PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD: HOW CAN THE INTERNATIONAL AND THIRD WORLD COMMUNITIES WORK TOGETHER IN DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS.

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This study explores how the role of grassroots organizations can make development initiatives more effective and how to empower these organizations so they can lead development efforts in the Third World. This research focuses on whether there can be a space in the development discourse for a dialogue between local knowledges and Western development initiatives. To analyze more in depth the problems with applying mainstream development theories in the Third World, this study describes how Western forms of knowledge in mainstream development have affected women in the Third World. Participatory approach combined with grassroots initiatives can change the way development projects are applied and eventually help development initiatives move away from a Western centered view of the notion of the Third World. Participation means opening a space for a dialogue between Western development experts and Third World communities on what development means and what actions should be taken.
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INTRODUCTION

At the dawn of the 21st century almost a quarter of the population of the developing world —over one billion people— still live in extreme poverty, a number little changed from over a decade ago. Tackling this problem is now rightly a global priority, enshrined in the commitment by world leaders at the United Nations Millennium Summit to 'spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty'.

—Mark Malloch Brown, UNDP and Anne Kristin Sydnes, Minister of International Development, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, Norway in foreword UNDP report Choices for the Poor 2001—

The need for development has become an international priority. Development organizations with the cooperation of Western governments have been launching several development initiatives to bring the Third World out of poverty. Mainstream development approaches have failed in alleviating poverty. The focus of this research paper is to explore how local knowledge can be introduced into the development discourse leading to a new development paradigm. By including Third World communities in the development discourse, development projects will be created by Third World communities to serve their specific needs. This study explores whether there can be a space in the development discourse for a dialogue between local knowledges and Western development initiatives.

The development discourse presents different power relationships that help understand why mainstream development projects in the Third World have not been as successful as the international community had hoped. “A discourse is a socially produced way of talking or thinking about a topic” (Fiske, 1996, p.129). In the mainstream development discourse, Western thought has produced the image of the Third World in an early stage of development, a region plagued by poverty, where the only solution is
development initiatives based on Western expertise. Majid Rahnema discusses that the argument in favor of development for satisfying the wants and needs of the South is a myth (1998, p.388). Local realities are different than what international development experts picture them to be.

Mainstream development has its roots in modern Western scientific thought, which is based on universalized ideas of how the world should prosper. The notion of a need to help develop the Third World has its roots in neoliberal models of economic development. Arturo Escobar states that the main problem with the development apparatus is that “development has relied exclusively on one knowledge system, namely the modern Western one” (1995, p.13). This way of thinking distorts how organizations in the West see Third World problems. This focus has treated non-Western knowledge as inferior and unimportant (Escobar, 1995, p.13). The West believes poverty can be eradicated with economic growth, while the problem of underdevelopment can be solved by modernization and progress. The consequence of having a development approach which views economic growth as a means to eliminate poverty leads to projects that overlook the complexity of the social dynamics in different communities in the Third World.

To analyze more in depth why mainstream development has not solved poverty in the Third World, this study describes how Western forms of knowledge in mainstream development have affected women in the Third World. Women in mainstream development are generally seen as a separate focus group. Many projects are based on generalizations and assumptions of women’s situation in the Third World. Because
mainstream development initiatives are based on Western forms of knowledge, the condition of women in the Third World are stereotyped and power relations are oversimplified, thereby creating a binary division of men versus women. Men have the power while women do not.

There is a need to adopt an alternative development in order to include Third World voices in the development discourse. The alternative development proposed in this study is based on the ideas of postdevelopmentalism. Postdevelopment believes in local autonomy, culture, knowledge and support for localized grassroots movements (Peet and Hartwick, 1999, p.150). My argument is that development cannot be abolished but that it needs a radical change. International organizations should have a role in development, but only as an indirect influence. Participatory approach combined with grassroots initiatives applied correctly could change the way development projects are applied and eventually help development initiatives move away from a Western centered view of the notion of the Third World. One main question this study tries to explore is if there is a space for building a relationship between local indigenous knowledge and Western development initiatives without imposing Western values?

Participatory approach is based on the idea to allow local communities to be involved in the planning and implementation of development projects. Community participation in both the research and planning can allow local communities to think about alternative ways of development. Local communities can create new forms of knowledge that can change the development discourse. As a solution, I explore how the
role of grassroots organizations can make development initiatives more effective and how to empower these organizations so they can lead development efforts in the Third World.

In my analysis of the role of grassroots organizations, I assume these groups represent the voices of local communities working around issues that have not been addressed adequately by the government. If the international community wants to play a role, a two-way channel of communication should first be established at a research level. This would involve opening a dialogue between local communities and experts of the West. I will argue in favor of moving away from seeing international involvement in the Third World as simply aid and instead focus more on terms of research cooperation between Third World societies and international organizations. On a global level, there is a need for international organizations to think with the people in the Third World and not for the people.

The study is divided into three chapters. The first section begins by showing how the idea of development and the Third World are shaped under mainstream development. This chapter also introduces a critique on mainstream development initiatives and how Western forms of knowledge have created different power relationships that have shaped mainstream development programs. The second chapter discusses these critiques by focusing on women as a category in development. This section explores how Western forms of knowledge influences development projects targeting women. The last part of the research explores new forms of approaching development. This study also tries to answer whether development through local participation can be an effective way in approaching development projects.
CHAPTER I

FAILURES OF MAINSTREAM DEVELOPMENT

In the 1997 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report on global challenges, one of the main concerns is the eradication of poverty. The report states:

Although poverty has been dramatically reduced in many parts of the world, a quarter of the world’s people remain in severe poverty. In a global economy of $25 trillion, this is a scandal—reflecting shameful inequalities and inexcusable failures of national and international policy” (p.2).

The report describes how poverty has remained pervasive. About a third of the world’s population lives on incomes of less than $1 a day. About 160 million children are moderately or severely malnourished and approximately 110 million are out of school (United Nations Development Programme, 1997, p.3)

In September 2000, 191 nations-states adopted the Millennium Declaration. The Declaration outlined issues of peace, security and development in areas relating to environment, human rights and governance. It also set a special focus on the development of Africa (United Nations Development Group, 2001, p.1). The Declaration lead to the acceptance of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which set targets for reducing poverty, hunger, illiteracy, disease, discrimination against women and environmental degradation (Millennium Development Compact, 2003, p.1). Each goal has a numerical target that needs to be achieved in a period of 25 years, from 1990 to 2015. The MDGs incorporate all the goals set since several world summits in the 1990s (United Nations Development Group, 2001, p.1). The goals are monitored at the country
level. Each nation, with the help of the UNDP, needs to set its specific goals and create a progress report. The purpose of these progress reports is to raise awareness of the challenges of development at the country level and to build a strategy to reach the United Nations goals.

The 2004 Global Monitoring report by the World Bank and the IMF states that the MDGs will probably not be met by the expected 2015 deadline. Africa especially falls behind the expectations (World Bank and IMF Development Committee, 2004, p.4). Goals in areas like health, the environment, maternal and child mortality, and access to clean drinking water are of main concern (p.4). The IMF and the World Bank believe that the reason for falling behind is because more efficient plans for economic growth are needed. Development should continue to focus on empowerment and progress for poor people (p.4). Some of the priorities set by the IMF and the World Bank in order to achieve the MDGs include improving private investment in developing countries, calling up investment in infrastructure, improving governance, and increasing women’s empowerment (p.4).

These reports and statements show how the main players involved in mainstream development initiatives recognize that in many parts in the world, development has failed to reach the desired goals. Poverty is still present in the Third World. Rahnema believes that development has failed to meet its own goals, for example, he states

‘Good’ schools have generally served to produce greater numbers of drop-outs belonging to poor families. Contrary to their vocation, health centers and hospitals in particular, have seldom given hospitality to the poor. Employment policies have hardly succeeded in stopping the mass exodus of millions of people from their communities to the slum areas of big cities (1992, p.167).
Projects for development of communities as a whole have not improved the lives of those who need development. Mainstream development initiatives might have been successful in some cases throughout the world but as the MDG reports show in most counties development falls short.

**Definition of mainstream development**

Before initiating a discussion on mainstream development, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by mainstream development. As Alan Thomas describes: “Development is a positive word that is almost synonymous with progress” (in Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.6). It implies increased living standards, improved health and well-being (p.6). Thomas believes development can be seen as a historical process of social change where societies are transformed over a long-term period. Development also consists of deliberate efforts intended to help progress (p.7). Naila Kabeer on her discussion of development states:

> Development in a narrow meaning, it refers to the planned process by which resources, techniques, and expertise are brought together to bring about improved rates of economic growth in an area variously designated as the Third World, the developing world, the South and so on. In this broader sense it refers to a purposeful project, no doubt, but one with unacknowledged assumptions and anticipated outcomes (1995, p.69).

The mainstream development I refer to in this study is a Western type of development, which is based on neoliberal economic ideas and on Western assumptions about how the Third World is shaped. I argue that although mainstream development may deal with social issues such as health, education, and household development, it still has a strong connection to economic development. The Mainstream development
practices discussed in this study do not deal with macroeconomic structural adjustments but with how economic principles in development initiatives are present in ideas of progress and modernization.

Mainstream development approaches have been influenced by the history of modern economy. Modern economic ideas are tied to the history of religion. Medieval thinkers saw God as active in all worldly processes. On the contrary, modern Protestant beliefs are based on the idea that humans are in charge of their own destiny. In late Middle Ages the idea of labor as a virtuous source of wealth emerged (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.19). Material acquisition changed from being a sin to being regarded as a service to the community under modern Protestantism. These ideas shaped classical economics based on new Protestant attitudes toward labor, wealth, and the productive life (p.19).

These moral beliefs based on Christian thought influenced how economic theories were formed. Peet and Hartwick discuss that theories of classical economics are tied to a general moral philosophy (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.23). Adam Smith was one of the most influential philosophers in classical economic ideas, based his theories on the importance of growth and wealth (p.23). Labor was considered “the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities” (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.26). Neo-classical economics offered a positive science for predicting how people, left to their own devices and economic will, can accommodate their resources in order to maximize individual profit as well as profit for the society as a whole (Kabeer, 1995, p.15).

The rise of Keynesian principles had a major impact on the development discourse. Keynes based his analysis on the consequences of the Great Depression. The
idea of development took off after WWII with the establishment of the World Bank and the International Monetary fund in order to help reconstruct European countries devastated by the war and also to regulate the global economy (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.40). Peet and Hartwick state that Keynesian economic ideas influenced the rise of a specialized field of "development economics" (p.40). Economists and politicians believed that principles of macroeconomic management of the economy applied in Europe and the U.S. should be extended to the Third World to help these countries develop (p.40). Keynesian theory's notion of reaching full employment should be transferred to the developing world. This approach led to the adoption of the goal of full employment in the United Nations Charter. Increasing employment would produce economic growth and reduce poverty (Hewitt in Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.225). Development was based on the assumption that if one country could achieve economic growth the rest of the world would follow (1992, p.224).

Other Keynesian based initiatives included savings and investment as the source of growth, industrialization and development with surplus labor (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.225). In general these macroeconomic strategies supported the belief that any growth will trickle down to the society at large (p.225). The challenges in the Third World were seen as lack of technical progress. Import substitutions and tariffs were needed so that poor countries could compete (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.42). The world was seen as divided into a center of industrialization (Europe and the U.S.) and a periphery of weak countries (Latin America, Africa and Asia). The reason why the periphery was
underdeveloped was because the economies in these countries relied on primary production (p.42). Agricultural activities were seen as the main problem.

In the late 1960s neoliberalism came about with the realization that the Keynesian model had not worked. Economist Milton Friedman pushed neoliberal theories as a model for economic progress. He believed that countries with an outward-oriented development succeeded in terms of exports, economic growth, and employment, whereas countries, which continued inward orientation, were faced with economic difficulties (Balassa in Peet & Hartwick 1999, p.51). The push was for the Third World to open up their markets in order to develop.

By the 1980s neoliberalism became the dominant view of development (Thomas & Potter in Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.134). Neoliberalism puts an emphasis on market relations where the market was at the center of social interaction and progress. Charles Lindblom argues that the market is a system of relations and not simply about economic measures of supply and demand. It is rather more about social coordination (2001, p.4). He states that the role of the market took place when households saw the need to produce for sale in order to buy commodities that they could not produce at home (p.5). One or more household member then became involved in the market relations in order to bring back the necessary commodities for the well being of the household (p.5).

According to neoliberal ideas, people participating in the economic market are assumed to be acting rationally depending on their material interests (Thomas & Potter in Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.134). Individualism is one of the key aspects of neoliberal thinking (p.134). Participants in the economy are seen as having individual desires, which
are the basis for market relations. Market competition is seen as the most important factor for progress and development. In the long run, individual desires to succeed economically benefit the whole community (p.134).

The World Bank adopted its ideas on how to develop the Third World based on these economic approaches. The Bank believed private-sector activity should be enlarged in the Third World. Human resources could be improved by adopting an export-oriented development strategy. A “retreat from liberalization” would slow economic growth (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, 55). The World Bank solution was “faster growth of national income, alleviation of poverty, and reduction of income inequalities” (World Bank in Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.55). Since the 1970s there has been dissatisfaction with the focus solely on growth in development discourse, which led to the acceptance of development goals based on human basic needs. The focus of mainstream development moved from a theory of purely economic growth to a new initiative of helping the poor improve their standards of living and basic needs (Kabeer, 1995, p.3). In the 1990s the Bank formally adopted a more humanitarian approach towards development (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.56). Although the World Bank accepted a more humanitarian focus, their initiatives are still driven by modern and neoliberal economic ideologies.

Mainstream development is still based on the importance of economic growth for progress. Since the new target is to alleviate poverty, the focus now is on integrating poor people into the global economic market. Hernando de Soto, in his book “The Mystery of Capital”, describes neoliberal ideas of the importance of private property acquisition. He argues that by private acquisition of land the poor people in the Third World can
progress. Those who own private property can grow while those deprived of this right will perish. He states that this is how the West has made its capital and the Third World could follow a similar path if poor people are given the opportunity to own property (2000, p.6-8). If poor people invest their savings especially in land acquisition, they will progress (p.5). De Soto’s approach to development shows how mainstream development initiatives still have faith in neoliberal and classical economic principles to solve global poverty.

The meaning of Third World in mainstream development

In the discussion of development in the Third World, it is also necessary to clarify how the idea of a Third World was formed. Under the mainstream development discourse the idea of a Third World was originally a political concept to distinguish which geographical areas were not aligned with the capitalist/First World or the communist/Second World (Thomas in Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.3). Peter Worsley, author of the book “The Third World”, states: “What the Third World originally was, then, is clear: it was the non-aligned world. It was also a world of poor countries. Their poverty was the outcome of a more fundamental identity: they all had been colonized” (qtd. in Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.3). Based on this historical ground, the meaning of the Third World has become obsolete. Although its Cold War roots might have disappeared, in the development discourse the notion of Third World is still used to describe a region in the world where poverty exists and progress is needed. Latin American Authors looking for a different description of Third World define it as:
All those nations which, during the process of formation of the existing world order, did not become rich and industrialized... A historical perspective is essential to understand what is the Third World, because by definition it is the periphery of the system produced by the expansion of world capital (qtd. in Guía del Tercer Mundo in Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.6).

In the following section I will analyze how both the idea of the need for development and that of the image of the Third World have been constructed based on assumptions coming from Western forms of knowledge. Mainstream development has its bases on how the Western world sees the Third World as in need of modernization and progress.

**Shaping of the idea of development**

Arturo Escobar argues that development is a historically specific and socially constructed notion. The idea of development started with the implementation of the Truman Doctrine (Escobar, 1995, p.3). Escobar believes Truman’s 1949 inauguration speech initiated a new era on how to understand development. Truman described the ‘underdeveloped’ world as primitive areas affected by poverty, disease and inadequate food. Truman’s speech had a paternalistic approach towards the newly formed nations. People in these areas were seen as victims of poverty. On his speech, he emphasized how the developed world has the capacity to help these nations with modern scientific and technical knowledge (Truman [1949] 1964 in Escobar, 1995, p.3). The focus for helping these nations was on economic progress and technology implementation (Escobar, 1995, p.4).
Escobar argues that the development discourse, like the colonial discourse created an efficient apparatus to produce knowledge about the Third World as well as how to exercise power over it (Escobar, 1995, p.9). The development discourse shaped the idea of the Third World as being poor and underdeveloped due to overpopulation, famines and illiteracy (Escobar, 1995, p.12). In mainstream development the most common definition of poverty is based on an income-consumption approach (Allen & Thomas, 1992, p.28). Poor people are described as having insufficient income to reach minimum standards of living (p.28). Escobar argues that there was a need to deal with poverty as a global social problem (p.23). Capitalism and modern economies were major factors in shaping the vision of the Third World (Escobar, 1995, p.22). Since these newly formed countries did not have modern economies, they were seen as poor. Escobar concludes then that it was assumed that the solution to poverty was economic growth (p.24). Escobar’s analysis helps us understand how the idea of development is based on Western perceptions of the Third World.

Poverty has meant different things for different cultures. Majid Rahmena states that poverty is also a myth and an invention of a particular civilization (1992, p.158). In the past in many cultures poor was not perceived as the opposite of rich. Poor was referred to people who among other things had been either deprived of instrument’s of labor, or lost their books, lost the status of their profession, suffered from lack of protection and public humiliation (1992, p.158). In Europe, it was only after the expansion of mercantilism that lack of money defined who was rich and who was poor (p.159). Rahnema argues that global poverty has enforced the idea of poverty based on
monetary acquisition. Based on a country’s Gross National Product (GNP). The World Bank sees poor as people with an average per capita income of $100 or less (p.161). Rahnema adds that although the global discourse has recognized the different meanings of poverty depending on cultural values, it still assumes that around the globe everybody agrees that economic growth and prosperity will get people out of poverty (1992, p.163).

Mainstream development is also influenced by ideas of modernization. Social theory of Modernization is based in geography’s views of centers of modern progress and peripheries of backwardness with the center as a model for the periphery’s future (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p.65). Modernity has its roots in Social Darwinism and the thought that “Societies occupying differently natural environments were different endowed in a struggle for survival” (p.66). Positivism and rationalism also influenced the idea of modernized societies. Peet and Hartwick discuss that the positivistic science of society is seen with the same logic as that of natural sciences. Rationalism sees humans possessing control of the world through thought, logic, and calculation (p.66).

The concept of modernity shaped the idea of a Western world where the West symbolizes modern societies. Kabeer states that modernization theory analyzes social changes that occurred during the course of Western growth and industrialization (1995, p.15). Under this theory, development is an evolutionary process that moves societies from their pre-modern stage to a final stage of modernity (p.16). Modernization theory emphasizes on a transformation of local/indigenous values and attitudes in order to reach modernity based on Western experiences. The Third World is still considered backward and in transition (p.16) and the goal of development is to move the Third world towards
the final stage of modernity. Modernization theory and liberal economics offer similar analysis of progress and what is considered a modern man.

Progress is an implicit notion in the development discourse. Tuhiwai Smith states: “This assumes societies move forward in stages of development much as an infant grows into a fully developed adult human being” (1999, p.30). Sbert argues progress has also shaped how Western people see themselves. Progress is not only a journey societies take; it is also a modern destiny. He argues that the modern man is defined by progress: “To modern man, and to those who want to share his identity, rejecting faith in progress is unbearable...His self-esteem is rooted in it and it is his deepest justification for the ruthlessness he displays towards his fellow men and nature” (Sbert, 1992, p.195).

Similarly modernization theory has also shaped world history. Tuhiwai Smith states that history is biased; it is a Western perception of the world. Historical facts cannot be taken as true statements. One argument against Western history is that it is a modernist project created to shape views of a colonized ‘Other’ (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p.30). She argues that one idea in Western history is that history’s focal point is development (p.30).

Stuart Hall in his piece titled “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power” states that the meaning of the term ‘West’ is almost identical to the meaning of the word ‘modern’ (1996, p.186). The meaning of West allows categorizing a society as either Western or non-Western, and sets a standard for comparison as well as a system for ranking societies. Hall states that the idea of West sets a structure of knowledge in motion (p.186).
Hall argues that the idea of the West was central to the Enlightenment. The uniqueness of the West was created by Europe's self-comparison to other societies (p.187). The Enlightenment assumed European society to be the most advanced in the world. Europe treated other cultures as different and inferior but Hall reminds us that the West had also its internal "others" (p.188). Geography had also an important role in creating this identity. Mercator's new map projection placed Europe at the center of the World (p.200). He was very influential in creating a Eurocentric view of the world (Roberts in Hall, 1996, p.200).

Hall also describes how the West perceived itself, which led to what Hulme calls a "stereotypical dualism"; the stereotype is split into two opposing elements (Hall, 1996, p. 215). He argues that this split is the basis for the discourse of "the Other". First of all characteristics are simplified in order to represent the essence of people and secondly the stereotype creates a dualism based on good and bad sides: West-Rest, civilized-uncivilized, us-them etc. (p.216). Hall states:

> Without the Rest (or its own internal "others"), the West would not have been able to recognize and represent itself as the summit of human history. The figure of "the Other", banished to the edge of the conceptual world and constructed as the absolute opposite, the negation, of everything which the West stood for, reappeared at the very center of the discourse of civilization, refinement, modernity, and development in the West. "The Other" was the "dark" side- forgotten, repressed, and denied; the reverse image of enlightenment and modernity (1996, p.221).

Mainstream development not only shaped how the West viewed the Third World, it also shaped how the people of the Third World saw themselves. Gustavo Esteva states: "For those who make up two-thirds of the world's population today, to think of development - of any kind of development - requires first the perception of themselves as
underdeveloped, with the whole burden of connotations that this carries" (1992, p.7). He discusses that when Truman described the rest of the world using the word “underdeveloped”; he changed the meaning of development and created a euphemism used ever since to symbolize the era of American hegemony (p.6). He states that the day Truman gave his speech in 1949; 2 billion people became underdeveloped. Programs like the Peace Corps, the War on Poverty, and the Alliance for Progress contribute to people’s perception of being underdeveloped (p.11).

Rahmena questions the Western view of the Third World by asking how can a poor be classified and who is qualified to decide what material possessions are necessary for people to not be seen as poor (1992, p.159). Most of the time, the poor view their own condition negatively and generally see their condition as being beyond their control. But Rahman argues that the poor people’s perception of their own lives is affected by how the West views them (p.160).

**Development does not work**

One of the main critiques of mainstream development is that development in general does not work in the Third World. Wolfgang Sachs believes development has grown obsolete (1992, p.1). In 1949 when U.S. president Truman labeled the Southern Hemisphere as ‘underdeveloped areas’, his plan was to put the U.S on top of the world (p.2). Truman’s goal to help battle poverty was a strategy against the spread of communism (p.2). Sachs argues that now with the end of the Cold War, the development strategy has been left with no political fuel (p.2). After the Cold War, the East-West
division was changed into a rich-poor division. The development project changes from being a strategy to prevent the spread of communism to a focus on progress (Sachs, 1992, p.3). Sachs believes that development’s hidden agenda is the Westernization of the world (p.3). Development is seen as an apparatus for Western control and dominance over the Third World. Marianne Gronemayer states that help is a tool for having power over the poor: “It is a means of keeping the bit in the mouths of subordinates without letting them feel the power that is guiding them” (Gronemayer, 1992, p.53). Mainstream development is a political instrument for maintaining Western dominance over the world.

**Economic growth as a goal of mainstream development**

Mainstream development has been also criticized because of its strong neoliberal economic ties. Gerald Berthoud argues that since the 80’s the market was seen as the only way to promote development. The IMF and the World Bank try to impose liberalism at a global scale through the process of structural adjustments. In many cases, Berthoud believes efficiency is preferred to social justice (Berthoud, 1992, p.73).

Because of the notion of development was constructed based on neoliberal ideas, development practices tend to be based on the importance of economic growth. Paul Ekins believes there is an assumption made by development organizations that “growth is good and more is better” (1986, p.8). He believes the equation: growth equals welfare has no validity at all. Ekins states that this type of thinking forces us to ask thee questions: “growth for what, growth for whom and growth with what side effects” (p.8). The notion
of growth needs to be questioned. Mainstream development experts cannot assume growth is a universal goal necessary across the world.

A focus on economic growth might have worked in modernizing industrialized countries, but it is impossible to expect the same development pattern for the rest of the world. Natural resources are finite and therefore, it is impossible to have the same goals for the development of Third World countries. It is unattainable for all countries to reach economic levels of industrialized nations. Ekins discusses the idea of growth and progress by adding how scarcity becomes a problem when it comes to environmental resources (p.8). Ekins believes economic growth as the main objective, tends to intensify unemployment. This is the issue mainstream development was trying to solve in the first place (p.9). A country might be growing economically, but whether poor communities are benefiting from this growth is what needs to be considered. Anila Graham argues that one of the most serious problems with development is that these initiatives are not too concerned with the quality of growth that is taking place in the Third World (in Ekins, 1986, p.19).

The purpose of growth in mainstream development is to reach equality. Douglas Lummis discusses that development promises economic equality for everyone in the future but so far, after 40 years it has only produced more inequality (in Sachs, 1992, p.45). Lummis believes it is impossible to reach equality when the economy has been arranged in a pyramid with few rich on top and many poor at the bottom (1992, p.47). He believes this inequality is inherent in contemporary consumption (p.48). Thorstein Weblem introduced the concept of 'conspicuous consumption': One of the main
pleasures of consumption is that there are others who cannot afford it. People establish a
mental association between an object and an upper-class lifestyle and this increases the
desire for consumption (p.48). Weblem argues that if the goal was to accumulate for
subsistence of physical comfort; then thinking of economic equality can work since
people will be satisfied with what they have after a certain point. In contemporary
consumption, there is no limit for becoming richer and therefore, it is impossible to reach
equality between the poor and the rich (in Lummis, 1992, p.48).

Mainstream Development also assumes equality will improve the standard of
living of the poor. There is an idea of a supra-culture where every country can be
measured against one single standard of living (Lummis, 1992, p.48). The reality is that
each culture has its own standards based on different values that that cannot be ranked or
compared with each other. Sachs states: “Tuaregs, Zapotecos or Rajasthanis are not seen
as living diverse and non-comparable ways of human existence, but as somehow lacking
in terms of what has been achieved by the advanced countries” (1992, p.3).

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 proclaimed equality for
all human beings. Latouche argues that this address created for universal indicators of
happiness which would be applicable everywhere (Latouche, 1992, p.252). Latouche
states:

The wealth of the ‘other’ has not only been denigrated (even in the
other’s eye), but its very foundations have been torn apart. Wealth and
poverty are clearly relative concepts. What they mean varies according
to what culture defines as its reference points and how it models reality
These standards are based on Western values of what is considered happiness and well-being. Latouche believes the “Westernization” of the world has not created equality of standards of living, but it has made it an obligation for the leaders of Third World nations (Latouche 1992, p.257). Governments are trying to pursue standards of living based on Western models. Lummis concludes that inequality is not an economic problem:

> It is a problem that calls for justice, not for the integration and homogenization of all the world’s peoples into a single world economic and cultural system. Inequality is not, in short, an economic problem. Strictly speaking, economics has no vocabulary for describing inequality as a problem...If inequality is a problem, it is a political problem. Its solution is not a matter of development, but of the shaking off of burdens” (1992, p.49-50).

International organizations implement development initiatives in the Third World using Western assumptions of what the Third World needs. Rahnema discusses that what planners and politicians consider as needs is very different to the needs identified by the poor (1992, p.164). They have global criteria of how to assess poverty. For example, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) measures poverty by the percentage of illiterate, or, for example the percentage of radios and books in a society (p.164). The World Health Organization (WHO) sees it as the percentage of doctors and nurses available and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) measures poverty by calorie intake (p.163). The needs that international organizations seek to assess through expert institutions, Rahnema believes, are “the needs of a certain ‘economy’, a certain idea of poverty, and a particular category of consumers and taxpayers whose rights and interests should be protected” (1992, p.165). They do not truly represent what people need. Planners justify these assessments with their need for a ‘scientific’ basis for their projects and also determine allocation of funds (p.166). Ekins
discusses that satisfiers of needs are culturally and socially determined and relative. He believes satisfiers of needs are subjective and therefore, impossible to be measured by experts (1986, p.62).

**Freedom as a development goal**

Amartya Sen takes another perspective to the problems of mainstream development arguing against an economically centered development to a development of pursuing freedom. He believes that present economic practices have “tended to move away from focusing on the value of freedoms to that of utilities, incomes, and wealth” (Sen 1999, p.27). He believes that the main focus of development should be political freedoms, social opportunities, economic facilities, transparency guarantees and protective security (1999, p.xii). Adequate social opportunities can improve people’s quality of life (1999, p.11). Freedom, and therefore development, is about increasing the opportunities for people to improve themselves (1999, p.14). Sen sees anything that deprives opportunities as factors of “unfreedom”. One example of this is famine. Famines deny the basic freedom of survival (Sen, 1999, p.15). Sen does believe that economic development helps freedom but only if it moves from an economic view that is utility oriented to one that is freedom oriented (1999, p.27). One example is the region of Kerala in India that has shown very low levels of economic development in comparison to other parts of India; but social development in this region is very well advanced. Kerala has high levels of education and health care. It even has shown a faster income poverty reduction than the rest of India (Sen, 1999, p.91). With this example, Sen shows how
empirical evidence reached by economic formulas only depict a certain aspect of a society and cannot be used to measure the social condition of a community.

Although the concept of development as freedom gives importance to other meanings of development, Sen still bases his theory on a Western model of development linked to an importance of growth and free market economy. His analysis is also loaded with Western values of what a quality of life consists of as well as what it means to have freedom. Kabeer argues that neoliberal ideas are always at the basis of mainstream development. “Liberal neo-classical economics have always played a central role in the evolution of development studies and the formulation of development policies” (1995, p.13). She claims that such an approach assumes that if the economy is left to its own devices, it will maximize both the individual and social goods in the community (1995, p.15). Despite the fact that Sen moves away from seeing development as purely a matter of economic growth, his theory still has many influences from neoliberalism and Western forms of knowledge.

Culture and development

Hassan Zaoual believes the economy is not an economic problem but a cultural one. He talks about a “culture of development” that cannot be simply transferred to the Third World since these countries have their own culture of development (Zaoual, 1994, p.31). He gives the example of Africa. Africans tend to focus more on collective actions, and therefore, the Western mentality of an individualist economy does not work. Africans
practice what he calls a "moral economy" (p.32). They are not anonymous individuals, but people embedded in relationships with one another (p.33). He states:

In brief, everything indicates that the human essence of African endogenous economics is not founded on limitless production and accumulation but on the redistribution within the framework of the cohesion of the groups and the whole of society (1994, p.34).

Zaoual shows how the idea behind a modern economy is influenced by Western culture, which tends to fail when applied to non-Western societies.

Pierre de Sernaclens argues that the goal of mainstream development initiatives was the "civilizing mission of the West." It implied the pursuit of social and cultural evolution of industrialized countries (1988, p.192). He describes how the West perceived the Third World: "In the 'backward' regions, the economy is based on agriculture. Productivity is low, health and hygiene conditions are dramatic, illiteracy widespread, and the low level of education and technical training make progress problematic" (de Sernaclens, 1988, p.193).

De Sernaclens demonstrates how this mentality shaped the initiatives that the UN undertook to develop of the Third World. The first UN technical assistance programs were based on a development approaches that implied agrarian reform, planning, and reduction of social inequalities. This required a move from feudal, 'traditional' administration to a more rational, modern one (Sernaclens, 1988, p.194). The Third World is seen not only poor but also as backward. Truman launched the idea of technical assistance that was based on a universal paradigm, economic, social and cultural norm applicable everywhere (p.194). Sernaclens shows how the construction of the notion of development shaped the kinds of initiatives international organizations sponsored in the
Third World. Mainstream development is also linked to civilize Third World communities because it assumes local knowledge is not going to bring about development.

**Mainstream development into practice**

Mainstream development theories are one of the main reasons why international development projects have failed in the Third World. James Ferguson states that development agencies are in the business of ‘selling’ development packages and trying to justify applications for them (1994, p.70). International organizations are not concerned with local realities because they base their strategies in what they think poor countries need. Ferguson discusses how the World Bank and some cooperating agencies imagined Lesotho’s poverty to fit the development plans the Bank had in mind for the country. Ferguson states: “Their problem is to find the right kind of problem that requires the ‘solution’ they are there to provide. This is the institutional context within which development discourse is located” (1994, p.70). Ferguson argues that development is an industry and that the case of Lesotho is no different from other cases across the globe (1994, p.8). Trying to homogenize the Third World has caused many projects to fail.

Ferguson shows that the development project in Lesotho failed because of how the World Bank imagined the social and political structure of the country. The Bank homogenizes the condition of the Third World assuming it is the same in every country. Ferguson states: “The homogenizing of such representations can be almost comical—many reports on Lesotho look as though they would work nearly as well with the word
‘Nepal’ systematically substituted for “Lesotho” (1994, p.70). Ferguson shows how development projects are standardized assuming that they can successfully be adapted to different regions.

In Lesotho’s case, the World Bank exaggerated the importance of agriculture. Ferguson clarifies that usually reports twist their words and numbers to make Lesotho fit the picture of the “peasant society” (1994, p.58). The World Bank used bad statistics as facts to show a sudden drop in agricultural production (1994, p.59). Organizations like the World Bank tend to neglect the importance of cultural diversity and the different social relations each community in the Third World has. Ferguson discusses that in Lesotho original planners knew very little of the country’s history. They drew assumptions from experience in East Africa (1994, p.258). He concludes that the picture the World Bank painted of Lesotho’s situations was very different from the local reality:

At the end of this involved process of theoretical construction, Lesotho can be represented in “development” discourse as a nation of farmers, not wage laborers; a country with a geography, but no history; with people, but no classes; values, but no structures; administrators, but no rulers; bureaucracy, but no politics. Political and structural causes of poverty in Lesotho are systematically erased and replaced with technical ones, and the “modern”, capitalist, industrialized nature of the society is systematically understated or concealed (1994, p.258)

According to Ferguson mainstream development de-politicizes everything it encounters. It does not take political realities into consideration. Local governments are simply seen as machines for implementing development programs and delivering social services (1994, p.65). One of the reasons for neglecting local political realities is that these agencies want to simplify the problem in each country. International organizations
like the World Bank tend to have a predetermined picture of what they think a certain community will look like.

The theories introduced in this section show the problems with the ideas behind mainstream development. Mainstream development is based on Western forms of knowledge and its roots are centered on neoliberal ideas and the need for growth. Mainstream development shares global formulas for prosperity, with goals such as equality and a better standard of living for all. These ideas are universal. The assumption is that each country needs the same remedy in order to develop. The main problem is that development is cultural and mainstream development practices ignore this factor. The West assumes it knows how to help the poor. It believes that offering the Third World development experts that will teach “underdeveloped communities” how to progress.

I have introduced here different points of view on problems with mainstream development ideas. The second part of this critique focuses specifically on what type of knowledge has been produced in the development discourse and how this knowledge has produced different power relationships.

**Knowledge relationships behind mainstream development initiatives**

Mainstream development initiatives are based on a knowledge system produced in the West. Vandana Shiva argues that development has been based on “reductionist categories of scientific thought” (1989, p.161). She argues that modern science is considered value free and based on universal ideas. But it was actually constructed during the Scientific Revolution of the fifteen, sixteen and seventeenth centuries, by Western
men who developed scientific law based on a patriarchal structure that subjugates women and nature (1989, p.162).

Naila Kabeer discusses a similar point: there is an underlying hierarchy of knowledge upon which the mainstream development view is constructed that is based on scientific, positivist information instead of local knowledge. The people in control of knowledge are central and detached, not involved, because objectivity is necessary in scientific method so that knowledge can be value-free (1995, p.72). Shiva states that the economy is treated under these scientific terms. Scientific knowledge symbolizes uniformity, centralization, and control. She argues that development is also treated as a science. For example, development is seen as a science with the introduction of scientific agriculture (Shiva, 1989, p.161). Shiva discusses that Bacon, considered one of the leading researchers of modern science, dichotomizes between male/female, mind/matter, objective/subjective, and rational/emotional (1989, p.163). She argues that this is a mechanical way of viewing the world (p.163).

Science has become a tool for power. Claude Alvares describes how science was perceived in societies has evolved. “Earlier, science had linked itself with enlightenment and millennial claims, before going onto associate itself with racism, sexism, imperialism and colonialism, and then settling down with development, an idea in which most of these earlier inheritances are encoded” (Alvares, 1992, p.221). People were considered backward because of the absence of science; backwardness was then substituted with development, which claimed a better way of organizing societies based on the insights of science (p.221).
Alvares claims that science has made knowledge scarce. It has narrowed down the opportunities for enriching knowledge. He sees it as a totalitarian force imposed on people. Scientific knowledge was considered above emotion, race, community, language or religion. It was seen as transnational (Alvares, 1992, p.229). Therefore, it was chosen as the primary force for development. Alvares believes that there has never been such a strong agreement from intellectuals to give in to the temptation of science (1992, p.229). Science is totalitarian; people are not free to choose it as an option. If a person refuses to accept scientific knowledge, this individual is seen as ignorant and irrational (Alvares, 1992, p.228). Alvares states:

Knowledge is power, but power is also knowledge. Power decides what is knowledge and what is not knowledge. Thus modern science actually attempted to suppress even non-competitive, but different ways of interacting with man, nature and the cosmos. It warred to empty the planet of all divergent streams of episteme in order to assert the unrivalled hegemony of its own batch of rules and set of perceptions, the latter being clearly linked with the aggressive thrusts of Western culture (1992, p.230).

Scientific knowledge is one of the main forces behind mainstream development initiatives. It is seen as the only possible alternative for describing the world and the only source of knowledge available to find solutions to solve the "underdevelopment" of the Third World.

Foucault’s ideas of power relations, the construction of the truth in discourses, and the relationship between power and knowledge help the analysis of mainstream development. Regarding the relation between power and knowledge, Foucault states:

We should not be content to say that power has a need for such-and-such a discovery, such-and-such form of knowledge, but we should add that the exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information (1980, p.51).
Power causes new forms of knowledge to appear; new forms of knowledge create different power relationships. It is a never-ending cycle; where both forces shape each other and evolve in different forms through time. In the case of the economy, the way economic development is shaped depends on the power relations that form it. The rise of scientific thought and the influence of neoliberalism created forms of knowledge that shaped the power relationships between the West and the Other. Mainstream development has been based in Western science and scientific thought that neglects other systems of knowledge. Indigenous or local knowledge in Third World communities is not seen as relevant in the development discourse.

Stuart Hall defines discourse as “the production of knowledge through language” it is a way of presenting knowledge of a certain topic (Hall, 1996, p.201). A discourse makes it possible to construct a topic certain ways through the different statements inside the particular discourse (p.201). Transformations caused by the relationship between power and knowledge shape different discourses. Western knowledge in the development discourse shapes the power it generates; hence, the power development initiatives have over people. To acknowledge other forms of knowledge in the economy it is necessary to change these power relationships. When the relations between the meaning of development and Western science and neoliberal ideas are deconstructed. As a result, new forms of knowledge; new ways to talk about development will enter the development discourse and form new power relations. These relationships can locate Third World communities and their forms of knowledge as the main force of the development discourse.
Escobar describes how the development as a discourse was formed. Elements such as technology, monetary and fiscal policies, population and resources, industrialization etc. and players, including, international organizations, national planning agencies, and technical agencies are involved in the theory of development (1995, p.40). Escobar argues that development was not simply a result of a combination of these factors. It is instead the result of establishing a set of relationships between these elements and of the systematization of these relations to arrange them as a unit (p.40). Escobar believes that in order to understand development as a discourse it is necessary to focus on the system of relations involved and not simply on the elements themselves. This system of relations not only creates concepts and strategies but it also determines what can be thought or said. (p.40). These relationships include interactions between what experts say and what development agencies decide to use; between different forms of authority or different power segments in the society, all these relationships regulate the development discourse (1995, p.44). Escobar states:

The system of relations establishes a discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise; it sets the rules that must be followed for this of that problem, theory, or object to emerge and be named, analyzed, and eventually transformed into a policy or plan (1995, p.41).

Escobar makes it clear that in order to understand why the West dominates the Third World through development initiatives, it is necessary to analyze not the elements of development, but the relationships between these elements in order to realize the complexity of the development discourse.
Mainstream development initiatives are based on a Western perspective of what is considered true. Foucault states that in Western societies: “The ‘political economy’ of truth is centered on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it” (Foucault, 1980, p.133). He continues to discuss that the basis of science in Western thought has universalized the notion of what is truth. “Science, the constraint to truth, the obligation of truth and ritualized procedures for its production have traversed absolutely the whole of Western society millennia and are now so universalized as to become the general law for all civilizations” (Foucault, 1980, p.67). International organizations base their projects and initiatives on a scientific truth of past examples of successful development. Experts do not question what has been done before because it is based on scientific thought.

Foucault states: “It’s not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera, for truth is already power) but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the present time” (1980, p.133). There is no absolute truth. There is not one way to develop societies and alleviate poverty in the Third World. The development discourse must move away from a system based on universal views that lead to one absolute truth. Foucault discusses that each society has its own regime of truth. Third World nations have other values that are not necessarily linked to Western science. An inevitable clash occurs between Western initiatives of how to develop the Third World societies and what these societies actually want. In the case of the development discourse,
it is not about whether scientific statements are true or false, it is about realizing that there are other truths regarding development depending on the knowledge that produce it.

**Mainstream development: Another form of colonization**

Mainstream development has been argued to be another form of Western colonialism. Albert Memmi in his book “The Colonizer and the Colonized” describes the relationship between the colonizer and the people in the colonies. I believe this relationship Memmi analyzes has many similarities to the relationship between the West and the Third World under development initiatives. Although, the Third World no longer officially colonized, the way the West perceives people in the Third World fits the descriptions that Memmi gives of the colonized. The colonized people undergo a depersonalization (Memmi, 1957, p.85). The Third World is also depersonalized; it is always thought of as a group. Memmi argues that the colonized is never characterized in an individual manner (p.85). Similarly under Western development initiatives, the Third World is seen as an object, not a society composed of individuals.

Memmi states: “the colonized is never considered in a positive light” (1957, p.83). He argues the colonizer does not care to find out more about the colonized. The colonizer just wants to make the colonized undergo an urgent change (p.83). The colonized before colonization, has no history or agenda, they are backward, and therefore, the colonized has an excuse to have control over them. Colonization is characterized by a paternalist approach towards the colonies. Memmi states: “A paternalist is one who wants to stretch racism and inequality farther” (1957, p.76).
Mainstream development initiatives have a paternalist approach that simply increases dependency of the Third World on the West instead of creating equality in the world. As in the case of colonized, the West does not see the Third World in a positive light. It is an area covered with poverty, a group of backward communities in need of change.

Finally, Memmi questions whether the colonized benefited at all from colonization. He asks: “Why must we suppose that the colonized would have remained frozen in the state in which the colonizer found him?” (1957, p.113). For the colonizer, the colony had no history, and therefore it was treated as a static object. Memmi discusses that colonization did bring infrastructure such as roads and hospitals to the colonies, but why does the colonizer assumes that the colony was in a frozen stage before colonialism (p.113). In the case of the Third World, mainstream development initiatives assume that development cannot happen without Western intervention. The Third World is seen as not having its own history of development and progress. It is a stagnant geographical area that needs a Western hand in order to advance and progress.
CHAPTER II

WOMEN AND MAINSTREAM DEVELOPMENT

Development initiatives treat poverty as a piecemeal process where different areas are targeted separately. One recent development focus has been on women. Mainstream development’s approach towards women is a good example of what problems exist with theories behind mainstream development. The role of women in the development discourse shows clearly how mainstream development’s knowledge system shapes how women in the Third World are treated and viewed. Many development projects target women because women are believed to be the main consumers in the household. Women became a focus in development after feminist groups demonstrated how women were excluded from development initiatives or presented in a distorted form (Kabeer, 1994, p.ix). It was believed that since they suffer more than the rest of the community, women should be given special attention in development.

Bina Agarwal shows how women are the most affected by environmental degradation and development projects. She argues that women’s income decreases with environmental degradation since for example there is a decline of forest products, and they depend more on these products than the rest of the community. Also, in poor households, women’s diet diminishes more than the rest of the family (1992, p.138). Due to the nature their of work and the agricultural tasks that women perform, they are directly exposed to contaminated areas such as water pollution of rivers due to fertilizer runoff (1992, p.139-140). Women are also faced with the loss of kin network that provide economical and social support when villagers are displaced due to projects such as the
construction of dams (1992, p.141). Women are directly connected with nature and the environment and anything that affects the land has a great impact on their lives.

Not only do women suffer more but also, as Mies and Shiva argue, their contribution to the economy has been neglected in the global economy. The negative impacts of economic development on women are virtually unrecognized (1993, p.75). For example, most small farmers are women. Their role is ignored in development programs that focus on agricultural practices for international trade purposes (Shiva in Mies & Shiva, 1993, p.231). Women’s work and survival depend many times in management of biomass for fodder, fertilizer, food and fuel. Their work becomes invisible and their contribution is not taken into consideration (Shiva, 1992, p.232). This type of work is not part of the economy but seen as part of their household chores.

Similarly to Mies and Shiva, Waring also talks about female invisibility in the world economy. She discusses how economic statistics are inaccurate since they do not take women into consideration. She states how the U.N. System of National Accounts’ (UNSNA) research excludes women that do not have a formal job from the economy. Aid donors and development agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF, other United Nations Agencies and national governments base their projects on these statistics (Waring, 1999, p.2). UNSNA divides between primary and other producers. A housewife by definition cannot be a primary producer, she might be agriculturally productive but her primary job is still considered housework (Waring, 1999, p.62). According to Waring, the UNSNA does not take into consideration factors such as the hidden economy (1999, p.122) and environmental pollution (1999, p.126) and the benefits of having leisure time
These values are not included in national income. The economy takes into account only what can be measured as economic profit. The economics of reproduction are non-market transactions and therefore, not part of the global economy (1999, p.153). Biological reproduction is treated differently from reproduction of the labor force because it is non-paid (p.153).

These types of arguments are based on specific assumptions of the lives of women throughout the world. Moser argues that women's work in social planning most of the time includes assumptions that women are passive recipients of development rather than participants in the development process (1993, p.59). Another assumption is that motherhood is their most important role (p.59). This approach towards women issues is family centered where women's main role is reproductive. Tinker argues that Western glorification of women's childbearing role was sent abroad with aid initiatives to other parts of the world. These attitudes were spread throughout gender roles in these countries where aid agencies were working at (Tinker in Kabeer, 1994, p.21).

These arguments regarding women led to the acceptance of the Women in Development (WID) initiatives into mainstream development practices. At 1975 World Conference of International Women's Year, the UN declared 1975-1985 decade for women. This accomplishment was pushed by the WID network (Kardam, 1991, p.10). Bilateral and multilateral agencies and policies for WID assistance incorporated programs for women into all applicable aid (Kardam, 1991, p.11). WID was integrated into the UNDP manual and guidelines. However, how to include women in development was vaguely explained (Kardam, 1991, p.19).
WID stems from a liberal feminist point of view. WID has an equity approach; it attempts to fight a subordinate position (Moser, 1993, p. 62). Kabeer states: “WID advocacy drew its ideas about equality from the liberal philosophical belief that despite difference of culture and class, there is a universal and fundamental argument for equality between human beings” (1995, p.27). “The advent of WID in the international arena represented, above all, an infusion of new ideas aimed at influencing prevailing development policies” (Kabeer 1995:4). WID moved from a welfarist view of women’s needs to an efficiency approach (Moser, 1993, p.69). This ensured that development would be more efficient and effective through women’s economic contribution. WID focuses on women’s participation in the economy and acknowledges different roles women play in the society (p.69). These arguments show how WID became part of the development discourse because it shared similar Western forms of knowledge.

**Problems with WID approach**

WID was a step to try to solve women’s issues but it has created more problems for women. Wamukonya argues that such a gender approach has alienated women’s needs from the rest of society (2002, p.12). There are some issues that are not necessarily gender-sensitive. She provides the example of energy and development projects. The argument for a gender perspective in these projects is that women use energy in a different way that men. Wamukonya states that the gender-energy link has been narrowed to a rural dimension, with a fuel wood and household cooking focus (2002, p.6). This issue has been simplified; the gender roles in rural areas have been stereotyped. Even if
new strategies of income generation for women have been developed, they tend to fail because these projects are operated mainly by women. This isolates women from the conventional male-dominated economy, which causes a limitation in networking and expansion of the project (Wamukonya, 2002, p.9). This approach according to Wamukonya assumes that the energy issue is a women’s issue instead of a social issue and that by targeting women the problem will be solved (Wamukonya, 2002, p.12). She argues that women do suffer from energy problems; but that they suffer of this because they are women is subject to debate (Wamukonya, 2002, p.13). Wamukonya has a strong critique on WID. Separating development projects to focus on only women does not take into consideration the social dynamics of the community. Targeting only women in development projects can have negative outcomes in the lives of rural women.

The WID approach has strong influences with neoliberal views and the assumption that development is achieved through growth. Simmons in her article “Women in Development: A threat to liberation”, argues that the World Bank sees women through this universal approach. For the World Bank, women’s labor exists only in relation to their market value (1992, p.245). The attempt to integrate women into development is based on false assumptions that economic growth means development for all. Also, it assumes that women want to be part of the economy and they were just excluded before (Simmons 1992, p.246). One example of this is seen in strategies of the World Bank when arguing in favor of using modern high-response seed varieties. This approach is supposed to be good for women because it raises the amount of hired female labor (p.246). As Simmons states, this method does not take into consideration the fact
that because of this project, many women were displaced from their own land due to
discriminatory policies and they had no other option than to work for less than
subsistence wages (p.246). For the World Bank to assume that economic growth helps
women only serves to undermine other social impacts women suffer. Simmons states:
“One path, one scale, one world. This is not the sort of ‘liberation’ women had envisaged
and fought for” (1992, p.244).

After global acceptance of focusing on empowering women, mainstream
development concentrated on income generating projects for women. Poster and Salime
describe how there was a change of focus from development as charity to seeing
development as business (in Naples and Desai, 2002, p.192). Neoliberal development has
put an emphasis in projects involving microcredit and small loans for women. This new
approach was based on projects done in South Asia. The outcomes of these projects saw
women as more likely to pay back loans than men (Klenk, 2004, p.71). In mainstream
development, microcredit projects are believed to be one important aspect of poverty
alleviation. These types of projects improve consumption and production of the poor
(Khandker, 1998, p.2) and meet the demand of poor people that do not have access to
traditional bank loans. The goal of a microcredit project is producing loans for the poor at
very low rates. The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh is the best-known microcredit program.
This project was the model for 750 other nongovernmental organizations working with
microcredit in Bangladesh alone (Khandker, 1998, p.3). This microcredit program now
has been widely spread to different regions in the Third World. The Grameen Bank
receives donations from several international organizations. The bank began by giving
loans only to men but change its policy and by 1983, 90% of its borrowers were women (Kabeer 1995, p.231). The assumption is that lives of women will improve as soon as they are given more economic power.

Poster and Salime discuss the limits of the microcredit approach. They introduce the example of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) focus on microcredit projects targeting women in Morocco. USAID made it a requirement in the 1990’s to have women as the main participants of these types of projects (in Naples and Desai, 2002, p.209). This requirement comes from UNDP emphasis on helping women. Women are viewed as responsible, trustworthy, and serious whereas men are careless and unreliable. Women are also considered main providers of a family’s well-being.

In Morocco’s case study of microcredit projects, women report that this approach has negative consequences: it shifts the burdens of household maintenance to women away from men, women now have more financial responsibilities with regard to their families and more work on them (Poster & Salime in Naples and Desai, 2002, p.210-211). Microcredit projects not only have women only policies but also only one member of the family can get a loan. Most men are neglected. Men also have need for economic help since unemployment is a problem in Morocco (p.211). Poster and Salime believe this project has created a gender imbalance. Daughters are also burdened more due to this program since they have to help their mothers with the chores in and out of the household. Women also experience more debt and dependence upon the microcredit organizations (p.211). There is an intensive competition between organizations for clients so non-governmental organizations do not encourage members to leave the projects.
Morocco's microcredit project by USAID is measured by the number of business licenses granted to women, so in this case it is considered a success. It is measured in quantity terms rather than improvement of women's quality of life (Poster & Salime in Naples and Desai, 2002, p.196). Microcredit project promotes jobs in the informal sector; the problem for this is that USAID is enhancing women's opportunities in highly risky unprotected sectors of the economy (p.196).

This example shows how microcredit is one of the main economic component of the WID agenda (in Naples and Desai, 2002, p.194). This policy is based on a neoliberal framework that focuses narrowly on women neglecting to see the larger context of the role of other social networks in the community. In 1999 USAID held a conference in Chicago promoting microcredit projects as a solution across the globe. The theme was “Women Mean Business: A global exchange”. The microcredit idea shows how WID initiatives are reapplied similarly across borders (Poster & Salime in Naples and Desai, 2002, p.198). Microcredit is seen as a remedy for poverty no matter what cultural context. The intended beneficiaries of these projects were not involved in this conference (p.198).

Problem of homogenization of women

Mohanty argues that there is a problem when women are homogenized and seen as one coherent group. It is assumed that all Third World women have the same problems and the same goals (Mohanty, 1997, p.265). The image of Third World women is essentialized and portrayed as victims and powerless members of the community. Implicitly Western women are seen as modern and educated. The result is a paternalistic
behavior in part of the Western woman towards the Third World ones (Escobar, 1995, p.8). This type of approach to development, as Mohanty states: “assumes an ahistorical, universal unity between women based on a generalized notion of their subordination” (1997, p.265).

The argument about the invisibility and oppression of women tend to oversimplify women’s conditions in the Third World. Because of the complexity of activities in societies, it is impossible to simplify the analysis of women’s conditions into mainstream capitalist models (Waring, 1999, p.xxxix). Waring, Mies and Shiva bring a strong point on how mainstream development sees women; but though Third World women share many common struggles, they cannot be homogenized into one coherent group. There is a problem when women are clustered as one unit and when society is separated into two groups: women and men. This type of analysis of a binary division between men and women silences other relations in the discourse. Waring’s study on the invisibility of women in the economy is a feminist analysis that includes all women’s conditions both in the Third World and the First World. In this case, there is not only a problem of binary divisions, but this approach also oversimplifies power relations involved in economic development by not taking class and race into consideration. Women are not the only ones silenced in the development discourse. Foucault states: “There is not one but may silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underline and permeate discourses” (1978, p.27). Foucault argues here that one must resist a dichotomy type of thinking.
Seeing women as one single group against men as another group shadows other relations in society. In this simplistic model, men have the power in the economy while women are victims. First, it is necessary to understand power in the context of relationships (Foucault, 1978, p.93). The development apparatus is shaped by a system of power relations. Foucault states that power is not an institution, nor a structure he argues: “It is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society” (1978, p.93). Power is not about women as one subordinate group in the male-driven economy. It is not about a power structure but about an unequal relationship based on specific historical events. As Foucault discusses, it is important to focus on how the relationships of power have been historically produced (1978, p.94). Above all it is necessary to explore how this power relation was formed and placed some women in the shadow of the economy. The economic development apparatus was constructed under Western theories and many people were neglected in this discourse. Many women have been excluded from economic development but it is wrong to assume that all women are placed in the same experience and are part of a subordinated group in the economy. It is necessary here to include power relations among women as well. For example, what power relationship exists between women in the First World and women in the Third World and how this affected the world economy. There are other power relationships that are not only based on sexual differences. Race, social status and cultural differences also shape power relations in the economy.

The fight for a development that promotes gender equality does not mean that the goal is to have women socially equal to men. As bell hooks argues: “Since men are not
equals in white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal class structures which men do women want to be equal to?” (1984, p.50). This question is important when the situation of Third World women is examined. Bell hooks states that men are usually also oppressed and Third World women are conscious of this problem. They know that men in their same social class do not have social, political or economic power either (1984, p.51). Bell hooks states:

It is necessary a struggle to eradicate the ideology of domination that penetrates Western culture on various levels as well as a commitment to reorganizing society so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, economic expansion, and material desires (1984, p.51).

Women have different goals and desires. Middle class white American women might be looking for equality with men, but for Third World feminism the struggle is one of fighting oppression of both men and women in their social class. Women are fighting exploitation of all aspects of women political reality including not only sex but also race and class exploitation (bell hooks 1984, p.52). Third World women’s struggles are difficult to differentiate from the whole Third World struggles of poverty, apartheid, neo-colonialism (1984, p.31). Bell hooks bring a Third World feminist approach to the notion of what is an important problem with a mainstream development approach.

UNIFEM has acknowledged the fact that gender equality can mean several things for different societies (Heyzer, 2004, p.4). Progress towards gender equality also has different meaning for different women. This report by the Asia Development Bank (ADB) on gender in development states: “First any assessment of progress toward gender equality must be understood in the context in which our world is now shaped: economic
globalization, national fragmentation and conflict, and problems without borders—all with major consequences to women’s lives” (p.4). Though this statement is true in listing factors that affect women’s lives, it cannot be assumed that most women in the Third World are included in the notion of progress based on the Western world under economic globalization since this economic system in some cases undermines their roles and lives. The idea of universalizing economic problems leaves many other problems people might have in the Third World aside. This generalization assumes that everybody lives and experiences the same in the economic world and that economic progress is something everybody in the world must attain. Both the UNIFEM and the ABD pieces show how the mainstream development views women’s issues as universal and women as one coherent group.

From WID to GAD

Criticisms with the WID approach led to the adoption of Gender and Development (GAD) in the development discourse as a new way to target women’s issues (Wamukonya, 2002, p.3). This new focus moved away from a physiological analysis of differences between men and women in development and more towards socially constructed roles between men and women. Although GAD tries to take cultural differences into consideration, the approach in most cases does not differ from WID initiatives. Wamukonya argues that even though there is a distinction between these two approaches there is still a tendency in focusing mainly on women and even to use the two terms interchangeably (2002, p.3). Rebecca Klenk believes both approaches have placed
women as a separate group. She argues that WID and GAD have enforced the category of "other" for women. These approaches have also emphasized women as victims (Klenk, 2004, p.65).

Monium and Osman use the case study of Sudan to explain how it is important to take into consideration gender relations in poverty alleviation strategies but not without taking the local culture into consideration as well (Monium & Osman, 2002, p.22). In Sudan women have very restricted access to land ownership, credit and other productive resources (2002, p.23). Women's activities are only seen as belonging to the household. In general, women are perceived and they perceive themselves as of less social and economic value in respect to men (2002, p.24). Monium and Osman argue that gender roles are embedded in cultural traditions so programs that try to address all aspects of women's issues have the challenge of dealing with cultural norms of the targeted community (p.24).

One solution to gender issues in development projects is that if women-specific projects were linked to other projects then they would work in helping women without isolating their issues from other development strategies (2002, p.27). One of the authors' main points is that women should not be treated as a separate issue but how a gender consideration should be implemented into all different approaches and topics of development (2002, p.29). This case study shows how researchers tend to use both a GAD approach but also continue to focus mainly on women's needs. Monium and Osman through their analysis use 'gender' and 'women' to refer to the same approach.
The GAD approach similar to WID tends to generalize women’s activities. GAD is also based on assumptions of the social roles women play in the Third World. One example of this problem is seen in household activities. Harris states: “Domestic institutions within which women carry out most of their reproductive activities are themselves frequently treated as closer to nature, hence more universal and resistant to social analysis than other institutions” (qtd. in Kabeer 1995, p.29). These activities include tasks such as mothering and caring activities (p.29). Gender relations change from culture to culture but again, social relationships between men and women have been generalized. “The form that gender relations take in any historical situation is specific to that situation and has to be constructed inductively, it cannot be read off from other social relations nor from the gender relations of other societies” (Young et al 1981 in Kabeer, 1995, p.62).

One of the biggest problems with household projects is that these are based on a universal concept of what makes a household. The household is labeled as an independent entity that has clear divisions of labor (Moser, 1993, p.15). Common stereotypes include seeing the household as just the nuclear family. This perception leaves many other household arrangements outside. For example, due to labor migration, conditions of war and disaster whether man made or natural have increased the amount of female-headed households (Moser, 1993, p.17). Seeing the household as one single economic entity fails to see the inter-household resource exchanges and also the systems of reciprocity in a community (1993, p.19). Moser argues that planners treat the household as a static unit but households actually vary greatly depending on its socio-
economic context (p.19). Not only is it static, but it is also assumed gender relations inside the household do not play a role shaping the household. Moser emphasizes that it is important to take intra-household relations into consideration (p.20).

Gender in development and poverty issues are more complex than what organizations believe them to be. Rocheleau and Edmunds argue that there is a need to take into consideration the realities of men and women as well as the complexities of rural landscapes. They state: “Rather than adopting an artificial dichotomy between “haves” and “have nots” (usually linked with men and women, respectively, in discussions of land tenure), we argue that gendered domains in tree tenure may be both complementary and negotiable” (1997, p.1351). They discuss that within natural resources, property issues are part of very complex social relations and gendered systems (1997, p.1352). Rocheleau and Edmunds discuss that historically the feminist concerns of gender inequality served as a doorway into the social relations involved in control over property (p.1351). They believe this approach has created a “polarized, hierarchical gender structure in which some men had land and most women did not” (Davidson qtd. in Rocheleau 1997, p.1352).

Rocheleau and Edmund describe some of the complexities of gender in natural resources property and access in Africa. Some of the aspects include: a difference in the right of men and women to own land, differences in space and places in which men and women exercise control over natural resources, and differences between men and women’s access to natural resources (1997, p.1353). The focus on land titling and bringing women into the right of having titles to the land oversimplifies the role women
play already in the use of resources and their ownership rights as part of customary law (1997, p.1354). Women’s land rights and land uses might not be easy to identify since many times they are “in-between” spaces where men have a stronger role but women’s activities are also prominent (1997, p.1355). Also even though it might be possible to recognize men and women’s separate spaces. This does not show who has what level of access to which resources. Women and men use different aspects of natural resources the forest has to offer. Some of their activities may fall in their private land as well as on the private property of others (1997, p.1357).

This research shows the importance of focusing on how complex gender relations tend to be in specific scenarios. As a solution to the right to land access for women, the idea of giving women formal title might be a solution. One problem that needs to be considered in this case is the unequal relations of power within women’s groups. This may still limit the access of some women to tree and forest products (Rocheleau & Edmund, 1997, p.1360). Other factors to consider are how women’s access and land use in some cases depends on seasonal changes and social changes (1997, p.1361). This case study serves as a good example of the different relationships that exist in a community. These types of dynamics need to be taken into consideration when planning development projects.

Realities at a country’s national level do not depict the realities of all communities in the country. Each community has to be analyzed separately. Sarah Hamilton shows this in her case study of a small community in Ecuador. She analyzes the difference with gender relations seen at a national level compared to local realities. Chacalo in Ecuador is
a community that is based on traditional indigenous forms of organization. In this community sustaining a balance of power between husband and wife is necessary for the well-being of the household (Hamilton, 1998, p.2). The first snapshot of the community shows gender inequality but Hamilton argues that these are not asymmetries but instead reflect a degree of economic, social and political gender egalitarianism (1998, p.8). Hamilton uses the example of this rural community in Ecuador to argue that the gender relations at a national level in Ecuador are different than the realities at a local level (p.8). The Ecuadorean government imposes a patriarchal structure in these communities but the local realities show women having more power in the society.

Ecuador's patriarchal structures stem from colonial times. During Spanish colonization, heads of haciendas favored men as the heads of the household. This structure was also carried after colonialism during land reform in Ecuador. The national legal system, the influence of Roman Catholicism, and the system of haciendas brought to the community ideas of female subordination (Hamilton 1998, p.3). Before colonialism women held independent rights to communal lands and controlled their own production in Chacalo. With colonialism women and men became property of the state. Spanish patriarchal structures were imposed on indigenous communities (Hamilton, 1998, p.23). Agricultural reforms introduced a rural capitalist workforce that decreased the amount of women with means of production and productive decision-making (1998, p.9). Hamilton argues that planned agricultural development initiatives marginalize women's role in agriculture. Men are the ones that receive assistance in areas such as technology innovations, marketing infrastructure, and therefore the wives are left with less power
over decisions when it comes to agriculture (p.9). Women’s role is seen as a wife and therefore any work in the land is labeled as part of the household chore and not an economic activity.

Other studies of indigenous populations in Ecuador show that equal-gender relations have survived in the household and integrated into a capitalist labor markets (Hamilton, 1998, p.26). “Vestiges of parallel male and female ritual systems survive, whereas male-dominated political organizations chartered in accord with land-reform legislation often lack power and influence” (Belote & Belote 1977, 1981, 1988 in Hamilton, 1998, p.27). For example even though women might not contribute as much to household income as men, women have equal or greater control of this income than men (Alberti in Hamilton, 1998, p.28). Chacalo is a small community that during time of the hacienda, most families where contracted to work for the owner of the plantation. Even though a patriarchal structure influenced the community, women still performed the same type of agricultural activities except those requiring a lot of physical strength (1998, p.47).

The problem is that development organizations tend to assume that the national reality of Ecuador is the same in all communities in the country. For example, planners, governments and donor agencies view the household as a black box; no relations inside the household are taken into consideration (Hamilton, 1998 p.10). There have been some efforts to analyze what is inside the box by viewing women’s role beyond their roles as care takers (1998: p12). Although this has lead to acknowledging women’s labors, their roles are still very tied to their household activities and their wages are also considerably
lower than men (1998, p.14). Economic structural adjustments have also affected women's lives. These changes have not changed cultural structures. Women are now required to earn money and also take care of their household chores (1998, p.17).

Both WID and GAD approaches show how western forms of knowledge involved in mainstream development approaches influence the projects implemented targeting women. GAD was a step forward for women's rights since it tries to take cultural differences into consideration and move away from treating women as a complete separate group. But GAD still falls under the same assumptions about women's conditions and gender roles in Third World communities. Projects need to have some gender analysis but they need to move away from having a Western notion of what women need.
CHAPTER III
THE TRANSFORMATION OF DEVELOPMENT

Development projects, whether they focus on women or not, share similar problems. If development is not alleviating the burdens of the Third World, then what should be done? Escobar believes that there are no other alternatives to development since the proposed ones fall under the similar development discourse. Escobar states:

By now it should be clear that there are no grand alternatives that can be applied to all places or all institutions. To think about alternatives in the manner of sustainable development, for instance, is to remain within the same model of thought that produced development and kept it in place (1995, p.222).

Escobar argues that there is a need to move away from and stop looking for alternatives at a macro level (p.222). He emphasizes the need to deconstruct development and focus on local ethnographies. It is necessary to step away from Western models of development and take into consideration cultural differences when planning development projects in Third World countries (p.223). In order to acknowledge cultural differences, development projects need to be driven by local grassroots forces (p.222).

Escobar believes that even though it cannot be said that the idea of development was born after WWII, since development has always been occurring, this era showed a globalization of the notion of development. The period after the War led to the rise of international institutions whose sole purpose of existence was development (2001, p.197). Escobar criticizes the role that international organizations play in development. For these organization development is a business; it is based on capitalist economic ideas. Gibson-Graham named this movement as “Capitalocentrism”: “Capitalocentrism in the
context involves situating capitalism at the center of development narratives, thus tending to devalue or marginalize possibilities of non-capitalist development" (Gibson-Graham in Escobar, 2001, p.199). For many development organizations, development has become another area for the expansion of the economic market.

In order to move away from a universalized idea of development, monolithic views need to be displaced from future analysis (Gibson-Graham in Escobar, 2001, p.199). Escobar believes it is important to analyze the language of development; what regimes of truth and what silences it puts in place (2001, p.196). He proposes the adoption of postdevelopment as an alternative to development. The idea of postdevelopment leads to the creation of new types of languages, understanding, and action. It involves place-based cultural and economic practices and different modes of knowledge (2001, p.194). In postdevelopment, other voices and theories are used in order to find future paths for communities around the world.

Postdevelopment encourages people to look back and adopt local modes of knowledge as part of an alternative to development. In order to reach postdevelopment, Escobar believes it is necessary to consider what economic, cultural, and social meanings and practices in local communities need to be redefined. It is important to focus on what types of new intellectual and social practices should be placed instead in order to carry an alternative to development (2001, p.211). Escobar argues that it is crucial to question, "How is local knowledge to be translated into power, and how can these new knowledge-power relationships be applied into concrete projects and programs? How can local knowledge-power constellations build bridges with expert forms of knowledge when
necessary or convenient, and how can they widen their social space of influence when confronted, as is most often the case, with detrimental local, regional, national, and transnational conditions?" (2001, p. 210). Local communities need to influence development initiatives. There is a need to find a way for local knowledges to enter the development discourse.

I believe, mainstream development as it is now needs to be discarded; but initiatives to improve the lives of Third World communities need to take place. The principles of postdevelopment should be the basis of how to think about a new type of development. As Escobar suggests, any action should happen at the grassroots level, taking into consideration voices that have been silenced by the current development discourse. Under globalization, it is not possible to think of development only at a local level. Although development at a grassroots level is crucial, this does not mean that the international community should not be involved. International organizations have been involved in the development business and they will continue to influence development initiatives. The presence of these organizations is not only needed for assistance in financing development projects, but I believe international organizations can be involved in an open dialogue with Third World grassroots groups on how development should come about. This dialogue is necessary to eradicate stereotypes about the Third World and assumptions about how development should take place. By allowing Third World voices into the development discourse, other forms of knowledge can shape development initiatives.
The idea of development should be kept but the meanings given to it need change. Development as it is should not be discarded completely. Rahman argues for a transformation of the meaning of development. He states: “I found the word “development” to be a very powerful means of expressing the conception of societal progress as the flowering of people’s creativity. Must we abandon valuable words because they are abused?” (1995, p.153). The author argues for keeping the term development but seeing it as a grassroots participatory development (p.153). A localized development is necessary but Western involvement should not be discarded. Instead, Western ways of viewing development, poverty, and the Third World should be changed. In the following chapters I will describe the changes mainstream development needs to undergo to achieve a development that serves communities in the Third World.

A move away from universal solutions

One of the most important changes in the development discourse is to acknowledge that there are no universal solutions to solve poverty in the world. Mainstream development is currently moving towards a global plan on how to achieve development. The UNDP has recently adopted a new development approach through the elaboration of Millennium Development Goals (MDG). These goals represent universal objectives for development. For example, the third goal of the MDGs is dedicated to “promote gender equality and empowerment for women” (United Nations Development Programme, 2003, p.2). This goal is supposed to influence civil societies, governments and the media throughout the world (p.2).
Countries need to draft plans identifying priorities in the gender sector in order to get the donor community involved (United Nations Development Programme, 2003, p.3). The main purpose is to mainstream gender into the process of the MDG reporting (p.3). Though these statements are effective in showing the importance of gender differences and gender issues in the development of Third World communities, this global strategy is very vague in what it wants to accomplish. The idea of gender equality cannot be universalized or measured because gender relations differ from culture to culture. If gender equality is to be measured, what are the standards a community wants to reach? The third goal of the MDGs dealing with gender equality shows how current mainstream development efforts are still influenced by Western values. Gender equality in the MDGs is compared to Western standards of gender equality. For the UN gender equality is a common value that all countries interpret in the same way. The Third MDG illustrates how the goal of mainstream development is based on universalized ideas of progress and quality of life.

Development projects based at a micro level, by taking local conditions into consideration, can have positive outcomes. Although neoliberal ideas behind mainstream development efforts have created more harm than good for the poor, North and Cameron argue that positive development outcomes can occur under neoliberal economic restructuring. A case study in Ecuador examines how poor people's entrepreneurship can prosper and generate visible improvements in the standard of living of rural communities that have been affected by neoliberal economic structural adjustments (North and Cameron, 2000, p.1751). Although structural adjustments are supposed to raise the
quality of life of rural communities, many people have suffered negative consequences due to these initiatives (p.1752). Two communities in Ecuador, Pelileo and Salinas have both developed small successful enterprises. These two towns are seen as successful cases where neoliberal economics can work in favor of poor grassroots initiatives.

Although economic improvement exists in these communities, North and Cameron show that the analyses of these two towns are not as simple as they seem. There are important factors that have allowed these communities to prosper under neoliberal economic initiatives. Both Pelileo and Salinas received funding for small enterprises from the Interamerican Development Bank (IDB) and had support from other external organizations.

The goal of the development of small enterprises was to create self-governing local organizations and allow these communities to sustain themselves. The authors point out that in the case of Pelileo, small enterprises were able to flourish because the town had already a history of artisan traditions and entrepreneurship experience and they also had support of The National Institute for Socio-economic and Technological Investigations in Ecuador (North and Cameron, 2000, p.1756). Pelileo was able to develop a small industry of jeans and other denim clothing and sell the products at a national level. The jean enterprises are very small industries employing mostly family members, especially women (p.1756). In Salinas, the help of the Catholic Church, the Salesian Mission and Italian and Swiss organizations influenced the success of the development of a culture of entrepreneurship in the community (p.1759). The Salesian Mission with the support from an Italian organization of volunteers arrived to the
community and among other development projects they provided low-interest loans for small development projects (1759). This assistance allowed not only the development of a small industry but also it brought social development by building roads and schools in the area. In 1978 with Swiss assistance, the community developed a cheese plant that sold products throughout the country (p.1759). However, even though Pelileo and Salinas were successful in building businesses, in the case of Salinas, poverty levels did not decrease as much as expected. North and Cameron state:

By 1999, social conditions in Salinas had certainly improved over their 1990 levels, but they remained visibly below those of Pelileo where minifundista artisans had been able to take advantage of the market opportunities since the late 19th century (2000, p.1762).

Salinas still lacks social conditions necessary for development, such as education, roads, and other resources; social factors that should be supplied by the government (p.1762). In the case of Pelileo, it is important to mention that improvements of standard of living is not simply from the development of the jean industry but mainly due to historical periods of artisan tradition, redistribution of land and access to markets (p.1756).

Although these two communities show an improvement in their entrepreneurship skills, these are specific cases. Neoliberal policies have not had a similar effect in many other Third World communities. Even if the development of Pelileo and Salinas was not able to improve certain social aspects of these communities, these towns still serve as a good example of how development initiatives can have positive outcomes when they are localized and adapted to local realities. Many people in both communities were able to benefit from employment as well as empowerment of belonging and owning a lucrative business. As the authors state, self-governing organizations usually are connected to a
broader institutional setting in order to survive (North & Cameron 2000, p.1752). The town of Pelileo was able to succeed because its history and culture was compatible with neoliberal ideas and it relied on technical support from a national institute. Salinas developed its industry with the help from several organizations and even though the small enterprise is successful the town still suffers from poverty. If projects are analyzed and treated as unique case studies, instead of copying the successful development stories to other Third World communities, development initiatives can become more capable of serving the well being of Third World communities. Even if a project is developed at a local level, International influence plays an important role in the success of development projects.

Another good example of a development approach that tries to adapt to local conditions is the project of implementing the multi-functional platform (MFP) in rural communities in Mali. This plan was first launched by the UNDP in Mali but is now being expanded to become a regional project including Burkina-Faso, Senegal, Guinea and Cote d’Ivoire. One of the goals is strengthening local capacities through training and participatory studies. The MFP is a simple machine that has a diesel engine that can power different tools including cereal grinding mills, dehuskers, oil presses, and carpentry tools. It can also supply lighting and water. Although the project benefits the whole community, it targets women specifically. Women own and are in charge of managing the machine (UNDP & UNIDO, 2001). The biggest impact it has is in saving time. It also improves the quality of the product after processing, reduces the loss of flour, increases food hygiene, creates jobs, and indirectly increases the rate of children
going to school (Kourouma & Coche, 2001 p.15). The project aims at giving more financial freedom to women. The UNDP project report ends by stating that women’s empowerment and financial improvements inevitably lead to an improvement in children and men’s lives as well. The MFP is considered a successful UNDP project.

This project was successful because the multifunction machine could be adapted to different needs throughout different villages in rural Mali. The machine can easily improve many aspects of the everyday lives of rural people. The UNDP is now using this micro-scale project as a macro-level program to try to solve poverty across the continent. Although this approach worked in Mali’s rural communities, it does not guarantee a similar outcome in other rural areas in the world. When a small project is expanded and transported to other communities, there is a chance that the project will clash with cultural practices of other communities. There are many other factors such as social relations, environmental conditions in the villages and external influences that can affect the outcome of a project. Western African countries do share many similarities but once again, it is assumed that poverty is the same in all villages in different countries and that there are universal approaches to development. One necessary consideration is to analyze whether the plan can actually be adapted into a different culture and whether a community wants to have such a project. Local projects can serve as examples to be applied to other parts of the region, but projects should not be copied into other cultures.

Furthermore, the MFP project in Mali homogenizes the role of women and the organization of the household. It is necessary to consider a gender analysis in development projects, how gender plays role in a specific aspect of society but it is also
necessary to include how men are affected by a project and not only focus on the role of women. How gender plays a role in one specific project means how the relationship between men and women is in the society where the project is going to be implemented. Although women do have different energy uses than men and they might be more affected by poverty, a similar machine could also improve the lives of men.

The project targeted women when there might not have been a need for that. Men also need energy access to improve their lives. Planners assume that by targeting women the whole community will benefit. But the project could have had more positive outcomes if it would have targeted the community as a whole. Once again the theory is that the help given to women will trickle through the rest of the community. These types of assumptions and expectations are what creates problems when a project is being copied somewhere else. The organization involved in the project needs to be conscious that the community should decide how a project should be implemented. The role of the organization should simply be to suggest possible projects. A discussion between development planners and local people needs to take place on whether these ideas can actually work in the community.

The development projects in Ecuador and Mali are mainly based on Western forms of knowledge. These two case studies show some positive outcomes of development initiatives, because both projects were specific to cultural societal aspects in the communities. These examples show how Western influence can work in a more positive way when projects are in a small scale and adapted to local realities.
Change the language used in the development discourse

Another crucial change is to move away from the current language used in development initiatives. The language applied in the development discourse is filled with Western stereotypes of how Third World is and what it needs. This quote, taken from the report of the UN Millennium Development project on how the MDGs should be met, shows this problem:

Meeting the goals should start with the recognition that each country must pursue a development strategy that meets its specific needs. National Strategies should be based on solid evidence, good science and proper monitoring and evaluation. Within those bounds, poor countries require freedom of maneuver with donors to design locally appropriate policies. Without true ownership, national programmes will be neither appropriate to local conditions nor politically sustainable. National programmes must respect human rights, support the rule of law and commit to honest effective implementation. When these conditions are met, poor countries should be able to count on much more assistance from rich countries, both in finance and in fairer rules of the game for trade, finance and science and technology” (Millennium Development Project p.2).

This UNDP statement has a paternalistic tone that states what Third World governments need to do. The organization does recognize the importance of ownership. Countries are expected to have control over their development goals but not before consulting their ideas with development experts. The quote emphasizes the importance of obtaining solid evidence and good science; this illustrates how the expected results and analyses should be based on Western scientific thought. The National MDGs reports are supposed to be drafted with donors and examined by the UNDP before the plan is considered done.

This is not the type of path development should take. Although international organizations have realized the need to include Third World people in development planning, mainstream development initiatives are still based on Western ideas of how
development should come about. Rahman identifies that one of the problems with mainstream development is that it is a paternalistic intervention and assistance and that it has obstructed the use of indigenous alternatives for progress (1995, p.152). International organizations should stop talking about the Third World as if they were development experts. The language used on how we talk about development shapes how people view the Third World. In this case the language used by the UNDP implies that Third World countries are incapable of conducting their own development.

Focus on grassroots development

Linda Tuhiwai Smith, in her book “Decolonizing Methodologies”, talks about the struggle between the interests and ways of knowledge of the West and the interests and ways of resisting of the Other. “Western intellectuals can assume to know all that is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1997, p.1). In the case of Third World communities, Western scientists believe to know how these communities think and act, and therefore, they believe they have a solution to what they perceive is a lack of development. Tuhiwai Smith focuses on indigenous struggles against a Western colonization of their minds and the importance of allowing Third World communities to use their traditional knowledge in their lives. She clarifies that the term ‘indigenous peoples’ has enabled the collective voices of colonized people to be expressed strategically in the international arena (1999, p.7) and argues that indigenous people share experiences of the effects of colonization of their lands and cultures. When it comes to Third World communities, most of the poor, directly affected
by the development apparatus, can be considered indigenous people; even if these societies might not officially belong ethnically to a group, they share many similar sufferings with indigenous struggles. Therefore, Tuhiwai Smith’s analysis of Western research and the effects of Western thought on indigenous people can be applied to many other Third World communities.

Western science is seen as holding the truth for development. Tuhiwai Smith argues that the development apparatus is another form of colonization, not only economic and political, but a Western colonization of people’s thoughts. She states: “The reach of imperialism into ‘our heads’ challenges those who belong to colonized communities to understand how this occurred partly because we perceive a need to decolonize our minds, to recover ourselves, to claim a space which to develop a sense of authentic humanity” (p.23). Part of colonialism was the negation of indigenous knowledge which was seen as primitive and incorrect (Tuhiwai Smith, 1997, p.29). By decolonizing the minds of Third World communities, these people will have the strength to fight back and live in ways that do not follow a Western model. Third World communities will generate their own ways to improve their lives without following development initiatives of the West.

It is necessary for Third World societies to realize what they have available in order to prosper. They need to explore what possibilities for development exist in their own communities and not depend for development experts to come in with solutions based on Western ideas. Rahnema states: “In short, what the poor need is not the production of economic resources or services which ultimately benefit others or the generations to come. It is rather the recovery of their actual capacity to tap their own
vernacular, locally available resources - which are totally different from what economists call resources” (1992, p.167). Local communities need to examine how their own governments’ development policies are affecting their lives. Many times national governments apply economic development policies influenced by mainstream development initiatives.

Grassroots groups can generate enough power to take control over the way they want their society to be developed. In Ecuador, indigenous groups came together to preserve their culture when they felt the country’s development was threatening their communities. Oil exploration by international organizations performed in the rainforest has brought environmental devastation to these areas, which has directly affected the lives of indigenous communities there. Chiefs of different tribes in the region organized a movement to stop these types of activities in the rainforest. They brought their case to local Ecuadorian authorities and American courts and now they have an international grassroots alliance that is supporting their fight against oil corporations (Forero, 2003). Ecuador chose oil exploitation as one of the main projects for economic development of the country and therefore oil related activities are given priority in the country.

Indigenous organizations in Ecuador serve as a good example of how grassroots initiatives can build up power within their communities to defend their ways of life. Thomas Perreault describes how the indigenous federation FOIN (federacion de Organizaciones Indigenas de Napo) in the rainforest of Ecuador was able to gain political power and help their communities develop. Although Ecuador’s indigenous struggle in
the rainforest is mainly about land rights and fighting oil exploitation, their organization show how local communities can come together and change the curse of their lives.

Indigenous people were able to build solidarity and form political movements to defend their land in order to preserve their way of living. In this case the development local communities were searching for was to protect their cultural practices by securing land rights. FOIN is based in community organizations and has influenced rural livelihoods by securing access to natural and institutional resources, increasing educational benefits and also by opening political areas for local people to operate (Perreault, 2001, p.388). FOIN’s goals are not only land rights. In the beginning of the 70s the federation received development aid mainly to facilitate agricultural modernization, cattle production and marketing of non-traditional crops. The federation also became involved in fighting for revalorizing Quechua culture and the implementation of bilingual educational opportunities (2001, p.392). This cultural revitalization approach was influenced by bigger Ecuadorean indigenous organization, CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), which had cultural revitalization as one of their main fights. This is led both for CONAIE and FOIN to the support of fighting for territorial rights and political rights (p. 392).

Ecuador’s land reform laws of 1964 and 1973 led to the redistribution of lands to smallholders and landless and also to the colonization of lands considered uninhabited. This was also the time when oil exploration in the Amazon rainforest took off. This development led to the creation of roads and the settlement of people in remote areas of the Amazon (Perreault, 2001, p.386). FOIN became involved in the fight for territorial
claims of the Huaorani community. This case was never settled but it gave FOIN power to fight territorial claims in its land as well as strong political image nationally (2003, p.8). FOIN’s advocacy for cultural preservation also attracted foreign funds for the development of indigenous communities in the area (Perreault, 2003, p.7). International organizations like Oxfam, and World Life Fund gave FOIN funding for projects involving human rights, and environmental protection of the rainforest (2003, p7).

The care of indigenous groups in Ecuador shows how communities can become advocates for their own needs. Even if indigenous people might not completely win the battle of moving oil companies out of their land, their voices are now being heard and included in Ecuador’s economic development discourse. Indigenous people from different communities were able to empower themselves and open a space to protest and discuss issues regarding the well being of their societies. This type of community organization is needed even when it is about a small rural development project. Local groups must to come together and examine how development managed by other stakeholders can impact their lives. They need to decide whether development projects proposed by international development organizations will be beneficial for them. One important part of development is giving people the right to choose their own development. Indigenous people in Ecuador, when facing the national government and international oil companies, used the legal tools to talk about their victimization and make a claim of their rights to choose their own development.
Syed Rahim believes in the importance of participation and empowerment. Grassroots-based development NGO’s like Grameen Bank, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), and Proshika in Bangladesh, have successfully pushed rural development. These efforts are based on intensive educational and organizational initiatives at the village level. Based on the case studies of rural villages in Bangladesh, Rahim argues that the formation of village groups produces self-esteem and empowerment (1995, p.98). People in these types of groups are able to work together without compromising individual desires (1995, p.88). Development projects should always rely on the communities’ involvement no matter what the nature of the project is. This involvement will make people realize they have the power to change their lives.

Furthermore, Rahim believes it is necessary to have an enabling environment for global-local interaction. This environment takes local knowledge, wisdom, and values into consideration (1995, p.73-74). It allows local people understand their problems and think about ways to change their lives. People can see what is proposed by international organizations and relate it to their own ways of doing things. This process can be achieved with good communication between grassroots groups and participants in the project (1995, p.74). International development organizations should be part of a more open dialogue where they can share their ideas of development with local people and communities can decide what suggestions they wish to implement in their lives. Rahim also puts an emphasis on the importance of solidarity. He argues that building solidarity, has for example, helped increase education and empowers people to deal with landowners (p.88-89).
Local grassroots organizations are important in development initiatives because, as Rahnema argues, in the case of power, grassroots movements seem to differ considerably from planners and politicians in their approach to the macro dimensions of change. What essentially matters for them is to bring about, within the horizons with which they are familiar, changes which are both possible and meaningful to their own lives (Rahnema 1992, p.170).

Women and grassroots movements

Women's alliances are a good example of how grassroots movements can have a great impact on the lives of local communities. These types of movements can let women realize what possibilities they have to improve their lives. One example of this is seen in Kenya where Mau Mau women came together to change policies that were affecting their lives in a negative way. In many cases state neoliberal economic structural policies tend to have negative impacts in the lives of small communities. Local grassroots organizations can create enough power to change their quality of life. Mau Mau women in Maragua – Kenya have no right to land but they are in charge of 80% of all farming (Turner & Brownhill, 2000, p.108). Husbands expect women to help plant coffee and tea for export. Women do not receive money for this activity but they are expected to provide food for the family (2000, p.109). In mid 1980s, the food shortage in the area and the exploitation of women's labor led the Mau Mau women to organize a movement and fight governments polices of land use. Women made a decision to uproot coffee and use it as firewood and instead plant corps that could be used for local consumption or local
trade (p.113). Husbands realized that by participating in the wife’s rejection of coffee they could guarantee food supply for the household. Women also formed community funds where they could extract money to pay school fees and buy household items they needed. Women, by resisting coffee, broke off from the state controlled coffee production and began a self-regulated banana trade.

Women’s organizations can build alliances that cross borders and build solidarity with women in different communities in the Third World that are experiencing similar struggles. It is important to consider how women alliances can be achieved taking into consideration local cultural, social, and gender relations. Harcourt proposes a focus on placed-based politics as a space for women to organize and accomplish their needs in this global era. Politics of place fights a binary division between the local and the global moving the global into the local and moving away from the idea of seeing these two realities as two worlds separate from each other (Harcourt, 2001, p.300). In the case of women, Harcourt discusses how women have brought local concerns to the global agenda. She believes “women’s ‘placed-based’ politics is changing and redefining political experience in visible ways, affecting social change particularly through networking and providing new spaces for the transformation and construction of identity and rights” (2001, p.299).

One example of a women’s movement attempting an alternative view on development is DAWN, a group of Third World women that came together during the UN Decade for women to fight issues of finance, debt, militarism and fundamentalism (DAWN website). DAWN stands for “Development Alternatives with Women for a New
It is an example of a transnational women’s movement that seek to challenge the feminization of poverty and class inequality that globalizations brings about (Basu, 2003, p.72). The organization works regionally with women and other organizations and helps these regions deal with crisis arising from globalization (DAWN website).

DAWN’s vision states:

We want a world where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country and from the relationships among countries, where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. We want a world where the massive resources now used in the production of the means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both inside and outside the home, a world where all institutions open to participatory democracy processes, where women share in determining priorities and making decisions. The political environment will provide enabling social conditions that respect women and men’s physical integrity and the security of their persons in every dimension of their lives (DAWN website).

These are the types of coalitions that should continue to develop through out women in the Third World in order to fight for alternative ways of implementing development programs. DAWN shows how women through grassroots movements in the Third World can become politically active and fight for what they want. DAWN advocacy is divided into four main themes: Political economy of globalization, Sexual and reproductive health and rights, political restructuring and social transformation and sustainable livelihoods (DAWN website). DAWN represents Third World women’s battle against oppression and violence.

Politics of place counters the common view of women being exploited by modernity. Harcourt shows how globalization has had an impact on how women are organizing themselves in NGOs or community based organizations. Women are
“resisting the worst forms of global capital in the work, domestic, and marketplace and are taking advantage of some of the opportunities of the new information technologies and access to different lifestyles, ideas and cultures” (2001, p.301). Women are opening spaces in this global era to discuss their situation and build solidarity across borders. Forming women groups does not need to lead to homogeneity of women’s conditions. Women can come together and discuss issues they share and at the same time keep their cultural differences.

Harcourt refers to the impact of the Internet as an example of a tool used to move across geopolitical and cultural boundaries (2001, p.306). The Internet has allowed women to use technological aspects offered by globalization to fight their local struggles as well as allowing them to learn from other women’s experiences. One example Harcourt gives is how in Zanzibar women maintain a communication flow through the Internet about new Kanga patterns with Zanzibar women in other parts of the world (2001, p.316). Women can share ideas, connect and improve their businesses through cyberspace. This example shows how the Internet has become a tool for empowerment for women. Harcourt states:

By connecting to other individual women and women’s groups engaged in similar issues, sharing information and strategies in real time, women have been strengthened and empowered. The Internet has allowed women’s groups to create channels for self-expression, communication, and political action as an integral part of the new global network society (2001, p. 314).

Harcourt believes it is important to find ways to connect and increase Internet access for women with few resources so that it becomes an empowerment tool for them as it has been for professional Third World women already linked to the Net (p. 315). The Internet
is a tool that can improve the lives of women and men in the Third World but in many Third World communities this type of technology is not accessible. It is important to focus development projects into building access to this technology that can enhance communications among communities in the Third World.

ENDA is an organization that focuses on relationships between gender, development, and environment mainly in Western Africa. One of the projects this organization is involved in is analyzing the role of cyberspace in the lives of African women. The majority of African women do not have access to the Internet because the continent suffers from poor technological access. Most women have not even used a telephone in their lives (ENDA). Even with these barriers, many women are now organizing themselves through the Internet across boundaries that before were impossible to cross. Through cyberspace, women come together forming solidarity groups and discussing similar issues that they share. The main focus of development should be on projects that open up spaces for women to interact and share their concerns.

Although development needs to be driven by local initiatives, this does not mean that local practices do not have negative consequences for women. For example, in Nigeria, Women from the Ukpiovwin tribe are trying to challenge their situations in a patriarchal society. Women's condition is based on ancestral practices where women do not have many opportunities for education or authority on land or village decisions. In general, women are controlled by men (Tobrise 1998, p.152). Local women are trying to change their situation by forming alliances to solve inter-women or inter-group conflicts. Through this type of organization, women are entering the intra-village decision-making
process and get together to discuss their concerns (p.156). This example shows how grassroots organizations can help women feel in control of their lives.

Grassroots organizations can form transnational networks connecting women with similar issues throughout the globe. Clare Weber describes that First World feminist scholarship views the Third World through a Western lens, and that UN organizations have both challenged and perpetuated this view (Weber in Naples & Desai 2002: p.45). She believes that many organizations now do not fall under this North-South flow of values and ideas (p.45). Knowledge is not longer only traveling from Western countries to the South. Many Third World organizations are forming alliances with other Third World societies. Weber thinks transnational feminist practices can help women improve their lives under globalization. Because of the failure of international organizations to effectively help women's issues, women are organizing within their communities, through grassroots movements, across national borders challenging neoliberal policies (Naples in Naples & Desai, 2002, p.11). Since globalization is a reality, women must learn how to use globalization for their own development. Transnational grassroots networks can be very effective in working in favor of women's needs. Naples and Desai state: “Grassroots organizers work in a community-based setting or in tandem with transnational activists to affect changes in specific communities and in particular national and regional contexts” (2002, p.34).

Weber analyses how transnational activism and grassroots networks can have a positive effect on development. She gives an example of how a North-South partnership can be built where both sides help each other. The (WCCN) Wisconsin Coordinating
Council on Nicaragua was a social movement in the U.S. against U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua. In the 1990s, the movement shifted its focus to gender issues, specifically women’s empowerment in Nicaragua. To this end, the movement works with a Nicaraguan NGO, Coalition of Protestant Churches for Aid and Development (CEPAD) (Weber in Naples & Desai 2002:45). Madison, Wisconsin, through the WCCN, formed a sister city relationship with Managua in Nicaragua. One of the projects through this partnership was the development of a women’s shelter. Nicaraguan feminists wanted advice on how to build a shelter for women suffering from domestic violence. This is how an exchange of ideas started flowing both ways. This relationship was very good for breaking stereotypes of U.S. women’s conditions. Nicaraguan women realized how some U.S. women suffered similar problems (p.52). Through this flow of communication, a sense of solidarity was built between women from the U.S. and Nicaragua.

The WCCN also created a Nicaraguan community development loan fund to address local hardships due to structural adjustment polices (p.56). This fund tapped into U.S. citizens interested in socially responsible investments (p.57). These contributions were channeled through CEPAD, the organization in charge of managing the loans in Nicaragua. CEPAD supports the efforts of local communities to improve their material, social, and spiritual resources in order to live better lives. The organization states: “Rather than impose solutions from the top down, we work with people to empower them to make their own decisions about their own communities” (CEPAD website). CEPAD believes that it is important to allow communities decide for themselves what they need and if members decide to ask for assistance in specific matters, CEPAD can contribute to
the development of the community (CEPAD website). Their goal is to get involved only when asked to by the community.

This case study shows how Western involvement can be positive when it is present as a partnership with Third World communities. This type of sister relationship between two towns opened a channel of communication for women to share their common experiences and learn from each other. This is one type of international movement where people can share ideas and not simply rely on development experts for solutions. In the case of Nicaragua, local women asked for advise on how to built a local shelter, the U.S. organization shared their experiences regarding this subject. The local community created the project and the role of the U.S. NGO was of sharing their ideas.

One obstacle in producing these partnerships is how local groups tend to depend on money from Western organizations. Weber argues that although a flow of ideas goes both ways between U.S. and Nicaragua’s NGOs, Nicaragua’s NGO depends economically on the U.S. organization (in Naples & Desai, 2002, p.55). WCCN was pressured to work on certain projects that could attract money (p. 56). Grassroots groups cannot make decisions freely when they rely on foreign financial funds for development projects. In this example, although the U.S. organization was involved in an exchange of ideas, it had more power over decisions because it also acted as a source of funding for projects. Economic dependency on international organizations is one of the biggest challenges grassroots organizations face when they try to develop projects without outside intervention. Therefore it is important that organizations learn how to sustain themselves in order to freely determine their future. This factor is very difficult to
achieve in communities that are too poor, the role of international organizations should be of creating projects with the goal of communities’ economic self-reliance. The goal of development in the long run is to make project that can be sustain by the people.

**Participatory development**

Participatory Action Research (PAR) became popular in the 1970s and 1980s as a practical research tool for people in the Third World. “PAR was theorized as a total process of adult education, scientific research, and political action in which critical theory, situation analysis and practice were all seen as sources of knowledge” (Peet and Hartwick, 1999, p.139). People’s knowledge should converge with Western science to form a complete paradigm (p.140). PAR is based on the idea that people have the power through grassroots groups to articulate their knowledge and become protagonists in their own development (p.140).

PAR then emerged as participatory approach in mainstream development initiatives. The idea of participatory approach is no longer used only among small progressive non-governmental organizations but it has now been adopted by the ‘development giants’ (Michener, 1998, p.2105). It has become a very popular buzzword in development talks. The main goal of participatory approach is to move development away from a paternalistic top-down approach (p.2106). According to Michener, participation has two main perspectives: planner-centered and people-centered (p.2106). Michener argues that in a people-centered approach, participation is both the means and
end in itself (p.2106). A planner approach involves a more paternalistic view that focuses on administrative and efficiency aspects of participation (p.2106).

Third World communities need to be given a chance to identify their needs. Syed Jamil Ahmed, in his article “Wishing for a World Without ‘Theatre for Development’: Demystifying the Case of Bangladesh”, discusses how some NGO’s in Bangladesh approach development through theater performance. Communities participate in creating plays with stories that reflect their problems and everyday life struggles. The plays are then presented to the rest of the community. He argues that although the idea seems like a good alternative for development projects, it depends on money from international NGOs that subtly manipulate the content of the plays (2002, p.215). The purpose of this project is to create a space for communities to share their views on development and discuss their needs, however this aim has been clouded by the development agendas of these institutions. The authors urge for a need to decolonize indigenous minds. It is necessary to let local cultures speak up and share their concerns and not assume that international organizations have the solution. This project allows participation of members of the community and has the potential to allow local voices to speak about their concerns and try to discuss possible development alternatives. As in the case of Nicaragua, the project fails because of its dependency on funds from international organizations.

Participation in mainstream development initiatives has become a form of manipulation by governments and development institutions. Rahnema discusses the difference between manipulated participation and spontaneous participation (1992, p.116). He states that participation has become a very popular concept throughout the
world that even repressive regimes, such as the ones by Pinochet and Mobutu, have adopted this term as one of their goals (p.117). Rahmena questions whether new participatory approaches have led to a substantial change in development initiatives (p.124). He feels this approach is just another form of manipulation. “After all, slogans of participation have accompanied the events which led to the physical or mental destruction of millions of innocent people in Germany, USSR, Cambodia, India, Iran, Iraq and elsewhere” (Rahnema, 1992, p.126).

Rahnema discusses that governments today are no longer afraid of people’s participation. The reason for this is that development, or in other words modernization, is widely accepted by people because it sells the illusion that modernity might some day reach the Third World (1992, p.118). This belief has been spread by what Rahnema calls the economization of people’s lives. He states:

On the whole, processes of economization of people’s lives, coupled with the gradual disintegration of vernacular spaces, seem to have reached a point where governments and development institutions are no longer scared by the outcomes of people’s participation. As more people are made addicted to the public services and consumer goods, they have no difficulty in proposing to them, at national level, programmes aimed at an acceleration of the processes of economization (1992, p.118).

Mainstream development sells people a dream of prosperity and modernity; under this idea, people tend to cooperate more with governments policies.

Furthermore, Rahnema argues that governments use a ‘self-help’ type of participation to pass the costs of structural adjustments to the poor (1992, p.119). Third World communities are responsible for fixing the negative outcomes of economic development policies drafted at the macro level. Participatory approach has also become
an excuse for more private sector intervention in social areas that used to be the role of local governments (p.120).

Public participation has become a major factor of international organizations. The IMF and the World Bank adopted the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) as an instrument in 1999 to serve as a standard framework to decide on lending concessions. PRSPs are both an analytical and comprehensive framework that integrates macroeconomic, structural, sectoral, and social aspects that are part of the poverty reduction measures and policies of each country. The PRSP framework is supposed to be centered on a country’s main development priorities and advocates the importance of having a participatory approach so that civil society has a saying in the drafting of strategies for combat poverty. The PRSPs are expected to enhance communication between the local government and its citizens, which would then improve the outcomes of policies and decision-making and open the policy-making process on a local level (Piron & Evans, 2004, p.34).

Action Aid International documented how reform policies have not been meaningfully discussed or debated in participatory approaches with the public (2004, p.1). The process implies equal partnership among actors, which is impossible since governments hold more power than civil society organizations (Piron and Evans, 2004, p.5). A criticism by Guttal, Bedana and Wanguza states that the participatory approach of the PRSP is simply a “semblance of participation based on the need to legitimize and modernize the neo-liberal paradigm” (2001, p.4). The authors base this argument on the studies of the role of many grassroots organizations in the PRSPs. Domestic stakeholders
usually were permitted to enter the discussion after the base of the document was already established. Uganda’s PRSP is considered a success story for the World Bank but many people argue that this is an example of how the initiatives of the World Bank are still the same even though they claim to focus on the poor with the PRSP initiative.

Uganda became the first country to have a full PRSP approved by the IMF and the World Bank in May 2000. The establishment of the PRSP process was set to reduce poverty but at the same time continue the country’s economic growth. The PRSP was based mostly on the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), a national initiative launched to fight poverty. The PEAP was revised and submitted for revision to the IMF and the World Bank as the PRSP. During this stage the participation of Civil Society Organizations (CSO) was present. Uganda is considered to have been successful in combating poverty. This type of accomplishment is usually measured with the level of the government’s strong political commitment (Piron & Evans, 2004, p.9). Based on a World Bank report, one reason for the success of the PRSP in Uganda is due to government stability that allowed the development of the PEAP since the beginning of the 90’s. One reason for political stability in the country is due to Uganda’s ‘no-party’ system that was established in 1986 following the military victory of President Museveni’s National Resistance Movement (World Bank Group).

Criticisms have questioned the true success of the country’s fight against poverty and the positive effects of the PRSP. Some further analysis has shown that Uganda’s success especially in the participatory approach is not as apparent as it seems. In the country there is a restrictive legislative framework on NGOs. Only some CSOs have been
given privilege access to policymaking process and have therefore benefited from donor aid. Uganda has a weak civil society in terms of autonomy and there is also a lack of representation from different interest groups in the CSOs (Piron & Evans, 2004, p.17). So it can be said the CSOs are not really independent from the government.

Furthermore, Nyamugasira and Rowden continue the criticisms on Uganda's participatory approach on the PRSP by discussing that the statement that Uganda has a strong civil society involvement is not entirely true. Ugandan NGOs were invited to the PRSP process only to provide input on the development of poverty reduction goals but not to the nature of the policies to achieve these goals. Based on their research it appears that the policies set in the PRSP were mainly determined by the World Bank and the IMF in consultation with small technical teams within the Ministry of Finance. So far many of the contents and details of more than 20 other loans approved in 1998-2001 have continued to go ahead without informing civil society (Nyamugasira & Rowden, 2002, p.3).

People should be actively involved in the formulation of structural adjustment policies to improve the development of their societies. Action Aid states that, in 2004, adjustment policy reforms were decided behind closed doors (Piron & Evans, 2004, p.22). International organizations involved in development have adopted the idea of having a participatory approach in development initiatives but this is not reflected in their projects. NGOs were given a special status in the development game since it was believed they were better agents for development by avoiding the bureaucracy of governments. But these NGOs became better agents only if they accepted to participate in
similar projects as the ones designed by international organizations. Therefore, Rahnema believes, NGOs have similar development strategies as governments (1992, p.124). Their projects do not involve a genuine participation of local people.

Development organizations assume Third World communities need to be empowered. According to their views, one of the goals of development is bringing power to communities. Rahnema argues that it is wrong for organizations to assume Third World communities are powerless. Third World people have a different power that is not perceived in the same manner in Western eyes but it is real in many ways. This power, according to Rahnema, is seen in informal ways of resistance (p.123). Some examples include young men avoiding conscription, farmers accepting subsidies and equipment and diverting them for their own needs, and government teachers using classrooms to denounce abuses by the government, etc. (p.123).

Michener introduces the problems with applying participatory approach in a project involving the creation of a community school in a village in Burkina Faso. She shows how several stakeholders in the development project had different ideas of what participation meant. Save the Children organization financed the development project. Their view on participation included a planner- and a people-centered approach. According to this organization, the project promoted local ownership of childhood education as well as the promotion of local values. Although the organization advocated the need for local participation, their view of participation had a paternalistic approach on how to implement the project.
The money for the project was then used by a local NGO in charge of the project. The staff of the project had a planner-centered approach: The local NGO wished for community participation but the administration and decision-making should continue to be done by the organization (1998, p.2110). The local NGO’s project coordinators believed it was unrealistic to expect local people to take full responsibility of the project; therefore they were reluctant to give the management of a project to the local community. They believed communities did not possess the skills, experience, or knowledge necessary to participate in organizing the project and managing the funds (p.2111). The NGO’s reason for maintaining control has some validity. In some development projects it is impossible to give full control to local communities because in some cases, the community might not have enough skills to know how to manage such a project. It is important to gradually give more ownership of the project to local people but most importantly it is necessary for local NGOs and local communities to find a balance on how to participate in the development of a project.

This program was initially created with the goal of having the NGO exit the project and allowing the local people to manage it. Another reason why this NGO, and in general NGOs in these types of projects, do not want to transfer the power to the local people is because some staff in the NGO might lose their jobs and the NGO will lose a source of finance (Michener, 1998, p.2112). Development is a business and in many cases NGOs have to fight for access and funding to projects. Small local NGOs never know when another big project might be given to them. In some cases when the organizations are able to participate in a project, they might be reluctant to exit the
community and instead they seek to maintain control in order to find more international funding for the specific project. In the case of Burkina Faso, the local NGO by maintaining control over the managerial aspect of the project it could maintain its consultants with a job.

The local community tends to view participation in a very different way. In places like Burkina Faso, where past experiences have taught villagers how development initiatives work, people are accustomed not to be allowed to make their own decisions. Local communities expect NGOs and other Western organizations to make the decisions for them. “A long history of colonialism and paternalistic development practices have left their mark on generations of rural populations in developing countries” (Michener, 1998, p.2113).

Furthermore, Michener argues that the Third World poor are sophisticated consumers of development and have learned how to manipulate these organizations from the bottom up (p.2113). Michener gives an example or a community in Mali that played two NGOs against each other in order to see which would give them more benefits. Michener discusses that most advocates of participation tend to have a romantic view of development that does not allow them to see the possibility of the community manipulating development initiatives (p.2113). Another form of manipulation is concealment of information from the NGO for fear that the NGO will withdraw money from the area. Michener shows how the concept of the participatory approach can not only be romanticized by planners but it can also be viewed differently depending on the stakeholder.
People based participation

Participatory approach can be a great tool for development. Rahnema suggests a type of participatory approach that is not manipulated and is based on a ‘popular participation’ initiative. This idea has been adopted by grassroots organizations in order to regain control of their spaces (p.120). The aim of such participation is empowerment.

This power is:

a special kind of power –people’s power- which belongs to the oppressed and exploited classes and groups and their organizations, and the defense of their just interests to enable them to advance towards shared goals of social change within a participatory system (Fals-Borda in Rahnema p.120).

Rahnema believes that popular participation can bring inner freedom to the people; allowing them to have a chance to think and act differently from the dictates of Western norms. Popular participation has to create a new meaning of development based on new forms of interaction and based on popular knowledge (p.121). Rahnema believes that through this new type of participation, new dialogues can begin between the “interveners and intervened” (p.121).

This is the type of interaction that can allow Third World communities to act as “free subjects of their own destiny” (p.121). Rahnema states: “To participate means to live and to relate differently. It implies, above all, the recovery of one’s inner freedom, that is, to learn to listen and to share, free from any fear or predefined conclusion, belief or judgment (p.127)”. In many cases what people in the Third World need is simply to be left alone in order for them to take control over their lives. Development does not
necessarily need to be about progress, it does not need to be about change. Many communities simply want the chance to find their own way of improving their lives.

Although international organizations should assist with financing development projects, this can be an obstacle for communities to get involved in their own development. Rahman believes development needs organizations where internal resource mobilization is given over external credit (1995, p.154). Communities should learn how to sustain themselves without outside involvement. For example, in microcredit initiatives, the approach should be on loans that are humane and self-educational instead of rigid rules involved in credit banks (p.154). Some of these grassroots microcredit organizations have even gone beyond individual microcredit economic projects and have gotten involved in projects for the community such as programs involving flood control (p.154). Local people are working together for the well being of the community. The idea of solidarity needs to be given more importance in economic development.

The concern of distributional equity in modern economics which seeks to temper the rationality of private greed is not a response to the popular urge for solidarity which is a value concerned with daily relations among persons rather than the distribution of social wealth for private pursuits (Rahman 1995, p.167).

Participatory approach can have positive outcomes in development projects when local people are involved in all stages of the project. In Uttar Pradesh, India, renewable energy projects of energy for cooking, lighting, and water pumps are adopting a participatory approach to development. Having the community involved in planning, installing, and maintaining the technology used in renewable projects not only ensures people know how to use the machinery, but it also guarantees that the community will
know how to maintain the technology in the long term (Ranganathan, Prasad and Singh, 2003, p.15). This approach also ensures that energy transitions in the area are occurring in line with the developmental needs of the community (2003, p.15). These types of involvement in development projects also allow people to combine new technological information with their own knowledge and apply it to the development of their communities.

Rahnema is right in stating that people in the Third World have power and it is wrong for international organizations to assume they need empowerment. People do hold the power to change their lives, but this power can have greater impact if people organize themselves into grassroots movements and actively participate in the discussion of development as well as in the planning of development projects. The last segment of this chapter discusses how development should start through participatory research to allow other voices into the development discourse.

**Participation through research**

Development has to be endogenous. Participatory approach needs to begin with participatory research so people can form their own realities, not based on predetermined ideas (Rahman, 1995, p.163). For Michael Edwards, participatory research means finding solutions to problems through a prolonged participation of trial and error (1989, p.127). He states that this type of approach is not new and has been used before by indigenous communities. Participatory research aims to develop the critical consciousness of the researcher and participant. It also seeks to improve lives of those involved in research and
transform societal structures (Maguire, 1987, p.30). Since research and planning of a project should be done at a local level, researchers should be trained at home (1989, p.129). Participatory research involves an educational component to assist people to further develop skills such as the collection, analysis, and utilization of information (p.30).

Participatory research focuses on strengthening awareness of possibilities and resources for organization. Patricia Maguire argues that the goal is to have people involved in the production of knowledge and to be involved in the decision-making process of development practices (Maguire, 1987, p.30). Participatory research assures that by allowing ordinary people to participate in knowledge production, they will improve their lives by understanding their own reality, how they can affect policies, and maintain control over the program and the decision-making (p.39). Participatory research should be integrated with the participation of grassroots organizations that are involved in development initiatives. By linking research with concrete projects, development initiatives move away from universal solutions to problems in Third World communities. Maguire argues that research should “focus on understanding how human interaction produces rules of governing social life, rather than on discovering universal laws of human interaction” (Maguire, 1987, p.14).

One approach to participatory research is the recovery of history by the people’s collectives (Rahman, 1995, p.163). Local communities should look into the past to revive traditional ways of living that could help current development efforts. People are not poor; they need to change the perspective that they have of themselves. Rahnema states:
"The development problem starts precisely here: there can be no development (which is endogenous) unless the people's pride in themselves as worthy human beings inferior to none is asserted or if lost, can be restored" (Rahman, 1995, p.161).

Michael Edwards discusses that one of the main problems of development studies is that in research, people are treated as objects to be studied rather than as subjects of their own development. There is a separation between the researcher and the researched (1989, p.118). The relationship becomes then of the ‘transmitter’ and the ‘receiver’ of information, where there is an inequality of technical knowledge which creates distance between one and the other (p.118). Edwards argues that development that is based on a transfer of knowledge creates a role where the expert is the only person that is able to transfer the skills from one person to another (p.118). This attitude prevents people from thinking of development solutions for themselves (Edwards, 1989, p.119). Adopting a problem-solving approach instead of relying on receiving a technical package allows people to implement and evaluate the work that they are involved in a critical fashion (p.119). An important aspect in development initiatives is to make people realize that they have the power to change their lives. Edwards believes that the UN system is “anti-participatory”. Their definition of participation is used as a technique to improve the efficacy of research rather than facilitating peoples own development efforts (1989, p.129).

The U.S. organization Pachamama and its association with indigenous communities in Ecuador show how the relationship between Western experts and local communities should be. Pachamama is an organization concerned with the destruction of
the Ecuadorean rainforest and how this factor affects the well being of the entire world. Pachamama tries to combine Western views with indigenous knowledge on how humans should interact with the environment. The Pachamama Alliance was born out of a relationship between people from the U.S. and leaders of indigenous groups of the rainforest in Ecuador (The Pachamama Alliance website). The relationship was established when leaders from the Achuar indigenous group sought a partnership with the Western world in order to find solutions to growing threats to their culture and way of life due to deforestation of the rainforest. The Achuar group requested the support of this organization in order to implement an integrated resource management plan for their land (Pachamama website).

The role of Pachamama is to provide technical tools and funding for the implementation of the program. Some of the projects conducted include: Developing sustainable economic enterprises based on renewable resources, capturing traditional Achuar knowledge and supporting the revitalization of traditional indigenous education and strengthening the groups political leadership (The Pachamama Alliance website). The relationship between the Achuar and Pachamama is not of an expert institution transferring knowledge to a community. The Achuar decided they could use outside help for their development. Pachamama offers only support according to what the community needs and asks for.

Participatory research needs to connect research done by development experts with local knowledges and practices. Berkes, Colding and Folke talk about the importance of conservation of natural resources and preserving local practices by looking
into traditional knowledge. Development is not necessarily about changes. An alternative way of thinking about development is looking back into traditional practices for solutions to current problems. Conservation of natural resources as a mean to secure communities’ well being should be a priority of alternative development projects. A clear example of how this can be achieved is the idea of Traditional Ecological knowledge. According to Berkes, Colding and Folke Traditional Ecological Knowledge is

A cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment (2000, p.1252).

The authors describe how local knowledge can be a good way to manage ecosystems. Western science can be mixed with traditional knowledge to conserve the environment. The authors do acknowledge the difference between their own interpretation of Traditional Ecological Knowledge and what indigenous people think of ecological knowledge (Berkes, Colding & Folke, 2000, p.1252). One problem with the authors’ approach to the idea of traditional knowledge is that they try to classify it as one type of knowledge. They examine different indigenous knowledges throughout the world and draw similarities to describe a traditional ecological way of thinking. Although communities around the world do share many similarities in their way of viewing the environment and how they interact with it, it should be considered that this type of approach tends to generalize Third World cultural practices.

Some of the practices that make Traditional Ecological Knowledge have already been incorporated into Western knowledge of environmental conservation. One type of practice is monitoring the status of the natural resource (Berkes, Colding & Folke, 2000,
p.1254). For example in Colombia the Takano people monitor the amount of animals around their land and the community’s Shaman decides how many animals should be killed based on the observations (p.1254). Other practices described as part of Traditional Ecological Knowledge include integrated farming, aquaculture and polyculture. These practices have been abandoned by conventional development projects and government policies. These types of methods need to be considered when researching possible ways of resource management in a community. Shifting cultivation can be a successful way of ensuring environmental conservation as well as sustainable farming. One example of a shifting cultivation approach is the Milpa system used in tropical Mexico. The system rotates land so that while crops are growing in one part, vegetation is regenerating in another plot preparing for a new Milpa cycle (2000, p.1255). The resources that grow will become different types of material used for firewood, construction, medicine and other resources (p.1255).

Another example of natural resource management using traditional ecological knowledge is the Ahupua’a practice by Native Hawaiians. This is a watershed-based management system that was used in the past where valleys within the watersheds were used in integrated farming. The idea behind this system is that the whole land is one ecosystem from the sacred mountains to the lagoons and the coal reef (Berkes, Colding & Folke, 2000, p.1255). People inhabiting the ecosystem are part of the system and the land becomes part of people’s identity (p.1256). The difference between Traditional Ecological Knowledge and scientific ecological knowledge produced in the West is that a traditional knowledge is dependent on social mechanisms. Through social institutions and
rules-in-use provide means for people to use their local knowledge (p.1256). Traditional Ecological Knowledge for environmental conservation shows great examples of how traditional knowledge can bring back development alternatives that will have positive outcomes in local communities.

Integrating farming is a successful method of participatory research. By teaching while researching at the same time, two scientists were able to show students in Fiji farming techniques as well as helping them earn money. They introduced an integrated farming system to Fiji using the local brewing company to produce a complex farming system. The sludge from the brewery is used to grow mushrooms; the residue from the mushrooms then serves as food for pigs and chickens. These animals produce waste that can be converted into methane and produce energy out of it. The rest of the animal waste is used as fish food that can maintain fishponds without having to purchase additional food for fish. The water in the fishponds is also used for hydroponic gardening. This project was developed with the help of a school of disadvantaged boys called “Montfort Boy’s Town”. The School’s labor is free but produces food for the boys as well as an income from the products sold to the community (Kane, 1997, p.30).

The scientists chose Fiji because of its current problems with heavy pollution, pest invasions in crops and a dependency in monocropping farming that make the economy of Fiji vulnerable to export fluctuations. This project although it is designed for social and ecological benefits it is also an experiment to show how integrated farming can be more effective than conventional farming practices (Kane, 1997, p.31). Next to this project the researchers managed ordinary fishponds to raise food and income. The costs
and benefits of the ordinary practice are compared over time with the results of the integrated farming project in order to measure and show the real benefits of this new integrated method (p.31).

This project was copied not only in other parts of Fiji but also in communities in Vietnam and Mauritius. This initiative has been criticized for being too different and not taking traditional practices into consideration. The program is seen as unfamiliar and too complex for local communities. The researchers defend their project by emphasizing the aspect of learning of the farming technique. Boys in the school are not only profiting economically from farming but they are learning as they produce. Through education students are applying what they learn in the development of their community. One problem with this project is that the techniques are brought from Western expertise into Fijian communities. In order for such a project to fully help Fijian society, boys should be allowed to research other possible farming techniques using their cultural traditions and forms of knowledge.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith introduces the idea of community action research as a way to expand on indigenous research. This type of self-help social research “seeks to make a positive difference in the conditions or lives of people” (1999, p.127). Tuhiwai Smith states: “Community action approaches assume people know and can reflect on their own lives, have questions and priorities of their own, have skills and sensitivities which can enhance (or undermine) any community-based projects” (p.127). This approach is very similar to the idea of participatory research, but Tuhiwai Smith proposes this research should be conducted in local research centers that support the use of indigenous
knowledge (p.131). In her book, Tuhiwai Smith describes the Research Unit of Maori Education as participatory research that incorporates other systems of knowledge. This type of project should be spread to other cultures as well. Research centers using local knowledge can focus on alternative ways to influence policy formation, and finding possible strategies on how to alleviate injustice in the local community. New research based on a participatory initiative should be a priority of development of Third World communities. International organizations should invest more money in building local research centers were people could learn more about their own way of thinking about development and apply this knowledge back into the community.

Regarding education and academic research, the pattern has been that in order to access formal educational systems, it is required to abandon or replace traditional knowledge with Western ideas. Local knowledge has been discarded in traditional education in most parts of the world. Fox and Minugh introduce an example in the U.S. where local knowledge is integrated in mainstream education. The authors show how a U.S. college was involved in creating a college/community partnership with Native American communities (1995, p.227). The question posed by Fox and Minugh is whether Western universities can contribute to change the focus of the Western scientific analysis model toward a new paradigm based on local knowledges.

The partnership between Evergreen State College in Washington State with Native Americans in the area has a focus on participatory research. Knowledge here is pursued collaboratively rather than competitively, holistically rather than fragmented (1995, p.232). Students are encouraged to apply participatory learning skills in the
community as well as in the classrooms in projects about community building and how to reach a sustainable living (p.232). Part of the partnership includes hiring of Native American faculty (1995, p.233) Some of the classes in the curriculum are Federal Indian law, colonialism, democracy as well as for example an examination of the concept and meaning of "relationships", community concepts of health, relationships with natural world etc. (p.235). The consequence of such an approach is community empowerment and the class becomes the source of community dynamics. (p.237). The classroom becomes a space for local people to discuss different issues the community is facing.

Participatory research removes the traditional separation between knowing and doing (1987, p.3). In the case of women in the development discourse, Patricia Maguire suggests research should have a mix of feminist research with participatory research. She argues that one of the problems with research in general is that it tends to be male-centered (1987, p.5). According to her, feminist research helps recognize that the personal is political. Maguire states that positivist social science research has been treated as the only legitimate way to create knowledge (1987, p.9). Women should become involved in local research to create other forms of knowledge in order to explore other issues women find important to include in the development of the community. Participatory research is based on an alternative way to conduct research moving away from objective positivist phenomena (1987, p.2). There should be move towards a feminist participatory research initiative, which would try to move away both from an androcentric perspective and away from a positivist view of social science (1987, p.105). Local research should pay attention to the gender language used (1987, p.107). A male-
centered language involved in development research has created an unequal access for women to project participation as well as an unequal access to project benefits, absence from feminism from theoretical debates on participatory research. If development initiatives want to focus on women, the approach should be of opening spaces for women to research how they can improve their lives through participatory research.

In order to change how development is researched, the development paradigm needs to be broken down. A paradigm is a constellation of theories, questions, methods and procedures, which are central values and themes (Maguire 1987, p.10). Maguire believes a paradigm provides "a place to stand from which to view reality" (p.10) and therefore she suggests the creation of alternative paradigm to see social realities since the current dominant paradigm affects how people perceive the world: "The power of a paradigm is that it shapes, in nearly unconscious and unquestioned ways, perceptions and practices within disciplines" (1987, p.11). The development paradigm has been based on Western theories and methods which have shaped the reality of Third World societies according to these beliefs. The dominant paradigm now is associated with empirical analytical inquiry while an alternative paradigm acknowledges a certain degree of subjectivity which allows oppressed people to free themselves from the mechanisms of social domination (Bryton-Miller in Maguire 1987, p.15). Maguire believes one way to enter an alternative paradigm is through alternative forms of research that allow different perceptions of the world.
CONCLUSION

Participation is a factor in mainstream initiatives that can be easily manipulated. The purpose of this approach is to give Third World communities the right to think about development. Participatory approach in development research and planning of projects can do this. Participation does not mean teaching people how to think or act, but means opening a space for a dialogue between Western development experts and Third World communities on what development means and what actions should be taken. Development projects so far have been imposed in Third World communities with little consultation with local societies. Rahnema concludes:

> The issue is, therefore, not that development strategies or projects could or should have been better planned or implemented. It is that development as it imposed itself on its ‘target populations’ was basically the wrong answer to their true needs and aspirations” (1998, p.379).

If international organizations are going to continue to play a role in development, it is important to move away from seeing their actions as the West helping the poor underdeveloped World. Development efforts need to move away from the relationship donor/receiver, developed/underdeveloped to more of a relationship of collaboration and participation in development initiatives. Development programs by international organizations will continue to happen. Therefore, projects must combine approaches targeting the problems at different levels. In the case of women, it is crucial to move away from analyzing the power structure of women and men as exclusive groups and include other relationships and factors, such as race, culture, and class that are involved in the economic development. It is important to acknowledge the relationship of power and knowledge in shaping the development discourse. Furthermore, a step for social
justice needs to be what Tuhiwai Smith proposes as a decolonization of the minds of Third World communities from Western ideas in order to find a space for other alternatives to development. Development efforts should focus on creating spaces for research based on local knowledges. This can be achieved through the implementation of research centers and institutions of higher education that focus on alternative forms of knowledge away from a dependency on Western scientific thought. It is impossible to turns back time and observes how Third World communities would have developed without Western intervention. What it is possible is to shift the path development is taking and allow other alternatives for development into the development discourse. For future research it is necessary to analyze the role national governments play in the development discourse. Most development initiatives are approved or conducted with the participation of national governments. In many occasions governments focus on the macroeconomic development of the country and neglect to allocate funds for the development and well being of rural communities. One question I would like to look at is how a new alternative for development will affect the economic and planning policies governments draft at a national level. Can this new way of thinking about development create power relationships strong enough to transform how Third World peoples act regarding the development of the whole country?
REFERENCES


Http://www.pachamama.org/index.htm


