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Yossef Ben-Meir

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Participatory Development and Its Emergence in the Fields of Community and International Development

BY

Yossef Ben-Meir

B.A., Economics, New York University, 1991
M.A., International Development and Social Change, Clark University, 1997

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Sociology

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2009

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DEDICATION

For Alon and Shaun Abraham

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ABSTRACT

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Ph.D., Sociology, The University of New Mexico, 2009

Since World War II, participatory development (PD), part of the alternative development movement, has evolved from a fringe approach to meeting basic human needs, to a globally recognized paradigm that is informing the strategic decisions regarding community and international development by governments and multi-lateral and indigenous NGOs, as well as management practices in the private sector. This is a study of 1) the evolution of this phenomenon since the 1940s in the context of historical events and dominant theories that inform most development (modernization-globalization and dependency-world-system), and 2) PD itself, including its basic features, methods, case examples, and roots in academic schools, related social movements, and theoretical and philosophical traditions. In the course of the analysis, developmental concepts related to PD are explored and defined, including: community, development, community

development, capacity-building, project, decentralization, civil society, empowerment, self-reliance, and sustainable development. There are two important contributions to the field of development that this dissertation study makes. First, by explaining PD and its related concepts, an alternative-participatory development model is constructed that shows their inter-relationships within a social system. And second, a foundation is established to build PD theory by way of relating clear explanations of PD – its essential components and related concepts – to broad social theories that can reveal in greater scope consequences of PD in society.

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INTRODUCTION

The idea for this study started to form in the fall of 1995, when, as a first-semester graduate student in the International Development and Social Change program at Clark University, Worchester, Massachusetts, I took a development theory course. Professor Ann Seidman used the rigorous lenses of grand social theories and their immense constructs to help us explain causes of social problems. I preferred at the time to use the theories and their different testing grounds not to explain dimensions of a problem, but rather a methodology toward solutions – *participatory* planning of development project. Only a few weeks before, I had returned to the United States after two years of Peace Corps volunteer service, living and working with Berber villages in the majestic valley below Morocco's Mount Toubkal, the tallest peak in North Africa (4,167 meters). I was the first volunteer in this region, perhaps partly because of the twenty-four hours of travel, much of it on narrow mountain dirt roads, to get to the nearest city, Marrakech. Villages neighbor the Toubkal National Park. As we read and discussed in Dr. Seidman's course dependency, Marxist, and neoclassical economic theories, I began to connect the positive qualities of the community development experiences that I had just contributed to in Morocco and the kind of development these and other grand theoretical perspectives were explaining, dissecting, or otherwise recommending that society advance.

For example, we learned that dependency theorists generally have a sympathetic view of programs implemented by developing nations that promote local and national self-reliance (a concept and theory described in Chapter 3 of

this thesis). Self-reliant development is often considered to help satisfy human needs as well as reduce the influence of international relationships that create domestic underdevelopment. Reading and thinking about these theorists, I wondered if the community decision-making, partnership-building, and use of local materials, existing skills, and skills-building to implement locally sustained development projects that I observed (and facilitated) in Morocco had a positive relationship with self-reliance. And if they did have a positive relationship, would it then be reasonable to hypothesize that the potential or theoretical consequences to society of participatory development (PD) include what dependency theory suggests will happen in society if self-reliance were a reality? My next thought was whether it would be possible to construct a theory of PD (the need for one has been widely called for[1]) by relating PD to social theories in this way – that is, by first establishing if PD has a positive (or negative) relationship with an identifiable variable that is part of the theoretical construct (in this case, self-reliance within dependency). And if a shared connection with a variable is established and the investigator goes on to trace the effects or impacts within the theoretical construct that might result from PD, would those results – in this case, the consequences in dependency theory derived from PD creating self-reliance – then constitute PD theory?

Alienation is another example of a variable that is imbedded by its cause and effect relationships in a social theory (the Marxist paradigm) *and* is

[1] Wengert, 1976:23 and 40; Hall, 1982:22; Jacobson, 1996:270; McTaggart, 1997:25; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:218; Dervin and Huesca, 1999:177; Friesen, 1999:283; Campbell, 2000:257; Waters, 2000:90-1; Kothari, 2001:139; Kubisch et al., 2001:86-7; Kapoor, 2002:102; Kumar, 2002:46; Drinkwater, 2003:63-4

associated with PD processes and outcomes. Although alienation has many different meanings and has been is a constant throughout history,[2] in the modern social science sense of the term it refers to estrangement from oneself and each other ("the pathological character of social relationships"[3]); experiencing the world passively[4]; and feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, objectification, and dehumanization[5]. Some observers suggest that alienation entails individual psychological factors, including neuroticism, and therefore requires psychotherapy to overcome.[6] In capitalism, however, as Bertell Ollman explains, there are four broad relations where alienation occurs; together, they cover "the whole of whole of human existence"[7]; the four are: individual people's relations to their productive activity, product, other people, and human potential.[8] Alienation in capitalism is considered to exist in its most complete form,[9] whereby people work under compulsion (they sell their labor (body) and time[10]) in order to maintain their existence[11]. Workers are alienated from their actions[12] and the

[2] Tucker, 1972:152; Axelos, 1976:217; Rader, 1979:105-8; McLellan, 1995:182; Markovic, 1989:67: For example, to Aristotle, the term alienation referred to being "excluded from community" or the "transfer of property." In Christian theology one is "alienated from God."
[3] Markovic, 1989:66: Social relationships infused with alienation are characterized by "envy, competitiveness, mistrust, hatred, and hostility replace possible collaboration, reciprocity, meaningful communication, and care about the satisfaction of the needs of other people." Also regarding social relationships, Applebaum (1988:73) states that capitalism "denies this essential sociability, pitting worker against worker in the competition for scarce jobs, and worker against capitalist in a continual fight for control over both the labor process and the fruits of the workers' production."
[4] Fromm, 1966:44
[5] Kon, 1969:150; Walton and Gamble, 1972:14-5 and 104-8
[6] Kon, 1979:151
[7] Ollman, 1976:136; I was a student in two undergraduate courses at New York University with Professor Ollman, who was a positive early influence.
[8] Ollman, 1976:136
[9] Walton and Gamble, 1972:141; also in Mclellan, 1995:182; Berlin, 1963:114
[10] Maycroft and Lefebvre, 2001:122-3
[11] Applebaum, 1988:73; people are reduced to "animal functions" (Walton and Gamble, 1972:111)
[12] Marx, 1975:274; Alexos, 1976:217

product of their actions[13] because they contradict workers' real purposes[14] and deny the self[15]. As a consequence, workers are "physically exhausted and mentally debased"[16] and their alienation prevents them from satisfying their human needs.[17]

Alienation is the gap between a "normative conception of how the way things *ought* to be" and "the undesirability of the way certain established conditions *are*."[18] Unfavorable historical conditions, including war between the classes,[19] private ownership, the social division of labor, or scientific and technical progress,[20] have made it so that "human beings are *actually not* what they *potentially could be*."[21] When alienation is overcome, existence is brought into harmony with potential.[22] Harmonious cooperation, which is desired according to the nature of people, is shut out by alienation.[23]

De-alienation involves changing social conditions,[24] or overthrowing the world order,[25] including emancipatory consciousness and revolutionary action[26] –variables connected to PD (for a fuller discussion, see Chapter 6). Remedies to alienation (which cannot occur inside capitalist production relationships[27]) include

[13] Walton and Gamble, 1972:108; Maycroft and Lefebvre, 2001:122-3
[14] Berlin, 1963:144
[15] Ollman, 1976:137
[16] Marx in Luard, 1979:110; also in Ollman, 1976:131
[17] Axelos, 1976:132
[18] Schweitzer, 1989:3-4
[19] Berlin, 1963:118
[20] Kon, 1969:151; Schweitzer, 1992:41
[21] Markovic, 1989:66; also in Maycroft and Lefebvre, 2001:122-3
[22] Schweitzer, 1992:41
[23] Berlin, 1973:63
[24] Kon, 1969:151
[25] Tucker, 1972:117
[26] Schweitzer, 1992:41; Axelos, 1976:141
[27] Maycroft and Lefebvre, 2001:123-4

communism,[28] a classless society,[29] or workers taking over production[30]. Importantly, regarding PD, Luard also explains that decentralization (a concept explored in Chapter 3), whose aim is to provide maximum autonomy to sub-regions and advance diversity,[31] works against alienation. *Participatory development is classified as part of the decentralization framework*. So what does all this mean? In Ann Seidman's class back at Clark, I began to wonder if the extremely positive reaction among members of four Moroccan villages that I had observed earlier that year – when thousands of fruit trees (a project they determined) were planted by all of the households – was an indication that development projects under community control (including design and ongoing management of projects that meet self-described interests) work against root causes of alienation. And, if they do, how then does reducing alienation by such projects fit (action-reaction) within the Marxist theoretical framework? And how may PD theory be further constructed through this research-analytic process?

I also found that neoclassical economics and PD converge on the variable of flexibility[32] (i.e., the capacity to adapt to change – a topic addressed in the dissertation), which is significantly a function of: 1) the level of decision-making abilities and 2) the extent to which risk is shared. Both these determinants of the level of flexibility have a positive relationship with PD. There are cultural attitudes toward risk, for example, which can have a determining effect on the

[28] Marx in Zeitlin, 1967:25; Tucker, 1972:117; Ollman, 1976:132
[29] Berlin, 1973:62
[30] Berlin, 1963:117; Plamenatz, 1975:133
[31] Luard, 1979:150
[32] Ninacs, 1997:166; Tykkylainen, 1998:337-338; Uphoff et al., 1998:66; Hagmann, 1999:17; Campbell, 2000:265; Cernea quoted Francis, 2001:75; Rolly, 2001:81; Kuyvenhoven and Ruben, 2002:65; Mikkelsen, 2005:27

level of risk people are willing to accept.[33] For subsistence farmers, for example, assuming risks could mean the loss of assets that endanger survival[34] – a topic discussed during community planning meetings in Morocco related to fruit tree agriculture. In PD, however, risks are attempted to be minimized[35] or reduced to acceptable levels[36] by sharing[37] or pooling them,[38] as well as sharing costs among public and private groups (in and outside the community[39]) related to the needed inputs to implement projects[40]. Sharing risks and costs in this way requires partnership-building and exchanging information in the process of planning development, which also improves decision-making capacities of participants.[41] Costs are also reduced (and, consequently, risks) because they are incurred at the local level where they tend to be relatively lower.[42] Considering these factors that increase flexibility, some observers conclude that aid is better utilized in PD.[43] In any case, primarily by sharing risks, costs, and information (and the improved decision-making that results), PD advances

[33] Cooke, 2001:107
[34] Burky, 1993:7; Rondinelli, 1993:141; Chambers, 1994:955; Cooke, 2001:107: At the same time, however, "the risky individual is the most influential."
[35] Burky, 1993:7; Rondinelli, 1993:141; Chambers, 1994:955
[36] Giarini, 1992:143; Morisson et al., 1994:108
[37] Ravell, 1966:185; Hulbe, 1980:125; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:98; Sargent, 1986:73; Rondinelli, 1987:88; Uphoff, 1991:467; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Uphoff, 1992:136; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8 and 38; Craig and Mayo, 1995:2; Nelson and Wright, 1995:31-2; Brohman, 1996:218-9; Makumbe, 1996:13; Mavalankar et al., 1996:222; Rabrenovic, 1996:2; Green, 2000:70; Rolly, 2001:125
[38] U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:34-5
[39] Cary, 1970:4; Lea and Chandrhi, 1983:17; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:3; Brohman, 1996:233
[40] Stokes, 1981:126 and 132-3; Burky, 1993:181; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:34-5
[41] U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:34-5
[42] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8; Brohman, 1996:218-9; Uphoff et al., 1998:vii
[43] Kalyalya et al., 1988:5-6; Arnst, Conteh-Morgan, 1990:82; Chambers, 1994:953; Barnes and Mercer, 1995:38; Rahman, 1995:32; 1996:111; Brohman, 1996:203-4, 211 and 345; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Makumbe, 1996:19; Servaes, 1996:93; Eicher and Staatz, 1998:15; Anand and Sen, 2000:2031; Petra, 2000:6-7; Hailey, 2001:98-9; Hildyard, 2001:78; Fraser et al., 2005:116

economic flexibility and also, therefore, an important variable in neoclassical economic theory.

This kind of analysis, or "reflexive metatheorizing," according to Ritzer, clarifies theoretical differences and shows us where greater integration is possible.[44] This is the primary area of contribution of this dissertation, and it is approached by analyzing: 1) in Chapters 1-4, PD in the historical context of events and dominating theoretical perspectives since World War II ("metatheorizing includes examining historical context of theory"[45] – the theoretical models discussed are modernization-globalization, dependency-world-system, socialism-Marxism, and alternative development; 2) in Chapter 5, basic and essential qualities of PD, the vast range of project types PD is applied, and descriptions of its methods with real case examples of their application with student groups in the sociology courses I taught at the University of New Mexico from 2001 to 2009, and two groups in the village of Ouanskra (a women's group and men's), located in the Imnane Valley of the High Atlas of Morocco); 3) in Chapter 6, 77 formative relationships and roots of PD in academic disciplines and schools, geographic areas, period conditions, religious and spiritual frameworks, social movements, and theoretical and philosophical perspectives; and 4) important developmental concepts as they arise in the narrative, including community, development, community development, decentralization, civil society, capacity-building, empowerment, self-reliance, sustainable development, project, and, of course, participatory development. Chapter 7 describes the relationships

[44] Ritzer, 199:246
[45] Tiryakian, 1992:74

among the developmental theories and concepts presented in the dissertation as part of an alternative-participatory development model, which is also illustrated in a diagram.

It is my hope that this analytical process (a form of metatheorizing because it places into historical and relative contexts underlying structures of social theories[46]) fulfills its general role and potential in society, which are to: 1) help us "understand" and "deal with the social world"[47]; 2) influence the framing of discourse in contemporary sociology[48]; 3) "influence the practice and policy of geopolitics"[49]; and 4) by "unmasking the social context of dominance," perform an important liberating activity that works against hegemony[50]. Furthermore, I suggest that the research design of this study, including an exhaustive review of literature and incorporating a vast range of sociological theories (see Chapter 6),[51] enables this analysis to avoid potential downsides of metatheorizing, including: "hero worship of the early masters; textual analysis as an end in itself; history of ideas; proposals for presuppositions without propositions; and endless discourses."[52] I sincerely do not attempt to impose a theoretical orientation in this dissertation.[53] Building PD theory is specifically for the purpose of improving

[46] Ritzer, 1992:7
[47] Ritzer, 1991:247
[48] Weinsten and Weinstein, 1992:136-7
[49] Turner, 1991:268
[50] Tiryakian, 1992:74
[51] Ritzer, 1992:21
[52] Turner, 1991:251
[53] Ritzer, 1992:21

the practice of PD and its outcomes,[54] including outcomes related to democracy (discussed in Chapter 6) and aspects of citizenship[55].

PD is a relatively new paradigm[56] or socio-political phenomenon[57]. PD has received global recognition since the 1990s and is currently widely understood to be a body of methodologies that assist community groups to together analyze their life conditions and determine, design, and implement development projects toward achieving the change local people (the intended beneficiaries of development) want to see. However, understanding PD's theoretical underpinnings toward further building its theory, will, in addition to improving its efficacy, make PD no longer "easy prey for those anxious to defend formal academic research as the proper repository of good social science practice."[58]

Since my time at Clark University, this area of study related to PD (the potential growth of its theory through analyzing possible relationships with social theoretical constructs) has been the gravitational center of my academic choices and studies. One advantage to identifying at the beginning of my graduate career my research interest is that I am able to bring all the research I have done subsequently into this dissertation. It was at Clark that I began to systemize the organization of my notes. As I read books, essays, and articles related to my research interests, I marked relevant passages and then typed them, followed by

[54] Servaes, 1996:102; Altrichter and Gsettner, 1997:60; Campbell, 2000:257
[55] Selznick, 1992:523; Brohman, 1996:252-3; Makumbe, 1996:13; Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Cornwall, 1999:8; Campbell, 2000:257; Kumar, 2002:24
[56] Nelson and Wright, 1995:42; Pretty and Gujit quoted in Mikkelsen, 2005:55
[57] Vanek, 1971:1
[58] Drinkwater, 2003:63-4

the page number they appear in the text. This method has allowed me to compile in the intervening years approximately 4,000 single spaced pages of notes (derived from roughly 3,000 texts) divided into broad subjects that include: PD and development, modernization, globalization and free trade, Marxism and socialism, dependency theory, the growth of theory, research methods, ethnicity/race, gender, education, the environment, negotiation/facilitation, foreign aid, technological transferences, and conflicts and challenges related to the Middle East. In this dissertation, there are more than 2,300 footnotes; each footnote includes the page number the idea or passage can be found in the cited references, of which there are approximately 800. I conclude that comprehensive research enabled me to construct balanced and relatively more precise descriptions of theories and new definitions of developmental concepts (summarized in Chapter 7), which creates an essential foundation for the process of PD theory-building.

The following topics regarding PD are not fully addressed in the dissertation, though exhaustively researched in preparation for this study: the role and critique of the PD facilitator, social capital, social conflict, the role of technology, leadership, and project development stages and cycle. Most of the social theories presented in the dissertation can be significantly expanded with existing notes, and will be in the future; they include: free trade, globalization, dependency theory, Marxism, gender, and general growth of theory. Other broad subjects that were researched but not developed in this study are: education (training, service learning, multiculturalism, collaborative learning, university-

community partnership); ethnicity (respective theories and the case of affirmative action); and conflicts and challenges in the Middle East (in this globally consequential and complex region, I intend to 1) continue to focus my applied efforts related to PD, some of which I will now describe, and 2) develop proposals that incorporate broad-based PD initiatives derived from PD's theoretical foundations.

I applied to Clark University from Morocco because of the University's student-exchange partnership with the Development Study Center (DSC) in Rehovot, Israel. My initial desire to return to Israel[59] after my Peace Corps volunteer experience was ignited when I observed genuine trust develop among the Toubkal National Park management, a Moroccan government agency,[60] and members of the villages of the Tifnoute Valley,[61] along the park's southern border. At the outset of the development experience, however, I observed the community-park relationship to be distrustful. If by responding to the self-described needs of local communities through participatory approaches to planning projects improved the communities' overall relationships with the national park management (and, for that matter, my own relationships with community members, since I facilitated the process), then I wondered if including Israeli development assistance would additionally enable its representatives to

[59] I visited Israel earlier in 1991-92, including a five-month stay at Kibbutz Alonim, near Haifa, where I completed an "ulpan" (work/study) program.
[60] The Toubkal National Park Management is part of the Regional Management of Waters and Forests in the Province of Marrakech.
[61] The Tifnoute Valley is in the Rural Commune of Toubkal, Province of Taroudant.

share in that trust and this would in turn help to build broader structures of international peace.

In Israel, as a visiting graduate student taking courses at the DSC in the fall of 1996, I set out to establish contacts and relationships in order to catalyze dialogue between Israeli government representatives at MASHAV – the division in the foreign ministry responsible for administering international development assistance – and my counterparts in the Moroccan government with whom I had worked closely with while I was a Peace Corps Volunteer. Initially, I thought a development project they might potentially collaborate on might be the irrigation project called Ouray, which is the name of the high mountain spring that runs straight down into the Tifnoute valley. The purpose of the project is to deliver the spring's water through canals that run along a descending mountain-range summit and irrigate below new agricultural terraces on which potentially tens of thousands of fruit trees (walnut and cherry) could be grown. The irrigation infrastructure would also assist potable water systems for a population in extreme need of clean drinking water. Approximately 19 percent of the Moroccan population (6.5 million people in a country of 34 million) does not have adequate drinking water.[62] During the last six months of my Peace Corps service, villagers in the Tifnoute spoke increasingly about Ouray and its enormous potential for broad-based socio-economic development for 5,000 people. As a result, I seriously considered extending my Peace Corps service to a third year in order to help bring Project Ouray to fruition. Working on it at the

[62] Mosaic Foundation, 2004

DSC, I anticipated that the Israeli contribution might be a pilot of pressure/drip irrigation technology; after all, the efficient use of the water translated into a greater number of new agricultural terraces that could be built and utilized. To acquire funding for this project that included Moroccan-Israeli cooperation, I targeted the Middle East Regional Cooperation (MERC) program at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

In total, I devoted a year to this project. After nine months, Israeli and Moroccan officials met face-to-face in Marrakech, Morocco, to discuss it – a personally thrilling outcome. My master's thesis, *The Implementation and Consequences of Participatory Development*, describes: 1) the Ouray irrigation project that incorporates a pilot demonstration of an Israeli pressure/drip system, 2) basic components of PD in the context of rural communities that neighbor protected national parks, and 3) initial ideas related to PD's relationship with grand social theories (dependency, Marxist, and neoclassical economic).

By the time I graduated in the fall of 1997, unfavorable incidences in Jerusalem and the worsening conditions for achieving an Israeli-Palestinian peace closed off any real opportunity for Moroccan-Israeli government-to-government development cooperation. The Israeli liaison office in Rabat, Morocco, was closed (and has not reopened). The Project Ouray proposal submitted to USAID's MERC program was declined; insufficient levels of joint technological development were cited. Despite this setback, I gained intellectually from my participation in the process, in that: 1) based on experience, I was able to affirm for myself that the idea of relating PD to broader

national and international challenges and problems had real viability (Ouray is a project the Moroccans determined and want, and Israeli development assistance was offered; since then, I've examined in published articles and essays (listed in Appendix 1) the potential for incorporating PD to help manage international conflicts involving Iraq, Palestine, and the Western Sahara, advance national development goals of Morocco, and further the international objectives – including public diplomacy – of the United States); 2) I had the opportunity to develop a strategy paper, applying the lessons I learned in facilitating Moroccan-Israeli dialogue, that was presented to the director of MASHAV, describing the creation of an nongovernment organization that I feel is needed for catalyzing discussions and providing assistance in managing development cooperation between Israel and Middle Eastern countries, without which it seems unlikely that productive dialogue leading to successful collaboration can even occur[63] (after decades of Israeli-Egyptian peace, for example, very few joint development projects have been implemented); and 3) I availed myself of the excellent development library at the DSC, read more than 100 books, and firmly established my approach to research and note taking. Dr. Raphael Bar-El at the DSC graciously provided instructive guidance while I was there.

After my graduation from Clark at the end of 1997, I desired to return to Morocco. The country's enormous potential for local community socio-economic

[63] Government administrative protocols do not allow Israeli international development officials to establish initial and direct contact with prospective counterparts in other countries, particularly if they are Islamic (since it could appear to interfere in the internal affairs of another country). Still, it seems prohibitive for Moroccan officials to have to take the initiative on their own and establish contact. Given the situation, without the aid of a third-party individual or organization, it is difficult to conceive how dialogue on development cooperation could occur between Israel and countries in the region.

development that also could potentially benefit the environment has continued to powerfully draw me to it. At the time, however, I was close to going to Morocco for two years as a finalist for a fellowship from the Institute of Current World Affairs, but the participatory action-research approach did not quite fit with the more observatory or journalistic approaches the Institute seemed to encourage. So, in early 1998, I traveled to Morocco on my own to create a nongovernment organization to advance local rural community development through utilizing participatory development planning methods and approaches. The founding of that organization (which was to become the High Atlas Foundation) had to wait a couple of years because soon after arriving in Morocco I was hired as an Associate Peace Corps Director. My new responsibilities were to manage the environment and agriculture programs, which involved training and providing developmental professional support for approximately 50 Peace Corps volunteers. Half of the volunteers lived and worked in villages that neighbor most of Morocco's 10 national parks, and the other half in villages in different parts of the country that have local agricultural government extension offices. I drew some important lessons from this experience, which lasted until my return, in the fall of 1999, to graduate studies at the Fletcher School at Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University:

First, I learned through experience and observation that PD facilitation is a transferable skill. Because of their training, many of the volunteers were highly productive in working with their communities and assisting them as they defined and created a plan of action to implement priority development projects.

Volunteers implemented two and even three projects during their first year (a couple of years before, one project a year was considered quite productive). In the following planting season, the volunteers planted 80,000 fruit trees with their villages,[64] impacting approximately 10,000 people. I recall that USAID planted as many trees in Morocco that year. For the first time in the history of the Peace Corps in Morocco, the agriculture/environment sector, which has the third largest number of volunteers among the four sectors that also include education, health, and small business development, acquired the most funding for the largest number of development projects. I primarily attribute the increase in output (and sense of direction) among the volunteers to their experiential training in PD and understanding of its guiding principles. I also gained understanding of the importance of education and training that is experientially-based – a lesson that has subsequently informed my teaching and training style.

Second, as a director of national programs, I learned on a more aggregate scale some of the similarities and differences of human needs in different geographic areas, and became conversant with the development-related costs for projects that enable satisfying needs. I also learned lessons in management, and developed vital relationships in Rabat and in regional government and nongovernment offices around the country (nearly half my time was spent in traveling and meeting with volunteers and their government and NGO counterparts – some of these, later aided the community development efforts of the High Atlas Foundation). An interesting relatively short experience was in

[64] For a sense of scale, note that there are approximately 26,000 trees in the 1,000 acre Central Park in New York City.

March of 1999, when I was appointed by the United States Embassy in Rabat to serve as the site-officer (coordinating with White House Staff and the Secret Service) for two visits by the former First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton – the first to the High Atlas Mountains and the second to the Jewish Cemetery in Marrakech. I received the U.S. State Department's Meritorious Honor Award later that year.

I studied at the Fletcher School in the fall of 1999 and because of an ongoing illness, decided to take a leave of absence and recover fully in Santa Fe, New Mexico, before returning to Fletcher. In the interim, I (thankfully) decided to stay in New Mexico, where I enrolled at the University of New Mexico (UNM) in Albuquerque in the fall of 2000. I learned two things of great value during my short stay at the Fletcher School. First, in a political theory course, I discovered that participatory approaches to development and the classic federalist-anti-federalist debate in the United States have similar variables, including decentralization and capacity-building at the sub-regional or local levels. These concepts are explored in Chapter 3. Second, my primary interests are in the field of international development, with a focus on community-level participatory approaches to advancing it. I am aware that these approaches have national and international consequences and impacts. At the Fletcher School, I felt the focus of the development-related courses I took was on the macro-level, as well as on the multi-lateral institutional actors at play – somewhat "top-down" approach to analysis and development. This scope of analysis left on its own felt less gratifying considering my personal areas of interest, which is to build

knowledge around PD “bottom-up” processes of social and economic development. Top-down/bottom-up approaches to development (their tensions and potential dynamisms when complementarily brought together) are examined in several parts of the dissertation, and especially in Chapter 6.

Before entering the doctoral program at the sociology department at UNM, I founded, with other former Peace Corps volunteers, the High Atlas Foundation (HAF), a U.S. 501c(3) nonprofit organization that is also a registered association in Morocco (I currently serve as President of the Board of Directors). HAF’s mission is to achieve the development goals (determined through utilizing PD methods) of Moroccan communities, in partnership with government and nongovernment agencies. Since its founding nine years ago, HAF has: 1) facilitated hundreds of participatory development planning meetings with villages in four provinces of the country; and 2) raised funds and facilitated the local design and implementation processes for planting over 150,000 fruit trees (impacting 20,000 people), six women’s cooperatives, an irrigation project that benefits 2,000 people, and potable water systems in three villages, among other community initiatives. HAF’s partnerships with major Moroccan institutions in order to scale-up PD are also worth mentioning. In January 2009, HAF and the Faculty of Social Sciences, Law, and Economics at Mohammedia’s Hassan II University partnered to create the Center for Consensus-Building and Sustainable Development. Here, participatory development facilitation and management are experientially learned by graduate students. The Center is a pilot initiative and with successful training programs and local development

projects, could go to scale in Morocco and in other North African and Middle Eastern countries. About the same time, HAF concluded partnerships agreements with: 1) Morocco's High Commission of Waters and Forests to assist participatory development projects with the hundreds of villages that border all of Morocco's national parks (Chapter 5 discusses PD's role in natural resource management); and 2) Office Chérifien des Phosphates, Morocco's largest private enterprise, to work with villages in the Ben Guerir region that have been impacted by mining. HAF's strategy is to initially train graduate students, interested faculty, and others (government and NGO personnel, school teachers, retirees) at the Center in Mohammedia in organizing and facilitating local participatory planning meetings, and subsequently assist them as they then transfer skills and work with local communities, including in regions identified in HAF's partnerships, i.e., near national parks, mining communities, and other remote and challenged areas in the country.

Since 2005, HAF has held annual fundraising events in New York City and Washington, DC. Past honorees include former Peace Corps Morocco Country Director and current U.S. Presidential Envoy, Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, former Peace Corps and UNICEF Director Carol Bellamy, Advisor to the King of Morocco André Azoulay (who is on HAF's Advisory Board and effectively serves on behalf of Morocco as a bridge between Islamic and Western cultures), and Morocco's Ambassador to the United States Aziz Mekouar, who is also on HAF's Advisory Board. H.E. Aziz Mekouar is a very special friend of the High Atlas Foundation and has hosted for several years annual receptions for HAF in his

home in Bethesda, Maryland. Former United States Ambassador to Morocco Edward Gabriel, who is on HAF's Advisory Board and was the honoree at the first Washington reception, is very gracious in his consideration of HAF's work and has enabled the organization to broaden its impact. Former U.S. Ambassador to Morocco Thomas Riley and his wife Nancy went beyond the call of duty to promote effective local Moroccan development and their support of the High Atlas Foundation, including a reception for the organization held in their home in Rabat, has been formative for the organization. HAF currently has a staff of four in Morocco, including: HAF's first Country Director, Kate McLetchie, a former Peace Corps Volunteer and a dedicated professional who has opened new and significant opportunities to advance community development in Morocco; Project Manager, Abderrahim Ouarghidi, an extremely effective facilitator of PD who organized the resource mapping activities in the Ouanskra village described in Chapter 5; and two intern-graduate students from Hassan II University. There are 15 working members on HAF's Board of Directors – a team with a diversity of skills and backgrounds that sets strategic goals and organizes the fundraising and networking events in New York and Washington. There are also 12 distinguished members of HAF's Advisory Board.

A major lesson I learned while serving as HAF's president is the long-term commitment required to sustainably scale-up PD in order to generate development benefits and build internal partnerships within expanding geographic areas. I believe national political structures of Morocco do not overall

prevent, but in crucial ways encourage, implementation of self-reliant approaches to local and national development.

At UNM, I was afforded opportunities that expanded my depth of knowledge related to my research interests and the concepts identified, explored, and developed in this dissertation. I started teaching Introduction to Sociology in the fall of 2001 and have for four semesters since, and in more recent years I taught the course Social Problems. I designed and taught two semesters of Participatory Community Development; in the second semester, the class facilitated a series of community meetings in the Trumbull neighborhood of Albuquerque resulting into a drug rehabilitation program at a local church. In addition, I obtained two UNM Graduate Research Development grants to fund these participatory research and development experiences, and a third grant to support a similar process with an at-risk youth group in Taos, New Mexico.

I always incorporate PD methods (most often, community mapping and pairwise-ranking, described in Chapter 5) in the courses I teach to enable students as members of the UNM community to assess together their own priorities for change. The results from pairwise-ranking from 9 courses I taught since 2001 are also described in Chapter 5. Pairwise-ranking helps groups talk through and reach consensus on their priority opportunities and challenges in their community (in this case, the University of New Mexico). During PD experiences, students develop a frame of reference for how local development is often planned in communities around the globe.

In 2003, I returned, as a Fellow of the American Institute of Maghreb Studies, to Morocco and to the Tifnoute Valley. My purpose was to develop PD methods that incorporate conflict management practices. An outcome of this action/experiential-research project was the High Atlas Foundation's first implemented community project – the planting of 7,000 fruit trees funded by USAID. Funding for the project was obtained from USAID because it was strongly recommended by then U.S. Ambassador to Morocco, Margaret Tutwiler, who now serves on HAF's Advisory Board and who at the time was negotiating a free trade agreement between the United States and Morocco – an agreement ratified by the U.S. and Moroccan governments the next year. Ambassador Tutwiler appreciated the fruit tree agriculture project because it encourages economic diversity in rural areas and promotes international friendship. In Mexico under the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement, the call to diversify rural economies came too late, with massive human costs on display and described in Chapter 4. Having learned from Mexico's extreme hardship, Morocco and the United States lifted tariffs related to industrial manufactured goods, but kept tariffs in place related to the agricultural goods for at least ten years until Morocco diversifies its rural economy (and thereby help to prevent rural dislocation of families and communities). In the interim, Morocco launched in 2005 the multi-billion dollar program, called the National Initiative for Human Development, which, with all of its good works and significant challenges, has elevated the level of national consciousness regarding matters of self-reliant development (local government officials, for example, generally have a better

understanding now than before the National Initiative began of the reasons for community participation in planning development projects). Also, in November 2008, the King of Morocco, H.M. Mohammed VI, announced his county's plan to regionalize (decentralize) decision-making regarding development to the provincial and local levels in order to encourage more local control of development projects that diversify income and promote self-reliance. I believe that King Mohammed VI of Morocco is a very progressive and enabling leader who is creating national frameworks for the country to encourage "bottom-up" development and dynamism.

In 2003, I got married in Casablanca, Morocco. I received UNM's 2003-2004 International Excellence Award. In 2005-2006, I lived and worked in New York City, developing the fundraising infrastructure and organization of the High Atlas Foundation, which turned out to be a vital period in its growth. My wife and I welcomed two children during this period. When we returned in 2006 to Albuquerque, I completed my research and wrote this dissertation, continued to teach, and authored articles and essays on the role PD can play in helping to manage international and domestic challenges. The topic areas of my comprehensive exams at UNM (comparative development, gender, race, and education) and my coursework were chosen whenever possible in the context of my dissertation topic and my overall study of PD, development, and social theories. Thus, I was able to bring nearly all of that work into this study.

I also gained many valuable insights into my area of study from my interactions with faculty at UNM. I am especially grateful to Dr. George Huaco,

the Chair of my dissertation committee and a traditional Marxist. I was a student in his social theory class, where I wrote an essay about how PD – through its methods to help satisfy human needs – could actually advance a Marxist agenda for social change. I applied So's approach of providing a "generous interpretation" of Marxist theory, which is to take the "position of an advocate" and to present the theories in "as strong a light as impossible, trying to convince the reader of the merits" of the school of thought.[65] A "generous interpretation" approach to explaining social theories and concepts is applied throughout this dissertation. Although, Professor Huaco remained skeptical over PD's potential to deliver, I still received an A+ for the paper (and gained a terrific dissertation chair), which gave me confidence in my analytic approach of explaining theories on their own terms and integrating PD into that theoretical construct through a shared emphasis on specific variables, and tracing theoretical consequences that result when PD impacts the identified variables. I'm grateful as well to Professor Richard Coughlin, a member of my dissertation and comprehensive exam committees, and with whom I took a contemporary development course and an independent study, for offering what proved to be a critical suggestion on how to organize my notes – which is chronologically. This method allowed me to more readily identify the building up of knowledge and the growth of theory as it occurred across the decades. It also informed the basic presentation of this dissertation, by explaining development theories and concepts as they emerged and came to the fore the decades following World War II. Professor Coughlin

[65] So, 1990:14

has in addition challenged me to advance more sound and complete arguments, especially in the dissertation. Dr. Susan Tiano, also on my dissertation and comprehensive exam committees, has been a major influence on me in suggesting I incorporate gender theories and approaches to development in my overall study, which is addressed in Chapter 6. I have significantly more research material on the topic of gender than what appears in the dissertation, and I look forward to addressing the fascinating intersection of gender theories with PD in a future essay. During her tenure as Chair of the sociology department, Susan was also very supportive of my participatory research activities in New Mexico that were previously referred to. Help also came from Dr. Ernie Stringer, a visiting scholar in 2001 from Curtin University in Perth, Australia, and a member of my dissertation committee, who exposed me to PD research in academia, which exists in the framework of action research discussed in Chapter 6, and also in the steps for managing ethnic conflict at the community-level – steps I apply in the classroom and in the field, and are referred to in Chapter 5. Finally, in a course on social theory with Dr. Rich Wood, I developed a solid draft of my dissertation proposal and received insightful feedback.

There are six chapters in this dissertation. Together, they describe the emergence of participatory development and its related concepts in the context of the history of development since World War II. The dissertation culminates in Chapters 5 and 6, with detailed descriptions of the essential elements and basic methods (and case examples) of PD, the project-areas PD is applied, and its

formative influences and roots in academic schools, geographic areas, period conditions, social movements, and theoretical and philosophical perspectives.

Chapter 1 explains “community” and “development,” provides definitions for them, describes the new field of international development in the 1940s and 1950s, and presents modernization theory and alternative movements.

Chapter 2 discusses community and international development in the 1960s, defines community development and capacity-building, and presents decentralization (many nations began to decentralize during this period), including its origins, approaches, features, relationship with human development, benefits, criticism, implications for nations government and sovereignty, and recommendations for implementation. PD and community development in general are processes of decentralization.

Chapter 3 examines the economic crises of the 1970s and the perspectives and explanations of Dependency theory, the Marxist connection, self-reliance, regional integration, world-systems, and socialism. PD’s connection to these broad social perspectives is also considered.

Chapter 4 traces international development in the 1980s and 1990s, globalization and its economic, social, and political outcomes, free trade, protectionism, and the World Bank-International Monetary Fund, structural adjustment, and participatory poverty assessments.

Chapter 5 describes the basic elements and methods of PD, and presents data gathered from the PD method – pairwise-ranking – with UNM undergraduate students in my sociology classes, and the PD method – resource

mapping – facilitated with one men's and one women's group in the Ouanskra village located in the High Atlas of Morocco. This chapter also describes the range of development projects that incorporate PD, and explores PD in natural resource management, youth development, and transferences of Geographic Information Systems. Finally, it thoroughly explores the role of civil society and its vital connection with PD.

Chapter 6 explains PD's relationships with other paradigms and its overall formative influences. This dissertation seeks to define PD, and it does so through analyzing and presenting PD in development, its relations with social movements (democratic, empowerment, sustainable development, gender, bottom-up, grassroots, and others), academic fields, theories, religious frameworks, and period events. Defining PD in all of its important facets and connections to history, schools, and movements – which is the contribution of this dissertation – is essential to building knowledge about what PD is and new theory to understand its characteristics and consequences in society, to improving its application, and to generating lasting and successful development initiatives that are determined and controlled by local communities.

Finally, Chapter 7 draws conclusions from this study. The chapter presents the definitions of developmental concepts that I constructed resulting from their analysis. Also, the alternative-participatory development model is explained and illustrated, which incorporates the major themes in the study and their interconnections.

CHAPTER 1: THE ONSET OF THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNIZATION THEORY

This chapter presents the field of international development during the years immediately following World War II, explains modernization theory, and discusses and defines the terms *community* and *development*. The chapter also describes perceptions of public participation in development decision-making during this early time, and the application of participatory approaches in colonial and post-colonial periods.

Pre-World War II

Although analyzing the relationship between popular participation and social development is as old as the ancient Greeks,[66] it was only during the nineteenth century that participation (then understood to mean "civil involvement in political life") came to be viewed as a precondition for overcoming social inequalities[67]. There were local community initiatives that took place in the late nineteenth century – generally in poor urban neighborhoods to improve living conditions – that were inspired by the intellectual legacy of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859).[68] As will be discussed, the modern phase of community development in the United States emerged in the 1960s.[69]

Prior to 1945 few scholars showed interest in the low level of development around the world, and this remained the case during the immediate years

[66] Apter, 1987:60; Cohen and Uphoff in Gonzalez, 1998:1
[67] Nkumika, 1987:18
[68] Gonzalez, 1998:1; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:14-5
[69] Sullivan, 2001:64

following World War II.[70] Serious theorizing began in the 1950s and 1960s as the belief spread that the state can further socio-economic development.[71]

The 1940s and 1950s

In the aftermath of World Wars I and II, development policies emphasized economic growth and reconstruction – and, to a lesser degree, human development (the concept is described in Chapter 2).[72] Between 1948 and 1952, more than $13 billion in U.S. foreign economic assistance was transferred to countries through the Marshall Plan[73] in order to support rebuilding infrastructure, food aid, management training, institution building, and improving agricultural production[74]. The success of the Marshall Plan led to expanding aid to developing countries around the world,[75] which initially took place within the framework of the 1949 Act for International Development, or the Four Point Program[76]. Taken from President Harry Truman's inaugural address in 1949, the goals of the four points included: 1) support for decisions of the United Nations; 2) revitalizing the world economy; 3) "strengthen[ing] freedom-loving peoples around the world against the evils of aggression"; and 4) modernization and capital investment.[77]

Both the Marshall Plan and the Four Point Program aimed to alleviate poverty and the suffering associated with it through capital investment, which

[70] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:6
[71] Evans, 1992:139-40
[72] Brohman, 1996:11
[73] Conteh-Morgan, 1990:3
[74] Mellor, 1998:57
[75] Green, 2000:76
[76] Conteh-Morgan, 1990:3; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:51
[77] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52

involved transferring to non-communist countries Western advances in "agriculture, commerce, industry, and health."[78] In 1950, the first bilateral aid agency, the Technical Cooperation Administration, was created and later replaced by the Mutual Security Administration.[79] The Mutual Security Act of 1951 united military, economic, and technical assistance. European countries bordering the Communist bloc received 63 percent of the military aid and 54 percent of the development aid.[80] During the 1950s, U.S. bilateral aid programs in Africa were designed to help build infrastructure, promote growth, ensure stability of governments sympathetic to the United States, and assist U.S. firms to access their markets and resources.[81]

In the United States, community development most notably took the form of neighborhood efforts to address significant urban challenges, such as the crisis in education (a breakdown in public schools), juvenile delinquency, and increasing levels of urban migration.[82] The Ford Foundation began its philanthropic work during this period and provided assistance in these areas.[83]

Defining Community

> It is incumbent on anyone wishing to use the word community to provide some clarification as to the meaning to be ascribed to it.[84]

Since "community" is the primary actor in this study and target of participatory development (PD), and will be invoked repeatedly in this analysis, it

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[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Conteh-Morgan, 1990:14-7; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52
[81] Kalyaya et al., 1988:6-9
[82] Sillitoe, 1998:236; Epstein and Jezeph, 2001:1443; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:14
[83] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:14
[84] Ife, 1995:90

is necessary to provide its definition at the outset. Many writers have referred to the concept of community as being difficult to define,[85] elastic, and elusive[86]. Indeed, one review identified eighteen different contexts in social policy that applied the word community[87]; and another found more than ninety-four separate definitions.[88] The term is subjective, which makes it "appropriate to allow people to develop their own understanding of what community means for them, in their own context."[89] Nisbet states that community "in much nineteenth- and twentieth-century thought encompasses all forms of relationship which are characterized by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion, and continuity in time."[90]

Community is a "unit of action"[91] and a basic part of the social structure.[92] As such, community is explained to be necessary for human existence.[93] Communities have spatial[94] and social dimensions.[95] Indeed, the term often

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[85] Bulmer, 1989:189; Ife, 1995:93; Selzinick, 1992:357; Cleaver, 1999:603; Mayo, 2000:36; Cleaver, 2001:44; Dudgeon, 2002:253; Green and Haines, 2002:3; Hampshire et al., 2005:340
[86] Bulmer, 1989:189; Selzinick, 1992:357; Mayo, 2000:36; Cleaver, 2001:44; Dudgeon, 2002: 253; Green and Haines, 2002:3; Hampshire et al., 2005:340
[87] Bulmer, 1989:189
[88] Green and Haines, 2002:3
[89] Ife,1995:93
[90] Nisbet, 1966:48
[91] Cary, 1970:2; Sanders, 1970:31; Etzioni, 1992:51; Selzinick, 1992:359-62; Stoecker, 1994:19; Ife, 1995:89; Mezzana, 1996:194; Peruzzo, 1996:162; Lin 2001:31; Hale, 2006:122
[92] Bulmer, 1989:189; Selzinick, 1992:358; Neil and Tykkylainen, 1998:20; Cleaver, 2001:44-5
[93] Cary, 1970:2; Selzinick, 1992:358; Stoecker, 1994:16-9; Ife, 1995:89; Rabrenovic, 1996:199; Mason, 2000:55
[94] Wolff, 1964:233; Buber, 1970:145; Cary, 1970:2; Luard, 1979:48; Friedman, 1992:133; Selzinick, 1992:359-61; Stoecker, 1994:16; Brohman, 1996:235; Holdgate, 1996:226; Peruzzo, 1996:162; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:67; Neil and Tykkylainen, 1998:20; Acselrad, 1999:47; Cleaver, 1999:604; Campbell, 2000:264; Mason, 2000:17; Cleaver, 2001:44; Rolly, 2001:25; Felkins, 2002:16; Keller, 2003:6; Green and Haines, 2002:4; Morse, 2004:2
[95] Warren, 1970:36; Selzinick, 1992:358; Uphoff, 1992:3; Stoecker, 1994:16; Rabrenovic, 1996:2; Krobling, 1996:162; Peruzzo, 1996:162; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:67; Tykkylainen, 1998:337; Cheater, 1999:597; Mason, 2000:17; Cleaver, 2001:44; Rolly, 2001:25; Felkins, 2002:16; Green and Haines 2002:496; Keller 2003:6; Morse, 2004:1; Hampshire et al., 2005:340

refers to people who live in spatial relationship to one another.[96] Communities have ongoing interaction and integration of social relationships.[97] An assumption is sociology is that community exists in a geographic area and is delimited by a locality,[98] although permeable boundaries most often exist[99].

Communities have shared interests,[100] history,[101] identity,[102] and culture[103]. Communities have plurality[104] and typically create local associations based on shared interests, beliefs, and values[105]. Membership in community is

[96] Cary, 1970:2
[97] Schler, 1970:135; Selzinick, 1992:361; Stoecker, 1994:16-7; Nair and White, 1994:142; Holdgate, 1996:226; Mezzana, 1996:194; Peruzzo, 1996:162; Rabrenovic, 1996:199; Woolcock, 1998:171-80; Cleaver, 1999:604; Felkins, 2002; Green and Haines, 2002:4; Dudgeon et al., 2002:255-6; Keller, 2003:6
[98] Bulmer, 1989:189; Selzinick, 1992:359; Uphoff, 1992:3; Cleaver, 1999:608, Mason, 2000:17
[99] Bulmer, 1989:189; Ife, 1995:93; Selzinick, 1992:357; Cleaver, 1999:603; Mayo, 2000:36; Cleaver, 2001:44; Dudgeon et al., 2002: 253; Green and Haines, 2002:3; Hampshire et al., 2005:340
[100] Cary, 1970:2 and 361; Selznick, 1992:358; Etzioni, 1991:148; Peruzzo, 1996:162; Rabrenovic, 1996:199; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:67; Prokopy, 1999:226; Cleaver, 2001:44-5; Cooke and Kothari, 2001:6; Lin, 2001:31; Green and Haines, 2002:4; Keller, 2003:6; Morse, 2004:558; Morse, 2004:1; Hampshire et al., 2005:340
[101] Friedman, 1992:133; Selzinick, 1992:361; Woolcock, 1998:187-8
[102] Selzinick, 1992:361; Stoecker, 1994:17; Cleaver, 1999:608; Campbell, 2000:264; Turner et al., 2000:1724; Green and Haines, 2002:4
[103] Selzinick, 1992:361; Nair and White, 1994:142; Cheater, 1999:604; Rolly, 2001:25; Dudgeon et al., 2002:265
[104] Schler, 1970:135; Luard, 1979:106; Kourvetaris and Dobratz, 1980:13, Selzinick, 1992:361-3 and 518; Cleaver 1999:343; Hagmann et al., 1999:2 and 7; Cleaver, 2001:45; Cook and Kothari, 2001:6; Felkins, 2002:16; Fisher, 2002:255-65; Dudgeon et al., 2002:255-6; Hampshire et al., 2005:340; Pluralism is defined as "a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into an unspecified number of multiple, voluntary, competitive, nonhierarchically ordered and self-determined (as to type or scope of interest) categories which are not specifically licensed, recognized, subsidized, created or otherwise controlled in leadership selection or interest articulation by the state and which do not exercise a monopoly of representative activity within their respective categories" (Schmitter, 1974:96).
[105] Cary, 1970:2; Luard, 1979:48; Selzinick, 1992:358-62; Stoecker, 1994:19; Mezzano, 1996:194; Rabrenovic, 1996:199; Hagmann et al., 1999:7; Mason, 2000:17; Lin, 2001:31; Dudgeon et al., 2002:265; Felkins, 2002:16; Green and Haines, 2002:4; Hampshire et al., 2005:340

therefore considered an aspect of citizenship.[106] Communities also affect the decisions that individuals and groups make.[107]

There are criticisms of the concept of community. For example, government and other organizations can determine administrative boundaries of a "community" in order to deliver goods and services, irrespective of whether the "community" itself considers itself to be a community.[108] This example contributes to the perception that the term community is elusive or elastic, as well as being ascribed according to political considerations[109]. Furthermore, the community unit is often emphasized by development planners to carry out socio-economic initiatives, and therefore they potentially neglect other social groups and institutions that could also contribute to improving social life.[110] A community may also compete with government to provide social services,[111] such as when it seeks to be independent of state-run programs[112]; in this situation, antagonism between community and government could arise. Finally, community is considered to be a foundation of despotism and to restrain of the human mind.[113] This perspective is associated with Marxist theory, which also explains that "only communist society is a true community"[114] able to achieve harmonization of

[106] Elazar, 1972:97; Selzinick, 1992:523
[107] Etzioni, 1992:51
[108] Nelson, 1995:197; Cleaver, 1999:604; Campbell, 2000:264; Mason, 2000:17; Cleaver, 2001:44
[109] Mason, 2000:17; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249; Felkins, 2002:16
[110] Francis, 2001:79
[111] Osterfield, 1992:242
[112] Buber, 1970:104
[113] Marx quoted in Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:217
[114] Huaco, 1999:15; Mason, 2000:35

interests among people, whereby individuals develop their own capacities through their social relationships[115].

Community is here defined as *a geographic area where members live and interact over time, develop social relationships, and create institutions that reflect their interests and identities*. This definition is similar to the one provided by Green and Haines, who define community "as including three elements: a) territory or place, b) social organizations or institutions that provide regular interaction among residents, and c) social interaction on matters concerning a common interest."[116] Both definitions exclude "communities of interest, such as professional organizations or religious groups."[117] The reason for excluding communities of interests in the above working definition is because a number of PD community planning activities, described in Chapter 5, assume that communities exist within a geographic space.

Table 1 summarizes qualities of community.

[115] Marx and Engels, 1975:78; Brenkert, 1983:119; Huaco, 1999:16
[116] Green and Haines, 2002:4
[117] Ibid.

Table 1: *Qualities of Community*

Features
• Affects individual decisions
• Interaction and integration
• Membership is an aspect of citizenship
• Necessary to exist
• Plurality / local associations
• Shared beliefs, values, culture, history, identity, and interests
• Social and spatial (permeable boundaries) dimensions
• Social structural / unit of action
Critique
• Communist society is true community with unity of interests
• Community free of state compulsion may cause conflict
• Competes with government to provide services
• Emphasized to the neglect of other groups and institutions
• Foundation of despotism and limits the human mind
• Lacks precise definition
• Real community: individuals develop capabilities and achieve freedom through social relationships
• State and other organizations create administrative boundaries to deliver goods and services; political-economic delimitations from outside rather than by community

Modernization Theory

Major Tenets of Modernization

The mainstream development establishment at the time was (and still is) informed by modernization theory, which is an extension of liberal philosophy[118] and influenced by functionalism[119]. A basic assumption of modernization theory is that over time societies move from a primitive to an advanced state of free markets unfettered by the government (or at least government involvement kept to a minimum to ensure property rights, enforcement of contracts, elimination of

[118] Myrdal, 1968:17; Lusztig, 2004:4
[119] Evans and Stephens, 1988a:741; So, 1990:20; Peet, 1991:22

obstacles to efficiency,[120] and an economic environment where protectionist measures are unlikely to be adopted[121]).[122] Modernization theorists believe that this progression is universal,[123] inevitable,[124] and good for society.[125] A modernized society is characterized by: 1) competition in the marketplace,[126] which "spurs innovation, raises productivity, and lowers prices"[127]; 2) the circulation of money[128]; 3) a specialized and educated workforce,[129] or division of labor, which raises productivity, lowers prices,[130] enables increasing consumption, and a higher standard of living – all of these on which wealth depends[131]; 4) a strong centralized government capable of ensuring free markets[132]; 5) a diversified economy[133]; 6) urbanization[134]; and 7) a two way flow of goods between rural areas (which provide agricultural products) and city centers (which provide manufactured items)[135].

[120] Evans and Stephens, 1988a:749
[121] Lawrence and Litan, 1986:7
[122] Black, 1976:13; Varma, 1980:89; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:12; Jaffee, 1990:4; So, 1990:19
[123] Myrdal, 1968:16; Tachau, 1972:23; Black, 1976:74; Seers, 1980:6; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:12; Evans and Stephens, 1988b:715; So, 1990:24; Higgins and Savoie, 1995:5
[124] Lemco, 1988:18; So, 1990:34 ("irreversible"); Kiely, 1998:8
[125] Rostow, 1960:6; Black, 1976:36; Apter, 1987:58; So, 1991:261
[126] Samuelson, 1967:41
[127] Morris, 1993:139
[128] Polany, 1944:68; So, 1990:24
[129] Hoselitz, 1957:186; Bendix, 1964:368; Smelser, 1964:273-4; Tachau, 1972:31-2; Peet, 1991:29-30
[130] Morris, 1993:139; Irwin, 2005:27-8
[131] Irwin, 2005:26
[132] Bollen, 1979:574-7; So, 1990:24
[133] Black, 1976:186; Lemco, 1988:11
[134] Bendix, 1964:361-2; Lerner, 1964:iix; Smelser, 1964:268; Withers, 1964:111; Black, 1976:188-9; Tilly, 1984:19; Salazar-Xirinachs and Granados, 2004:245-6
[135] Simpson, 1987:122; So, 1990:25; Salazar-Xirinachs and Granados, 2004:245-6

A modernized society is interdependent, whereby a disruption in one sector of the economy has consequences in other sectors.[136] In modernization, the production and distribution of goods and services depend on prices.[137] Human beings are viewed as rational actors who pursue their own self-interests.[138] A modernized society is flexible (adjusts to challenges),[139] which "facilitates modern economic growth."[140] In fact, Neuber suggests that economic flexibility is "the major determinant of sustained economic growth."[141] Modernization is also said to be "conceptually related to (but more comprehensive than) economic development."[142]

The modernization perspective holds that rural poverty is caused by the "backwardness" of traditional agriculture.[143] Therefore, in addition to technological and capital diffusion from the West to developing countries in order to develop the industrial sector[144] (targeting the elite for best disbursement results), modernization theorists also seek to dismantle traditional and cultural systems to help achieve structural reform,[145] such as dismantling the division of

[136] Hoselitz, 1957:189; Bendix, 1964:411; Smelser, 1964:259; Almond and Powell:1969:12; Black, 1976:64; So, 1990:21; Aaronson, 2001:189
[137] Polany, 1944:68
[138] Polany, 1944:68; Myrdal, 1968:17; Evans and Stephens, 1988b:731; Peet, 1991:29-30
[139] Lerner, 1964:iix; Black, 1976:93; Apter, 1987:105; Simpson, 1987:119; So, 1990:20; Killick, 1995:1; Syrquin, 1995:34
[140] Syrquin, 1995:34
[141] Neuber, 1995:122
[142] Appelbaum, 1970:37-8
[143] Binswanger, 1998:287-8; McCulloch et al., 2001:175
[144] Withers, 1964:111; Black, 1976:13; Apter, 1987:105; Bradshaw and Wallace, 1996:41; Mellor 1998:57; Anholt, 1998:534-55
[145] Bendix, 1964:404; Moore, 1966:89-92; Black, 1976:36; Angotti, 1982:126; Clark and Lemco, 1988:3; Mellor, 1998:62; Woolcock and Narayan, 1999:4; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:124; Waters, 2000:90-1

labor between the sexes[146]. A change in attitudes and values ("to work, to wealth, to thrift, to having children, to invention, to strangers, to adventure, and so on"[147]), and a removal of traditional social relationships (thus increasing pressure to move to the cities[148]) are necessary to move along the Western economic development path.[149] Modernization theorists also believe that increases in income, education, and information sharing strengthen democratic practices and help to ensure human rights and freedom of expression.[150]

According to modernization theory, the adoption of technology and industrialization are essential to enable traditional societies to modernize.[151] In order to do this, however, the agricultural sector must increase its productivity in order to support the growing workforce in industry (this is one of Rostow's conditions for a "take-off"[152]).[153] Rapid industrialization and wage-labor may also have the undesired consequence of increasing the unemployment of unskilled rural workers,[154] as well as undermining the family production unit, which occurs when a family's production activities is different from what it consumes[155]. "The family ceases to be an economic unit of production"; rather, it becomes "a more

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[146] Boserup, 1989:5
[147] Lewis, 1955:14; So, 1991:111
[148] Epstein and Jezeph, 2001:1444-5
[149] Bauer, 1976:84-5; Black, 1976:13; Delacroix and Ragin, 1978:131; Clark and Lemco, 1988:3; Evans and Stephens, 1988b:717; Jaffee, 1990:12; Peet, 1991:36; So, 1991:111
[150] Lipset, 1963:31; Neumann, 1969:73; Tilton, 1974:562; Black, 1976:15; Evans and Stephens, 1988a:752; Stephens, 1989:1024; So, 1990:79; Rueschemeyer et al., 1992:158; Figueroa, 2001:321-2; Streeten, 2001:162; Dickson and Sandbrook, 2003:242
[151] Hoselitz, 1957:187; Smelser, 1964:259; Girvan, 1975:3; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:54; Apter, 1987:89; Simpson, 1987:95; Jaffee, 1990:4; So, 1990:24; Peet, 1991:26
[152] Rostow, 1960:3 and 8
[153] Smelser, 1964:259; Girvan, 1975:2; Lewis, 1977:9-10; Tilly, 1984:46; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:12-3; Simpson, 1987:116; Stephens, 1989:1072; Ramirez, 1991:114; Salazar-Xirinachs and Granados, 2004:245-6
[154] Polany, 1944:90; So, 1990:52; Salazar-Xirinachs and Granados, 2004:245-6
[155] Smelser, 1964:262

specialized agency" which is "more concentrated on emotional gratification and socialization."[156]

Comparative Advantage and Import-Export

Exports and comparative advantage are encouraged in modernization theory.[157] "Under the principle of comparative advantage, nations can maximize the economic welfare of their citizens by concentrating on the production of goods and services where limited resources are best employed. They can then export the excess not consumed domestically and import other goods."[158] In this way, international trade moves "jobs and capital from lower…to higher productivity sectors of the economy. The gains from trade are the gains from a more efficient allocation of the nation's productive resources."[159] However, Dasgupta states, and others agree,[160] that "in most poor countries such comparative advantage lies in labor-intensive production such as food products and textiles, and not in large-scale capital- and knowledge-intensive industries."[161]

Modernization proponents seek to restructure the economy to accommodate external resources, supply imports, and finance investment.[162] Liberalizing international trade is an extension of the division of labor to a global

[156] Ibid., 263
[157] Viner, 1952:135; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:12; Evans and Stephens, 1988a:757; Peet, 1991:44; Higgins and Savoie, 1995:5; Dasgupta, 1998:94; Stiglitz, 2003:59; Lusztig, 2004:2
[158] Lawrence and Litan, 1986:16-7
[159] Krauss, 1997:xii
[160] Lee, 2006:134-5
[161] Dasgupta, 1998:94
[162] Manne and Preckel, 1984:409; Bigman, 2002a:3

level.[163] It expands the size of a nation's market[164] and achieves economies of scale[165]. Trade is believed to benefit the poor and increase incomes, employment, growth, productivity, efficiency, and competitiveness (inefficient industries close down)[166]; improve the allocation of resources[167]; and expand consumer choice, provide incentives for innovation and disincentives for conflict among trading partners, as well as help to maximize overall wealth[168].

The logic liberal international trade follows is this: the more a nation specializes based on comparative advantage, the more productive it is, and the more it imports and the more it then must export.[169] Protectionism, therefore, interrupts or blocks this chain of outcomes by hindering production and human welfare. Also, as Lusztig points out, once trade liberalization agreements are created, they tend to endure, which has the effect of marginalizing protectionists.[170] The debate as to whether protectionism or international trade catalyzes employment and low prices is at least two centuries old.[171] The modern-day manifestation of this debate is discussed in Chapter 4.

Opposition to Modernization Theory

During its early period the modernization approach was commonly regarded as revolutionary and a challenge to the international order.[172]

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[163] Irwin, 2005:26
[164] Ibid., 27-8
[165] Lusztig, 2004:2
[166] Stiglitz, 2003:59; Dunkley, 2004:109-10
[167] Figueroa, 2001:321-2; McCulloch et al., 2001:3-12, Neumayer, 2001:107; Stiglitz, 2003:53
[168] Lusztig, 2004:1
[169] Batra, 1993:155-6
[170] Lusztig, 2004:206
[171] Olnek, 1984:13
[172] Sunkel quoted in Kay, 1989:2-3

However, from the 1940s to the middle of the 1950s, the initial break took place with modernization's rigid perspective.[173]

Keynesian models of growth theory (developed in the United States and Europe) suggested that neoclassical economic models were inadequate and offered only marginal help for developing countries due to their "structural rigidities," and that greater inputs and better alternatives were needed.[174] Capitalist economies fluctuate and suffer periods of bottlenecks of supply and higher prices,[175] unemployment, recession, and depression[176]. In the Keynesian view, state interventions (e.g., taxation to divert demand from foreign to domestic goods,[177] state planning, redistribution of income, expansion of social welfare, support for labor, agrarian reform, import substitution, and higher wages) are necessary to spur aggregate demand and investment.[178]

Lawrence and Litan, reflecting the Keynesian view, state that "intervention will actually improve economic performance…and...efficiency, preserve essential production, protect so-called infant industries," and fulfill the necessity to "compensate for private costs of dislocation that may not fully reflect total social costs."[179] Advocates of free markets expect many of these interventions to prolong the needed economic readjustments that are part of cyclical economic changes.[180]

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[173] Brohman, 1996:11
[174] Ibid.; Myrdal, 1968:19; Schumacher, 1973:61; Bhagwati, 2002:16-7
[175] Olnek, 1984:106
[176] Bell and Srinivasan, 1984:473
[177] Bhagwati, 2002:16-7
[178] Henfrey, 1982:17; Jaffee, 1990:121; Hettne, 1995:8; Krauss, 1997:86
[179] Lawrence and Litan, 1986:16-7
[180] Ibid., 7

The beginning of the 1950s also marked the time when modernization was challenged by political economy and dependency models of development and underdevelopment.[181] The modernization model, it was argued, deals only with industrial societies and not the reality of developing nations.[182] Fortified by this insight, efforts were now made to begin to change mainstream development from a top-down to a grassroots focus, with a concentration on the links between rural villages and towns and the global economy.[183]

Botchway suggests that the terms participation and participatory development appeared in development discourse around the 1950s, and were initially inspired by social workers and field activists who were frustrated with the earlier modernization and top-down approaches to development.[184] For example, they held a critical view of agricultural development which simply involved building systems to absorb Western technologies, crop varieties, and practices that significantly emphasized the rate of adoption.[185]

Some modernization theorists during the 1950s and 1960s saw public participation and democracy as an obstacle to economic growth because they viewed the masses as lacking the skills and foresight to plan for the future.[186] It was thought that too much public participation could invite political instability that could be beyond the capacities of official institutions to accommodate. PD was

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[181] Kay, 1989:2-3; Larrain, 1989:111; Jaffee, 1990:152; Eicher and Staatz, 1998:14-5; Martinussen, 1997:85
[182] Kay, 1989:2-3; Jaffee, 1990:36; Spitz (1992:41) also states that there is not a universal development model.
[183] Sillitoe, 1998:236; Epstein and Jezeph, 2001:1443
[184] Botchway, 2000:136
[185] Mellor, 1998:57; Antholt, 1998:354-5
[186] Martinussen, 1997:232-3

considered by some a "populist movement."[187] PD is bottom-up by nature[188] because it takes place at the grassroots[189] and sees individuals, households, small groups, and communities mobilize[190] into collective action. The concern among some modernization theorists was later modified in light of the potential to restructure through decentralization. Studies during this period showed that farmers were poor but efficient, with lack of technology preventing growth.[191]

Some writers suggest that PD is rooted in the anti-colonialist movements of the 1950s and 1960s,[192] while others view it as rooted in colonial development itself. The British Colonial Office supported to a degree local farming practices and forms of knowledge.[193] Colonial powers are generally criticized, however, for encouraging export crops rather than native agriculture.[194] In the 1940s, the British in the colonial countries applied ideas related to community development (defined in Chapter 2) to advance education, welfare, and regional economies in order to prepare colonies for independence.[195] The French colonists' *Animation*

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[187] Brohan, 1996:203-4
[188] Knippers, 1991:21; Melkote, 1991:240; Uphoff, 1992:103; Chambers, 1994:953; Nelson and Wright, 1995:16; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Makumbe, 1996:11-3; Servaes, 1996:93; United Nations quoted in Brohman, 1996:252; Gonzalez, 1998:20; Uphoff et al., 1998:97; Woolcock, 1998:171; Cheater, 1999; Hagmann et al., 1999:2-3; Mayo, 2000:109-10; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:337-8; Fraser et al., 2005:114
[189] Miller et al., 1995:113-4; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Bhatt, 1997:382; Chaudhary, 1997:123; Uphoff et al., 1998:192; Woolcock, 1998:171; Lyons et al., 1999:10-1; Symes and Jasser, 2000:149; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:337-8; Kumar, 2002:45; Morris, 2003:226; Smock, 2004:222
[190] Hulbe, 1980:75; Rahman, 1992:171; Wignaraja, 1992:393; Cohen, 1996:233; Servaes, 1996:98-102; Miller, 1997:22; McTaggart, 1997:1-2; Uphoff et al., 1998:38; Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Allen et al., 1999:3; Cheater, 1999:604; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 218; Symes and Jasser, 2000:149; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249; Brannstrom, 2001:1351; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:25; Kumar, 2002:47; Parfitt, 2004:552; Ukaga and Moser, 2004:39-40
[191] Antholt, 1998:354-5
[192] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215
[193] Brohman, 1996:203-4
[194] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:261
[195] Holdcroft, 1976:9; Brohman, 1996:203-4

Rurale utilized indigenous change agents, as does contemporary PD. An emphasis on "participation" in the 1960s by some socialist African nations[196] supports the idea that PD's roots are post-colonial[197].

Defining Development

Although development has been suggested to be rooted in "the long standing human urge to act collectively,"[198] in its contemporary phase it is often equated with modernization.[199] As with the term "community," there is disagreement on the precise definition of development.[200] The disagreement often derives from the different interests, values, and beliefs of the individuals and groups who are defining the term.[201] Development could also be considered "controversial" when governments of different countries attempt to define minimal standards of human welfare.[202]

There are, however, common words associated with development, including: process,[203] change,[204] movement,[205] mobilization,[206] and actions[207].

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[196] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215
[197] McTaggart, 1997:7
[198] Sanders, 1970:9; also suggested in Vaughn, 1966:223-4
[199] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52; Tarrow, 2002:232
[200] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:24; Martinussen, 1997:3; Pieterse, 2000:178; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:44
[201] Moser, 1993:100; Servaes, 1999:14
[202] Ranis, 1988:87
[203] Wang and Dissanayake, 1984:5; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:46; Knippers, 1991:188; Burky, 1993:64; Griffin and Mckinley, 1994:xii; Brohman, 1996:352; Mezzana, 1996:195; Eade, 1997:24; Rist, 1997:8-9; Neil and Tykklainen, 1998:6; Mellor, 1998:136; Hagmann et al., 1999:7; Wildemeersch, 1999:212; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:44; Nolan, 2002:21-8
[204] Wang and Dissanayake, 1984:5; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:46; Ngoupande, 1988:133; Porter, 2000:1
[205] Ngoupande, 1988:133; Rist, 1997:8-9; Porter, 2000:1
[206] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249
[207] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:46; Eade, 1997:24

Some other descriptive words include: continuous,[208] complicated,[209] creative and artistic,[210] and not controllable[211]. There is also general agreement that development is multidimensional[212] and includes the following dimensions: economic,[213] political,[214] social,[215] cultural (including traditional),[216] environmental (including ecological or physical),[217] and technological[218]. These dimensions together impact "every aspect of community life"[219] or the "totality of human life"[220].

There are though differing opinions on which dimensions development should primarily emphasize. For example, some writers stress the importance of economic growth and the increase of the production of commodities, while others

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[208] Burky, 1993:64; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:1
[209] Knippers, 1991:188
[210] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:118; Knippers, 1991:188; Rahman, 1992:179
[211] Rondinelli, 1993:18; Knippers, 1991:188 and 200; Botchway, 2000:136
[212] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:24; Lemco, 1988:10; Jaffee, 1990:1; Hettne, 1995:12; Sillitoe, 1998:236; Allen et al., 1999:2; Bond et al., 2001:1011; Rolly, 2001:25
[213] Bryant and White, 1982:109; Ngoupande, 1988:133; Gatter, 1988:156; Edwards and Rattan; 1990:68; National Research Council, 1991:14; Robinson, 1992:33; Chambers, 1993:11; Reid, 1993:200; Rondinelli, 1993:18; Kasoma, 1994:401-2; Moemeka, 1994:63; Eade, 1997:24; Woolcock, 1998:175; Allen et al., 1999:2; Anand and Sen, 2000:2032; Kapoor, 2001:13;
[214] Bryant and White, 1982:109; Knippers, 1991:191; Melkote, 1991:193; Kamenetsky, 1992:193; Ferguson, 1994:256; Max-Neef, 1992:135; Rahman, 1992:178; Burky, 1993:33; Rondinelli, 1993:18; Serageldin, 1993:199; Makumbe, 1996:21; Rist, 1997:8-9; Uphoff et al., 1998:175; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:262; Reid, 2005:47; Williams, 2004:564; Gibbs, 2005:1425-67
[215] Stokes, 1981:135; Bryant and White, 1982:109; Ngoupande, 1988:133; Gatter, 1988:156; Edwards and Rattan, 1990:68; Kattak, 1991:431; National Research Council, 1991:14; Max-Neef, 1992:135; Norgaard, 1992:81; Chambers, 1993:11; Rondinelli, 1993:18; Moemeka, 1994:63; Eade, 1997:24; Shragge, 1997:15; Woolcock, 1998:187; Allen et al., 1999:2; Anand and Sen, 2000:2031; Botchway, 2000:136; Nolan, 2002:21; Gibbs, 2005:1425-67
[216] Stokes, 1981:135; Edwards and Rattan, 1990:68; Kottak, 1991:431; Melkote, 1991:193; Max-Neef, 1992:198; Moemeka, 1994:63; Sorenen, 1995:400; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:262; Pieterse, 2000:188; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:43; Nolan, 2002:21; Gibbs, 2005:1425-67
[217] Ngoupande, 1988:133; Gatter, 1988:156; Human Development Report of 1991:1; National Research Council, 1991:14; Melkote, 1991:193; Friedman, 1992:133; Norgaard, 1992:81; Chambers, 1993:11; Kaoma, 1994:401-2; Moemeka, 1994:63; Crush, 1995:6; Neil and Tykklainen, 1998:6; Allen et al., 1999:2; Anand and Sen, 2000:2031; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:1
[218] Walter, 1976:10; Norgaard, 1992:84-6; Martinussen, 1997:24
[219] Allen et al., 1999:2
[220] Rolly, 2001:25

suggest that this primary focus ignores other significant factors of development and human needs.[221] There are also differing ideas on the extent to which development is political. On one side, development "is a process which can only take place through prolonged political struggle,"[222] while on the other it is described as a "social endeavor, not a….political dictate"[223] and "de-politicized in the world today"[224]. In addition, views diverge regarding the role of technology within development.[225] Some suggest that development is primarily a challenge of increasing people's capacity and understanding in devising technological tools,[226] while others focus more on a "co-evolution" of a range of other factors alongside technology[227].

Many writers state that development should be undertaken by and for the people themselves.[228] In general, its intent is to improve the quality of life.[229] Others suggest that the primary intent of development is the realization of creative and human potential,[230] empowerment (including skilled decision-making and self-confidence, described in Chapter 6),[231] and changes in the

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[221] Brohman, 1996:11; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:19-20
[222] Brohman, 1996:352
[223] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:118
[224] Ferguson, 1994:255
[225] Melkote, 1991:193; Kasoma, 1994:401-2
[226] Walter, 1976:10
[227] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:118; Norgaard, 1992:84-6
[228] Nyerere, 1973:60; Korten and Klauss, 1984:207; Wang and Dissanayake, 1984:5; Ngoupande, 1988:133; Kottak, 1990:432; Max-Neef, 1992:198; Conti, 1993:118; Narayan, 1993:27; Serageldin, 1993:143; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xii, Kasoma, 1994:401-2; Sorenen, 1995:400; Nelson and Wright, 1995:30; Brohman, 1996:346-52; Servaes, 1996:15; Green, 2000:70; Ruddell, 2002:186; Morris, 2003:225-6; Pritchett, 2003:4; Parfitt, 2004:538-9
[229] Ben Mady, 1973:10; Korten and Carner, 1984:206; Wang and Dissanayake, 1984:5; Ranis, 1988:87; Jaffee, 1990:3; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:44; Nolan, 2002:28
[230] Rahman, 1992:179; Eade, 1997:24; Rist, 1997:8-9
[231] Ben Mady, 1973:10; Brohman, 1996:352; Eade, 1997:24; Shragge, 1997:15; Rist, 1997:8-9; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:44; Morris, 2003:225-6

attitudes of participants[232]. Furthermore, the process of development is suggested to carry "multiplier effects."[233] This happens when, for example, successful programs are replicated (such as by neighboring communities),[234] networks then form,[235] and the horizontal aggregation of resources takes place[236]. Scaling-up could then occur, which then enables development programs to influence policies and acquire political significance.[237] The process of scaling-up development programs is an example of a multiplier effect and is described in more detail in Chapter 5.

"All" or the "majority" of people are intended to benefit from development.[238] There is an emphasis on directing development efforts towards the poor and marginalized groups, often those in rural areas.[239] According to a broad consensus, a vigorous civil society in the form of micro-organizations, described in Chapter 5, should be promoted in the process of development.[240]

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[232] Honadle and Vansanta, 1985:46
[233] Knippers, 1991:191
[234] Miller, 1997:25
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Knippers, 1991:191; Korten cited in Uvin, 2005:498
[238] Wang and Dissanayake, 1984:5; Ngoupande, 1988:133; Melkote, 1991:193; Max-Neef, 1992:198; Holdgate 1996:xiv; Bond et al., 2001:1011; Gibbs, 2005:1425-67
[239] Haggstrom, 1970:105; Lawrence and Litan, 1986:14-5; Griffith, 1989:138; Sinkham, 1989:25; Knippers, 1991:147; Rondinelli, 1993:64 and 142; Gsanger, 1994:4; Barnes and Mercer, 1995:33; Galijart, 1995:12; Rahman, 1995:30; Eicher and Staatz, 1998:287; Hayami, 1998:300; Uphoff et al., 1998:8; Woolcock, 1998:175; Woolcock and Narayan, 1999:3; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:119; Epstein and Jezeph, 2001:1445; Uphoff, 2002:9; Vernooy et al., 2003:4; UN Millennium Project, 2005:71
[240] Max-Neef, 1992:198; Stevens, 1993:163; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xii; Stokke, 1995:401; Uvin, 1995:495; Shragge, 1997:15; Woolcock, 1998:175; Allen et al., 1999:2; Green, 2000:70

Development involves structural transformation,[241] challenges oppression,[242] and expands democracy[243].

Alternative Development and Post-Development

In recent decades "post-development" and "alternative development" movements have emerged in response to the very serious concerns regarding the impact that the practice of development has had.[244] They criticize development for not working,[245] being ideologically-driven,[246] disturbing a state's equilibrium,[247] and seeking to achieve a Westernization of the world[248]. They examine the underlying motivation of development and of the governments promoting it. Alternative development and post-development perspectives explain that a universal path or model to achieve successful development does not exist[249]; and that development is used as a "slogan" by governments to entrench their control over people and territory[250].

[241] Ngoupande, 1988:133; Friedman, 1992:30; Burky, 1993:33; Brohman, 1996:346; Servaes, 1996:15; Eade, 1997:24; Neil and Tykklainen, 1998:6-7; Mellor, 1998:136; Rolly, 2001:24
[242] Nyerere, 1973:60; Korten and Klauss, 1984:207; Wang and Dissanayake, 1984:5; Ngoupande, 1988:133; Kottak, 1990:432; Melkote, 1991:193; Max-Neef, 1992:198; Conti, 1993:118; Narayan, 1993:27; Serageldin, 1993:143; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xii, Kasoma, 1994:401-2; Sorenen, 1995:400; Nelson and Wright, 1995:30; Servaes, 1996:15; Makumbe, 1996:20; Green, 2000:70; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:19-20; Ruddell, 2002:186
[243] Shragge, 1997:15; Rist, 1997:8-9; Pieterse, 2000:181; Ried, 2005:47
[244] Latouche, 1993:160; Sorenen, 1995:400; Pieterse, 2000:176-81; Nustad, 2001:479
[245] Pieterse, 2000:174; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:19-20
[246] Gonzalez, 1998:38; Martinussen, 1997:15; Servaes, 1999:14
[247] Schumpeter, 1961:64
[248] Hughes, 1964:74; Lerner, 1964:iix; Black, 1976:36; Delacroix and Ragin, 1978:126-7; Hulbe, 1980:123; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:28; Apter, 1987:95; Latouche, 1993:160; Stokke, 1995:400; Shragge, 1997:15; Gonzalez, 1998:38; Martinussen, 1997:15; Mellor, 1998:136; Servaes, 1999:14; Pieterse, 2000:175-81; Nustad, 2001:479; Nolan 2002:21
[249] Lemco, 1988:15; Jaffee, 1990:36; Servaes, 1996:84; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:19
[250] Brohman, 1996:19; Calvert, 2001:52; Williams, 2004:564; Moss, 2005:2

Some writers explain that the post-development view rejects development outright[251]; and also that post-development is flawed because it does not point a way forward[252]. Many post-developmentalists feel that governments of developing nations entrench their power[253] and use the banner of "development" to transform "the South into an appendage of the North"[254]. The "alternative" perspective endorses an internally strengthening developmental approach to replace Westernization and address its threat to existing cultures.[255] PD is a part of these traditions – a topic that is further discussed in Chapter 5.

For Mosse, improving development theory "is the key" to address failures of development.[256] In order for this to occur, he suggests that far more attention should be given to test the relationship between policy models and discourses, on the one hand, and development field practices, on the other. However, distrust of the intentions of the models and theories themselves, such as the distrust held by the alternative development and post-development movements, hampers testing. Furthermore, unlike in the natural sciences where a new paradigm is accepted for a period during which it is tested and verified, in the social sciences, the emergence of a new paradigm "is often followed almost immediately by a persistent onslaught of…criticism and outright demolition."[257]

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[251] Pieterse, 2000:176 and 181; Nustad, 2001:479
[252] Nustad, 2001:479
[253] Brohman, 1996:19; Williams, 2004:564; Moss, 2005:2
[254] The Ecologist quoted in Calvert, 2001:52
[255] Hughes, 1964:74; Latouche, 1993:160; Stokke, 1995:400; Brohman, 1996:16-7; Shragge, 1997:15; Mellor, 1998:136; Pieterse, 2000:175-81; Nustad, 2001:479; Nolan, 2002:21
[256] Mosse, 2005:1-2
[257] Hirschman, 1977:67; This concept is also described in Jaffee, 1990:2; Nelson and Wright, 1995:31

This situation in the social sciences, of which the field of development is part, inhibits the "cumulative growth of knowledge."[258]

In this study, development is here defined as *a process that considers in its planning economic, social, political, cultural, institutional, environmental, and technological factors to achieve its goal of generating benefits in these areas directed at all or the majority of people, especially the poor.* This definition closely resembles that of Wang and Dissanayake, who see development as: "a process of social change which has as its goal the improvement in the quality of life of all or the majority of people without doing violence to the natural and cultural environment in which they exist, and which seeks to involve the majority of the people as closely as possible in this enterprise, making them the masters of their own destiny."[259] The two definitions share the same essential elements: the intent to achieve benefits across social and physical dimensions for all or the majority of people.

Table 2 summarizes qualities of development.

[258] Hirschman, 1977:67
[259] Melkote, 1991:193

Table 2: *Qualities of Development*

General Characteristics
• Multidimensional--economic, political, social, cultural (traditional), environmental, and technological
• Process, change, movement, mobilization, actions, continuous, creative, and artistic
• Undertaken by and for people (the poor, the majority, or all people)
Goals
• Attitude change of participants
• Democratic rights expanded
• People and communities empowered (including, their decision-making and self-confidence)
• Living conditions, quality of life, and human welfare improved
• Micro organizations and civil society encouraged
• Multiplier effects created
• Oppression and exploitation challenged
• Potential (creative and human) realized
• Structural transformations supported
Critiques
• Alternative and post-development (critical or radical reactions)
• Disturbance of equilibrium created
• Does not work, complicated, uncontrollable/unpredictable, controversial, an ideology, disagreement over what it is
• Ignores human needs, focuses on growth and production
• Paradigm shift in social sciences (including development) differs from natural sciences (in social sciences, rejected outright)
• Is a slogan to justify actions of governments
• Supports state entrenchment and control of people and territory
• Needs improved theories
• Universal path or model does not exist
• Leads to Westernization and is thus a threat to culture

CHAPTER 2: 'THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT DECADE', COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, AND DECENTRALIZATION

Having presented in the previous chapter modernization theory, the concepts of *community* and *development*, and the overall field of development in the 1940s and 1950s, this chapter describes the 1960s – the "First Development Decade."[260] The concepts, *community development*, *capacity-building*, and *decentralization*, and *federalism* are also here explored.

The 1960s

The 1960s has been referred to as the "First Development Decade."[261] During this decade (or even at the end of the last[262]), economists suggested that factors such as education, training, management, and overall human development – and not just capital, technology, labor, and income – are essential to advancing development.[263] Mainstream development initiatives began to reflect this view, including the United States Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 contained three major components that have had an enduring structural impact on the U.S. development establishment.[264] First, it shifted the balance from strategic objectives to development objectives by emphasizing poverty alleviation and addressing social injustices.[265] The Act, passed under the leadership of President John Kennedy, marked an attempt to de-link U.S. development assistance from the nation's

[260] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52
[261] Ibid.
[262] Emmerij, 1988:14
[263] Schumacher, 1973:140-1; Emmerij, 1988:14; Lemco, 1988:11
[264] Hall, 1982:14; Rondinelli, 1987:83; Conteh-Morgan, 1990:4
[265] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:5; Conteh-Morgan, 1990:14-7; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52

military, political, and economic interests. Second, as a way to advance development and address poverty, the Act emphasized "maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of people in developing countries… ."[266] Finally, it established two institutions to administer the foreign assistance of the United States – the United States Agency for International Development and the Peace Corps people-to-people volunteer program – both of which still exist today.[267]

Melkote and Steeves note the historical consistency between the development priorities of the United States, the World Bank (which "provides…long-term infrastructure and development loans, above and beyond what market risks could absorb"[268]), and the organizations working under the auspices of the United Nations.[269] One reason for this is the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), created in 1961. DAC coordinates, monitors, and helps guide the development assistance of 22 industrialized countries, which are also among the members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.[270] The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations Development Program are "permanent observers" of DAC.[271] Official development assistance, which DAC evaluates of its member countries,

[266] Rondinelli, 1987:83
[267] Bradshaw and Wallace, 1996:41; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52
[268] Lovett et al., 2004:164
[269] Ibid.
[270] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52
[271] Ibid.

does not include military assistance, although recipient countries often include it in their own reports.[272]

Community development as part of the mainstream establishment emerged in the United States in the 1960s and is marked by the advancement of policies that addressed poverty, promoted professional training, and that emphasized local control more so than any previous attempt to assist the poor.[273] The period also saw a proliferation of organizations dedicated to community development.[274] Sullivan explains that modern community development programs were established because of the civil unrest in urban areas in the late 1960s.[275] The War on Poverty in the 1960s was a community-focused effort.[276] According to Green and Haines, these attempts to increase local participation in decision-making were, on balance, unsuccessful, and suggest that a possible reason may be related to a continuing need for neighborhood associations to assist the process.[277] By the end of the 1960s, there was a growing consensus that grassroots participation in development was necessary for success.[278]

During the 1960s, Latin American scholars and a minority of social scientists in developed countries sought to conceptualize development from the

[272] Ibid.
[273] Green and Haines, 2002:19-24
[274] Ibid.
[275] Sullivan, 2001:64
[276] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:14-5
[277] Green and Haines, 2002:19-24
[278] Hall, 1982:14; Rondinelli, 1987:83; Conteh-Morgan, 1990:4

bottom-up.[279] Also, during this period it was increasingly asserted that the exclusion of women in development needed to be changed.[280]

Defining Community Development

Authors describe community development in similar terms to development. Some shared words include: process,[281] change,[282] social action,[283] progress,[284] movement,[285] and moves by stages[286]. Community development has been referred to as a method or technique[287] which is conducted voluntarily[288]. Community development is also widely considered to be interdisciplinary[289] and to have economic,[290] social,[291] political,[292] cultural,[293] physical or environmental,[294] and technological[295] dimensions. Community development's many implications in different areas of social life have left it open

[279] Nelson and Wright, 1995:20
[280] Ibid.
[281] Wen, 1966:11; United Nations quoted in Pico, 1966:79; Cary, 1970:1-5; Haggstrom, 1970:106; Sanders, 1970:19-24; Green and Haines, 2002:3; Morse, 2004:85
[282] Cary, 1970:8; Haggstrom, 1970:99; Morris, 1970:174; Sanders, 1970:19-24; Warren, 1970:34; Morris, 1970:174; Shragge, 1997:12
[283] Cary, 1970:5; Sanders, 1970:19-31; U.S. International Cooperation Administration, 1970:19; Shragge, 1997:12; Neil and Tykklainen, 1998:313; Sullivan, 2001:64
[284] Sanders, 1970:24-30
[285] Cary, 1970:1; Sanders, 1970:24
[286] Sanders, 1970:19
[287] Division for Social Affairs of ECLA, 1966:123; Cary, 1970:1-2; Sanders, 1970:22-37; Rolly, 2001:25-6; Boothroyd, 2004:38
[288] Vaughn, 1966:223-4; Sanders, 1970:30; Selzinick, 1992:362
[289] Green and Haines, 2002:3
[290] Costa, 1966:53; Wen, 1966:11; United Nations quoted in Pico, 1966:79; Cary, 1970:7; Haggstrom, 1970:99; Nelson et al., 1970:20; Sanders, 1970:9-22; Brown, 1982:9; Aliband, 1983:9; Tykkylainen, 1998:322
[291] Wen, 1966:11; United Nations quoted in Pico, 1966:79; Cary, 1970:7; Sanders, 1970:20-1; Aliband, 1983:9; and Neil and Tykklainen, 1998:313
[292] Aliband, 1983:9; O'Gorman, 1995:211; Green, 2000:73; Sullivan, 2001:64, Green and Haines, 2002:3
[293] United Nations quoted in Pico, 1966:79; Sanders, 1970:20; Sullivan, 2001:64
[294] Sanders, 1970:20-1; Boothroyd, 2004:38; Morse, 2004:85
[295] Cary, 1970:1; Thapalia, 1996:151; Niel and Tykkylainen, 1998:313

to criticism for lacking a common conceptual framework and a basis for agreement on issues.[296]

Like development, community development also intends to improve living conditions[297] and impact "the totality of human life"[298]. It may seek social structural transformation[299] through linking projects into popular movements[300] and challenging the social system[301]. Like development, community development views the creation of local institutions[302] and building leadership[303] as an indelible part of its process. Finally, community development is directed to the majority or all people,[304] but especially toward the marginalized poor[305].

Community Development and the Alternative View

Community development is part of the alternative development framework for two basic reasons. First, as in the general alternative development perspective, there is a major focus in community development to build the capacities of local people to establish their own projects.[306] The community is

[296] Green and Haines, 2002:3
[297] Cary, 1970:7; Costa, 1970:53; Sanders, 1970:20-4; Wiewel and Gills, 1995:136; Rolly, 2001:25-6; Green and Haines, 2002:9; Morse, 2004:85
[298] Sanders, 1970:20; Rolly, 2001:25-6
[299] Cary, 1970:5; Haggstrom, 1970:99; Brown, 1982:9; O'Gorman, 1995:215-6; Shragge, 1977:12; Neil and Tykklainen, 1998:313
[300] O'Gorman, 1995:211
[301] Cary, 1970:5
[302] Schler, 1970:135; Sanders, 1970:24-30; Shragge, 1997:12; Tykkylainen, 1998:322; Rolly, 2001:25-6; Green and Haines, 2002:9 and 101
[303] Schler, 1970:136
[304] Sanders, 1970:20-3; Freidmann, 1984:218; Prokopy, 1999:226
[305] O'Gorman, 1995:211; Shragge, 1997:12
[306] Wen, 1966:11; Schler, 1970:136; Division for Social Affairs of ECLA, 1966:123; Cary, 1970:2-5; Sanders, 1970:19-30; United Nations quoted in Pico, 1970:79; Chambers, 1993:25; Shragge, 1997:12; Rolly, 2001:25; Green and Haines, 2002:9; Boothroyd, 2004:38; Morse, 2004:85

the decision-maker.[307] Therefore, inclusive participation,[308] grassroots democracy,[309] and decentralization[310] (described in this chapter) are implied in the concept of community development.

Another way that community development is consistent with the alternative view is in its utilization of internal and external resources, including national and international support, and public (governmental) funds and resources.[311] The purpose of using external resources is to achieve development that is located in the community. For this to take place, reciprocal relationships between the community and regional and national agencies need to exist.[312] Since community development is often considered to be derived internally, not externally,[313] the way in which external resources are used ought to be thoughtfully considered, and is discussed in Chapter 3.

Community development and alternative development have similar origins. Community development has been explained to be rooted in utopian socialism and local action[314]; sociology, adult education, and the extension movement[315]; in addition to economics, urban and regional planning, social work,

[307] Cary, 1970:2-5 and 152; Sanders, 1970:19-23; Haggstrom, 1970:99; Schler, 1970:135; U.S. International Cooperation Administration, 1970:19; O'Gorman, 1995:216; Rolly, 2001:25-6; Green, 2000:72-3; Green and Haines, 2002:23; Boothroyd, 2004:38; Pico, 1966:79
[308] Vaughn, 1966:223-4; Cary, 1970:2 and 150; Sanders, 1970:19-21; Wiewel and Gills, 1995:136; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:218; Rutherford, 2000:125; Rolly, 2001:26
[309] Cary, 1970:2 and 5; Sanders, 1970:19-20; O'Gorman, 1995:211
[310] Tykkylainen, 1998:322; Rolly, 2001:25-6
[311] Costa, 1966:53; United Nations quoted in Pico, 1966:79; Cary, 1970:2 and 8; Sanders, 1970:9 and 19; Chambers, 1993:25; Rutherford, 2000:125; Boothroyd et al., 2004:48
[312] Cary, 1970:8; Sanders, 1970:9 and 20; Chambers, 1993:25; Shragge, 1997:12
[313] Cary, 1970:2-3
[314] Sanders, 1970:9
[315] Cary, 1970:7

and architecture[316] – all of which contain approaches that seek to strengthen local community control and determination regarding their own development course. Origins of community development also include the British who used it in the colonial countries in the 1940s to develop basic education, social welfare, local governments, and regional economies in order to prepare them for independence.[317] Sanders explains that community development could come about only in the post World War II era[318]; he suggests its timing is because of the utilization of concepts during reconstruction that were forerunners to community development, such as local action and the use of local resources, economic development, and national planning. In 1948, the United Nations assigned its first community development advisor to a country (India[319]); by 1966, there were approximately 61 such experts working in 29 countries.[320] Brohman suggests that in the 1950s and 1960s, community development in the form of "small farm projects, food-for-work, and labor intensive public work programs begun in a few countries."[321] However, Holdcroft suggests that by 1960, the number of countries involved had increased, with community development programs being launched in over sixty countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[322] Its emergence in the United States in the 1960s in the form of anti-poverty and training programs[323] is suggested to have been drawn from the

[316] Green and Haines, 2002:3
[317] Holdcroft, 1976:9; Brohman, 1996:203-4
[318] Sanders, 1970:9
[319] Holdcroft, 1976:8-9
[320] Sanders, 1970:9-10
[321] Brohman, 1996:203-4
[322] Holdcroft, 1976:20
[323] Sullivan, 2001:64

ideas of Alexis de Tocqueville and John Dewey, both of whom were strong advocates of constructing a vibrant civil society separate from the state (discussed in Chapter 5), in order to strengthen pluralist democracy and for people to come together to achieve their common goals.[324]

A critique of community development is the idea that local people planning and taking responsibility for their own development is something that they are simply not equipped to do.[325] In addition, community development is suggested to be 1) ideologically-driven,[326] 2) complex,[327] 3) a disguise to advance interests of the elite or others,[328] 4) and beneficial only for people who fit in or are a part of the "community"[329]. Furthermore, it is asserted that existing local knowledge in a community can cause it harm.[330] Some have also called for a better linking of the theory and practice of community development, so that the experiences of past development interventions can better inform future efforts.[331] This concern is often directed at development work as a whole and towards many, if not all, of the methodologies that constitute the field, including participatory development.

Community development is here defined as *a process of building the capacity of most or all the people of a community in order to manage development that addresses economic, social, political, and environmental objectives, and utilizes internal and external resources to improve human*

[324] Green and Haines, 2003:23
[325] Sanders, 1970:23
[326] Ibid., 24; O'Gorman, 1995:211
[327] United Nations quoted in Pico, 1966:79
[328] Sanders, 1970:22
[329] Cleaver, 1999:603
[330] Campbell, 2000:259
[331] Ibid., 268, Mosse, 2002:1

conditions. This definition most closely resembles Poston's, who says that it is "an organized educational process which deals comprehensively with the community in its entirety, and with all of the various functions of community life as integrated parts of the whole. Thus, the ultimate goal of community development is to help evolve – through a process of organized study, planning, and action – a physical and social environment that is best suited to maximum growth, development and happiness of human beings as individuals and as productive members of their society."[332] The two definitions stress the educational (or capacity-building) component, which is necessary to generate ongoing and multi-sectoral benefits for whole communities.

Table 3 summarizes qualities of community development.

[332] Poston quoted in Cary, 1970:20

Table 3: ***Qualities of Community Development***

Features
• Benefits all or the majority of people, particularly the poor
• Capacity-building through education and building knowledge
• Process, change (purposeful), social action, movement, progress, method / technique, and voluntary
• Community as decision-maker through participatory, democratic, and decentralizing approaches
• Interdisciplinary--economic, social, cultural, political, environmental / physical, and technological
Goals
• Build local institutions, human resources, and leadership
• Improve living conditions and human life in all of society
• Derive development internally (within community), not externally
• Support social structural transformation; link projects into popular movements and exert pressure; challenge social systems
• Use internal and external resources and reciprocal interrelationships (including with government) at all levels
Origins
• 1948--U.N. assigned its first CD advisor to a country; by 1966, there were 61 experts working in 29 countries
• 1950s and 1960s--small farm projects, food-for-work, and labor intensive public work programs begun in a few countries; others suggest over sixty countries involved
• 1960s--antipoverty and training programs in the U.S.
• Alexis de Tocqueville and John Dewey and their encouragement of civil society
• CD could come about only in the post World War II era because of reconstruction and the emergence of forerunner concepts
• Utopian socialism, sociology, adult education, the extension movement, economics, urban and regional planning, social work, and architecture
Critique
• Disguises techniques of manipulation
• Ideological and complex
• Lacks, because it is interdisciplinary, common language, conceptual framework, and set of agreed on issues and problems
• Local understanding can be detrimental to the community
• Needs to link theory and practice to learn from interventions
• Includes people if they fit in defined community
• Village-level population has little preparation for the job

Capacity-Building

For community development projects (and PD processes) to be self-sustaining, building the capacities at individual, group, and community levels is required.[333] Capacity-building involves men and women identifying their constraints toward realizing opportunities and ways in which they can build their abilities to overcome their development challenges.[334] It is a long-term investment in people.[335] Williams referred to it as "the most important result of development,"[336] and it is among the "hierarchy" of objectives of PD[337]. Uphoff and his colleagues describe an evaluation of 121 World Bank projects around the world which concludes that capacity-building is more statistically significant than technical solutions or the amount of capital available for a development project.[338]

Training and education to develop capacities have a central place in development in general[339] because they help to translate capacity-building into

[333] Cary 1970:75; Hulbe, 1980:75; Stokes, 1981:129; Bryant and White, 1982:109; Nyerere quoted in Hall, 1982:13; Honadle and Vansant, 1985:107; Mellor, 1986:133; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:6 and 178; Uphoff, 1992:135-43; Rondinelli, 1993:27; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xi and 122; Sadanandan and White, 1994:142; White et al., 1994:18; Brohman, 1996:345; Bhatt, 1997:373; Eade, 1997:22-32; Ninacs, 1997:166; Binswanger, 1998:297-8; Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Restrepo-Estrada, 1998:223; Uphoff et al., 1998:36; Woolcock, 1998:185; Cornwall, 1999:3; Hagmann et al., 1999:1-8; White, 1999:32-3; Servaes, 1999:114; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 218; Anand and Sen, 2000:2038; Menamkart, 2000:174; Francis, 2001:77; Miller, 2001:153; Rolly, 2001:75; Straus, 2002:192; Green and Haines, 2002:14; O'Donoghue, 2002:16-20; Ruddell, 2002:186; Vernooy et al., 2003:4; Boothroyd, 2004:49; Smock, 2004:251-2; Ukaga and Moser, 2004:137; Mikkelsen, 2005:54

[334] Eade, 1997:24

[335] Ibid., 32

[336] Uphoff, 1992:135-6; Williams, 1992:6 and 178

[337] Mavalankar and Sharma,1996:222

[338] Uphoff et al., 1998:36

[339] Ninacs, 1997:166

practice[340]. Capacities (including existing ones[341]) can be effectively built-up by learning through experience.[342] It is also built through shared vision among stakeholders.[343] According to Miller, in order to help build capacities, public spaces should be created "to enable democratic debate…concerning how needs are met, the nature of the good society, and the direction to be taken to create it."[344] Miller then states that this will: 1) "contribute to mass engagement in the political process," and 2) "re-establish the value of the 'social' and…highlight our interdependencies" so that "we begin to question current societal relationships and the distribution of resources.[345] Developing capacities may "inspire people to see themselves in a new light, relate to others more confidently, and so envisage a different kind of future."[346]

Capacity-building works against dependency and vulnerability.[347] Donors, in order to advance capacity-building, should help local communities diversify their sources of funding and generate their own income.[348] However, Woolcock states that top-down resources (trainers, needed materials, etc.), such as from national government, could be applied in dynamic cooperation with bottom-up capacity-building in order to overcome development challenges.[349] Working in partnership with like-minded organizations (including, for example, civil society

[340] Eade, 1997:77
[341] Ibid., 171
[342] Hagmann et al., 1999:1-8
[343] Smock, 2004:251-2
[344] Miller, 2001:153
[345] Ibid.
[346] Eade, 1997:190
[347] Ibid., 32; Kumar, 1996:52
[348] Eade, 1997:142
[349] Woolcock, 1998:185

organizations working with businesses[350]) is necessary in order to provide the experiences needed to develop a diverse range of capacities,[351] such as the ones enumerated in Table 4.

Capacity-building is defined in this thesis as *developing a range of abilities of men and women through training, education, and experiences that occur in democratic spaces in order to realize their individual and community potential for self-sustaining development*. Capacity-building of local people then, by definition, is essential to enable community development initiatives and decentralization processes (which will now be explored) to be sustained and successful.

[350] Ashman, 2001:1106
[351] Eade, 1997:204

Table 4: ***Human Capacities Built in Development***

• Adaptation to change (initiate action and development)[352]
• Administrative, organizational, management, & planning [353]
• Apply conceptual and organizational tools[354]
• Conduct monitoring and evaluation[355]
• Cooperate, reach agreements, create relationships of reciprocity,[356] and develop tools to cope with conflict[357]
• Create an environment for change[358]
• Influence decisions of national and supranational actors (understand linkages between local and global)[359]
• Intellectual and analytic (identify constraints)[360]
• Internal reaffirmation[361] (awareness of attitudes and skills[362])
• Meet running costs and maintenance[363]
• Optimize resources in relation to outcomes[364]
• Realize potential (create capability and capacity)[365]
• Resources to deal with challenges as they arise[366]
• Self-help (decrease dependency)[367]
• Skills in problem analysis (solving) and leadership[368]
• Social, political, cultural, material, practical, or financial[369]
• Strengthen or maintain representative organizations[370]
• Tackle injustices (i.e., exclusion)—democratic[371]

[352] Ibid., 34-5
[353] Eade, 1997:24; Uphoff et al., 1998:110; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:218
[354] Brohman, 1996:339
[355] Narayan, 1993:9; Gobisaikhan Menamkart, 2000:174
[356] Eade, 1997:22; Beaulier, 2004:547
[357] Hagmann et al., 1999:17-8
[358] Ibid., Vernooy et al., 2003:23
[359] Cornwall, 1999:3
[360] Eade, 1997:24
[361] Ibid, 34-5
[362] Vernooy et al., 2003:4
[363] Nelson and Wright 1995:31-2
[364] Chambers, 1993:18
[365] Eade, 1997:50
[366] Ibid., 34-5
[367] Green and Haines, 2002:14
[368] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:218
[369] Eade, 1997:24
[370] Ibid., 107
[371] Ibid., 1997:50

The Decentralization Framework

Decentralization is the broader framework within which alternative development, including PD, resides. It is therefore necessary to understand its tenets because it does inform PD, certainly regarding its origins and in scaling-up and institutionalizing PD.

Origins of Decentralization

Decentralization has many different meanings and objectives[372] and serves different (often radically opposing) ideological interests[373]. For example, in principle, decentralization is an essential part of the communitarian spirit, rational choice theory, socialism, as well as the anarchic vision.[374] It is a central quality in participatory democracy[375] and monetarist and neo-liberal discourses[376]. Decentralization is also an indelible part of the alternative development movement,[377] including sustainable development,[378] integrated rural development,[379] appropriate development,[380] collective empowerment,[381] and participatory development[382]. These perspectives all support

[372] Brohman, 1996:237-8
[373] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:14-5
[374] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250
[375] Bookchin, 1990:181; Brohman, 1996:237-8; Makumbe, 1996:39; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250; Green and Haines, 2002:205-6
[376] Brohman, 1996; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250; Williams, 2004:572
[377] Friedman, 1994:79
[378] Rolly, 2001:55
[379] Montgomery, 1983:232
[380] Brohman, 1996:237-8
[381] Brohman, 1996:237-8; Stuart and Bery, 1996:208; Servaes, 1996:103; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250
[382] Alamgir, 1989:10-1; Brohman, 1996:237-8; Stuart and Bery, 1996:208; Gonzalez, 1998:10; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:4

decentralization, but for different reasons and in different forms – underscoring the observation that decentralization is a fluid or flexible process.[383]

National governments may be reluctant to decentralize out of concern that it may promote secessionist movements to emerge, and in this way become a cause for conflict. However, it is more often the lack of empowerment in decision-making at the sub-regional level that heightens political resistance and the lack of integration into the nation.[384] Governments often fail to realize that the terms of decentralization yield strong sovereign nations, resulting through the interactive process of private and public groups within the different administrative tiers of society who fulfill important responsibilities for development.

Central Government in Decentralization

The just-cited intellectual perspectives also share a critical view of centralized forms of government, which Friedman summarizes as creating "administrative pathologies, communication overload, filtering and distortion of information, a failure to grasp spatial connections in sectoral programs, and unresponsive to local needs."[385] Other social disorders created by centralization include: 1) the restriction of the free confederation of communities and tribes by denying support, including through legislation[386]; 2) the negation or subordination of individual will, including opinions and actions, since centralization is based on collectives of people – conflict between the individual and the state is therefore

[383] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250
[384] Hulbe, 1980:56
[385] Friedman, 1994:79
[386] Buber, 1970:27 and 38

inevitable[387]; 3) alienation in work, which is work done not for the person working but for someone else, and results into a lack of fulfillment and "misery"[388]; and 4) the prevention of unions or federations of local communes from growing and forming a national union.[389] Stiglitz offers an explanation of why centralized planning fails: "No government agency could glean and process all the relevant information required to make an economy function well."[390] He also considers the centralized system to be lacking appropriate incentives and filled with distortions.

On the other hand, Gurly believes that centralized planning is more efficacious than decentralized planning because central planners consider the long-term national interests, have more information, and are more efficient in decision-making – all of which combine and provide lower risks than uncoordinated individuals.[391] Furthermore, a high degree of decentralization without national checks and balances can create a situation whereby social protections become discretionary or reduced, with accompanying greater levels of inequality; this is because more affluent regions can provide more and better social services, and more influential interests and organizations are more likely to gain support.[392] Finally, some authors suggest that centralized systems may be

[387] Woodcock, 1962:101; Luard, 1979:150
[388] Luard, 1979:150
[389] Woodcock, 1962:163
[390] Stiglitz, 2003:141-2
[391] Gurley, 1984:122-3
[392] Standing, 2004:125; Leibfried et al., 2005:338-9

preferable to decentralized ones if this leads to "territorial justice or the redistribution of wealth."[393]

In the context of decentralization, national governments still retain an important role to play. For example, rural economies over the years have been more deeply integrated into national and international markets, and therefore national governments have a responsibility for macroeconomic policy to help enable local and regional economies to develop.[394] Additionally, Osterfield asserts that national governments retain responsibility for foreign policy, the national judiciary, and other important areas.[395] National governments set: 1) development targets by aggregating locally-formulated objectives and matching them with national economic objectives,[396] 2) inter-regional balance and competition that could foster better performance,[397] and 3) criteria regarding the mode of operation to decentralize[398]. Central governments benefit by creating overall targets and inter-regional balance and competition that can foster performance,[399] affect remote areas far from the national capital,[400] and increase political stability, national unity, and their own legitimacy[401]. Fulfilling those functions that assist decentralization efforts implies that an effective state is already in place.[402] On the other hand, "if weak states cannot successfully

[393] Smith et al., 1985:191
[394] Huillet et al., 1988:30-1; Conti, 1997:18-34
[395] Osterfield, 1992:244
[396] Huillet et al., 1988:32
[397] Huillet et al., 1988:31-2; Rolly, 2001:31; Obinger et al., 2005:42
[398] Abraham and Platteau, 2002:25
[399] Hulbe, 1980:26; Huillet et al., 1998:31-2; Rolly, 2001:31
[400] Gonzalez, 1998:12
[401] Osterfield, 1992:244; Arora, 1994:693
[402] Abraham and Platteau, 2002:25

pursue decentralization," this is because, "when a weak state devolves power, it is more often than not simply making accommodations with local strongmen rather than expanding democratic spaces."[403]

There are indications that when national governments assist decentralization initiatives that are intended to help communities determine and implement priority development projects (in poverty alleviation, job creation, education, health, environment, etc.), what they create in the process are diverse partnerships at all levels within their country. These partnerships – among government, civil society, communities and their organizations, and private groups – lead to better information sharing and more effective coordination between central governments and communities within regions.[404] Consequently, local communities seek to maintain these partnerships, including those with the entities at the national level, because they help satisfy their human needs and better enable people to shape the institutions that govern them.[405] Local communities have a stake in maintaining the system that is now more responsive to them, sensitive to their interests, and equitable in the distribution of resources.[406]

Since in decentralized development expenditures are better matched with local preferences,[407] communities develop a stake in maintaining partnerships with government and the overall system that is now more responsive to them,

[403] Heller, 2001:139
[404] De Valk, 1990:257
[405] Hulb, 1980:26; Conyers, 1990:18; Rolly, 2001:31
[406] De Valk, 1990:257, Maro, 1990:144; Brohman, 1996:240
[407] Binswanger, 1998:295

sensitive to their interests, and equitable in the distribution of material, human, and technical resources.[408] Decentralization strengthens national solidarity via the web of multi-level and cross-sectoral partnerships intent on achieving locally determined and managed development. Government and non-government agencies partner and share and help build knowledge to improve the planning of projects at the regional and local levels, provide technical, financial, and other resources, and are part of new and expanding networks and linkages that form horizontal and vertical integration to strengthen national solidarity.

Decentralization and Human Development

Successful decentralization programs build administrative capabilities of local government and community groups, their managerial and technical skills, and capacities to plan, resolve conflicts, and manage resources, including fiscal.[409] Investing in this kind of human development also increases capacities to domestically finance decentralization projects.[410] Human development links economic conditions and human lives. It is people-centered and occurs through optimizing participation in democratic planning processes (information sharing[411]) toward the participants' own and their communities' development, which in itself generates political support for human development.[412] Human development is therefore a pre-condition of poverty alleviation[413] and self-reliance[414]. It implies

[408] Hulbe, 1980:55; Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:15; Binswanger, 1998:295; Maro, 1990:144; Gonzalez, 1998:10-1; Rolly, 2001:55
[409] Conyers, 1990:18; Rondinelli, 1993:170-3; Binswanger, 1998:295; Uphoff et al., 1998:128
[410] Conyers, 1990:18; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:118
[411] Jordan and Van Tuijl, 2000:2052
[412] Narayan, 1993:1; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xi and 9; Sagar and Najam, 1999:744
[413] Bhatt, 1997:375
[414] Narayan, 1993:43

enhancing skills (technical and organizational), knowledge (especially local[415]), the range of choices available (in employment, education, and health),[416] productivity, economic efficiency, social integration,[417] political upliftment at the grassroots,[418] and empowerment (defined in Chapter 6)[419]. Griffin and McKinley state that human development promotes long-term comparative advantage, and believe it is necessary to liberate a country from international dependence,[420] discussed in Chapter 3. However, they go on to explain that a human development strategy is "likely to be most successful where governments are committed to an open economy, neither based towards export promotion nor import substitution.[421] Additionally, sustainable development, with its accommodation of future generations and environmental protection[422] – described in Chapter 6, is suggested to be achieved through human development,[423] which requires investing in people[424]. A vigorous civil society and a suitable level of decentralization are necessary in order for a human development strategy to succeed because they provide local people the necessary capability to further their own interests.[425] Thus, Griffin and McKinley refer to human development as the end objective of development.[426] Since 1990

[415] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7
[416] UNDP, 1991:1
[417] Bhatt, 1997:372
[418] Ibid.
[419] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xi; White, 1994:25; Uphoff, 2002:16
[420] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:21
[421] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:107
[422] Anand and Sen, 1999:2030
[423] Narayan, 1993:1; Anand and Sen, 1999:2038
[424] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:vii-viii, 30; Sagar and Najam, 1999:743-7; Pieterse, 2000:176; Ruddell, 2002:186
[425] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7
[426] Ibid., xi

when the United National Development Program began to evaluate and monitor human development,[427] it "has moved from being just another interesting idea on the periphery of the development debate to its very core."[428] Human development "is about freedom and responsibility, liberation and self-help."[429]

Approaches to Decentralization

There are generally considered to be four major organizational arrangements that advance decentralization – devolution, privatization, delegation, and deconcentration. Some socialists, for example, who consider central government and planning to be the primary cause of many social problems, would likely call for a devolution approach to decentralization. Devolution is a more categorical form of decentralization whereby legal and financial responsibilities for governing are transferred to sub-national units and are outside the direct control of the central government.[430] Chambers suggests that devolution too far down society's administrative tiers may create problems of control and coordination of limited resources.[431] Osterfield recommends decentralizing as far as possible because recentralizing can later be done if necessary.[432]

In contrast, modernization theorists, who are concerned with achieving an economy with a strong ability to adapt to changing market conditions, support a privatization approach to decentralization while being mindful of the risk of

[427] Reid, 2005:31
[428] Sagar and Najam, 1999:743; this idea is also in Melkote and Steeves, 2001:53
[429] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:119
[430] Brohman, 1996:237-8; Makumbe, 1996:37; Gonzalez, 1998:12; Martinussen, 1997:210-1; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:110; Obinger et al., 2005:42
[431] Chambers, 2005:88
[432] Osterfield, 1992:244

diminishing the benefits of economies of scale[433]. In privatization, the "central government divests itself of some responsibilities and allows voluntary organizations or private enterprises to perform them."[434] A concern associated with privatization (as well as the other approaches though perhaps to a lesser degree) is that it will transfer power from one elite group to another,[435] or strengthen richer regions and weaken poorer ones, thereby causing more distress.[436]

Meanwhile, alternative development may include both delegation and deconcentration forms of decentralization. Delegation involves decision-making authority along with managerial and operational responsibility transferred to communities and their organizations in order to carry out development projects or other activities intended to meet practical needs.[437] The responsibility of delivering services is shifted to local stakeholders.[438] Alternative development's primary emphasis is also on local communities and their control of development projects that impact their lives.

Deconcentration involves central governments' transferring authority to lower levels within relevant ministries and departments.[439] One intended effect of deconcentration is to enable provincial and district levels to work more closely

[433] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:110
[434] Rondinelli et al. quoted in Gonzalez, 1998:12; also discussed in Martinussen, 1997:210-1
[435] Brohman, 1996:235
[436] Huillet et al., 1988:31; Standing, 2004:124-5
[437] Brohman, 1996:237-8; Makumbe, 1996:38; Binswanger, 1998:294-5; Martinussen, 1997:210-1; Gonzalez, 1998:12
[438] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250
[439] Ibid.

with other sub-national groups within a democratic framework.[440] This helps to improve coordination between government and local communities of development initiatives.[441] However, Green and Haines state that it is "unclear" whether in fact decentralization stimulates democratic decisions-making.[442] Also in deconcentration, central and local governments share ideas and develop common agendas, which promote administrative efficiency[443] and the more efficient use of financial resources.[444] In this arrangement, local government offers a variety of public goods and services with improved efficiency, and experiment and learn as it applies this capacity.[445] Market develops in the provision of government services.[446] Decentralization in this form tends to create bureaucratic expansion at the sub-national level.[447] An important concern associated with deconcentration and decentralization in general is that the decisions of ministries at the local and regional levels do not always consider relationships with the national and international level.[448] This could undermine the development initiatives carried out at the sub-national levels. To help to ensure a conducive macro environment for decentralization, authors suggest linking decentralization programs with broader goals of economic, social, and

[440] Makumbe, 1996:38
[441] De Valk, 1990:257
[442] Green and Haines, 2002:205-6
[443] Loewenstein, 1969:152
[444] Makumbe, 1996:61
[445] Jackson quoted in Osterfield, 1992:242
[446] Osterfield, 1992:244
[447] Huillet et al., 1988:31-2; Obinger et al., 2005:42
[448] Huillet et al., 1988:31

political democracy.[449] For example, a free and independent press is vitally necessary, and in the context of decentralization, it enables people to read and comment about the initiatives.[450]

Recent History of Decentralization

The idea of decentralization is not new. As early as 1956, the Administrative Committee on Coordination of the United Nations stated that "the efforts of the people themselves" should be "united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and… enable them to contribute fully to national progress."[451] This suggests a deconcentration form of decentralization because it involves government working closely with community-level groups. In the 1950s, British colonial administrations introduced decentralization programs in order to further transfer aspects of the British system of governing prior to independence.[452] However, post-colonial modernization in developing countries brought in more centralized management and planning and along with that the problem of civil servants making decisions from afar – people who generally had little knowledge and sympathy for local realities.[453] Racelis suggests that decentralization of government first began in Asia in the 1950s and 1960s before appearing on other

[449] Rondinelli, 1983:118; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:121; Brohman, 1996:237-40; Standing, 2004:124-5; Leibfried et al., 2005:339
[450] Abraham and Platteau, 2002:25
[451] United Nations quoted in Sanders, 1970:20; Binswanger, 1998:294-5
[452] Brohman, 1996:237
[453] Awa, 1996:132

continents.[454] Later, as Brohman explains, the widespread dissatisfaction with Keynesian development in the 1960s and 1970s marks the point when most countries began decentralization efforts.[455] There was a shift back to central control by the 1980s, after the oil shocks of the 1970s and after newly implemented decentralization programs ran into problems, one of which is now described.[456] In recent years, decentralization and local participation in development are again in favor.[457]

One such problem, seen in Ghana and the Ivory Coast,[458] occurred when local governments are "starved for resources" and are unable to fulfill their function to plan and implement development[459]. Similarly, Banting explains that Canada's federal government cut its financial commitment to provincial programs from the mid-1970s onward.[460] According to Binswanger, "decentralization cannot work if elected governments are not given adequate fiscal powers or transfers from higher-level governments."[461] Without added fiscal capacity in the context of decentralization, local governments are prevented from experimenting and implementing programs.[462] Also, the lack of financial resources creates the condition of giving priority to areas with the highest population.[463] Central governments are often reluctant to decentralize national budgets and to approve

[454] Racelis, 1992:61
[455] Brohman, 1996:237
[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid.
[458] Binswanger, 1998:294-5
[459] Huillet et al., 1988:31; Brohman, 1996:240
[460] Banting, 2005:95
[461] Binswanger, 1998:295
[462] Makumbe, 1996:61; Obinger et al., 2005:42
[463] Huillet et al., 1988:31

funding of decentralization programs.[464] This reluctance to fund invites questions regarding the intentions of national government, such as that put forward by Tendler when he asks if decentralization is a "cynical ploy" to cut national deficits.[465] To address this problem, Rolly suggests that taxes previously set and levied by the central government be transferred to local authorities.[466] Chambers states that the local level should be given financial discretion in accordance with centrally-determined guidelines.[467] Binswanger describes the case of China during a period in the late 1970s and 1980s where there were an "extremely successful fiscal and administrative decentralization effort," and where "all revenues were collected by local entities and shared with higher-level governments"; a result of which was "extraordinary rural development performance."

Rural development initiatives nearly always involve decentralizing at least some decision-making functions. The more that development initiatives complement the overall national plan, the greater chance they have of receiving domestic support.[468] In both mixed economies and socialist societies in Asia, for example, rural institutions became more effective promoters of development through support from higher levels of governments.[469] However, Makumbe suggests that central governments generally only support lower levels if they do

[464] Makumbe, 1996:61
[465] Pritchett and Woolcock, 2003:9
[466] Huillet et al., 1988:30
[467] Chambers, 1993:36
[468] Montgomery, 1983:256
[469] Rondinelli, 1987:76

not conflict with the initiatives and interests at the national level[470]; or, even worse, some authors explain that national authorities use decentralization to maintain or deepen their control over local and regional development[471]. Griffin and McKinley describe conditions under which central authority can be reinforced even though "decentralization" was the stated goal: "Decentralization cannot be divorced from the political context in which it occurs. If the people do not exercise democratic control over the central apparatus of the state, it is unlikely that decentralization of the state will be accompanied by increased political power of the people. If the political structure is undemocratic and authoritarian, administrative decentralization is likely either to maintain or even reinforce central authority."[472] Furthermore, regarding dominant party interference, Griffin and McKinley state:

> Strengthening the central state does not by itself diminish the risk that dominant parties interfere with the procedures of decentralized development following a partisan logic of political patronage. To counter that risk, a genuine decentralization of administrative powers must take place in which local office-bearers with the requisite skills and expertise can support communities regardless of political affiliations. And to ensure that this condition is met, a vigilant civil society must exist, implying that, through enhancement of education and mass awareness-building campaigns, the grassroots come to know their rights as well as the duties and responsibilities of their leaders at all levels. They must feel sufficiently empowered to organize or follow contest movements that bring malpractices into the open.[473]

Table 5 summarizes the main approaches and origins of decentralization.

[470] Makumbe, 1996:61
[471] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:121; Brohman, 1996:248
[472] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:121
[473] Abraham and Platteau, 2002:25

Table 5: *Approaches and Origins of Decentralization*

Approaches
• Deconcentration--lower levels in ministries work with sub-national groups
• Delegation--communities and their organizations responsible
• Devolution--responsibilities are transferred to sub-national
• Privatization--government divests to private organizations
• National governments retain responsibility for macroeconomic policy, foreign policy, the national judiciary, setting development targets, inter-regional balance and competition, and criteria regarding decentralization
Origins
• Alternative development, anarchism, communitarian, participatory democracy, neo-liberalism, rational choice theory, and socialism
• 1950s--decentralization in British colonies to transfer their system before independence[474]
• 1950s and 1960s--decentralization in Asia and then other continents
• 1960s and 1970s--dissatisfaction with Keynesian development--most countries beginning to decentralize
• 1980s--a shift to central control after the oil shocks of the 1970s and decentralization programs showed problems[475]
• Recently, decentralization again in favor[476]

Decentralization's Primary Features

On a basic level, decentralization involves local stakeholder control[477] and decision-making[478] on matters related to local development. Decentralization programs seek greater representation in development initiatives from the popular

[474] Brohman, 1996:237
[475] Ibid.
[476] Brohman, 1996:237
[477] Huillet et al., 1988:30; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:110; Binswanger, 1998:295-6; Servaes, 1996:102-3; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250; Rolly, 2001:31
[478] Hulbe, 1980:55; Cernea, 1992:106; Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:15-6; Brohman, 1996:240 and 311-2; Rolly, 2001:55; Green and Haines, 2002

majority,[479] the local poor,[480] and from political, religious, ethnic, and tribal groups[481]. In decentralization, accountability to these groups "can be improved by…rules that encourage openness and transparency, such as representation of small farmers, women, and rural workers on boards of research stations, supervisory committees of extension systems, or on land or labor committees that deal with rural land and labor issues."[482] Decentralization increases interaction among people,[483] creates social and cultural pluralism,[484] and encourages the formation of networks (horizontal and vertical), social movements, and coalitions[485]. In decentralizing processes, greater representation from local groups is sought for the purpose of more effectively satisfying local needs while utilizing local resources, such as community labor input[486] and latent capabilities of people[487]. Improved local participation in this way, seen in the case of Karnataka, India, for example, accelerates the implementation of development projects without increasing costs.[488] Development expenditures are small and dispersed,[489] small and family-scale enterprises expand,[490] and the projects are labor intensive rather than capital intensive.[491] However, although a report on Canada's official development

[479] Hulbe, 1980:55; Cernea, 1992:106; Brohman, 1996:240; Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:16
[480] Hulbe, 1980:55; Binswanger, 1998:295-6; Rolly, 2001:56
[481] Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:15
[482] Binswanger, 1998:295-6
[483] Maro, 1990:144
[484] Luard, 1979:150; Hulbe, 1980:26; Rolly, 2001:31
[485] Friedmann, 1984:194; Osterfield, 1992:242
[486] Cernea, 1992:106
[487] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:118
[488] De Valk, 1990:257; Brohman, 1996:240; Binswanger, 1998:295
[489] Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:16; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7
[490] Tokman, 1988:74
[491] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7

assistance policies and programs concludes that the overall benefits of decentralization outweigh its costs, it does cite significant financial costs (a large portion of the aid budget on administration).[492]

Outcomes of Decentralization

Decentralized locations with broad local participation in development are described as increasing production, diversification (and in turn the capacity to adapt to change[493]), and economic growth from innovation in both agricultural and industrial sectors.[494] This leads to increasing levels of employment,[495] demand for goods,[496] revenue generation,[497] and efficiency in the delivery of goods and services[498]. In the agricultural sector, adequate food supply is generated, and there is an increase in agricultural exports.[499] In the industrial sector, increases occur in product innovation in capital and technology.[500] The rate and scale of urbanization decrease.[501] When considering these cited benefits, it is important to balance them against the observations of Brohman that there are few attempts to decentralize and most fail to produce desired results.[502] Binswanger concurs that decentralization can leave development programs unchanged and it is therefore "not a panacea."[503]

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[492] Brecher, 1992:247-88
[493] Chambers, 1993:11
[494] Hulbe, 1980:26; Freidmann, 1984:217; Rondinelli, 1993:171
[495] Freidmann, 1984:217
[496] Freidmann, 1984:217
[497] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250
[498] Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:16; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:251
[499] Conyers, 1990:18
[500] Freidmann, 1984:217
[501] Conyers, 1990:18
[502] Brohman, 1996:239-40
[503] Binswanger, 1998:295

In the case of Karnataka, India, the amount and the frequency of corruption were reduced.[504] There are also other examples of a reduction of inefficiencies, waste, and corruption reduced in government and bureaucracy as a result of decentralization.[505]

Decentralization by its very nature promotes the growth of alternative centers in what were previously areas of the periphery. A certain amount of autonomy from political, administration, and economic national centers and from global dynamics is created.[506] Greater autonomy of sub-national regions in the context of decentralization highlights the inherently political nature of decentralization processes because they deal with the reorganization of power and how power is exercised. Decentralization has been described as a means to transform political systems[507] by depoliticizing national governments because of their reduced ability to provide direct benefits to the public[508]. Consequences of depoliticalization include: 1) political and economic spheres are separated, which can eliminate obstacles to economic growth and manipulation of markets[509]; and 2) political struggles occur because bureaucrats and politicians oppose the loss of power[510]. The primary intent of decentralization is not of a political nature, but rather its aim is to effectively advance enduring development and generate

[504] Binswanger, 1998:295
[505] Conyers, 1990:18; Osterfield, 1992:244
[506] Hulbe, 1980:55-6; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:118; Makumbe, 1996:27; Acselrad, 1999; 47; Rolly, 2001:55
[507] Friedmann, 1984:194
[508] Osterfield, 1992:242; Brohman, 1996:240; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:25
[509] Osterfield, 1992:221
[510] Hulbe, 1980:56; Brecher 1992:247-88; Brohman, 1996:241; Makumbe, 1996:27; Binswanger, 1998:295; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:110

benefits for all or the majority of people.[511] A clear aim of decentralization is greater self-sufficiency at the micro-regional level, which allows greater flexibility, speed, and efficiency in dealing with matters of development.[512] The potential for conflict over the redistribution of power suggests that decentralization processes should be gradually and carefully delivered over time.[513] At the same time, decentralization is shown to be a potential means of conflict resolution by providing autonomy to sub-regions, which can have a stabilizing effect.[514]

Bookchin states that decentralization is "*indispensable* [author's italics] to an ecologically sound society."[515] Kux claims that "key elements in the success of future conservation efforts abroad include: enlightened national and international economic development policies, decentralized responsibility to encourage building on proven traditional resource management techniques, and maintenance of existing (at the very least) living conditions for economically disadvantaged people. If advances are not made in these areas, investments in more conventional conservation approaches in the developing countries of the tropics may themselves be unsustainable."[516] Conyers also makes a positive relationship between human and natural resource development and decentralized decision-making.[517] Decentralization in natural resources management implies incorporating existing and often traditional conservation

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[511] Brohman, 1996:237-8; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:25
[512] Harris, 1983:190; Rondinelli and Cheema,1983:16; Huillet et al., 1988:30; Acselrad, 1999:47; Mohan and Stokke, 2002:251
[513] Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:309; Binswanger, 1998:295
[514] Hulbe, 1980:56
[515] Bookchin, 1990:187
[516] Kux, 1991:311
[517] Conyers, 1990:18

practices, which encourages the design of sustainable practices. Utilizing PD in the management of natural resources is discussed in Chapter 5.

Definition of Decentralization

Decentralization is herein defined as *a process that builds: 1) decision-making authority of local communities, local government, and civil society organizations, and 2) the capacities (financial, technical, and other) essential for local stakeholders to plan, design, and maintain overall control of development programs that are intended to benefit them*.

This definition is most similar to the delegation form of decentralization previously discussed and involves deconcentration because of local government's partnership role. The above definition is also similar to the one put forward by Rondinelli, Nells, and Cheema, who stated that decentralization is "the transfer of responsibility for planning, management and resource raising and allocation from the central government and its agencies to: a) field units of central government ministries and agencies; b) subordinate units or levels of government; c) semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations; d) area-wide, regional or functional authorities; or e) non-governmental, private or voluntary organizations."[518]

Table 6 summarizes benefits and criticisms of decentralization.

[518] Rondinelli et al., 1983:37

Table 6: ***Administrative, Economic, Environmental, Human, and Political Benefits and Criticisms of Decentralization***

Administrative
Benefits
• Administrative efficiency increases--even in small areas
• Bureaucratic expansion at the sub-national level
• Competition at the sub-national level that fosters better performance
• Coordination between government & communities improved
• Enabling environment--precondition for development
• Implementation accelerated without increasing costs (via local responsiveness and participation)
• System more responsive and equitable
• Waste and corruption reduced in government & bureaucracy
Criticisms
• Bureaucratic expansion (not necessarily critical)
• Central planners have more knowledge, make more efficient decisions, and consider long-term national interests
• Centralization nor decentralization support participation
• Centralize if for territorial justice or redistribution of wealth
• Development programs effectiveness unchanged
• Divergent meanings and objectives
• Few attempts--failed to produce desired results
• Ministries, local and regional, make decisions but do not always grasp links to the national and international level
• Not a panacea
• Problems of control and coordination of resources
Economic
Benefits
• Agricultural exports increase
• Demand for goods increase
• Development alternatives presented
• Diversification in agriculture and industry
• Economic and political spheres separated to eliminate obstacles to economic growth and manipulation of markets
• Economic growth--from innovation, change, and experiments
• Efficiency of delivery of goods and services increase
• Employment increase
• Enterprises small- and family-scale expand
• Expenditures small and dispersed

Table 6 Continued

Economic
Benefits
• Expenditures with local preferences better matched
• Financed domestically
• Flexibility, speed, and efficiency in development
• Food supply adequate
• Market in the provision of government services
• Product innovation in capital and technology increase
• Public goods and services increase in number
• Resources supplied for finance and manpower
• Revenue generation increase
• Urbanization, rate and scale lowered in principle cities
Criticisms
• Lack of financial resources and costs--difficult not to give precedent to highest population areas
• Local governments starved for resources and unable to function (prevents experimenting and implementing programs)--central governments hold budgets
Human
Benefits
• Adapt to change
• Capabilities of local government and groups increase
• Hope and salvation for the nations of our new millennium
• Human development that is appropriate
• Interaction encouraged
• Labor intensive rather than capital intensive
• Local needs supported using local resources (labor, skills)
• Local stakeholder control and decision-making
• Networks and coalitions form
• Representation from popular majority, local poor, and from political, religious, ethnic and tribal groups
Criticisms
• Social protection could be discretionary
Environment
Benefits
• Ecologically sound society
• Natural resource development that is appropriate

Table 6 Continued

Political
Benefits
• Alternative centers with greater autonomy
• Attendance improved by local government employees
• Conflict resolution by providing autonomy to sub-regions
• Depoliticized national governments
• Local government offers variety in public goods and services
• People shaping the institutions that govern them
• Pluralism
• Political systems transformed
• Risk that dominant parties interfere diminishes
Criticisms
• Central authority maintains or deepens control over local
• Central governments cater to lower levels if they do not conflict with the initiatives and interests from the top
• Costs politically
• Ideological
• Power transferred from one elite group to another
• Struggle because bureaucrats and politicians oppose the loss of power (process should be gradual)
• Unclear if it stimulates democratic decisions

Federalism and Its Outcomes

Federalism – "a product of liberal thinking"[519] – consists of institutional and jurisdictional arrangements to create unity (or peace[520]) "by allowing a certain degree of diversity."[521] Federalism balances "the (relative) freedom of the individual to the (relative) freedom of organization of territorial entities."[522]

[519] Loewenstein, 1969:152
[520] Leibfried et al., 2005:339
[521] Obinger et al., 2005:2; also in Leibfried et al., 2005:311
[522] Loewenstein, 1969:152

People of different provinces or states that are parts of a federalized national system receive different benefits and have different responsibilities.[523]

Obinger and his colleagues explain that federalism includes: 1) divisions of power between the central government and sub-national levels in the areas of policy-making and implementation (varying in the degree to which veto powers are provided to subordinate branches), and 2) fiscal transfers, cost sharing, and informal arrangements (vertical and horizontal) within government in order to accommodate territorial-based interests, actors, and ideas.[524] Liebfried et al. suggest that to understand the historical significance of federalism as an institution, it helps to analyze "the inter-relationship between federalism and social interest formation."[525] This is to say that there are basic qualities that are implied or embedded in a federalist condition, and when functioning result in the formation of associations with shared interests; federalism and the consequent creation of these groups with common concerns and goals reveal the history and significance of federalism. For example, providing "a fertile ground for policy experiments" is basic in federalism and catalyzes social interest formation. "While local policy pre-emption has often limited the degree of freedom for federal policy intervention, policy experiments can also serve as pacemakers and blueprints for national programs. Indeed, in some instances the development of federal programs is actually encouraged by decentralized social policy innovation and experience. Local innovation not only spreads new policies from state to

[523] Obinger et al., 2005:2; also in Leibfried et al., 2005:311
[524] Obinger et al., 2005:8-9
[525] Leibfried et al., 2005:340

state ("horizontal diffusion"), but also produces spillovers, with bottom-up effects on policy innovation at the federal level ("pacemaker effects")."[526] Analyzing, therefore, policy experiments that are able to come about through the federalist condition, and tracing their impacts that began with the formation of groups that carried out the experiments and that may later include scaling-up of experiments, is, according to Liebfried and his colleagues, the kind of process that helps to reveal the nature and history of federalism as an institution. It is necessary to note, however, that there are many contextual factors that react with federalism, and its social outcomes therefore are not uniform across cases.[527]

Federalism is a more integrated, deep, and extensive part of a social system than typical examples of decentralization initiatives. Federalism is the institutionalization (systematic, jurisdictional, and established organization) of decentralization. Federalism could be considered the resulting condition of thoroughly diffused and successfully operating decentralization processes across a nation-state. However, the two terms could also be distinguished if federalism is viewed as implying a more concentrated focus on federal and provincial levels (internal state relations), whereas decentralization may be seen to imply a focus on sub-national and sub-provincial (or more localized) levels. In other words, they could differ on the extent to which power is diffused (vertically – down administrative tiers) and the degree to which they are applied, with federalism typically offering a more formalized and codified system of powers to make

[526] Leibfried et al., 2005:340
[527] Obinger et al., 2005:29

decisions at the sub-national level. Most importantly, however, both share the same fundamental goal of the non-centralization of power.

Like decentralization and other terms defined in this study, federalism has been described as being an unclear term with no agreement on what it represents.[528] Loewenstein seemed to use the terms federalism and decentralization interchangeably,[529] which may be acceptable because decentralization approaches are also classified according to the degree to which they deconcentrate decision-making power. Forms of federalism include: 1) unilateral decisions by federal and provincial levels with minimal coordination; 2) shared costs (although the federal level can decide the terms and the provincial government determines whether to accept them); and 3) joint federalism in which both provincial and federal levels decide together on courses of action.[530]

Federalism is an important feature in the United States Constitution, which, in principle, is intended to limit or check the powers of the national government by those of the local and state governments. The federalist system of the United States (considered the "oldest and the best integrated" along with that of Switzerland[531]) enabled conflicts to be overcome during the founding of the country that could otherwise have prevented the formation of the nation.[532] This example underscores federalism (and decentralization) as potential means of conflict resolution by providing autonomy to sub-regions, which can be

[528] Duchacek, 1987:189
[529] Loewenstein, 1969:152
[530] Banting, 2005:95
[531] Loewenstein, 1969:152; also stated by Leibfried et al., 2005:311
[532] Summerhill and Weingast, 2000:37-8

stabilizing.[533] However, Leibfried and his colleagues describe late twentieth century quantitative research involving European countries and "the expenditure effects of federalism," suggesting that federalism may come at the price of reduced social protection, greater social inequality, and delayed welfare consolidation due to institutional blockage. The authors conclude that this "confirms a key axiom of federalist theory, that federalism involves a trade-off in which social peace is bought at the cost of permitting some degree of territorial and social diversity."[534]

Loewenstein explains that the importance of technology for economic growth now requires uniform economic policies throughout an entire national territory to maximize efficiency and production, and that economic fragmentation implied in federalism is economically counterproductive.[535] He does acknowledge that his suggested economic policy approach is inconsistent with effective member-state sovereignty, just like the imposition of federal income tax. However, since in his view federalism thrives only as long as the economy does, uniform economic policies especially in regards to technology and the growth that it enables is a necessary trade-off. On the other hand, Loewenstein's recommendation of uniform economic policies will adversely affect the scope of choices of citizens among different regulations, as well as their capacity to

[533] Rolly, 2001:56; Leibfried et al., 2005:339
[534] Leibfried et al., 2005:339
[535] Loewenstein, 1969:152

discipline government to provide effective services, which, according to Greve, is an integral part of “real” federalism[536].

[536] Greve, 1999:2f

CHAPTER 3: THE ASCENDENCY OF DEPENDENCY

The 1970s

There seem to have been two simultaneous trends during the 1970s and into the early 1980s. Economic difficulties – brought on by oil and commodity price rises and falls, the downturn in world trade, and the significant increase of real interest rates – placed economic growth again as the priority, with education, health, and other aspects of human development considered to be secondary priorities.[537] Latin American countries were ill-equipped to withstand the external trade shocks.[538] Economic difficulties led some to embrace mainstream development approaches and others to search for alternatives. Dissatisfaction with mainstream development policies became more pervasive, and catalyzed governments as well as international development agencies to search for other, particularly people-centered, alternatives that would generate self-sufficiency and address poverty.[539]

The U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 reflected more strongly the participatory trend. Its "New Directions" called for developing the technical and organizational capacities of women and the poor, and increasing their participation in the decision-making process.[540] However, the qualities of "participation" were not explicitly defined and so translating this principle into

[537] Nelson and Wright, 1995:3
[538] OECD, 1994:99-100
[539] Ibid.; Brohman, 1996:203-4; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:16; OECD, 1994:101-2; Stiglitz, 2003:50-1
[540] Rondinelli, 1987:74

consistent action remained a challenge.[541] In response to the lack of clarity in terms of a definition of participation and effective means to elicit it, USAID commissioned Cornell University in 1977 to assess the viability of participation in the design and implementation of development initiatives and to provide the necessary participatory training in developing countries.[542] Norman Uphoff and his team at Cornell recognized the wide-ranging perceptions of what participation meant and therefore described it broadly as "the involvement of a significant number of persons in situations or actions which enhance their well-being, e.g., their income, security, and/or self-esteem."[543] Rondinelli summarizes Cornell's major findings:

> Four types of participation were identified: participation in *decision-making*, in *implementation*, in *benefits*, and in *evaluation*. Also, four sets of potential participants in rural development projects and programs were identified – local residents, local leaders, government personnel, and foreign personnel – each often having different perceptions, interests, and definitions of a project's benefits. Means of identifying how participation was occurring were also described – the types of initiatives that were used to elicit participation (mobilized from the center or autonomous); the types of inducements for participation (voluntary or coercive); the structure and channels of participation (individual or collective, formal or informal, direct or representative; the duration (intermittent or continuous) and scope (narrow or broad range of activities); and the results of participation (whether or not it leads to 'empowerment' – that is, increases the capacity of people to satisfy their objectives and needs through involvement).[544]

During this period, the World Bank's priorities under Robert MacNamara were the meeting of basic needs and integrated rural development.[545] According to Emmerij, this represented a greater emphasis on redistribution strategies

[541] Rondinelli, 1987:83; Kalyalya et al., 1988:6-9; Conteh-Morgan, 1990:3
[542] Rondinelli, 1987:83
[543] Uphoff et al., 1979:83
[544] Rondinelli, 1987:84
[545] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:51

rather than economic growth, which was earlier the top-priority that received too much attention.[546] Some basic needs strategies can be considered social welfare or entitlements in that certain types of essential goods (for example, food staples and housing) are selected and income distribution targets are pursued in order to "generate a particular level of consumption" of those goods.[547] However, particularly since the 1980s, basic needs strategies have developed beyond the conventional material approaches to include social, political, and cultural needs; thus also striving to meet human needs in "self-respect, recognition, and acknowledgement."[548]

Integrated rural development, also a priority of the World Bank during the 1970s, is intended to improve the livelihoods of rural people by utilizing methodologies that include adult education, extension programs, and demonstrations.[549] This implies that integrated rural development involves the targeted beneficiaries in development planning and that local participation and decentralization of decision-making are incorporated in the approach.[550] Montogomery further explains that the more integrated projects fit into national plans, the greater likelihood they have of receiving support.[551] However, Binswanger cites failed integrated rural development projects due to a lack of consistent decentralized control[552] – a condition that can potentially emerge through receiving funding from the national level, which can compromise local

[546] Emmerij, 1988:17
[547] Stewart, 1985:12
[548] Martinussen, 1997:337
[549] Hagmann et al., 1999:2-3; also in Montogomery, 1983:232; Binswanger, 1998:295
[550] Lea and Chaudrhi, 1983:13
[551] Montogomery, 1983:256
[552] Binswanger, 1998:295

control. Kumar identifies the "top-down development approach" as creating a "major obstacle" to successful integrated rural development projects.[553]

The Nixon administration changed the way community development programs of the 1960s operated.[554] The administration's New Federalism altered the federal government's role by giving states and localities decision-making power over how funds were spent.[555] For example, the Community Development Block Grants program created in 1974 took the place of grants previously earmarked for poverty alleviation. Localities gained greater autonomy to determine the areas and programs that received these grants.[556]

By the late 1960s and 1970s, social scientists had begun to respond to the disappointment of conventional development approaches. People around the world demanded participation in decision-making related to development and the policies that affected them. Also, the dependency school, which explains the failure of the modernization model and the continued underdevelopment of developing countries, called for de-linking from the industrialized West, and subsequently this idea began to gain real traction.[557] Some observers suggest that this time was also when PD began to represent a paradigm shift.[558]

The International Labor Organization (ILO), part of the United Nations, equated participation as a "basic human need" and considered it to have value

[553] Kumar, 2002:29
[554] Rondinelli, 1987:83
[555] Ibid.
[556] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:14-5
[557] Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:196
[558] Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3; Morris, 2003:225-6

as an end in itself.[559] A number of ILO documents during the decade, including its partnership agreements with other United Nations organizations, incorporated this theme. The question of whether participation in development decisions is an end in itself[560] or a means and an end[561] is often expressed in the literature, with the majority of authors suggesting that PD is both a means and end.[562] This observation speaks to the benefits of participation generated by the process itself, including enhanced decision-making skills, confidence, improved social relationships, and others, as will be discussed.

A PD forerunner, Rapid Assessment Procedures (RAP), began to be utilized in the 1970s. The framework for RAP was established during two formative conferences – at the University of Sussex in 1978 and at Khon Kaen University in 1985. Since then, an extensive literature has emerged.[563] In the late 1970s and 1980s, when PD methods began to be used on a wider scale, they reflected RAP's emphasis on providing rapid appraisals and the gathering of information on local priorities and challenges[564] to understand local situations without the biases of conventional data collection methods[565].

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[559] Nkunika, 1987:18; also in Alkire, 2002:169
[560] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7-9; Brohman, 1996:218 and 253; Cohen, 1996:231-2; Bhatt, 1997:373; Gonzalez, 1998:16; Cheater, 1999:597; Anand and Sen, 2000:2032; Parfitt, 2004:538
[561] Hulbe, 1980:75; Valk and Wekwete, 1990:7; Bordenave, 1994:43; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:9; Gorman, 1995:215; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1; Brohman, 1996:251-2; Makumbe, 1996:6; Cornwall, 1996:94; Servaes, 1996:15; Bhatt, 1997:373; Gonzalez, 1998:36-7; Cheater, 1999:597; Anand and Sen, 2000:2037; Vernooy et al., 2003:23; Parfitt, 2004:541-55
[562] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:26; Nelson and Wright, 1995:17; Cohen, 1996:231-2; Brohman, 1996:253; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-2; Miller, 1997:22; Cornwall, 1999:14; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:337-8; Rolly, 2001:75
[563] Nolan, 2002:138
[564] Lyons et al., 1999:10; Campbell, 2001:381
[565] Nolan, 2002:138

The research process was, however, controlled by outsider development professionals, and it was not until the late 1980s when a shift in this regard to the local people took place.

Conventional Research and the Participatory Research Alternative

Extractive quantitative techniques utilized by social scientists who control the research process, such as questionnaires and interviews that enable large numbers of people to be surveyed, and lend themselves to statistical analysis, are considered by many PD proponents (and others) to be less effective than qualitative methods at illuminating the complexities of local conditions, such as knowledge of land and its use.[566] Webb and his colleagues further describe the problems associated with interviews and questionnaires, including that they "intrude as a foreign element into the social setting they would describe, they create as well as measure attitudes, they elicit atypical roles and responses, they are limited to those who are accessible and will cooperate, and the responses obtained are produced in part by dimensions of individual differences irrelevant to the topic at hand."[567]

Drinkwater describes a participatory research critique on conventional research: "The world is as we see it and as we construct it through interaction with others. In short, there is not a detached world that exists out there independent of any specific viewer or participant. This means that any notion of

[566] Dalal-Clayton et al., 2003:99

[567] Webb et al. quoted in Pilsworth and Ruddock, 1982:65; Pilsworth and Ruddock also state that "the interview is not only artificial; it is, like most other artifacts, culture-specific. Interviewing is a western phenomenon, as rooted in western society as are the mass media, which have, incidentally, shaped the conventions of the interview situation perhaps more than any other single agency. This fact is extremely important in relation to the choice of research methods which are applicable to developing countries (1982:66)."

scientific method that presupposes an objective or value-free observer is invalid. Among the implications of this...: The questions we ask in any situation determine the answers we get."[568] Other writers make a similar observation – that the values of investigators and how they think determine the questions they ask and the affects of the decisions they make.[569] Randall Collins refers to this aspect and conduct on the part of researchers as them taking "intuitive leaps."[570] Oliveira poses a simple question that encapsulates the basic dilemma: "How can a social scientist be objective towards society if they are an integral part?"[571]

Researchers committed to community participation "challenge scientific neutrality and reject the position of the scientist as the social engineer."[572] PD methods, which are essentially based on opening project planning processes for public discussion, directly question the position of a single perspective being able to accurately account for the range of social interests and dimensions that need to be considered in order to design and implement development projects that are successful and enduring.[573] The purpose of PD research – wide-ranging benefits for human society – is what makes it distinct from "detached instrumental social science."[574]

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[568] Drinkwater, 2003:63-4
[569] Cohen, 1989:34-6; Alexander and Colomy, 1992:32-3; Selzinick, 1992:83; Adam and Van Loon, 2000:23; Noble, 2000:12-3
[570] Collins, 1989:128
[571] Oliveira, 1982:44-6; In Cohen, 1989:34, the same point is made using the following example: "It would be impossible to investigate the consequences of affirmative-action program without the investigator's moral attitudes toward affirmative action influencing the outcome of the investigation. Some critics would go so far as to claim that the male chauvinist and the women's liberationist, investigating questions about affirmative action, would inevitably obtain results confirming their own value biases."
[572] Servaes, 1996:98-9
[573] Smith, 1989:58
[574] Feagin and Vera, 2001:165

PD practitioners often view conventional academic research as being elitist,[575] irrelevant,[576] "shielded from…intellectual skepticism,"[577] and often not cost effective[578]. An example of what is not cost effective in research, according to Robert Chambers, are benchmark surveys, "which are often criticized and yet these huge operations persist, often in the name of the science of evaluation; they preempt national research resources and generate mounds of data and paper…until paper shredders clean things up."[579] An example of unused data is highlighted in a review of 164 World Bank projects, which "concluded that the majority contained minimal data on the social, demographic, and economic characteristics of the project area – and made no attempt to analyze the data that they had for project design."[580]

Furthermore, investigators who utilize conventional research methods for the purpose of advancing development endure "defects" in their approach that include: 1) "a lack rapport with respondents," 2) "failure to listen," 3) "overlooking…social and cultural relationships," and 4) "seeing a moment in time," and not "cyclical events such as seasonal activities…and trends."[581] Science that proclaims itself neutral is also considered to strengthen the "established order" because the researcher is in control of the process.[582]

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[575] Swantz, 1982:115
[576] Chambers, 1991:516; Green, 2000:70
[577] Midgley quoted in Makumbe, 1996:10
[578] Chambers, 1991:516
[579] Ibid., 520
[580] Cernea cited in Kalyalya et al., 1988:13
[581] Chambers, 1991:519
[582] Freire, 1982:30; Oliveira, 1982:44-6

Researchers who utilize PD methods explain that these methods help to build clos relationships with communities better than conventional research methods do.[583] It follows then that "the assistance of academia in solving community problems is welcome when researchers are committed to valuing the individual's real-world experience and to being sensitive to cultural and personal differences."[584] Working in this way makes it easier to collect information and identify local problems.[585] The researcher both educates and is educated[586] through the process of dialogue, reflection, and awareness of social relationships and power differences.[587] Prokopy and Castellow referred to PD researchers as "organic intellectuals," since they derive "wisdom" from "life experiences rather than academic abstraction."[588]

Compared to conventional research, PD methods are seen as generating more accurate information about needs, priorities, opportunities, and capabilities of local people in a relatively short time.[589] PD methods add knowledge regarding the way development policies affect the people, and contribute to the planning and implementation of development.[590] Information is generated that informs future personal development.[591] PD methods can potentially be utilized to simply assist the research of outsiders (or what Kaul Shah refers to as "one-off

[583] Hall, 1982:22; Oliveira, 1982:49
[584] Van der Eb et al., 2004:221
[585] Oliveira, 1982:49; Jason et al., 2004:241
[586] Freire, 1982:53; Swantz, 1982:114
[587] Neson and Wright, 1995:22
[588] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:218
[589] Wengert, 1976:23; Hulbe, 1980:78; Cook, 1990:398; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:4; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8; Castillo quoted in Makumbe, 1996:22; De Koning and Martin, 1996:1-2; Makumbe, 1996:22; Kahler, 1996:174
[590] Kalyalya et al., 1988:117
[591] Turner et al., 2000:1731-2

research projects," often conducted by Northern academics[592]). PD methods generate an exorbitant level of qualitative data (including local people's perceptions) in a relatively short time, which the researchers can then process for their own benefit.[593] Strictly academic outcomes are not, however, the purpose of PD.

Although PD is not a positivist approach to social science, it does enable researchers to more directly address critical issues that local communities face, and therefore, for development purposes they are better than conventional methods.[594] PD methods test the social system and reality, and the larger the operation, the more apparent the problems become.[595] As Volken and Kaithathara state, "To know reality, try to change it."[596] However, to attain the positive benefit of PD activist methods, including the reduction of inequality, requires that their application not be "sloppy" and that PD investigators do not involve themselves with "close-minded moralizing."[597]

There are recommendations on behalf of advocates of PD and others that are suggested to be built into research designs in order to avoid biases in research processes and the conclusions drawn from them. First, any political intent of the researcher should be identified.[598] Writers explain a benefit when this is done, namely that "ethical relationships are created when the researcher is

[592] Kaul Shah, 2003:193
[593] Chambers, 2005:129-31
[594] Servaes, 1999:109
[595] Weiss et al. quoted in Rondinelli, 1993:143
[596] Volken and Kaithathara quoted in Uphoff, 1992b:290
[597] Cancian, 1989:351; The suggestion to avoid debate over philosophical issues in order to build knowledge is also in Turner, 1991:252.
[598] Webb et al. quoted in Pilsworth and Ruddock, 1982:65

open and transparent and knows his or her cultural biases.[599] Second, in sociology, anthropology, and other social sciences, "a distinction is made between subjective interpretations and objective assessments."[600] The idea here is that together, both research approaches provide a better and more complete understanding of a social situation that either can by itself.[601] Cohen and others[602] explain that whether qualitative or quantitative methods are applied ought to be determined by what is suitable in order to analyze the problem in question.[603] However, Nelson and Wright are less inclined to accept "objective" and "subjective" research approaches as co-equals; they suggest that "value free research has to be *replaced* [emphasis added] by conscious partial identification with the research objects."[604] This statement is in line with PD methods and their intent to understand local conditions from the perspective of the people who live there. Finally, researchers should "synthesize contending viewpoints" which also helps to balance against a biases.[605]

Natural sciences – which involve "discovering fundamental properties and processes"[606] – address biases of investigators by training them in an institutionalized set of norms,[607] or "impersonal standards."[608] Popper suggests a scientific norm or standard, for example: "the criterion of the scientific status of

[599] Van der Eb et al., 2004:224
[600] Uphoff et al., 1998:138
[601] Ibid.
[602] Collins, 1989:127; Coleman, 1990:2
[603] Cohen, 1989:23
[604] Nelson and Wright, 1995:22
[605] Jacobson, 1996:275
[606] Turner, 1998:1
[607] Cohen, 1989:36
[608] Selzinick, 1992:86

a theory is its falsifiability, or refutability, or testability."[609] Scientific norms and standards enable investigators to achieve an "approximation of objectivity,"[610] as well as to entertain a plurality of theories[611]. Also, in the natural sciences, "researchers are able to repeat their experiments, an advantage that social science lacks for its most important problems."[612] Cohen suggests that, compared to nonexperimental research, experiments enable greater control of factors (to be able to separate them, though they may not be separable in nature) so not necessarily all alternative explanations can be accounted for and considered.[613] However, Campbell in Melvin notes that social scientists still have less ability than natural scientists to isolate factors or variables during experiments, and thus social scientists have a greater need to replicate and evaluate experiments and each implementation in the process of determining which social reform should become law.[614] PD researchers describe causal relations between variables in a way that is neither deterministic nor predictable because they are dealing with human agency, which generates both intended and unintended consequences.[615]

In the social sciences there are two general kinds of knowledge: the culture-specific and the generally valid.[616] Researchers that build culture-specific, indigenous knowledge need to maintain a broad sociocultural

[609] Popper, 1981:97
[610] Cohen, 1989:39
[611] Selzinick, 1992:86
[612] Moore, 1963:88
[613] Cohen, 1989:253-61
[614] Melvin, 2000:143
[615] Friesen, 1999:294
[616] Kohn, 1987:716; Kloos quoted in Servaes, 1999:8

perspective if they are to contextualize information.[617] After all, PD conclusions based on local situations require further analysis ("synthesis, systematization, and accumulation") in order to achieve broader validity.[618] Knowledge-building in this rigorous way helps PD "to engage in the critical self-reflexiveness that can garner the respect of the social science community and generate theoretical movements.[619]" Collins suggests that such opponents of positivism have already gained a "foothold in respectability."[620]

However, Robert Chambers remarks that "people, and the professions and disciplines concerned with people, such as sociology, social anthropology, and agricultural extension – are treated like poor relations."[621] From a developmental perspective, he also states that "many of the insights of social anthropologists and sociologists later prove helpful. Development anthropology has many practitioners now who have shown the capacity to make substantial contributions to development projects."[622]

Sociology, for example, is as old as many of the natural sciences[623] and is concerned with the "study the structure, function, process, change and permanence, organization and disorganization of social life and human societies in general."[624] It has a "huge variety of 'lenses' available" to study the social

[617] Sillitoe, 1998:235; also in Collins, 1989:133
[618] Latapi quoted in Friesen, 1999:297
[619] Friesen, 1999:282
[620] Collins, 1989:127
[621] Chambers, 1991:516
[622] Ibid., 20
[623] Woodiwiss, 2001:163
[624] Kourvetaris and Dobratz, 1980:13

world.[625] Furthermore, the goal of social reform has always been part of sociology. For example, Coser states that "it appears the first generation of American sociologists saw themselves as reformers and addressed themselves to an audience of reformers" – they were concerned with "situations of conflict," which "accounts for the sociologists' concern with them."[626] Another example, is that "in the first issue of *The American Journal of Sociology*, published in 1895, editor Albion Small defined the four goals of sociology as to include: (1) building theory to identify the principles of social relations, (2) relating abstract sociology to everyday life and the interests of leading citizens, (3) *promoting the general welfare* [italics added], and (4) restraining premature public opinion."[627] Furthermore, the practice of participatory research methods, which challenges rigid domains of research,[628] is conducive to the practice of sociology because of its flexibility in terms of the research methods that can be applied and the theoretical perspectives that can be utilized. Abbot implies the flexible nature of sociology with the statement: "For every sociologist who believes in objective knowledge, another denies it. For every…interpretivist, there is a rigorous positivist."[629] Still yet, however, C. Wright Mills, quoting Lazarsfeld writing in 1948, provides one explanation as to why social science in general had been and still is unable to launch successful "social engineering" initiatives: "It took the natural sciences about 250 years between Galileo and the beginning of the

[625] Woodiwiss, 2001:163
[626] Coser, 1956:16
[627] Cancian, 1989:343
[628] Servaes and Arnst, 1999:110
[629] Abbott, 2000

industrial revolution before they had a major effect upon the history of the world. Empirical social research has a history of three or four decades. If we expect from it quick solutions to the world's greatest problems, if we demand of it nothing but immediately practical results, we will just corrupt its natural course."[630]

One area of needed reform in the social sciences is to improve theory and practice by requiring "closer communication between theorists and practitioners."[631] Communication would help work against the rigid focus on either theory or practice alone and the consequent hierarchy (or "widening gap"[632]) between the two that has emerged and the difficulty in crossing over.[633] Furthermore, Cohen explains that "piling study upon study will not generate useful theoretical knowledge, even if each study exemplifies the ideals for conducting empirical research."[634] Rather, in order to generate useful theoretical knowledge, processes of "collective evaluation" of statements (guided by reason) are needed, followed by "collective recognition" of the theoretical knowledge.[635] Even when this occurs, however, uncertainty about the consequences of decisions and alternative explanations always exists, as well as the potential that

[630] Lazarsfeld quoted in Mills, 1963:12
[631] Friesen, 1999:283; Giddens quoted in Friesen, 1999:283
[632] Coleman, 1990:1
[633] Altrichter and Gsettner, 1997:60
[634] Cohen, 1989:16
[635] Ibid., 25 and 75

theoretical knowledge can be modified ("undermined"[636] or rewritten[637]) according to experiences, since there is no universal statement of truth.[638]

Writers explain that a weakness in theories throughout the social sciences is how they move from the lower level to the system level, from the micro to the macro level of analysis.[639] Coleman goes on to describe a contemporary case (involving theories of revolution) of managing the micro-macro transition by aggregating individual attitudes that can bear a system-wide impact.[640] However, Long states that "macro structures should not simply be conceptualized as aggregations of micro episodes or situations, since many of them come into existence as the result of unintended consequences of social action."[641] Finally, Turner suggests that in order to build theoretical knowledge, areas of "similarity, convergence, or divergence" of a theory with other theories should be highlighted.[642]

Cernea and Bloodsworth, in contrast, focus on restructuring the training of sociologists and anthropologists so that they may have an action-oriented perspective that will enable them to advance social development.[643] Furthermore, little attention is being paid in graduate curricula to ways participatory methods and knowledge can be incorporated in students' education

[636] Collins, 1989:135
[637] Turner, 1991:253
[638] Cohen, 1989:72-331
[639] Coleman, 1990:6; Huber, 1991:11; Ritzer, 1992:15; Long, 2001:63-4
[640] Coleman, 1990:10
[641] Long, 2001:64
[642] Turner, 1991:253
[643] Cernea, 1991:35; Bloodworth, 2004:231

and research programs.[644] Additionally, other professionals, who are heavily involved in the development field and are primarily concerned with physical and numerical aspects of development – such as biologists, cartographers, economists, agronomists, soil scientists, hydrologists, agronomists, veterinarians, urban planners, foresters, and industrial and irrigation engineers – are "being trained today as if people do not matter and are ignorant of socio-cultural dimensions…because of outdated training philosophies."[645]

One major challenge to training is the lack of experienced trainers (the demand for good trainers far exceeds the supply); also textbooks for training are not yet on the shelves.[646] When textbooks are available, many in academia feel that textbook knowledge of participatory methods is adequate to train others in the methods.[647] Kaul Shau observes that "while some Southern practitioners emphasized the need for practical experience in the field before becoming an 'expert' and a PRA trainer, some Northern academics and researchers argued that it is good training skills that are more important."[648] As a result, because of training consultants with little or no field experience or awareness of the importance of behavior and attitudes, much training is "classroom based, shoddy, rushed, routinized and superficial, and focused on methods to the neglect of behavior, attitudes, ethics and philosophy."[649]

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[644] Bloodworth et al., 2004:231; Keys et al., 2004:194-5
[645] Chambers, 1991:516
[646] Cernea, 1991:35; Chambers, 2005:129-31
[647] Kaul Shah, 2003:193
[648] Ibid.
[649] Chambers, 2005:129-31

Dependency Theory

Dependency View of Development and Underdevelopment

Dependency theory emerged in response to the modernization development interventions in Latin America in the 1950s, which resulted in unemployment, decreasing terms of trade, inflation, domestic and international polarization (including gender, age, and ethnicity[650]), and violence[651] – leading to repressive authoritarian governments[652] and less democracy[653]. The dependency condition was born from European colonization of Latin America and elsewhere and the colonists' consequent expropriation of their surplus.[654] According to dependency theory, the international system is a product of history[655] (following 1492) and the development of capitalism, which involves the northern developed countries' search for cheap labor;[656] raw materials and less regulation[657]; commercial and military bases[658]; and the export of capital and new markets[659].

Dependency theory is principally the perspective of scholars in underdeveloped countries on their relationship with developed nations.[660] It is

[650] Wallerstein, 1983:28
[651] Alschuler, 1978:1; Petras, 1982:148
[652] Alschuler, 1978:1; Johnson, 1982b:108
[653] Chirot, 1977:477
[654] Frank, 1969:3-9 and 242; Dos Santos, 1970:232; Wallerstein, 1974:86; Hout, 1993:6
[655] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:247; Chase-Dunn, 1989:315; Jaffee, 1990:152; Amin et al., 1990:10; So, 1991:99; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:46
[656] Chirot, 1977:470; Riley, 2003:27
[657] Chirot, 1977:470
[658] Walton, 1984:161-2
[659] Chase-Dunn, 1989:221
[660] Frank, 1969:15; Walton, 1984:161-2; So, 1991:91

widely accepted throughout the developing world[661] and expanding[662]. Dependency theory explains that the modernization model does not account for the social reality and aspirations of people in the developing world[663] – that model is considered overly geared toward consumption[664] and does not naturally unfold[665]. The surplus exported to developed nations (core) in the form of raw materials and farm products creates wealth in Northern nations, and, simultaneously, underdevelopment and dislocation in the Southern countries (periphery).[666] Development in the core and the underdevelopment of the periphery is part of a single process; one occurs in conjunction with the other.[667] Underdevelopment is a result of dependency[668] and exists to the extent that a deficiency of autonomous exists[669]. The conditions of the international relationships of Southern nations to Northern ones create and maintain the state of dependency, from which has emerged an economic order that results in the impoverishment of developing countries.[670] The dependency system exists throughout the entire world.[671] Internal conditions of nations reflect the structure

[661] Johnson, 1982b:108; Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:196
[662] Love quoted in Kay, 1989:26
[663] Frank, 1969:16; So, 1991:96; Hout, 1993:18
[664] Holgate, 1996:247
[665] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:43
[666] Alschuler, 1978:109; So, 1991:104; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:29-30
[667] Bodenheimer, 1970:124; Alschuler, 1978:1; Dos Santos, 1978:76; Cardoso and Faletto, 1979:15; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:25; Chase-Dunn, 1989:201; Jaffee, 1990:154; So, 1991:97
[668] Alschuler, 1978:2
[669] Larrain, 1989:116-7
[670] Frank, 1969:6; Brookfield, 1977:195; Angotti, 1982:126; Larrain, 1989:116-7
[671] Pearson, 1970:17; Frank, 1971:34-54; Wallerstein, 1979:2-13; Chilcote, 1982:17; Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:167; Hout, 1993:6

of the economy within which they exist.[672] Dependency theory is also a tool to analyze the world-system.[673]

Underdevelopment can be viewed as a "discrepancy" between "expectations and the existing level of needs satisfaction."[674] According to this perspective, underdevelopment is considered a "relative concept" because it is in relation to a time-frame attached to the existence of the "discrepancy," and the economic conditions and cultural values of the nation, which determine the levels of "expectations" and "existing…satisfaction."[675] This example can explain why Hout referred to underdevelopment as "not so much a *quantitative* as it is a *qualitative* characteristic."[676] More specifically, underdevelopment, according to Reitsma and Kleinpenning, is characterized by: "(1) a weak economic structure, (2) widespread poverty, (3) a growing awareness among the people that they are poverty-stricken, and (4) rapid population growth."[677] Alvin So further describes that in the underdeveloped condition, production is "torn between a 'traditional' agrarian export sector and a 'modern' sector of technological and economic-financial concentrations."[678] Therefore, underdeveloped countries are also characterized by their inability to transition from export-oriented economies toward economies able to produce for mass consumption, and the necessary

[672] Frank, 1969:6; Brookfield, 1977:195; Arrighi, 1989:15; Bell and Srinivasan, 1984:473; Wallerstein, 1984:122-3; So, 1991:196
[673] So, 1991:158 and 219; Packenham, 1992:8 and 13
[674] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:24
[675] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:24
[676] Hout, 1993:80
[677] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:24
[678] So, 1990:101

capital goods, so that they may control their own development.[679] The inability to transition, or being "torn" between the traditional and modern, also relates to Cardoso's reference to underdevelopment as a condition of "stagnation."[680]

Withers suggests a number of additional causes for underdevelopment. They include: the population explosion, failure to limit foreign investment by nationals, failure to control inflation and balance budgets, lack of education and cultivation of entrepreneurialism, low incomes leading to inadequate savings and lack of domestic capital, and declining terms of trade.[681] Gunnar Myrdal suggests the causes of the population explosion (as do others[682]) and the declining terms of trade compared to that of developed countries. He adds that developing countries often have fewer natural resources than developed countries.[683] Other writers consider the causes of underdevelopment to include the small size of many developing countries, internal divisiveness related to ethnicity, religion, and language, [684] and locational issues of a country such as being landlocked.[685] Simpson suggests that tropical climates create obstacles not prevalent in temperate areas, such as low agricultural yields and slower rates of growth.[686] Finally, Lowenthal states that an underdeveloped country is the

[679] Hout, 1993:88; also in Galtung et al., 1981:16-7
[680] Cardoso, 1973:149
[681] Withers, 1964:76-7
[682] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:33
[683] Cited in Alschuler, 1978:21
[684] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:261
[685] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:261; Allen and Hamnett, 1995:235
[686] Simpson, 1987:58

result of traditional society's prevention of the growth of a strong and independent middle class.[687]

Monocultivation, Manufacturing, and International Trade

The dependency condition described by scholars has led to monocultivation[688] in places such as Brazil and the Caribbean, in order to generate foreign reserves that are intended to be used to purchase high technology for industrialization. Many Latin American countries, for example, are too dependent on one or two export commodities[689]; these raw materials and foodstuffs include, for example, coffee, tea, sugar, bananas, cacao, wheat, wool, leather, and meat.[690] Utilizing farm land in this way dislocates rural families, increases the developing nations' economic vulnerability due to price fluctuations of their main crops for export, and further solidifies their dependency. As a result, the foreign debt of nations increases, causing devaluation, inflation, unemployment, political instability, and a greater outflow of surplus.[691] For example, in the 1980s, Mexico's foreign debt amounted to 76 percent of its gross national product, while inflation was at about 80 percent.[692] Increased production of primary products is absorbed by the increase of prices for manufactured goods – maintaining the destructive dependency cycle.[693]

Petras and Veltmeyer further explain that liberalized trade and monocultivation devastate local farmers, who are typically unable to compete

[687] Lowenthal, 1997:66
[688] Withers, 1964:112
[689] OECD, 1994:99-100
[690] Amin cited in Hout, 1993:81; also in Withers, 1964:112
[691] So, 1991:120; ECLAC quoted in Dasgupta, 1998:103
[692] So, 1991:116
[693] Withers, 1964:76

with cheap grain imports and concentrate land ownership and technology.[694] "As a result, we witness a growing mass of radicalized peasants and landless rural workers in key countries such as Brazil and Mexico, India, the Philippines, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, and elsewhere."[695] Workers in the core and periphery have engaged in general strikes against these conditions.[696]

Manufacturing in India, for example, was discouraged and raw goods production was encouraged by colonial policies during British rule.[697] These were enacted to build manufacturing in England and to feed English looms. During the period of civil disobedience in India set in motion to gain national freedom and disrupt dependency exploitation, wearing home-spun cloth was a strong political statement. It said that the people of India intended to disconnect from the exploitative international relationship by not buying clothes made by British industries using Indian cotton.

Multinational Corporations and Foreign Aid

In the post-war period, the dependency condition is maintained by multinational corporations, which are generally based in the export sector but whose investments also cater to internal markets of underdeveloped countries.[698] Multinational corporations typically have state backing and are able to centralize control.[699] According to Dos Santos, multinational investments and loans service existing deficits and stimulate development in order to generate domestic

[694] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:32-3
[695] Ibid.
[696] Ibid.
[697] So, 1991:112
[698] Dos Santos, 1970:232; So, 1991:139
[699] Alschuler, 1978:115-8

economic surplus to be sent abroad.[700] Multinational corporations therefore undermine national independence and equality.[701] Dependency also results in the brain drain of developing countries and the destruction of domestic crafts industries due to foreign competition.[702] It creates a competitive advantage for multinationals over local manufacturers by reducing risks.[703] The explanation of the "traditional" by modernization theorists is fundamentally challenged by the dependency perspective.[704]

In this context, foreign aid helps to ensure the toleration and finance of debt, as well as the outflow of wealth. Hayer states: "The availability of 'official aid' increases the likelihood that the governments of Third World countries will tolerate the continuation of massive outflows of private profits and interest on past debts…It (aid) may also help to create and sustain, within Third world countries, a class which is dependent on the continued existence of aid and foreign private investment and which therefore becomes an ally of imperialism."[705] Foreign aid serves the interests of the provider.[706] Foreign aid is often tied to exports from its provider, often to goods that are uncompetitive in the world marketplace.[707] It is often linked to unhelpful government policies and

[700] Dos Santos, 1970:233
[701] Jaffee, 1990:82
[702] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:246; Chase-Dunn, 1989:206; Streeten, 2001:8-9
[703] Bodenheimer, 1971:352
[704] Frank, 1966:17-8; Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:83
[705] Hayter, 1972:10
[706] President Richard Nixon stated in 1968 that the main purpose of American aid is not to help other nations, but to help ourselves (Hayter quoted in Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:9); self-interest of aid is also in Bradshaw and Wallace, 1996:41
[707] Hayter, 1972:10

political expediency.[708] Foreign aid fosters continued dependence – Kumar cites the case of India in this context.[709] It is an instrument of control through the project preparation guidelines of lending institutions.[710] Finally, foreign aid been suggested to be not only unnecessary and insufficient for economic progress in developing countries, but to actually impede it[711].

Marxist Critique of and Integration with Dependency Theory

There have been attempts to integrate Marxism and dependency theories.[712] A Marxist critique of dependency theory, for example, includes the assertion that developing nations suffering from dependency need to look internally for the root cause, and what they will find are destructive class relationships. Marxism does not emphasize imperialism as much as dependency theory does.[713] In fact, some authors suggest that Marxism does not systematically address matters of international exploitation and its devastating consequences,[714] a criticism that has led toward a revision of Marxist theory[715]. Vladimir Lenin briefly defines imperialism as the "monopoly stage of capitalism"; he later elaborated on this condition to include "domination of monopolies and finance capital has taken shape; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world by the international

[708] Sorenson, 1995:392, Bauer, 2000:41
[709] Kalyalya et al, 1998:116; Kumar, 2001:27-8
[710] Chambers, 1993:32
[711] Bauer, 2000:41
[712] Chilcote, 1982:3; Henfrey, 1982:18
[713] Pearson, 1970:60-75; Johnson, 1982b:108
[714] Howe, 1982:85-6; Johnson, 1982b:108
[715] Brenner quoted in Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:165

trusts has begun, and in which the partition of all the territory of the earth by the greatest capitalist countries has been completed."[716]

Dependency theory, in contrast, has been criticized for overemphasizing imperialism[717] and for its lack of theoretical structure in its analysis of internal class struggles[718]. However, it may be a misconception that dependency theory explains underdevelopment only through external factors; for example, some dependency analysts describe an internal-external interaction.[719] Pearson identifies the exploitation of labor as an observation shared with Marxism.[720] Dependency theory is also generally criticized for failing to describe the essential characteristics of dependency and the specific conditions that lead to underdevelopment, for its vagueness, and for requiring more empirical work in order to be tested.[721]

There are other areas, however, where the two theoretical paradigms – Marxism and Dependency theory – can be integrated neatly or have an "ideological link."[722] For example, Dos Santos, in seeking a new and better society, identifies class struggle and the need for restructuring and socialism.[723] Similar to Marxist thinking, if the course of history that has brought on dependency and the capitalist system is to be changed, political

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[716] Lenin, 1969:689
[717] Larrain, 1989:190; So, 1991:132
[718] Edelstein, 1982:103; Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:85; Boswell, 1989:80; Amin et al., 1990:9; Packenham, 1992:9-16
[719] Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:71-2; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:222; Larrain, 1989:112
[720] Pearson, 1970:60
[721] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:255-8; Hout, 1993:8-14
[722] Pearson, 1970:60
[723] Dos Santos, 1978:57-80

consciousness[724] and a revolutionary means to end classes are necessary[725]. Though, there is the concern that this will invite permanent instability.[726] Also, some authors suggest that dependency analysis seems to be presented as a Marxist critique of imperialism.[727] Indeed, Johnson referred to dependency theory as "the political economy of imperialism."[728] Finally, another connection between Marxist and dependency theorists is that they are targets of the same criticisms; thus, they idealize the pre-colonial period and fail to appreciate the benefits of engaging with Western countries, including the development of infrastructure and the transfer of modern knowledge and practices.[729]

Self-reliance and Development

The "logical conclusion"[730] of dependency theory is that self-reliance within developing countries will enable them to delink from the system of economic domination and international trade and price fluctuations,[731] establish independence from external control,[732] and promote self-government[733] and sovereignty (national and group)[734]. The concept of self-reliance is part of the alternative development movement; it is non-mainstream and therefore has received the label of "quirky."[735] Self reliance rejects imported models of

[724] Walton, 1984:164
[725] Henfrey, 1982:17
[726] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:212
[727] Johnson, 1982a:55; Evans and Stephens, 1988:727
[728] Johnson, 1982b:112
[729] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:262
[730] Rist, 1997:130
[731] So, 1991:105; Rist, 1997:134-6; Servaes, 1999:81-2
[732] Hulbe, 1980:63; Rist, 1997:130; Rolly, 2001:63; Jason et al., 2004:4
[733] Freidmann, 1984:220; Rist, 1997:130
[734] Duffy, 2000:166-7
[735] Ibid.

development.[736] In self-reliance, people invent more and do less imitating of what others do elsewhere,[737] which in turn helps to reduce trade-related inequalities,[738] as well as to create a "multitude of centers"[739]. Self-reliance adapts the way of life of people to existing local factors.[740] Self-reliant development acts against the factors that promote dependency by placing the center and periphery on more equal footing[741] through global redistribution of wealth[742] and advancing autonomy of societies to determine their own development path.[743]

The following statement also highlights key dimensions of self-reliance:

> Self-reliance would give us the capacity to survive if cut off from suppliers by natural or man-made intervention. It encourages us to maintain a diversity of skills within our societies, and to localize and regionalize productive assets. Self-reliance calls for a strategy that welcomes "foreign" capital, but not at the expense of local ownership. It promotes competition but also encourages cooperation. A self-reliant society promotes satisfaction rather than consumption.[744]

In addition, self-reliance increases the diversity[745] and strength of local economies[746]; this is seen through improvements in economic[747] and food self-

[736] Rist, 1997:134-6; Servaes, 1999:83; Duffy, 2000:166-7
[737] Rist, 1997:134-6
[738] Ibid.
[739] Ibid.
[740] Rist, 1997:134-6; Servaes, 1999:81-2
[741] Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2
[742] Rist, 1997:134-6
[743] Nudler, 1988:64; Uphoff, 1992:142; Wignaraja, 1992:393; Burky, 1993:11 and 174; Rondinelli, 1993:143; Sananandan and White, 1994:142; White et al., 1994:25; Nelson and Wright, 1995:3; Brohman, 1996:235-54; Makumbe, 1996:2 and 36; Servaes, 1996:81-2; Bhatt, 1997:373; Duffy, 2000:166-7; Parfitt, 2004:538-9
[744] Morris, 1993:151
[745] Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2
[746] Sachs quoted in Servaes, 1999:82
[747] Hulbe, 1980:63; Rolly, 2001:63

sufficiency,[748] and sustainable development[749] (explained in Chapter 6). The emphasis of self-reliance on local control and utilizing local resources suggests that ecological balance is more readily attainable.[750] Self-reliance cannot be achieved without human development,[751] since people help themselves through their own competencies[752]. For this reason, self-reliance is called a "permanent learning process"[753] and is cited as stimulating creativity.[754]

Local community participation is necessary to achieve self-reliant development[755]; participation is, in a sense, itself an act of self-reliance[756]. Indeed, self-reliance is referred to as the democratic control of production,[757] which leads to new forms of associations[758] and solidarity with others[759] on the basis of equality.[760] As such, it reduces the alienation that is derived from lack of control of the economic production process.[761] These qualities of self-reliance also help it to prevent "one group from exhausting the resources of another," as well as the "export of polluting waste from the area where it is produced."[762]

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[748] Rist, 1997:134-6
[749] Hulbe, 1980:63
[750] Rist, 1997:134-6; Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2; Duffy, 2000:166-7
[751] Narayan, 1003:43
[752] Rolly, 2001:63
[753] Rist, 1997:134-6
[754] Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2
[755] Kalyalya et al., 1988:116; Alamgir, 1989:8-9; Peffer, 1990:123; NES, 1991:3; Brohman, 1996:218-9; Freison, 1999:292; Duffy, 2000:166-7
[756] Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2
[757] Rist, 1997:134-6
[758] Ibid.
[759] Ibid.
[760] Sachs quoted in Servaes, 1999:82
[761] Rist, 1997:134-6; Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2
[762] Rist, 1997:134-6

Self-reliance can be achieved at the local, regional, national, and international levels.[763] It requires structural administrative change, or decentralization[764] (including of the economy,[765] technology, and social organizations[766]) in order to allow for cooperation at various levels.[767] A comprehensive decentralization strategy encourages self-sufficiency of regions, and as such is a "stabilizing factor in a mutually benefiting integrative national development."[768] Goods needed by the country as a whole are prioritized for production, instead of relying on international trade to meet basic human needs.[769] Jeffrey Sachs explains that self-reliant production processes are intended to "first, downscale the range of exchange relations so as to strengthen the local economy, closing more economic circuits within the regional space; and second, to stimulate unpaid work and a whole new variety of non-economic activities."[770] However, self-reliance involves more than economic policies; there are political, social, and cultural aspects as well.[771] That is why self-reliance is explained to be "a way of bringing about a better life" in a range of human facets[772] and leads to structural transformations[773]. Of course, possible outcomes of self-reliance should be considered in the context of the degree to

[763] Brohman, 1996:218-9; Rist, 1997:134-6; Servaes, 1999:81
[764] Duffy, 2000:183-5
[765] Rist, 1997:134-6; Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2
[766] Rolly, 2001:63
[767] Brohman, 1996:218-9
[768] Rolly, 2001:56
[769] Rist, 1997:134-6
[770] Sachs quoted in Servaes, 1999:82
[771] Rist, 1997:130
[772] Preiswerk quoted in Nudler, 1988:64
[773] Sachs quoted in Servaes, 1999:82

which it is implemented.[774] For example, a high level of national self-reliance, and therefore decentralization, is suggested to increase the defense capabilities of the country by making military attack on population centers more difficult.[775]

Self-reliance is *the use of local human and material resources to implement the decisions for development taken by people; in the process they realize that the problems they face have local solutions, and this realization and the actions that are a consequence of it will break their dependence mentality and increase their confidence and control of development*. A number of writers indentify key aspects of this definition, including the use of local resources based on local decision making.[776]

Considerations When Planning Self-Reliance

The process of achieving self-reliance is neither easy to navigate nor has it been accomplished in a world-system.[777] It requires knowledge about development within countries and links (positive and negative) to the international situation, understanding of the center (not treating it as monolithic) and potential areas of cooperation, and theory about possible outcomes of self-reliant strategies.[778]

According to Chilean economist Osvaldo Sunkel, for developing nations to develop internally toward self-reliance, they must first redefine their international

[774] Ibid.
[775] Rist, 1997:134-6; Galtung quoted in Servaes, 1999:81-2
[776] Nudler, 1988:64; Brohman, 1996:218-9; Servaes, 1999:57; Kumar, 2001:27-8; Duffy, 2000:166-7
[777] Chase-Dunn, 1989:208
[778] Hettne quoted in Servaes, 1999:83

relationships.[779] A criticism of Sunkel's view is that internal development of developing nations is held hostage until more conducive international relations are forged. As Immanuel Wallerstein points out, there is a need *now* to work for development of the interior of developing nations, not because it will be successful in addressing the dependency issue (he suggests only a new political system to accomplish that), but at least it will help meet the needs of people.

Brazilian economist Theotonio Dos Santos has a different starting point than Sunkel, stating that for developing nations to no longer be dependent on foreign trade and able to build a locally controlled economy, they must restructure internally and direct their development efforts and resources toward the interior.[780] For Dos Santos, internal conditions determine the potential effects of the international situation.[781] Therefore, he suggests that underdeveloped economies develop their own productive autonomy, which would weaken and eventually destroy foreign capital. A criticism of Dos Santos is that he offers few suggestions about how the internal restructuring of developing nations can be achieved and how the restructuring corresponds to redefining external international relations.

In discussing practical strategies of pursuing self-reliance, a number of writers assert that external resources can be compatible with self-reliance – provided that aid is used in appropriate ways,[782] including those in which the

[779] Sunkel, 1972:531
[780] Dos Santos, 1978:64 and 79
[781] Dos Santos, 1978:72
[782] NES, 1991:3; Rist, 1997:134-6

initiative comes from within the community (or stimulates their efforts[783]) and where there are matching resources[784]. Uphoff and his colleagues suggest that external support should not be used to divert programs from community goals, used as outside pressure, or unilaterally withdrawn.[785]

External assistance can never be risk free.[786] It is not easy, however, to raise funds for development with poor rural families.[787] Also, importantly, there are examples of successful initiatives with substantial donor contributions,[788] including ones in which funds received and raised have been managed and multiplied (at a 95 percent and higher repayment rate)[789]. From this perspective, self-reliance involves both independence and interdependence[790] – where the coexistence of social responsibility and individual self-interest.[791]

Development programs should, nonetheless, strive to be financially self-reliant over time.[792] Decreasing external resources will make local people pay more attention to indigenous resources.[793] Some observers state that often the most useful outside assistance requires only modest funding because it is in the form of encouragement, ideas, information-sharing, and capacity building,[794] sometimes drawing on expatriates for certain tasks.[795]

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[783] Rist, 1997:130; Uphoff et al., 1998:61
[784] Ibid., 134-6; Ibid., 157-8
[785] Uphoff et al., 1998:157-8
[786] Ibid., 170
[787] Ibid.
[788] Ibid., 157-8
[789] Ibid., 171-2
[790] Servaes, 1993:57
[791] Uphoff et al., 1998:38-9
[792] Friedmann, 1984:220; Uphoff et al., 1998:170
[793] Uphoff et al., 1998:171-2
[794] Ibid.
[795] Rist, 1997:130

Foreign loans and aid can undermine self-reliance, domestic savings, and investment on which industrialization and development depend.[796] "Efforts to pay back loans and domestic obligations lead to government budget deficiencies and…inflation, currency devaluations, …foreign exchange speculation, capital flight, and hot money movements, disrupting the macroeconomic stability that adjustment was supposed to foster."[797]

Argentine economist Raul Prebisch, citing the importance of capital formation to advance an economy (as does Lang[798]), suggests that "a great internal effort" is necessary to avoid foreign capital and its consequences.[799] Capital independence has been called "radical" because it limits growth, prospects for industrialization, and professional training in modern technology.[800] However, Edelstein suggests that local capital enables the struggle against the working class to continue; indeed, foreign capital should not be the primary target to be dismantled, but rather what is needed to overcome "poverty, hunger, and oppression" is the successful "struggle of the working classes for socialist revolution."[801] Some authors explain that self-reliance is neither politically nor economically feasible because capital formation (which is "realized on the international plane"[802]) and cannot, by definition, be regionally autonomous.[803] If self-reliance is then pursued it will make slow growth and bring about the use of

[796] Withers, 1964:78; Nudler, 1988:64
[797] Daly, 1993:128-9
[798] Lange, 1978:207-15
[799] Prebisch, 1970:14
[800] Withers, 1964:78; Nudler, 1988:64
[801] Edelstein, 1982:103; this idea is also expressed by Banaji, 1983:109
[802] Bernstein, 1979:92
[803] Bernstein, 1979:92; Evans and Stephens, 1988:725; Kay, 1989:186; So, 1991:192-3

inferior technology.[804] Self-reliance could also then decrease social mobility, which is a consequence of an economy with limited opportunities for growth.[805] Finally, Evans and Stephens suggest that the interests of international capital and of developing nations are not "implacably opposed"; therefore, self-reliance is not the most effective development strategy.[806]

Banaji, whose view is that of a Neo-Marxist, states that national disengagement from the world-system is not in the interests of the working class – their interests are bound together with the development of the world market.[807] There is also the concern that emphasizing self-reliance ignores the cultural aspect of dependency,[808] such as lack of education and entrepreneurship, and the ethnic divisions that were mentioned earlier. What is needed then to address cultural causes of dependency?, according to Blomstrom and Hettne, it is "training of thousands of young intellectuals abroad, thus exposing them to an alternative ideology and way of life," in addition to developing countries transitioning themselves from "moral" to "material" incentives.[809] Furthermore, increasing independence may just give more influence to larger corporations as their actions will gain "ripple effects, or external effects, on the entire society, population, and economy."[810] Self-reliance can increase exploitation at the local and regional levels if the democratic system does not effectively function, such

[804] Kay, 1989:186
[805] Nie et al., 1969:362; Rolly, 2001:63
[806] Evans and Stephens, 1988:725
[807] Banaji, 1983:109
[808] Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:132
[809] Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:132
[810] Jaffe, 1990:118

as when a minority group gains control of the economy.[811] Self-reliance can also create a divide between those able versus those unable to put it into practice[812]; Rist suggests that to avoid this condition, it is helpful when self-reliance is put into practice by large countries that may have the capacity for economic independence, whereas small countries should link with their neighbors to implement regional self-reliance, as will be discussed below.

Application of Self-Reliance

In the 1950s, the U.S.' Committee for Economic Development, which questioned comparative advantage, economic specialization, and growth models, provided recommendations to U.S. subsidiaries in Latin America to use foreign investment in ways consistent with building the self-reliance of developing countries. They include employing host-country nationals and advancing them to top positions; developing local goods that meet local needs; offering capital stock to host-country nations; increasing joint enterprises and ownership[813]; and import substitution strategies[814] (which was done between the 1950s and 1970s in most developing countries and was biased against agriculture[815]); expanding regional economic cooperation, offering foreign aid and investment on better terms, and developing strategic government interventions and planning[816]. After a brief economic expansion, by the early 1960s, failure had set in and dependency theory grew in response and was critical of the Committee's recommendations

[811] Rist, 1997:134-6
[812] Ibid.
[813] Withers, 1964:133-4
[814] Jaffee, 1990:154; Packenham, 1992:17
[815] McCulloch et al., 2001:175
[816] Packenham, 1992:17

because of their effects, including deepened inequality, lack of autonomy, and political setbacks.[817] The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development describes hardships experienced by Latin American countries from this early period and these continued into the 1980s:

> For many Latin American countries, the 1980s were a watershed in economic and political development. … Following the research and recommendations of Raul Prebisch and others, Latin American governments attempted to redirect resources away from agricultural and primary products and towards industry. Key to this strategy was the use of large protective barriers against competing imports from other countries and in many cases, the establishment of government-owned enterprises to operate these new industries. Also, for a time, the inward looking strategy showed encouraging results. Growth and investment were high in the region, increasing by an average of 6.1 per cent per annum and 8.2 per cent per annum respectively between 1965 and 1980.
>
> The problem, however, was that the "infant" manufacturing industries which had been set up during the 1950s and 1960s continued to rely heavily on protection through the1980s, long after they had matured. … Industries developed inwardly, without the influence of progress underway in other countries. As inefficiencies grew, protection became more necessary and more entrenched. Growth and investment became increasingly generated by the public sector, as the establishment of state-owned industrial enterprises proliferated along with state controls on investment, production, pricing, distribution and credit.[818]

Failure to successfully implement strategies to achieve self-reliance, particularly during the 1970s may, however, be more a reflection of structural political and economic conditions in the world then (such as the Cold war), than of the inherent weaknesses of this national development approach.[819] From analyzing these experiences, Duffy suggests that self-reliance policies ought to offer modest goals, have sufficient time to implement them in order to be

[817] So, 1991:91-3 and 169; Hout, 1993:18
[818] OECD, 1994:99-100
[819] Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:199

successful, with developmental priority given to low input agriculture.[820] Others conclude that comparative advantage and specialization is simply more efficient that self-reliant approaches.[821]

Table 7 summarizes the outcomes (benefits and criticisms) of self-reliant development.

Table 7: *Outcomes of Self-Reliance*

Economic
Benefits
• Collaboration on the basis of equality (global redistribution)
• Decentralization of the economy
• Development diversified
• Economic self-sufficiency
• Food self-sufficiency
• Industrial processing of raw materials
• Integrative national development
• Local economy strengthened
• Prioritization of production of goods useful to the population
• Sustainability (economic)
• Technology on the basis of decentralized development
• Trade bypassing main centers / periphery--a multitude of centers
• Trade related inequalities reduced
Criticisms
• Comparative advantage and specialization more efficient
• Corporations with more influence in society
• Country still bound to the world market
• Economic avenues within a region are closed
• Economically infeasible
• Exchange relations downscaled
• Growth limited and slowed
• Industrialization limited
• Professional training in modern technology limited
• Technology--inferior used

[820] Duffy, 2000:183-5
[821] Ibid., 168

Table 7 Continued

Political
Benefits
• Autonomy for societies to determine development path
• Defense capability of the country increases
• Democratic control of production
• Sovereignty (national or group)
• Stabilizing factor
Criticisms
• Exploitation increases at the local and regional levels if the democratic system does not function well
• Politically infeasible
• Struggle against the working class still enabled
Social
Benefit
• Ability to help oneself through one's own competence
• Alienation reduced because of lack of control of economic process
• Better life
• Center and periphery on more equal footing
• Creativity stimulated
• Invent rather than imitate what is done elsewhere
• New forms of associations
• Permanent learning process
• Solidarity with others at the same level
• Structural transformations
Criticisms
• Cultural aspect of dependency ignored
• Divide between those able and unable to practice it
• Non-mainstream
• Not in the interests of the working class
• Socio-economic mobility decreases
• Unpaid work and non-economic activities increase
Environmental
Benefit
• Ecological balance more easily attained / reduced footprint
• Prevents one group from exhausting the resources of another

The Regional Integration Approach

The recent increase in the number of regional trading blocs is a major development in international relations; "virtually all countries" are now members of at least one bloc.[822] The regional integration approach promotes trade within a restricted geographic area,[823] such as among Mercosur countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay).[824] Regional integration has a place in the dependency school and may potentially provide some measure of self-reliance. It is "a powerful process fundamentally transforming the relationship between the world's principal economic players."[825] It is considered to be a defensive measure against hegemonic powers,[826] although opinions differ regarding the degree of free trade considered optimal within the region.[827] Nonetheless, the intention is that regional commodities (including the capacities for agriculture and industry) take the place of imports from the rest of the world.[828]

Competition from other regional members is considered less destructive. At the same time, there are still benefits of competition, including the breaking up of monopolies, reducing prices, and increasing efficiency.[829] In regionalism, new investments reflect a regional emphasis, with benefits of economies of scale and specialization (due to increased market size)[830]. Regional agreements help establish cooperation to deal with regional challenges (such as pollution and

[822] Schiff and Winters, 2003:xi
[823] Gibb, 1994:7
[824] Bouzas, 1992:49
[825] Michalak, 1994:67
[826] Delener, 1999:1
[827] Mikesell, 1961:149; Gibb, 1994:7
[828] Mikesell, 1961:149; Soludo, 2003:273; Barton et al, 2006:xii-xiii
[829] Chase, 2005:23
[830] Ibid.

illegal immigration), accountability, and bargaining positions.[831] Another observation is that as regional economic integration develops, the political identity of the public of the nations involved could evolve beyond that with a single country to the region as a whole.[832]

In the modernization perspective, regional integration could represent a transitional phase to global competitiveness.[833] If global trade agreements are hard to achieve, then regional agreements are viable options, since they also allow markets to be opened faster and provide important experience for when the global level opens up.[834] However, regionalism may "divert resources better spent working toward multilateralism" and can also "encourage protectionism, distrust, and confusion among states."[835] Even so, multinational trading agreements are increasing,[836] as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Regional integration can catalyze domestic regulatory reform and increase domestic standards,[837] while supplying the opportunity for low-wage manufacturing for export.[838] In addition, because of the fewer number of participants, monitoring and enforcement costs are relatively low.[839] Deeper integration is possible in regionalism than in multilateral situations.[840] The modernization view is what Carraanza refers to as "New Regionalism," which is

[831] Duina, 2006:33
[832] Carraanza, 2000:14
[833] Soludo, 2003:273; Delener, 1999:1
[834] Barton et al, 2006:xii-xiii
[835] Delener, 1999:1
[836] Ibid.
[837] Galal and Lawrence, 2004:323
[838] Barton et al., 2006:xii-xiii
[839] Chase, 2005:9
[840] Ibid.

both more “outward looking” and willing to eliminate trade barriers than the “old regionalism” that some dependency theorists support.[841] New Regionalism has also come to mean that new protectionist measures are highly unlikely – an assurance that attracts international investments.[842]

Regionalism is on the rise. “The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a gradual fragmentation of the multilateral world economy into increasingly protectionist economic blocs. The world economy is becoming more regional, or rather interregional, as regional trading blocs continue to gain ground.”[843] Duina calls the expansion of regionalism “a turn in history” because “the closing of the twentieth century and the opening of the twenty-first witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of regional trade agreements.[844]

Bernstein, however, suggests that there is no regionally autonomous capital formation due to the nature of the world economy and development.[845] Olnek suggests some conditions that could help regional unions be successful, including being large enough to provide raw materials necessary for local manufacturing, and limiting extra-regional trade to commodities in short supply. These conditions are intended to lower interest rates and inflation while production is maximized for all of society.[846]

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[841] Carraanza, 2000:17
[842] Schott, 2004:10
[843] Michalak, 1994:67; The growth of regionalism is also in Schiff and Winters, 2003:xi.
[844] Duina, 2006:20
[845] Bernstein quoted in Blomstrom and Bjorn, 1984:88
[846] Olnek, 1984:147

World-System Theory

World-system theory was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s in reaction to what he felt was dependency theory's inadequate explanations of events during that period, which included stagflation and the rise of oil prices. World-system theory differs from dependency in two important ways: 1) world system, as suggested by its name, takes a global perspective[847] and so the research questions its theorists ask and the data sets it uses differ than those of dependency theory, 2) world system employs a tri-modal division, which includes the core, semi-periphery, and the periphery. Chirot defines the three divisions in the world-system: "Core societies: economically diversified, rich, powerful societies that are *relatively* independent of outside controls. Peripheral societies: economically overspecialized, *relatively* poor and weak societies that are subject to manipulation or direct control by the core powers. Semi-peripheral societies: societies midway between the core and periphery that are trying to industrialize and diversify their economies."[848] Jaffee expresses the concern that these categorizations overlook differences among nations within the same category.[849]

The inclusion of the semi-periphery recognizes the fact that the international system is always in a state of change, that there are different strategies to implement development and different behaviors employed, and that

[847] Frank, 1971:97; Wallerstein, 1979:74; Petras, 1982:148; Evans and Stephens, 1988:718
[848] Chirot, 1977:13
[849] Jaffee, 1990:169

upward mobility is possible[850] even though it is more and more difficult to achieve.[851] Conditions that can move a country from the periphery to the semi-periphery include: 1) a large domestic market that can justify the importation of high technology for mass production, 2) neighboring countries whose markets can be accessed, 3) subsidies for industry, and 4) increasing wages and, therefore, purchasing power.[852]

Russia, for example, entered the semi-periphery due to the industrialization it achieved in the 19th century and the strength of its state.[853] Japan moved to semi-periphery status at about the same time for similar reasons, in addition to its geographic distance from core countries. In recent decades, Japan has moved to the core.[854] Despite their independence, Latin American countries remained in the periphery category.

Wallerstein takes the Marxist perspective, elevating it to the global level and suggesting that the proletariat class crosses international boundaries and has shared interests.[855] Uneven development occurs at both the world-system level and within countries.[856] The capitalist class in the core shares the same interests as the capitalist class in the periphery.[857] However, Angotti suggests that the working class in the core is united with the capitalist class in the core,

[850] Chirot, 1977:13; Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:24; Arrighi, 1989:11; Chase-Dunn, 1989:211; Hout, 1993:6-7
[851] Arrighi, 1989:18; Jaffee, 1990:169
[852] So, 1991:184-5
[853] Wallerstein, 1979:27
[854] Arrighi, 1989:18
[855] Wallerstein, 1979:25
[856] Chase-Dunn, 1989:209
[857] Chirot, 1977:470; Michalak, 1994:67

and not with the working class in the periphery.[858] Writers have expressed the concern that the confrontation between the dominant classes will only become more severe as intermediate solutions to the dependency world-system condition prove ineffective.[859] Options, according to this view, are between tyranny and socialist revolution (involving popular participation and external independence[860]). Classical socialists and others have stressed the necessity of revolution,[861] although Pierre Joseph Proudhon, one of socialism's founders, long ago lamented that revolutions frequently achieve the opposite of what they originally sought to do.[862]

World-System and Socialism

Wallerstein's vision of world socialism is comprised of a single class and a single world government[863].[864] This goal cannot be achieved by the actions of one or several nations. Rather, nations of the world must take part in the struggle because it involves a "single division of labor" and is beyond national self-reliance and state ownership of the means of production.[865] However, Vayrynen states that, because global problems are in actuality local and national

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[858] Angotti, 1978:127
[859] Frank, 1984:92; Kay, 1989:154
[860] Frank, 1983:195
[861] Woodcock, 1962:15 and 19; Buber, 1970:44-57; Gurley, 1984:122-3; Proudhon, 1994:20; McLellan, 1995:25 [K. Marx: *On the Jewish Question 1843-4*]
[862] Buber, 1970:44 and 51
[863] "Global governance refers to collective actions to establish international institutions and norms to cope with the causes and consequences of adverse supranational, transnational, or national problems (Vayrynen, 1999:25)." Joseph Stiglitz also calls for a world government to be "accountable to the people of every country," and "to oversee the globalization process in a fashion comparable to the way national governments guided the nationalization process" (Stiglitz, 2003:221-2).
[864] Wallerstein, 1979:35; Wallersteim, 1983:107; Packenham, 1992:113
[865] Wallerstein, 1979:91, So, 1991:186; Rupert, 2000:100

ones that spill over, global governance cannot replace sound national and local governance.[866]

In socialist theory, conflict between industry and agriculture no longer exists.[867] It is replaced by an optimum utilization and distribution of resources[868] and by democracy.[869] Barbalet states, however, that democratization is incapable of achieving socialist emancipation.[870] There is planning in socialism that aims at a restructuring of society and which occurs in the here and now and continuously – not waiting for the satisfaction of pre-conditions, such as the end of oppression.[871] His view is consistent with Dos Santos's approach to addressing dependency conditions in the changing internal dynamics of underdeveloped countries in order to affect external relationships.

Robert Owen, another founder of socialism, stated that restructuring within individual cells [or communities] has to occur in order to restructure the whole.[872] Free and voluntary associations are essential to move this process forward because it is in this way that the individual and the whole are enhanced.[873] Training is needed also for learning how to work together and cooperate,[874] and is essential for self-government to function well.[875]

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[866] Vayrynen, 1999:xi
[867] Thomas quoted in Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:149
[868] Wallerstein, 1979:73
[869] Wallerstein, 1983:110
[870] Barbalet, 1983:129
[871] Buber, 1970:16 and 42
[872] Woodcock, 1962:13; Buber, 1970:24
[873] Ibid.; Ibid., 25
[874] Buber, 1970:19 and 22
[875] Ibid., 43; Peffer, 1990:123

The building up of an interdependent economy and political system then occurs, and federations develop; these include many free associations that support one another and unite while still maintaining their own significant autonomy.[876] Under these circumstances, coercion becomes unnecessary.[877] Buber remarks about this socialist approach: "A nation is a community to the degree that it is a community of communities."[878] In considering how to spare local and national communities in the face of "a single cosmopolitan world" created by the forces of globalization and free trade (as will be discussed in the next chapter), Daly concludes that "the true road to international community is that of a federation of communities and communities of communities."[879] Caplan wrote about the federation process in Tanzania in the late 1960s and 1970s under the leadership of its president, Julius Nyerere.[880] President Nyerere describes a Tanzania where "our agricultural organization would be predominantly that of cooperatives living and working for the good of all.…A nation of such village communities would be a socialist nation.…We should gradually become a nation of ujamaa villages where the people cooperate directly in small groups and where these small groups cooperate together for joint enterprises."[881] Nyerere's model suggests emerging federations of local villages that work together toward shared goals.

[876] Woodcock, 1962:20; Buber, 1970:33, 37, 42, and 86; Caplan, 1993:83; Daly, 1993:128
[877] Woodcock, 1962:33
[878] Buber, 1970:136
[879] Daly, 1993:128
[880] Nyerere, 1968:351-65; Caplan, 1993:83
[881] Nyerere, 1968:351-65

Buber states that, “A federalism…is thus acknowledged by Marx as genuine communism.”[882] However, he explains, “In both cases [Marx and Lenin] the decentralist element of restructuring is displaced by the centralist element of revolutionary politics; in other words, there is a tendency to perpetuate centralist revolutionary politics at the cost of the decentralist needs of a nascent socialist community.”[883] Gurley also states that immediately following the revolution, the new government needs to take measures at the national level in order to secure the path to socialism. These include: land reforms, the nationalization of key industries, and a central planning system – an expression of “proletarian power.”[884] He goes on to argue that planning at the bottom of society would undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat.[885] Interestingly, this tension – whether to concentrate efforts for social transformation at the central level or at the local[886] – may also be found among dependency theorists, albeit at different social structural levels: whether to first restructure external relations of underdeveloped countries (Sunkel), or to restructure the interior and in so doing restructure the international whole (Dos Santos).

A number of other concerns have been voiced about socialism. Pearson, for example, suggests that there still may be private appropriation (corruption) at least during the transition stage, not of surplus value, but due to a person’s

[882] Buber, 1970:87
[883] Ibid., 99
[884] Gurley, 1984:122-3
[885] Ibid.
[886] Woodcock, 1962:171

bureaucratic access to socialized appropriations.[887] Reitsma and Kleinpenning postulate that since the exercise of power in relationships is central in dependency, it can take place between socialist states as well.[888] There is also little guidance, at least in Marx, who "never considered the organizational implications of his ideas,"[889] of how to deal with economic planning and production once the socialist revolution is complete and scarcity still remains.[890] Socialism has been suggested to be a vaguely defined and idealized condition.[891] According to Jaffee, Marx did, however, state that the beginning stages of socialism when society moves toward a higher development would still involve a division of labor, income inequality, and incentives.[892] Additionally, differences of opinion exist about whether underdeveloped countries should hasten the development of capitalism, or work directly toward the establishment of socialism,[893] which, according to Amin, is a precondition for nationalism to develop[894]. Finally, Rupert discusses socialism and its accompanying world government (controlled by the elite) as an arrangement that would deeply compromise personal liberty, national sovereignty, and Western morality.[895]

[887] Pearson, 1970:75
[888] Reitsma and Kleinpenning, 1985:260
[889] Nove, 1983:59
[890] Jaffee, 1990:135
[891] Packenham, 1992:30
[892] Jaffee, 1990:138
[893] Kay, 1989:19-20
[894] Amin et al., 1990:238
[895] Rupert, 2000:100-11

CHAPTER 4: GLOBALIZATION, ITS INSTITUTIONS, AND PARTICIPATION

The 1980s and 1990s

A further slowdown in world economic activity from the late 1970s into the 1980s caused a reduction in the demand for Third World products, particularly commodity and mineral exports.[896] As a consequence, there was a fall in commodity prices and worsening terms of trade.[897] These trends resulted in an increase in the real burden of interest and debt service payments, an enormous increase in interest rates, and a reduction in the aid and other capital flows.[898] The 1980s mark the emergence of anti-development movements – as opposed to movements that sought development alternatives. As stated by Pablo Escobar, the guiding principle of anti-development movements was to defend local differences related to culture and livelihoods.[899] At the same time, the United States, under President Ronald Reagan, focused on its conflict with the Communist bloc. Fueled by the belief that free markets and the private sector were the engines of economic growth, U.S. policies included eliminating interventions on price mechanisms, liberalization of foreign trade, privatization of public undertakings.[900] The U.S. administration felt skepticism toward international development assistance and its ability to promote development.[901]

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[896] Singh, 1986:142
[897] Ibid.
[898] Ibid.
[899] Escobar, 1995:3; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:259
[900] Martinussen, 1997:263
[901] Bauer, 1976:95-103; Kalyalya et al., 1988:1-6

Although foreign aid during the 1980s and 1990s accounted for nearly all investments in infrastructure and social services in many sub-Saharan countries, it also served to reinforce the lack of accountability of their governments.[902] Propped up by infusions of aid, by the early 1980s, most African states were or almost bankrupt.[903] The crisis in Africa intensified debate over and opposition to mainstream development aid and modernization theory.[904]

The 1980s also had its own "New Federalism," which included funding cuts for social welfare and devolution of the responsibility to address urban and other social problems to the states.[905] Lawrence concludes that these consequences contributed to reviving the perspectives into the 1990s disconnecting poverty and social structural conditions.[906]

Comprehensive Community-Building Initiatives (CCIs) began in the late 1980s and were structured to synthesize traditionally opposing ideologies that hindered past efforts.[907] Initial support came from foundations, among others, the Ford, MacAurthur, and Rockefeller foundations. Tensions dating from the 1950s continued over core determinants of the process of community development: Should the focus be on particular groups of people or specific places with broader benefits across groups? Should the private or the public sector be the primary provider of resources to support community development? Are initiatives best led by a nation's political and other leaders or leaders from

[902] Dickson and Sandbrook, 2003:242
[903] Ibid.
[904] Kalyalya et al., 1988:1-6; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:13
[905] Lawrence, 2001:40
[906] Ibid.
[907] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:14-5

within the community (top-down versus bottom-up)? Are immediate problems to be fixed or the capacities of communities to be built? Should initiatives target one issue or address multiple problems simultaneously?[908] CCIs' approach to these different perspectives is not either-or; it is rather a hybrid, comprehensive, and multi-sectoral approach that concentrates heavily on building individual and community abilities to maintain the gains of development.[909] Public-private collaborations then come into play to rebuild distressed neighborhoods, with initiatives directed across both physical and social sectors.[910]

The World Bank and Structural Adjustment Programs

During the 1980s, in an attempt to grow, expand, and diversify exports, as well as bring about equitable development, several Latin American countries embarked on economic stabilization, structural adjustment, and trade liberalization.[911] The World Bank's focus at the time was on structural adjustment, imposing loan conditions that included competitive exchange rates, reduction in government spending, and privatizing some government agencies.[912] More specifically, structural adjustment measures the "attempt to promote the efficient allocation of resources in the economy by removing various domestic distortions, such as: impediments to labor markets; barriers to domestic and foreign competition; and price, interest rate and other financial market controls. Adjustment also includes dismantling undesired regulations and

[908] Ibid.
[909] Ibid.
[910] Ibid.
[911] OECD, 1994:101-2
[912] Evans, 1992:139-40; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52

developing new rules, extricating government from activities that the private sector can perform more efficiently and focusing government's limited resources on activities that are neglected or poorly provided by the private sector. At the same time, governments were required to achieve macroeconomic stability by keeping demand for goods and services in balance with revenues."[913]

Gordon specified the outcomes of structural adjustment programs to include decreased demand, devaluation of currency, withdrawal of subsidies for staple foods and fuel, cuts in government spending in jobs and wages, internal and external migration of people, delayed marriages, and an increase of economic sexual exchange activity.[914] Stiglitz additionally noted a rise in interest rates[915].

After worrisome results of structural adjustment programs in many countries, mainstream economists in the 1990s started to consider more closely how structural conditions can affect participation in the economy.[916] The World Bank's participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) were further institutionalized.[917] This change represents a major recognition of the potential around participation by the World Bank.[918] The PPAs complemented the World Bank's conventional poverty assessment approaches with other assessment devices, such as surveys, making it possible to cross-check data from the participatory assessments with the data from surveys. Similarities or differences

[913] OECD, 1994:101-2
[914] Gordon, 1995:183
[915] Stiglitz, 2003:31-2
[916] Eicher and Staatz, 1998:15
[917] Blackburn et al., 2000:3; Botchway, 2000:135; Henkel, 2001:168
[918] Rew, 2002:109-10

in the data sets could then be used to inform policy-making. The reasons why the data sets were similar or different can be informative for policy-makers.[919] According to some observers, the PPAs were effective at gathering information that enabled a better understanding of the dynamics of poverty through awareness of the perceptions of local people and also by providing them with a voice.[920] More productive links were also observed to result between governments' poverty strategy, the Bank's lending strategy, and institutional partners in the host country (Morocco and Peru are noted as promising cases).[921]

Most of the World Bank's PPAs were done in Africa.[922] There is some evidence that they did have an effect on policy, especially when host governments were involved in the assessment process.[923] However, Moore and White cite a "subjective" evaluation of the extent to which PPAs deepened the understanding of poverty, explaining that "one-quarter have had a high impact and that none has made zero impact"; with respect to policy influence – "high in only 10 percent and zero in two-thirds of cases." [924]

The notion that PPAs give a voice to the poor has been criticized based on the lack of statistical sampling to ensure representativeness, the assessments being captured by the elites of communities, selective interpretations of evidence

[919] McCulloch et al., 2001:132
[920] Blackburn et al., 2000:3; Botchway, 2000:135; Henkel, 2001:168; Ibid.; Moore and White, 2003:87; Stiglitz, 2003:234
[921] Rew, 2002:109-10
[922] Ibid.
[923] Ibid.
[924] Moore and White, 2003:87-9

by researchers, and the ultimately political nature of policy-making.[925] While Stiglitz expressed that the PPAs increased more awareness of the impact on poverty of World Bank programs, he concludes, however, that:

> There is mounting unhappiness in developing countries with the new programs involving participatory poverty assessments, as those participating are told that important matters, such as the macroeconomic framework, are off limits. A review of the cases in Africa also showed that the Bank's project managers were challenged to perform their duties while at the same time engaging civil society organizations in the projects to alleviate poverty.[926]

The World Bank, the United Nations organizations, and others are now adapting to globalization and capital flows. Debt relief, micro-credit loans, and increased partnership with NGOs are now more central strategies.[927] In addition, starting in the 1980s development experts advocated decentralization.[928]

The International Monetary Fund and Financial Crises

The International Monetary Fund[929] (IMF) conditioned new loans for managing the debt crisis by linking them to austerity measures such as: 1) a reduction in public spending subsidizing social services in health, education, food production, and infrastructure; 2) the devaluation of currencies, 3) an increase in taxes, 4) and the implementation of development strategies consistent with modernization, including accepting foreign investments and export promotion.[930] Stiglitz remarks that: "Countries are effectively told that if they don't follow certain conditions, the capital markets or the IMF will refuse to lend them money. They

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[925] Ibid.
[926] Norton and Stephen cited in Rew, 2002:109-10
[927] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52
[928] Gonzalez, 1998:10
[929] "The IMF is a financial support system for countries that are troubled with balance of payments problems and that need transitional help to ease crises" (Lovett et al., 2004:164).
[930] Martin, 1989:121

are basically forced to give up part of their sovereignty, to let capricious capital markets, including the speculators whose only concerns are short-term rather than the long-term growth of the country and the improvement of living standards, "discipline" them, telling them what they should and should not do."[931]

Martin directly attributes the 1984 riots in the Dominican Republic and the 1985 coup in the Sudan to the IMF's conditions,[932] and Stiglitz attributes the 1998 riots in Indonesia and elsewhere to the same[933]. Emerging countries were not capable of handling the consequences of the liberalization and privatization agenda furthered by the IMF.[934] Stiglitz summarizes: "The IMF has made mistakes in all the areas it has been involved in: development, crisis management, and in countries making the transition from communism to capitalism. Structural adjustment programs did not bring sustained growth even to those, like Bolivia, that adhered to its strictures; in many countries, excessive austerity stifled growth."[935] Stiglitz concludes that liberalization contributed to the financial crisis in the 1990s.[936]

The Emergence of Globalization

The term "globalization" emerged and came to be widely used in the 1980s[937]; by the 1990s, the term had become "fashionable"[938]. The observation that globalization lacks a precise definition is a reflection of its complexity.[939]

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[931] Stiglitz, 2003:247
[932] Martin, 1989:121
[933] Stiglitz, 2003:76-7
[934] Ibid., 54-5
[935] Ibid., 18
[936] Ibid., 59
[937] Streeten, 2001:170
[938] Delener, 1999:1

Globalization is derived from neoliberal philosophy, or ideology,[940] which emphasizes free markets, the free flow of capital, and privatization[941]. First appearing concurrently with the movements of regionalization and localization,[942] globalization has been called a "new epoch" that is fueled by declining communication and transport costs[943]; a technological revolution and new information systems[944]; and the spread in greater parts of the world of Western liberal trade,[945] democracy, and the dominance of market forces.[946]

Globalization represents the "intensification of economic, political, social, and cultural relations across borders."[947] Localities become linked whereby developments or occurrences in one affect the other and vice versa.[948] This new entity is referred to as the "global-local nexus"[949] – the local and global come to overlap[950]. In the global-local network dynamic, actors or enterprises are "connected to global networks and at the same time contextualized locally"; they create value locally and give coherence to the global network.[951] Globalization is also associated with "time-space compression"[952] whereby "more and more parts of the world…are affected by what happens elsewhere, which in turn affects our

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[939] Ostry quoted in Streeten, 2001:170
[940] Nayyar, 2003:76
[941] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:65
[942] Morley and Robins, 1995:116; Delener, 1999:1; Fishman, 2000:441;
[943] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:65; Wachtel, 2004:29
[944] Reinicke, 1998:66; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:65
[945] O'Meara et al., 2000:xiii; Wachtel, 2004:29
[946] Tomlinson, 1999:23; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:11
[947] Holm and Sorenson quoted in Streeten, 2001:168
[948] Giddens, 1990:64
[949] Morley and Robins, 1995:116
[950] Reinicke, 1998:12; O'Meara et al., 2000:xiii
[951] Conti, 1997:34
[952] Taylor and Conti, 1997:3; Kiely,1998:3

sense of space and place."[953] Practices in production, consumption, technology, military, legal, environmental, employment, migration, communications, ethics, norms, and governance become homogenized.[954] Globalization reaches into the very organizational structure of companies and virtually all facets of living.[955]

In globalization, national economies become more integrated and interdependent – particularly financial, technological, and trade – to an unprecedented degree.[956] The integration of nations, including the previously marginalized,[957] promises less potential for conflict between them[958] and unifies the world[959]. Nations become more sensitive or vulnerable to each other.[960]

In contrast, Streeten argues that interdependence and integration is accompanied by disintegration and fragmentation of other parts of society; "partial global economic international integration (mainly of the elites), without global policies and institutions, leads to national social disintegration."[961] The following explains some of the reasons why disintegration occurs: 1) the demand for low-skilled workers falls, which then lowers all wages[962] and lowers tax revenues for social services when there is an increased need, and 2) the neglect of essential social services such as education and healthcare in low-income

[953] Kiely,1998:3
[954] Simai quoted in Streeten, 2001:171-2
[955] Reinicke, 1998:12; O'Meara et al, 2000:xiii
[956] Taylor and Conti, 1997:3; Annan, 2000:126; Ostry quoted in Streeten, 2001:170; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:65
[957] Martin, 2000:12
[958] Barber, 1992:53-7; Annan, 2000:127
[959] Friedman, 1996
[960] Reinicke, 1998:66
[961] Streeten, 2001:8
[962] "Wage levels vary enormously between countries and are largely determined by the supply of labor, which in turn depends on population size and growth rates. Overpopulated countries are naturally low-wage countries, and if population growth is rapid they will remain low-wage countries" (Daly, 1993:125); also in Bhagwati, 2002:50

countries due to “members of the elites not having an interest in improving the medical, educational, and economic facilities in their own countries – the culture of the elites becomes global and estranged from the local culture.”[963] Robertson (in Rupert) suggests that in globalization, elites attempt to gain control of world government.[964]

As with modernization and the reactions to it around the world, particularly among many developing nations, there is a “stark contrast between the promises of globalization theorists and contemporary realities.”[965] Globalization is often considered to have contradictory outcomes. It is “a contestation between the forces of globalization and deconstruction, between globalization and medieval feudalism, between the international and the domestic, between globalized processes and other structures designed to provide collective goods, and between globalization and individuals with competing and sometimes conflicting identities.”[966] Saborio describes the example of globalized trade to have both static and dynamic effects.[967] Static effects include “a once-and-for-all real-location of existing resources,” which could lead to: 1) the replacement of inefficient domestic production with low-cost imports, or 2) the reduction in human welfare if the low-cost imports are from outside the trade agreement.[968] Dynamic effects, which are more important in the long-term than the short-term

[963] Streeten, 2001:8
[964] Robertson quoted in Rupert, 2000:110-1
[965] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:65
[966] Mingst, 1999:91
[967] Saborio, 1992:21
[968] Ibid.

static outcomes, include increased growth through investment decisions, improved efficiency in the use of resources,[969] and alleviating poverty[970].

Some observers suggest the middle position that globalization is not as harmful as its critics contend and is more of a "blurring of traditional territorial and social values."[971] Friedman suggests that countries and individuals should find a "healthy balance between preserving a sense of identity, home, and community and doing what it takes to survive within the globalizations system."[972] However, Stiglitz explains that globalization conflicts are real and to some degree unavoidable; for example, economic growth will result in urbanization, undermining traditional rural societies. Stiglitz, therefore, factors in the pace of global integration and suggests a gradual process so traditional institutions and norms have the time to adapt to the new challenges. Salazar-Xirinachs recommends something similar, including lengthening the timetable for trade liberalization in order to spread costs out over time.[973] Bigman describes the challenge countries face as they transition to avoid the negative effects of globalization:

> During a transition, large numbers of people have to change their employment and even their place of residence: many retrenched workers in public, parastatal, and privatized enterprises, urban workers in import-competing enterprises, and rural producers may suffer heavy losses with the sharp fall in commodity prices in the global and/or the local markets, and all are negatively affected by the large changes in all prices, and by the shifting boundaries between government, business, and multilateral institutions. Even the countries that have managed to implement these

[969] Ibid.
[970] McCulloch et al., 2001:3-12
[971] Taylor and Conti, 1997:3
[972] Friedman, 2000:441
[973] Salazar-Xirinachs, 1992:78-9

> changes effectively…population groups…are still struggling with the adjustments. … This unequal distribution of the burden may also have contributed to heightened political, social, economic and even ethnic frictions that in some countries deteriorated into chaos, prolonging the transition and raising its social cost.[974]

Economic Outcomes of Globalization

A key economic outcome of globalization is the "accelerating flows of materials, goods, finance, and information" delivered through "massively complicated and indecipherable web of interconnections."[975] This includes an "integrated cross-border corporate network."[976] The movements are viewed as "unstoppable and inevitable," and "the result, according to globalization theorists, will be a progressive, dynamic, modernizing world of prosperous nations."[977]

With interdependence, there is an "increasing interrelationship among major influences of the world economic system, with monetary policy affecting trade policy, feeding back into monetary and fiscal policy."[978] Globalization is suggested to have "led to an unprecedented degree of financial and economic interdependence and growth. As markets are integrated, investments flow more easily, competition is enhanced, prices are lowered and living standards everywhere are improved."[979] Dunkley states that "where benefits such as increased growth or reduced poverty *do* appear to be associated with freer trade or globalization, often the real causes of these are factors such as domestically generated development, macroeconomic stabilization, or recent improvements in

[974] Bigman, 2002:3
[975] Taylor and Conti, 1997:3
[976] Reinicke, 1998:12
[977] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:65
[978] Ostry in Streeten 2001:170
[979] Annan, 2000:126; also in Bigman, 2002b:27;

social stability.[980] Other authors also suggest that the integration in globalization leads to lower prices[981] and greater competitiveness[982].

An increase in competition, several authors argue, increases innovation and productivity.[983] Heightened competition also "has led not only to new developments in corporate and industrial organization, such as flexible manufacturing, but also to the cross-border movement of increasingly intangible capital, such as finance, technology, knowledge, information, and the ownership or control of assets. These developments enable firms to establish a presence in foreign markets, realize efficiencies, and (in a process sometimes referred to as global localization) customize products for local markets."[984] However, threats to international competitiveness include poorly trained workers and mediocre standards in schools; therefore, improvements in human development should be part of encouraging globalized economic practices.[985]

Technological capability increases in globalization.[986] Greider states that competition related to technology has created the conditions whereby companies invest considerably more in the output of goods than consumers around the world can absorb, and all this happens faster than older and less efficient companies are able to match.[987] Greider refers to this aspect of technology in globalization as "the gathering vulnerability of the industrial system," which

[980] Dunkley, 2004:7
[981] Morris, 1993:139; Annan, 2000:126
[982] Hufbauer, 1989:25
[983] Morris, 1993:139; Annan, 2000:126; World Bank in Bigman, 2002b:29-79
[984] Reinicke, 1998:12
[985] Morici, 1992:35
[986] Bigman, 2002a:27
[987] Greider, 1997:103

"quickens price competition and threatens market shares."[988] In addition to an increase in technological capacity in globalization, the division of labor and specialization also increase.[989] Specialization, combined with international interdependence, advances a nation's productivity, but does not typically create jobs, as is commonly thought; rather, gains are the result of more efficient allocation of productive resources.[990]

In globalization, floods of cheap imports bankrupt many local producers.[991] This condition "impoverishes the interior of the country and concentrates wealth in a few enclaves in the major cities." It is also a barrier to new development activities with have high start-up costs, even though a competitive advantage may exist.[992] For example, in Mexico, one-fifth of the country's workers are in the agricultural sector, 75 percent of Mexico's poverty is in rural areas, and four-fifths of the rural population lives in poverty – more than half in extreme poverty.[993] Mexico's rural communities and farms are threatened by cheap imports from the United States, falling commodity prices, and reduced government support.[994] Agriculture endures chronically low productivity and an increasing inability to meet domestic demand for staple goods.[995] In Mexico under NAFTA, the real price paid to farmers for corn dropped by 45.2 percent between 1993 and 1999, largely because of the opening of Mexican markets to

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[988] Ibid.
[989] Morris, 1993:139
[990] Krauss, 1997:xii; The statement that globalization does not create jobs (but rather wealth) appears in: Glassman, 1997:1
[991] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:32-3
[992] Salazar-Xirinachs, 1992:78-9
[993] Stiglitz and Charlton, 2005:23-4
[994] Ibid.
[995] Van Grasstek and Vega, 1992:162-3

U.S. and Canadian corn – forcing 1.5 million farmers and workers from their land. By 2001, Mexico had a two-billion-dollar agricultural trade deficit with the United States.[996] This is typical of the way that globalization "redistributes wealth and income in favor of the not so poor."[997] Petras and Veltmeyer further describe consequences of free trade policies:

> Free trade policies have led to the devastation of local producers, unable to compete with cheap grain imports. Subsidies to agro-export producers have stimulated the concentration of land ownership, credits, and technical assistance at the expense of small producers. The introduction of technology by corporate agro-producers on extensive holdings has replaced the labor of local peasants and created a mass of displaced producers. The imperial state's eradication of non-traditional crops (cocoa, poppies, etc.) has undermined world market niches for small farmers. As a result, a growing mass of radicalized peasants…in countries such as Brazil, Mexico, India, the Philippines, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, and elsewhere; and widespread protests based on multi-sectoral alliances against the central government…occurred in Argentina, Bolivia, Columbia, Ecuador, South Korea, India and Peru, at least prior to the Fujimori dictatorship.[998]

Hufstader describes similar conditions in El Salvador: widespread poverty, the government giving priority to manufacturing for economic growth, farmers without government assistance, and men and women leaving home and travelling far for work.[999]

In examining the case of Mexico under NAFTA in more detail, it is necessary to note the importance of corn in the Mexican economy and society. Henriques and Patel explain:

> Corn in Mexico accounts for 60% of cultivated land, employs 3 million farmers (8% of Mexico's population and 40% of people working in

[996] Call, 2003:9-10
[997] Bigman, 2002:27
[998] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:32-3
[999] Hufstader/Oxfam, 2003:1

> agriculture) and is the country's main staple food crop. There are a total of 18 million people dependent on corn production, including farmers and their families. Seventy-two percent of national corn-producing units are organized into *ejidos* – mostly small-scale holdings that account for 62 percent of corn production. Corn production accounts for more than two-thirds of the gross value of Mexico's agricultural production, while horticultural crops account for only 6 percent.[1000]

The authors then connect the practice of growing corn by subsistence farmers to poverty:

> Small farmers, who own less than 5 hectares of land, account for 45 percent of all corn-growing units in Mexico. Production for household consumption represents 38 percent of their total production. For the most part there is poor-quality rainfall, and little or no access to technology, credit, storage facilities, and marketing channels. Many of these farmers work on *ejidos* and their yields are 16 percent and 26 percent lower than privately owned plots of rain-fed or irrigated land respectively. These producers are often forced to sell their yields right after harvests, when local prices are at the lowest, because they lack storage facilities. They sell small amounts of the corn they produce and their own labor to supplement household income needs. … There is a strong positive correlation between subsistence production and poverty.[1001]

In this context, right after the passage of NAFTA, Sherrod Brown explains that "American farmers began to capture Mexican markets, making it impossible for Mexican peasants in places like Chiapas to sell their corn and earn a living. Nearly 1 million Mexican farmers have been displaced, many of whom have headed north in search of job opportunities in America."[1002] Once tariffs on U.S. agricultural products were lifted, crop prices in Mexico fell.[1003] Larose describes the state of the Mexican economy one year after NAFTA came into being: "Mexico experienced a massive loss…in capital mobility. Even though the

[1000] Henriques and Patel, 2004:3
[1001] Henriques and Patel, 2004:5
[1002] Brown, 2004:160-171
[1003] Shaffer et al., 2005:27

economy later recovered a certain amount of growth, real salaries remained reduced by about 40 percent, and there was a significant increase in unemployment and underemployment, while the number of multimillionaires in Mexico is increased dramatically. This wealth among a privileged few, as much as a growing and generalized state of misery, led to an explosion in the crime rate."[1004] Unemployment in Mexico increased most significantly in rural areas as there was much greater job loss in agriculture than in industrial manufacturing for export; for example, "between 1994 and 2003, 9.3 million workers entered Mexico's labor market, but only 3 million new jobs were created during that period; in the same time span, real wages lost approximately 20 percent of their purchasing power."[1005]

To confront these enormous challenges, *diversification*, particularly in the agricultural sector, has been suggested as a way to reduce poverty in the enabling context of agricultural and rural development.[1006] Scudder summarizes the micro-level benefits of diversification in rural areas:

> Diversifying farming systems increases the development potential of new lands. There are four important socioeconomic reasons for diversifying the farming systems of settler families by encouraging multiple crops and combining farming and livestock components. First, such systems tend to be more resilient and ecologically more stable. Second, they are more productive, providing settler families with higher net incomes. Third, diversified farming systems distribute family labor more evenly throughout the annual cycle, providing each family member with a variety of activities: "only through the introduction of properly planned additional enterprises into the crop pattern is it possible to fill the gaps of underemployment in the slack season of the agricultural year. Finally, diversification provides

[1004] Larose, 2000:161-2; Also in Brown, 2004:142: "Wages are 40 percent lower in real terms than they were twenty years ago, in spite of steadily climbing productivity by Mexican workers."
[1005] Shaffer et al., 2005:27
[1006] Aryeetey et al., 2003:25

> foodstuffs for nonfarm families and raw materials for agroindustries, building a base for more rapid area development.[1007]

Brohman argues that, at the macro-level, "economic diversification can help to reduce the instability in export earnings that has plagued many Third World economies dominated by primary commodity production.[1008] Senbet suggests that because diversification involves spreading or sharing risks, when it occurs in emerging markets it attracts international investors – which offers an opportunity to mobilize capital.[1009]

However, in Mexico, development planning resulted in economic diversification did not occur, and Stokes contends that:

> The Mexican and U.S. governments have only themselves to blame. Over the past decade, in the name of fiscal prudence, Mexico cut its rural development spending – when it instead should have been increasing rural investment to create opportunities for farmers who everyone knew were destined to lose their land. For its part, the first Bush administration rejected a proposal by then-House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt, D-Mo., to make loans or grants to poorer regions of Mexico to help them adjust to greater competition created by NAFTA. By comparison, Europe faced a similar problem – wide regional disparities in income – when it created the European Union. Brussels tackled the issue head-on by investing in infrastructure and education in poorer areas to ease their transition to a single market.[1010]

As globalization accelerated in the 1980s, it undercut the domestic social contract in the advanced industrialized countries as well. "What was required, and absent was a social contract on a global scale. There was no global labor ministry, there could be no floor to buttress global labor standards, let alone a

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[1007] Scudder, 1990:175
[1008] Brohman, 1996:50
[1009] Senbet, 2003:327
[1010] Stokes, 2003:1710

global minimum wage."[1011] In the case of North America, "regional economic integration has proceeded under entirely conservative auspices, rejecting high wages and continental regulation. Free trade undermines what is left of the mixed economy, which is seen as archaic and protectionist....NAFTA lacks even the embryonic safeguards of the European community: no regional development fund, no common regulation to prevent a 'race to the bottom' in labor and environmental standards and no movement towards democratic political and governmental institutions on a continental scale."[1012] As a result, between 1995 and 2002 in the United States, 38,310 small farms were lost largely because NAFTA and the World Trade Organization required countries to remove safeguards that protected small famers from predatory commodity traders and poor weather; trading giants in grains manipulated supplies and prices so farmers were paid at an all-time low for their commodities while the consumer price index for food in the United States rose by almost 20 percent during that period.[1013] Keith Dittrich, representing the American Corn Growers Association, states that "farmers around the world have suffered along with U.S. farmers as commodity prices fell globally. Many have suffered even more seriously than U.S. producers due to the lack of any income assistance, which we did have."[1014] Subsistence farmers in Mexico could not compete with agribusiness in the United States and the subsidies they receive from their government.[1015] Tina

[1011] Grinspin and Cameron, 1993:xiv
[1012] Grinspin and Cameron, 1993:xiv
[1013] Wallach, 2003:64-5
[1014] Dittrich, 2003:5-6
[1015] Shaffer et al., 2005:27

Rosenberg of the *New York Times* reports, for example, that European farmers receive 35 percent of their income from government subsidies and American farmers get 20 percent.[1016] According to Sherrod Brown, "Those subsidies have made life ever more difficult for many of the 18 million Mexicans who live on small farms."[1017] For example, he describes how "there are a large number of workers from Chiapas who are harvesting pickles (cucumbers) in northwest Ohio, 1,800 miles from their ancestral homes."[1018]

In addition, the U.S. merchandise trade deficit with Mexico increased to $15 billion in 1995 (a new and significant area of debt for the United States), and the negative employment flow with Mexico translated into 200,000 lost jobs for the United States.[1019] Generally speaking, however, Streeten's assessment of globalization is that it is good for the richer countries, asset-holders, the educated, risk-takers, profits, large firms, the private sector in general, men, purveyors of global culture and so forth, but adversely effects, among others, poorer countries, workers, the unskilled, the public sector, small firms, women, children and local communities or cultures.[1020] Vidal states that it is primarily the non-governmental groups, discussed here in Chapter 5, who are standing up against globalization and its effects, and are "being pushed into the role of social justice watchdogs, moral arbiters, and spokespeople for those without a

[1016] Brown, 2004:169-71
[1017] Ibid.
[1018] Brown, 2004:169-71
[1019] Greider, 1997:195-6
[1020] Streeten cited in Dunkley, 2004:7

voice."[1021] Aid agencies and systems will also have to provide a larger portion of their resources to address the negative effects of globalization and build the capacity of regional institutions, particularly in poor countries.[1022]

Table 8 summarizes the economic outcomes of globalization.

Table 8: *Economic Outcomes of Globalization*

Conditional
• Accelerates flow of materials, goods, finance, and information
• Developments in corporate and industrial organization
• Flexible manufacturing
• Homogenization in production, consumption, work, and technology
• Increase in competition, division of labor, and specialization
• Interdependence at unprecedented degree (e.g., economic, corporate networks)
• Monetary policy affecting trade policy and visa versa
• Replaces inefficient production with low-cost imports
• Spreads Western liberal trade and dominance of market
Beneficial
• Alleviates poverty
• Decline in communication and transport costs
• Growth at unprecedented degree--dynamic and modernizing
• Increase in efficiency in the use of resources, growth (through decision-making), innovation, productivity, and living standards
• Technological innovation
Critical
• Barrier to new development with high start-up
• Chronically low agricultural productivity in poor nations
• Difficult/impossible for peasants to sell crops and earn a living
• Economic growth 1) creates more carbon dioxide and harms environment and 2) will result in urbanization
• Extremely severe economic dislocation
• Fall in 1) commodity prices in global and local markets, 2) crop prices, and 3) real wages (including while productivity increases)
• Greater job loss in agriculture than gained in industry
• Imports bankrupt many local producers
• Impoverishes the interior of the country

[1021] Newell, 2000:117
[1022] Kanbur, 2004:74

Table 8 Continued

Critical
• Increase in inability to meet domestic demand for staple goods
• Large changes in all prices, employment, and residence
• Less income, equity, and capital mobility
• Lower 1) demand for low-skilled workers, 2) prices, 3) tax revenue for social services, and 4) wages
• Macroeconomic disequilibria emerge--trade deficits and on GDP
• Reduces government support and poverty
• Wealth among a privileged few--enclaves in the major cities

Political Outcomes of Globalization

Globalization includes micro-actors with the ability to act quickly and have an effect at a distance.[1023] However, it also represents "the triumph of unstoppable global capital over local autonomy and identity."[1024] Taylor and Conti go on to say that "places, people, and communities of victims are on the rack of international capital: they are powerless – as are their governments.[1025] "Transnational corporations have slipped the shackles of the nation state and, in turn, the nation state has been hollowed out."[1026] Petras and Veltmeyer view globalization "as a new epoch of interdependency in which stateless corporations transcend national frontiers."[1027] And Stiglitz describes how in globalization, through pressure from the I.M.F., countries are "basically forced to give up part of their sovereignty" and follow the dictate of "capricious capital markets, including the speculators whose only concerns are short-term rather than the long-term

[1023] Castells quoted in Streeten, 2001:167
[1024] Taylor and Conti, 1997:3
[1025] Ibid.
[1026] Ibid.; This idea is also in: Smith and Johnston, 2002:3
[1027] Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:65; this idea is also in Marfleet, 1998:186; Robertson quoted in Rupert, 2000:110-1; Nayyar, 2003:76

growth of the country and the improvement of living standards."[1028] Global investments decrease the control of countries over their national economies.[1029]

Streeten explains the situation of national governments in globalization and raises his concerns:

> The power of national governments and their ability to make national policies and pay for social services has been reduced without a corresponding increase in supra-national government of effective international cooperation. Other causes were at work too. Many countries became committed to unsustainable levels of expenditure at moderate rates of economic growth; Populations were aging, health costs rising, etc. Welfare expenditures and subsidies for the poor have been cut and/or privatized, so that those who cannot afford to pay have to do without them. The result of his lag of political institutions behind globalizing technology and liberalization is a loss in the capacity to govern. Karl Polanyi wrote that the national market was embedded in society and the state, but no such authority governs the international market. Government interventions are necessary in order to make the market work: safety nets, social insurance, unemployment assistance, adjustment assistance, retaining programs, competition policy, infrastructure, health and safety regulations, research and development are examples.[1030]

Bonefeld and Psychopedis state that national democratic systems are undermined, "rendering both national states and social movements powerless to withstand global market pressures."[1031] With increasing interdependence, external and internal operational sovereignty are undermined by globalization, as "territorially bounded governments can no longer project their power and policymaking capacity over the territory within which a global industry operates."[1032] However, although Mingst states that state autonomy is jeopardized and sovereignty is eroded – that the state is "no longer the center of

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[1028] Stiglitz, 2003:247
[1029] Salazar-Xirinachs, 1992:91; Taylor et al., 1997:57; Adam, 2001:173
[1030] Streeten, 2001:115
[1031] Bonefeld and Psychopedis, 2000:3
[1032] Reinicke, 1998:66

the international system" – he also cites Rodrik, who explains that governments and domestic economies "retain substantial autonomy in regulating their economies, in designing their social policies, and in maintaining institutions that differ from those of their trading partners."[1033] Table 9 summarizes the political outcomes of globalization.

Table 9: *Political Outcomes of Globalization*

• Ability to act instantly and have an effect at a distance
• Democracy spreads
• Farmers without government assistance
• Homogenization--military, legal, migration
• Intense political relations across borders
• Less potential for *and* new conflicts between nations
• National democratic systems undermined
• Protests by multi-sectoral alliances against central government
• Sovereignty decreases as well as government ability to make policy, control their economy, and pay for social services
• Stateless corporations transcend national frontiers

Social Outcomes of Globalization

The growth of technology encourages the spread of universal norms and also diversifies local cultures.[1034] However, in reaction to a more homogenous popular culture and global brands, people experience losing their identity. According to Stiglitz, managers of globalization too often praise it with showing appreciation for its threat to cultural identity and values. "This is surprising," he states, "given the awareness of the issues within the developed countries themselves: Europe defends its agricultural policies not just in terms of those special interests, but to preserve rural traditions. People in small towns

[1033] Rodrik in Mingst, 1999:91
[1034] Streeten, 2001:8

everywhere complain that large national retailers and shopping malls have killed their small businesses and their communities. The pace of global integration matters: a more gradual process means that traditional institutions and norms, rather than being overwhelmed, can adapt and respond to the new challenges."[1035]

Abbott and Moran write that, faced with losing their identity, people "seek something to identify with that makes them unique, and they cling to it. Often, culture, ethnicity, and race are what they rally around, at times creating new divisions within societies that had been present but lay dormant as local or national cultures superseded them. On the other hand, information technology erases divisions by bringing people together based on common interests and minimizing differences."[1036] Information technology also has opened political space for women; globalization (particularly by its impact of global economic restructuring) "not only creates conditions that threaten women's well-being, but also heightens women's awareness of those conditions and of their shared interests with women in other parts of the world" so that they may become participants in international relations.[1037] Globalization also encourages individualization – "individuals are increasingly alienated as they become further removed from political institutions and their labor increasingly marginalized in the

[1035] Stiglitz, 2003:247
[1036] Abbott and Moran, 2002:41
[1037] Saskia, 1996:15

globalization of labor markets. Witness the movement of young women crossing borders to work as laborers, in factories, sweatshops, and the sex trade."[1038]

Furthermore, "globalization and religion are said to be intimately connected: in globalization theory, religious resurgence is an important expression of a *unified* world. With nation-states much weakened, it is argued, supranational or transnational ideas and institutions have greatly increased in influence. As part of this process the major world religions have enjoyed an opportunity to make their world-encompassing views more relevant."[1039] However, Pat Robertson states that globalization is "evil" because, among other reasons, it causes the elimination of "traditional Judeo-Christian theism."[1040]

Table 10 describes the social outcomes of globalization.

Table 10: *Social Outcomes of Globalization*

• Agricultural policies contribute to environmental degradation
• Blurs traditional territorial and social values
• Boundaries shift between government, business, and multilaterals
• Chaos, prolonging transitions and raising social costs
• Chronic public health problems
• Countries struggle with the adjustments
• Displaces farmers--fragmentation of parts of society
• Environment is used as a wedge issue in matters of trade; standards could increase with international cooperation
• Global-local networks emerge
• Homogenization--norms, communications, culture, and brands
• Increase in crime rate, individualization, need for social services, and state of misery
• Information technology and sharing--discourages cover-ups, brings people together, and opens political space for women

[1038] Mingst, 1999:91
[1039] Marfleet, 1998:186
[1040] Robertson quoted in Rupert, 2000:110-1

Table 10 Continued

• Integration of nations, including previously marginalized--nations more sensitive to each other
• Localities linked--developments in one affect others
• Merchandise trade deficit
• Movement of women across borders to work and in sex trade
• Negative employment flow
• Neglect of social services like education and health--undercuts domestic social contract & human welfare
• New divisions within societies that had been dormant
• People lose their identity and cling to culture, ethnicity, and race
• Powerless: people, communities and their governments
• Religious resurgence
• Small farms lost--farmers around the world suffer
• Time-space compression
• Unstoppable global capital over local autonomy and identity

Free Trade and Protectionism

> Alexander Hamilton claims that a protected economy produces lower prices and more jobs. No, replies Adam Smith, father of modern economics – 'lower prices and more employment will come with free trade.' This debate between protection and free trade has raged for two centuries. Which theory is correct – *today*?[1041]

John Maynard Keynes, who abandoned his early belief in free trade as early as 1930,[1042] makes the point that in the nineteenth century, free trade proponents believed that they were "clear-sighted," solving the problem of world poverty, serving the cause of liberty, and helping to ensure international peace.[1043] Brown makes the point that when the free trade doctrine was created in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, companies were grounded, business capital was not mobile and was more aligned with loyalty to its country

[1041] Olnek, 1984:13
[1042] Bhagwati, 2002:16
[1043] Keynes in Olnek, 1984:124

of origin, and trade between countries – no matter their economic status relative to each other – was always desirable.[1044] Today, with their only goal being global expansion and profit, vital issues remain ignored, such as lost jobs and falling wages (including real wages in the United States due to free trade, affecting 80 percent of the work force[1045]), devastated communities, working conditions, social justice, and the environment.[1046] Free trade creates a unique condition, never seen before 1973, when the United States switched to free trade: wages falling while productivity increases.[1047]

Nevertheless, DiLorenzo suggests that most economists today, whether liberal or conservative, support unfettered trade because it benefits all of the trading parties, since it is voluntary.[1048] Trade gives domestic producers a pool of global consumers and competitive pressures to become more efficient.[1049] Trade protection hurts poor and small economies by decreasing incomes while increasing prices of both imports and domestic goods.[1050] Firms also operate less efficiently,[1051] other countries may retaliate against those countries that adopt protectionist measures, and the international banking system will suffer because indebted nations will have less income due to reduced foreign trading.[1052] Consumption levels will also not reach their potential[1053] and, since

[1044] Brown, 1992:65-6
[1045] Batra, 1993:43-5
[1046] Brown, 1992:65-6
[1047] Batra, 1993:51-3
[1048] DiLorenzo, 1996:130; The author quotes Milton and Rose Friedman and Paul Samuelson who express the perspective that free trade is in the best interests for the countries involved.
[1049] Batra, 1993:137
[1050] McCulloch et al., 2001:3-12; Lawrence and Litan, 1986:2; Dunkley, 2004:109-10
[1051] Rupert, 2000:51; Stiglitz, 2003:53
[1052] Lawrence and Litan, 1986:2

world productivity will decline, so will international human welfare.[1054] In response, Dunkley asserts such claims for free trade are "mythological," "ideological," and "politically motivated," and that free trade, when compared to protection, provides less income and equity.[1055] In addition, as a result of free trade other macroeconomic disequilibria emerge, including, trade deficits and constraints on GDP (as a result of greater imports than exports).[1056] However, compromise between the two positions – protectionism and free trade – in the process of creating trade policies seems the most likely outcome.[1057]

Pressure on governments to adopt protectionist measures can be quite intense.[1058] Protectionists assert that import competition will see workers laid off – people who have few employment options and will have difficulties to moving to more high skilled and better paying jobs.[1059] Economic dislocation could be extremely severe (modernization theorists would it explain it as a natural part of competition[1060]) and aid programs would then be necessary to achieve equity for those who suffer from competition from imports[1061]. Morici states, however, that "even if aggressive retraining and relocation programs are made available, these workers will be handicapped by inadequacies in their general educational backgrounds."[1062] McCulloch et al. suggest that the social protection for the

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[1053] Rupert, 2000:51
[1054] Batra, 1993:155-6
[1055] Dunkley, 2004:221-2
[1056] Salazar-Xirinachs, 1992:89
[1057] Barton et al., 2006:107
[1058] Lawrence and Litan, 1986:12; Rupert, 2000:51
[1059] Ibid., 2; Morici, 1992:61
[1060] Lawrence and Litan, 1986:12
[1061] Ibid., 6; McCulloch et al, 2001:11-2; Campbell, 2004:128; Lusztig, 2004:2
[1062] Morici, 1992:61

dislocated poor strike a balance of providing a "cushion without undermining their incentives to adjust."[1063]

Additionally, through trade protection a nation depending on other countries for essential materials and goods, such as steel, which affects other industries, including national defense, is making its economy and security vulnerable.[1064] Protection of agriculture sectors is meant to help secure rural employment, food self-sufficiency, and support prices and incomes.[1065] Daly refers to purposes such as these as "efficient" national policies of "internalizing external costs into prices."[1066] Protection is believed to increase productivity while the foreign trade deficit and energy prices fall.[1067] However, Batra explains that protectionism alone cannot help a company hurt by free trade; there also needs to be increased competition among domestic industries or they will simply raise prices and become inefficient.[1068]

Keynes, who challenged classic modernization theory, thought that protection from international trade could be helpful in periods of high unemployment because it could direct curtailed demand to domestic rather than foreign goods.[1069] Keynes is clear that his sympathies lie with those people and countries who try to minimize economic entanglements between countries: "Ideas, knowledge, art, hospitality, travel – these are things which should of their

[1063] McCulloch et al., 2001:11-2
[1064] Lawrence and Litan, 1986:6
[1065] Hillman, 1991:7; Daly, 1993:124-5
[1066] Daly, 1993:124-5
[1067] Batra, 1993:5
[1068] Batra, 1993:5
[1069] Bhagwati, 2002:16-7

nature be international. But let goods be homespun whenever it is reasonably and conveniently possible and, above all, *let finance be primarily national*."[1070]

There is also the issue of trade protection of industrialized economies in competition with developing economies, a consequence of the observation that cheap labor in developing economies gives them an advantage that warrants the protection of the industrialized.[1071] Bhagwati states that it is generally not justified for nations to erect trade barriers because of what they perceive as unfair in their trade relations with other countries; ultimately, they will also hurt themselves.[1072]

Trade liberalization has even been suggested to benefit the environment. Several arguments offered in its support are: 1) by newly invigorated international cooperation that can be used to progress on this issue, 2) spatial separation of industry and agriculture, 3) information sharing that discourages cover-ups, and 4) an overall increase in environmental standards in order to trade with countries around the globe.[1073] The notion that trade helps the natural environment is challenged by evidence.[1074] Economic growth creates more carbon dioxide, especially from international transportation, which can cause very significant long-term harm to the environment[1075] (more so than any other economic activity[1076]). Domestic agricultural policies fashioned in the context of trade liberalization have also been cited as contributing to some degree to

[1070] Keynes in Olneck, 1984:125
[1071] Krauss, 1997:23; Riley, 2003:27
[1072] Bhagwati, 2002:101
[1073] Neumayer, 2001:105-6
[1074] Bhagwati, 2002:65-6; Gallagher, 2004:91-2
[1075] Figueroa, 2001:350; Neumayer, 2001:107; Bhagwati, 2002:50
[1076] Batra, 1993:5

environmental degradation.[1077] For example, NAFTA has resulted in widespread environmental damage which has been attributed to the "shift to large-scale, export-oriented farms that rely on water-polluting agrochemicals and more use of water for irrigation."[1078] Chronic public health problems also persist along the border between the United States and Mexico.[1079] Finally, the environment is purported to be used as a wedge issue in matters of trade agreements: requiring international trading partners to adopt the higher environmental standards of others is in actuality a protectionist trade measure.[1080]

Half-measures of protection (or a medium area, which Batra refers to as, "competitive protectionism") include: "breaking up import-competing monopolies into smaller firms while simultaneously vigorously protecting them from predatory foreign competition."[1081] Subsidies for certain industries is a middle ground that some liberal traders and protectionists may accept.[1082] Michalak suggests that regional trading blocs fit into this medium area.[1083] Recommendations of the United Nations on international trading, while supportive of liberalizing trade, also appear to indicate support for balancing it with some protection.[1084]

Not extending protections or restrictions to foreign technologies, unlike foreign competition, which can have predatory effects, can be seen as half-measure because they still enable the receiving of benefits in meeting human

[1077] Batie, 2001:262
[1078] Shaffer et al., 2005:27
[1079] Ibid.
[1080] Krauss, 1997:45
[1081] Batra, 1993:179
[1082] Ibid.
[1083] Michalak, 1994:67
[1084] United Nations, 1990:3

needs generated by new foreign technologies.[1085] Stiglitz refers to a middle ground in stating that "while blanket protectionism has often not worked for countries that have tried it, neither has rapid trade liberalization."[1086] He cites measures that United States and Japan have taken to protect selected industries until they are able to compete with foreign companies as examples of such a broad balance.[1087] He also cites the approach of developing countries of East Asia, which phased out protection gradually and only after new jobs and enterprises were created.[1088] Finally, Sjostedt and Sundelius believe that economic trends indicate that government interventions in trade will likely increase because of new social and political problems related to personal integrity and national security.[1089]

[1085] Batra, 1993:172
[1086] Stiglitz, 2003:16-7
[1087] Ibid.
[1088] Stiglitz, 2003:60
[1089] Sjostedt and Sundelius, 1986:26

CHAPTER 5: THE RISE OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT AND ITS EXPLANATION

This chapter describes the spread of participatory development practices around the globe since the 1980s, the features, methods, and projects of PD, and the emergence and role of NGOs in development. Primary features of PD include: 1) decision-making by community members and beneficiaries regarding project development (the types of groups of people are explained); 2) community-level dialogue and consensus-building; 3) utilization of local knowledge generated by PD methods (families of PD approaches and methods with case examples are described); 4) benefits generated by projects (the term *project* is defined and the range of project types and examples designed through PD are presented); and 5) new and adapting nongovernmental organizations, which are explored in depth.

A Participatory Development Era?

Although participatory development has attracted "growing attention and enthusiasm" since the late 1960s,[1090] as has been described, it was not until the 1980s that the concept of "participation" became an indelible part of development discourse, even among conservative international development agencies.[1091] According to Chambers, by the 1980s, it was well recognized that farmers should play a greater role in agricultural research and that participation had become part

[1090] Green, 1998:71
[1091] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Green, 2000:69; Chopyak, 2001:377-8; Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5; Henkel, 2001:177; Kothari, 2001:139

of the standard practice in rural development initiatives.[1092] Writing in the mid-1980s, Alamgir expressed a desire for a "global consensus" on the desirability of PD to alleviate poverty.[1093] Applied and development anthropology emerged during the 1980s, which involved a shift from observing and understanding to affecting the conditions that people face through applying the knowledge of local people.[1094] The World Bank published books in which participation showed up as a consistent theme; the Bank also increased its consideration of the quality of participation required to receive its support, as did European countries.[1095] Participation was also more regularly practiced among NGOs, which led to the development of new community planning approaches.[1096] Over time, participation also began to be "used by people and organizations across the spectrum of development practice and for an ever-expanding range of purposes."[1097] The use of participation methodologies "spread to many countries and from South to North"[1098] (and continues to do so),[1099] and its language has become mainstream[1100]. Chambers explains that PD's dissemination spread quickly and widely "because it was seen to supply a demand for participation,

[1092] Chambers, 1994:955
[1093] Alamgir, 1989:18
[1094] Kumar, 2002:33
[1095] Abraham and Platteau, 2002:1
[1096] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Kothari, 2001:139; Rew, 2002:109-10;
[1097] Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:vii and 4
[1098] Chambers, 2002:7; Chambers (2005:124-5) describes the *modes* (or combination of modes) through which PD is spread: "mandatory, administered, enabling, facilitating, disseminating and/or self-spreading and spontaneous."
[1099] Vanek, 1971:1; Nelson and Wright, 1995:42; Makumbe, 1996:16; Cornwall, 1999:16; Mayo, 2000:109-10; Kothari, 2001:139
[1100] Hagmann et al., 1999:1; Cornwall quoted in Mikkelsen, 2005:55

met a need felt by practitioners, and was promoted by networks and enthusiasts."[1101]

Participation was a buzzword in the 1990s.[1102] It was the "cutting edge" of development practice,[1103] on the fast track to becoming the "dominant trend,"[1104] and its long-time advocates took stock of their decades'-long path toward legitimacy.[1105] Some observers and supporters felt it was remarkable that it was not until the 1990s that participation had come to the fore in development.[1106] The "new paradigm"[1107] of PD was increasingly influential as seen through the proliferation of schools and methods for participatory approaches,[1108] increased literature, spread of approaches, and greater number of non-academics involved in the development field[1109]. Participation was now making national policymakers more aware of the conditions facing the poor and their consequent priorities for change.[1110] In sum, since the 1990s, PD has come from "being a marginal, innovative practice to a globally familiar way to think about and practice mainstream development."[1111] Today, PD now has broad mainstream appeal,[1112] with a very significant emphasis on participation from large donor agencies to local community organizations.[1113] Human development, gender,

[1101] Chambers, 2005:124-5
[1102] Green, 1998:71
[1103] Guijt and Kaul Shah, 1998:1
[1104] Rahman, 1995:26
[1105] Chambers, 1994:963; Rew, 2002:109-10; Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:1
[1106] Nelson and Wright, 1995:39
[1107] Ibid., 42; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252; Mikkelsen, 2005:55
[1108] Ibid., 35; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52
[1109] Chambers, 1991:517; Nelson and Wright, 1995:32-3
[1110] ibid; Blackburn et al., 2000:3; Botchway, 2000:135; Henkel, 2001:168
[1111] Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:vii and 4
[1112] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26
[1113] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:214

and the environment have become primary themes in community and international development.[1114] PD is seen as "universally applicable" because of its premise that development should be locally determined.[1115] The rise of PD in recent decades has compelled Makumbe to assert – "participation is here to stay."[1116]

In the early 1990s, community-based researchers began to come together in conferences to share practices and experiences. With the global spread of PD methods applied to constantly expanding purposes, proponents began to raise important concerns.[1117] By early 1994, for example, a number of participatory technical manuals had been compiled, even though most professionals felt these stifled flexibility while encouraging a ritualized performance of methods.[1118] Subsequently, the number of PD tools, techniques, and, consequently, manuals have continued to grow,[1119] even as the majority of development research that uses PD methods is unpublished.[1120] The role of PD manuals is to provide rules and guidelines for behavior,[1121] and to be a resource when participants and facilitators are uncertain about next steps[1122]. Some authors suggest, however, that PD manuals of methods ought to be avoided, recommending that participants and facilitators simply apply their own best judgment at all times,

[1114] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:52
[1115] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252
[1116] Makumbe, 1996:16
[1117] Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:vii and 4
[1118] Chambers, 1994:959
[1119] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:63; Francis, 2001:77
[1120] Campbell, 2001:380
[1121] Nelson and Wright, 1995:41
[1122] Kumar, 2002:16

which would then foster creativity.[1123] Manuals, at their worst, could ritualize performance of PD methods, which would only compromise the spontaneity and creativity of PD processes.[1124] PD facilitators also become less sensitive to community members and groups and their interrelationships through the ongoing use of manuals.[1125] PD proponents concerned about the ritual application of methods generally feel that the heart of PD is not to be found in the use of specific methods, but lies in a development approach that focuses on the extent to which local communities and people control and own the process.[1126] PD methods are flexible and are intended to allow innovative applications.[1127] In the same vein, it is argued that experience is the best guide in the use of PD methods, and facilitators typically work from general guidelines and a list of best practices.[1128]

Currently, community development is its own field and one that is growing with enormous momentum.[1129] However, it is still in need of a more distinctive identity, and the extremely significant challenges of meeting the needs of the poor remain.[1130] Community development in general is regarded as being part of the alternative development framework, as is PD.[1131] As for PD, it is an

[1123] Nelson and Wright, 1995:41; also in Ibid.
[1124] Chambers, 1994:959, Kapoor, 2002:106; Kumar, 2002:16
[1125] Kumar, 2002:16
[1126] Hampshire et al., 2005:340-1
[1127] Symes and Jasser, 2000:149; Kumar, 2002:41
[1128] McCracken quoted in Campbell, 2001:383; Kumar, 2002:40
[1129] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26
[1130] Sullivan, 2001:64
[1131] Kalyalya et al., 1988:5-6; Arnst, Conteh-Morgan, 1990:82; Chambers, 1994:953; Barnes and Mercer, 1995:38; Rahman, 1995:32; Brohman, 1996:203-11 and 345; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Makumbe, 1996:19; Servaes, 1996:93; Eicher and Staatz, 1998:15; Anand and Sen, 2000:2031; Mayo, 2000:109-10; Petra, 2000:6-7; Hailey, 2001:98-9; Hildyard, 2001:78; Fraser et al., 2005:116

alternative to top-down development models that pressure developing countries and their communities through conditions attached to aid to produce in ways that serves the interests of developed countries and that emphasize income generation. PD is also an alternative to extractive research methods and helps to ease or erase the oppressive sense of indebtedness recipients feel toward donors.

In addition, PD is part of the post-development framework because of its 1) emphasis on the local level (and, as such, it has the potential to be counter-hegemonic[1132]), 2) democratic nature,[1133] and 3) disbelief in outside determination of local development initiatives[1134]. Although it is composed of "families"[1135] of community development planning "methods"[1136] (techniques,[1137] tools,[1138] or field activities[1139]), PD does not offer a blueprint of how development unfolds because of the vast range of situations and purposes PD is applied to,[1140] and which are described in this chapter. PD is not a single

[1132] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249
[1133] UNDP quoted in Rist, 1997:9; Uphoff et al., 1998:50-1; White, 1999:32-3; Lyons et al., 1999:4; Cleaver, 2001:36; Miller, 2001:153
[1134] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249; Pieterse, 2000:176
[1135] McTaggart, 1997:1-2
[1136] Max-Need, 1992:211; Uphoff, 1992:143; Nelson and Wright, 1995:42; Rahman quoted in Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Brohman, 1996:238; De Koning and Martin, 1996:1-2; Cleaver, 2001:53-4; Francis, 2001:77; Kothari, 2001:139; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7; Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:2; Dalal-Clayton et al., 2003:100-1; Datta, 2003:55; Drinkwater, 2003:63-4; Kaul Shah, 2003:193; Laws, 2003:52; Vernooy et al., 2003:23; Mikkelsen, 2005:27 and 75
[1137] Wengert, 1976:26; Allen et al., 1999:3; Cleaver, 2001:53-4; Hailey, 2001:94; Mosse, 2001:29; Mosse, 2002:1
[1138] Cleaver, 2001:53-4; Francis, 2001:77; Kothari, 2001:139; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26; Kumar, 2002:47; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7; Datta, 2003:55; Sellers, 2003:188; Vernooy et al., 2003:23 and 43
[1139] Ukaga and Maser, 2004:39-40
[1140] Rondinelli, 1987:83, Spitz, 1992:41; Mayo, 2000:109-10; Mikkelson, 2005:112

phenomenon[1141]; it also has an experimental aspect[1142]. All these characteristics make PD consistent with post-development. PD has been referred to as radical,[1143] an ideology,[1144] complex,[1145] and filled with dualism[1146].

Although in its application, PD provides structure, it is not intended to be rigidly applied. Its aim is to advance the interests of individual community members, but also that of the community as a whole. PD is directed at the local level, but is also attentive to higher structural levels, including the global level, in the development planning process. That is why it has been called the "Third Wave" – healing the "historic breach between producer and consumer."[1147] This also explains why it has been cited to have many roots (which are discussed in Chapter 6). Chambers summarizes the principles of development's new PD "high-ground":

> In an evolving paradigm of development there is a new high ground, a paradigm of people as people. On the new high ground, decentralization, democracy, diversity, and dynamism combine. Multiple local and individual realities are recognized, accepted, enhanced, and celebrated. Truth, trust, and diversity link. Baskets of choice replace packages of practices. Doubt, self-critical, self-awareness, and acknowledgement of error are valued. For the realities of lowers to count more, and for the new high ground to prevail, it is uppers who have to change.[1148]

[1141] Rondinelli, 1987:83
[1142] Uphoff, 1992c:10
[1143] Servaes quoted in Melkote, 1991:240; Rahman, 1995:29; Uphoff et al., 1998:90
[1144] Wengert, 1976:23; Nelson and Wright, 1995:31; Arnst, 1996:111; White, 1999:32-3; Servaes and Arnst, 1999:126; Mosse, 2002:24-5; Williams, 2004:559
[1145] Cary, 1970:4; Nelson and Wright, 1995:33; Brohman, 1996:251
[1146] Dervin and Huesca, 1999:182
[1147] Korten and Klaus, 1984:21-2
[1148] Chambers, 1997:188

Basic Features of Participatory Development

Community Determination and Management of Development

The fundamental premise of participatory development, from which its other important features follow, is that local communities – the beneficiaries – plan, manage, and are the decision-makers in matters related to development.[1149] PD writers state that participation should occur "in all stages" of project development[1150] and "at the earliest possible opportunity"[1151]. Control, including timing of meetings, project implementation, and the overall development process, rests with the people of communities who formulate the problems and find and implement solutions.[1152] In PD, a community's informed

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[1149] Cary, 1970:144; Vanek, 1971:1; Hulbe, 1980:75; Stokes, 1981:131-42; Hall, 1982:13-4; Swantz, 1982:115; Via, 1982:154; Lea and Chaudrhi, 1983:13 and 336; Rondinelli, 1987:84; Kalyalya et al., 1988:32-3; IFAD, 1989:138; Knippers, 1991:21; National Environment Secretariat, 1991:2; Melkote, 1991:240; Sujansky, 1991:50; Uphoff, 1991:467-91; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:124-79; Kamenetsky, 1992:193; Mackintosh and Wainwright, 1992:358; Max-Neef, 1992:198; Rahman, 1992:171; Robinson, 1992:32; Spitz, 1992:41; Uphoff, 1992:135 and143; Uphoff, 1992b:103; Burky, 1993:50; Chambers, 1993:13; Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:30; Narayan, 1993:11; Serageldin, 1993:117; Stevens, 1993:21; Bordenave, 1994:43; Rondinelli, 1993:134-79; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:1; Chambers, 1994:953; White, 1994:26; White and Patel, 1994:361; World Bank, 1994b:i; Barnes and Mercer, 1995:38; Sorensen, 1995:400; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1-3; Nelson and Wright, 1995:5; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Servaes, 1996:18; Brohman 1996:251-3 and 337-8; Narayan, 1993:27; Dockery, 1996:167; Jacobson, 1996:266; Mavalankar et al., 1996:223; Mezzana, 1996:195; Makumbe, 1996:11; Holdgate, 1996:246; Adelman, 1997:82; Conn and Alderson, 1997:46; McTaggart, 1997:34-40; Miller, 1997:22; UNDP quoted in Rist, 1997:9; World Bank quoted in Miller, 1997:22; Binswanger, 1998:297-8; Gonzalez, 1998:17-22; Uphoff et al., 1998:76; Woolcock, 1998:185; Allen et al., 1999:3; Cornwall, 1999:4 and 6; Hagmann et al., 1999:1; White, 1999:32-3; Servaes and Arnst, 1999:112; Lyons et al., 1999:11; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 215 and 220; Servaes, 1999:93-111; Blackburn et al., 2000:1; Botchway, 2000:136; Cornwall, 2000:1; Estrella, 2000:1; Robb, 2000:22-3; Symes and Jasser, 2000:146; USAID quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125; Waters, 2000:90-1; Chopyak, 2001:377-8; Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5; Laverack, 2001:12; Mosse, 2001:16; Pretty and Ward, 2001:219; Rolly, 2001:125; Kapoor, 2002:103-4; Kumar, 2002:24; O'Donoghue, 2002:16; Straus, 2002:18; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3; Datta, 2003:55; Morris, 2003:226; Vernooy et al., 2003:23; Beaulier, 2004:346; Taylor et al., 2004:3; Jason et al., 2004:4; Parfitt, 2004:538; Rawlings, 2004:118; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:136; Chambers, 2005:81; Hampshire et al., 2005:340

[1150] Brohman, 1996:337-8; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-2; Servaes, 1999:113

[1151] IFAD, 1989:138

[1152] Uphoff, 1991:491

collective choice and action determine the direction for development.[1153] PD is a process of local self-governance because it is directed at the local community level and members' management of their own development.[1154]

PD is "as inclusive as possible."[1155] "Who becomes involved often will shape the direction and the outcomes of the development effort."[1156] Therefore, stakeholders "included or excluded from the participatory process is critical."[1157] In development generally, there may be many direct and indirect stakeholders, and Kapoor explains that PD techniques such as *stakeholder analyses* are for the purpose of identifying prospective individual, group, and institutional stakeholders.[1158] Furthermore, Straus describes the low level of risks and pre-conditions participants in PD processes must agree to:

> Come together in one place (physical or virtual); Explore without commitment how everyone might be able to work together collaboratively; Accept that the other participants have a right to be involved in the initial exploration; and Abide by ground rule once they have been agreed to. Participants may come to the process with animosity and distrust about whether anything constructive will happen. But they only have to agree to try collaborating for one meeting, usually only dealing with process design issues. The parties do not have to give up any of their fallback options. The process can be aborted at any time. There is very little downside.[1159]

[1153] Sargent, 1986:109; Knippers, 1991:21; Melkote, 1991:240; Uphoff, 1992b: 2; Edwards and Hulme, 1992:25; Wignaraja, 1992:392; Burky, 1993:174; Rondinelli, 1993:143; Bordenave, 1994:43; Miller et al., 1995:113; Rahman, 1995:24-5; Brohman, 1996:345-6; Stuart and Bery, 1996:211; Bhatt, 1997:375; Costa, 1997:138; Hagmann et al., 1991:2; White, 1999:32-3; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Green, 2000:72-3; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:262; Cooke, 2001:78-9; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:339; Pretty and Ward, 2001:214; Ginwright and James, 2002:374; Taylor, 2004:4; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:39:40; Chambers, 2005:105-7

[1154] Servaes, 1996:103 and 266; Bhatt, 1997:373; Jordan and Van Tuijl, 2000:2052; Hildyard, 2001:68; Ostrom and Varughese, 2001:748

[1155] Cary,1970:150

[1156] Green and Haines, 2002:101

[1157] Kapoor, 2001:274

[1158] Ibid.

[1159] Straus, 2002:72

As with the concept of development, a review on the literature on PD shows an emphasis on benefiting *disadvantaged groups*[1160] who are in the most need. They include the: alienated[1161]; disabled[1162]; illiterate[1163]; landless (agricultural laborers[1164] and poor rural women[1165]); low social groups[1166]; poor[1167] (rural[1168] and urban[1169]) or impoverished groups[1170]; marginalized groups[1171] (excluded,[1172] socially isolated,[1173] and the remote[1174]); powerless[1175]

[1160] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:2; Uphoff, 1992:143; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:2; Rahman, 1995:24-5; Thapalia, 1996:152; World Bank quoted in Miller, 1997:22; Binswanger, 1998:295-6; Uphoff et al., 1998:82; Cheater, 1999:598; Lyons et al., 1999:7; Campbell, 2000:265; Kapoor, 2002:104

[1161] Allen et al., 1999:3

[1162] Barnes and Mercer, 1995:37 (the majority of which live in developing countries); Eade, 1997:63 (80 percent of which are cared for by women); Balacazar et al., 2004:17

[1163] Kumar, 2002:57

[1164] Hulbe, 1980:125; Hall, 1982:22; Cheema, 1983:206; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:78; Rolly, 2001:126

[1165] Alamgir, 1989:8-9; Cohen, 1996:241

[1166] Kumar, 2002:51

[1167] Hulbe, 1980:125; Alamgir, 1989:4; Chambers, 1991:516; Melkote, 1991:244-5; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:2; Burky, 1993:46; Rondinelli, 1993:142; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:78; Mayo and Craig, 1995:6-7; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1, 33, and 39; Brohman, 1996:235 and 270; Brohman, 1996:276; Rahman, 1995:30; Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Cohen, 1996:231-2; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Thapalia, 1996:152; Bhatt, 1997:375; Ninacs, 1997:166; Binswanger, 1998:295; Robinson, 1998:391; Uphoff et al., 1998:8 and 82; Cheater, 1999:597; Hagmann et al., 1999:2; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Anand and Sen, 2000:2038; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:119; Blackburn et al., 2000:3; Symes and Jasser, 2000:137; Green, 2000:70-2; Cleaver 2001:54; Miller, 2001:153; Rolly, 2001:71; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:1; Kumar, 2002:31; Chambers, 2005:105-7; Mikkelsen, 2005:55

[1168] Wengert, 1976:27; Hulbe, 1980:56 and 63; Huillet et al., 1988:13; IFAD, 1988:138; Chambers, 1994:959;
Rolly, 2001:75; Bebbington and Carroll, 2002:274

[1169] Wengert, 1976:27; Hulbe, 1980:56 and 63; Chambers, 1994:959

[1170] Brohman, 1996:255

[1171] Brohman, 1996:237-8; Cheater, 1999:598; Cornwall, 1999:8; Hagmann et al., 1999:2; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:119; Symes and Jasser, 2000:137; Hildyard, 2001:69; Kapoor, 2001:104 and 274; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:41; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26; Kumar, 2002:31-51; Balacazar et al., 2004:20; Keys et al., 2004:194-5; Parfitt, 2004:541

[1172] Arnst, 1996:119-20; Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Cheater, 1999:597; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:227; Servaes, 1999:111; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:119; Turner et al., 2000:1724

[1173] Ashman, 2001:1104

[1174] Kumar, 2002:51

[1175] Knippers, 1991:141; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:78; Parfitt, 2004:541

(weakest[1176]); most vulnerable[1177]; oppressed[1178]; underprivileged[1179]; underrepresented[1180] (underserved[1181]); and unemployed[1182].

Society's *vulnerable groups* are also targeted by PD; they include: children[1183]; the elderly[1184]; ethnic groups[1185] (or neglected minorities[1186]); farmers[1187] (indigenous agriculturalist[1188] and "peasants"[1189]; women[1190] (PD's connection with feminist movements is discussed in Chapter 6); and youth[1191].

Of course, the *general public* is commonly referred to as the primary participants in PD processes. They include: *all* affected people,[1192] stakeholders[1193] (people who are interested and concerned[1194]), segments, and

[1176] Nelson and Wright, 1995:1; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:227
[1177] Cheater, 1999:597; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:119
[1178] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Salina et al., 2004:159-60
[1179] Chambers, 1994:954; Rahman, 1995:26
[1180] Brohman, 1996:237-8
[1181] Cohen, 1996:231-2
[1182] Uphoff et al., 1998:82
[1183] Eade, 1997:60; Kumar, 2002:51
[1184] Ibid.
[1185] Bates and Yackovlev, 2002:310-40
[1186] Rolly, 2001:78-9
[1187] Hulbe, 1980:125; Hall, 1982:22; Cheema, 1983:206; Rolly, 2001:126
[1188] Awa, 1996:127
[1189] Hayami, 1998:300
[1190] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:2; Wignaraja, 1992:392; Burky, 1993:84; Mayo and Craig, 1995:6-7; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1-2 and 39; Brohman, 1996:253-4; Conn and Alderson, 1997:46; Eade, 1997:52; Binswanger, 1998:295; Uphoff et al., 1998:80 ("Successful development correlates positively with the active participation of women"); Cheater, 1999:598; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:124-30; Cleaver, 2001:43; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:37; Mosse, 2001:21; Rolly, 2001:78-9; Kumar, 2002:51; Salina et al., 2004:159-60; Smock, 2004:253; Chambers, 2005:105-7
[1191] Uphoff et al., 1998:82-3; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Turner et al, 2000:1731-2
[1192] Ukaga and Moser, 2004:139
[1193] Note: "Stakeholders are individual persons, groups or institutions with vested interests in an intervention. Primary stakeholders are those who will be directly or ultimately affected by an intervention, either positively (beneficiaries) or negatively. Secondary stakeholders are intermediaries such as implementing organizations, or other individuals, persons, groups or institutions involved in interventions, including funders. Key stakeholders are those of the primary and secondary stakeholders who can significantly affect or influence an intervention either positively or negatively during its course, and who will share responsibility, quality and sustainability of subsequent effects and impact (Mikkelsen, 2005:72)."

groups are given the opportunity to participate[1195]; a broad range of community groups and people[1196]; local people[1197] (indigenous people and villagers[1198]); the majority of the people[1199] (or significant number of persons[1200]); users of development interventions[1201]; where local organizations already exist[1202]; and where the distribution of land ownership is relatively equal[1203].

Finally, *professional groups* that are regular participants of PD include the following: administrators,[1204] educators and researchers,[1205] extension officers,[1206] and workers[1207]. Table 11summarizes the participant groups and intended beneficiaries of PD.

Table 11: *Participants of Participatory Development*

General Public
All affected people, stakeholders (people who are interested and concerned), and community groups; local indigenous people and villagers; majority or significant number of persons; users of development interventions; where local organizations already exist; and where the distribution of land ownership is relatively equal
Disadvantaged Groups
Alienated; disabled; illiterate; landless (agricultural laborers and poor rural women); low or impoverished social groups; poor (rural and urban); marginalized groups (excluded, socially isolated, and the remote); powerless (weakest); most vulnerable; oppressed; underprivileged; underrepresented (underserved); and unemployed

[1194] Swantz, 1982:115; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:2; Sadanandan and White, 1994:167; Brohman, 1996:276; Cleaver 2001:54; Mikkelsen, 2005:56
[1195] Cary, 1970:4
[1196] Cary 1970:4; Rondinelli, 1987:88; Brohman, 1996:251
[1197] Nelson and Wright, 1995:33
[1198] Hall, 1982:22; Swantz, 1982:114; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:2; White, 1999:32-3
[1199] Melkote, 1991:193; Arnst, 1996:111
[1200] Rondinelli, 1987:83
[1201] Mikkelsen, 2005:55
[1202] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:78
[1203] Ibid.
[1204] Swantz, 1982:115
[1205] Hall, 1982:22; Ibid., 114-5
[1206] Awa, 1996:127
[1207] Ibid.

Professional Groups
Administrators; educators / researchers; extension officers; and workers
Vulnerable Groups
Children; the elderly; ethnic groups (neglected minorities); farmers (indigenous agriculturalist and peasants); women; and youth

Dialogue in PD

The design of PD planning methods is intended to create direct dialogue among local community members as they assess their socio-economic and environmental conditions, determine the areas of common need or interest, and to do so continually throughout development processes.[1208] Dialogue in PD encompasses many different things: debate, negotiation, mediation, conversation, discussion, formal and informal bargaining, coalition-building, reciprocal exchange, compromise, communication, listening, questioning, common forums, and consensus-building. Consensus in PD suggests that there is a common agreement within or among groups and communities to address problems and needs with equal priority within a shared vision.[1209]

[1208] Fantus et al., 1971:343; Hulbe, 1980:124; Stokes, 1981:127; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:112; Alamgir, 1989:8; Forester, 1989:88; Sujansky, 1991:21; Max-Neef, 1992:198-211; Selzinick, 1992:318; Uphoff, 1992b:405; Burky, 1993:39; Rondinelli, 1993:163; Gsanger, 1994:71; Sadanandan and White, 1994:142; Keating, 1995:28; World Bank cited in Sang, 1995:22-3; Makumbe, 1996:18; Mezzana, 1996:195; Servaes, 1996:98-9; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-2; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998:223; Uphoff et al., 1998:50; Servaes and Arnst, 1999a:116; Cornwall, 1999:6; Hagmann et al., 1999:2-8; Jaconsen and Killuri, 1999:272; Friesen, 1999:292; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215-7; Woolcock and Narayan, 1999:14; Campbell, 2000:266; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2051-2; Francis, 2001:79; Hildyard, 2001:68; Laverack, 2001:10; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:337-8; Miller, 2001:153; Mosse, 2001:21; Rolly, 2001:78-9; O'Donovan, 2002:125; Straus, 2002:8; Morris, 2003:225-41; Beaulier, 2004:346; Balacazar et al., 2004:20; Parfitt, 2004:552; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:18-9; Lavelle et al., 2005:952; Mikkelsen, 2005:27 and 54

[1209] Hagmann, 1999:9

PD Methods and Local Information Sharing

PD and its methods are created in recognition of the potential creativity of communities and marginalized groups, and their views, values, thoughts, beliefs, expressions of identity, problems, and needs.[1210] Multiple local individual realities are recognized and utilized.[1211] Local communities know better local conditions and are better able to monitor activities. Since the communities do their own investigation, analysis, and planning, their knowledge is more relevant and "authentic"[1212]. PD builds and codifies local knowledge to support communities' decision-making processes regarding development that affects their lives.[1213]

At an intrinsic level, PD is a function of information gathering (with an emphasis on qualitative information), sharing, and returning to the people. PD is the utilization of interactive activities that enable knowledge to be more easily exchanged. Broad community participation helps to ensure that comprehensive information is collected. In so doing, PD generates "more and better information"

[1210] Hulbe, 1980:124; Alamgir, 1989:8-9; Spitz, 1992:126; Uphoff, 1992:143; Wignaraja, 1992:392; Chambers, 1994:954-5; Friedman, 1994:130; Sadanandan and White, 1994:142; Galijart, 1995:12; Nelson and Wright, 1995:11 and 37; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Awa, 1996:127; Brohman, 1996:203-4; Makumbe, 1996:18; Servaes, 1996:93; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Servaes, 1996:15; Bhatt, 1997:382; McTaggart, 1997:39-40; Uphoff et al., 1998:50; Cornwall, 1999:10; Hagmann et al., 1999:1; Lyons et al., 1999:10; Petersen et al., 1999:241; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:227; Green, 2000:70-2; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252; Chopyak, 2001:377-8; Ford, 2001:ii; Francis, 2001:75; Henkel, 2001:168; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:19-20 and 337-8; Rolly, 2001:124; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:1; Kapoor, 2002:103; Kumar, 2002:31; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7; Dalal-Clayton et al., 2003:100-1; Datta, 2003:55; Laws, 2003:50-2; Morris, 2003:227; Jason et al., 2004:4-5; Salina et al., 2004:159-60; Smock, 2004:222; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:18-9; Chambers, 2005:146; Hampshire et al., 2005:340; Mikkelsen, 2005:34

[1211] Chambers, 1997:188

[1212] Gree, 2000:73

[1213] Chambers, 2005:103

and baseline data.[1214] Again, in order to do this, there needs to be a diversity of local sources and perspectives. All segments of society and each perspective are considered and have a place.[1215]

PD is composed of families[1216] of approaches[1217] that include interactive methods[1218] for enabling local communities and groups to conduct the analysis, planning, and monitoring needed for development.[1219] Local people voluntarily[1220] share and analyze their knowledge, consider previous successes and challenges, define problems, prioritize needs, determine resources, build community, prepare a site-specific plan of action for development, and carry out and control that action.[1221] This organized process[1222] or mobilization[1223]

[1214] Wengert, 1976:23; National Environment Secretariat, 1991:12, Sujansky, 1991:21, and 59-62; Uphoff, 1991:432 and 494; Bhatnagar, 1992:15; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:124; Mackintosh and Wainwright, 1992:358; Uphoff, 1992:142; Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:36; Rondinelli, 1993:172; Stevens, 1993:103; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7; Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Brohman, 1996:238 and 339; De Koning and Martin, 1996:1-2; Mavalankar et al., 1996:222; Preston-Whyte and Dalrymple, 1996:117; Servaes, 1996:98-9; McTaggart, 1997:1-2 and 27; Eicher and Staatz, 1998:21; Uphoff et al., 1998:93; Allen et al., 1999:3; White, 1999:32-3; Awa quoted in Servaes and Arnst, 1999:116; Abes, 2000:94; Campbell, 2000:266; Francis, 2001:77; Dalal-Clayton et al., 2003:100-1; Datta, 2003:55; Laws, 2003:52; Morris, 2003:225-6; Balcazar, 2004:24; Salina et al., 2004:159-60; Parfitt, 2004:552; Chambers, 2005:112; Hampshire, 2005:340-1

[1215] Wengert, 1976:26; Lea and Chaudrhi, 1983:13; Rondinelli, 1987:86; Dichter, 1989:137; Kottak, 1991:432; National Environment Secretariat, 1991:7; Sujansky, 1991:21; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:6 and 124; Max-Neef, 1992:198; Keating, 1995:33; Uphoff, 1992:405; Brohman, 1996:238; Holdgate, 1996:247; Peruzzo, 1996:177-8; Rabrenovic, 1996:204; Allen et al., 1999:33; Woolcock and Narayan, 1999:4; Straus, 2002:39

[1216] McTaggart, 1997:1-2; Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:2

[1217] Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:2; Vernooy et al., 2003:4

[1218] Wignaraja, 1992:393; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-2

[1219] Chambers, 1994:953

[1220] Makumbe, 1996:13; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Rolly, 2001:125; Kumar, 2002:24; Little quoted in Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:4; Parfitt, 2004:538; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:39-40; Mikkelsen, 2005:54

[1221] Chambers, 1994:953; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:225; Robb, 2000:23; Kapoor, 2002:104; Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:2; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:39-40

[1222] Hulbe, 1980:75; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:98; Knippers, 1991:21; Sujansky, 1991:21; Kamenetsky, 1992:193; Wignaraja, 1992:399; Gorman, 1995:212-3; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-2; Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Woolcock, 1998:187; Allen et al. 1999:2; Cheater, 1999:597; Cornwall, 1999:4; Hagmann et al. 1999:8; White, 1999:32-3; Servaes, 1999:111; Blackburn et al.

enables groups or stakeholders to present and access information and participate in decision-making, which increases their ability to mobilize human and natural resources and institutions for development.[1224] Local groups and communities are more in control of the investigation.[1225] In the human rights manifesto of the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, participation of people in development decisions that affect their lives is cited to be a "right."[1226]

The literature of PD describes indicators for different levels of participation.[1227] Establishing indicators of participation is a difficult task because "participation is not an objective that exists in specific quantities or that can be measured in particular units to be compared over time, nor is it simply a yes-no variable that is either present or absent."[1228] Participation in development projects varies over time, and, furthermore, as different partners – government, nongovernment, and private sector groups, each with different purposes and goals – are drawn into the PD process, standardized measurements of

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2000:1; Botchway, 2000:136; Campbell, 2000:265; Symes and Jasser, 2000:146; Cleaver, 2001:54; Hailey, 2001:94; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:41; Rolly, 2001:75; Drinkwater, 2003:63-4; Kaul Shah, 2003:193; Vernooy et al. 2003:23; Beaulier, 2004:547; Parfitt, 2004:552; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:136; Fraser et al., 2005:123; Mikkelsen, 2005:54

[1223] Hulbe, 1980:75; Rahman, 1992:171; Wignaraja, 1992:393; Cohen, 1996:233; Servaes, 1996:98-102; Miller, 1997:22; McTaggart, 1997:1-2; Uphoff et al., 1998:38; World Health Organization quoted in Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Allen et al., 1999:3; Cheater, 1999:604; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 218; Symes and Jasser, 2000:149; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249; Brannstrom, 2001:1351; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:25; Kumar, 2002:47; Parfitt, 2004:552; Ukaga and Moser, 2004:39-40

[1224] World Bank, 1994b:I; Cornwall, 2000:1; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:39-40

[1225] Chambers, 1994:78

[1226] DFIF in Chambers, 2005:103

[1227] Fraser et al., 2005:123

[1228] Morris, 2003:229

participation become even more difficult to establish.[1229] In fact, Law suggests that the level of participation is contingent upon the very purpose of stakeholders.[1230] Thus, although classifications of different levels of participation offer insights into what actually occurs, the process of determining participation levels, and evaluating and assigning to those levels PD experiences, is a significant challenge.[1231]

Nevertheless, authors have identified a number of types of participation and degrees to which they occur.[1232] For example, on the low end of the hierarchies of participation scale, frequent descriptive terms include "passive" or "non-participation," or "tokenism."[1233] Here, Prokopy illustrates an example of projects predetermined by *external* development institutions, which still acquire local contributions in the form of labor or materials.[1234] This example of a low-end scale level of participation relates to Hampshire et al.'s "contractual" mode of participation whereby outside agencies contract local people as "subjects" of development.[1235] The authors describe progressively higher levels of participation, including the "consultative" mode, which occurs when external development agencies or researchers consult local people and solicit their views before development intervention.[1236] The "collaborative" mode of participation occurs when outside agencies and local people work together on projects

[1229] Hampshire et al., 2005:340-1
[1230] Law, 2003:60-1
[1231] Hampshire et al., 2005:340-1
[1232] Vernooy et al., 2003:4
[1233] Prokopy, 2005:1801-2
[1234] Ibid.
[1235] Hampshire et al., 2005:340-1
[1236] Ibid.

catalyzed, designed, and managed by the outside groups.[1237] The "collegiate" mode involves outsiders and local people "working together as colleagues with different skills to offer, in a process of mutual learning, over which local people have control."[1238] As authors state, participation needs to involve full engagement among stakeholders in order for PD to be successful.[1239] PD tools also provide a "common language that allows practitioners from different disciplines…to communicate."[1240]

In PD, types of data collected includes: 1) secondary data, 2) spatial data, 3) time-related data, 4) social data, 5) institutional data, and 6) technical data.[1241] Chambers explains that some methods are new and some are rediscoveries.[1242] The data is collected through methods that involve: meetings, group discussions, socio-drama, collective research, production, and the sharing of knowledge generated through various forms of folk, oral, written, and visual arts.[1243] "Good techniques mediate the process and not predetermine the outcome."[1244] PD methods combine visual techniques (described next), with open-ended dialogue and discussion groups, including oral histories of community members, for example.[1245] Methods can be "sequenced" (repeated over time) to maximize participation and build local knowledge of a particular priority issue.[1246] Different

[1237] Ibid.
[1238] Ibid.
[1239] Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:36
[1240] Moser, 1993:176
[1241] Ukaga and Maser, 2004:39-40
[1242] Chambers, 1994:953
[1243] Kumar, 2002:31;
[1244] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:63-64
[1245] Robb, 2000:23; Kapoor, 2002:104
[1246] Kapoor, 2002:104

techniques could also be used to investigate the same issue from a variety of angles (similar to triangulation, which is discussed in Chapter 6).[1247]

Importantly, PD tools are ways of undertaking specific tasks, such as "how to 'break ice,' how to get people to participate, how to avoid domination by one or other person in groups."[1248] A situation with participants may require conflict management-PD tools, or gathering information related to a community's perspectives of viable agricultural opportunities. Choice of methods applicable in developing countries is extremely important.[1249] Chambers also explains that "physical arrangements affect interactions and relationships. One of the first things to examine in seeking to transform an organizational culture is the physical arrangements of offices and meeting rooms. An accessible tea or coffee place room where people meet informally by chance can seem a trivial matter. It is not."[1250] Finally, during the application of PD activities, segmenting groups into smaller groups (of 3 or 4, for example) encourages more concentrated participation and community meetings that more effectively reflect the ideas and interests of all participants.[1251] Dividing larger groups into smaller ones is a principle of triangulation and is applied in the example of pairwise ranking, a PD activity described in this chapter.

[1247] Kapoor, 2002:104; Salina et al., 2004:159-60
[1248] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:63-4
[1249] Webb et al. quoted in Pilsworth and Ruddock, 1982: 66
[1250] Chambers, 2005:150
[1251] Fantus et al., 1971:343; Cohen, 1996:241

Visual Methods

PD methods generally prefer visuals and symbols over verbal data generated by interviews and questionnaire surveys with predetermined sets of questions.[1252] The verbal mode still plays an important role in PD by supplementing the visuals with explanations and clarifications of the issue being presented.[1253] The visuals are simple devices that enable the presentation of information in understandable forms.[1254] Groups develop their own visual forms of analysis.[1255] The kinds of visuals include: 1) mapping a locality[1256]; 2) scoring with seeds as counters and using sticks as measures – "the media and materials of those of insiders"[1257]; 3) time-related including a) calendars of seasons (which locate agricultural and social practices in the different seasons[1258]), b) timelines (which are typically longitudinal and help to utilize past development knowledge in the present project[1259] through identifying cyclical activities, and also include key dates and events, such as weekly markets[1260]), and c) daily and weekly activity schedules (a profile of how time is used[1261])[1262]; 4) making diagrams of changes, trends, flow, linkages (between key development areas, communities,

[1252] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:225; Robb, 2000:23; Francis, 2001:77; Kumar, 2002:44
[1253] Kumar, 2002:44
[1254] Campbell, 2001:383
[1255] Chambers, 1994:953; Rolly, 2001:78
[1256] Ibid.; Ibid., 23; Campbell, 2001:383; Francis, 2001:77-8; Kapoor, 2002:104; Hampshire et al., 2005:340-1
[1257] Chambers, 1994:953
[1258] Rolly, 2001:78
[1259] Uphoff, 1991:494
[1260] Chambers, 1991:519; Rolly, 2001:78
[1261] Rolly, 2001:78
[1262] Hagmann et al., 1999:1; Francis, 2001:77

and institutions, highlighting cause and effect),[1263] and three-dimensional models[1264]; and 5) matrixes[1265]. Visuals are constructed using locally available materials.[1266] Chambers describes how they can be constructed by "drawing on the ground with sticks or on paper with pens, and using counters like beans, seeds, or stones."[1267] This is done, for example, to indicate the location of particular crops, wells, and irrigation channels.[1268] However, Prokopy and Castelloe explain that when visuals are drawn in the ground, "they are not safe and permanent. They need to be copied onto paper immediately. Usually the map is copied onto a large sheet of paper with all the details. This is necessary for other exercises, discussions, and later, for monitoring purposes. Moreover, it saves the trouble of doing the map all over again. The common practice is to request the local people, particularly one or two active young persons, to copy the map."[1269]

In this way, local people without literacy skills or who may be inarticulate can participate and express their priorities and experiences.[1270] Also, people who talk a lot dominate less in PD.[1271] It does happen in PD that non-literate participants are hesitant to start mapping, for example. "Lack of confidence, fear

[1263] Chambers, 1994:953; Nelson and Wright, 1995:39; Hagmann et al., 1999:1; Mayo, 2000:107; Francis, 2001:77; Campbell, 2001:383; Robb, 2000:23; Kapoor, 2002:104; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7; Dalal-Clayton et al., 2003:100-1
[1264] Mayo, 2000:107
[1265] Robb, 2000:23; Francis, 2001:77-8
[1266] Mayo, 2000:107
[1267] Chambers, 1994:953; Kapoor (2002:104) also suggests that mapping exercises can be done on the floor.
[1268] Mayo, 2000:107
[1269] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:225
[1270] Mayo, 2000:107; Kapoor, 2002:104; Kumar, 2002:44
[1271] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:225

of ridicule by others and the belief that maps can be made only be experts are some of the main reasons behind the hesitation. The use of expensive-looking marker pens and paper turns out to be a barrier in most of the cases initially."[1272] Chambers further explains: "Visual media, being independent of alphabetical literacy and near-universal, are argued to empower the weak and disadvantaged. Participatory mapping exercises can enable marginalized women to express their preferences and properties in a physical form which does not entail personal confrontation with otherwise dominating men. Visual diagramming is thus an equalizer, especially when it is done using the accessible and familiar medium of the ground."[1273]

PD involving local people directly in this manner allows them to transmit their experiences and priorities to policymakers and thus to potentially influence policy.[1274] Because PD methods focus on the social group and community relationships, they help to explain the "diversity of poverty" – based on, among other things, gender, ethnicity, class, caste, and age.[1275] In this way, PD methods have shown that "people's priorities and experiences are affected by such variables as gender, social exclusion, intrahousehold allocation of resources, the incidence of crime and violence, geographical location, access to networks of support, and relations with those in power."[1276] In regards to

[1272] Kumar, 2002:70
[1273] Chambers, 1994:1263
[1274] Robb, 2000:23
[1275] Hagmann et al., 1999:9; Robb, 2000:23
[1276] Robb, 2000:23; this idea is also in Hagmann et al., 1999:9

providing instructions to participants in PD methods, using the example of matrix scoring, Chamber offers advice:

> I began to learn not to give instructions in detail. At one time I would take half an hour to 'teach' matrix scoring, with lots of dos and don'ts. I came to realize that two to three minutes could be enough, that there was no single right way, and that people could learn and invent for themselves. Note: I am not suggesting that this is always right. People complain that they need more instructions. Other trainer/facilitators take longer and get good results. Still, brief instructions fit the pattern that 'lowers' can discover and invent for themselves much more than 'uppers' normally suppose.[1277]

The use of visuals in PD has a number of advantages. First, visual representations of groups' knowledge encourage their commitment to create consensus on a plan of action.[1278] Second, they help groups focus on problems, past events, or an idea that could be "too painful" or complicated to be expressed in words.[1279] Third, visuals help to bridge languages and cultures, and therefore "educate the world and inform a friend."[1280] Fourth, the very process of constructing visuals is "an analytical procedure and encourages constructors to think through the dynamics they are trying."[1281] Fifth, the process of making visuals may reduce inhibitions and therefore encourage participants to express themselves more openly and come up with new ideas.[1282] Sixth, visuals help to draw the connections between issues and challenges that are presented.[1283] Seventh, more than one person can work on a single visual at one time; in

[1277] Chambers, 2003:37
[1278] Nelson and Wright, 1995:39
[1279] Campbell, 2001:383
[1280] Ibid.
[1281] Ibid.
[1282] Kumar, 2002:44
[1283] Ibid.

contrast, the verbal approach allows, only one person can speak at a time.[1284] Eighth, visuals are more flexible, fun, and creative than conventional information-gathering methods.[1285] Finally, PD methods that include visuals promote group-building.[1286]

Despite these advantages, some questions about the use of visuals with PD techniques have been raised. First, PD could impose Western cultural practices and thereby require people of other cultures to learn new skills because the required level of visual literacy does not exist locally and because people interpret visuals differently.[1287] Kumar suggests this outcome may be avoided by conducting research on the capacities of existing local literacy and adapting techniques to accommodate the uneven level of skills and competencies that exist in communities.[1288] Second, literate people may be "reluctant to do a mapping exercise on the ground for fear of soiling their hands. They tend to think that when maps and other details are already available, why go in for anything else."[1289] Third, in some cultures, verbalized and practical information encoded in routines and experiences may be inaccessible by PD methods.[1290] Fourth, because practitioners may adapt methods in new ways, it is possible to generate partial or invalid information, resulting in sequencing that cannot be overcome due to disagreement about how to do it; general references to triangulation are

[1284] Ibid.
[1285] Nelson and Wright, 1995:39; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:225; Kumar, 2002:44 and 71
[1286] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:225
[1287] Kumar, 2002:71; Campbell, 2001:383; Datta, 2003:55
[1288] Kumar, 2002:71
[1289] Ibid.
[1290] Rew, 2002:110-1

cited to account for the lack of clarity regarding sequencing.[1291] Fifth, because investigators may lack rapport with community groups (for example, if they fail to listen or if their visit is quick), local people may be evasive and provide inaccurate information to avoid problems or gain benefits.[1292] Sixth, the public nature of PD methods could also generate misinformation.[1293] Finally, PD methods appear to have been embraced by the development community and others without reservation while further analysis of PD experiences are still necessary to better understand the methods themselves and their consequences.[1294]

PD Mapping and the Village of Ouanskra in Morocco

There are many kinds of methods of mapping because of the range of areas for which information is sought in order to make effective decisions for development. Space-related PD methods "explore the spatial dimension of people's reality. In mapping, the focus is on how people perceive and relate to space rather than just on the physical aspects, as they exist."[1295] Some of the kinds of maps communities make include social, asset, resource, risk, dream, and community. Before describing these mapping activities, it is notable that "even those who generally remain on the fringes of the community process, old people, women, and children get involved in mapping."[1296]

Asset mapping is "a process of learning what resources are available in your community. Examples of assets mapping might be: the identification of

[1291] Campbell, 2001:386
[1292] Chambers, 1991:519
[1293] Nelson and Wright, 1995:41
[1294] Campbell, 2001:380
[1295] Kumar, 2002:40
[1296] Ibid.

economic development opportunities through the mapping of available skills and work experience; the identification of natural resource assets that may serve as an important source of economic development; an assessment of consumer spending practices to identify the potential for new businesses in the neighborhood; a community resources inventory to identify the suitability of residents for providing services, such as child care. There is an attempt to match training efforts to jobs that can be created locally."[1297] Asset mapping is also "an interactive way to connect individuals to their own talents and empower them to use them; and with organizations and the resources and activities they offer. In a nutshell, asset mapping allows a community to know itself and imagine a different set of relationships and interactions on its own behalf."[1298]

Community mapping helps build a common understanding of the boundaries and characteristics of the community. Together, participants create a map of their community that shows where various resources, activities, and opportunities are located.[1299]

A *dream map* is "used to depict the future in line with the aspirations of local people. What distinguishes a dream map from other types of maps is that it is futuristic. Generally two maps are made – one representing the present situation and the other projecting the desired future. Dream map can be made for virtually anything, e.g., watershed, natural resources, village, farm, and so on. The participants are initially asked to draw a map representing the present

[1297] Green and Haines, 2002:9-11
[1298] Morse, 2004:88
[1299] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:14

situation. Later, they are asked to draw another map on the desired situation in the future, reflecting their aspirations and dreams. It helps in identifying what are the aspects where people want change. Thus, a dream map can be a useful tool for initiating a discussion on planning interventions."[1300]

In *risk mapping*, participants first identify risks and then they rank the risks they identified.[1301] "After ranking risks, participants are then asked to detail each in turn, making sure they discuss how they used to solve each of these, if and why they no longer could, and how they would like to solve them."[1302] "The value of participatory risk mapping lies in its ability to identify quickly who is experiencing what worries and where, with the ultimate goal of directing further research and assistance."[1303] "Risk mapping highlights the nature of the risks faced by vulnerable populations and the subjective severity of those risks."[1304] "If repeated across a number groups or individuals in a simple, random survey, the resulting sample frequency and severity data would provide statistically unbiased estimates of subjective risk incidence and severity in the population under study."[1305]

A *social map* provides a current household listing which is then used for well-being or wealth ranking of households.[1306] It depicts the "habitation pattern."[1307] Social mapping "makes for the active involvement of among the

[1300] Kumar, 2002:178
[1301] Barrett et al., 2000:1947
[1302] Ibid.
[1303] Ibid.
[1304] Ibid.
[1305] Ibid.
[1306] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 216; Datta, 2003:55
[1307] Kumar, 2002:40

largest number of participants. Some people take the lead in the initial stages, while others join in at later stages."[1308] Social mapping can help to identify marginalized people.[1309] "The marginalized and even the illiterate follow the process and most of them are able to locate their houses and their localities in the social map. They check the correctness of the details and also suggest modifications, wherever necessary."[1310]

The *resource map* is a space-related focus on the natural resources.[1311] This map visually depicts how participants in the activity use their land and natural resources they access. The exercise also generates information that is discussed and indicated on the map regarding the level of personal and group value attached to the natural resources they identify.

The following are two resource maps that were constructed in February 2008. The first map presented below was constructed by a group of 45 women and the second by a group of 35 men. They live in the Moroccan village of Ouanskra, located in the Rural Commune of Asni, in the Province of El Haouz, in the southern part of the country. The Ouanskra village has a population of approximately 275 people (approximately 30 homes), and it is one of twelve villages that lie along the High Atlas Mountain valley called Imnane. The Imnane Valley is adjacent to the Tifnoute Valley, where I served as a Peace Corps volunteer from 1993 to 1995.

[1308] Ibid., 59
[1309] Ibid., 70
[1310] Ibid., 57
[1311] Ibid., 40

The facilitator of the resource mapping activities in the Ouanskra village was Abderrahim Ouarghridi, the field-project manager of the High Atlas Foundation (HAF). HAF is a nongovernmental organization which I founded with other former Peace Corps volunteers in 2000, and since that time I serve as its president of the board of directors (HAF is further described in the Introduction). Abderrahim is currently a doctoral student in ethnobotany at the Faculty of Science in Marrakech. He was experientially trained in PD facilitation with HAF projects, and is a superb community researcher for the purpose of joint-development action. Abderrahim builds trustful social relationships with people with wide-ranging backgrounds, and facilitates PD planning meetings with men *and* women; in culturally traditional Morocco, particularly in rural areas, that is an indication of local people's understanding of primary purposes and goals of PD, the role of the facilitator, and Abderrahim's sincerity as he pursues his work. He speaks four languages (Arabic, Berber, French, and English) and the High Atlas Foundation is extremely fortunate that he manages its field projects.

The women's and men's maps were drawn in the ground and were constructed utilizing local materials, and were then transcribed to paper by Abderrahim. The following are two resource maps – the first map presented was created by women of the Village of Ouanskra, and the second map presented is by the men.

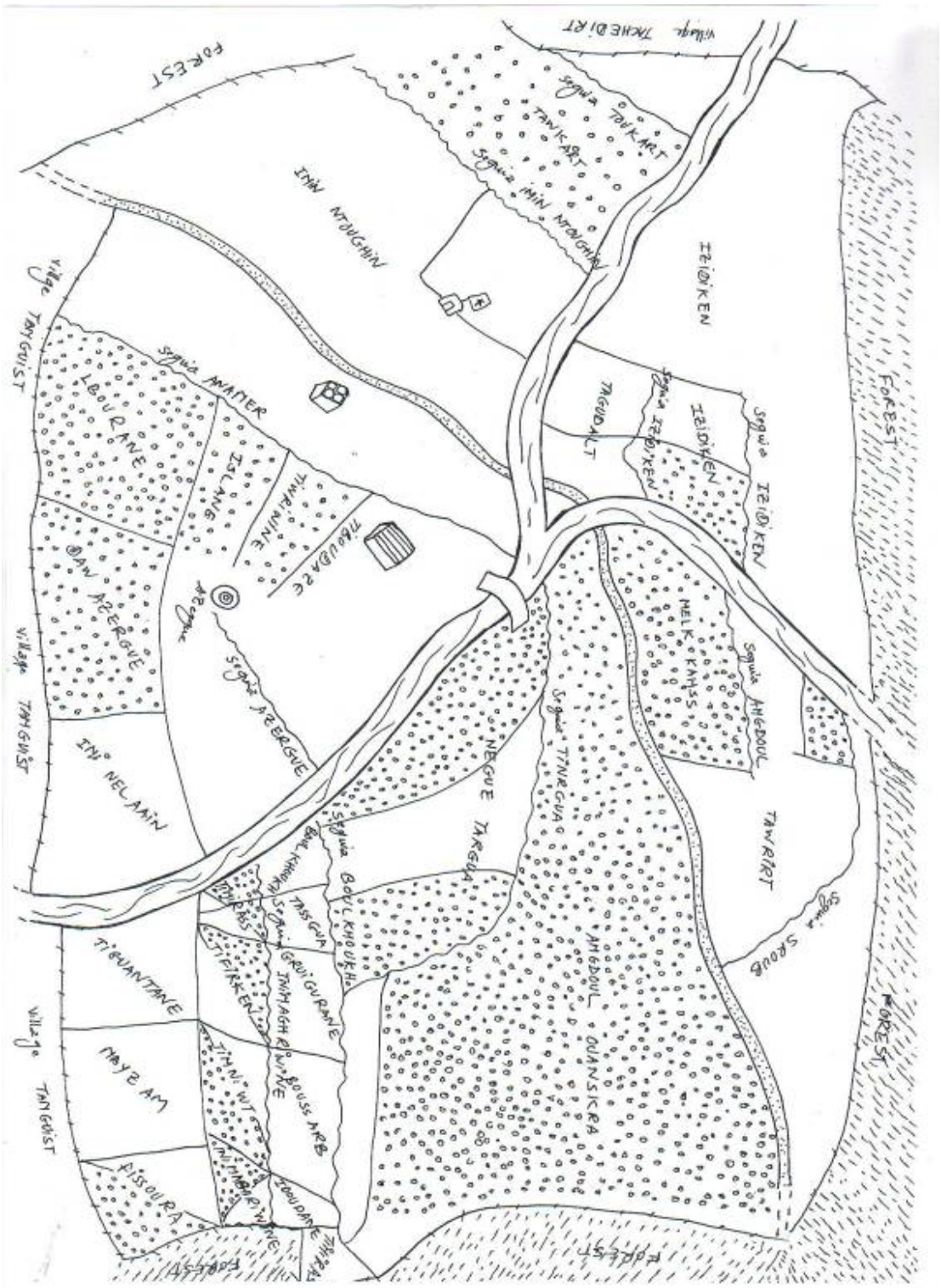

Figure 1. **Resource Map 1: Constructed by women of the Ouanskra village, Morocco**

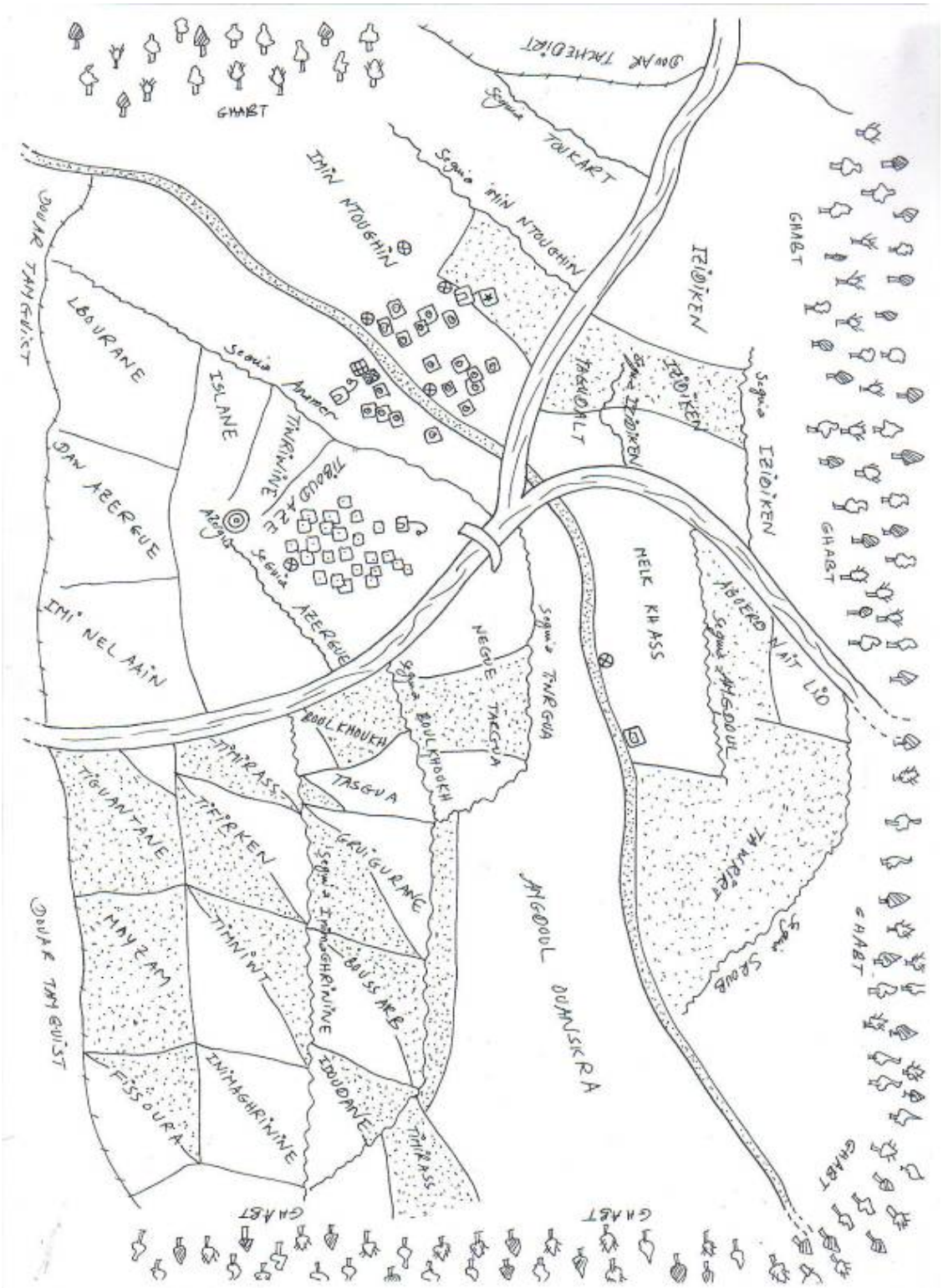

Figure 2. **Resource Map 2: Constructed by men of the Ouanskra village, Morocco**

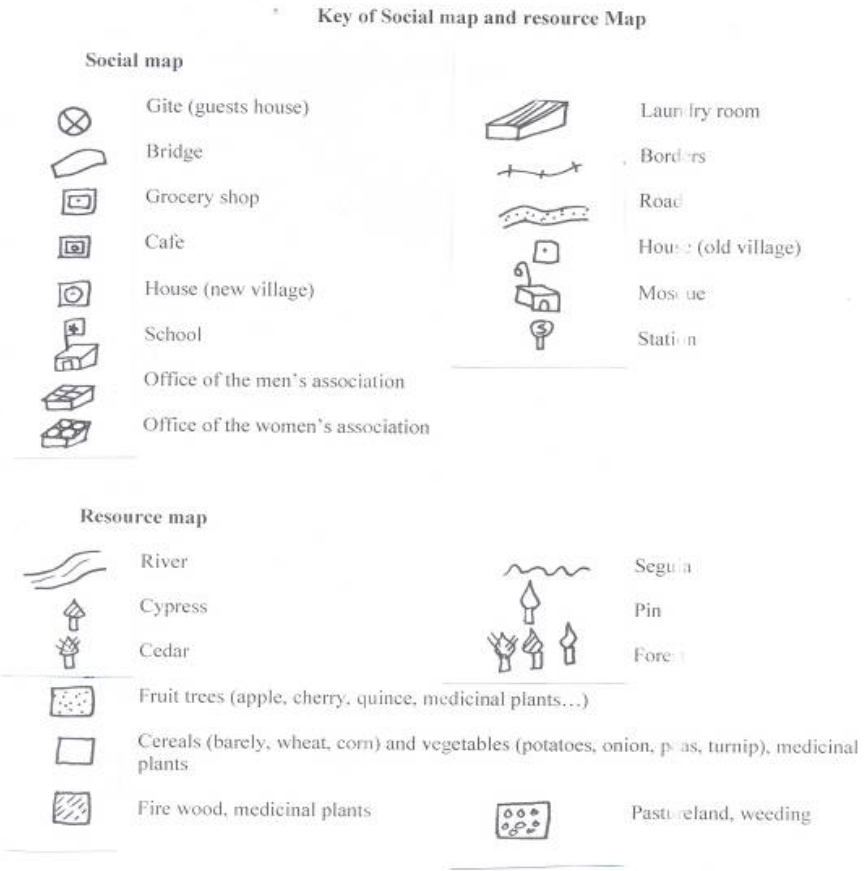

Figure 3. **Key to Resource Maps: Ouanskra Village, Morocco**

Table 12 presents outcomes of the resource mapping activity conducted in the Ouanskra village with gender groups. The table describes areas in the village generally frequented by men, women, or both, and circumstances upon which men and women can meet together.

Table 12: ***Resource Map Outcomes from the Village of Ouanskra***

Men's spaces	***Cross-Gender Use***	***Women's spaces***
The **mosque** is a sacred place that men frequent for prayer or solving conflicts	Gender groups can visit mosque: to seek advice from the ***fkih*** (traditional healer), if women / children are ill, or possessed by "demons"	Women are not allowed to pray in the **mosque**--only exception is Friday prayer and Ramadan prayer
Men shepherd goats and sheep in **forest** (cypress, pine, and cedar--though depleted)	Women gather medicinal plants from **forest** (or from cultivated terraces) and firewood	Women walk cows to ***Agdal*** and cut grass for feed; other animals not allowed; women talk freely
Men can gather at new **association** (instead of the mosque) to solve conflicts and make decisions	Gender groups frequent **association**; there are separate spaces for men and women	Though **association** not equipped, women participate in literacy programs; they want carpet-making activities
Typically not frequented by men	Women could meet discretely her love interest at ***Igdlane***	***Igdlane***--a space for chatting and singing; woman do the weeding in terraces and in ***Igdlane***
Parking area frequented by men at end of day; during **weekly market**, parking area very active	Both gender groups in **parking area**; women help carry purchases; happy faces and respectful; women talk w/ other men from valley	Woman typically do not visit the **weekly market**
Grocery shops in village for supplies and men chat	Typically, the **shops** and **river** areas are *not* shared spaces	Woman use **river** for laundry--they talk and share

In regards to project development, the resource mapping activity provided an opportunity for people of the village to discuss how they use their land. Fruit tree agriculture, among the top priorities of the community, occurs near the river and water canals because it requires more water than traditional agricultural

crops, including barley, wheat, onions, potatoes, tomatoes, and turnips. Participants of the resource mapping activity identified the agricultural terraces they planted fruit trees from an earlier High Atlas Foundation sponsored project, and terraces and other land that is empty and where men and women want to plant trees in the future. This is also an example of applying PD methods in order to gather gender-sensitive data, a subject discussed in Chapter 6.

Time-Related Methods

Time-related methods are used to "explore temporal dimensions of people's realities. What is unique about these methods is that they allow people to use their own concept of time."[1312] The commonly used time-related methods include a time-line, trend analysis, historical transect, seasonal diagram, daily activity schedule, participatory genealogy, and a dream map.

Time-line is commonly used to "depict an aggregate of the various landmark events as perceived by the local people while *trend analysis* focuses on changes that have taken place across certain time landmarks."[1313]

Seasonal calendars identify "cycles of activities that occur within the life of the community on a regular basis and helps determine whether there are common periods of excessive environmental problems or opportunities over the course of a normal year."[1314]

Activity schedules "help the community identify the routine demands they have in their daily lives. A typical day or week is looked at, from morning to

[1312] Ibid.
[1313] Ibid.
[1314] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:35

bedtime. This information helps to understand how the community spends their days and how much free time they have to spend on future project activities."[1315]

Participatory genealogy "captures changes across generations and provides an opportunity to discuss the causes behind these changes. It also gives [participants] some time to portray the future scenario, as it would be, unless some interventive steps are taken. The participants are also able to identify the kind of interventions that are required to make them move in the desired direction. As the time span is spread over generations it is not very conducive for monitoring and evaluating programs of short duration."[1316] This method also highlights "the importance of descent and social ties. They have tremendous potential for application in the development sector. They generate a lot of interest among the participants. The local people realize that they have a common ancestry. They treat the chart as their prized possession. It has also proved helpful in generating a rapport with the community. The facilitator comes to know a lot about many local people in a very short time."[1317]

Community narratives are the shared stories told by community members about themselves. Elders, for example, participate and "identify events that shaped individual and community activities, attitudes, and behaviors. Discussing trends feeds the management plan."[1318] Harper et al. further describe the community narrative tool:

[1315] Ibid.
[1316] Kumar, 2002:177
[1317] Ibid.
[1318] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:25

> Dominant cultural narratives about people with few material resources tend to be negative and often these negative narratives are accepted into the personal stories (and identities) of the people who are their target. However, because there is a reciprocal relationship between narratives and personal stories, identity development and change (conversion experiences) may be understood in terms of the appropriation of shared narratives into one's personal life story on the one hand and the creation of new narratives or modification of existing narratives (social change) on the other. This means that personal identity (and ultimately behavior) may be susceptible to change through encounter with the new community narratives we experience when trying to make sense out of our lives. The possibility of new community narratives serves as a potential point of intervention for those who are willing to work collaboratively with the people of concern.[1319]

Finally, *story-telling* integrated into the practice of development, although with less predictable outcomes, is a challenging process that often reveals information that can be vitally important toward achieving an appropriate and effective design of development projects.[1320] The process of the activity recovers history,[1321] and experiences are shared and compared[1322].

Matrix and Scoring UNM Students Example

Ranking activities are often considered to be among the most important steps in the PD process because they involve the community, leaders, representatives from key institutions, technical officers, NGO staff, and donors, who meet to discuss and come to an agreement on development priorities.[1323] As ranking activities unfold, participants become more aware of information that is directed toward them and of their socio-economic and environmental

[1319] Harper et al., 2004:200
[1320] Chambers, 2005:149
[1321] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12
[1322] Wignaraja, 1992:393
[1323] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:52 and 61

needs.[1324] Typically, after participants discuss and list issues and challenges, they rank them according to their priority. Priority problems and issues are then ranked to a manageable few as the process helps to build consensus.[1325] Different trees to plant and methods of conservation can also be compared through matrix scoring, for example.[1326] A ranking meeting can include pre-feasibility reviews of development projects in a particular sector that has been identified as a priority area in which the community wants to act.[1327] The major types of ranking techniques are: well-being or wealth ranking; scoring or ranking of different options or opportunities; preference or problem ranking; risk ranking; and pairwise ranking.[1328]

Wealth ranking involve facilitators asking participants to rank households in a village of community by total wealth, or other indicative measures, such as land, equipment, and livestock.[1329] "The total wealth-ranking approach is often favored because: a) respondents can incorporate a wider range of wealth measures than 'outsiders' might include and value them with local 'weights' they deem most appropriate; and b) it is viewed as more accurate than survey-based wealth measures because of the well-known survey biases related to misinformation.[1330] Inclusive participation of underprivileged people in this activity helps to capture wealth differences, as well as generate valid data if it is

[1324] Ibid.
[1325] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-82; Allen et al., 1999:33; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7
[1326] Chambers, 1994:960; Francis, 2001:77; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7; Chambers, 2003:37; Dalal-Clayton et al., 2003:99
[1327] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:52 and 61
[1328] Campbell, 2001:383; Datta, 2003:55
[1329] Barham et al., 2999:1968; Datta, 2003:55
[1330] Barham et al, 2999:1962

the case that participation has a positive relationship with education level and wealth.[1331]

Risk ranking is "a simple, ordinal scheme, assigning a value of one (1) to the risk as identified as most severe, two (2) to the risk identified as second most severe, etc. This ordinal scheme was grasped easily by respondents – careful not to force informants into ranking risks they thought equivalent."[1332]

Pairwise ranking needs assessment is used to identity the major challenges and opportunities for development projects based on participant preferences. The purpose of the activity is to create a process of dialogue and consensus-building among the participants through evaluating each local development opportunity (or challenges or needs) against the other opportunities the group identifies. Here, a high level of facilitation may be necessary in order to insure maximum participation.[1333] Table 13 is a sample pairwise ranking matrix:

[1331] Barrett et al, 2000:1957; Barham et al, 2999:1962
[1332] Campbell, 2001:383; Datta, 2003:55
[1333] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:64

Table 13: ***Pairwise Ranking Matrix for Needs Assessment***

Opportunity							

Instructions for the pairwise ranking activity[1334] is as follows: Groups brainstorm a list of challenges that they face and that prevent them from having a better life. As participants express issues, they also question each other, provide clarifications (for example, regarding similar ideas), discuss their responses, and write them down. When seven ideas are listed, groups conduct a pairwise ranking to get to a final ranking. Each idea, opportunity, or problem is listed along the left-hand column and again along the top row. Groups compare each pair through discussion and writes down the one they prefer in the blank box at the "intersection" of the pair. This is done for all of the ideas. Boxes are shaded in the matrix to avoid repeating comparisons. Results are then counted and ranked in the order of preference or priority.[1335]

[1334] Ibid., 64
[1335] Ibid., 64

Since 2001, as a sociology instructor at the University of New Mexico, I facilitated in 9 courses the pairwise-ranking activity – most recently, in two courses during the spring of 2009. The number of students in a single course ranged from 15 to 250. The activity unfolded as follows. Entire classes of students were divided into groups of 3-5 people. Small groups worked through their own matrix and brainstormed to identify and evaluate their priority challenges and opportunities as students of the University community. Instructions for the pairwise ranking activity were presented. After working through the matrix in small groups, each group reported to the class their top three results. Results from all of the small groups were listed and comparisons among results were drawn. Once distinct problems from the list were identified and agreed upon by the class, they were then all placed into one pairwise ranking matrix that the entire class worked through as a single group. As problems and needs were compared, dialogue ensued, and students advocated for specific problems they believed more important. During specific comparisons when there was not a clear consensus, the class resorted to voting. Abraham and Platteau consider voting in PD to be "a public commitment made in front of witnesses and, as such, it must be manifested in the most unambiguous manner."[1336] However, Stringer suggests that voting weakens community-building and that "meetings should operate on the basis on consensus, rather than on the basis of majority vote. The latter encourages competitive, divisive politicking, which usually ensures that the least powerful groups will not have

[1336]Abraham and Platteau, 2002:10

their interests met. Although consensus is sometimes difficult to attain, it is a powerful instrument for change when it is achieved."[1337] Voting was done for the sake of time because the duration of class sessions are one hour and fifteen minutes. Unfortunately, dedicating more than two class sessions to pairwise ranking was not possible (in PD, this is considered an artificial time limit; meaning, it is not dictated by the needs or determination of the participants themselves but rather an external factor). The utilization of voting on occasions rather than spending the time needed to reach consensus through discussion, may have compromised the results of the activity to a relatively small degree.

Results from the nine pairwise ranking experiences from the sociology courses I taught since 2001 are summarized in the table below. Analysis of all the data suggests the following: First, The issue of **security on campus** was listed and ranked in all of the nine courses, was the number 1 priority in 3 of the 9 courses, and was among the top 4 priorities in 6 courses. Second, the problem of **not enough parking** in and around campus was listed and ranked by the students in 7 of the 9 courses (interestingly, the 2 courses parking was not listed were both the special topics course I instructed on PD; the opportunities they listed and ranked are more in the area of social services). Also, 5 of the 7 courses that listed the parking issue ranked it among their top four priorities. Third, student concerns about the **high cost of education** (including tuition and the price of books) was listed and ranked in 7 of the 9 courses and was twice ranked their number 1 priority. In 7 instances the cost of education ranked

[1337] Stringer, 1999:85 and 117

among the top 4 priorities (note: in 3 of the 9 courses, the class decided to separate the cost of tuition and cost of books into two categories). Fourth, a need for **better academic counseling** was listed and ranked in 6 of the nine courses and was 3 times among the top 4 priorities. Fifth, **dissatisfaction with university instructors and professors** was listed and ranked in 5 of the 9 courses and was among the top 4 issues 4 times. Sixth, the desire for **wider variety and higher quality foods** at the Student Union Building was listed and ranked in 5 of the 9 courses and was among the top 4 priorities three times. Seventh, the desire for an **increase in availability and better paying jobs** was ranked in 3 of the nine courses (and was ranked second in the most recent course in the spring 2009, during a period of national and global recession). Finally, in all of the 9 courses PD activities were facilitated, there was an **observed increased level of interest** to pursue the priority opportunities they identified for change in their University community. Table 14 summarizes the pairwise ranking results in all 9 courses, beginning with the most recent.

Table 14: ***"Pairwise" Ranking Results with Undergraduate Students at the University of New Mexico***

Course: Social Problems, Spring 2009, 40 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
Improve campus security	7	1
More jobs	6	2
Improved and affordable housing	5	3
More parking closer to main campus	3	4
Lower education costs	3	4
More variety and better quality food	2	5
Address environmental problems	1	6

Table 14 Continued

Course: Social Problems, Spring 2009, 47 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
Improve public transport	6	1
Improve city schools (pay, resources)	6	1
Improve health care	5	2
More food vendors	5	2
More parking	3	3
Better campus security	2	4
Homeless shelter for city	1	5
Recycling program in city	0	6
Course: Introduction to Sociology, Spring 2007, 250 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
Reduce cost of textbooks	10	1
Graduate instructors not effective	9	2
Reduce price of tuition	8	3
Student services lack coordination	6	4
More discounts from city businesses	6	4
Improve classrooms and dormitories	6	4
Reduce class size	4	5
More parking on campus	3	6
Improve campus security	2	7
More computers on campus	0	8
Increase student wages	0	8
Course: Introduction to Sociology, Spring 2004, 250 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
More fun activities	10	1
Reduce price of books	9	2
Reduce price of tuition	8	3
More scholarships	5	4
More parking	5	4
Improve food on campus	5	4
Improve academic counseling	5	4
More jobs	2	5
Less bureaucracy	2	5
More campus security	0	6
More computers available	0	6

Table 14 Continued

Course: Introduction to Sociology, Fall 2003, 250 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
More security	10	1
Reduce price of textbooks	9	2
More parking	8	3
Improve academic counseling	7	4
More efficient administration	5	5
Improve teaching assistants	4	6
Lower tuition costs	4	6
Higher quality food	4	6
Recycling in city	2	7
More entertainment on campus	1	8
More computers on campus	0	9
Course: Participatory Development, Fall 2002, 20 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
Action oriented learning	7	1
Evaluate campus ecology	6	2
Lower tuition costs	4	3
Campus and city recycling program	4	4
Improved health care	3	5
Improved security	1	6
Better student counseling	1	7
Better scheduling of classes	0	*8*
Introduction to Sociology, Spring 2002, 250 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
Reduce prices of books and tuition	11	1
Improve safety and security	9	2
More scholarships	7	3
Better Teachers	7	4
Improve Student Service Center	5	5
More parking	4	6
Remodel classrooms	4	6
Smaller Class sizes	4	6
Create activity Center	3	7
Better academic counselors	2	8
24 Hour Gym	0	9
Course: Participatory Development, Fall 2001, 15 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
Promote safe-neighbors program	8	1
More daycare	7	2

Table 14 Continued

Course: Participatory Development, Fall 2001, 15 students		
Problem	**Times in Matrix**	**Rank**
Safe housing	6	3
More security	4	4
Create a play center	4	4
Improved health care	3	5
Improve substance abuse awareness	2	6
Create neighborhood center	2	7
Plant trees	0	8
Course: Introduction to Sociology, Spring 2001, 250 students		
Problem	**Rank**	
Improve safety-security	1	
More parking	2	
Better teachers	3	
More scholarships	4	
More responsive university staff	5	
Improve education quality	6	
Improve academic counseling	7	
Reduce cost of books	8	
Increase class availability	9	
Evaluate fractional grading	10	
More computers	11	
Evaluate course contents	12	
More entertaining activities	13	

Families of PD Approaches

There are many versions and interpretations of PD methods, which this section enumerates.[1338] Recent decades have seen a marked proliferation of schools and methods of participatory approaches; in the mid-1990s, twenty-nine families of PD methods were cited to have been developed since the 1970s.[1339]

[1338] Kumar, 2002:16
[1339] Nelson and Wright, 1995:35; the same idea is also in Ukaga and Maser, 2004:42

A current exhaustive review of the literature identified eighty PD families of methods that are listed in the table below.

Although on a broad level the fundamental objectives of PD approaches may be similar, there is a wide variety of types of approaches because of the vast range of conditions communities face, existing local capacities, and the kinds of relationships that exist between communities, government, NGOs, and donors, for example.[1340] Therefore, PD tools ought to be simple to use and adaptable to address different demands.[1341] Boothroyd explains that there is not a hierarchy of methods, but rather "the choice of methods depends on the questions to be addressed, the knowledge being sought, and the feasibility of particular methods in local circumstances."[1342] Ukaga and Maser suggest other factors that should be considered before choosing an approach or method for collecting information:

> 1) ability to use a given method and associate tool(s), 2) ability to get support, if needed, to use the chosen method, 3) ability to pay the cost(s) associated with the method chosen, 4) amount of resources available for the evaluation, and 5) ramifications associated with alternative methods in terms of type, scope, and quality of data that can be obtained.[1343]

Most effective methods are designed from practice and are modified during field experience, which enables a better understanding of method's utility and how they can be improved.[1344] The following table lists families or approaches of PD, each containing variations of PD methods.

[1340] Lyons et al, 1999:10
[1341] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:63
[1342] Boothroyd, 2004:49
[1343] Ukaga and Maser, 2004:42
[1344] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:63

Table 15: *Families / Approaches of Participatory Development*

Action Learning (discussed in Chapter 7)[1345]
Action Research[1346]
Activist Participatory Research[1347]
Adjunctive Planning[1348]
Agroecosystem Analysis[1349]
Animation Rurale (early roots)[1350]
Applied Anthropology[1351]
Appreciative Inquiry[1352]
Beneficiary Assessment[1353]
Communication for Change
Community Management[1354]
Communitarian Strategy[1355]
Community Action Planning/Microplanning[1356]
Community-based Dialogue for Racial and Ethnic Reconciliation
Community-Based Natural Resource Management[1357]
Community Development and Empowerment[1358]
Community Implementation and Planning System[1359]
Community Information and Planning System[1360]
Comprehensive Community-building Initiatives[1361]
Constructive Technology Assessment[1362]
Cooperative Inquiry[1363]
Critical Appreciation
Ecology, Community Organization, and Gender Approach to Natural Resources Management and Sustainable Development[1364]

[1345] Friesen, 1999:284
[1346] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:6; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Campbell, 2001:380; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:343; Morris, 2003:227; Mikkelson, 2005:132
[1347] Chambers, 1994:954 (inspired by the work of Paulo Freire)
[1348] Rondinelli, 1993:179
[1349] Chambers, 1994:954; Campbell, 2001:381; Kumar, 2002:33
[1350] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215
[1351] Chambers, 1994:954; Campbell, 2001:381
[1352] Cooperrider quoted in Mikkelson, 2005:245
[1353] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:6
[1354] Pretty and Ward, 2001:214
[1355] Tehranian, 2007:61Rabrenovic, 1996:2
[1356] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:63-64; Mikkelsen, 2005:74
[1357] Vernooy et al., 2003:4
[1358] Ninacs, 1997:166
[1359] Osteria quoted in Gonzalez, 1998:106
[1360] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12
[1361] Lawrence, 2001:14-15
[1362] Schot, 2001:40-2
[1363] Campbell, 2001:380
[1364] Thomas-Slayter et al., 1993

Table 15 Continued

Empowerment Education[1365]
Farmer Field School[1366]
Farmer-to-Farmer-Extension[1367]
Farming Systems Research[1368]
Field research on farming systems[1369]
FreeSpace
Future Search
Geographic Information Systems[1370]
Goal Oriented Project Planning[1371]
Holistic Management
Integrated Pest Management[1372]
Interaction Method[1373]
Joint Forest Management[1374]
Learning Process
Methods for Active Participation[1375]
New Paradigm Research
Paradigm Dialogue[1376]
Participation and Learning Methods[1377]
Participatory Action Research[1378]
Participatory Agricultural Research[1379]
Participatory Analysis for Community Action
Participatory Appraisal[1380]
Participatory Assessment[1381]
Participatory Design[1382]
Participatory Extension[1383]

[1365] Roe quoted in Morris, 2003:227
[1366] Chambers, 2005:xxv
[1367] Hagmann et al., 1999:2-3
[1368] Eicher and Staatz, 1998:20-1; Kumar, 2002:33-4
[1369] Chambers, 1994:954
[1370] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:6
[1371] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81
[1372] Chambers, 2005:xxv
[1373] Straus, 2002:111
[1374] Agarwal, 2001:1625; Cornwall, 2003:6; Chambers, 2005:xxv
[1375] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:13
[1376] McIntyre-Mills, 2000:7
[1377] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:14
[1378] Burky, 1993:60; Jason et al., 2004:4; Balacazar et al., 2004:17; Parfitt, 2004:552
[1379] Chambers, 1991
[1380] Green, 2000:72
[1381] Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7
[1382] Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:29
[1383] Hagmann et al., 1999:2-3

Table 15 Continued

Participatory Learning Methods / Approach[1384]
Participatory Learning and Action[1385]
Participatory Management[1386]
Participatory Poverty Assessment[1387]
Participatory Reflection and Action[1388]
Participatory Research[1389]
Participatory Risk Mapping[1390]
Participatory Rural Appraisal[1391]
Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal
Participatory Technology Development[1392]
Planning Assistance Kit[1393]
Planning for Real[1394]
Policy Analysis for Participatory Poverty Alleviation[1395]
Practitioner Research
Problem-solving Workshop for Racial and Ethnic Conflicts
Process Management
Productivity Systems Assessment and Planning[1396]
Rapid Assessment Procedures[1397]
Rapid Ethnographic Assessment[1398]
Rapid Rural Appraisal[1399]

[1384] Green, 2000:72; Campbell, 2001:382; Rolly, 2001:81; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7; Laverack quoted in Morris, 2003:227
[1385] Campbell, 2001:382; Chambers, 2002:7; Kumar, 2002:29; Dalal-Clayton et al., 2003:99; Note: PLA was "developed for work in the South, uses an eclectic collection of methods, specializing in ones which enable people without literacy skills to express their views and knowledge" (Laws, 2003:50).
[1386] Pretty and Ward, 2001:214
[1387] Cornwall, 1999:16; Blackburn et al., 2000:3-5; Robb, 2000:22-3; Kaul Shah, 2003:193
[1388] Chambers, 2002:3 and 7
[1389] Chambers, 1994:954; Nelson and Wright, 1995:11; Kumar, 2002:31; Laws, 2003:50; Morris, 2003:227; Jason et al., 2004:4
[1390] Barret et al., 2000:1947
[1391] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:2; Chambers, 1994:953; Nelson and Wright, 1995:38; Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Prokopy and Castellow, 1999:216; Campbell, 2001:381 ("PRA owes its existence to participatory action research, agroecosystem analysis, applied anthropology, and field research on farming systems."); Rolly, 2001:78-79; Chambers, 2002:7; Kumar, 2002:33; Parfitt, 2004:548; Chambers, 2005:xxv-xxvii; Mikkelsen, 2005:75
[1392] Hagmann et al., 1999:2-3
[1393] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:207
[1394] Ibid.
[1395] Ford, 2001:ii
[1396] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:13
[1397] Chambers, 1994:955 and 957; Campbell, 2001:382; Kumar, 2002:33; Nolan, 2002:137-8
[1398] Kumar, 2002:33
[1399] Chambers, 1994:954-6; Campbell, 2001:381; Moris quoted in Campbell, 381; Kumar, 2002:24-9; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:7; Chambers, 2005:xxv-xxvii

Table 15 Continued

Relaxed Rural Appraisal[1400]
Social Action[1401]
Social Capital Assessment Tool[1402]
Strategic Development Planning[1403]
Systems Learning
Teacher-as-Researcher
Techniques based on the work of Freire[1404]
Theatre for Development[1405]
Training for Transformation[1406]
Urban Community Action Planning[1407]
Urban Community Assistance Team[1408]
User-participation[1409]

Development Projects and PD Project Objectives

Defining Development Projects

PD exists to help provide for basic needs,[1410] enhance personal and communal well-being,[1411] improve quality of life[1412] and livelihoods,[1413] and social and material advancement and welfare.[1414] "Basic needs" includes all major development areas: economic, social, political, and environmental. Provision of

[1400] Kumar, 2002:29
[1401] Servaes and Arnst, 1999:110
[1402] Mikkelson, 2005:250
[1403] Rondinelli, 1993:179
[1404] Campbell, 2001:380
[1405] Mlama, 1994:56 (theatrical media indigenous to the community to express views--dance, recitations, story telling, poetic drama, and skits have been used)
[1406] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:13; Hagmann et al., 1999:2-3 [based on Paola Freire's pedagogy]
[1407] Ford, 2001:ii
[1408] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81
[1409] Pretty and Ward, 2001:214
[1410] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12
[1411] Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Parfitt, 2004:538-9
[1412] Green and Haines, 2002:14
[1413] Uphoff, 2002:16
[1414] Melkote, 1991:193; Makumbe, 1996:11

this kind implies more equitable sharing of benefits and relationships,[1415] which in turn suggests transformed, or amended, resource allocation systems[1416].

Before describing the range of project objectives that have been advanced utilizing PD methods, it is necessary to clarify what exactly a *project* is in the developmental sense of the term. In general, a project (sometimes referred to as an "initiative"[1417]) implements policies and programs (plans or statements of intent), and "ideas,"[1418] and puts them into action[1419] – inspiring a real or physical manifestation. As such, a project has a finite, material quality. For one thing, a project is attached to a given time and place.[1420] These give a project a specific setting and context, and make it "distinguished from other units technically, economically, and structurally."[1421]

Sang summarizes the production areas and sectors of a project as: "manufacturing, mining, or agricultural production. It may be a plan for building public works or infrastructure for the economy. It may be government action directed to achieve certain objectives such as economic growth, improved social equality, industrialization, popular planning or interregional economic integration."[1422] The following references to a *project* give the term a certain bounded, grounded, and/or action quality. References include: "a set of activities

[1415] Nelson and Wright, 1995:21; Uphoff et al., 1998:106-7; Friesen, 1999:292; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052
[1416] Melkote, 1991:193; Uphoff, 1992:14; Gsanger, 1994:2; Barnes and Mercer, 1995:38; Brohman, 1996:203-5, and 251; Dockery, 1996:172; Hagmann et al., 1999:2; Nyerere quoted in Bauer, 2000:99; Morris, 2003:225-6
[1417] Lele quoted in Gonzalez, 1998:17-8
[1418] Nolan, 2002:91 and 116
[1419] Ibid., 91
[1420] Sang, 1995:1-2; Nolan, 2002:91-2
[1421] Sang, 1995:1-2
[1422] Ibid.

and budgets"[1423]; "a management system"[1424]; "a mechanism"[1425]; "a situation"[1426]; "a channel"[1427]; "a scheme"[1428]; "a unit of investment activity"[1429]; "a dynamic integrative collaborative process"[1430]; "a cluster of activity moving in a common strategic direction"[1431]; and "a form of cross-cultural drama"[1432].

A number of overall purposes are also attached to a development project. They all suggest the same feature of fixed to the tangible. Purposes of projects include to: 1) create or expand a facility, a service,[1433] and change[1434]; 2) promote "accountability, set boundaries, and establish rules and procedures"[1435]; 3) give "people a measure of control – or at least the illusion of control – over events"[1436]; 4) "organize resources and focus effort"[1437]; 5) meet practical needs[1438]; 6) turn ideas into outcomes[1439]; and 7) influence future action[1440].

Finally, Nolan suggests projects are sometimes *experimental* – that is, "they are designed to test new approaches or concepts." A *demonstration* project, in contrast, "is designed primarily to induce acceptance of a tested

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[1423] Cheater, 1999:598
[1424] Nolan, 2002:91
[1425] Ibid.
[1426] Ibid.
[1427] Ibid.
[1428] Sang, 1995:1-2
[1429] Ibid.
[1430] O'Donovan, 2002:125
[1431] Ibid.
[1432] Nolan, 2002:105
[1433] Sang, 1995:1-2
[1434] Nolan, 2002:91
[1435] Ibid.
[1436] Ibid.
[1437] Ibid., 92
[1438] Cheater, 1999:598
[1439] Nolan, 2002:91
[1440] O'Donovan, 2002:125; or "alternative visions of the future" in Nolan, 2002:92

approach, technique, or procedure by local populations."[1441] In any case, Eade makes the important point that projects either support or undermine development, depending on the approach used in the design, implementation, and management processes.[1442] That is one reason it is helpful at the outset and throughout a project to ask why the project is being done.[1443]

A project is here defined as *organized strategic activities controlled by local communities; this activity is invested in and have budgets and accountability, and are for the purpose of advancing development that meets people's needs*.

PD understands the necessity of incentives generated by projects to encourage people to participate. The purpose of PD methods is to create development projects that serve the self-defined and shared interests of the participants or intended beneficiaries.[1444] PD was developed and exists for this basic purpose, which also gives local people an active stake in the betterment of their communities.

[1441] Nolan, 2002:102
[1442] Eade, 1997:171
[1443] O'Donovan, 2002:125
[1444] Wengert, 1976:40; Bryant and White, 1982:109-10; Swantz, 1982:115; Lea and Chaudrhi, 1983:17; Sargent, 1986:109; Sujansky, 1991:55; Uphoff, 1991:467; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Uphoff, 1992:135-42; Uphoff, 1992c:10; Burky, 1993:46; Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:30; Narayan, 1993:29; Rondinelli, 1993:140; Serageldin, 1993:116; Stevens, 1993:163; Adams and Rietbergen-McCraken, 1994:1; Bordenave, 1994:43; Contoy, 1995:64; Sorensen, 1995:400; Makumbe, 1996:2-3, 21, 61, and 105-6; Eade, 1997:32; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:34; McTaggart, 1997:39-40; Uphoff et al., 1998:vii and 38; Allen et al., 1999:33; Cheater, 1999:605; Cornwall, 1999:11; Servaes and Arnst, 1999:116; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 218; Green, 2000:70; Ashman, 2001:1108; Kothari, 2001:139; Pretty and Ward, 2001:212; Rolly, 2001:126; Felkins, 2002:34; Green and Haines, 2002:14; Beaulier, 2004:348; Salina et al., 2004:159-60; Smock, 2004:251-2; Van der Eb et al., 2004:221

PD Project Objectives

This section presents the range of previously cited specific project-related objectives to have been advanced by development projects that were identified and designed through PD planning methods. PD is currently, and increasingly,[1445] being applied to almost all social activity, sectors, or domains.[1446]

PD in Rural Areas and the Case of Natural Resource Management

In rural areas, for example, PD has been used successfully to improve agricultural practices[1447] and farming system,[1448] food production and security,[1449] natural resource management,[1450] community-based conservation,[1451] environmental conservation,[1452] cooperatives,[1453] local land use,[1454] pest management,[1455] forestry management,[1456] integrated rural development (development and conservation),[1457] soil or wildlife

[1445] Nelson and Wright, 1995:37; Ford, 2001:ii; Balacazar et al., 2004:17; Chambers, 2005:124-5
[1446] Nelson and Wright, 1995:42; Green, 2000:70; Francis, 2001:78; Chambers, 2002:7
[1447] Uphoff et al., 1998:26, 38, and 67-68; Mosse, 2001:18; Kapoor, 2002:104; Kuyvenhoven and Ruben, 2002:65
[1448] Chambers, 1994:957
[1449] Beck and Nesmith, 2000:124; Ruddell, 2002:186; Chambers cited in Williams, 2004:557
[1450] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:3 and 5; Bhatnagar, 1992:15-6; Kamenetsky, 1992:193; Burky, 1993:32; Narayan, 1993:95; World Bank, 1994:14; Campbell, 2001:382; Pretty and Ward, 2001:209; Rolly, 2001:125; Kapoor, 2002:104
[1451] Campbell and Vaino-Matilla, 2003:1
[1452] Ashman, 2001:1106; Campbell and Vaino-Matilla, 2003:1; Fraser et al., 2005:114
[1453] Sargent, 1986:109
[1454] Forester, 1989:103
[1455] Uphoff et al., 1998:70
[1456] Guggenheim and Spears, 1990:304; Uphoff et al., 1998:38; Abbot et al., 2001:1127; Ostrom and Varughese, 2001:753; Rolly, 2001:125
[1457] Lea and Chaudrhi, 1983:13; Abbot et al., 2001:1116

conservation,[1458] protected area management,[1459] watershed management,[1460] and water management and sanitation[1461].

In the management of protected areas, for example, development and nature protection can go "hand in hand."[1462] However, in the absence of safeguards, development could contribute to further environmental problems.[1463] That is why policies (such as supporting local institutions and decentralization) need to be established that promote environmental goals and at the same time advance economic developmental goals.[1464] Local people need to economically benefit or be compensated for any losses (financial and other) in order to achieve long-term protected area management.[1465] Partnerships with universities, research institutions, private groups, and NGOs should be established in order to help government (ministries and departments) assess biological resources and human impact.[1466] This analysis ought to be integrated with local communities' identifying their needs and preferences for development and incentives.[1467] Also, personnel from nature protection agencies need skills-building to move from a purely enforcement focus to one of having a sympathetic view of communities

[1458] Uphoff et al., 1998:38; Chambers cited in Williams, 2004:557
[1459] Warford, 1989:19
[1460] Uphoff et al., 1998:77; Beck and Nesmith, 2000:121
[1461] Uphoff et al., 1998:38; Cleaver, 2001:43; Rolly, 2001:125; Vernooy et al., 2003:99
[1462] Schramm and Warford, 1989:2; the phrase is also in Tisdell, 1994:54
[1463] Myers, 1989:57
[1464] Repetto, 1989:83; Blackwell et al., 1991:8; Kux, 1991:311; Braatz, 1992:23; Wells et al., 1992:x; Lusigi, 1994:82
[1465] Braatz, 1992:26; Bromley, 1992:433; Wester, 1992:507; Biodiversity Support Program, 1993:106-7; Cain et al., 1999
[1466] McNeely et al., 1990:14-5; Kux, 1991:302; Braatz, 1992:26; Wells, 1992:xi; Murphee, 1992:424; Pimbert and Pretty, 1995:19; Adler et al., 2002:27-9
[1467] Munasinghe and McNeely, 1994:9; Pimbert and Pretty, 1995:25-7

that neighbor protected areas.[1468] Once evaluation of biological diversity is made through partnerships and the relative importance of certain areas is understood (key for conservation-development success), then economic benefits (or alternative livelihoods) from new development projects can be delivered to local communities (through PD), which helps to gain local support (and responsibility such as through enforcement) and enable local communities to protect their biological resources.[1469] Community participation also enables their significant knowledge (including also traditions, ethics, and adaptive practices)[1470] regarding managing local resources to be used in protection management plans.[1471] This approach gains the trust and confidence of local people, who may have had hostile relationships with park personnel,[1472] and encourages the growth of civil society organizations at the local level, both of which are necessary for managing successful development-conservation programs.[1473]

PD in Urban-Related Projects

PD has also been used successfully to improve urban development,[1474] business management[1475] and production[1476], infrastructural projects,[1477] poverty alleviation and economic development,[1478] technological developments including

[1468] Wells et al., 1992:51
[1469] McNeely, 1990:35 and 132, Blackwell, 1991:111; Kux, 1991:301; Braatz et al., 1992:xi; Wells, 1992:47; Munasinghe, 1994:27; Pimbert and Pretty, 1995:30
[1470] Western, 1992:504
[1471] McNeely, 1990:114; Blackwell, 1991:9; Kux, 1992:311; Wright, 1992:525; Biodiversity Support Program, 1993:104; Munasinghe and McNeely, 1994:7
[1472] Wells et al., 1992:47-56; Munasinghe, 1994:27-8; Beierle and Cayford, 2002:15
[1473] Murphee, 1992:419; Wright, 1992:527-31; Pimbert and Pretty, 1995:25
[1474] Turner et al., 2000:1724
[1475] Chambers quoted in Taylor, 2001:125
[1476] Ashman, 2001:1098
[1477] Rolly, 2001:125
[1478] Anand and Sen, 2000:2032

software,[1479] architectural planning,[1480] community control of policing and schools,[1481] the creation and delivery of services,[1482] and waste dumping[1483].

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are an example of software, with hardware components, that store, integrate, and analyze spatial and social data for the purpose of planning development projects utilizing potentially enormous data inputs. Conventional top-down use of GIS (e.g., by central government agencies) typically works against the promotion of decentralization and PD, entrenches centralized decision-making, and further marginalizes local knowledge.[1484] Transferences of GIS technology often confront two major problems: 1) an inability to define the development objectives GIS can be used to address[1485] and 2) the lack of cooperation among different agencies and groups, which limits the data available for GIS and potential beneficiaries of the technology[1486]. Since GIS are an "integrating technology," significant organizational and institutional integration is also required.[1487] The multi-sectoral cooperation that typically ensues in PD planning processes expands the information potentially available for GIS, and also helps to clarify the objectives to

[1479] Kahler, 1996:174
[1480] Forester, 1989:119
[1481] Wengert, 1976:30; Skolnick and Bayley cited in Selzinick, 1992:514
[1482] Jason et al., 2004:4
[1483] Beck and Nesmith, 2000:121
[1484] Pickles, 1991:84; Harris et al., 1995:203; Talen, 2000:279-80
[1485] Kent and Klosterman, 2000:189; Taylor, 1991:80; Aangeenbrug, 1991:101-6
[1486] Mutero, 1994; Hastings and Clark, 1991:29-39; Yeh, 1991:24; Tomlinson, 2000:46
[1487] Taylor, 1991:71-82

which GIS can be applied. Therefore, as cases show, PD can promote the equitable and effective use of GIS technology.[1488]

PD in Health and Education Initiatives

In health-related fields, PD is used to improve access and empowerment for the disabled,[1489] disease control (health education interventions),[1490] sexual and reproductive health,[1491] public health, and nutrition.[1492]

PD has shown as well in cases to assist formal and informal educational experiences,[1493] experiential learning and communication,[1494] adult education,[1495] college campuses in increasing student involvement in academic decisions,[1496] university-community partnerships,[1497] youth development,[1498] and in overcoming racial prejudice and other forms of discrimination[1499].

Youth unemployment, for example, "is two to three times greater than national unemployment levels worldwide (the global average of youth participation in the labor force is 54 percent)."[1500] At the same time, "the most pronounced and articulate participatory tendencies is to be found among the

[1488] Chrisman, 1987:1367; Yeh, 1991:22; Hutchinson and Toledano, 1993:455; Berry, 1995:31; Harris et al., 1995:197; Carver et al., 2000:168-71; Snellen, 2000:137-9; Talen, 2000:282-92
[1489] Balacazar et al., 2004:17
[1490] De Koning and Martin, 1996:1-2
[1491] Kumar, 2002:49
[1492] Chambers, 1994:957; Uphoff et al., 1998:38; Campbell, 2001:382; Rolly, 2001:125;Morris, 2003:227; Hampshire et al., 2005:340
[1493] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:337-8; Jason et al., 2004:4
[1494] Campbell, 2001:382
[1495] Kumar, 2002:29
[1496] Wengert, 1976:27
[1497] Van der Eb et al., 2004:224-5
[1498] O'Donoghue, 2002:16-20; Pancer, 2002:62
[1499] Wengert, 1976:27
[1500] Alliance of Civilizations, 2006:6.14

young."[1501] O'Donoghue et al. explains that youth participation is linked to greater organizational effectiveness and sustainability, as well as to democratic and socio-economic development.[1502] Thus, their marginalization and potential for assisting broad-based development have made youth a primary intended target of empowerment processes so they can participate in decisions that affect their lives and take action.[1503] However, in practice, relatively few development projects attempt to enlist youth within that effort.[1504] Prokopy and Castelloe conclude that mainstream development oppresses and marginalizes youth.[1505] In addition, observers note that "if youth have opportunities for achievement and fulfillment at home where they live, they will likely build their futures there."[1506] Currently, as more and more youth leave rural areas for urban centers, the average age worldwide in rural paces is increasing.[1507] Some recent trends regarding young people suggest that in cases they are creating systemic changes; Ginwright and James describe how young people "strategize, research, and act to change school policies, state legislation, and police protocols that create and sustain inequality, and thereby address root causes of social problems while building their self-esteem."[1508] Pancer et al. recommend youth conferences as viable forums where young people can talk about important

[1501] Vanek, 1971:1
[1502] O'Donoghue et al., 2002:16
[1503] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; O'Donoghue et al., 2002:16; Pancer et al., 2002:62
[1504] Uphoff et al., 1998:82
[1505] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215
[1506] Uphoff et al., 1998:82-3; the idea is also in Nie et al., 1969:362-3
[1507] Uphoff et al., 1998:83
[1508] Ginwright and James, 2002:16

issues to them, and raise awareness and confidence to create change in their school and communities.[1509]

PD is Disaster Management and Organizational Development

In addition, PD planning methods have been shown to assist in disaster management, including in situations of war, drought, and other such crises,[1510] peace-building,[1511] management of displaced people,[1512] emergency relief in a conflict situation,[1513] and the work of relief and welfare organizations.[1514]

Finally, PD planning is cited to have improved organizational development,[1515] building civil society (described in the next section),[1516] human resources management,[1517] development planning,[1518] project and program evaluations,[1519] management practices (described in Chapter 6),[1520] policy development, reform, and advocacy[1521]; as well as in gender and development[1522] (also presented in Chapter 6).

Table 16 lists development project ore initiatives that have been advanced by the application of PD planning methods.

[1509] Pancer et al., 2002:62
[1510] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:9; Kumar, 2002:49
[1511] Rodriguez, 2000:147-8
[1512] Brand, 2001:962
[1513] Symes and Jasser, 2000:149; Kumar, 2002:49
[1514] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:9
[1515] Kumar, 2002:29
[1516] Symes and Jasser, 2000:149
[1517] Taylor, 2001:122
[1518] Campbell, 2001:382
[1519] Ibid.; Jason et al., 2004:4
[1520] Taylor, 2001:122; Cornwall and Pratt, 2003:4
[1521] Kumar, 2002:29; Jason et al., 2004:4; Long quoted in Mikkelsen, 2005:56
[1522] Kapoor, 2002:104

Table 16: ***Project Objectives Determined Through PD Planning***

Adult Education
Agricultural cooperatives
Agricultural--crop trials, community seed multiplication, wasteland development, horticulture, livestock, irrigation, and fruit trees
Architecture and planning
Business management
Business productive capacity
Civil society (used to build)
College campuses (student involvement in academic decisions)
Community control (schools, police, and planning)
Conservation (community-based)
Crop pests—biological controls
Development planning
Disabilities--promote access and empowerment
Disaster management (war, drought, and other disasters)
Disease control (health education interventions)
Displacement of people
Economic development
Education--formal and non-formal
Emergency relief in a conflict situation
Environmental conservation
Experiential learning and communication
Evaluation of programs
Farming systems
Food production and security
Forestry management and projects
Health and nutrition
Human resources management
Infrastructural projects
Integrated conservation and development
Integrated rural development
Local land-use
Management practices
Natural resource management - basic needs and viable ecology
Organizational development
Peace-building
Pest management
Policy development / reform / advocacy
Poverty alleviation--an instrument to protect the environment
Project or program evaluation
Protected Area Management

Table 16 Continued

Racial prejudice and other forms of discrimination (overcome)
Relief and welfare organizations
Services - creation and delivery
Sexual and reproductive health
Software development
Soil or wildlife conservation
Technological development
Urban development
University-community partnerships
Waste dumping
Water management and sanitation
Watershed management
Youth development

Participatory development is here defined as a *community development that is as inclusive as possible, so that through methods of group dialogue and consensus-building, construction of visual and accessible diagramming, and planning and decision-making, projects develop that address priority local socio-economic and environmental goals*. This definition closely resembles the definition provided by Ukaga and Maser, who state that PD "helps communities mobilize their human and natural resources, define problems, consider previous successes and challenges, and then prepare a systematic and site-specific plan of action for community development that they can adopt and implement."[1523] Both definitions suggest an inclusive or community-wide process, group planning, and shared action for community development.

[1523] Ukaga and Maser, 2004:39-40

New and Adapting Nongovernment (Civil Society) Organizations

Nongovernment organizations (NGOs) are considered to be among the most dynamic phenomena in international relations and development today.[1524] The status of civil society and the effectiveness of NGOs in developing countries are now as critical to international interests as who controls a country's government.[1525] The term, nongovernment organizations, was originally coined by the United Nations to refer to organizations that provided consultative services and received in return their financial support from it.[1526] NGOs are sometimes referred to as private voluntary organizations[1527] – a term that the U.S. Agency for International Development created to refer to private nonprofit organizations that they contracted with and gave grants to.[1528]

NGOs are self-governing[1529] and operate on a voluntary basis.[1530] They also partner at local, national, and international levels as they pursue their missions.[1531] NGOs are considered to be part of the "citizen sector,"[1532] or "non-state arena."[1533] They also face laws and rules directed specifically toward them; for example, they are required to register with the state.[1534] At the same time,

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[1524] Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2051
[1525] Robinson in Hearn, 2000:816
[1526] Brohman, 1996:253
[1527] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:19; Brohman, 1996:253; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052
[1528] Black cited in Brohman, 1996:253
[1529] Brohman, 1996:254-5; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052
[1530] Hulbe, 1980:26; Brand, 2001:973; Rolly, 2001:31; Irish et al., 2004:15
[1531] Green and Haines, 2002:218
[1532] Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052
[1533] Brohman, 1996:253; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:261; Brand, 2001:973; Irish et al., 2004:100
[1534] Brand, 2001:973; "It is important that a registry of all formal civic organizations be maintained and that the public has access to it. For their own protection, citizens need to be able to check whether a purported civic organization is actually established as a legal person, and find out what the purposes of the organization are, where its headquarters are, who is on it governing body, who its legal representative is, etc." (Irish et al., 2004:35).

NGOs have to work within the constraints of government regulations[1535] and respect the rule of law.[1536] Within these constraints, NGOs protect freedoms of expression, association, and peaceful assembly,[1537] as well as advocate public legislation earmarking entitlements.[1538] This suggests that the effectiveness of NGOs depends as much on the social and political contexts within which they operate as on their own organizational capacities.[1539]

NGOs originally came into being for the same reasons that PD did: the failure of development when led by state agencies utilizing the top-down approach.[1540] In contrast, NGOs programs form civil society and a re-organize social life.[1541] Critical functions of NGOs include: 1) diversifying development activities to meet new and important needs,[1542] 2) coordinating and spreading project benefits and outside assistance equitably,[1543] 3) accelerating development,[1544] and 4) carrying out local people's actions[1545]. The growth and capacity-building of NGOs, encouraged throughout PD processes, is strongly associated with successful development programs[1546] and improve the quality of development interventions[1547]. For example, one study of 25 completed World Bank agricultural projects found that "continued success was associated clearly

[1535] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:212
[1536] Irish et al., 2004:13-4
[1537] Ibid.
[1538] Uvin, 1995:499
[1539] Cornwall, 1999:14
[1540] Mayo and Craig, 1995:6-7; Rahman, 1995:25
[1541] Brand, 2001:973
[1542] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:25
[1543] Rolly, 2001:63 and 124; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7 and 78; Agrawal, 2001:1649-63
[1544] Makumbe, 1996:2-3
[1545] Hagmann et al., 1997:7
[1546] Costa et al., 1997:143; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:25
[1547] Robinson, 1992:38

with local institution-building."[1548] Further, Ostrom and Varughese directly link project success and institutional development when they state: "Whether their [communities] self-governed enterprise succeeds over the long-term depends on whether the institutions they design are consistent with design principles underlying robust, long-living, self-governed systems."[1549] In consideration of these factors and others of successful development, Edwards and Hulme conclude that "institutional-building is the critical task."[1550] Local institutional-building is said to shift "social control from above to social control from below".[1551]

NGOs are formed by the local communities themselves, although evidence suggests that they are more often created from external interventions.[1552] Both internally and externally conceived organizations have been shown to result from development programs.[1553] However, institutions established by community members or leaders have a much higher performance score than those created by outside agencies.[1554] For example, a study of 20 villages in…India, shows that community-based forestry efforts are "more successful in villages with preexisting local organizations."[1555] On an international level, Nelson and Wright suggest that Northern NGOs should concentrate on raising money and the necessary raising of public consciousness

[1548] Pretty and Ward 2001:210
[1549] Ostrom and Varughese, 2001:763
[1550] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:214
[1551] Robinson in Hearn, 2000:816
[1552] Rahman, 1995:24; Brand, 2001:973
[1553] Hulbe, 1980:125; Rolly, 2001:125
[1554] Uphoff, 1991:497; Costa et al., 1997:138
[1555] Ostrom and Varughese, 2001:750

in this regard, while the implementing of development should be left to Southern NGOs.[1556] However, they go on to state that Northern NGOs continue to talk about decentralization and local control, while still directing development.[1557] Other observers suggest that local organizations should avoid dependency, including organizational and financial, and in so doing protect themselves.[1558] If NGOs are accountable to international donors, "questions of social, cultural, and political sensitivity are raised."[1559] In South Africa, during the mid-1990s, for example, funds provided by Northern countries legitimized the state to continue "to preside unchallenged over the same intensely exploitative economic system."[1560] To avoid situations like this, analysts conclude that actions for development taken by local people should be organized by their own existing or newly created institutions.[1561]

Table 17 lists examples of types of civil society organizations, or NGOs. Their missions span the areas of social life, including education, human rights (amnesty committees[1562]), religion, charity, ethnicity, gender, family, public health, natural resource management, agriculture, industry, politics, professional association, credit, sports, trade, local interests, as well as advocacy for property owners, businesses, labor, civil liberties, and for the destitute.

[1556] Nelson and Wright, 1995:16
[1557] Ibid.
[1558] Uphoff et al., 1998:66
[1559] Rahman, 1995:31
[1560] Hearn, 2000:828
[1561] Hagmann et al., 1999:7
[1562] Sorensen, 1995:401

Table 17: ***Examples of Nongovernmental (Civil Society) Organizations***

• Amnesty committees[1563]
• Associations[1564] (civic[1565]; smallholders and landless[1566])
• Beneficiary committees[1567]
• Chambers of commerce and industry[1568]
• Charitable trusts[1569]
• Churches[1570] (and their development councils[1571])
• Civic organizations[1572] or institutions[1573]
• Community organizations[1574] (health councils,[1575] promote private sector[1576]; development[1577])
• Cooperatives[1578] (consumers and producers[1579])
• Credit groups[1580]
• Education[1581] (centers of learning[1582] & literary societies[1583])
• Environmental groups[1584]
• Ethnic and kinship organizations[1585]
• Farmers' clubs[1586] (Irrigation societies[1587])
• Forest, fishery, or pest management groups[1588]
• Foundations[1589]

[1563] Sorensen, 1995:401
[1564] Irish et al., 2004:100
[1565] Sorensen, 1995:401
[1566] Uphoff, 1992c:7
[1567] Cornwall, 1999:4
[1568] Serageldin, 1993:59; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:2
[1569] Irish et al., 2004:100
[1570] Fantus et al., 1971:343
[1571] Hagmann et al., 1999:7
[1572] Smock, 2004:248 [simplest to create and sustain]
[1573] USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125
[1574] Serageldin, 1993:59; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:2; Brohman, 1996:253; Hagmann et al, 1999:7; USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125; Vakil quoted in Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052
[1575] Cornwall and Gaventa, 1999:4
[1576] Serageldin, 1993:59; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:2
[1577] Ibid.
[1578] Uphoff, 1992c:7; Brohman, 1996:218-9
[1579] Uphoff, 1992c:7; Sorensen, 1995:401
[1580] Pretty and Ward, 2001:211
[1581] Fantus et al., 1971:343; Sorensen, 1995:401
[1582] USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125
[1583] Pretty and Ward, 2001:211
[1584] USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125
[1585] Sorensen, 1995:401
[1586] Hagmann et al., 1999:7
[1587] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8; Brohman, 1996:218-9
[1588] Pretty and Ward, 2001:211
[1589] Irish et al., 2004:100

Table 17 Continued

• Guilds[1590]
• Health and social service groups[1591]
• Hospitals[1592]
• Intermediary organizations[1593]
• Labor committees[1594]
• Land reform committees[1595]
• Lobbying groups[1596]
• Mother's clubs[1597] (and toddler groups[1598])
• Mutual aid societies[1599]
• Neighborhood associations[1600]
• Not-for-profit organization[1601]
• Parents' groups[1602] (committees in schools[1603])
• Peasant leagues[1604]
• Political and governmental leadership[1605]
• Professional associations[1606] (and technical[1607])
• Public interest groups[1608]
• Religious organizations[1609]
• Savings for credit unions[1610]
• Self-help groups involved in housing[1611]
• Sports clubs[1612]

[1590] Pretty and Ward, 2001:211
[1591] Sorensen, 1995:401; USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125
[1592] Fantus et al., 1971:343
[1593] Serageldin, 1993:59; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:2
[1594] Binswanger, 1998:295-6
[1595] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8; Brohman, 1996:218-9
[1596] Uphoff, 1992c:7
[1597] Ibid.; Pretty and Ward, 2001:211
[1598] Pretty and Ward, 2001:211
[1599] Ibid.
[1600] Brohman, 1996:218-9; Rabrenovic, 1996:2 [the most enduring community organization]
[1601] USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125; Irish et al., 2004:100
[1602] Cornwall, 1999:14
[1603] Cornwall and Gaventa, 1999:4
[1604] Uphoff, 1992c:7
[1605] USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125
[1606] Sorensen, 1995:401
[1607] Serageldin, 1993:59; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:2
[1608] Ibid.
[1609] Cornwall, 1999:14; USDA quoted in Rutherford, 2000:125
[1610] Uphoff, 1992:7
[1611] Sorensen, 1995:401
[1612] Pretty and Ward, 2001:211

Table 17 Continued

• Squatters' groups[1613]
• Tenant councils[1614]
• Trade unions[1615]
• Traditional healers midwives[1616]
• Transnational advocacy networks[1617]
• Village councils[1618]
• Welfare associations[1619]
• Women's organizations[1620]

Civil Society and Government

Organizational partnerships are based on shared goals and commitments among groups and agencies, including the state.[1621] In the case of the state, PD is a process that attempts to build "trust to reduce the social distance between government leaders and villagers [local communities]."[1622] Here, "local authorities consult and engage with communities."[1623] Keating suggests that thee partnerships can also include political leadership and business interests.[1624]

NGOs regularly receive funding from governments and implement state programs.[1625] Some Marxists view this arrangement as governments delegating responsibilities that they do not want and, under the guise of "partnership," are

[1613] Cornwall, 1999:14
[1614] Cornwall and Gaventa, 1999:4
[1615] Uphoff, 1992c:7; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8
[1616] Cornwall, 1999:14
[1617] Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2053
[1618] Uphoff, 1992c:7
[1619] Cornwall, 1999:14
[1620] Uphoff, 1992c:7; Serageldin, 1993:59; Adams and Rietbergen, 1994:2; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8; Brohman, 1996:218-9
[1621] Gsanger, 1994:71; Ashman, 2001:1098; Kapoor, 2001:276
[1622] Servaes and Arnst, 1999:116; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052
[1623] Lyons et al, 1999:4
[1624] Keating, 1995:22
[1625] Brand, 2001:973

able to control and absorb NGOs and civil society.[1626] Furthermore, NGOs implementing what were once state programs can be disorienting to people and inhibits them from demanding that state agencies administer them and shifts their focus from political conditions to NGO activities.[1627] NGOs are also then incorporated into the official structure and their operation changes because they now have to now operate in more market-driven ways (having to compete for public funding); at the same time, while NGOs, less driven to acquire public funding, run the risk of being driven out.[1628] These conditions combine to disempower poor and oppressed people.[1629]

Civil society and the state are separate, or even viewed as "opposed" sectors of society.[1630] That government and civil society are being opposed to each other is a traditionalist view, and depends on conditions within a country and the degree to which governments neglect or are hostile towards NGOs.[1631] However, Eade warns against assuming that the state and civil society "are monolithic and diametrically opposed"; after all, conflict can exist within civil society and the state can be a mediator of conflict, for example.[1632] To be sure, however, there are "a complexity of alliances and conflicts between collective actors in civil society and within the state," suggesting that there are potential opportunities to both assist and prevent partnerships between the two.[1633] For

[1626] Hulbe, 1980:58-9
[1627] Hulbe, 1980:58-9
[1628] Mayo and Craig, 1995:7
[1629] Hulbe, 1980:58-9
[1630] Hulbe, 1980:26; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:260; Rolly, 2001:31
[1631] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:16
[1632] Eade, 1997:20
[1633] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:260

authoritarian governments (discussed in Chapter 7), Sorenson argues development assistance is probably best administered through NGOs.[1634]

The literature suggests many benefits that can occur when the civil society and the state work cooperatively and have a "connectedness" within general society.[1635] For example, NGO groups that work with political parties and government agencies can acquire policy-related and political information, as well as expertise in a number of legal and technical fields.[1636] NGOs lobbying government may increase their impact.[1637] In turn, by actually receiving state funds and administering social programs, NGOs help to build the capacities of the state.[1638] Despite these advantages, Abraham and Platteau explain that support of communities should not be delegated solely to NGOs because they can be controlled by officials or the educated elite.[1639] Furthermore, although there may be pressure on governments to fund the development work of NGOs, which are often considered more capable of empowering and building the self-reliance and skills of local communities, NGOs have not been able to achieve these same results on a broad scale.[1640]

Green and Haines enumerate several benefits from government-civil society collaboration in development: "autonomous development independent of the central government; partnership in development to minimize duplication of efforts; competition in development; and advocacy for government accountability

[1634] Sorensen, 1995:401
[1635] Woolcock, 1998:178
[1636] Lavelle et al., 2005:952
[1637] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:20
[1638] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:254
[1639] Abraham and Platteau, 2002:15
[1640] Kalyalya et al., 1988:15-6

such that NGOs serve as watchdogs and policy advocates."[1641] Perhaps in realization of these benefits, many states now recognize that civil society organizations are more effective in administering many kinds of social service programs.[1642] However, greater success of NGOs can be achieved if they enabled governments to take credit for programs and policies that encourage development.[1643] Even more, bypassing governments can put NGOs and their programs at risk, especially if the governments are hostile.[1644] And if governments neglect the work of NGOs and the ideas for change of people, they weaken their own legitimacy. Thus, to avoid conflict and potential crises, governments should cooperate with NGO programs, and NGOs ought to enable the participation of governments.[1645]

Civil Society and the Business Sector

Civil society and business can mutually benefit from collaboration. They both achieve better public relations, innovation in their programs, capacity building, and resource gains.[1646] To gain these ends, organizations with relationships with both sectors are needed to help facilitate their collaboration.[1647] Businesses are often considered the more powerful of the two partners because they can provide more financial resources for the missions of civil society organizations.[1648] They also have a greater productive capacity, whereas civil

[1641] Green and Haines, 2002:215
[1642] Irish et al, 2004:15
[1643] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:18
[1644] Green and Haines, 2002:215
[1645] Hildyard, 2001:62
[1646] Ashman, 2001:1106
[1647] Ibid., 1098
[1648] Ibid.

society organizations have greater social organizing capacity.[1649] Working together, their development impact can be more significant than if each operates alone.[1650]

NGOs Informed by PD

PD-informed NGOs (as well as government agencies and business groups) are those that enlist people's ideas and material contributions for development interventions.[1651] The goals of local communities that NGOs help to achieve reflect local people's interests[1652] (social visions[1653] or values[1654]) more so than do government initiatives; they also are able to utilize indigenous knowledge and other local resources[1655]. Responding to the interests of local people reflects the cultural sensitivity of NGOs[1656] and generates local support of their work,[1657] such as seen through increased membership[1658]. NGOs mobilize communities[1659]; that is, they bring together local people into groups to discuss and implement development projects.[1660] The efforts of NGOs to improve quality of life are commonly directed toward people who are disadvantaged[1661] and

[1649] Ibid.
[1650] Ashman, 2001:1104
[1651] Uphoff et al., 1998:76
[1652] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:19; Uphoff, 1992c:7; Brohman, 1996:218-9, 345-6; Chaudhary, 1997:123; Brand, 2001:973; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9; Irish et al., 2004:15
[1653] Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052
[1654] Green and Haines, 2002:218
[1655] Ibid.
[1656] Brohman, 1996:254-5
[1657] Ibid., 218-9
[1658] Hagmann et al, 1999:2
[1659] Castillo quoted in Makumbe, 1996:13-4
[1660] Brohman, 1996:253-254; Uphoff et al., 1998:26
[1661] World Bank quoted in Miller, 1997:22; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052; Rolly, 2001:31; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9

potentially most at risk[1662]. NGOs are often credited with providing essential functions that enable meeting community goals,[1663] which, in turn, feeds back to the local-level institutions themselves by strengthening their capacities to improve development activities.[1664] The resources NGOs help marshal for development include a mix of educational, technical, and material support.[1665] NGOs themselves receive subsidies from diverse sources.[1666] NGOs also increase their own self-financing through income-generating activities[1667]. By doing so, they help to achieve growth of a market economy.[1668]

Since existing NGOs and government agencies are part of the PD process, in time PD comes to be incorporated into the work of these institutions; the PD process itself puts pressure on institutions to change, learn, and adapt.[1669] These changes or reforms may include more flexible accounting procedures and increased devolution of responsibility.[1670] More capable organizations in managing development have been associated with the change

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[1662] Brand, 2001:973
[1663] Holdgate, 1996:257
[1664] Uvin, 1995:499; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1665] Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1666] Uvin, 1995:499
[1667] Ibid.
[1668] Irish et al., 2004:13-6
[1669] Cary, 1970:4; Hulbe, 1980:125; Lea and Chaudrhi, 1983:17; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:74; Rondinelli, 1987:75; Fosler, 1991:23; Kottak, 1991:432; National Environment Secretariat, 1991:5; Bhatnagar, 1992:15-6; Wignaraja, 1992:393; Narayan, 1993:43; Rondinelli, 1993:158-77; Serageldin, 1993:66; Edgcomb and Cawley, 1994:76-83; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7; Morisson et al, 1994:108; Brohman, 1996:337-46; U.N. World Commission on Environment and Development quoted in Brohman, 1996:311-2; Chaudhary, 1997:123; Ninacs, 1997:166; Rist, 1997:134-6; Eicher and Staatz, 1998:12; Gonzalez, 1998:17-8; Uphoff et al, 1998:vii and 205; Woolcock, 1998:187; Allen et al., 1999:33; Hagmann et al., 1999:6-10; Lyons et al., 1999:19; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 218; Servaes, 1999:93; Blackburn et al., 2000:1; Green, 2000:69; Symes and Jasser, 2000:149; Abbot et al., 2001:1121; Agrawal, 2001:1649-63; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:25; Rolly, 2001:125; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:25; Kapoor, 2002:113; O'Donoghue, 2002:32-3; Straus, 2002:180; Williams, 2004:559-60; Mikkelsen, 2005:56
[1670] De Valk, 1990:257; White, 1999:233

brought on by PD.[1671] Rondinelli observes that institutions that grow and change in a way consistent with PD principles, form new cooperative relationships and gain support.[1672] Furthermore, Straus suggests these institutions become more productive, adaptive, socially responsible, and have a relatively higher degree of employee satisfaction and loyalty.[1673] Personnel of participatory NGOs , compared to non-participatory NGOs and government agencies, exhibit greater motivation and are more likely to be retained[1674]; are more capable and dedicated community workers[1675]; are paid less and fewer are needed to accomplish the same objective[1676]; are better trained as extension workers[1677]; and have long-term strategic perspectives[1678]. PD informed NGOs help to solve problems and, as their capacities grow, they help with financing development.[1679] Additionally, they can take on greater levels of responsibility and help to build relationships between local communities and "formal institutions" (governmental or long established institutions).[1680] It is important to remember, however, that the process "takes time and results are not immediate,"[1681] and that social and political stress and possibly disruption can occur.[1682]

[1671] O'Donoghue, 2002:32-3
[1672] Rondinelli, 1993:158-77
[1673] Straus, 2002:180
[1674] Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1675] Vivain in Brohman, 1996:254-5; World Bank quoted in Miller, 1997:22
[1676] Irish et al, 2004:16
[1677] Makumbe, 1996:120
[1678] Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1679] Edgcomb and Cawley, 1994:76-83; Uphoff et al., 1998:205
[1680] Woolcock, 1998:187
[1681] Serageldin, 1993:66
[1682] Ruttan and Hayami, 1998:172

PD processes are intended to lend towards socially productive partnerships among organizations, which include collaborative relationships, networks of interaction, and horizontal and vertical linkages.[1683] Woolcock describes some of the networks or relationships that ensue: "social ties within local communities, between local communities and groups with external and extensive connection to civil society, between civil society and macro-level institutions, and with corporate sector."[1684] Felkins offers suggestions on how to achieve successful organizational partnerships: "Develop clear agreements about roles and responsibilities; maintain accountability for decisions and actions; increase commitment to open communication and regular feedback; confront issues and resolve conflict in a direct and respectful manner; build mutual trust through continuing interaction; show respect for individual rights and dignity; develop reciprocity in work relationships; and share the benefits of collective performance."[1685] This process is intended to involve some measure or

[1683] Stokes, 1981:131-2; Hulbe, 1980:71; Swantz, 1982:114; Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983:24; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:117; Lewis and Kallab, 1986:42; Rondinelli, 1987:75-88; Alamgir, 1989:8-10; Fosler, 1991:23; National Environment Secretariat, 1991:3-7; Sujansky, 1991:21 and 62; Uphoff, 1991:496; Edwards and Hulme, 1992:24-5; Honson, 1992:128; Mackie, 1992:73; Rahman, 1992:171; Burky, 1993:191; Rondinelli, 1993:5 and 152; Serageldin, 1993:40; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:7 and 78; Gsanger, 1994:71; Barnes and Mercer, 1995:38; Pierre, 1995:65; Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Uvin, 1995:499; Keating, 1995:22; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-2; Ninacs, 1997:166; Gonzalez, 1998:20; Eade, 1997:204; Tykkylainen, 1998:337; Uphoff et al., 1998:38; Woolcock, 1998:175-87; Allen et al., 1999:3 and 33; Hagmann et al., 1999:2; Lyons et al., 1999:4; Blackburn et al., 2000:1 and 24; Ashman, 2001:1098; Clark and Sivamohan, 2001:783; Ford, 2001:11; Kapoor, 2001:276; Miller, 2001:153; Pretty and Ward, 2001:212; Rolly, 2001:63 and 124; Felkins, 2002:39; Hughley and Speer, 2002:74; Green and Haines, 2002:101; Straus, 2002:1; Van der Eb et al., 2004:224; Morse, 2004:45; Chambers, 2005:149; Mikkelsen, 2005:55; Mosse, 2005:181-2

[1684] Woolcock, 1998:175-87

[1685] Felkins, 2002:39

semblance of integration, whereby “collectivities take collective action” and there is shared control[1686].

Scaling-Up NGOs’ Development Programs

A critical outcome attributed to the development efforts of NGOs is that they bridge the gap between micro and macro levels.[1687] This observation underscores the importance of institutional development in scaling-up[1688] and drawing secondary stakeholders into development processes[1689]. The ability to do so begins at the micro level, with sustainable socio-economic[1690] and human development successes[1691] that NGOs help to bring into reality[1692] through pluralistic[1693] (social and cultural[1694]), democratic,[1695] participatory[1696] (utilizing innovative methods[1697]), and decentralizing[1698] means. The process of scaling-up continues as civil society organizations replicate successful local programs,[1699] having learned from prior experiences[1700] and with comparatively short start-up times.[1701] The capacity of NGOs to replicate successful programs

[1686] Ashman, 2001:1098
[1687] Howes, 1997:17; Miller, 1997:25; Pretty and Ward, 2001:211; Korten cited in Uvin, 2005:498;
[1688] Ronbinson, 1992:38; Uvin, 1995:499; Gonzalez, 1998:20; Blackburn et al., 2000:1 and 24
[1689] Blackburn et al., 2000:1 and 24
[1690] Serageldin, 1993:59; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1691] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xii
[1692] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:254
[1693] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:81-2; Irish et al., 2004:13-4
[1694] Rolly, 2001:31
[1695] Hulbe, 1980:26; Irish et al., 2004:13-4
[1696] Alamgir, 1989:8-9; Chambers, R. 1994:963; Galijart, 1995:18; Mayo and Craig, 1995:6-7; Brohman, 1996:253-4; Makumbe, 1996:74; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9; Kapoor, 2002:113
[1697] Brohman, 1996:253-4; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248
[1698] Hulbe, 1980:26; Brohman, 1996:254-5; Rolly, 2001:31;
[1699] Miller, 1997:25
[1700] Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1701] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:19

is supported by their economic efficient operations,[1702] which have been cited to include the following elements: 1) reduced costs relative to government through competition among other organizations and shifting responsibility to grassroots organizations[1703]); 2) flexibility to quickly respond new information and changing circumstances[1704]; and 3) innovative ideas and practices in meeting community needs[1705]. Uphoff and his colleagues recommend that it is helpful for NGOs to create and maintain economically efficient operations when they "avoid unnecessary formalization of operations and procedures; keeping them simple and transparent."[1706]

Networks then develop,[1707] and, in time, so does the horizontal aggregation of resources[1708]. This process involves communities and their organizations (with varying missions, such as those affecting the environment, the status of women, peace, and human rights) linking together.[1709] The ability of NGOs to help forge these networks is attributable to them functioning as intermediaries[1710] (also their mediating the space between states and markets[1711] and filling gaps in the provision of services[1712] - all of which help to forge a connectedness within and among tiers of society).

[1702] Irish et al., 2004:13-4
[1703] Brohman, 1996:218-9; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9; Irish et al., 2004:15-6
[1704] Uphoff, 1991:497; Edwards and Hulme, 1992:19; Brohman, 1996:254-5; Holdgate, 1996:257; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1705] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:19; Brohman, 1996:254-5; Holdgate, 1996:257; Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1706] Uphoff et al., 1998:74-5
[1707] Miller, 1997:25
[1708] Ibid.
[1709] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:26; Brohman, 1996:254-5
[1710] Ashman, 2001:1108
[1711] Woolcock, 1998:153-4
[1712] Cornwall, 1999:14

Scaling-up occurs as politics or policies are affected[1713] or sometimes challenged,[1714] such as when demands are put on the state and it is then held accountable for meeting them[1715]. In this way, the work of NGOs has been connected to improved governance[1716] and their recognition of national and international policies, as well as market forces and the influence of power interests, which undermine sustainable development efforts[1717]. Pritchett, in contrast, is unsure if greater engagement of NGOs in policy discussions has encouraged openness and accountability, or is in fact a threat to democratic practices.[1718]

Uphoff and his colleagues (1998:192) explain that "higher level institutions are changed at the same time as local capabilities are built.[1719] Edwards and Hulme (1992:26) suggest that NGOs assisting successful development and scaling-up "restructures class relationships and reforms global economic processes through non-violent and non-revolutionary means" and provide a "force for dramatic social change."[1720] However, others explain that the work of NGOs impacts class conflicts in favor of the ruling elite, by providing the poor a means to survive while undermining their own initiatives for social change so that injustices and inequality remain.[1721]

[1713] Korten cited in Uvin, 2005:498
[1714] Rahman, 1995:32; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2053
[1715] Brand, 2001:973
[1716] Serageldin, 1993:59
[1717] Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052-3
[1718] Pritchett, 2003:9
[1719] Uphoff et al., 1998:192
[1720] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:26
[1721] Hulbe, 1980:58-9; Rolly, 2001:59

The capacity of NGOs to successfully scale-up, or "achieve the correct relationship between processes and outcome,"[1722] is ultimately why observers explain that NGOs are able to: 1) gain public trust[1723]; 2) empower people[1724] (by increasing control of their own affairs and participation in public life,[1725] or "stimulate the body politic"[1726]; 3) encourage social justice,[1727] social stability,[1728] and self-reliance[1729] (in contrast to top-down state provision of services); and 4) address root causes of underdevelopment[1730]. Development specialist Norman Uphoff and his colleagues (1998) describe a successful example in Sri Lanka of NGOs applying methods of participation that connected local communities and their development initiatives to national institutions and broader impacts. The Gal Oya irrigation project developed an organizational structure that began as informal local groups. The groups took the initiative of forming district-level associations, which led to plans for a national federation to develop and implement an irrigation project that covered a large area. During the process of building up the organizational tiers, a national model was created to manage major irrigation systems in Sri Lanka. But in this model the overall project committee remained at the level of the main canal, with the higher tier associations created to respond to needs within the district, regional, or national

[1722] Green and Haines, 2002:218-9
[1723] Irish et al., 2004:16
[1724] Mayo and Craig, 1995:6-7; Rahman, 1995:32; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248; Kapoor, 2002:113
[1725] Hulbe, 1980:26; Rolly, 2001:31;
[1726] Holdgate, 1996:257
[1727] Rolly, 2001:31
[1728] Irish et al., 2004:16
[1729] Nelson and Wright, 1995:3; Rahman, 1995:32
[1730] Korten cited in Uvin, 2005:498

tier in which they operated. Uphoff and his colleagues summarize the benefits of this approach to rural development management in Asia:

> Small base-level groups, which can improve programs' coherence and motivation while reducing transaction costs and problems of free riding, gain from being joined together in a larger structure. Our comparative study of rural development experience in sixteen Asian countries over a twenty-year period identified this as a key factor for success, in that such a structure of organization combined the advantages of solidarity with the advantages of scale. Likewise, a quantified analysis of local organization experience found strong evidence that small base-level groups that are linked horizontally and vertically contribute much more to rural development than do larger ones.[1731]

The hierarchical structure that develops in this example, as Uphoff et al. explain, is animated from below more than from above.[1732] The structure inverts top-down to bottom up through upward and downward interaction, communication, and cooperation.[1733] From this development experience in Sri Lanka and 15 other Asian countries over a 20-year period, the writers conclude that small NGO groups linked vertically and horizontally contribute more to rural development than larger organizations.[1734] They also conclude that smaller organizations joining together in a larger structure combines advantages of solidarity and scale.[1735]

Failure of NGOs to link their work at the community level and the wider systems and structures is also well cited in the literature.[1736] One explanation for the failure of NGOs to scale-up is that they have predispositions towards non-

[1731] Uphoff et al., 1998:71
[1732] Ibid., 67-8 and 97
[1733] Ibid.
[1734] Ibid., 71
[1735] Ibid.
[1736] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:13

hierarchical structures and anti-management.[1737] The development initiatives that involve NGOs at the local level and that do not scale-up then remain "isolated incidents" and "cumulatively negligible."[1738] Howe points out that little of evidence of successes and failures to scale-up development programs exists because there are few attempts to document cases.[1739]

[1737] Ibid., 19
[1738] Ibid., 24
[1739] Howes, 1997:17

CHAPTER 6: ROOTS OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

This chapter explains 77 significant roots of participatory development – or the frameworks and contexts whereby PD was and is given impetus to develop from an idea to its real application. The roots and formative influences of PD are presented according to the following heading categories: *academic disciplines and schools*, *geographic areas*, *period conditions*, *religious and spiritual frameworks*, *social movements*, and *theoretical and philosophical perspectives*.

Kumar states that PD "draws heavily from various disciplines, methods, and approaches. Therefore, it is still evolving."[1740] The author goes on to say that this is one of the major strengths of PD, it promotes pluralism among the practitioners.[1741] Other authors consider participatory development to be inter- (or multi-) disciplinary in its practice and roots,[1742] and it therefore also assumes to be complex and comprehensive[1743]. Indeed, Jacobson contends that PD exists in every research area of the social sciences,[1744] which may provide some substance to Green's observation that PD is "morally appealing and politically acceptable to…social scientists wishing for a fairer world."[1745]

Mayo and Stokes describe PD as a "quiet revolution," which can be seen by its increasing popularity from the right and from the left of the political

[1740] Kumar, 2002:320; Kapoor, 2002:103
[1741] Kumar, 2002:320
[1742] Cary, 1970:4; Korten and Carner, 1984:206-7; National Environment Secretariat, 1991:6; Gorman, 1995:215; Nelson and Wright, 1995:33; Brohman, 1996:251; Dervin and Huesca, 1999:182; Kumar, 2002:320
[1743] Cary, 1970:4; Nelson and Wright, 1995:33; Brohman, 1996:251
[1744] Jacobson, 1996:275
[1745] Green, 2000:70

spectrum as groups pursue PD for a range of reasons and goals.[1746] Other authors simply call it a revolution,[1747] or an alternative to one[1748] 1) politically (by reducing authoritarianism,[1749] for example – an idea discussed in the conclusion of the dissertation), and 2) socio-economically (by advancing feminist movements,[1750] an example addressed in this chapter). Brokensha, however, suggests that PD is "hardly a revolution but the acceleration of a gradual process that has been going on since at least the 1950s."[1751]

The following explains PD's roots in *academic schools and disciplines*:

Adult education: PD has been practiced and promoted for many decades in adult education.[1752] It received considerable attention.[1753] In pre-independence British Africa, where "community development officers" (who were colonial officers) worked in specific rural areas to create self-help projects to improve social development, including in adult education.[1754] The term adult education can be applied to a range of pedagogical activities that share information among grown-ups (in the context of "fellowship"), build and integrate their knowledge, and attain a higher level of culture.[1755] PD activities attempt to fulfill this scope. Also, similar to PD practitioners or researchers, adult educators encourage participants to "give expression and conscious shape to personal

[1746] Stokes, 1981:142; Mayo, 2000:109-10
[1747] Wengert, 1976:23-6; Thomas, 1994:58; Makumbe, 1996: 2 and 18; Sillitoe, 1998:236
[1748] Seeley, 1964:180; Knippers, 1991:199
[1749] Thomas, 1994:58; Makumbe, 1996:2 and 18
[1750] Thomas, 1994:58
[1751] Brokensha quoted in Sillitoe, 1998:236
[1752] Servaes et al., 1996:13
[1753] Ibid.
[1754] Ahmed and Coombs, 1974:64
[1755] Cohen, 1983:229-44

experience."[1756] Finally, adult education and PD share similar means and ends: social justice and reform pursued in the spirit of participation, cooperation, and democratic procedures.[1757]

Anthropology[1758]: PD was and is advanced particularly in social anthropology, which helps to shift the balance from things to people.[1759] These fields connect on "appreciating the importance of field work, participant observation, rapport with local people, adopting the right attitude and behavior, and…obtaining a better understanding of people's realities."[1760] Anthropologists in general also may be viewed as a balance against the assumption of development planners and NGOs that PD can succeed in any social setting, asserting instead that certain conditions create more favorable situations for PD and community or group action – for example, when it is based on traditional social organizations.[1761] Also, anthropology – by helping researchers to understand how culture is patterned, the impact of norms and values on development, and the cultural consequences of development – helps to ensure that the cross-cultural aspects of PD occur in a way that is acceptable to participants.[1762] However, Rew suggests that more should be written by anthropologists about the local-level and the situation of PD within major aid agencies.[1763]

[1756] Ibid., 254
[1757] Holst, 2002:xxiii
[1758] Rew, 2002:109-10
[1759] Uphoff, 1992:136; Nelson and Wright, 1995:33
[1760] Kumar, 2002:33; the idea is also in Nelson and Wright, 1995:11
[1761] Costa et al., 1997:138;
[1762] Nolan, 2002:26-7
[1763] Rew, 2002:109-10

Business management: PD is "validated and reinforced, as modest partners, by parallel developments and sharing a new high ground."[1764] The "high ground" that PD and business management share includes movement away from top-down models towards decentralized decision-making, diversity, sharing knowledge and expertise, and empowerment.[1765] Projects that result from PD benefit from incorporating business management principles, as joint learning is more likely to produce financially sustainable outcomes.[1766] Participatory approaches have taken a key from management theory, that of talking "in terms of participation and empowerment of employees and customers."[1767] On the other hand, Taylor suggests that utilizing participatory approaches in development and business management is rather done in order to placate those people without power in the context of global capitalism.[1768]

Development communication: In this area of study, PD "has been practiced and promoted for many decades" and has "received considerable attention."[1769] During the 1970s, the promotion of "popular participation" in planning and implementing development initiatives by the United Nations contributed to the adoption of participatory approaches in development communication.[1770] The building of knowledge in development communication comes from knowledge gained from understanding development as empowerment and

[1764] Chambers quoted in Taylor, 2001:125
[1765] Ibid.
[1766] Ashman, 2001:1104
[1767] Henkel, 2001:168
[1768] Taylor, 2001:125
[1769] Servaes et al., 1996:13
[1770] Morris, 2003:225-6

communications.[1771] Development communication, just as development in general, involves issues at all levels of society – the grassroots, community, regional, national, and global.[1772] However, just like PD, development communication focuses more heavily on horizontal processes of information sharing and relationship-building.[1773] Development communication takes into account "existing traditional channels and modes of communication which is always a reflection of the socio-cultural, economic, and environmental state of the social system."[1774] Also, similar to PD, development communication is rooted in "respect for individual cultural identity, inter-cultural appreciation, and supportive communication interaction among cultural groups. This is prerequisite for dialogue and interaction in communication transactions."[1775]

Development studies: PD emerged from an idea in development studies – "to enable categories of people traditionally objectified and silenced to be recognized as legitimate 'knowers': to define themselves, increase their understanding or their circumstances, and act upon that knowledge."[1776] In the 1940s and 1950s, growth theory (a Keynesian model for analyzing growth that was exported to developing countries and later became part of the modernization framework) was a popular school of thought in development studies.[1777] Because growth theory promoted economic interventions by government, growth theory also created conflict within development studies with neoclassical theory proponents who

[1771] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:44
[1772] Ibid.
[1773] Morris, 2003:25-6
[1774] Moemeka, 1994:63
[1775] Sadanandan and White, 1994:142
[1776] Nelson and Wright, 1995:11; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248
[1777] Brohman, 1996:11

preferred a hands-off approach to markets.[1778] Later, the idea of "new localism" in development studies began to be criticized for its treatment of communities as being relatively homogenous.[1779] In 1970, Danish economist Ester Boserup was among the first to make this argument by way of providing a critique of economic development practices for ignoring gender roles, which contributed to worsening gender inequalities.[1780] This growing sentiment catalyzed by Boserup had a powerful impact on development studies and led to the consideration of communities as sites for grassroots mobilization and resistance to unfavorable broader market forces and development interventions.[1781]

Economics: Economics is part of the multi-disciplinary, -sectoral, and -institutional collaboration that PD helps to facilitate.[1782] PD and mainstream Western economics both highlight the importance of the quality of *flexibility*, which is to understand, evolve, and adapt to new conditions – to search for most effective solutions and react (which is a "human response capacity"[1783]).[1784] For example, in economics, this kind of adaption can be in response to structural and technological changes, and can involve experimentation.[1785] In order to improve flexible capacities, building human capital is necessary[1786] – to which is linked

[1778] Ibid.
[1779] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:19-20
[1780] Wilkins, 2000:9; Ibid.
[1781] Wilkins, 2000:9; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:19-20
[1782] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:6
[1783] Ranis, 1998:89
[1784] Osterfield, 1992:131; Selznick, 1992:36; Narayan, 1993:27 and 95; Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:35; Rondinelli, 1993:135 and 177; Chambers, 1994:955; Brohman, 1996:218-9; Eade, 1997:34-5; Hagmann et al., 1999:2-3; Nolan, 2002:105
[1785] Rondinelli, 1993:49
[1786] Fox and Murray, 1993:235; Rondinelli, 1993:7-100; Edgcomb and Cawley, 1994:84

relative failure or success of development, and improved earnings.[1787] PD intends to cultivate flexibility by way of its methods to help groups in their processes of analyzing and managing their search for effective solutions, and to facilitate social action[1788]. However, aspects neoclassical economics theory may be inconsistent with PD because neoclassical economics does not assign significant properties to social relationships, but rather on "strategic choices of rational individuals interacting under various time, budgetary, and legal constraints, holding that groups (including firms) existed primarily to lower the transactions costs of exchange."[1789] Chambers also describes how in the discipline of economics, the primary focus – at least in the early stages of projects, including implementation – is on "numerical aspects of a project rather than its social dimensions."[1790]

Education: This is a "disciplinary origin" of PD;[1791] and specific areas of overlap in the field of education include: 1) popular education[1792] (which replaces "external programs, techniques, and attitudes"[1793] and includes learning from experience and dialogue), 2) outside formal teaching institutions,[1794] 3) social

[1787] Fox and Murray, 1993:235
[1788] Ranis, 1988:89; Rondinelli, 1993:7-154; Edgcomb and Cawley, 1994:84
[1789] Woolcock and Narayan, 1999:4
[1790] Chambers, 1991:516
[1791] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:41
[1792] Moser, 1993:76
[1793] Gorman, 1995:212-3
[1794] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 217; Green, 2000:72-3

theories and practices,[1795] including ethnography,[1796] and 4) student control of education and production of knowledge – as encouraged by Paulo Freire[1797].

Engineering and biology: These disciplines represent the multi-disciplinary, -sectoral, and -institutional collaborations with PD.[1798]

Natural sciences: PD has been "validated and reinforced, as modest partners, by parallel developments in the natural sciences."[1799] For example, since no science works perfectly, corrective mechanisms in the natural (and social) sciences are utilized in order to produce a most accurate depiction of objectivity as possible.[1800] One such mechanism is triangulation – a mechanism also applied in PD – which enables investigators (or PD facilitators) to cross-check a technique – and the data that it generates – by applying a second technique and the added perspective that it offers.[1801] Triangulation in this way assumes that the second technique compensates for shortcomings of the first technique while trying to generate data related to the same set of details or issues.[1802] Seeking diversity and combinations of participants (for example, when breaking large groups into smaller ones and then bringing them back together to share results – as was done during the pairwise ranking activity with UNM students described in Chapter 5) are also elements of triangulation.[1803] In PD, these approaches to triangulation can be effective as long as also short periods in the field with

[1795] Ibid.
[1796] McTaggart, 1997:7
[1797] Laverack, 2001:10; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3; Morris, 2003:225-6
[1798] National Environment Secretariat, 1991:6
[1799] Chambers quoted in Taylor, 2001:125
[1800] Cohen, 1989:39
[1801] Campbell, 2001:386; Kumar, 2002:41
[1802] Ibid.
[1803] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252; Kumar, 2002:41

communities are avoided, methodological rigor is applied to an extent to which validity of data is not compromised, and multiple PD researchers/facilitators are involved.[1804] In PD, having multiple facilitators is usually the case because of the organizational requirements and unpredictable dynamic that occurs when bringing groups together for joint planning of development projects.[1805] Mohan and Stokke summarize the overall mechanisms in PD the help to ensure the gathering of credible information: trust and rapport with informants, knowledge of the local context, and the convergence of information obtained from different sources, by different methods, or by different investigators (triangulation).[1806] Finally, according to Trevor, in the natural sciences (physics, chemistry, and biology), and less so in sociology, new insights are built upon the achievements of its predecessors.[1807] PD is based on the cumulative growth of knowledge experiences in the development field, which Chambers alluded to earlier when he described PD as the "new high road" in development.

Political science: This is a "disciplinary origin" of PD."[1808]

Psychology: Psychology (community and social) is a "disciplinary origin of the scholarship and practice" of PD,[1809] and has "taken an active role in developing and refining a number of theoretical constructs that are now commonly used by other social scientists, including research that is empowerment-based and self-

[1804] Campbell, 2001:386
[1805] Ibid.; Kumar, 2002:41
[1806] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252
[1807] Trevor, 2000, ix
[1808] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:41
[1809] Ibid.

help."[1810] Taylor et al. suggest, however, that overall PD is an "understudied topic in psychology, even though knowledge of this approach is essential if psychologists want to collaborate with community members to define and intervene with the numerous social problems facing contemporary communities."[1811] Keys et al. also state that "little systematic attention is paid to issues of culturally anchored methods even in the curricula of graduate community psychology programs."[1812]

Social sciences: PD has been "validated and reinforced, as modest partners, by parallel developments in the social sciences."[1813]

Social work: This is a "disciplinary origin" of PD[1814];

Sociology: Sociology is a "disciplinary origin" of PD,[1815] and PD has achieved increasing visibility internationally in sociology"[1816]. "Within the discipline, there has always existed a research tradition based on qualitative methods of investigation which concerns itself more with the 'inner' aspects of man's behavior."[1817] PD of course generates and relies on qualitative information such as "experiences,"[1818] "attitudes, feelings, intentions, and perceptions rather than statistical data."[1819] Qualitative methods "help to identify local needs and

[1810] Taylor et al., 2004:3-4
[1811] Ibid., 3
[1812] Keys et al., 2004:194-5
[1813] Chambers quoted in Taylor, 2001:125
[1814] Melkote et al., 2001:41; Green and Haines, 2002:3
[1815] Ibid.
[1816] Servaes, 1996:13
[1817] Servaes, 1996:13; also in Pilsworth and Ruddock, 1982:66; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:41
[1818] Servaes, 1999:115
[1819] Allen et al., 1999:3

priorities and place issues in the context of people's lives."[1820] These methods have been referred to as being more "organic and humane" in their view of subjects of research than are "mechanistic models"[1821]. Allen et al. explain, however, that, although the qualitative process encourages people to maintain local development activities, it also creates challenges for planners in integrating data about communities at broader scales for policies and budget purposes.[1822] Chambers argues against the suggestion that PD produces only qualitative data; he describes how, since the 1990s, innovation in PD has introduced "ways by which local people themselves produce numbers, most of them using visible and tangible methods. These have variously entailed counting, calculating, measuring, estimating, valuing, ranking and scoring, and combinations of these. The best-known methods are social and census mapping. There is much experience with aggregation from focus groups. The methods provide a common meeting ground for professionals since they are independent of any discipline."[1823] PD instruments, such as those developed by the Social Capital Assessment Tool in connection with the World Bank's Social Capital Initiative, are designed to gather and integrate quantitative and qualitative data.[1824]

Women's studies and feminisms: As a "disciplinary origin" of PD,[1825] there are vital interconnections between feminisms[1826] and PD. For PD, feminisms are a part of what McTaggart refers to as "the convergence of old intellectual traditions

[1820] de Koning and Martin, 1996:1-2
[1821] Servaes, 1996:119-20
[1822] Allen et al., 1999:3; also in Servaes, 1999:115
[1823] Chambers, 2005:112
[1824] Mikkelsen, 2005:250
[1825] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:41
[1826] Nelson and Wright, 1995:11; McTaggart, 1997:7: There are several different feminisms.

and new forms of discourse that both vindicate and inform PD, and that help it to gain new insights and understandings that meet defensible standards for knowledge claims."[1827] The following describes the essential role of PD in feminist paradigms, as well as how it is being challenged by feminisms. At a basic level, however, PD and feminisms share in common the aim of research, which authors describe as existing "to enable categories of people traditionally objectified and silenced to be recognized as legitimate 'knowers,' increase their understanding of their circumstances, ["learn about and discuss what others are thinking"[1828]], and act upon that knowledge"[1829] – benefitting themselves, their immediate family, and the entire community.[1830]

PD concepts play a part in the founding and definition of Women and Development (WID), which originated in the late 1970s.[1831] Until the 1980s, WID was the dominant[1832] approach to women's participation, and was adopted by most development agencies.[1833]

During the period from 1974 to 1980, only 4 percent of the projects funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development, which was "increasingly emphasizing 'participation' in its stated project criteria, involved the participation of women. In half of these projects, women were minority participants."[1834] Fraser describes the WID movement in its first years, which displays 1) the PD

[1827] McTaggart, 1997:7
[1828] Van Nostrand, 1993:143
[1829] Nelson and Wright, 1995:11
[1830] Guijt and Shah, 1998:2
[1831] Humble, 1998:35
[1832] Ibid.
[1833] Ibid.
[1834] UNDP cited in Connell, 1999:85

tenet of control of projects by stakeholders, and 2) WID's purpose to increase participation of women in decision-making in all facets and levels and improving life conditions in the following way[1835]:

> The WID idea was conceptualized by women working within the United Nations system, refined by women scholars and practitioners, and implemented in many different ways by women in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), in the WID offices established by donor countries, and by governments, albeit reluctantly. A good working definition of WID is simply the taking of women into account, improving their status, and increasing their participation in the economic, social, and political development of communities, nations, and the world.[1836]

A criticism of WID and PD is that they "lend themselves to the neo-liberal development agenda" by promoting participation mostly in consultation and implementation, while leaving unaddressed critical questions of structural power.[1837] Additionally, Cornwall describes that rapid spread of PD led to their being used by powerful international institutions who saw it as a way to lend their prescriptions authenticity and legitimacy, and in so doing submerging the more radical dimensions of participatory practice.[1838] For these reasons, gender and development (GAD) is considered by some to potentially have a more significant impact by having PD "contain elements that recuperate more radical alternative development discourses of the 1970s and their explicit concern with power, voice, and rights."[1839]

[1835] Cornwall, 2003:2-3
[1836] Fraser, 2004:ix; also in Tiano, 1987:217 (integration approach)
[1837] Freire in Cornwall, 2003:2
[1838] Cornwall, 2003:2-3
[1839] Freire in Cornwall, 2003:2

Gender and Development (or Gender Empowerment), the dominant perspective today, is more critical of development and an alternative to WID,[1840] refers to measures needed to give women more control over their lives. Among the goals of GAD is increasing women's participation in decision-making in development, which in turn increases self-reliance and self-confidence as indigenous voices are integrated into the process.[1841] Another important goal of GAD is to incorporate gender into the project cycle, a process that requires linking gender analysis and PD (methods are not automatically gender-sensitive).[1842] PD gender data gathering methods include the triple role, gender needs assessment, and the WID/GAD matrix.[1843] These enhancements enable PD to be more equitable in its application and to allow for political solutions to emerge[1844] – and thereby challenge gender relations and root causes of women's marginalization and subordination.[1845] In addition, Cornwall mentions the strategy or tactic of reconfiguring the rules, if necessary, of interactions in public spaces so that "once silenced participants exercise voice," or reaching out beyond the "usual suspects" to democratize decision-making.[1846]

What is important from the GAD perspective is that in order for PD methods to be useful and effective – or what Cornwall describes as to be

[1840] Humble, 1998:35; Cornwall, 2003:2-3
[1841] Hulbe, 1980:125; Rondinelli, 1987:83; Narayan, 1993:43; White and Patel, 1994:361; Arnst, 1996:111; Dockery, 1996:167; Makumbe, 1996:16; Conn and Alderson, 1997:46; Ninacs, 1997:166; Hagmann et al., 1999:2; Marchland, 1995:220; Guijt and Kaul Shah, 1998:2; Jordan and Van Tujil, 2000:2052; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:41; Rolly, 2001:126; O'Donoghue, 2002:16
[1842] Thomas-slayter et al., 1993:40; Marchland, 1995:220; Humble, 1998:44
[1843] Moser, 1993:76
[1844] Guijt and Shah, 1998:3; Cornwall, 2003:2-3
[1845] Crawley, 1998:32
[1846] Cornwall, 2003:14

transformative rather than "tokenistic"[1847] – they need to be designed so the information they help to gather 1) accounts for the range of perspectives and challenges of women, 2) involves and impacts their relationships with men, and 3) incorporates "sustained and deliberative processes" – and not one-off performances or delegation of control[1848]. In addition, to help ensure that these kind of processes can continue, PD should also address social and economic structures at different levels, which are "crucial constraints for women's advancement…and create and maintain male superiority and female subordination.[1849] However, development workers still need to better translate GAD theory into a methodology. As this takes place, it is important to note Campbell's observation that, as practitioners adapt established techniques in new ways, a result could be entry of partial, invalid, or unreliable data, which the sequencing of techniques may (perhaps only partially) be able to address.[1850] In addition, a long-term commitment is required to advance women's empowerment with the use of critical and flexible PD methods.[1851]

The importance given to PD in WID and GAD (although in different ways) helps to explain why PD is often considered an end in itself – that is, as long as it does not hide gender by "seemingly inclusive terms such as 'the people,' 'the oppressed,' or 'community.'"[1852] Participation also has a central place in democracy in relation to procreation, a condition particularly important in socialist

[1847] Ibid., 2-3
[1848] Ibid.
[1849] Haider, 1995:46; Humble, 1998:36, Shah, 1998:243; Cornwall, 2003:14
[1850] Campbell, 2001:386
[1851] Humble, 1998:36; Cornwall, 2003:1-2
[1852] Maguire, 1996:29-30

feminism, which "will come to pass only when every member of society is able to participate fully in decisions over how many children are born, who bears them, who cares for them, and how they are reared."[1853] PD provides an "important mechanism to overcome apathy and lack of confidence, make women visible in the community, show them the potential of self-help solutions, and raise awareness that women can play an important role in solving problems."[1854] These kinds of benefits essentially make PD relevant to feminisms. In order to create successful feminist-PD processes, NGOs are increasingly identified as the "institutional solution" for alternative development models because participation is essential and they have the capacity to reach the grassroots.[1855] Finally, as Humble states, "incorporating GAD theory into the training of PD facilitators is an important step."[1856]

Geographically, formative PD experiences around the globe in regards to the development of its methods occurred in:

East Africa: A popular body of PD methods, called participatory rural appraisal, originated in this region.[1857]

The Global South: Education for collective action and social change (a major force in U.S. participatory development) has its roots in the Global South; one example is the theory and practice of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire.[1858]

[1853] Jagger,1983:148
[1854] Moser, 1993:101
[1855] Ibid., 91
[1856] Humble, 1998:44
[1857] Chambers, 2002:7
[1858] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 217; Green, 2000:72-3

Latin America, Africa, and Asia: In these areas of the globe, the push toward PD originated in concerns over persistent inequalities, dependency, and domination.[1859] NGOs in these regions have been implementing PD "for a long time,"[1860] and their scholars have "produced collections of theory, methodology, and case studies" in PD.[1861]

India: In this country, participatory rural appraisal also had formative testing and development.[1862]

Period conditions that encouraged the early and continued growth of PD include the following:

Adverse economic circumstances: Included among these difficult conditions are the cost of inflation, depressed prices, changing markets, and war.[1863]

Top-down failure to meet popular interests: This unfavorable condition is characterized by: 1) beneficiaries left out of decision-making processes related to development,[1864] 2) government penetration into rural areas,[1865] 3) development agendas set by professionals, while research is conducted by and for academics and government, 4) an emphasis on industry, urban areas, capital, centralization, standardization, and exports,[1866] and 5) the erasing of cultural differences and diversity[1867].

[1859] De Koning and Martin, 1996:4-5; Abraham and Platteau, 2002:1
[1860] Abraham and Platteau, 2002:1
[1861] Servaes et al., 1996:13
[1862] Nelson and Wright, 1995:3; Chambers, 2002:7
[1863] Sargent, 1986:109
[1864] Botchway, 2000:136; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3; Morris, 2003:225-6
[1865] Chambers, 2005:87-90
[1866] Korten and Carner, 1984:206-7; Rondinelli, 1987:322; Haq and Kirdar, 1988:xv; Kalyalya et al., 1988:1-6; Donnison, 1989:202; Conteh-Morgan, 1990:3 and 82; Chambers, 1991:516; Rondinelli, 1993:153; Chambers, 1994:953; Nelson and Wright, 1995:11-31; Arnst, 1996:111;

Roots of participatory development may also be found in *religious or spiritual frameworks*, including the:

Christian tradition: Henkel suggests that PD roots are seen in areas of religious activism and salvation.[1868]

Churches and places of worship: PD concepts can be found in community centers due to their function as providers of service to the poor.[1869] PD also has developed roots where spiritual community exists because of its respect for spiritual practices.[1870]

Geertzian notions of religion: Henkel also suggests that PD appears in Geertzian ideas of religions; for example, by providing a model of the importance of behavior, morality, and personal conversion.[1871]

Melanesia, cargo cults: PD relates to its notions of salvation and reverse worldly order.[1872]

Missionaries and Christian reformers: PD "displays an ambivalence toward the beneficiaries of their interventions (similar to that of their Christian predecessors).[1873] Just as Christian reformers and missionaries, PD practitioners care about the communities that they serve; yet, they integrate populations into the fold of the nation-state and the system of colonial rule –

Awa, 1996:135; Brohman, 1996:251 and 345-6; Cohen, 1996:230; Makumbe, 1996:13-9; Thapalia, 1996:151; Bhatt, 1997:371; Binswanger, 1998:287-8; Mellor, 1998:62; Anholt, 1998:354-5; Sylvester, 1999:710; Mohan and Stooke, 2000:253; Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5; Kapoor, 2002:103; Fraser et al., 2005:114

[1867] Escobar, 1992:134

[1868] Henkel, 2001:182-3

[1869] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26

[1870] Ibid.

[1871] Henkel, 2001:177-8

[1872] Ibid., 182-3

[1873] Ibid.

which are ideological, political, and economic structures over which people do not have significant control.[1874]

Religious movements: PD is akin to "religion" in its call for "reversals" as means to attain development (in religion, "reversals" are both the means to attain the goal of salvation and a defining characteristic of salvation)[1875].

Participatory development grew from the following *social movements*:

Action research: Action research and PD unite inquiry, education, and social action.[1876] Kurt Lewin, a "practical theorist,"[1877] is the formative developer of action research, which began during a workshop he ran with his associates in 1945.[1878] Action research is referred to as a sub-domain of PD approaches[1879] – a family of activities – and a movement where research informs action[1880]. It is based on the active participation of groups as they identify and discuss problems, make decisions, and proceed to carry out the work that follows from their decisions, including monitoring.[1881] The purpose of action research is community development,[1882] and to encourage the process to be, in fact, educational (cognitive and perceptual).[1883] Both researchers and participants acquire knowledge.[1884] The techniques used in action research include "collective research through meetings and sociodramas, critical recovery of history, valuing

[1874] Henkel, 2001:182-3
[1875] Ibid.
[1876] Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Friesen, 1999:284, Parfitt, 2004:552
[1877] Marrow, 1969:book title; Altrichter and Gstettner, 1997:60
[1878] Cooke, 2001:105
[1879] Taylor et al., 2004:4
[1880] McTaggart, 1997:1
[1881] Adelman, 1997:82; Stringer, 1999:7-10
[1882] Cooke, 2001:105
[1883] Grant, 1977:73
[1884] Taylor et al., 2004:4-5

and applying 'folk culture,' and the production and diffusion of new knowledge through written, oral and visual forms."[1885] People define their own development,[1886] which is said to politicize them[1887] because they are changing themselves and their circumstances[1888]. Kumar states that PD draws from the theoretical basis of action research, as well as from its "faith in the capability of people in general and the poor and marginalized in particular to depict and analyze their realities and plan for their own development."[1889] The Action Research First World Congress was held in 1990, and focused on developing a theoretical framework; subsequent international gatherings have included increasingly non-academic participants and presentations on local projects.[1890] A concern regarding action research, a concern that is also seen as criticism of PD in general, is that its process can be non-participatory (people are not involved) and could therefore strengthen the status quo, as well as top-down development systems – resulting in decreased social power for the excluded.[1891]

Alternative development: PD exists in the alternative development framework, discussed in the next chapter (conclusion). PD is an alternative to top-down models that: 1) shape developing countries to meet the developed countries'

[1885] Chamber, 1994:954
[1886] Nelson and Wright, 1995:3
[1887] Khanna, 1996:68
[1888] McTaggart, 1997:7
[1889] Kumar, 2002:33-46
[1890] Chopyak, 2001:377-8
[1891] Servaes, 1999:111; Friesen describes an example where participatory action researchers have the opportunity for themselves to focus an inquiry--in this case, "on the intended and unintended consequences of human action"--and therefore they "gain the ability to not only describe but also to explain complex causal relations" (Friesen, 1999:294). This level of leeway on the part of the PD facilitator or researcher to be able to focus an inquiry and provide explanations may be considered high relative to typical guidelines for effective facilitation.

interests, 2) impose economic, political, and military conditions to aid, which increases donor influence, and 3) slow trade and require purchases from donor countries, which increase the obligation of recipients to donors.[1892]

Bottom-up: Bottom-up movements and PD share a number of essential qualities. First, they exist in the alternative paradigm and are part of its policy agendas,[1893] even as they are pursued for varying reasons and across the political spectrum.[1894]

Second, they are historically and geographically linked. For example, in the 1970s, PD, as then defined in Eastern Africa, was "bottom-up" in the form of innumerable self-help projects.[1895] Also, in the 1970s, in Zimbabwe, "bottom-up" occurred in a PD-like manner: when "the expressed needs of the rural population and grassroots-born development proposals were conveyed to district and provincial level, where they have to be reconciled with the central government's views and possibilities."[1896] Then, in the 1980s, bottom-up was designated as empowerment,[1897] decentralization,[1898] and locally based problem-solving techniques.[1899] But by the mid-1980s, Wisner asserts that "a genuine bottom-up,

[1892] Kalyalya et al., 1988:5-6; Arnst, Conteh-Morgan, 1990:82; Chambers, 1994:953; Barnes and Mercer, 1995:38; Rahman, 1995:32; Brohman, 1996:203-4; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Makumbe, 1996:19; Servaes, 1996:93; Eicher and Staatz, 1998:15; Anand and Sen, 2000:2031; Mayo, 2000:109-10; Petra, 2000:6-7; Hailey, 2001:98-9; Hildyard, 2001:78; Fraser et al., 2005:116
[1893] Brohman, 1996:270; Cheater, 1999:175; Mayo, 2000:109-10
[1894] Mayo, 2000:9-10
[1895] Chambers, 2005:81
[1896] Makumbe, 1996:15
[1897] Knippers, 1991:21; Uphoff, 1992:103; Brohman, 1996:270; Cheater, 1999:175; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249; Chambers, 2005:87-90
[1898] Brohman, 1996:328, Gonzalez, 1996:22; von Braun, 2005:3
[1899] Knippers, 1991:21; Uphoff, 1992:103

participatory approach to development has yet to emerge in Africa."[1900] Since then however, bottom-up planning through PD has been become increasingly common.[1901] By the early 1990s, for example, it was emphasized by every major bilateral development agency.[1902] However, since it requires "prolonged political struggle at various levels," most countries have barely begun the processes.[1903]

Third, another shared fundamental aspect that connects bottom-up and PD is that each occurs voluntarily,[1904] targets the local or "grassroots" level, and assumes that a larger role in creating policy should be had by people.[1905] And both approaches intrinsically seek to assist in determining and reaching the goals of participants, who are also the beneficiaries and stakeholders, such as individuals (the poor and marginalized people[1906]), households, small groups (user groups, NGOs,[1907] and members of farmers' organizations[1908]), and communities, as well as through social relations among people with common neighborhood, ethnic, religious, or familial ties.[1909]

Fourth, PD and bottom-up movements both involve: 1) autonomous actions (soliciting external aid only for problems beyond local capabilities to

[1900] Wisner in Brohman, 1996:270
[1901] Henkel and Stirrat, 2001:168
[1902] Ibid.
[1903] Brohman, 1996:352
[1904] Moser,1993:101; Brohman, 1996:252 and 346; Makumbe, 1996:11-3; Gonzalez, 1998:17-8, 36-7; Kumar, 2002:24
[1905] Brohman, 1996:254; Gonzalez, 1996:22; Chambers, 2005:87-90
[1906] Hagmann et al., 1999:2
[1907] von Braun, 2005:3
[1908] Hagmann et al., 1999:2
[1909] Nelson and Wright, 1995:16; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Makumbe, 1996:13; Gonzalez, 1998:20; Uphoff et al., 1998:97; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:337-8; Fraser et al., 2005:114

address[1910] because it is a deterrent to self-reliance)[1911]; 2) engaging in collective and democratic actions[1912] (planning, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating,[1913] and decision-making regarding development projects[1914]); 3) organizing and dealing with local challenges and opportunities[1915]; 4) meeting local conditions and subjective concerns[1916]; 5) applying a learning process instead of a blueprint methodology[1917] (an emphasis on process rather than projects[1918]); and 6) incrementally building upward linkages with broader extra-community institutions,[1919] such as with government,[1920] in order to create: a) a dynamic "top-down" and "bottom-up" interaction, b) state-society synergies, c) corporate ties, d) bottom-up capacity-building,[1921] and e) a flexible and adaptive hierarchy with open lines of communication for consultation and coordination[1922]. What does a healthy and productive top-down, bottom-up dynamic relationship look like? According to Woolcock, an example is when top-down resources and bottom-up capacity-building work cooperatively, groups form, and opportunities are then realized.[1923]

[1910] Uphoff, 1992:103; Brohman, 1996:254; Hagmann et al., 1999:2
[1911] Vaughn, 1996:219-24
[1912] Stecker, 1994:11-2
[1913] Hagmann et al., 1999:2
[1914] Knippers, 1991:21
[1915] Brohman, 1996:254
[1916] Ibid., 352
[1917] Gonzalez, 1998:22
[1918] Knippers, 1991:21
[1919] Uphoff et al., 1998:175
[1920] Chambers, 2005:87-90
[1921] Woolcock, 1998:185
[1922] Gonzalez, 1998:22
[1923] Woolcock, 1998:185

Finally, PD and bottom-up movements have a shared emphasis on productive outcomes.[1924] Such outcomes include: 1) changes in decision-making processes and accountability structures,[1925] 2) an increase in number and quality of self-help projects (though authors suggest that typically projects are still selected by external development agencies),[1926] and 3) an improved community organization and representation, with communities with more confidence to express themselves[1927]. Also, PD and bottom-up movements incur incremental costs in contrast to conventional top-down planning, in which costs are: incurred by staff time and energy required,[1928] especially for the diagnosis phases[1929] (that is, more village-level and field-worker inputs), more expensive logistics,[1930] and from challenging hegemonic interests in state and markets.[1931] The workload, however, is initially high, but it decreases after the first phases of PD and bottom-up movements.[1932] Still, though, for many NGOs investments in these processes can be difficult due to their limited funds.[1933]

Civil rights: PD – which is about the participation in decision-making of user groups in the delivery of programs and in policy formation – came to be seen as

[1924] Knippers, 1991:21
[1925] Chambers, 2005:81
[1926] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:338-9
[1927] Hagmann et al., 1999:2
[1928] Van der Eb et al., 2004:225; Chambers, 2005:129-131
[1929] Kalyalya et al., 1988:88; Dichter, 1989:137; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:4 and 143; Uphoff, 1992:143; White et al., 1994:18; Nelson and Wright, 1995:11; Brohman, 1996:235 and 346; Gonzalez, 1996:22; Makumbe, 1996:18; Hamdi and Reinhard, 1997:33; Uphoff et al., 1998:84; Allen et al., 1999:33; Blackburn et al., 2000:3; Kumar, 2002:45; Law, 2002:60-1; Van der Eb et al., 2004:225; Chambers, 2005:129-31
[1930] Cernea, 1992:58; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:103-5; Kumar, 2002:28; Van der Eb et al., 2004:225; Chambers, 2005:129-31
[1931] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248
[1932] Hagmann, 1999:16
[1933] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:65

being not at the discretion of the social organizations, but as an opportunity that "grew from a more fundamental claim to basic civil rights, which the state had the responsibility to support and enable."[1934]

Community development: As previously discussed in Chapter 2, PD in this field has been "practiced and promoted for many decades" and has particularly received considerable attention in industrialized countries.[1935]

Cooperatives: The following cited qualities of cooperatives are shared with PD. First, they are both responses to and emerged out of economically challenging periods, which Sargent explains, can include "nationally prevailing conditions such as cost inflation, depressed prices, changing markets, and even war."[1936] Second, both occur at the local community level and are driven by a common need, interest,[1937] or potential benefit that is recognized by a group of individuals.[1938] Third, both cooperatives and PD assist with the delivery of productive and social services, mobilize local resources, organize self-help activities, and act as intermediaries between government officials and local residents.[1939] Fourth, the two share the premises (and the arrangements that follow from them) that the benefits of the project should accrue largely to those who work on it,[1940] and that there are not "external shareholders (the members are the owners of the institution) and the policy-making leadership is drawn from

[1934] Cornwall, 1999:6
[1935] Servaes, 1996:13
[1936] Sargent, 1986:109
[1937] Uphoff, 1992:7
[1938] Sargent, 1986:109
[1939] Rondinelli, 1987:75
[1940] Griffin and McKinely, 1994:78

the members themselves."[1941] Fifth, PD and cooperatives are designed and applied in recognition of the positive relationship between sustainability and institution-building.[1942] Finally, each is committed to "mobilizing local support for development programs and projects,"[1943] including "being heard by government agencies, starting with the support of the local government."[1944]

Democracy[1945]: Some qualities have also been identified as intrinsic to both PD and democratic processes. Indeed, many authors explain PD in democratic terms.[1946] For example, PD is a democratic planning process,[1947] or an attempt to democratize the development process.[1948] Furthermore, the validity of PD, according to Burky, is partly determined by the extent to which democratic learning and action is self-sustaining (and partly by the extent new knowledge informs collective action).[1949] After all, as Brohman states, "Participation is an essential component of a democratic society."[1950] And PD is a strategy for human development and therefore "by its very nature is people-centered, participatory, and democratic."[1951] PD creates an inclusive form of

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[1941] Magill, 1194:140
[1942] Cohen and Uphoff in Gonzalez, 1998:20
[1943] Brohman, 1996:218-8
[1944] Cheema, 1983:206
[1945] There are two dimensions common to many definitions of democracy: "(1) popular sovereignty, and (2) political liberties" (Bollen, 1979:578).
[1946] Cary, 1970:4; Hulbe, 1980:71; UNDP quoted in Rist, 1997:9; Uphoff et al., 1998:50-1; Servaes, 1999:93; White, 1999:32-3; Lyons et al., 1999:4; Waters, 2000:90-1; Cleaver, 2001:36; Miller, 2001:153
[1947] Stoecker, 1994:11-2
[1948] Cary, 1970:150; Wengert, 1976:23; Van de Besselaar, 1993:36; Makumbe, 1996:2; Brohman, 1996:252-76; Cheater, 1999:597; Cornwall, 1999:8; White, 1999:233; Lyons et al., 1999:19; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 218; Servaes, 1999:93
[1949] Burky, 1993:61-4
[1950] Brohman, 1996:253
[1951] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:109

democracy,[1952] one in which Deetz describes as committed to "an ongoing task of struggle and decision."[1953] In the PD process, citizens increase their power and voice.[1954]

Just as democratic processes constitute PD, participation is an essential component of a democratic society.[1955] Participatory norms in democracy provide the opportunity to check the abuse of power.[1956] These are the qualities that enable, according to Tilton, "democracy to triumph."[1957] In addition, PD strengthens local democracy[1958] while at the same time, as Mikkelsen describes, advancing the understanding that "democratization is a process of building up social dynamics, starting from the base of society – the community – and ascending to the national level."[1959] In turn, greater democratization at all levels will then make PD more effective in "stimulating knowledge, commitment, and the growth of capabilities."[1960]

The democratic and collaborative process of PD enables "societies to move beyond the win-lose mechanism of majority voting to develop more

[1952] Brohman, 1996:276
[1953] Deetz, 1999:162; Seddon, 1994:338
[1954] Taylor et al., 2004:4
[1955] Brohman, 1996:253
[1956] Thompson et al., 1990:256
[1957] Tilton, 1974:562
[1958] Stokes, 1981:137; UN World Commission on Env. and Dev. in Brohman, 1996:311-12; "For Jean Jacques Rousseau the answer was simple: democracy can only exist on a face-to-face basis" (Wengert, 1976:30).
[1959] Mikkelsen, 112:2005
[1960] Clement and Besselaar, 1993:36

inclusive, win-win ways of solving problems and making decisions."[1961] Barber calls this form of democracy – which "engages citizens in civic activity, goes well beyond just voting and accountability…, and suits the political needs of decentralized communities" – as a "participatory and direct form of democracy."[1962] In participatory democracy, "people create for themselves the form of organized existence within which they live."[1963] Citizens are "involved in numerous enterprises ranging from the importance of health care to the management of industry."[1964] Bookchin writes that participatory democracy is "decentralized communities, united in free confederations or networks for coordinating the communities of a region."[1965] In his view, decentralization "has taken on positive connotations with the objectives of local democracy."[1966]

The growth of civil society – which is an expression of how people participate in public life and manage their affairs[1967] – amounts to greater decentralization.[1968] In turn, authors state that decentralization in the broader context is what helps PD to then succeed.[1969] This kind of democracy, suggests Friedmann, "which includes all potential interests and concerns, will assign a significant role to organized civil society, including the very poor, in the making of

[1961] Straus, 2002:208; Selzinick describes some of the broader (beyond voting) and "familiar apparatus of democracy, especially freedom of speech and association, legitimate opposition, and regular elections. There must be legitimacy in depth, not merely a gross justification of the right to rule; and the people must be free to protect, and organized to protect, their vital interests. Consent must be revocable. Only then does consent become sovereignty; only then do the people's rulers become their servants" (1992:52).
[1962] Barber, 1992:63-5
[1963] Selzinick, 1992:259
[1964] Stokes, 1981:142
[1965] Bookchin, 1990:181
[1966] Brohman, 1996:237-8
[1967] Meyer, 1999:31
[1968] Ibid.
[1969] Gsanger, 1994:4; Brohman, 1996:237-8; Mavalankar et al., 1996:224

public decisions at all relevant levels."[1970] Thus, PD encourages the growth of civil society, which then increases decentralization and democratic processes, and, in turn, increasing as well PD's success. The PD-civil society-decentralization dynamic is further described in Chapter 7.

Griffin, however, challenges the assumption that decentralization will lead to these outcomes because "it is conceivable, even likely in many countries, that power at the local level is more concentrated, more elitist, and applied more ruthlessly against the poor than at the center.… Therefore, greater decentralization does not necessarily imply greater democracy, let alone 'power to the people' – it depends on the circumstances under which decentralization occurs."[1971]

Authors suggest a strong relationship between socio-economic development,[1972] which is the primary and ultimate goal of PD. Stephens concludes that "elaborate, cross-national statistical studies all confirmed that there was a strong relationship between socioeconomic development and democracy."[1973] Siaroff makes the observation regarding the survival of democracy is greater in richer nations.[1974] Siaroff suggests that the economic and developmental threshold "beneath which stable democratic rule is unlikely to emerge" is around $250 per capita in 1957 US dollars…and the reduction of

[1970] Friedmann, 1992:84
[1971] Griffin, 1981:1225; also said later in Griffin and McKinley, 1994:121
[1972] Lipset in Stephens, 1989:1024
[1973] Stephens, 1989:1024
[1974] Siaroff, 1999:405

illiteracy to below 50 percent."[1975] Further, "when annual per capita incomes fall below $2,000 (1975 dollars), …democracies have a one-in-ten chance of collapsing within a year. Between annual per capital incomes of $2,001 and $5,000 this ratio falls to one in sixteen. Above $6,055 annual per capita income, democracies, once established, appear to last indefinitely. Moreover, poor democracies are more likely to survive when governments succeed in generating development and avoiding economic crises."[1976] Economic crises might reverse democratization through "increases in crime, strikes, riots, civil violence,…and the appeal of political movements on the extreme left and right, including revolutionary ones."[1977] Civil society organizations also contribute to stability of democratic governments because of their effects on their members and society at-large,[1978] and their providing "democratic innovation"[1979].

Development NGOs: Primary goals of PD and development NGOs converge in their commitments to "shift power relationships within development practice and to redefine roles of external agents."[1980]

Development workers: Basic aspects of PD, such as its causal relationship with empowerment (discussed in this chapter), are assumed to be connected to a "moral imperative tradition" (though more critical examinations of such causal

[1975] Seligson quoted in Siaroff, 1999:407
[1976] Przeworski et al. quoted in Sgapiro, 2003:87
[1977] Haggard and Kaufman, 1992:349-50
[1978] Putnam, 1993:89
[1979] Slater, 1993:108
[1980] Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3

relationships are required).[1981] PD is therefore "morally appealing and politically acceptable to development workers…wishing for a fairer world."[1982]

Disability rights: This movement is connected with PD because of their early call for "more active participation in provisioning and in policy formulation."[1983]

Empowerment: Various perspectives exist on the relationship between participation in development and empowerment. First, that there is indeed a relationship is now widely recognized.[1984] As Rolly wrote in 2001: "Increasingly in the past five years or so the notion of participation as an exercise of empowering rural people has gained wider support. In 1979 the World Conference on Agrarian and Rural development emphasized the importance of a transfer of power as implicit in participation. Since then empowerment has become an accepted term in development vocabulary."[1985] Some writers even argue that empowerment and participation are actually one and the same; that their considerable overlap unifies them. Thus, Lyons and his colleagues believe that "participation is another name for empowerment."[1986] Others agree that participation is empowerment.[1987]

However, just as with other concepts discussed in this dissertation, empowerment is difficult to define and prone to alternative explanations.[1988]

[1981] Green, 2000:70
[1982] Ibid.
[1983] Cornwall, 1999:6
[1984] Rolly, 2001:125
[1985] Ibid.
[1986] Alamgir, 1989:8-9
[1987] Nelson and Wright, 1995:33; Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5; Rolly, 2001:125
[1988] Hulbe, 1980:125; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354

There is in fact no agreed definition[1989] but this has not stopped the term from being used increasingly to the point that it has become a buzzword.[1990] Given this situation, it is not difficult to understand – "The empowerment process defies easy definition and may be recognized more easily by its absence."[1991]

Empowerment is a long-term objective,[1992] and Griffin and McKinley therefore suggest that it should not be strictly judged in terms of cost-effectiveness or efficiency[1993]. Rather, just as with the concept of "participation," empowerment is both a "process" and an "outcome"[1994]; although, the literature does seem to emphasize process, or means, over product.[1995] The following discussion of empowerment explores the targets of empowerment, its specific attributes, and its link with participation.

Empowerment is operationalized in a range of contexts[1996] – economic and political, the individual and group, with people and institutions, and at the micro and macro levels. None of these comparisons are mutually exclusive; for example, an empowering development process is intended to benefit the individual and group simultaneously; what Melkote and Steeves refer to as "collective self-empowerment."[1997] Table 18 presents beneficiaries of empowerment, which are among individuals and groups.

[1989] Morris, 2003:229
[1990] Cheater, 1999:599; Cornwall quoted in Mikkelsen, 2005:55
[1991] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[1992] Melkote, 1991:239
[1993] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:120
[1994] Laverack, 2001:2
[1995] Cheater, 1999:598; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355; Williams, 2004:559
[1996] Laverack, 2001:2; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[1997] Brohman, 1996:235

Table 18: *Beneficiaries of Empowerment*

Individuals
Individuals,[1998] personal[1999] and local[2000] levels, citizens,[2001] people lacking[2002]
Groups
Groups,[2003] community,[2004] partnerships,[2005] weakest and poor,[2006] women and youth,[2007] rural people,[2008] institutions[2009] (community-level[2010]), political level,[2011] and professional[2012]
Individual-Group
Collective-self[2013] / individual and collective[2014]

There are several recurring recommendations for achieving empowerment or instilling the qualities needed to attain it in individuals, groups, communities, different levels of society, and contexts. Capacity-building, particularly in decision-making, is widely regarded as essential.[2015] For capacities to be built

[1998] Patterson, 1997:72; Laverack, 2001:2; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[1999] Ibid.; Morse, 2004:85
[2000] Singh and Titi, 1995:14
[2001] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[2002] Lyons et al, 1999:19; Blackburn et al., 2000:1; Ibid.
[2003] Patterson, 1997:72; Cheater, 1999:599; Laverack, 2001:2; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[2004] Knippers, 1991:21; Melkote, 1991:239; Laverack, 2001:2; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5; Fraser et al., 2005:123
[2005] Laverack, 2001:2
[2006] Hulbe, 1980:124-5; Melkote, 1991:244; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Chambers, 1994:954; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1-33; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Brohman, 1996:235-70 and 339-45; Marindo-Ranganai, 1996:188; Mavalankar et al., 1996:222; Ninacs, 1997:166; Cleaver, 2001:36; Kothari, 2001:139; Rolly, 2001:124; Kumar, 2002:31; Balacazar et al., 2004:17
[2007] Singh and Titi, 1995:14
[2008] Rolly, 2001:125
[2009] Sorensen, 1995:401; Patterson, 1997:72; Laverack, 2001:2; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354
[2010] Laverack, 2001:2
[2011] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:122; Patterson, 1997:72
[2012] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[2013] Brohman, 1996:235
[2014] Riano, 1994:23; Patterson, 1997:72
[2015] Hulbe, 1980:124-5; Melkote, 1991:244; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Chambers, 1994:954; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1-33; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Brohman, 1996:235-70 and 339-45; Marindo-Ranganai, 1996:188; Mavalankar et al., 1996:222; Ninacs, 1997:166; Cleaver, 2001:36; Kothari, 2001:139; Rolly, 2001:124; Kumar, 2002:31; Balacazar et al., 2004:17

and empowerment to occur, there must first be training.[2016] Training towards empowerment includes developing skills and abilities,[2017] including in conflict resolution and leadership formation,[2018] in catalyzing dialogue,[2019] and in listening[2020]. Participatory training is also called for, and includes: communication, planning, research, and evaluation[2021]; integrated initiatives through education[2022]; and informal education[2023]. Melkote and Steeves suggest that power must first be understood for there to be empowerment to be possible, underscoring the necessity of critical thinking and training.[2024]

Building self and group/community confidence[2025] and decentralizing control and decision-making, putting it in the hands of civil society, has also been called for to induce empowerment.[2026] Toward this end, Melkote emphasizes the importance of strengthening institutions.[2027] Decentralization is one way to redistribute power, and reverse or change roles, and thereby enable empowerment to occur.[2028] Decentralization is also a way government can

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[2016] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Rolly, 2001:125
[2017] Hulbe, 1980:125
[2018] Singh and Titi, 1995:14
[2019] Laverack, 2001:10; Morris, 2003:225-6
[2020] Laverack, 2001:10
[2021] Cohen, 1996:239
[2022] U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:12
[2023] Singh and Titi, 1995:14
[2024] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:36
[2025] Hulbe, 1980:124-5; Melkote, 1991:244; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Chambers, 1994:954; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1-33; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Brohman, 1996:235-70 and 339-45; Marindo-Ranganai, 1996:188; Mavalankar et al., 1996:222; Ninacs, 1997:166; Cleaver, 2001:36; Kothari, 2001:139; Rolly, 2001:124; Kumar, 2002:31; Balacazar et al., 2004:17
[2026] Lyons et al., 1999:10-1
[2027] Melkote, 1991:239
[2028] Hulbe, 1980:124-5; Melkote, 1991:244; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Chambers, 1994:954; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1-39; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Brohman, 1996:235-70 and 339-45; Marindo-Ranganai, 1996:188; Mavalankar et al., 1996:222; Ninacs, 1997:166; Cleaver, 2001:36; Kothari, 2001:139; Rolly, 2001:124; Kumar, 2002:31; Balacazar et al., 2004:17

support people in becoming empowered – a governmental role may be critical here.[2029]

Empowerment is a central objective of PD,[2030] while also being furthered by PD, or generated through its process.[2031] Participation and empowerment are integral[2032] and share a framework.[2033] They are conceptualized in relation to each other.[2034] Operationally, PD is a precondition for empowerment[2035] and can, therefore, lead to it[2036].

Empowerment is stated to include many different outcomes and can be identified by a number of capabilities.[2037] Among the observed benefits are diminished feelings of marginalization[2038] and organization toward development[2039].

Table 19 lists the attributes of empowerment, according to the following categories: a) action capabilities, b) areas of critical reflection, c) areas of decision-making, d) kind of development that ensue, e) organizational outcomes, f) personal qualities, and g) economic, political, and social outcomes.

[2029] Lyons et al., 1999:19
[2030] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Gorman, 1995:212-3; Cheater, 1999:599; Laverack, 2001:1; Vernooy et al., 2003:23; Chambers, 2005:149
[2031] Cheater, 1999:597; Lyons et al., 1999:19; Blackburn et al., 2000:1; Morris, 2003:229; Williams, 2004:565; Fraser et al., 2005:123
[2032] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:122
[2033] Laverack, 2001:2
[2034] WHO quoted in Mayo, 2000:156-7
[2035] Moser quoted in Brohman, 1996:253; Green, 2000:69
[2036] Stuart and Bery, 1996:208
[2037] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[2038] Turner et al., 2000:1731-2
[2039] Dockery, 1996:167

Table 19: *Attributes of Empowerment*

• ***Action capabilities***: on own behalf and interests[2040]; for development[2041]; to achieve goals[2042]; to resolve issues[2043];
• ***Critical reflection***[2044] (awareness[2045] of circumstances,[2046] causes of dis-empowerment,[2047] and identity[2048])
• ***Decision-making in***: planning, implementation, and evaluation,[2049] development,[2050] politics, and markets[2051]
• ***Development***[2052] (human-centered,[2053] sustainable,[2054] bottom-up,[2055] and small and successful[2056] through PD[2057]): informed by[2058] or co-determined at[2059] the local-level
• ***Economic outcomes***: increase in: efficiency[2060]; employment opportunities[2061]; security of water and energy[2062]; local self-reliance[2063] (including food)[2064]
• ***Organizational***: improved capacities of local groups,[2065] including to adapt[2066]; standard & greater transparency and accountability[2067] through peer reviews & public audits[2068]

[2040] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:xi and 7; Patterson, 1997:72; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355; Rolly, 2001:125
[2041] Hulbe, 1980:125; WHO quoted in Mayo, 2000:156-7; Rolly, 2001:125
[2042] Chambers, 1993:11; Cohen, 1996:231-2; Cheater, 1999; Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3
[2043] Laverack, 2001:10
[2044] Nelson and Wright, 1995:8; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[2045] Cohen, 1996:231-2; Lyons et al., 1999:10-11
[2046] Cheater, 1999; Laverack, 2001:10
[2047] Laverack, 2001:10; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[2048] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[2049] Laverack, 2001:12
[2050] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Mayo, 2000:156-7; Laverack, 2001:12; Rolly, 2001:125
[2051] Green, 2000:85
[2052] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Cheater, 1999:599
[2053] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:124; Cheater, 1999
[2054] Botchway, 2000:135
[2055] Knippers, 1991:21; Lyons et al., 1999:10-1
[2056] Lyons et al., 1999:10-11
[2057] U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:12
[2058] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Cheater, 1999:599; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[2059] Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:29
[2060] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:122-4; Singh and Titi, 1995:14
[2061] U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:12
[2062] Ibid.
[2063] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:12; Morse, 2004:85
[2064] Ibid.
[2065] Cohen, 1996:231-2
[2066] Chambers, 1993:11; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:78
[2067] Brohman, 1996:276; Gsanger, 1994:4; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:12; Chambers, 2005:149
[2068] U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:34-35

Table 19 Continued

• ***Personal qualities***: improvement in: self,[2069] caring,[2070] dialogue,[2071] expanding choices,[2072] mutual respect[2073] creativity (in private sector),[2074] adapting,[2075] managing skills,[2076] & applying knowledge (indigenous & scientific)[2077]
• ***Political outcomes***: increase in: participatory democracy[2078] (a threat to state[2079]); foreign aid managed by smaller organizations[2080]; political awareness[2081] of political power and rights[2082]; good governance[2083]; equitable power-sharing[2084] between individuals and institutions[2085]
• ***Social outcomes***: increase in: social power[2086]; space for culture, spirituality, and learning[2087]; basic needs (housing and health[2088]); decentralization to civil society[2089]; emancipation through education, including non-formal[2090]

Through the years, several dominant criticisms of empowerment and its relationship with PD have emerged. These concerns go beyond the difficulty of achieving empowerment,[2091] raising questions about whether empowerment is

[2069] Cheater, 1999:599; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[2070] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[2071] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Rolly, 2001:125
[2072] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:107
[2073] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[2074] Singh and Titi, 1995:13-4
[2075] Chambers, 1993:11
[2076] Hulbe, 1980:125; Sorensen, 1995:401; Rolly, 2001:125
[2077] Singh and Titi, 1995:14
[2078] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:122; Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:37
[2079] Hamdi and Goethert, 1997:34
[2080] Sorensen, 1995:401
[2081] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Laverack, 2001:2
[2082] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354-5
[2083] Cheater, 1999
[2084] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:36
[2085] Shragge quoted in Patterson, 1997:72
[2086] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:178; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:354
[2087] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; Balacazar et al., 2004:20
[2088] Singh and Titi, 1995:14; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:12
[2089] Lyons et al., 1999:10-1
[2090] Laverack, 2001:10
[2091] Cheater, 1999:598

even feasible or operational.[2092] Thus, empowerment is not liberating as it is purported,[2093] or it may simply involve the perception of people's control of their own lives.[2094] Its impact is not clear, since it is hard to evaluate and measure[2095]. It is also suggested it is unclear who specifically is to be empowered, for there are a number of possibilities (the individual, community, women, the poor, etc.).[2096] Regarding criticisms directed at the relationship between empowerment and PD, one writer has called the suggestion that PD is a new form of empowerment a "messianic" claim.[2097] According to Green, there is no evidence that PD leads to an empowerment separate from the political action that is needed.[2098]

Empowerment is here defined as *a long-term development objective that is achieved by individuals and groups through participatory experiences and training that build their capabilities (both practical and reflective) and confidence*. This definition most closely resembles that of Melkote and Steeves who state that empowerment is "the process by which individuals, organizations, and communities gain control and mastery over social and economic conditions; over democratic participation in their communities; and over their stories."[2099] Both definitions include individuals and groups and improved development organization through participation and personal enhancements.

[2092] Botchway, 2000:142; Laverack, 2001:1
[2093] Ibid.
[2094] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:355
[2095] Green, 2000:70; Morris, 2003:229; Henkel, 2001:178
[2096] Cheater, 1999:599
[2097] Mikkelsen, 2005:76
[2098] Green, 2000:70-3
[2099] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:37

Grassroots: Since PD is an example of a grassroots movement, it is natural that they share fundamental features. First, they are both part of the alternative paradigm.[2100] Second, PD and grassroots movements operate at a level that "encompasses individuals, households, small groups, communities (people with common neighborhood, ethnic, religious, or familial ties), and stop short of the more formal bureaucratic divisions administered by the state (such as the sub-district)."[2101] Said differently, they are both concerned with bringing "individuals together in the same geographic community – 'grassroots' implying both closeness to ordinary people and distance from elite power groups."[2102]

Third, PD and grassroots processes devolve development responsibility[2103] – also called "grassroots democracy"[2104] – which occurs when local citizens (or individuals) in groups recognize, define, and the resolve their own problems and issues.[2105] Through this process, PD and bottom-up movements gather information from local groups that have a socio-economic and/or environmental problem, and experience the popular education features and grassroots mobilization techniques that are incorporated into these movements.[2106] As such, PD and bottom-up initiatives both encourage self-governance and self-reliance, political education, activism to help build the

[2100] Rahman, 1995:31
[2101] Uphoff cited in Woolcock, 1998:171
[2102] Miller et al., 1995:113
[2103] Williams, 2004:558-72
[2104] Rahman, 1995:29; Miller et al., 1995:113-4; Stuart and Bery, 1996:205-8; Bhatt, 1997:382; Chaudhary, 1997:123; Uphoff et al., 1998:192; Woolcock, 1998:171; Lyons et al., 1999:10-1; Symes and Jasser, 2000:149; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:337-8; Kumar, 2002:45; Morris, 2003:226; Smock, 2004:222; Alamgir, 1989:4
[2105] Cary, 1970:5; also in Honadle and VanSant, 1985:75; Brohman, 1996:233; Bhatt, 1997:373
[2106] Williams in Prokopy and Costelloe, 1999:218

confidence of the poor, and empowerment.[2107] They also then act in defense of that which is local, cultural difference, and personal and community livelihoods.[2108]

Fourth, PD and bottom-up initiatives utilize voluntary labor, capital, small amounts of funds, as well as the knowledge, material, skills, and other resources from the beneficiaries of projects.[2109] Community contributions to development projects indicate project viability because they display people's willingness to invest in such projects.[2110] Makumbe further explains that there is a risk of failure if participants fail to provide requisite inputs.[2111] However, although PD and grassroots processes employ local people rather than outsiders,[2112] outside assistance is sought (such as financial) and is generally applied toward what the community cannot yet manage itself.[2113] External resources, combined with an expanding number of field workers are viewed as enabling PD and grassroots movements to spread more quickly.[2114]

Finally, PD and grassroots initiatives seek to link their movements to a national development system to ensure the self-sufficiency and sustainability of

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[2107] Rahman, 1995:32; Bhatt, 1997:382; Lyons and Smuts, 1999:10-1; Laverack, 2001:5
[2108] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248
[2109] Vaughn, 1966:21; Ravell, 1966:185; Hulbe, 1980:25; Rondinelli, 1987:88; Griffin and Rahman, 1992:171; McKinley, 1994:8; Brohman, 1996:218-9; Makumbe, 1996:6; Gonzalez, 1998:36-7
[2110] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:46; Rondinelli, 1987:88; Burky, 1993:50 and 180; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:8; Rahman, 1995:30; Makumbe, 1996:13; Miller, 1997:22; Tykkylainen, 1998:337-8; Uphoff et al., 1998:vii; Allen et al., 1999:33; Cheater, 1999:598; Hagmann et al., 1999:2; Mayo, 2000:156-7; Ford, 2001:ii; Rolly, 2001:125
[2111] Makumbe, 1996:105-6
[2112] Brohman, 1996:218-9
[2113] Sandstrom, 1991:iii; Nelson and Wright, 1995:30
[2114] Rahman, 1995:30

local initiatives.[2115] The initiative involves scaling-up, which constitutes "building networks, replicating successful programs, horizontal aggregation of resources, and nurturing from outside organizations."[2116]

International development: Programs of international development converge with PD on the goals of reducing poverty[2117] and to "improve the general well-being of people in developing countries in a sustainable manner."[2118] PD developed at a time of increasing concern over the effectiveness of international development efforts,[2119] particularly the "inability to solve problems related to community development, education, health, and poverty."[2120] PD since the early 1970s (and through the 1990s[2121]) assumed an increasingly important role in international development.[2122] Its agencies give PD "preeminence," place it as a "centerpiece policy,"[2123] and consider PD a value in itself[2124].

Marginalized groups: As a concept, tool, and objective, PD has broad appeal for…marginalized groups and has therefore given PD enormous momentum in its growth and wider applications, despite the need for "more evidence of its actual value for driving civic participation, reversing decline, or promoting prosperity."[2125]

[2115] Bhatt, 1997:382
[2116] Miller, 1997:25
[2117] Stevens, 1993:1
[2118] Adams and Rietbergen-McCraken, 1994:1
[2119] Ibid.
[2120] Chopyak, 2001:377-8
[2121] Reid, 2005:31-2
[2122] Jackson and Kassam, 1998:18; Chopyak, 2001:377-8
[2123] Reid, 2005:31-2
[2124] Makumbe, 1996:12
[2125] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26

Nationalist social reformers: Nationalist-populist programs in developing countries that incorporate PD-related concepts date to the mid-1940s when President Juan Peron of Argentina rejected both the liberal capitalism of Europe and the United States and communism, opting instead for state intervention, national capitalism, and social welfare.[2126] Another early example of a national reform movement that contained some PD elements was in India, where Mahatma Gandhi included in his model anti-technology and anti-consumerist positions against centralization and ecological destruction.[2127] Also, nationalist policies in Southern nations took the form of promoting alternative development strategies (development based on micro-enterprises, self help, etc.); these were advanced by NGOs and often funded by international organizations.[2128] Finally, Lea and Chaudrhi explain that, in rural areas, PD has been emphasized by "all" nationalist social reformers concerned with rural development.[2129] For example, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania understood PD to refer to people in mutual learning experiences, utilizing local and external resources, and actively involved in the planning, development, implementation, and evaluation of projects and activities that affected them.[2130] He and the ruling party encouraged people throughout the countryside to "move voluntarily from their scattered individual family homesteads into *ujamaa* villages…in order to [a] benefit from improved social infrastructure, such as schools, clinics, community bore-holes, and [b] pool

[2126] Petras, 200:5-6
[2127] Ibid.
[2128] Ibid.
[2129] Lea and Chaudrhi, 1983:23
[2130] Prokopy, 1999:213-4

their resources to acquire improved technologies and increase productivity on communal land holdings."[2131]

Self-help projects: PD has "a corollary in self-sufficiency and self-help,"[2132] which occur is when "people identify a need for themselves and try to satisfy it."[2133] Self-help projects can be in opposition to, or independent from, the state."[2134] Chambers suggests that the most important bottom-up development initiatives in Eastern Africa have been self-help projects.[2135]

Social work: When PD discourse began to emerge around the 1950s, it was used by "social workers and field activists who were frustrated by the failure of earlier models of development that advocated a 'top-down' strategy for development."[2136]

Southern NGOs: PD draws from the experience and practice of mainly Southern NGOs active in the 1980s and 1990s as they promoted empowerment and capacity-building (especially to create "mutuality and reciprocity" among relationships within society).[2137]

Sustainable Development: Sustainable development is referred to as a "two word phrase with a thousand meanings."[2138] There is, however, a widely recognized positive correlation between sustainable development and

[2131] Kalyalya, 1988:48
[2132] Nelson and Wright, 1995:3; also in Chambers, 2005:87-90
[2133] Chambers, 2005:92-3
[2134] Nelson and Wright, 1995:3; also in Chambers, 2005:87-90
[2135] Chambers, 2005:87-90
[2136] Botchway, 2000:136
[2137] Nelson and Wright, 1995:16; Eade, 1997:22; Kapoor, 2002:103
[2138] Porter, 2000:1

participation.[2139] For example, project evaluations from different parts of the world, including one study with a sample of 52 USAID projects,[2140] a second with 45 projects,[2141] and others, confirm that community participation and development project's sustainability have a definite positive relationship.

The participation-sustainability connection is related to the nature of each and how the method of participation lends towards sustainability. Sustainable development suggests a systems-wide approach to development whereby major sectors – environment, social, cultural, economic and political – should co-evolve.[2142] Broad participation allows these multiple sectors and perspectives to be represented (through institutions and individuals) and incorporated into the design and goals of development projects. The intended result is that diverse or multi-sectoral partnerships form.[2143] "Fusing"[2144] or "interlocking"[2145] these

[2139] Hulbe, 1980:124; Chambers, 1991:517; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:4; Brooks, 1992:40; Sandstrom, 1992:iii; Burky, 1993:39; Narayan, 1993:1; Rondinelli, 1993:144; Gsanger, 1994:4 and 5; Kwapong, 1994:26; Nelson and Wright, 1995:31-2; Brohman, 1996:345-6; Servaes, 1996:106-7; Bhatt, 1997:382; Gonzalez, 1998:42; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998:5; Hayami, 1998:99; Uphoff et al., 1998:82; Woolcock, 1998:187; Allen et al., 1999:3; Becker and Jahn, 1999:7; Cheater, 1999:597; Lyons et al., 1999:19; Eichler, 1999:211; Green, 1999:196; Hagmann, 1999:16; Woolcock and Narayan, 1999:18; Green, 2000:70; Botchway, 2000:148; Porter, 2000:6; Hailey, 2001:98-9; Ostrom and Varughese, 2001:748; Pretty and Ward, 2001:210; Rolly, 2001:25-6; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:1-2; Kumar, 2002:23-8; Uphoff, 2002:265; Frank, 2003:70; Morse, 2004:82; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:86; Hampshire et al., 2005:340

[2140] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:10

[2141] Gonzalez, 1998:36-7 and 42

[2142] National Research Council, 1991:13; Brooks, 1992:38 and 55; Klinmakorm and Ireland, 1992:60; Van den Bergh: 1994:7; Bloem et al., 1991:142; Warren, 1997:133; Eichler, 1999:211; Mendoza and Prabhu, 2000: 659; Bond et al., 2001:1011; Green and Haines, 2002:183-4; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:38; Bond et al., 2001:1011; President's Council on Sustainable Development quoted in Green and Haines, 2002:185; Ukaga, 2004:1

[2143] Hulbe, 1980:124; Narayan, 1993:27; Gsanger, 1994:Kwapong, 1994:26; McAllister, 1994:xxii; Holdgate, 1996:120 and 226; Muschett, 1997:9; Binswanger, 1998:297-8; Uphoff et al., 1998:19; Paehlke, 1999:244; Rolly, 2001:25-6; Ashman, 2001:1104; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Welf., 2001:38; President's Council on Sustainable Development quoted in Green and Haines, 2002:185; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:123

[2144] O'Riordan, 1988:37

[2145] Warren, 1997:133

sectors together allow the sustainable development approach to bear system-wide consequences.[2146] This is why sustainable development has been considered to: be holistic[2147]; promote structural transformation[2148]; alter the conditions of poverty and exploitation[2149]; and further self-reliance[2150].

There is broad consensus on the essential role of local communities and their leadership.[2151] This involves local people participating in the decision-making regarding development projects, including their design, implementation and management.[2152] The emphasis on local decision-making is because of the sense of ownership people feel when included in decision-making processes related to the development of their communities.[2153] This ownership encourages the maintenance of development projects because in their design they aim to meet the self-described needs of local people.[2154] This enables the continuation or permanent flow of benefits with or without outside assistance that may have

[2146] Brooks, 1992:38; Van den Bergh: 1994:7; Bloem et al, 1991:142; Warren, 1997:133; Green and Haines, 2002:183-4; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:1
[2147] Bloem et al, 1996:142; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:38
[2148] Hulbe, 1980:123; O'Riordan, 1988:37 and 42; Servaes, 1996-106-7; Becker and Jahn, 1999:7; Rolly, 2000:24; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Welf., 2001:38
[2149] Ibid.
[2150] Hulbe, 1980:124; Narayan, 1993:43; Bloem et al., 1996:142; Eade, 1997:5; Bhatt, 1997:382; Rolly, 2001:21
[2151] Hulbe, 1980:124; Honadle and VanSant, 1985:46 and 77; O'Riordan, 1988:42; Cook, 1992:398; Brooks, 1992:38; Narayan, 1993:43; Brohman, 1996:234; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; Servaes, 1996-106-7; Muschett, 1997:10; Gonzalez, 1998:42; Hayami, 1998:99; Porter, 2000:10; Green and Haines, 2002:183; Frank, 2003:70
[2152] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:77; Narayan, 1993:27; Rondinelli, 1993:144; Gsanger, 1994:4; Brohman, 1996:234; Servaes, 1996:106-7; Becker and Jahn, 1999:7
[2153] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:4; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:1-2; Kumar, 2002:27-8; Rawlings, 2004:118
[2154] Kothari, 2001:139

helped catalyze the process.[2155] Developing skills, know-how, and capacities help improve decision-making.[2156]

Like development generally, the efforts of sustainable development are to be directed towards the poor[2157] and all people[2158]. As compared to earlier interpretations of sustainable development, it now strongly emphasizes: 1) economic development[2159]; 2) meeting basic human needs[2160]; and 3) human development[2161]. Better technologies[2162] *and* placing limitations on technology[2163] have both been said to be necessary.

[2155] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:2; Klinmakorm and Ireland, 1992:60; Norgaard, 1992:86; Pearce, 1992:72; Robinson, 1992:38; Burky, 1993:36; Rondinelli, 1993:2; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:178; Van den Bergh, 1994:7; Campbell, 1997:54; Gonzalez, 1998:28-9; Mendoza and Prabhu, 2000:659; Porter, 2000:1; Rolly, 2001:21; Kumar, 2002:27-8

[2156] Hulbe, 1980:124; Chambers 1991:517; Norgaard, 1992:84; Uphoff, 1992:144; Narayan, 1993:43; Rondinelli, 1993:185; Brohman, 1996:345-6; Bloem et al., 1996:142; Eade, 1997:190; Brundtland quoted in Fraser, 1998:5; Gonzalez, 1998:42; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998:5; Uphoff et al., 1998:110; Anand and Sen, 2000:2038; President's Council of Sustainable Development quoted in Porter, 2000:6; Rolly, 2001:25-6; Ostrom, 2001:748; Fraser et al., 2005:124

[2157] Bruntland Report quoted in Hulbe, 1980:123; O'Riordan, 1988:37-8; Chambers, 1991:517; Robinson, 1992:32; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:100; Gonzalez, 1998:42; Anand and Sen, 2000:2038; Porter, 2000:1; Rolly, 2001:24; Uphoff, 2002:265; Morse, 2004:82

[2158] Daly, 1993:127

[2159] Hulbe, 1980:123; O'Riordan, 1988:37; Ruttan, 1988:130; Edwards and Rattan, 1990:68; Brooks, 1992:55; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:100; Bloem, et al., 1996; Campbell and Heck, 1997:54; Becker and Jahn, 1999:7; Porter, 2000:5; Leinberger, 2000:66; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Welf., 2001:38

[2160] Bruntland Report quoted in Hulbe, 1980:123; O'Riordan, 1988:37-8; Pearce, 1992:72; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; Chambers, 1991:517; Nelson and Wright, 1995:31; Eade, 1997:5; Campbell and Heck, 1997:54; Eichler, 1999:182-206; Anand and Sen, 2000:2038; President's Council of Sustainable Development quoted in Porter, 2000:6; Rolly, 2001:24; Bond et al., 2001:1011; Uphoff, 2002:265

[2161] Narayan, 1993:1; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:viii and 101; Anand and Sen, 2000:2038; Lovett et al., 2004:128-9

[2162] Brooks, 1992:55; Norgaard, 1992:84; Muschett, 1997:7; Warren, 1997:133; Biggs, 1998:121-2; Binswanger, 1998:297-8; Porter, 2000:1 Rolly, 2001:21; Schot, 2001:39; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Welf., 2001:38

[2163] Bruntland Report quoted in Hulbe, 1980:123

Sustainable development is a term said to have multiple meanings,[2164] be "widely misunderstood…so as to be meaningless,"[2165] and not "capable of being made precise"[2166]. Defining the term has been suggested to be "an intrinsically politically endeavor,"[2167] that devalues and potentially exploits it for political ends,"[2168] especially if the definition is vague and removed from scientific principles.

Sustainable development emphasizes the environment in the development process.[2169] Its primary objective is to affect the interaction between economic growth and environmental costs, or the social and ecological.[2170] Some authors similarly describe the area of concern of sustainable development as being between humanity and nature.[2171] To have an effect on that relationship requires building human relationships.[2172]

[2164] Paehlke, 1999:244, Medoza and Prabhu, 2000:659; Porter, 2000:1; Bond et al, 2001:1011
[2165] O'Riordan, 1988:29
[2166] Angelsen and Sumaila, 2002:22
[2167] Becker et al, 1999:8
[2168] O'Riordan, 1888:29 and 33
[2169] Bruntland Report quoted in Hulbe, 1980:123; O'Riordan, 1988:29, Brooks, 1992:55; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:100; IUCN, UNEP, WWF, 1996:226; Campbell and Heck, 1997:54; Muschett, 1997:10; Paehlke, 1999:244; Anand and Sen, 2000:2033; Leinberger, 2000:66; Mendoza and Prabhu, 2000:659; Porter, 2000:10; Leinberger, 2000:66; Ales and Solbrig, 2001:66; Rolly, 2001:20; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:35-6; Pretty and Ward, 2001:214; United Nations quoted in Bond et al., 2001:1011; Rolly, 2002:20
[2170] O'Riordan, 1988:29; National Research Council, 1991:13-4; Brooks, 1992:55; Norgaard, 1992:81; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:96 and 99; Bloem et al 1996:142; Campbell and Heck, 1997:54; Muschett, 1997:54; Warren, 1997:54; O'Riordan, 1988:37-8; Becker and Jahn, 1999:7; Porter, 2000:1 and 5; Anand and Sen, 2000:2033; Bond et al., 2001:1011; Rolly, 2001:20; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:38; Green and Haines, 2002;183; Nolan, 2002:272-3; Uphoff, 2002:265
[2171] Pearce, 1992:72; Van den Bergh et al., 1994:7; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; IUCN et al. quoted in Holdgate, 1996:120; Muschett, 1997:9
[2172] Muschett, 1997:9

The origin of sustainable development is said to be Greek and is related to the vision of "Gaia," "the mother figure of natural replenishment."[2173] Contemporarily, it arose out of: 1) concerns related to the overexploitation of natural resources (oceans and fisheries, forests, population growth, species extinction, global climate change, and hunger)[2174]; and 2) the failures of projects and programs in the 1960s and 1970s to generate long-term benefits after donor involvement[2175] and kept nations in declining conditions after considerable foreign aid expenditures[2176].

In 1987, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (a.k.a. the Brundtland Commission) made the first international policy statement that connected economic development to the state of the environment.[2177] The commission defined sustainable development as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[2178] In 1992 at the Rio de Janeiro at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the concept of sustainable development was well embedded in their programs and in international agreements, and the Commission on Sustainable Development also grew out of that conference.[2179] In 1993, President Bill Clinton established the

[2173] O'Riordan, 1988:31
[2174] Green and Haines, 2002:183; Muschett, 1997:10; Gonzalez, 1998:28-9; Anand and Sen, 2000:2033
[2175] Gonzalez, 1998:28-9
[2176] O'Riordan, 1988:42; Ibid.
[2177] Biggs, 1998:115; Porter, 2000:1
[2178] WCED, 1987:43
[2179] U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:38

Council on Sustainable Development and a few years later it development a blueprint to achieve national sustainability.[2180]

The Brundtland Commission's definition of sustainable development includes an aspect of the concept that is widely shared in the literature: the attention given to future generations.[2181] The goal is that future generations may have a level of capital (social and physical, which should be regenerated[2182]) at a level at least equal to what exists today.[2183] That is why proponents of sustainable development promote: 1) renewable natural resources and safeguarding biological diversity[2184]; 2) curbing consumption[2185]; 3) equitable economic well-being, including on a global level[2186]; and 4) correct the incentives and not restrain growth – reflect environmental costs in the market[2187]. Sustainable development advocates a better consciousness to unleash potential,[2188] altered community behavior,[2189] and consensus around ethic for

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[2180] Porter, 2000:1
[2181] Hulbe, 1980:124; Norgaard, 1992:86; Pearce, 1992:72; Daly, 1993:127; Van den Bergh et al, 1994:7; Brohman, 1996:63; Holdgate, 1996:256; Campbell and Heck, 1997:54; Eade, 1997:5; Gonzalez, 1998:32; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998:5; Anand and Sen, 2000:2030-8; Mendoza and Prabhu, 2000:659; Porter, 2000:5; Rolly, 2001:20; Porter, 2000:2; U.N. Dept. of Econ.and Soc. Aff., 2001:38; Uphoff, 2002:265; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:1
[2182] Hulbe, 1980:124; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:viii, 99 and 102; Brohman, 1996:63; Holdgate, 1996:120; Green, 1999:196; Anand and Sen, 2000:2037
[2183] Hulbe, 1980:124; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:viii and102; Brohman, 1996:63; Holdgate, 1996:120
[2184] Hulbe, 1980:123; O'Riordan, 1988:29; Bebbington et al., 1993:18; Bloem et al., 1996:142; Brohman, 1996:311-12; Holdgate, 1996:226; Muschett, 1997:7; Campbell and Heck, 1997:54; Anand and Sen, 2000:2033; President's Council of Sustainable Development quoted in Porter, 2000:6; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:35-6; Rolly, 2001:20; Ukaga and Maser, 2004:1
[2185] Hulbe, 1980:123; O'Riordan, 1988:33; Bebbington et al., 1993:18; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:99; Holdgate, 1996:256; Anand and Sen, 2000:2033; Porter, 2000:1
[2186] Hulbe 1980:123; National Resource Council, 1991:13-4; Pearce, 1992:72; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; Eade, 1997:5; Muschett, 1997:10; Anand and Sen, 2000:2028; Rolly, 2001:24; Nolan, 2002:272-3
[2187] Batra, 1993:233; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:99-100
[2188] Servaes, 1996-106-7
[2189] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:4; Uphoff, 1992:144; Porter, 2000:2

living sustainably[2190]. Goals also include to savings and reinvestment,[2191] diversified and alternative ways of growing,[2192] reduced risk,[2193] and protection of infant industries[2194].

A criticism of sustainable development is that it ignores other vital measures that need to also take place, including the formation of local organizations and institutional reform to follow through on the agenda.[2195] The important role of civic associations in sustainable development, which includes new and reformed institutions, is widely cited.[2196] Part of the strategy is that grassroots organizations link together and influence the development planning processes of national and global agencies[2197] – similar to the federation concept discussed earlier. The process of conducting sustainable development is linked to improved local democratic practices[2198] and decentralization[2199]. It requires a level of political development to flourish.[2200]

Table 20 summarizes the qualities, origins, goals, and criticisms of sustainable development.

[2190] IUCN, UNEP and WWF quoted in Holdgate, 1996:274
[2191] Burky, 1993:210
[2192] Hulbe, 1980:123; Uphoff et al., 1998:205
[2193] National Research Council, 1991:14
[2194] Brohman, 1996:63
[2195] O'Riordan, 1988:49
[2196] Honandle and VanSant, 1985:74; Edwards and Hulme, 1992:212; Norgaard, 1992:84; Narayan, 1993:43; Serageldin, 1993:40-9; Brohman, 1996:345-6; Servaes et al., 1996:106-7; Hayami, 1998:99; Gonzalez, 1998:28-9 and 38-41; Bhatt, 1997:382; Becker and Jahn, 1999:7; Green, 1999:196; Medoza and Prabhu, 2000:659; Ashman, 2001:1097; Pretty and Ward, 2001:210; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Welf., 2001:41
[2197] Hulbe, 1980:124; Robinson, 1992:38; Uphoff, 1992:144; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; Servaes, 1996:106-7; Bhatt, 1997:382; Ashman, 2001:1097; U.N. Dept. of Econ. and Soc. Aff., 2001:1-2
[2198] Brohman, 1996:311-2; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998:5
[2199] Brohman, 1996:311-2; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; Servaes, 1996:106-7
[2200] Honadle and VanSant, 1985:74; Brohman, 1996:311-12; Holdgate, 1996:xiv; Bhatt, 1997:382; Gonzalez, 1998:38; Leinberger, 2000:66; Green and Haines, 2002:183-4

Table 20: *Qualities of Sustainable Development*

General
• Emphasis on the environment in the development process
• Social and ecological co-evolution
• Development that does not compromise the future
• System-wide / holistic approach - social, cultural, economic, political, environment, culture, and history
• Benefits flow with or without outside assistance
• Concept, method, and way of life[2201]
Origins
• Greek--related to the mother figure of replenishment
• Environment problems drive the movement
• 1960s and 1970s--development projects were unable to create long-term benefits beyond donor involvement[2202]
• 1987--Brundtland Commission issued the first statement that connected economic health and environment
• 1992--U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro expressed support in its declaration
• 1993--President Clinton established the Council on Sustainable Development - in 1996 published a blueprint for achieving national sustainability[2203]
• Non-sustainable action at the household level due to poverty
Goals
• Basic human needs--human development
• Civic associations--new and reformed
• Community behavior--consumption curbed
• Community participation, decision-making, and ownership
• Consciousness to unleash potential
• Consensus around ethic for living sustainably
• Decentralization
• Democracy
• Diversified or alternative growing
• Economic well-being that is equitable--growth not restrained
• Grassroots link to national and worldwide system
• Incentives--environmental costs not reflected
• Infant industries protected
• Limits--physical and biological

[2201] Ales and Solbrig, 2001:66
[2202] O'Riordan, 1988:42; Gonzalez, 1998:28-29
[2203] Porter, 2000:1

Table 20 Continued

Goals
• Local capacities (planning, administrative, managerial, and technical)
• Partnerships--multi-sectoral and multi-tierd
• Renewable natural resources
• Risk reduced
• Save and reinvest
• Self-reliance
• Structural conditions related to poverty and exploitation
• Technology--better and some limitations
Critique
• Aid geared to political
• Defining is a political
• Feasibility comes into question
• Institutional reform should be more included
• Meanings--multiple
• More harm than good
• Myth that "participation" is the sole cause of sustainability[2204]
• Optimality and sustainability are distinct[2205]
• Never attainable[2206]--two words that are irreconcilable[2207]

The definition given in this study for sustainable development is *development planned to last into the future, and is achieved through community participation, including their consideration of environmental and social factors that affect development; this form of development is managed by civil organizations and cross-sectoral partnerships that link together and transform society*.

This definition is distinguished from the definition of development by the attention to the natural environment it gives when planning and evaluating

[2204] Viswanath quoted in Hulbe, 1980:123
[2205] Anand and Sen, 2000:2042
[2206] Ales and Solbrig, 2001:66
[2207] Viswanath quoted in Hulbe, 1980:123

projects. It seeks to create a direct balance among physical and social factors of development – in terms of planning, design, and objectives. It does this in order to achieve its namesake – development that endures as much as possible into the future without compromising capital to an extent that would be prohibitive due to its impact on future generations.

The definition above overlaps with the definition put forward by Robinson and Tinker, where they state: "Sustainable development is…defined as the reconciliation of three imperatives: 1) the ecological imperative, to remain within planetary bio-physical carrying capacity; 2) the economic imperative, to ensure an adequate material standard of living; and 3) the social imperative, to provide social structures, including systems of governance, that effectively propagate and sustain the values that people want to live by to maximize human welfare."[2208]

Finally, participatory development is rooted in *theoretical and philosophical traditions and perspectives*.[2209] They include:

Alinsky, Saul: U.S. organizing practices often used in community development have been built directly or indirectly on the work of Saul Alinsky in the 1960s and 1970s. His approach, which emphasized participation, was based on the premise that a "professionally-trained organizer would come into a marginalized community to focus on a specific issue, mobilize people around that issue, build strong organizations, direct actions and conflicts, and win concessions from elites – then leave the community."[2210]

[2208] Robinson and Tinker quoted in Eichler, 1999:211
[2209] Jacobson, 1996:275
[2210] Fisher in Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:218

Anarchism: Similar to PD,[2211] anarchism opposes external authority, power, and coercion (not order or society, as is commonly thought) while favoring decentralization and voluntary cooperation for production, consumption, and satisfaction of various needs.[2212] In addition, in the anarchist favored condition, just as in PD, the regulation of public affairs and interests occur by free agreements concluded between individuals and groups.[2213]

Aristotelian ethics: This ethical framework is part of "the convergence of old intellectual traditions and new forms of discourse that both vindicate and inform PD."[2214] Also, Bookchin describes the following related Aristotle and PD concepts: "Whether a municipality can be administered by all its citizens in a single assembly or has to be subdivided into several confederally related assemblies depends very much upon its size, hence Aristotle's injunction that a *polis* should not be so large that one could not hear a cry for help from the city walls. Although assemblies can function as networks on a block, neighborhood, or town level, they fulfill traditional ideals of civic democracy when the cities in which they are located are decentralized."[2215]

Chaos theory: PD has been "validated and reinforced, as modest partners, by parallel developments in chaos and edge of chaos theory."[2216]

[2211] Midgley quoted in Makumbe, 1996:10
[2212] Bouvard, 1975:7-8 and 92
[2213] Ibid.
[2214] McTaggart, 1997:7
[2215] Bookchin, 1990:181
[2216] Chambers quoted in Taylor, 2001:125

Civic model: This model is a primary approach to community organizing over the past decade and involves PD.[2217]

Communitarianism: Several authors identify participation as the "expressed hope of a communitarian life."[2218] In politics, this entails *all* citizens participating in their communities' political affairs.[2219] The communitarian approach works underneath and beyond states[2220] – similar to PD and decentralization. Communitarianism "stresses the creation of alternative forms of global social, economic, and political organization" that "emerge from life and conditions of particular communities, from local communities to communities of interest."[2221] Ninacs discusses research that identifies entrepreneurial vitality in the communitarian sense as a "key" to successful development projects.[2222]

Communitarianism's rise to acceptance as a legitimate approach, which the following describes, is also mirrored in PD, as discussed earlier.

> A communitarian strategy is based on…the primacy of community, non-violence, ecology, participatory democracy, economic self-reliance, social responsibility, cultural pluralism, and spiritual freedom. Although the communitarian strategy may be critiqued for its absence of historical precedence and the lack of a detailed socioeconomic plan of action, there is now a sufficient body of literature and historical evidence to suggest that it is a viable communication and development policy option.[2223]

PD and communitarianism also have a shared concern: more needs to be done to build the connections between "macroscopic actions" and communitarian

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[2217] Smock, 2004:7
[2218] Tilly, 1975:2
[2219] Elazar cited in Thompson and Wildavsky, 1990:227-39
[2220] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:262
[2221] Ibid.
[2222] Ninacs, 1997:166
[2223] Servaes, 1996:61

thought and PD.[2224] Another commonality is that communitarian approaches have been classified by some observers as being isolationist,[2225] as have those of PD. Communitarian theories suggest alienation is caused by "a lack of a sense of what one is, or a sense of social exclusion, or the absence of a sense of possession toward one's community or work place."[2226]

In the context of development, Mohan and Stokke explain that devolution-decentralization promotes communitarian sentiments and the foundation for democratic practices.[2227] Also, the communitarian perspective ought to be utilized by development practitioners as it will assist them in helping to create cooperative initiatives.[2228]

Community-building model: This is a communitarian approach[2229] and similar to PD. This model has broad appeal and momentum of support, but requires the gathering evidence as well as rigorous analysis in order to determine "its actual value for driving civic participation, reversing decline, or promoting prosperity."[2230] Moreover, its emphasis on "comprehensive planning and technical expertise" encourage the involvement of professionals and administrators (also in PD) rather than strictly the neighborhood's low-income and working-class residents in the organizing process.[2231]

[2224] McWilliams, 2006:21
[2225] Woolcock, 1998:176
[2226] Geyer and Heintz, 1992:xvi
[2227] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250
[2228] Costa, et al., 1997:1443
[2229] Smock, 2004:240
[2230] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26; Smock, 2004:7
[2231] Smock, 2004:251

Conscientization and collective identity formation: This occurs around common experiences with marginalization,[2232] and also in PD,[2233] when authors cite that "conscientization" as occurring, which comes about through new insights and understandings,[2234] increased fulfillment,[2235] and less apathy[2236].

Conservatives: From the conservative perspective, PD "offers the prospect of the poor taking responsibility for solving their problems."[2237]

Critical theory: The intent of the ideas behind critical theory is to achieve the potential of "communicative actions that reproduce the life world,"[2238] which has an "implied position" with PD.[2239]

Dewey, John: Dewey identified community with democracy, and democracy with communication.[2240] PD's uniting of inquiry, education, and social action is said to have roots in Dewey's pragmatic philosophy.[2241] Dewey also emphasized means over ends,[2242] which is also often emphasized in PD. Dewey is an intellectual source whose ideas, especially those related to community self-reliance, helped to inspire the initial similar movements in the United States.[2243]

[2232] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249
[2233] Hulbe, 1980:125; Freire, 1982:30; Melkote, 1991:244; Wignaraja, 1992:392-3; Moser, 1993:76; Arnst, 1996:119-20; Brohman, 1996:233-4; Makumbe, 1996:19; Altrichter and Gsettner, 1997:60; Rahman quoted in Miller, 1997:23; Gonzalez, 1998:16; Campbell, 2000:264-5; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:339; Mikkelsen, 2005:54
[2234] McTaggart, 1997:7
[2235] Cornwall, 1999:4
[2236] Allen et al., 1999:3
[2237] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26
[2238] Turner, 1998:572
[2239] Jacobson, 1996:275
[2240] Deetz, 1999:131
[2241] Friesen, 1999:284
[2242] Selzinick, 1992:48
[2243] Green and Haines, 2002:19

Frankfurt School (1950s and 60s)[2244]: The work of members of the Frankfurt School relate to PD through their: a) combining "theory and action or the use of theory to stimulate action, and vice versa," and b) exposing "oppression in society and to propose less constrictive [more flexible] options."[2245]

Jurgen Habermas: Since the 1970s, his work on the relationship between theory and praxis has related to PD in the following ways.[2246] First, Habermas's idea of "purposive or communicative rationality creates some common understandings through dialogue and action in the world, reducing the distinction between subject and object and between practical and theoretical knowledge."[2247] It also offers the opportunity "to understand and incorporate others' interpretations into our own."[2248] This description in the way in which communicative rationality unfolds is in some key ways similar to the progression of PD processes – in dialogue, action, and the integration of the subject-object, practical-theoretical, and interpretations of the participants. Second, Habermas's concept of "ideal speech situation" also overlaps with PD because of its notion of "uncoerced rational dialogue among free and equal participants" that is inclusive and open.[2249] Third, PD draws from Habermas's critical theory to explain that PD generates the following:

> 1) instrumental knowledge, aimed at collecting and making sense of "objective facts" through the application of positivist scientific method; 2) interactive knowledge, involving the strengthening, and in some cases the

[2244] Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3
[2245] Turner, 1998:553-4
[2246] Campbell and Vainio-Matilla, 2003:3
[2247] Uphoff, 1992:405; also in Deetz, 1999:154
[2248] Ibid.
[2249] Kapoor, 2002:105

> creation, of social bonds among members of a community (which we could define demographically or on the basis of common interests); and 3) critical knowledge, involving research that addresses "questions concerning the life chances we are entitled to as members of a society, as well as…the comprehension of the social obstacles standing more immediately in the way of achieving those goals.[2250]

Third, PD shares with Habermas's deliberative democracy "an open-ended and proceduralist approach" (avoiding blueprints on public meeting agendas).[2251] Finally, similarly to PD, Habermas's deliberative democracy treats the public sphere as an autonomous space in which citizens participate and act through dialogue and reasoned debate.[2252] Also, in both free speech is broadened to create and strengthen democracy. The priority of decentralizing politics to counter growing state power is also encouraged.[2253]

Human ecology: This is the study of interactions (and sometimes dominance) between human and ecological systems.[2254] PD draws on human ecology in that they both share the desire to learn (build capacities), adapt toward a state of equilibrium,[2255] and measure performance by the physical and mental well-being of people[2256].

Individualism: PD is derived from individualism, a concept that incorporates a distrust of the state,[2257] as well as other constructive values from a PD perspective, such as the power of the self-interest motive to meet human

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[2250] Park in Clark and Cove, 1998:42
[2251] Kapoor, 2002:103
[2252] Ibid.
[2253] Kapoor, 2002:103
[2254] Korten and Carner, 1984:208
[2255] Appelbaum, 1970:17
[2256] Ibid., 208
[2257] Midgley quoted in Makumbe, 1996:10

needs.[2258] However, Thomas suggests that PD seeks to overcome individualism by affirming the other through dialogue and building community. Finally, sociologists also generally prefer group level explanations of social phenomena than individualism.[2259]

Liberalism: PD echoes liberalism's democratic values of local voice, social justice, and economic and racial equity.[2260] In terms of democratic values, as was stated earlier, PD is the democratization of the development process.[2261] It operates in an inclusive way at the local level,[2262] with the intention of increasing the power and voice of citizens[2263]. PD processes build up from the community base of society to the national level,[2264] and civil society organizations participate in defining development priorities[2265] and in supporting pluralism.[2266]

Liberalization: PD can be compatible with liberalization through the careful marshaling of "poor people's voices to provide support for the World Bank's policy prescriptions."[2267]

Liberation theology: The role of facilitators of PD methods with communities grew out of the facilitators' sense of solidarity with the struggles of communities and with liberation theology, which focuses on "the economic injustices of

[2258] Uphoff, 1992:350
[2259] Hechter, 1989:64
[2260] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252; Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26
[2261] Cary, 1970:150; Wengert, 1976:23; Clement and Van de Besselaar, 1993:36; Makumbe, 1996:2; Brohman, 1996:252-3; Cheater, 1999:597; Cornwall, 1999:8; White, 1999:233; Lyons et al., 1999:19; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999: 218; Servaes, 1999:93-102
[2262] Stokes, 1981:137; Brohman, 1996:311-2
[2263] Taylor et al., 2004:4
[2264] Mikkelsen, 2005:112
[2265] Ibid.
[2266] Clark, 1968:114
[2267] Williams, 2004:558-72

capitalist-style production, the marginalization of the poor, the concentration of power, social class confrontations, and so forth."[2268]

Mainstream: PD "appeals to a populist image of family and community for which many are (perhaps unrealistically) nostalgic"[2269];

Marxism: PD's roots may be found in several areas of Marxism. First, Midgley suggests that many proponents of PD claim to be committed to socialism and Marxism, because they share a level of distrust of the state.[2270] Second, Marx believed that in "authentic socialism," there is a rich tradition of "popular participation in the running of the whole gamut of social institutions at every level, including a highly diversified range of popular organizations – parties, trade unions, voluntary associations, and local government organs"[2271]; this perspective is shared in PD. Third, Marx's theory of freedom includes the opportunity for self-determination (a stated goal of PD[2272]), which is freedom to determine one's own life to the maximum possible degree; this in turn rests on "the right to equal participation in all social decision-making processes that affect one's life."[2273] Finally, Marxism may diverge with PD proponents who would likely reject "the basic notion of antagonism and mutually exclusive interests of contending social classes"; rather, PD processes are dedicated to "plus-sum game where everybody stood to gain from increased people's participation."[2274]

[2268] Gorman, 1995:212-3
[2269] Kubisch and Stone, 2001:26
[2270] Midgley quoted in Makumbe, 1996:10
[2271] Worsley, 1982:99-100
[2272] Bhatt, 1997:373
[2273] Peffer, 1990:123
[2274] Martinussen, 1997:233-4

Modernization: Several authors describe modernization's suitability for participation. For example, even though modernization is driven by industry, without the market *participation* of agriculture and other social sectors and groups "development is difficult to sustain."[2275] Also, for James Coleman, "the modernized political system has a much better capacity to handle the functions of national identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation, and distribution than the traditional political system."[2276] In addition, Henkle too describes PD as "intimately" part of the process of modernization by trying to make people "modern" through integrating "the beneficiaries of their projects into national and international political, economic, and ideological structures – incidentally, structures about which the people concerned generally have very little control."[2277] However, PD and modernization are not always compatible: classical proponents of modernization theories in the 1950s and the 1960s considered broad participation problematic, or even "incompatible with rapid economic growth"; modernization theorists believe this primarily because they did not have significant enough confidence in the capacities of ordinary citizens.[2278]

Neo-liberalism (revised[2279] or "softened"[2280]): Empowerment (which is inseparable to PD) is here seen in "narrow market terms," and can justify the position of devolving development responsibility to the grassroots.[2281] Furthermore, neo-liberal reforms could "foster the opportunity for popular

[2275] Lewis in Ramirez, 1991:110
[2276] So, 1990:34
[2277] Henkel, 2001:182-3
[2278] Martinussen, 1997:232-3
[2279] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248
[2280] Williams, 2004:572
[2281] Ibid.

participation in the process of building a consensus and sharing the burden of change," since democratic reforms (part of the neo-liberal agenda) require meeting popular demand for a voice in public policy.[2282] Finally, revised neo-liberalism believes that "states or markets cannot and should not be solely responsible for ensuring social equality and welfare growth"[2283]; PD is similarly intent on engaging prospective stakeholders among the social sectors and groups.

New Social Movements: "Participatory approaches…figure centrally in the post-socialist political theory of the 1980s and 1990s, notably in what has become known as 'New Social Movements.'"[2284]

Phenomenology: Among the major ideas that have informed PD are "the theoretical works by phenomenologists in the 1950s and 1960s, and especially the ideas of Jurgen Habermas since the 1970s on the relationship between theory and praxis."[2285] Phenomenology is also part of "the convergence of old intellectual traditions and new forms of discourse that both vindicate and inform PD, and…produces new insights and understandings that meet defensible standards for knowledge claims."[2286] PD utilizes a phenomenological approach, namely that: "1) the process of knowing is linked to action, 2) this process is initiated in the context of those not in power, with a focus on what *they* want to change, 3) local people participate equally in the activities of knowing and acting,

[2282] Seddon, 1994:334
[2283] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249
[2284] Henkel, 2001:168
[2285] Cambell, 2003:3
[2286] Jacobson, 1996:275; McTaggart, 1997:7; Hall quoted in White, 1999:32-3

and 4) the control of the process must be in local hands. It is interpersonal, collective in nature (especially the analysis of research), and pedagogically experiential for all involved."[2287]

Populism: PD is derived from a blend of individualism, populism, and anarchism, which share the perspective of a basic mistrust of the state.[2288] Populism's influence is also seen in that its approach to local empowerment, which enables an open-ended interpretation of participation that has been referred to in 1994 by PD's leading advocate, Robert Chambers, as a 'paradigm shift.'"[2289]

Post-colonialism: It is part of "the convergence of old intellectual traditions and new forms of discourse that both vindicate and inform PD, and its framework offers insights and understandings that meet defensible standards for knowledge claims."[2290]

Post-Marxism: PD and post-Marxism share "a belief that states or markets cannot and should not be solely responsible for ensuring social equality and welfare growth."[2291]

Post-modernism (some forms)[2292]: It is part of "the convergence of old intellectual traditions and new forms of discourse that both vindicate and inform PD, and its framework offers insights and understandings that meet defensible standards for knowledge claims."[2293]

[2287] White, 1999:32-3
[2288] Midgley quoted in Makumbe, 1996:10; Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252
[2289] Ibid.
[2290] Jacobson, 1996:275; McTaggart, 1997:7; Hall quoted in White, 1999:32-3
[2291] Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248
[2292] McTaggart, 1997:7
[2293] Jacobson, 1996:275; McTaggart, 1997:7; White, 1999:32-3

Post-socialist political theory: PD figures centrally in the post-socialist political theory of the 1980s and 1990s.[2294]

Power-based model: This model provides a primary approach to community organizing since the 1990s.[2295]

Socialism: Many proponents of PD claim to be committed to socialism and Marxism, which both incorporate a basic distrust of the state.[2296]

Symbolic interactionism: It is part of "the convergence of old intellectual traditions and new forms of discourse that both vindicate and inform PD, and its framework offers insights and understandings that meet defensible standards for knowledge claims."[2297]

Transformative model: The transformative model has been an approach to community organizing since the 1990s.[2298] Transforming lives and society is the process and goal of development.[2299]

Transformation occurs structurally, in groups, and individually.[2300] Sustainable development, for example, because it creates self-reliance, provides structural transformation.[2301] Self-reliance structurally transforms the periphery into many centers, for example.[2302] Decentralization also provides structural

[2294] Henkel, 2001:168
[2295] Smock, 2004:7
[2296] Makumbe, 1996:10
[2297] Jacobson, 1996:275; McTaggart, 1997:7; White, 1999:32-3
[2298] Smock, 2004:7
[2299] Eade, 1997:24
[2300] Brohman, 1996:218-9
[2301] Bloem et al., 1996:141-52
[2302] Rist, 1997:23; Servaes, 1999:82

transformation.[2303] PD transforms a group into a coordinated whole[2304] by transforming the group's internal social relationships (the basic building block of groups[2305])[2306]. Transformation in this context essentially involves transforming 1) how group members interact with each other[2307] and 2) the conditions underlying the problems they face.[2308] Individuals are capable by themselves of learning how to transform their own attitudes,[2309] social reality,[2310] and consciousness[2311].

The *process* of transformation involves individuals and groups: 1) raising their level of consciousness by becoming more aware of: reality and how to transform it, [2312] roles and responsibilities toward social change,[2313] and the forces that keep them in poverty[2314]; 2) working through differences, arriving at an agreement, and implementing it[2315]; 3) actualizing community using PD[2316]; 4) decision-making and monitoring[2317]; 5) "fostering plurality"[2318]; and 6) committing assistance to the poor and vulnerable[2319].

[2303] Brohman, 1996:239-40
[2304] Doyle and Straus, 1976:36
[2305] Eitzen and Zinn, 2001:29
[2306] Kelman, 1992:69; Khanna, 1996:68; Elliot, 1999:218; Forester, 1999:115; Rubin, 2002:105
[2307] Ghais, 2005:3-4
[2308] Servaes, 1999:82-108
[2309] Francis, 2001:77
[2310] Balcazar et al., 2004:20
[2311] Green, 2000:70
[2312] Hulbe, 1980:125-42; Rahman 1983:23; Wignaraja, 1992:392
[2313] Balcazar et al., 2004:24
[2314] Wignaraja, 1992:392
[2315] Bush and Folger, 1994:1-3; Williams, 1997:1
[2316] Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000:264
[2317] Makumbe, 1996:2
[2318] Benhabib quoted in Forester, 1999:421
[2319] Chambers, 1997:104

Effects of transformation are empowerment[2320] and recognition ("acknowledgment and empathy for the situation and problems of others"[2321]). A transformed social reality is "founded on a new, relational vision of human life, a vision that offers a way of transcending old dichotomies and opening new possibilities for human consciousness and interaction."[2322]

Community-based service learning is transformative for educational institutions and communities.[2323] Service learning in higher education that utilizes PD methods can "become a basic tool in the transformation of a society."[2324] Community members, administrators, and teachers can "become participants in, not only object of, research."[2325] Facilitators (or researchers) have a "significant catalyzing influence in helping popular movements and community processes to take qualitative steps towards the transformation of society."[2326] Training in PD for transformational goals ought to have an action-oriented outlook,[2327] and is effectively achieved through experiential, flexible, and dynamic training programs.[2328]

Table 21 lists the roots and formative influences on participatory development, according to the following categories: *academic disciplines and*

[2320] Thomas-Slayter et al., 1995:9-16; Makumbe, 1996:2; Cleaver, 1999:599; Singh and Titi, 1999:29-36; Green, 2000:70
[2321] Bush and Folger, 1994:1-3
[2322] Ibid.
[2323] Wenning, 2003, 1997
[2324] Swantz, 1982:114-5; also in Kalyalya et al., 1988:122-3; McAllister, 1994:xviii; O'Brien and Shrestha, 1994:335; Van der Eb et al., 2004:224
[2325] Swantz, 1982:114-5
[2326] O'Gorman, 1995:216
[2327] Cernea, 1991:35; Bloodworth, 2004:231
[2328] Thomoson, 1999:1544

schools, *geographic areas*, *period conditions*, *religious and spiritual frameworks*, and *theoretical and philosophical perspectives*.

Table 21: *Roots of Participatory Development*

Academic Disciplines and Schools:
• Adult education
• Anthropology
• Business management
• Development communication
• Development studies
• Economics
• Education
• Engineering and biology
• Natural sciences
• Political science
• Psychology (community and social)
• Social sciences
• Social work
• Sociology
• Women's studies and feminisms
Geographic Areas
• Africa, Asia, India, and Latin America
• Global south
Period Conditions
• Adverse economic circumstances
• Top-down failure
Religious / Spiritual Frameworks
• Christian tradition
• Churches and places of worship (community centers)
• Geertzian notions of religion
• Melanesia cargo cults
• Missionaries and Christian reformers
• Religious movements
Social Movements
• Action research
• Alternative development
• Bottom-up
• Civil rights
• Community development
• Cooperatives

Table 21 Continued

Social Movements
• Democracy
• Development NGOs
• Development workers
• Disability rights
• Empowerment
• Grassroots
• International development
• Marginalized groups
• Nationalist social reformers
• Self-help projects
• Social work
• Southern NGOs
• Sustainable Development
Theoretical / philosophical Perspectives
• Alinsky, Saul
• Anarchism
• Aristotelian ethics
• Chaos theory
• Civic model
• Communitarianism
• Community-building model
• Conscientization and collective identity formation
• Conservatives
• Critical theory
• Dewey, John
• Frankfurt School
• Human ecology
• Individualism
• Jurgen Habermas
• Liberalism
• Liberalization
• Liberation theology
• Mainstream
• Marxism
• Modernization
• Neo-liberalism
• New Social Movements
• Phenomenology
• Populism

Table 21 Continued

Theoretical / philosophical Perspectives
• Post-colonialism
• Post-Marxism
• Post-modernism
• Post-socialist political theory
• Power-based model
• Socialism
• Symbolic interactionism
• Transformative model

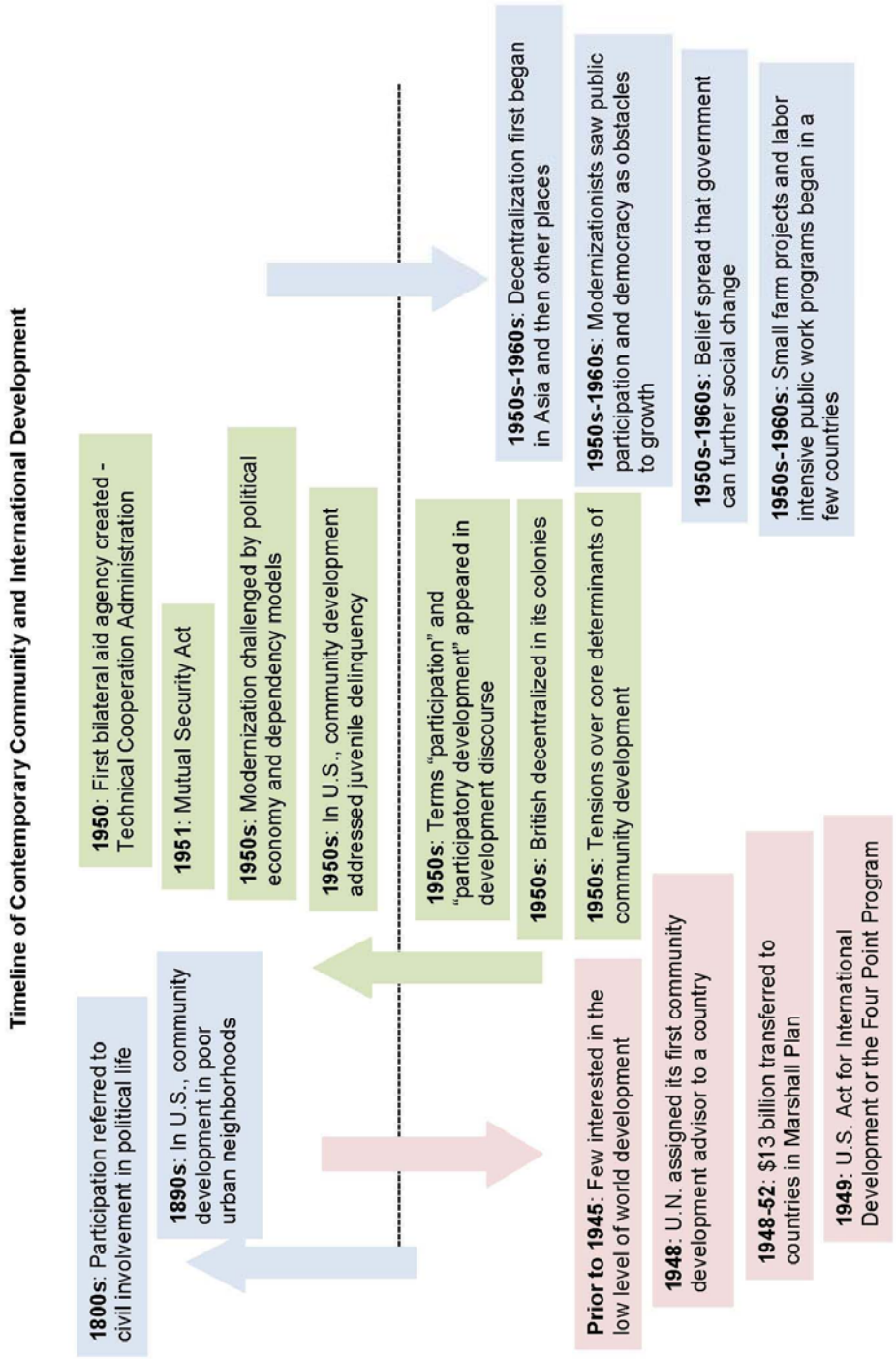

Figure 4. **Significant occurrences in the fields of community and international development, predominantly since World War II**

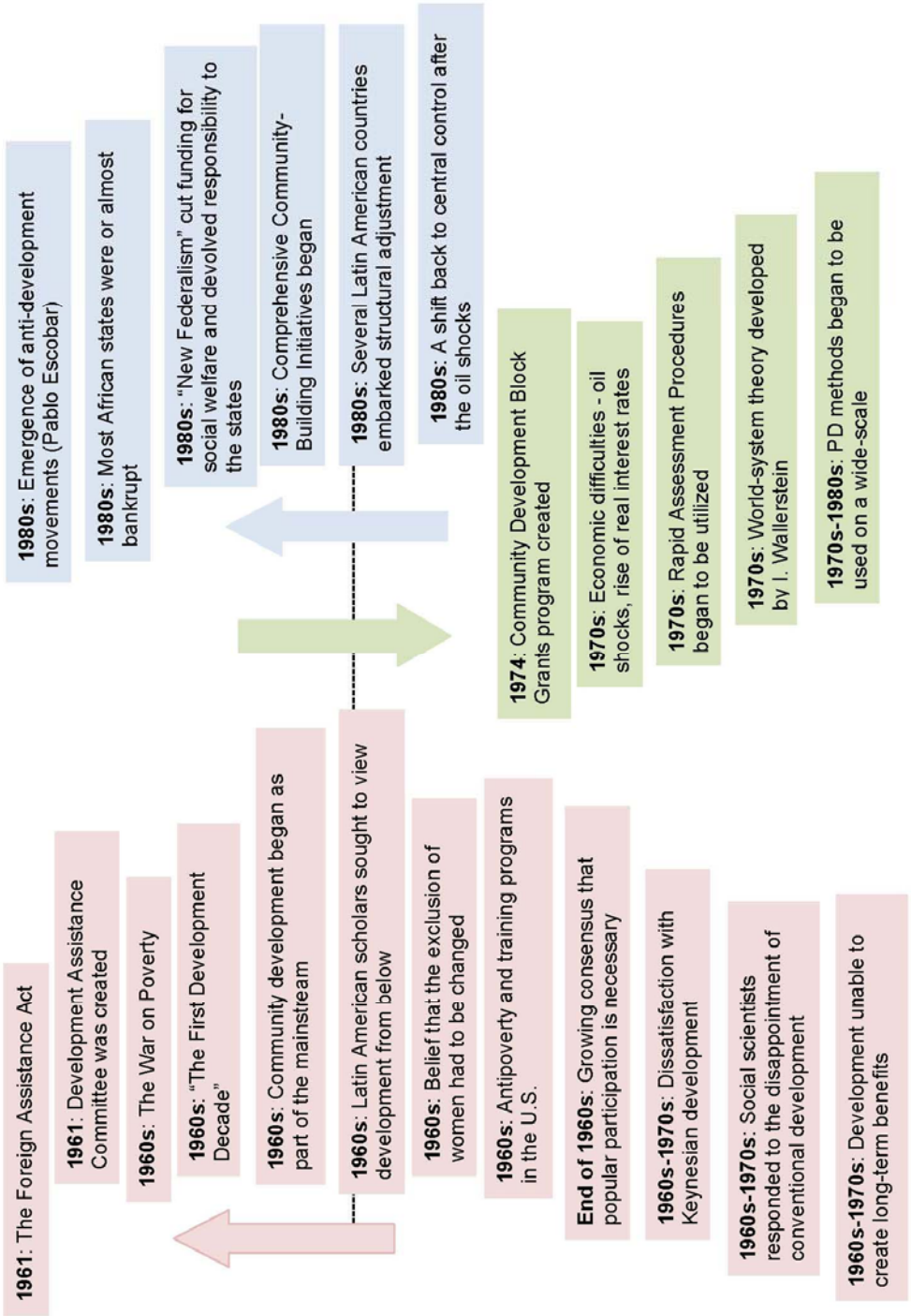

Figure 4 Continued

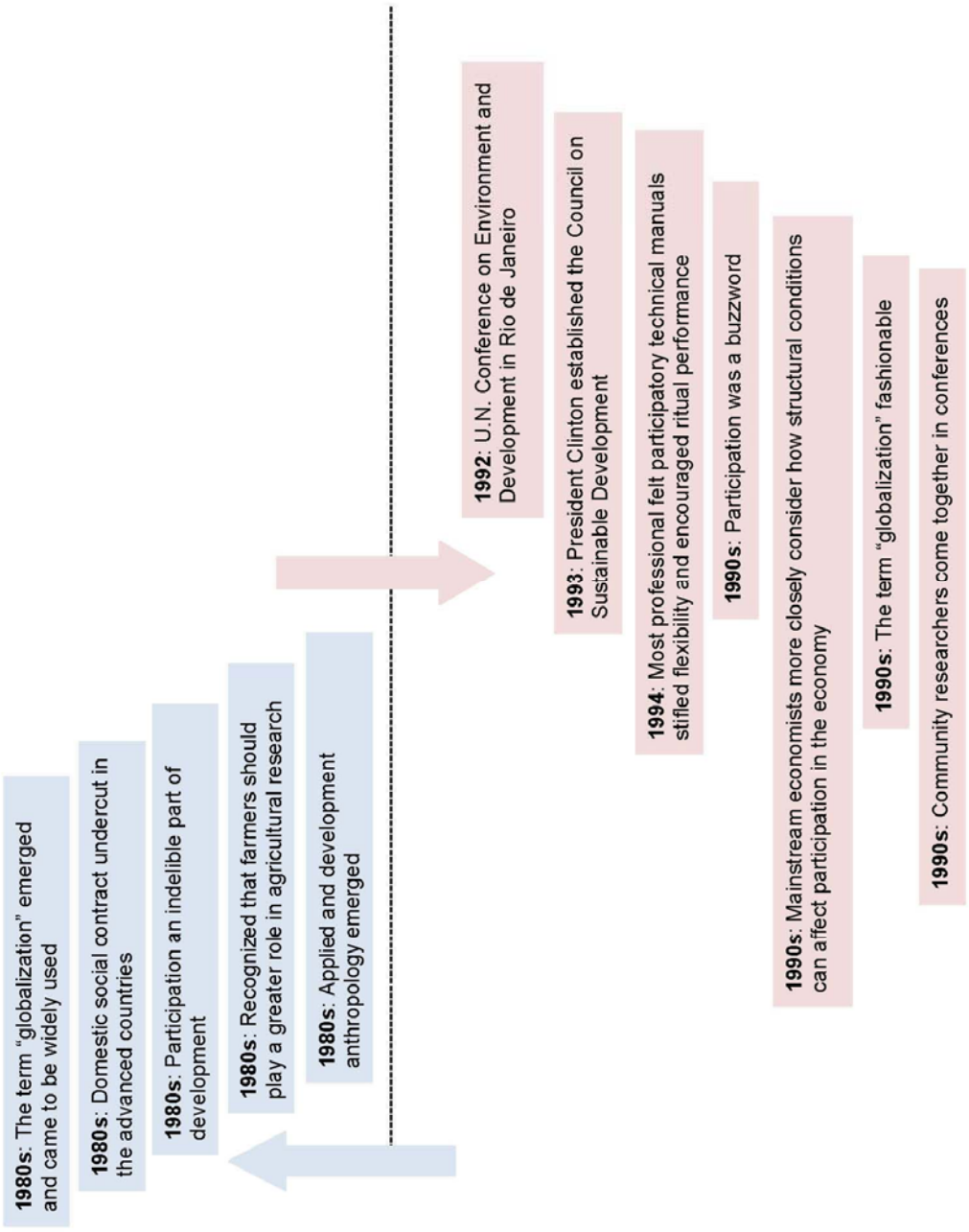

Figure 4 Continued

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS:

TOWARD ALTERNATIVE-PD THEORY

The following presents my concluding thoughts developed from the analysis explored in this dissertation. Before describing the main themes and their relationships to each other – and the knowledge afforded by analyzing them – I would like to mention a productive outcome of this dissertation, which is the definitions of key terms in the field of development that were constructed. The discussion of the literature related to developmental concepts followed by their definitions was intended to provide 1) the most precise possible explanations of essential concepts, with the goal of building alternative development-PD theory (enduring and more relatively valid theoretical constructs likely have relative clarity of description at each level explanation), and 2) a summary of the thinking in the field of development, which, hopefully, is not only useful on its own merits, but increases the possibility of *shared* understanding, interests, and action.

Table 22 presents the terms and their definitions generated in this research study.

Table 22: *Definitions of Terms Developed in the Dissertation*

Capacity-building--developing a range of abilities of men and women through training, education, and experiences that occur in democratic spaces in order to realize their individual and community potential for self-sustaining development.
Community--a geographic area where members live and interact over time, develop social relationships, and create institutions that reflect their interests and identities.

Table 22 Continued

Community development--a process of building the capacity of most or all the people of a community in order to manage development that addresses economic, social, political, and environmental objectives, and utilizes internal and external resources to improve human conditions.
Decentralization--a process that builds: 1) decision-making authority of local communities, local government, and civil society organizations, and 2) the capacities (financial, technical, and other) essential for local stakeholders to plan, design, and maintain overall control of development programs that are intended to benefit them.
Development--a process that considers in its planning economic, social, political, cultural, institutional, environmental, and technological factors to achieve its goal of generating benefits in these areas directed at all or the majority of people, especially the poor.
Empowerment--a long-term development objective that is achieved by individuals and groups through participatory experiences and training that build their capabilities (both practical and reflective) and confidence.
Participatory development--community development that is as inclusive as possible, so that through methods of group dialogue and consensus-building, construction of visual and accessible diagramming, and planning and decision-making, projects develop that address priority local socio-economic and environmental goals.
Project--an organized strategic activity controlled by local communities; this activity is invested in, has a budget and accountability, and is for the purpose of advancing development that meets people's needs.
Self-reliance--the use of local human and material resources to implement the decisions for development taken by people; in the process they realize that the problems they face have local solutions, and this realization and the actions that are a consequence of it will break their dependence mentality and increase their confidence and control of development.
Sustainable development--development planned to last into the future, and is achieved through community participation, including the consideration of environmental and social factors that affect development; this form of development is managed by civil organizations and cross-sectoral partnerships that link together and, by doing so, transform society.

Concepts integral to the alternative-participatory development paradigm (Alternative-PD) and which the literature explains as being difficult to define, such as community, development, sustainable development, empowerment, capacity-building, and others are actually quite definable when existing explanations in the literature are broken down into their most basic parts (words or ideas) and then compartmentalized with similar themes or descriptive words. The compartments of themes and key words are then reconstituted – quality by quality – until a reconstructed whole emerges.

Figure 5, which follows, includes the theories and concepts reviewed in the dissertation and illustrates their appropriate placement in the visual relative to their function in an Alternative-PD social system and relative to each other. Following the figure is its explanation.

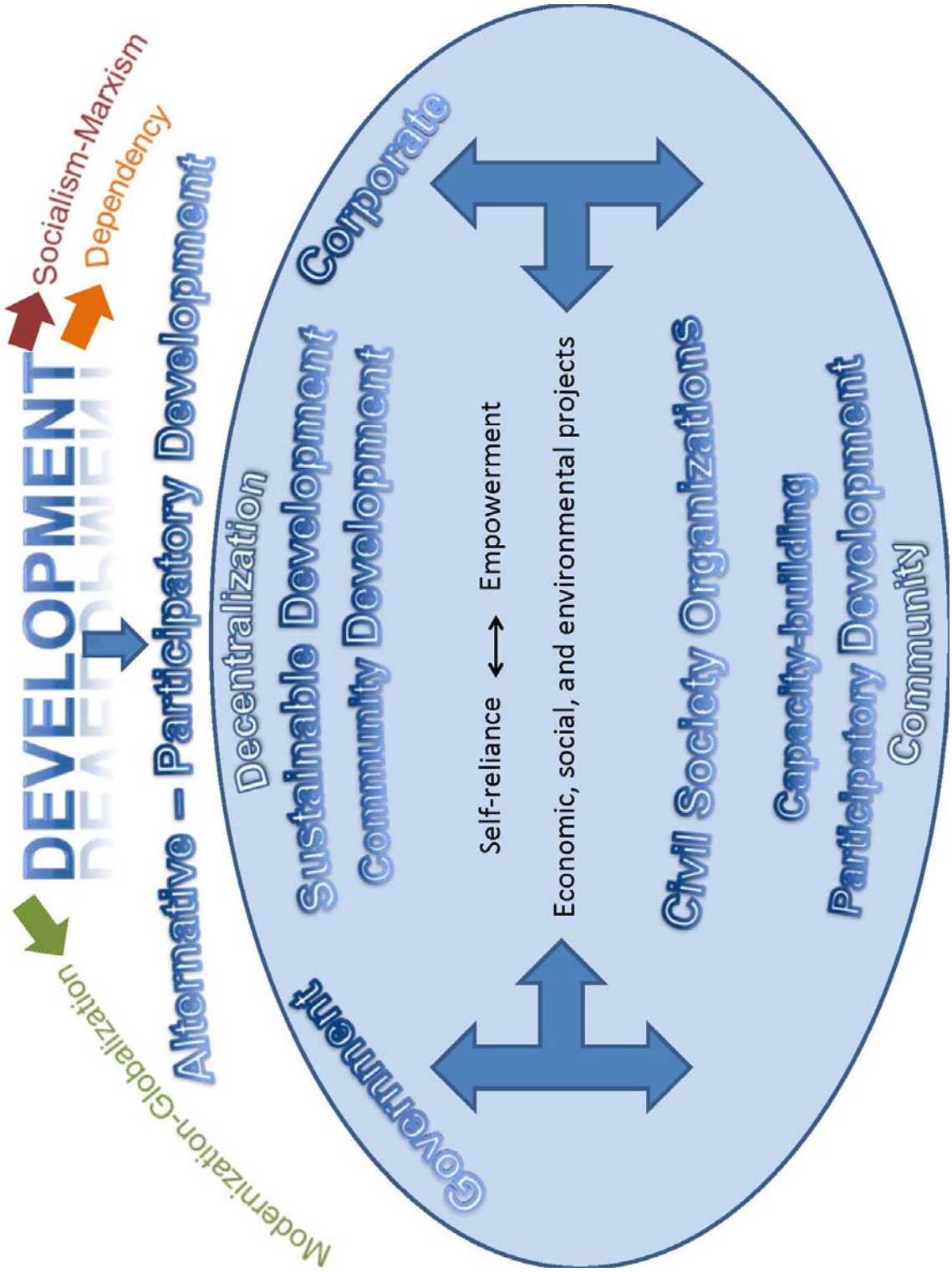

Figure 5. **A model of the Alternative-Participatory Development social system**

Figure 5 displays development as the broadest theme – at the top middle of the page and in capital letters. As shown, there are four grand or metatheoretical constructs emerging out of development, each analyzed in the dissertation: 1) modernization-globalization, 2) dependency, 3) socialism-Marxism, and 4) Alternative-PD. The figure presents Alternative-PD as a global system that embodies the remaining elements reviewed in the dissertation, including the terms in Table 22.

The concave lettering of the three other grand theoretical perspectives toward the Alternative-PD model indicates the theories' amenability toward elements Alternative-PD contains. Dependency theory, for example, is drawn to Alternative-PD because it manifests community, self-reliance, empowerment, local projects that meet priority needs, capacity-building, and decentralization – all of which PD helps to organize and all of which are consistent with reducing in nations the influence of international relationships that cause underdevelopment. Second, modernization-globalization respond in a positive way toward Alternative-PD because both theoretical constructs emphasize 1) capacity-building (key capacities include the ability to adapt, sharing information to improve decision-making, and building partnership to reduce risk), 2) projects that create economic and social development activity, and 3) empowerment (confidence). Finally, socialism-Marxism may appreciate Alternative-PD's promotion of 1) bottom-up pressure from civil society organizations (some Marxists might explain civil society as providing a palliative for conditions that require more drastic measures to justly address), 2) top-down enabling derived

from decentralization, and 3) dynamism and fluidity among all levels of society that are driven more heavily from below (displayed by the 3-pointed arrows on the right and left side of the figure).

In Alternative-PD, enabling pressures move from the top pole toward the bottom pole, first in the form of decentralization of authority to make and carry-out community development decisions, resulting into broadly structural transformational processes (e.g., sustainable development). Decentralization's proximity to government and corporate institutions, illustrated in the figure, acknowledges the four forms of decentralization that are discussed in Chapter 2 and suggest different degrees and social sectors to disperse power – 1) to community (delegation), 2) to sub-national levels within government – though within a democratic framework in order to work with local people and their organizations (deconcentration and devolution), and 3) to the corporate sector (privatization). Depending on the form of decentralization and context, government can potentially create stability and national unity through decentralization's enabling environment to reconcile divergent interests of social groups.[2329] Decentralization can further internalize the principles and approaches of participation within government agencies,[2330] providing then the opportunity to catalyze participation outside the agencies and with communities.[2331] It is worth noting that these kinds of interventions from above do not substitute for capacity-building (utilizing PD) directly with local

[2329] Brohman, 1996:185
[2330] Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:6; Hagmann, 1999:17; Uphoff, 2002:16
[2331] Chambers, 1993:25; Gaventa and Blauert, 2000:240

communities – without which interventions from above are limited in their effect.[2332] The process of decentralization constructs a conducive national framework for the emergence of community development processes that are transformational because of their scale, national and sub-national appropriation of financial and other resources, and multi-sectoral and -level coalitions. Self-reliance, empowerment, and their implications grow; they self-generate new projects and capacities that affect change at different levels of society (3-pointed arrow). The growth of civil society organizations then occurs in order to manage the development projects and processes that are catalyzed. Projects that increase participation and empowerment, Sorensen suggests, are better managed by smaller organizations not linked closely with donor governments.[2333] For example, Uphoff and his colleagues observe how, in rural areas, small organizations that partner and link vertically and horizontally contribute more to development than larger ones.[2334] The authors refer to a study of 16 Asian countries over a 20-year period, which identifies that a key factor for success occurs "when small base-level groups can improve programs coherence and motivation while reducing transition costs, join together in a larger structure – combining advantages of solidarity and advantages of scale (experimentation and revision must be encouraged)."[2335] With the growth of NGOs, capacity-building also increases, which in turn further strengthens PD and community, creating new bottom-up movements. Development in Alternative-PD begets

[2332] Gaventa and Blauert, 2000:240
[2333] Sorensen, 1995:401
[2334] Uphoff et al., 1998:71
[2335] Ibid., 71-2

more development – “setting in motion a flow of actions – progress in one village stimulates neighboring villages to take collective action.”[2336] Neighboring villages that hear about successful projects initiate new development.[2337] Groups join and address issues of shared concern.[2338] There are synergic[2339] or multiplier effects[2340] and they lead to rising demand for participation[2341].

The bottom pole and the process of building toward the top begin with “community” that utilizes PD. Genuine engaging in the PD process strengthens capacity-building. Here, PD is both a **means** for social change and an **end** in itself (learning by doing). Capacities also include the ability to create and manage civil society organizations, which in turn manage and sustain development projects and provide the opportunity to scale-up initiatives and influence different levels or tiers in society (3-pointed arrows). Self-reliance and empowerment grow from there, and they imply a host of local individual and community abilities and opportunities, which are discussed in the dissertation. Community development is then able to take root and broad transformational development processes of society (e.g., sustainable development) become possible. This in turn strengthens decentralization and is also the reverse process shown in top to bottom movements that reinforce the cause and effect relationships (in the figure) along the way. Successes of Alternative-PD directly

[2336] Wignaraja, 1992:399; Burky, 1993:174; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:38
[2337] Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:227; Green and Haines, 2002:101
[2338] Wignaraja, 1992:396
[2339] Max-Neef, 1992:211; Gsanger, 1994:24
[2340] Wignaraja, 1992:399
[2341] Makumbe, 1996:17

lend toward sustaining it.[2342] The structure of the model – which is, from the top, decentralization and the national dedication of resources for community development, and, from the bottom, community and its utility of PD and capacity-building, including the mobilization of people and resources – suggest that dynamic cooperative interaction between top-down and bottom-up is needed to fulfill the model's potential for development.[2343] The mutual reinforcement of the two poles – decentralization and community – and the cause and effect relationships between them, highlight, for many authors, Alternative-PD's capacity to transform political, economic, and social structures and institutions.[2344] To attain outcomes at the macroeconomic level, Mikkelson suggests using participatory approaches at both the microeconomic *and* macroeconomic levels "in a complementary manner for maximum effect. These approaches entail several elements, namely, an outcome-oriented participatory action plan, a public information strategy, and multi-stakeholder institutional arrangements for governance."[2345] While Uphoff et al. explain that Alternative-PD involves the vertical structure more animated from below than from above,[2346] they also recognize that "top-down can be inverted to bottom-up through an organizational structure in which interactive upward and downward

[2342] Mosse, 2005:181-2
[2343] Woolcock, 1998:179; Parfitt, 2004:552; Williams, 2004:559
[2344] Hulbe, 1980:125; Stokes, 1981:141; Swantz, 1982:115; Neil and Tykkylainen, 1998:7; Selznick, 1992:259; Bordenave, 1994:43; Chambers, 1994:959; Griffin and McKinley, 1994:36; Nelson and Wright, 1995:1; Thomas-Slayter, 1995:12; Makumbe, 1996:2; Arnst, 1996:111; Brohman, 1996:345; Dockery, 1996:167; Lyons et al., 1999:10-1; Prokopy and Castelloe, 1999:215; Hildyard, 2001:69; Mosse, 2001:16; Melkote and Steeves, 2001:343-4; O'Donoghue, 2002:374; Vernooy et al., 2003:4; Jason et al., 2004:4; Balacazar et al., 2004:17; Williams, 2004:559-60; Mosse, 2005:181-2
[2345] Mikkelson, 2005:115
[2346] Uphoff et al., 1998:67-8

communication and cooperation are the norm."[2347] In Alternative-PD, Northern NGOs should devolve power to Southern NGOs; Northern should concentrate "on raising money, consciousness raising, and education, and leaving the doing of development in the South."[2348]

Unfortunately, structural changes along these lines – the transfer of resources away from vested interests that dominate and control political and social structures – are "far from being adopted in practice anywhere"[2349] and are currently "not challenging the status quo that prevails in most developing countries."[2350] Instead, Alternative-PD provides a "safety net" and not an evaluation conducted by local people and communities of inequities in the distribution and access to resources that have led to large-scale poverty.[2351] Cornwall offers an explanation of why this is so; for example, the impact of NGOs depends "as much on the socio-political context and relations with other actors, as on their organizational characteristics."[2352] Alternative-PD aims at fundamental changes in the structure of society, such as "the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of nongovernmental co-operation between free individuals."[2353] In authoritarian nations, for example, people are said to be more primarily concerned with themselves and their immediate family, and distrustful of their neighbors – an opposite condition relative to collective and communal

[2347] Ibid.
[2348] Nelson and Wright, 1995:16
[2349] Rahman, 1995:25
[2350] Melkote and Steeves, 2001:347-8
[2351] Ibid.
[2352] Cornwall, 1999:14
[2353] Woolcock, 1962:13

Alternative-PD.[2354] Indeed, Alternative-PD came into being because of rejection of top-down authoritarianism.[2355] In fact, by "expanding the areas of debate," Alternative-PD "inevitably tolls the death knell of authoritarianism."[2356] Authoritarianism's undoing by Alternative-PD occurs by increasing "horizontal channels of communication, more participatory communication structures, and new policy forged within sociopolitical movements."[2357] But if as Griffin and McKinley state, the political structure is authoritarian, decentralization "is likely to maintain or reinforce central authority"[2358] while at the same time the authoritarian political structure may adopt participatory rhetoric[2359]. After all, authoritarian structures prevent democratic decision-making.[2360] By the same token, PD democratizes the development process and therefore reduces authoritarianism.[2361]

On this issue, I intuitively agree with Edwards and Hulme, who note that "even under the most authoritarian governments there are often opportunities for progressive change."[2362] That said, we cannot minimize the reality that social movements for democratization in authoritarian countries are reached through

[2354] Knippers, 1991:40; the idea is also in Pradip, 1994:58.
[2355] Selzinick, 1992:287
[2356] Finsterbusch and van Wicklin in Makumbe, 1996:18
[2357] White, 1999:233
[2358] Griffin and McKinley, 1994:121
[2359] Petras, 2000:9; the idea is also in Pradip, 1994:58
[2360] Melkote and Srinivas, 1991:244-5
[2361] Thomas, 1994:58; Makumbe, 1996:2
[2362] Edwards and Hulme, 1992:18

struggle.[2363] Hopefully, the discussion of the dissertation helps us to be mindful of the limits of participation “lest we should fall into the ideology.”[2364]

[2363] Seddon, 1994:338
[2364] Pradip, 1994:58

APPENDIX 1

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- "**Bottom-Up Stimulus**," *City Watch*, January 2, 2009; *Diplomatic Traffic*, January 2, 2009; *The New Nation*, December 28, 2008; *The Frontier Post*, December 24, 2008; *The Appalachian Independent*, December 23, 2008; *The Post*, December 23, 2008; *Global Politician*, December 18, 2008; *News Blaze*, December 18, 2008

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- "**Sovereignty through Decentralization in Palestine**," an essay presented at the Urban Planning Conference at An Najah University in Nablus, West Bank, October 22, 2008; published in *Al Quds*, November 2008.

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