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Development from below: an exploratory study of the concept and process of development from lay people's point of view

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DEVELOPMENT FROM BELOW:

An exploratory study of the concept and process of development from lay people's point of view

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

Jihad Makhoul, BS, MPH.

Graduate School of Public Health

1999

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Jihad Makhoul

Abstract

This thesis introduces a new perspective on development in Lebanon, that of lay people in rural communities. Lay views have been missing from development literature and practice around the world. Development projects which emphasise economic development and infrastructure are often described by development professionals in terms of their achievements and tangible benefits. However, concerned researchers are dissatisfied with the outcomes of many development projects and their effects on people and their environments. The perspectives of the recipients of development projects is the topic of this research.

In Lebanon, funds for development projects during and after the recent war (1975-90) have stressed economic development and infrastructure. The governmental and non-governmental agencies carrying out these programs are driven by donor accountability and the need to apply for further funding. As a result, they have tended to overlook longer term social needs. A significant omission in official development reports are the views of project beneficiaries. It is this omission that this thesis seeks to remedy.

The study provides an ethnographic account of people's viewpoints on development in two typical rural villages in Lebanon. They are situated in Akkar which has received much development assistance over the past two decades. The ethnographic approach, similar to that used in anthropology, was used for its ability to uncover in-depth information using multi-methods of data collection. The thesis presents a detailed description of the layout and social organisation of the two villages. In many respects, these do not differ significantly from descriptions in the earlier literature which dates from the 19th century, although outside contacts, for employment, education and political activity are now more frequent.

Villagers were asked about their views of development, what they valued about their village and their experience of development projects. Their views were found to reflect their gender and position in the village hierarchy. The male leaders, who see themselves as initiators of development projects and use them to further their political ambitions, hold similar views to development professionals and use the same vocabulary. Other, less powerful men and the women hold different views, use different vocabulary and tend to talk more about the ill-effects of projects. The religious leaders espouse an

Islamic viewpoint which is similar in some ways to that of the women but their activities mirror those of the other male leaders.

No development project which has been undertaken in either village could be considered to have been successful. A detailed investigation of a water project in one of the villages shows why this is so. Lack of success has to do with factors internal to the village, as well as the project approach favoured by development agencies.

The findings indicate that there are gaps in development practice at both a state and development agency levels. Complex village social relationships, particularly internal and external power relationships, affect development projects and outcomes. These favour involvement of key male figures in development initiatives rather than all the community. Such issues point to the need for training in gender awareness and participatory approaches for the professionals as well as the need for equitable resource distribution at a country level. Although the research was limited to two villages in Akkar, the implications for practice and further research are nationwide.

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List of Abbreviations

CDR Council for Development and Reconstruction

CDS Central Directorate of Statistics
DPT Diphteria, Pertussis, Tetanus

EIA Environmental Impact Assessment

GAD Gender And Development
GDP Gross Domestic Product
HDI Human Development Index

IMR Infant Mortality Rate

IRFED Institut de Recherches et de Formations en vue du

Developpement

MOH Ministry of Health

MOSA Ministry of Social Affairs

NGO Non governmental organisation

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and

Development

PRA Participatory Rapid Appraisal SCF Save the Children Federation TBA Traditional birth attendant

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Program

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

USAID United States Agency for International Development

WHO World Health Organisation
WID Women In Development

YMCA Young Men's Christian Association

Glossary of Arabic Terms

abuthe father ofaddawlehthe state

aili extended familyain water springAl hamdillah Praise God

aqdiyahsmall provincesbaalnon irrigated crops

bir well

burghul crushed wheat

day'a colloquial Arabic term to mean village

dibs rimman pomegranate molasses

fellah peasant

Fitr Muslim religious feast

furn village bakery

ghorb strangers pilgrimage

harat neighbourhoods

illet maddiyeh lack of financial resources

islah reform

kibar the big, refers to powerful individuals

kishk Lebanese food made of yoghurt and crushed

wheat

lijni mahaliyyeh local community committee

mahroumehdeprivedmakbasolive pressmin al dakhelfrom withinmit'admehadvancedmittawrahdeveloped

moallem foreman, tradesmaster

modarabehcompetitionmokhtarvillage mayor

mouni foods prepared in summer and stored for winter

msha village land

nayib member of parliament

nohood uplifting

qariyehformal Arabic term for villagesab bittankehmanual construction labour

saha village square sahel coastal plain

saj hot metallic sphere for baking bread

shabab young men shari'a Islamic law

sheikh Muslim religious leader

sighar the small, refers to powerless individuals

sobhiyyeh morning visit

sor'a stealing

succar abyadwhite sugarta'addomadvancement

tanmiyeh development induced by an agent

tanmiyeh mostadimeh sustainable development

tatawwor progress

tayyarat mouakisi opposing currents

to'od to sit

um the mother of

Ummah Islamic Community

wajih aili leader

waseet intermediary person

wasta mediationwilayat provinces

wili Muslim holy figure

wojaha aili leaders

wosoul access

yinammi to develop

zaim political leader zu'ama political leaders

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