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NGOs in Indonesia

Mansour Fakh

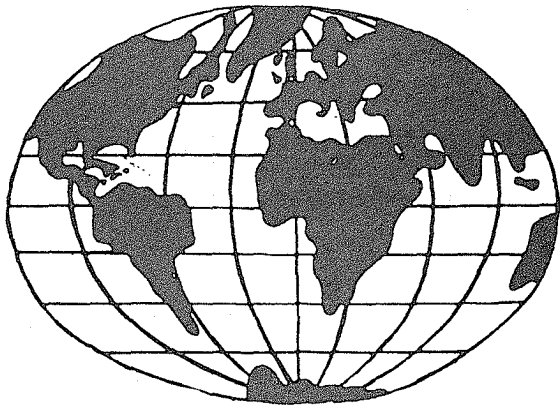
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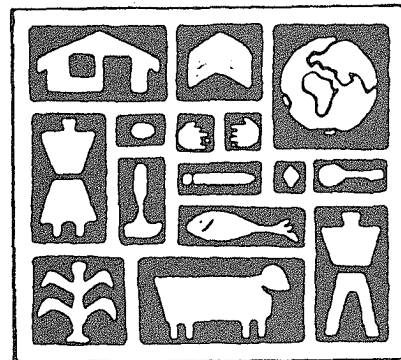
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Mansour Fakh

NGOs IN INDONESIA

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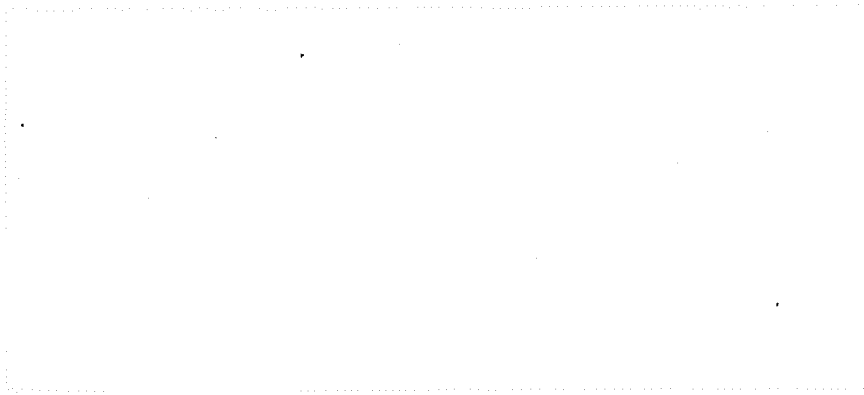


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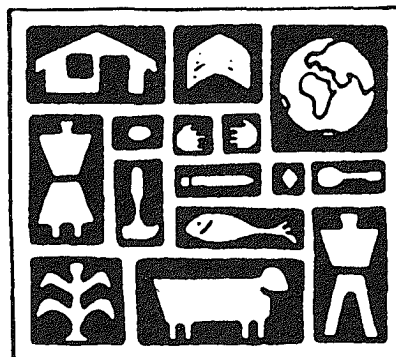
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Occasional Paper Series on Non Governmental Organizations

Mansour Fakih

NGOs IN INDONESIA

Issues in Hegemony and Social Change

Edited by Ronald Bosch, Helen Fox, Sherry Kane and Clifford Meyers

FOREWORD

The Occasional Paper Series on Non Governmental Organizations is the product of global collaboration. The authors, Jonathan Otto, Mansour Fakhri and Eloy Anello, have brought their extensive NGO experience from the Sahel, Indonesia and Latin America. These three advanced graduate students were encouraged to develop a transnational perspective of their development organizations at the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts.

During initial meetings each participant presented the main issues, constraints, strategies and potential for future development in their region. Much to their surprise a picture emerged which showed great similarity despite vast differences in context and resources. This became a good starting point for the authors to share their experiences from different continents and receive relevant feedback and suggestions from the others.

During the last decade there has been a near exponential increase in the number, type and impact of NGOs in less industrialized countries. While this phenomenal growth took place, not much was being published that offered a critical analysis of NGOs as social change agents and promoters of development. The three manuscripts offered an opportunity to reveal some important knowledge. The Center for International Education brought together a group to edit and clarify the papers and is pleased to present three new titles which have relevance for development work worldwide.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	Introduction.....	1
2.	Indonesian NGOs: a new phenomenon.....	1
3.	Origin	2
4.	Developmentalism: Mask of Capitalist Hegemony.....	3
5.	NGOs and Developmentalism in Indonesia.....	4
6.	Mapping Indonesian NGOs	6
7.	Typology of Indonesian NGOs.....	7
8.	NGOs and Transformation: Toward a Theoretical Framework.....	10
9.	NGOs as a Counter Hegemonic Movement	11
10.	NGOs as Counter Discourse Institutions.....	11
11.	Conclusion.....	13
12.	Bibliography.....	14

1. Introduction

The past two decades have witnessed a tremendous increase in the number of NGOs operating in the Third World. In 1981 Development Cooperation Review estimated that as many as 8,000 well-established NGOs were engaged in relief and development work worldwide. These organizations were providing US \$3.6 billion in annual support to development programs, two thirds of which came from private sources. This constitutes nearly ten percent of global development assistance. In 1985 the lives of more than 100 million peasants in Latin America, Africa and Asia were directly affected by NGO activities. These peasants are increasingly aware that just as others have escaped the vicious cycle of poverty by their actions, so can they.

NGOs are a relatively new type of organization. Motivated by service objectives and largely voluntary in nature, they arose in many cases out of societal conflict and tension. They emerged from the need to respond to crises caused by breakdown of traditional structures, from conflict with the powers-that-be in planning and implementation of development work, or from the realization that neither government nor private sector had the will, wherewithal or capacity to deal with immediate and lingering social problems (Ladim, 1987).

Do NGOs in Third World countries really have the capacity to solve the problem of poverty or will they merely address symptoms of poverty? In other words, can NGOs become an effective force for social transformation? In order to assess and understand the role of NGOs in alleviating root causes of poverty, I will develop a typology by comparing and classifying Indonesian NGOs and analyze their potential as a social change movement. This paper seeks to contribute to a theoretical framework of the role that NGOs and grassroots organizations can play in Indonesia as a counter-hegemonic movement for social transformation.

2. Indonesian NGOs: a new phenomenon.

NGOs are formal organizations. They emerge when people create social units with the explicit objective of achieving certain ends and formulate rules to govern relations among members and duties of each member. Though NGOs are called by different names, all share certain characteris-

tics. They are formed by individuals who do not always receive payment for their work, they are private, non-profit institutions, and they operate within the legal framework. They work through development projects that benefit people other than their own members and they are financed by sources outside the organization. Though many NGOs have programs for economic development and building cooperative movements, they are not economic organizations. Another important characteristic is that NGO commitment to the popular sectors is articulated through emphasis on popular participation and through support and professional services to popular autonomous organizations. Their ideology is based on the idea of learning together, rather than the mere transfer of knowledge or any other traditional form of technical support from above.

Indonesian NGOs are called "Lembaga Swadaya Pengembang Masyarakat" (LSPM) or Promoter Organization for Self-Reliance. LSPMs try to respond to the multiple needs of the grassroots sector and its organizations with the support of international development institutions. Three groups of organizations, the LPSM (NGOs or PVO), the LSM (indigenous grassroots organizations) and the international agencies (international NGOs, solidarity or funding agencies) are the main protagonists of the non-governmental development cooperation process, and are loosely termed LSMs or NGOs.

Indonesian NGO activists prefer to use "LPSM" or "LSM" instead of "NGO" for tactical reasons. By avoiding any "anti-government" impression and connotation with the use of the term "Non Governmental" they hope to steer clear from negative implications in their relationship with the "sensitive" government. The term NGO, translated as "Organisasi non pemerintah" (e.g., non-government), it was argued, could easily be perceived as "anti-government." Such organizations constituted competition to the government in the development process, placing NGOs in an adversarial position with government. For this reason LPSM (Promoter organization of self-reliance) and LSM (Community self-reliance organization) are used (Betts, 1987). The name LPSM also conveys the popular self-determination which the organizations seek, while carrying a more authentic ring in terms of national history and culture.

The term NGO in reference to the Community for Self-Reliance (LSM) in Indonesia indicates that

NGOs are any of those development organizations which are not part of a government and which have not been established as a result of an agreement between governments. The emphasis on "development" is important in order to distinguish them from organizations such as research institutions, professional associations, Boy Scouts, Chambers of Commerce, youth organizations, religious institutions, tourist bodies and political parties which also have "non-governmental" characteristics.

The goals of NGOs, as opposed to those of other organizations, are almost always related to the problem of development, that is, to problems surrounding the economic, social, and cultural order of a country or region. NGOs explicitly attempt to separate themselves from governments, which also intervene in the economic, social, cultural dynamics of their countries - though they do this with different, if not opposing objectives, forms of action, and results.

It is necessary to understand that there are several types of NGOs. Although almost all NGOs are formal, non-profit organizations trying to manage financial, technical or scientific resources to meet socially identified needs, they differ in affiliations, objectives, methods, and structures. Affiliation, objectives and basic assumptions of Indonesian NGOs can be understood by looking at the groups which influenced their emergence: student activists, middle class intellectuals and Christian and Moslem religious affiliations (Betts, 1987).

3. Origin

The rapid increase of Indonesian NGOs is impressive in terms of number, diversity, and geography. In the late 1960s and early 1970s only a handful of non-governmental groups were actively concerned about, or capable of addressing, the problems of development. The majority of those were based in Jakarta, where their urban, middle class ex-student activist leadership resided close to access to funding agencies. Now, less than two decades later, there may easily be in excess of 3,000 such groups, located in remote areas as well as urban and more accessible rural areas throughout the country (Betts, 1987).

The phenomenon of NGOs in Indonesia is associated with the changes in Indonesia in 1967, when Indonesia entered a new era with capitalist "liber-

al" policies. This period was characterized by the opening of Indonesia to the world market economy. NGOs are a reaction to the effects of bureaucratic "developmentalism" where the government as an agent of development was less than effective. On this basis NGOs were a new phenomenon and a by-product of the newly created capitalist environment.

Though NGOs are a modern "New Order" phenomenon, their volunteerism has a tradition linked to modern Indonesian history from Dutch colonial period. The historical roots of volunteerism in Indonesia started in the last decade of the 19th century, when Suryopranoto, the pioneer of volunteerism, established *Mardi Karya* (1890) and then *Adhi Dharma* (1896), organizations which aimed at helping communities in their social, political and economic affairs (Betts, 1987). Several organizations followed that first movement: socio-political organizations such as *Budi Utomo* and *Taman Siswa*, religious movements such as *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdhatul Ulama*, and other political movements.

The 1970s marked the emergence of the type of NGOs considered in this paper. Although many Indonesian NGOs took shape at that time, their outlook and role then differed significantly from what they are today. During the 1970s, non-governmental cooperation agencies supported the developmentalist ideology promoted by the modernizing elites of the military government. At that time, the NGOs played a role in forms of cooperation that emphasized "aid" and small "industrialism". Church and United Nations-related organizations would take the first steps in creating institutions, i.e., NGOs based on the idea of "promoting development." Development in this context was understood as economic growth so as to overcome "backwardness." The problem was perceived as one of transferring resources and technology and securing investments for development that would yield results measurable in general indicators such as GNP. These NGOs did not discuss theory, did not question the development paradigm which spawned modernization theory and top-down approaches. In other words, NGOs at that time consented to the modernization hegemony.

To provide a framework for the NGO movement in Indonesia, I will map the NGO movement's development, assumptions and activities. It is necessary to conduct a critical analysis of the concepts of development and its implications in

Indonesia. To understand the role of NGOs in the context of Indonesia I will first present the model of developmentalism, followed by a description of the political economy in the New Order era under the military government.

4. Developmentalism: Mask of Capitalist Hegemony

During the last two decades, we have witnessed how "development" has become "a new religion" and an ideology for millions of people in the Third World. Development as given them new hope and the expectation that it can change and improve their lives. The problem is, despite existing development efforts, both the absolute number and the percentage of the world's people who live in utter poverty continue to increase. Each development program has a different impact depending on the development concept used, and the point of view or the lens of the user. The dominant concept of development, which is applied in most Third World countries, reflects the Western paradigm of development. Development, then, is identified as some kind of stage-by-stage movement towards "higher modernity". This modernity is reflected in forms of technology and economic advances as are found in industrial nations. This concept of development has historical and intellectual roots in the period of major social changes associated with the industrial revolution (Long, 1986).

In most Third World nations, interpretation of the development concept is understood to be a general improvement in the standard of living. Development is also understood to mean the strengthening of the material base of the State, mainly through industrialization, adhering to a pattern that has been remarkably similar from one country to another. The government in this perspective becomes the subject of development. In other words, government programs transform people into objects, recipients, claimants, clients or even participants. What is the ideology and theory beyond this development?

Modernization and developmentalism have become synonyms in terms of their basic assumptions and theory. They come from the same functionalist and positivist paradigm. Developmentalism uses the same theoretical framework and ideological assumptions as modernization.

What are the assumptions of modernization? Modernization has been, since the mid-twentieth century, the dominant focus of social change in Western countries. It also has been the most dominant development theory applied in Third World countries and is one of the most powerful of all Western ideas in the world today. The basic assumptions of modernization are related to the process by which the so-called traditional structures are transformed into more modern types along the lines of what happened earlier in Europe.

There are several elemental modernization theories. The first uses the metaphor of the growth of an organism. In this case, development is seen from an evolutionary perspective, as a journey from "traditional to modern". The assumption here is that all societies once were alike ('traditional'), and that the Third World would also pass through the same set of changes as had happened in the West, and eventually become "modern". The most famous is the five-stage scheme put forward by W.W. Rostow in his Stages of Economic Growth : A Non Communist Manifesto. (Rostow, 1960). Rostow and his followers envisaged a gradual transition from tradition to modernity and assume that ideal development has already been achieved by industrial countries. According to this theory, development will flow almost automatically from capital accumulation (i.e. saving and investments) hence the stress on foreign aid and trade. Rostow focused on the need for an entrepreneurial elite to stimulate the development process. This emphasis on entrepreneurship and capital accumulation is the most pervasive theme in the literature on economic growth.

Another modernization theory is based on a sociological and psychological explanation. This theory is based on a study by David McClelland in his Achieving Society (McClelland, 1961) and Inkeles in his Modern Men (Inkeles and Smith, 1961). McClelland who based his work on his interpretation of The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism (Weber, 1925), argues that if the Protestant Ethic caused economic growth in the West, then some analogous phenomenon must be sought elsewhere in order for Non-Western countries to achieve economic growth. What lay behind Weber's Protestant ethic, McClelland argues, was a personality trait, "the need for achievement" (N Ach, for short). According to this theory, the

reason people in Third World countries are underdeveloped is because they have low N Ach.

In practice, modernization is similar to Westernization which is based on capitalism. This interest in modernization was turned into a new study which gradually became known as development studies. It is an interdisciplinary grouping of subjects which focus upon the analysis and solution of problems of development, particularly those faced by the poorer, developing countries. Through development studies in Western countries, the discourse of capitalism is smoothly injected into the Third World through the label "development," through Third World's technocrats and universities, and even through NGOs. This "development" is basically a new package and new brand name for capitalism.

Modernization is a good example of how dominant hegemony achieves its objectives. Development is a "new brand" of capitalism which is the most powerful hegemony in the modern history of the Third World. It creates new ideological "terrain". On this uneven playing field cultural and political systems are promoted through manipulated discourse and sophisticated propaganda to replace the existing ideological, cultural and political structures of subordinate people. Religion, education and other institutions have been used by the development "apparatus" to mystify power relationships, public affairs and events, inducing the oppressed to consent to their own exploitation and daily misery. As a hegemony, "modernization" is able to create a concept of reality which is defused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, conforming its spirit to all tastes, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotation. Thus the dream to achieve high mass consumption (Rostow) within an achieving capitalist society (McClelland) becomes an "opium" of the poor in developing countries.

5. NGOs and Developmentalism in Indonesia

Policies which have influenced development the past two decades are based on the modernization framework incorporating the economic growth model. Development based on the strategy and policy of stimulating growth prioritizes savings, investment and capital-intensive modern technology. It was assumed that rapid industrialization and

expansion would be the best road to development of the economy and creation of employment opportunities in both urban and rural communities.

The "growth" model of development in the rural agricultural sector was translated into the "green revolution" program. The Green Revolution was subsidy driven. The State contributed heavily, giving massive subsidies on chemical fertilizer, agricultural credit, state purchases of rice through a floor-price scheme, national buffer stocks, and free or subsidized irrigation projects financed by foreign borrowing.

The quantitative results of the Green Revolution have been impressive. Javanese peasants now produce twice as much rice as they did in the late 1960s. Java has made more than average contribution in terms of yield of growth compared to other regions of Indonesia, and therefore played a major role in Indonesia's transition from the status of the largest rice importer to a situation of self-sufficiency in rice by 1985.

Nevertheless, from a qualitative perspective, the Green Revolution has been the subject of critique among NGO activists. The increasing involvement of NGOs in the development assistance process during the 1970s was prompted by these critics of the development strategy and as a reaction to the government's approach to development which was considered inadequate. A number of factors have contributed to this trend. Among these were the perceived failure to effectively promote development or to raise the standard of living of the poor and the unprecedented large financial contributions channeled through NGOs. Unfortunately, only a few NGOs really questioned the ideology and paradigm of developmentalism and modernization. NGOs involved in the first period (late 1960s and early 1970s) did not introduce a radical alternative paradigm of development, but merely tried "reform", reacting to the methodology and practices of development without questioning the basic assumption of modernization.

Although the majority of NGOs had bought into government sponsored reform-cum-modernization, some NGO activists fundamentally questioned developmentalism. The main issue that concerned these NGOs was related to the question: Who benefits from the "growth model of development"? Several studies conducted by LSP, by NGO team researchers and by outside researchers

on the impact of modernization type development in agriculture show increases in absolute landlessness in rural Java.

The Census during the period in question (1961, 1971 and 1980) shows that in 1963 about 73% of rural households had farms. In 1983 about 57% rural households had farms. This shows an increase of 16% landlessness in 20 years. Also found was increased poverty with resulting increases of urbanization, unemployment and underdevelopment. An overlooked effect of green revolution policies was that it made capital investment cheaper than human labor. This in turn led to a substantial decline in agricultural labor opportunities and a vast increase in peasant urbanization and accompanying social and economic hardship. Close to a 50% unemployment rate has been quoted for the rural sector, with a labor force that grows by 1.8 million per year, and reached 53 million in 1980. Increased unemployment pushes rural workers to the cities where they seek employment of any kind, mainly in the informal sector (Huesken, 1987).

The other impact of rural development policy considered by some NGO activists is increased political domination. In order to prevent mass resistance against marginalization, the government installed sophisticated political control mechanisms. The "floating mass policy" bans all popular control at the village level, as had been formerly exercised by democratically elected village heads. This new policy assigned the military with civilian authority to accompany existing subdistrict and village level military control units. It also established Village Unit Cooperatives as the only allowed cooperatives operating in sub-districts. Since 1979 new regulations on village government have replaced the traditional village council with government-controlled institutions (Sasono, 1987).

Aldridge (1984) noted that there has been tremendous contradiction and ambiguity among the Indonesian NGO community in response to the growth model of development. NGO activists are motivated by a mixture of political and service ideals. However, many of them appear quite unclear about how their development programs are supposed to lead to a transformation of the political macro-structure. Also, enormous ideological confusion results from promotion of "self-reliance," with "dependency" analysis being mixed with entrepreneurship training by American social scientists such as David McClelland (Eldridge,

1984). Such analysis assumes that the poverty of people is caused by their values and traditions which are not fit for development. Such values as 'the need for affiliation' and traditional power relations and other sets of personal behaviors and cultural attitudes are also considered cause underdevelopment.

Based on the rationale of underdevelopment, mainstream NGOs such as LPES and Bina Swadaya in the early 1970s focused on changing traditional beliefs, attitudes, values and institutions by creating participatory action programs among rural small business groups. Participatory training and institution building in rural areas became the main tools for transformation to "modernity." These programs are based on the notion that development will occur by giving capital to the right people (the High Need for Achievement entrepreneurs) and teaching them to master the micro technology of business such as marketing, accounting and financial management. The entrepreneurs will drive the process of growth and the mass of people which will benefit from a trickle-down effect.

Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (LSP) was among the few NGOs at that time that based its work on the use of dependency theory and structuralism in their analysis (Arif and Sasono, 1981). The critics of the dominant theories of developmentalism and "modernism" were introduced by LSP, which published books and journals and facilitated discussions. The introduction of the thoughts of **dependency theorists** such as Paul Baran and Andre Gunde Frank (1973), Celso Furtado (1973) Cordoso (1972), and Amin (1971) and **liberation theorists** such as Freire (1972), Gutierrez (1973) and others to the Indonesian NGO community in the late 1970s enriched the concepts and critique of "development" among Indonesian NGOs.

6. Mapping Indonesian NGOs

Several studies have been conducted to understand Indonesian NGOs by Indonesian NGOs themselves, as well as by other researchers. The study by David Korten, "The Third Generation of NGOs" is most influential and is a famous typology among the NGO community and other agencies. This paper aims to critique Korten's framework as well as Philip Eldridge's general theory and framework. Based on these critiques I will

provide an alternative framework for Indonesian NGOs as well as for NGOs in other countries.

David Korten (1988) generalized NGOs into groups based on their development program strategy. Korten concluded that the development strategies of NGOs can be categorized into a three-generation typology. The first generation is called "relief and welfare," the second generation is called "small scale and self reliance" local development and the third generation is called "sustainable systems development."

Korten stated that many of the larger international NGOs such as Catholic Relief Services, CARE, Save the Children, and World Vision began as charitable relief organizations to deliver welfare services to the poor and unfortunate throughout the world. He observed the same pattern in some national NGOs such as Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and other local NGOs. Many of them, according to Korten, were focused originally on natural disaster and refugee situations. The purpose was meeting immediate needs through direct action such as the distribution of food, the fielding of health teams, and the provision of shelter.

The second generation, "Small-scale self reliant local development," according to Korten, appeared as a reaction to the limitations of the relief and welfare approaches as a development strategy. In the late 1970s, NGOs undertook projects in areas such as preventive health, improved farming practices, local infrastructure, and other community development activities. What distinguishes these efforts from relief and welfare approaches is the stress on local self-reliance, with the intent that benefits would be sustained beyond the period of NGO assistance. Often second generation NGO activities parallel those of government, but are defended on the grounds that the government services are inadequate in the villages in which the NGO works. Second generation strategies by definition do not attempt to address the cause of the inadequacy of other service providers.

For Korten, the third generation began to engage in a re-examination of basic strategic issues relating to sustainability, breadth of impact, and recurrent cost recovery. Korten explained the reason for the emerging third generation is the realization that :

- (1) acting on their own they can never hope to benefit more than a few favored localities
- (2) self reliant village development initiatives are likely to be sustained only to the extent that local public and private organizations are linked into a supportive national development system.

Most of the NGOs that undertake a third generation strategy will find themselves working in one way or another with the government. Often government programs already command the resources required for broader impact, but use them ineffectively. This institutional policy setting may actively discourage the self-reliant local initiative that might result in the effective mobilization of local resources (Korten, 1987).

Korten's "three generation NGO typology" does not address the need for an alternative paradigm of development. His attention is more on strengthening the management and methodology of the NGO movement instead of questioning its modernization and developmentalist ideology. The basic assumptions used by Korten to develop his three generation categories come from a functionalist perspective. In limiting his typology of NGOs, Korten does not show an alternative paradigm, a counter-discourse to developmentalism, but rather supports the capitalist hegemony, i.e. modernism and developmentalism. In other words, Korten's third generation NGOs accept and consent to the developmentalist discourse, a capitalist ideology, and does not question the structure of the capitalist hegemony.

Another typology of Indonesian NGOs is elaborated by Philip Eldridge (1988). Eldridge proposed a theoretical framework to understand and define NGOs based on their activities. He divides the Indonesian NGO movement into two categories. The first type, "development NGOs" refers to organizations which concentrate on conventional programs of community development, i.e. irrigation, drinking water, health centers, agriculture, animal husbandry, handicrafts and other forms of economic development. The second is labelled "mobilization NGOs," which are those whose main efforts center on educating and mobilizing poor people around issues related to ecology, human rights, status of women, legal rights in relation to land tenure and compensation for eminent domain, and securing tenancy rights

for petty traders, scavengers and squatters in cities (Eldridge 1988).

Eldridge's typology tends to look at NGOs from the perspective of their programs and their methods. Looking at NGO activity without considering the paradigm they operate from and their basic assumptions can produce a misunderstanding of Indonesian NGOs. There are many case studies that show that community health programs (which according to Eldridge's typology are considered "development" and non-political activity) can be political and based on a radical alternative paradigm. There are many programs, such as those related to the status of women and ecological activities (also categorized as "apolitical") that address structural causes of injustice and raise critical and class consciousness. Even safe water projects can be very political and counter-hegemonic to developmentalism if the program is based on critical analysis. These programs can also consent to and support the ideology of modernization. Making a typology based on the comparison of NGO programs such as "income generation" versus "status of women" activities creates a false dichotomy. The issue is how we can bring together the components of critical consciousness and empowerment of women within an income generation program (Tandon, 1989).

7. Typology of Indonesian NGOs

I propose a typology of Indonesian NGOs based on my observations regarding specific cultural subsets of people and their implications for action programs. My classification of Indonesian NGOs is based on a variety of aspects such as:

- * basic assumptions / definition of the problem
- * methodology and program of action
- * assumptions about nature of the community
- * goals and objectives of the activities
- * visions / approaches / models of development
- * development model classified by field activity

**TYPOLOGY OF NGOs
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PARADIGM, ACTION AND STRUCTURE**

	CONFORMIST	REFORMIST	TRANSFORMIST
CAUSES OF THE PROBLEM	Circumstances beyond local people. God's decision. Bad luck.	Lack of education. Corruption. Overpopulation. Traditional values.	Exploitation. Unequal structure. Capitalist hegemony.
GOALS	To relieve suffering. To Pray. To hope.	Raise production. Make existing structure work. Change people's values.	Challenge exploitation. Build new political economy. Counter-discourse.
PROGRAMS	Child care. Famine relief. Clinics. Orphanages.	Technical training. Small business. Community development. Legal Aid. Supplementary services.	Conscientization Alternative economic development. Trade Unions. Cooperatives.
TYPE OF CHANGE AND ASSUMPTION	Functional / Equilibrium	Functional / Equilibrium	Structural / Critical
TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	Consultative. Reliance on authority.	Participative. Shared responsibility.	Participatory facilitator. Strong discipline.
TYPE OF SERVICE	Charity. Help the Poor. Welfare.	Help people help themselves Green Revolution. Community Dev. Nonformal Educ. Vocational Education	Land reform. Participatory research. Popular education.
INSPIRATION	Conformation	Reformation	Emancipation Transformation Liberation

The first type of NGO is "**conformist**." This type consists of charitable relief organizations and other organizations distinguishable by their "working without theory". Most NGOs in this category are project oriented and work as charitable relief organizations. This type of NGO follows the functionalist paradigm and is characterized by concern for keeping and maintaining the status quo, social order, consensus, social integration, solidarity, and need satisfaction. Though there are still some NGOs that practice conformist "working without theory," most of them, since the mid-1970s, came to realize that their "development" approach addressed the symptoms and not the causes of poverty. Most of them are now seen to be moving toward the reformist category and are somewhere between conformism and reformism.

The second category is the **reformist** type of NGOs. These organizations have based their development theory on the modernization ideology. The need for increasing people's participation in development is the main theme of NGOs that choose this paradigm. They tend not to question the existing structure and the hegemony of capitalism which is masked within the "development" concept. Corruption in the government is blamed as the fundamental cause of "under-development". Like the modernist paradigm, the thesis beyond their theme is that underdevelopment of the majority of the people is caused by something that is wrong with the people's mentality and the people's values. Their backward mentality and is considered to be the main cause of their lack of "participation" in development.

Large scale NGOs such as LP3ES, Bina Swadaya, Dian Desa and YIS base their work on this paradigm. People are considered part of the problem, so the main task is to "facilitate" improvement of people's knowledge, skills and "attitudes" to become more modern so they can participate in "development." Success is measured by the capacity to develop the spirit of entrepreneurship. The emphasis is on organization management, marketing and financial management, developing relationships with modern financial institutions and increase of income.

Participation (swadaya) and cooperation, the main themes of the reformist NGOs, are not considered fundamental values, but are seen only as effective means to motivate and co-opt people to become involved in development. LP3ES and Bina Swadaya consistently include "the Achievement Motivation Training (AMT)" of David McClelland in their field worker's (motivator) training. This AMT is the main vehicle to inject the virus "Need for Achievement" (N'Ach), that will change people's "backward" mentality to that of modern entrepreneurs in the achieving society. No wonder the Indonesian Government, which implements the modernization and developmentalism growth model, adopted the idea of the small-scale industry program of LP3ES, the pre-cooperative movement (usaha bersama) of Bina Swadaya and the agriculture and fishery technology of Dian Desa Foundation approach. The small scale industry of LPES is considered to be the best example of the influence of NGO programs on national development policies. This type of NGO unconsciously shares values and ideology with the government, namely modernism and developmentalism.

After almost 20 years of applying their model of development, some of these NGOs started to realize that there were no significant changes in the political and economic situation in rural Indonesia. This awareness motivated many to look for another paradigm, and to move from the "reformation" approach to the third type, "transformation" and the creation of fundamentally new and more equitable relationships.

The **transformation** category consists of groups of NGOs which re-examine basic assumptions and ideological issues, in an attempt to find an alternative to the two other approaches. NGOs are starting to question the existing paradigm and its hidden ideology. Their search is for an alternative paradigm that will change a structure which oppresses and dominates and will enable people to realize their human potential. This alternative paradigm should provide a structure that will allow for people to control the modes of production and to control information and ideological production. They look for a structure that will make it possible for the people to control their own development and history. Such a structure would instill democracy not just in the

political sphere but also in the economy as well as in rural and urban development.

This transformative NGO is not the same as Korten's third generation NGO. Korten explained that third generation NGOs will find themselves working in one way or another with government. Often government programs already command the resources required for making a broader impact, but use them ineffectively. This institutional control and policy setting by the government may actively discourage self-reliant local initiatives and effective mobilization of local resources (Korten, 1987). Korten's assumption appears to belong to the functionalist paradigm, the foundation of modernization theory.

In my observation, no NGOs yet exist that fully represent the transformation paradigm. Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (LSP) from its beginning has developed its activities based on the dependency theory. Unfortunately LSP had to conform to the reality of funding sources, most of which represent the "developmentalism" paradigm. Another problem that is faced by NGOs is the lack of consistency between their ideological and theoretical framework and their methodologies and practices in the field. This situation permits the cooptation of Freirean "conscientization" into an "entrepreneur and income generation program" within the context of the modernization paradigm.

Also frequently observed are NGOs trying to conduct "participatory research" without any theoretical background. On the other hand, there is evidence that many NGOs are becoming more transformation oriented and are starting to implement "participatory action research" within the Indonesian action research network (Jaringan Riset Aksi Indonesia). From a political standpoint this leads to the creation of a counter-discourse movement which is transformative. The Indonesia Action Research network consists of practitioners who are interested in Action Research, Participatory Action Research and Popular Education. The program was founded by the International Development Research Center (IDRC) in 1987-1988. Traditional Moslem groups (pesantrens) have tried to reconstruct their theory of transformation based on the traditionalist values through the P3M network. There are contradictions between P3M and Pesantren (Fakih, 1987). Many programs mix

"conformist" and "reformist" activities, but their "popular ulama" (ulama rakyat) program is based on transformation. The introduction of Islamic Liberation Theology in P3M's "popular ulama" program clearly adheres to a transformative philosophy (Pesantren, 1988).

Another transformation approach among NGOs is conducted by SKEPHI. This NGO's spirit of struggling against the capitalist hegemony has been demonstrated through its newspaper (Berita Hutan, No.15/III, 1988). In addition, its "advocacy" program for mobilizing poor farmers to complain to members of the House of Representatives (DPR) is part of a process of raising "class consciousness" and is a counter-hegemonic movement. Among NGOs in Indonesia, "transformation" types create hope for NGOs as a counter hegemony and a counter discourse to developmentalism. Finally, the NGOs' report, "Study Of Poverty III," presented at the INGI conference in Frankfurt in 1990, demonstrated that Indonesian NGOs are moving toward the "transformative" paradigm. Possibly the time is opportune to create a network of transformative NGOs and to challenge them to consolidate counter-discourse and counter-hegemony activities into a cohesive NGO concept of social transformation.

8. NGOs and Transformation: Toward a Theoretical Framework

What will be the trend of Indonesian NGOs in the next decade? The 1990s may be the decade for Indonesian NGOs to build their vision and their paradigm of social change. It seems to me that the strongest trend is the movement toward transformation. Two obstacles face this movement: 1) how to create space for their paradigm under the influence of the "developmentalism" hegemony sponsored by the Indonesian government; and 2) how to present strong commitment to their paradigm in the face of funding agencies which subscribe to the modernization hegemony.

Developmentalist institutions such as USAID, CIDA and the World Bank are powerful determinants of the future of Indonesian NGOs. These institutions will become the biggest obstacle to Indonesian NGOs in implementing their philosophies and concepts of development.

The NGOs need funding agencies which sponsor transformation. While facing the dilemma of the need for creating an alternative paradigm of social transformation and of the dependency on hegemonic funding agencies, the NGO community needs to reconstruct its concept of development. The following discussion can become the subject of dialogue among NGOs in Indonesia.

9. NGO as a Counter-Hegemonic Movement

For transformation NGOs, the main battle is political and ideological, namely against the modernization/developmentalism hegemony. Hegemony can be defined as an organizing principle or world view, diffused by agencies and institutions, which exerts ideological control and socialization into every area of daily life. The concept of hegemony is used in the context of cultural, moral and ideological leadership over allied and subordinate groups. It is used to form of a new ideological "terrain," with political, cultural and moral leadership and with popular consent (Gramsci, 1971). Every individual is "shaped" by modernization hegemonic ideas and historical circumstances. In this context the role of NGOs as a counter-hegemonic institution is to strengthen civil society by facilitating "critical consciousness."

Developmentalism has created a climate in which people "consent" to and host the values of capitalism. The ability of the development hegemony to legitimize and maintain false consciousness makes it very difficult to create a space in which the counter hegemonic movement is supported by the oppressed. The following strategies use Gramsci's concept of counter-hegemony through grassroots organizations.

Rather than develop complete theoretical strategies for NGOs as a counter hegemonic movement, I intend to assess some considerations based on the NGOs' experience of "development" action through education. The transformative NGO is, in my observation, an excellent vehicle for creating a counter hegemonic movement in today's Indonesia. A strong possible activity to develop the NGO movement in Indonesia is to empower their critical education programs. Critical education, such as popular education and participatory

research which I will describe later, is a most appropriate route for NGOs to create a counter hegemonic movement. Critical education will help people to assess their own experience and contest or resist the ideological and material forces imposed upon them (Weiler, 1988). The goal of critical pedagogy is to facilitate the development of "critical consciousness" in people and to help them transform their "false consciousness" into a conscious society which knows and names and denounces the ideology and the hegemony of philosophies of dominance.

In the case of Indonesia, the main task of NGOs and grassroots organizations is to penetrate the false world of appearance rooted in the system of dominant belief, which is modernization and development. Through popular education and participatory research, grassroots organizations can create new ideas and values that will establish the basis of human liberation. Critical pedagogy activities in grassroots organizations will also create "organic intellectuals" who will become the main organizers of the counter-hegemonic movement.

10. NGOs as Counter-Discourse Institutions

The dominant paradigm of "developmentalism," which is based on modernization ideology, places people as the objects of development because of its view that people can not solve their own problems. Development should be designed by planners and scholars from afar, then delivered by technicians to the peasants. Most of the people who are affected by underdevelopment tend to be seen as a kind of a problem that experts have to solve (Hall, 1982). In order to conduct development, then, the dominant social sciences need to conduct research. As the object of research, people are identified, measured, dissected and programmed from the outside by the dominant class and its representatives. The dominant society, with the help of its researchers, determines the goal of "development" and the methods to achieve it. Moreover, the results are practically never communicated, or even discussed, with the people who are most directly concerned. The people are simply considered "objects of development." They are unaware of how their responses to dominant research can be used to

know them better and to control them better (De Oliveira and De Oliveira, 1975).

Another developmentalist assumption is that only the expert has the right to create knowledge, the prerogative of professional elites. The people affected by new knowledge do not have to participate in formulating the problem, collecting and analyzing the data, and deciding how to use the results. The developmentalist paradigm treats the people, the systems, and the setting to be researched as mere objects which help provide the basic data for knowledge. People's control over knowledge is taken away. Since "knowledge is power," research of this type becomes a political issue, because it further enhances the power of the elites. This paradigm ignores these ethical and political issues in the name of "objectivity and neutrality."

The idea of controlling the object of research originated from a dream of the social scientists who studied society in the same way that the natural scientists studied nature. The goal of research in the social sciences then becomes similar to the goal of research in the natural sciences, i.e. to understand social events, to be able to predict social behavior, to be able to describe the social elements and their functioning, and to be capable of reducing people to explainable formula. All human actions, all behavioral patterns of social groups, all historical events would be studied, or so it was thought, systematically, carefully, and with objectivity. Objectivity meant the scientific ability to examine society and all its phenomena as though they were "things," objects.

All these assumptions are based on a system of philosophy called **Positivism**. This approach flows from methods developed in the natural sciences, and deals with determination, fixed law or set of laws compiled into theories. Positivism, the approach which dominates the academic world, also assumes that a single form of explanation is appropriate in all inquiry. This approach defines the purpose of traditional social inquiry as a search for truth which can only be carried out through an objective, value-free scientific methodology (Myrdal, 1969). In terms of social investigation, positivist thinking requires the separation of facts from values in order to bring about an objective understanding of reality. In other words, positivism insists on a gap

between the observable world "out there" and the observer. By separating the observer from the observable world, positivism claims that to know or comprehend the world is to know it independently of human will or subjectivity. Scientific fact should be separated from human values.

In this context, the role of NGOs is very critical, namely as a counter-discourse to modernization (developmentalism) which is based on this positivist paradigm. As a counter discourse, they have questioned the domination of elites which use their research to create the discourse of "underdevelopment" and to impose this on Third World political, social and cultural systems. By imposing the discourse of **underdevelopment**, which is based on the hegemony of the West, it is legitimizing the penetration of the modernization ideology and developmentalism to the Third World. The transformation NGOs which use participatory research and popular education in their work show us how the counter discourse movement works.

Participatory Research (PR) is described as an integrated activity that combines social investigation, education work and action. PR was chosen by Indonesian NGOs as an alternative, non-violent and democratic method of economic and political transformation in rural areas. PR is intended to counter the modernization hegemony and to deploy resistance to defend popular knowledge, "good sense," from invasion by the positivist paradigm. There are several reasons why NGOs are attracted to the practice of PR:

1: PR initiates and promotes radical changes at the grassroots level. By placing people at the center of the transformation process PR creates real people participation.

2: PR as a process of critical education creates the possibility for people to control and to use their own knowledge. This idea comes from notions about research advocated in critical theory. Central to research, as emphasized in critical theory, is the importance of human subjectivity and consciousness in knowledge creation. Critical theory does not separate the subject of knowledge (the knower) from the object (the known). This idea allows NGO activists to facilitate research, which creates the possibility for the 'oppressed' to be knowledge

creators and the subjects of research. Research using this perspective provides a means to liberate instead of to control people.

The experiences of transformation NGOs makes it possible to figure out the tasks which Indonesian NGOs face as a counter hegemony and a counter discourse movement. At the same time, the NGO movement should be able to create its own paradigm and discourse of social transformation. Through the practice of PR and popular education NGOs can begin to create their alternative paradigm of transformation. This view will consist of an alternative ideology, assumptions, theory, language and terminology, methodology and techniques/practice of social transformation. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, PR enables and empowers the oppressed to raise class consciousness and to critically create and implement their own theory of transformation. For NGOs to succeed as a counter-hegemonic and a counter-discourse movement they must accomplish this substantial but not impossible task.

11. Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion. First, development and modernization can not be separated from the choice of transformation of the people. NGOs need to create a new alternative paradigm of transformation as a counter discourse to developmentalism. The concept of the alternative paradigm should emerge from the process of dialogue with the oppressed, and become the oppressed's own concept of transformation. Second, NGOs developing as a counter-hegemonic movement are themselves in an educational process. They provide not only a project of participation and development, but transformation instruments for a new society. By using popular education and PR to make them coherent and comprehensive they should grow and mature into an alternative knowledge system which is fully owned by and liberates today's oppressed.

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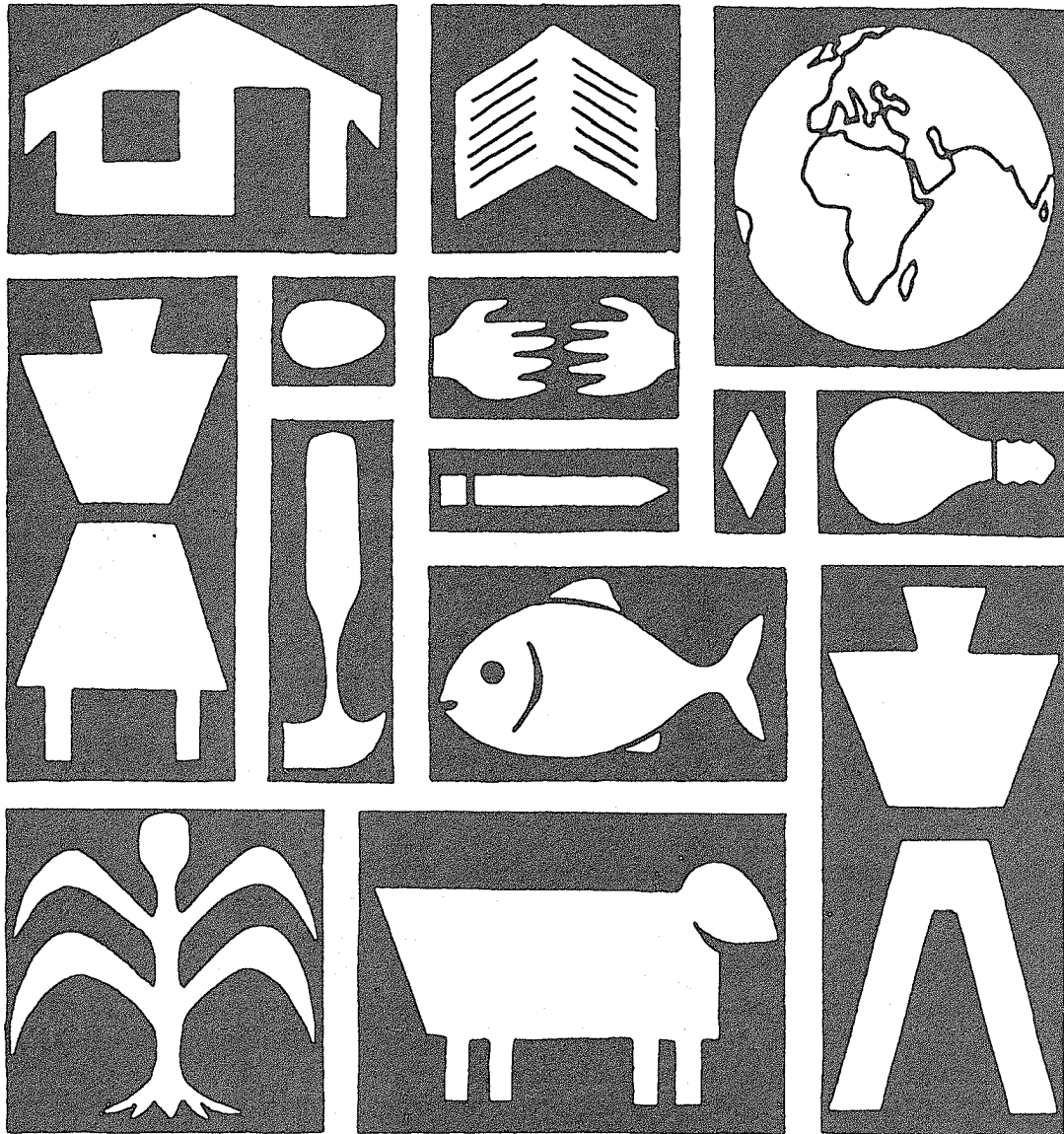
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1. **The Ecuador Project:** Discusses the basic goals, philosophy and methodology of a rural nonformal education project.
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21. **Q-Sort as Needs Assessment Technique:** Describes how a research technique can be adapted for needs assessment in nonformal education.
22. **The Learning Fund - Income Generation Through NFE:** Describes a program which combines education and income generation activities through learning groups.
23. **Game of Childhood Diseases:** Describes a board game which addresses health problems of young children in the Third World.
24. **Road-to-Birth Game:** Describes a board game which addresses health concerns of Third World women during the prenatal period.
25. **Discussion Starters:** Describes how dialogue and discussion can be facilitated in community groups by using simple audio-visual materials.
26. **Record Keeping for Small Rural Businesses:** Describes how facilitators can help farmers, market sellers and women's groups keep track of income and expenses.
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