigm of people fits with funders' practices and priorities. Practitioners advocated Development practice that takes a much greater lead from the grassroots and in which funder power is replaced by equitable and collaborative relationships. In this context, they sought relationships with funders that are open to this paradigm (if not embedded within it) and in which funders are willing to adapt to the paradigm of the organisations with which they work. Chambers points to the responsibility of "outsiders" or Uppers to change their practices in Development processes, and calls for a set of 'reversals of reality,' incorporating reversals of frames, modes, relations and power (1994b, p. 1262 ff). Each of these reversals is consistent with a shift of paradigm from things to people, and point to the importance of "fit" between the implementation context and the funding context.

Local Development organisations currently appear to be working parallel to funders rather than in tandem with them, and Development workers feel that there is little opportunity for effective communication or authentic relationship. If this continues, it means that Development workers will continue to adapt Development projects, communicating selectively with funders to ensure that their goals are met while implementing funder-driven projects. Although Development workers feel that they are able to mitigate the negative impact of Development on the communities with which they work, they desire a more honest and open relationship with funders. A significant part of the responsibility for this falls to the funder, since the Development workers feel that current patterns of funders' behaviour prevent them from deepening their engagement. While compromises are needed in the meeting of disparate approaches, Development workers in this study feel that to this point funders

have demonstrated little flexibility. Funders could begin to effect this change by slowing down and building better relationships with their local counterparts.

The results of this research point to a hopeful future for Development. A paradigm of people already underpins the work of this group of practitioners in the South, who are working in the in-between spaces of the Development contact zone to transform projects into opportunities to meet local needs and aspirations, and to foster cultural liberty. This is supported by the practice and publications of those in the North who advocate a strong (or paradigmatic) Participation approach to Development. At this point, practitioners feel that many funders are engaging an instrumental participatory approach, reflected in funding relationships that are dominated by funders' priorities. This will begin to change when different ways of forming trusting relationships are recognised and incorporated into partnership approaches, especially if these partnerships come to be grounded in a people-centred paradigm. The participatory paradigm promises a more equitable encounter in the Development contact zone, and the improved outcomes that such engagements foster.

Appendix One: Development Workers

Cambodians

Bunna is a male Development worker who is aged in his thirties and is the
Director of a very small regionally based NGO that secures funding
on a project-by-project basis. He was a refugee during the Khmer
Rouge period and later studied overseas. Interview number 1, Phnom
Penh, 16 September 2003.

Dara is a male Development worker aged in his thirties, working with a rural
organisation that was started by expatriates and which receives
ongoing practical support from these people. For a decade the
organisation received ongoing bilateral funding, but in more recent
years has had to seek funding from a variety of sources. Interview
number 2, Battambang 20 September 2003.

Ek is a male Development worker aged in his forties, who works with the
Cambodian partner of an international NGO. He works in a regional
area and his organisation has a secure funding base. Interview number
11, Takeo, 1 October 2003.

Heng is a male Development worker aged in his thirties, who is the Director of
a rural NGO that engages in a wide variety of work and does not have
a consistent funding partner. He was a refugee during the Khmer
Rouge period and has worked in NGOs since his return to Cambodia.
A translator was used in this interview, and while all of the staff were

present and addressed, only Heng spoke. Interview number 3,

Battambang 22 September 2003.

Lida is a female Development worker aged in her thirties, who is the Director

of a women's NGO that was set up by an international organisation.

The NGO secured regular funding with another organisation after the

initial relationship ended. Lida is based in the capital city. Interview

number 12, Phnom Penh 14 October 2003.

Mom is a female Development worker aged in her forties who works with an

NGO that networks and supports other NGOs. She is based in the

capital city. Only part of this interview was recorded, due to a

mechanical fault. Interview number 15, Phnom Penh 16 October

2003.

Pros is a male Development worker aged in his forties, who works with the

Cambodian partner of an international NGO. He works in a regional

area and his organisation has a secure funding base. He took part in a

focus group with Srey Neang, who works with the same organisation,

and a translator was used. Interview number 10, Takeo 1 October

2003.

Ratana is a female NGO Assistant Director aged in her forties who works with

an NGO network organisation. She has studied overseas and is based

in the capital city. Interview number 19, Phom Penh 22 October

2003.

Rith is a male Development worker aged in his thirties, who works with the

Cambodian arm of an international NGO. He works in a regional area

and his organisation has a secure funding base. Interview number 8, Battambang 29 September 2003.

Samnang is a male Development worker aged in his thirties, who has worked with community development NGOs and an international organisation and now works with an NGO in an associated area. He began his NGO work when he was a refugee during the Khmer Rouge era. Interview number 6, Battambang 23 September 2003.

Sarann is a male Development worker aged in his twenties, who works with the Cambodian arm of an international NGO. He has worked with this organisation for a number of years. He is based in the capital city and his organisation has a secure funding base. Interview 17, Phnom Penh 18 October 2003.

Sok is a male former Development worker aged in his thirties, who is now employed by the government to do community Development work in the same area as when he was in the NGO sector. In this context he is exposed to a variety of funders. Interview number 5, Battambang 23 September 2003.

Sophal is a male Development worker aged in his thirties who is a Development consultant with a variety of organisations. He has studied overseas and given particular attention to cultural aspects of Development in Cambodia. Interview number 7, 24 September 2003.

Sophorn is a female Development worker aged in her forties, who works with the Cambodian partner of an international NGO. She works in a regional area and her organisation has a secure funding base. She

took part in a focus group with Pros, who works with the same organisation, and a translator was used. Interview number 9, Takeo 1 October 2003

Srey Neang is a female Development worker aged in her forties who works with the Cambodian arm of an international NGO. She is based in the capital city and her organisation has a secure funding base. Interview number 16, Phnom Penh 18 October 2003.

Vichet is a male Development worker aged in his thirties, who is the Director of a regional NGO that has dealt with a variety of funders. He has worked in Development for almost ten years. Interview number 4, Battambang 22 September 2003.

Vinet is a female Development worker aged in her forties who recently joined the Cambodian arm of an international NGO. She is based in the capital city and her organisation has a secure funding base. Interview number 13, Phnom Penh 15 October 2003.

Filipinos

Anita is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who works with an NGO that has secure funding, and has worked for a local cultural PO as well as a very large and well funded NGO. She is based in an urban area of the central Philippines and was in a focus group with Bonifacio. Interview 33, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Bong is a male volunteer aged in his twenties who works with a local PO and a PO alliance in a regional area of the southern Philippines. Both organisations work primarily without funding. Bong took part in a focus group with young male representatives from other POs who were part of the alliance, but these members deferred to him and he therefore dominated the responses. Each of the organisations was focused on workers in different industries. Interview number 24, Southern Mindanao 4 November 2003.

Bonifacio is a male aged in his forties who works with an NGO that has secure funding. Although no longer in a field-based position, he has extensive experience of this, particularly with cooperatives. He is based in an urban area of the central Philippines and was in a focus group with Anita. Interview number 33, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Brandon is a male Development worker aged in his forties who works with an NGO formed by an international organisation that is not Development focused. The organisation secured ongoing funding from bilateral sources. Interview number 25, Southern Mindanao 4 November 2003.

Cora is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who is a volunteer with a union organisation in a rural area of the central Philippines. This organisation does not receive ongoing funding. Interview number 27, Western Visayas 18 November 2003.

Edgar is a male volunteer aged in his thirties who works with a rural NGO in the Southern Philippines. The organisation recently secured multi-

year funding, having previously operated on a project-to-project basis. Edgar was very worried about his own security and did not want the interview recorded in case his voice was recognised. This interview was therefore the only interview that was transcribed rather than tape-recorded. Interview number 27, Southern Mindanao 7 November 2003.

Eman, Joseph, Jojo, Lito and Fernando are males aged in their thirties and forties who work for an NGO with a secure partnership based on religious affiliation. They are based in a rural area of the central Philippines and were in a focus group together. Interview number 39, Central Visayas 18 November 2003.

Enrique is a male Assistant Director aged in his thirties. He works with an NGO network and is based in a regional area of the southern Philippines. The organisation secures funding on a project-by-project basis from a variety of sources and does much work with indigenous groups. Interview number 23, Southern Mindanao 1 November 2003.

Harry is a male Development worker aged in his thirties who works in a variety of areas to advocate for and increase awareness of Development work, and to train Development workers. He is based in a rural area of the central Philippines. Interview number 38, Central Visayas 18 November 2003.

Huwan is a male volunteer aged in his forties who works with a PO that works with indigenous and non-indigenous communities in the central Philippines. The NGO sprang from a local organisation and has a

strong partnership with a funding organisation. Huwan was in a focus group with Jun and Manilyn. Interview number 34, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Jun is a male Development worker aged in his forties who works with a PO that works with indigenous and non-indigenous communities in the central Philippines. The NGO sprang from a local organisation and has a strong partnership with a funding organisation. Jun was in a focus group with Huwan and Manilyn. Interview number 34, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Leo is a male Development worker aged in his thirties who works with an unfunded local NGO focusing on the effects of a particular environmental issue in a rural area of the central Philippines. He was in a focus group with Lydia. Interview number 36, Western Visayas 15 November 2003.

Lydia is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who works with an unfunded local NGO focusing on the effects of a particular environmental issue in a rural area of the central Philippines. She was in a focus group with Leo. Interview number 36, Western Visayas 15 November 2003.

Manilyn is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who works with a PO that works with indigenous and non-indigenous communities in the central Philippines. The NGO sprang from a local organisation and has a strong partnership with a funding organisation. Manilyn was in

a focus group with Jun and Huwan. Interview number 34, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Marites is a female volunteer who is aged in her twenties and works with an NGO that has secure funding. She is based in a rural area of the central Philippines and mainly works with children. Marites was in a focus group with Theresa, Rowena and Maya. Interview number 32, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Maya is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who works with an NGO that has secure funding. She is based in a rural area of the central Philippines and was in a focus group with Marites, Theresa and Rowena. Interview number 32, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Mayong is a male Development worker aged in his thirties who works with an NGO with a secure overseas partner based on a shared religious affiliation. He is based in an urban area of the central Philippines. He was in a focus group with Nina. Interview number 29, Western Visayas 12 November 2003.

Mila is a female full-time volunteer with an NGO in the southern Philippines. Her work is focused primarily on a particular indigenous group and she is sometimes able to secure funding for particular projects. Interview number 28, Southern Philippines 9 November 2003.

Nina is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who works with an NGO with an overseas partner based on a religious affiliation. She is based in an urban area of the central Philippines and was in a focus

group with Mayong.   Interview number 29, Western Visayas 12 November 2003.

Norman is a male aged in his thirties who is the Director of a national NGO that has an ongoing partnership with an overseas NGO. He is based in an urban area of the central Phlippines. Interview number 35, Western Visayas 15 November 2003.

Pedro is a male Development worker aged in his twenties who volunteers with a local NGO that implements projects for a Filipino NGO that receives funding from an overseas partner. His organisation is based in an urban area of the central Philippines and is particularly concerned with human rights. Interview number 31, Western Visayas 12 November 2003.

Rosetta is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who volunteers with a women's organisation and works with an NGO that recently lost its ongoing funding. Both organisations currently do their work with little or no funding. She is based in an urban area of the central Philippines.   Interview number 30, Western Visayas 12 November 2003.

Rowena is a female Development worker aged in her thirties who works with an NGO that has secure funding. She is based in a rural area of the central Philippines and was in a focus group with Marites, Theresa and Maya. Interview number 32, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Theresa is a female Development worker aged in her forties who works with an NGO that has secure funding. She is based in a rural area of the

central Philippines and also engages in research. Theresa was in a focus group with Marites, Rowena and Maya. Interview number 32, Western Visayas 13 November 2003.

Yoyong is a male unpaid Assistant Director aged in his thirties who has been working with NGOs for a decade. His organisation is a PO network that receives project-by-project funding from different sources and it is based in the southern Philippines. Interview number 26, Southern Mindanao 5 November 2003.

Expatriates

Anna is a female expatriate NGO Director aged in her forties who works with the Cambodian arm of an international NGO. She has worked in Cambodia since NGOs were allowed back into the country and worked in the region before that time. She is based in the capital city and her organisation has a secure funding base. Interview number 18, Phnom Penh 21 October 2003.

Max is an expatriate NGO Assistant Director aged in his forties who works with the Cambodian partner of an international NGO. He has worked in the region for over ten years, and is based in the capital city. His organisation has a secure funding base. Interview number 20, Phnom Penh 22 October 2003.

Ruth is an expatriate Development worker aged in her thirties who works as a consultant with a variety of organisations. She has lived in Cambodia

for a number of years and is married to a Cambodian. Interview number 22, Phnom Penh 25 October 2003.

Vic is a male expatriate Development worker aged in his forties who works with an international NGO with a variety of funders. He is Asian and has worked with NGOs in a variety of Asian NGOs but is relatively new to Cambodia. He is based in the capital city. Interview number 14, Phnom Penh 16 October 2003.

Appendix Two: Interview Checklists

Cambodian Development Workers

Name	Date	Location	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	A/ Director	Community worker	Volunteer	Consistent funding	Inconsistent funds	No funding	INGO	NGO/ PO/ Union	Affliated
Bunna	01/09/03	Phnom Penh	✖		✖		✖					✖		✖	
Dara	20/09/03	Battambang	✖			✖		✖		✖				✖	
Ek	01/10/03	Takeo	✖			✖		✖		✖			✖		
Heng	22/09/03	Battambang	✖			✖	✖			✖				✖	
Lida	14/10/03	Phnom Penh		✖	✖		✖				✖			✖	
Mom	16/10/03	Phnom Penh		✖	✖			✖		✖			✖		
Pros	01/10/03	Takeo		✖		✖		✖		✖			✖		
Ratana	22/10/03	Phnom Penh		✖	✖		✖			✖			✖		
Rith	26/09/03	Battambang	✖			✖		✖		✖			✖		
Samnang	23/09/03	Battambang	✖			✖		✖		-					✖
Sarann	18/10/03	Phnom Penh		✖	✖		✖				✖			✖	
Sok	23/09/03	Battambang	✖			✖		✖		-					✖
Sophal	24/09/03	Battambang	✖			✖		✖		-					✖
Sophorn	01/10/03	Takeo		✖		✖		✖		✖			✖		
Srey Neang	18/10/03	Phnom Penh	✖		✖			✖		✖			✖		
Vichet	22/09/03	Battambang	✖			✖	✖			✖				✖	
Vinet	15/10/03	Phnom Penh		✖	✖			✖		✖			✖		

Filipino Development Workers

Name	Date	Location	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	A/ Director	Community worker	Volunteer	Consistent funding	Inconsistent funds	No funding	INGO	NGO/ PO/ Union	Affliated
Anita (focus gp 3)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘			✘			✘			✘
Bong	04/11/03	Sn Mindanao	✘			✘			✘			✘		✘	
Bonifacio (focus gp 3)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘	✘			✘			✘		
Brandon	04/11/03	Sn Mindanao	✘			✘	✘				✘			✘	
Cora	18/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘		✘				✘		✘	
Edgar	07/11/03	Sn Mindanao	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Eman (focus gp 6)	18/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘	✘			✘				✘	
Enrique	01/11/03	Sn Mindanao	✘			✘	✘				✘			✘	
Fernando (focus gp 6)	18/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Harry	18/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘					✘
Huwan (focus gp 4)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Jojo (focus gp 6)	18/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Joseph (focus gp 6)	18/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Jun (focus gp 4)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Leo (focus gp 5)	15/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘				✘		✘	
Lito (focus gp 6)	18/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Lydia (focus gp 5)	15/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘		✘				✘		✘	
Manilyn (focus gp 4)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘		✘		✘				✘	
Marites (focus gp 2)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘✘		✘		✘		✘			✘		
Maya (focus gp 2)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘		✘		✘			✘		
Mayong (focus gp 1)	12/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘		✘		✘				✘	
Mila	09/11/03	Sn Mindanao		✘		✘			✘		✘			✘	
Nina (focus gp 1)	12/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘		✘		✘				✘	
Norman	15/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘	✘			✘			✘		
Pedro	12/11/03	Wn Visayas	✘			✘			✘	✘					✘
Rosetta	12/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘		✘				✘		✘	
Rowena (focus gp 2)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘			✘	✘			✘		
Theresa (focus gp 2)	13/11/03	Wn Visayas		✘		✘		✘		✘			✘		
Yoyon	05/11/03	Sn Mindanao	✘			✘			✘		✘			✘	

Expatriate Development Workers in Cambodia

Name	Date	Location	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	A/ Director	Community worker	Volunteer	Consistent funding	Inconsistent funds	No funding	INGO	NGO/ PO/ Union	Affiliated
Anna	21/10/03	Phnom Penh	✘		✘		✘			✘			✘		
Max	22/10/03	Phnom Penh	✘		✘		✘			✘			✘		
Ruth	25/10/03	Phnom Penh		✘	✘			✘			✘				✘
Vic	16/10/03	Phnom Penh		✘	✘			✘				✘		✘	

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