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A partnership model for development: Australian non-government organisations and the special case of the Asia Partnership for Human Development

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A PARTNERSHIP MODEL FOR DEVELOPMENT:
AUSTRALIAN NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS
AND THE SPECIAL CASE OF THE
ASIA PARTNERSHIP FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

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

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from

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by

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Economics Department 1981

831352.

This is to certify that this thesis has
not been submitted
for a degree to this or any other university,
or any other institution.

David Pollard

Summary

This thesis examines the Asia Partnership for Human Development, a comparatively new approach to the funding of the projects and programs of a set of Roman Catholic non-government aid organisations.

The Partnership attempts to change the accepted pattern of relationship between the agencies in the high and low income countries so as to ensure that the decision making process is brought nearer to those undergoing the experience of development. It is an attempt to transform a 'donor-recipient' relationship into a round-table relationship where all partners have an equal say in the deployment of resources.

Partnership is conceived of as an exchange. Material resources and ideas are exchanged throughout the Partnership in such a way that underdevelopment is addressed on two fronts - in the low income countries themselves where the obvious symptoms of underdevelopment are most apparent - and in the high income countries where, it is perceived, the origins of a large proportion of the problems of underdevelopment lie.

Projects and programs are means to the end of countering underdevelopment. Equally important, in the eyes of the Partnership, is the education of the constituencies of the agencies of the high income country Partners in the causes of underdevelopment, in the expectation that these latter will undertake complementary political action at home to help terminate what is seen as the continuing domination of low income countries by high.

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OVERVIEW

This thesis examines a certain model for development — partnership. It examines particularly that model of development represented by the Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD). In doing this, a number of points are explored, notably:

different meanings given to the word development,
recent evolution in patterns of NGO thinking in
Australia, particularly with one of the agencies,
the degree to which the modus operandi of the APHD
constitutes a fit of NGO means to ends,
partnership as an exchange and participation as a
measure of development.

The word 'development' has a chequered history. It has been used to denote many things in economics, from economic growth through to social justice. In Christian circles, especially throughout the First and Second Development Decades it was used to denote a series of development choices faced by different communities in different places at different times where these choices were essentially in the hands of the community and not imposed on the community from outside. Thus, in Christian usage (and in much non-Christian usage too), the term development came to be associated with concepts such as participation of the communities concerned in development decisions, consultation of communities about their own development choices, structural change as the vehicle of development and equality of recipients and donors in aid decisions. These ideas, especially in the early part of the Second Development Decade, influenced greatly the aims and means of the Australian RC overseas development agency, Australian Catholic Relief, and were a

spur to its co-sponsorship of the APHD as a more appropriate expression of its efforts in development.

The Asia Partnership for Human Development attempts to replace traditional patterns of voluntary agency relationships (which it characterises as 'donor-recipient') with a relationship of equality between 'partners' — a round-table decision-making arrangement where the agencies of the low income countries have equal rights in decision-making with the agencies of the high income countries. Partnership is thought of as an exchange where the flow of resources from high income countries is matched by a flow of ideas, educational resources and better analyses of the causes of underdevelopment from the low income countries. In all of this it is assumed that there are linkages between the poverty of low income countries and the wealth of high income countries, that patterns of resource usage in high income countries cause a significant part of the poverty of the low income countries. This part of the solution of the problem of underdevelopment will depend on educating the decision makers in high income countries about these linkages and encouraging them to take action to redress them. This is called development education¹. Underdevelopment is also perpetuated by structural elements in the economies of low income countries. Because they are structural, they are beyond remedy from mere 'relief' measures (eg, food aid, emergency medicines). Their permanent solution will depend on local communities being enabled to perceive the causes of local underdevelopment and to undertake action themselves to remedy these at the socio-political level. The people affected by underdevelopment are the ones who are the appropriate actors in identifying and acting against underdevelopment. The sympathetic local

¹ We differentiate this from conscientisation which is an educational mass movement in the low income countries.

agency can provide some of the resources needed for analysis and for social change. To the extent that the structures of domination which cause underdevelopment in the low income countries are similar to the structures which cause poverty in high income countries, the lessons learned in the former will have relevance (through development education) to the latter. APHD aims to be a forum where such insights are shared and successful efforts at development multiplied internationally. Such is the model out of which the APHD works.

To develop the argument, the thesis looks first at different theories of development and isolates those ideas most important for the RC tradition. It then looks at the broad development aims of the NGOs in Australia and shows how some of them have changed their patterns of operation in order to give more emphasis to types of aid which address structures rather than symptoms of underdevelopment in low income countries. The experience of this changing pattern of thinking in the case of one agency, Australian Catholic Relief, will then be examined and the origin of its interest in 'partnership' outlined. An appendix to this chapter (chapter four) will show something of the range of other agencies with which this agency was in contact at the time the APHD was formed from its initiative. An exhaustive analysis of the notion of network is not attempted: rather it is intended simply to show that the stimulus for the formation of the APHD was partly a result of extensive overseas contacts and the perceived inadequacy of current means of dealing effectively with the problems as they were perceived. The history, the aims and the means of the APHD will then be analysed. The content of the word 'partnership' and the importance of participation as a proxy measure of development will be examined. An appendix to chapter five will give a simplified guide to the evaluation of projects undertaken by the Partnership and an outline of the agency's understanding of auto-evaluation (low cost self-evaluation).

The sixth chapter will look at operational aspects of the APHD model and isolate some distinctive features of it, notably the socially determined nature of the productivity of the project, the crucial place within the model of development education and the key role played in decision-making by those affected by underdevelopment (or at least by those who can claim to be their agents). These all have value for the actualisation of Partnership values. The partnership model has distinct economic potential as well, notably the importance of participation as a proxy measure of growth, as an exercise in the allocation of resources, in project evaluation and in an understanding of development which gives first place to the creation of public rather than private goods.

Chapter Seven examines a particular project of the APHD: an inter-agency evaluation of an Australian aid project in Northern Samar (Philippines). In this chapter we shall see something of the practical working out of the Partnership model and the attempt by APHD to implement its resolutions through the specific projects it funds. The nature of the "exchange" in this model of Partnership is examined as are some of the difficulties posed by agencies having different agendas for the same (joint) project.

Chapter Eight offers a conclusion.

THE THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT:

DEVELOPMENT: SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The notion of development is extremely fluid in economics. We shall begin by isolating some of the chief stresses which different authors and schools have made. These will be supplemented by other observations on some of the obscurities which appear in almost any discussion of development. We shall look particularly at the question of clarifying values, of establishing a normative base for policy and of considering the extent to which the concept of development can be discussed meaningfully as an economic concept. In the second part of this chapter we shall select aspects of the above critique of development and examine the way in which a 'liberationist' view of development affects a consideration of the question. The second section will conclude with some observations on the extent to which development, a fluid, rather abstract concept, may be a convenient heading under which to discuss the measurement of social behaviour and of a certain sort of social change. Why 'development' as an abstraction rather than any other abstraction? Finally, the chapter will isolate those aspects of the development debate which are most significant for an understanding of the way in which Catholic voluntary agencies operate. We shall see where their chief norms derive from and the way in which these (global) norms may differ from norms operative for a particular project.

Goulet, in his seminal paper, 'That Third World'¹, brought together the current definitions of development into four categories. These were:

¹ Goulet Denis, in Castel Helene (ed) World Development: an Introductory Reader Macmillan N.Y. 1971.

- an approach which views development as an historical continuum divisible into stages, of which Rostow¹ has been singled out as the chief proponent,
- an approach which, in opposition to the above, stresses historical conditions and the force of human intervention². Innovation³ is seen as the force behind the social change which constitutes development,
- an approach which views development in terms of systemic changes in society's institutions. A leading role is given to education,
- an approach which stresses the "will" of a society to define for itself the direction in which it wants to change. Special attention is given here to the cultural values and the beliefs of the people undergoing change.

Since the publication of Goulet's paper there has been a distinct change in emphasis among Christian writers in the field. A fifth category is perhaps appropriate which emphasises the struggle of communities against structural violence. Because of the key role played by the South American literature, this approach will be called liberationist, as it focusses on the key role played by political liberation in the development process.

We shall return later in this chapter to a further examination of the history of the concept of development. The above are offered to indicate something of the range of approaches to the question. To a large extent the different approaches represent:

- a) different and often unstated value judgements about social and

¹ Rostow W.W. The Stages of Economic Growth — a non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge University Press, N.Y. 1960.

² Schumpeter J. The Theory of Economic Development: an Inquiry into Profits, Capital Credit, Interest and the Business Cycle, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1943.

³ Schumpeter, whose work predates Rostow is the leading proponent of this view.

- economic organisation,
- b) different levels of willingness to introduce normative standards into the discussion of economic policy,
 - c) different notions of welfare and economic growth and of the connections between them. Finally,
 - d) varying interpretations of the impact of both internal and external factors on the extent of underdevelopment.

In working towards a definition of development, we shall examine how the above four considerations yield different notions of development with different policy prescriptions.

- a) Differing value judgements about social and economic organisation: Much of the debate on the development question is the set of unstated assumptions concerning the place of the market in considerations of the optimum development strategy. Neo-classical theories of development, for example, tend to speak of economic development as some sort of indicator of 'development'. There is generally the acknowledgement that 'development' implies more than economic development, which in turn implies more than economic growth. Meier, for example, speaks of economic development as,

"not equivalent to the total development of a society: it is only a part-one dimension of general development. We (!) usually focus on the nation state as the unit of development, but 'national development' is a term which encompasses — at a minimum — social and political development, as well as economic development in the building of national identity." ¹

The rest of his study concentrates on economic development as an indicator of national development — the unsupported focus of the development enquiry.

Dudley Seers pointed this tendency out in 1969².

¹ Meier Gerald M Leading Issues in Economic Development (Second edition) Studies in International Poverty. Oxford Uni Press 1970 Stanford p5.

² Seers Dudley The Meaning of Development Institute of Development Studies IDR2 University of Sussex.

"Polititians find a single comprehensive measure useful, especially one which is at least a year out of date. Economists are provided with a variable which can be quantified and movements which can be analysed into changes in sectoral output, factor shares or categories of expenditure, making model building feasible. While it is very slipshod for us to confuse development with economic development, and economic development with economic growth, it is nevertheless very understandable. We can, after all, fall back on the supposition that increases in national income, if they are faster than the population growth, sooner or later lead to the solution of social and political problems."

While few economists would baldly equate economic growth with development, there is a preference for analysing that part of the development process which seems more quantifiable in terms of economic indicators. The non-economic variables, though deemed important, are often not analysed because they are not quantifiable. By default, the economic reality is made to seem a reasonable indicator of the totality of the reality of development.

What lies behind this implied identification between development and growth is an unstated neo-classical view of economics as a discrete discipline of human choices analysable without reference to, or at least without reliance on the political factors of social life.

This implied identification is possible because the competitive market economy is thought by most neo-classical theorists to conduce towards the optimum allocation of resources via the operation of the price system. The competitive market, the reasoning goes, is the most efficient method of marshalling and allocating resources to different sectors of the economy and to maximise total output. Ignoring the distributive element of the process or the effect of distribution on both product and pricing weights will lead to an inadequate analysis of economic development.

b) Different levels of willingness to introduce normative standards into the discussion of public policy:

Economists, like other social scientists, wish to have their views re-

garded as truly scientific — logically rigorous and deriving from sustainable premises. Economics, however, has long been interested in making more than positive statements. As a social science it has been eager to influence public policy and to do this successfully it has had to make normative judgements. A problem arises, though, in that normative judgements seem to detract from scientific objectivity. Tutton points out¹:

"The standard way out of the problem has been to start by admitting that it is logically impossible to deduce normative statements from positive statements. The next stage is then to say that it is nevertheless possible to select value premises which are themselves 'non-controversial'. If there is no disagreement about the only values used in deriving policy conclusions, then, so the argument goes, nothing has happened to contravene the objective status of these conclusions. Crucially, 'more or less non-controversial' is translated into 'more or less scientific'. The problem, then, is to find non-controversial value judgements which will be of any use in deriving policy conclusions."

Any discussion of development must be normative. The complexity of the problems of defining, discussing and proposing remedies for development problems are so great that to resort to a single indicative measure of development or a single policy aim (growth) cannot but avoid some of the intrinsic difficulties of the question. That the development debate was a debate about normative judgements was spelled out by Dudley Seers in his 1969 article². Reviewing the broad direction of the debate to that stage he concluded:

"The questions to ask about a country's development are... what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development' even if per capita income doubled."

¹ Tutton Tim Intellectual Conceptions of Economic Justice: in Jones A (ed) Economics and Equality Philip Allan Publishers 1976 p 149f, page 52.

² Seers op cit p 2

The challenge, in Seers' view is to find valid normative principles for future development policies. This sets development economics in an interdisciplinary setting, as social policy here can only be the outcome of an interplay between different sciences. Economic measurements, particularly the measurement of economic growth, have a valid though limited predictive role to play in measuring development potential. A significant increase in National Income for example, as Seers points out¹, has the potential for making it easier in the future to achieve a reduction in poverty if appropriate policies are adopted.

c) Different notions of the connection between welfare and economic growth:

Some pathfinding theorists² maintain that development can be examined essentially without recourse to welfare considerations. Meier³, having reduced development to 'economic development' for reasons of ease of analysis, defines such economic development as:

"a process whereby 'real' per capita income of a country increases over a long period of time."⁴

He warns, however⁵

"we should...beware of interpreting economic development as meaning economic progress or an increase in economic welfare ...Per capita real income is only a partial index of economic welfare because a judgement regarding economic welfare will also involve a value judgement on the desirability of a particular distribution of income."

Welfare is excluded from consideration in economic development because it involves value judgements concerning distributive justice.

An attempt to retain scientific objectivity while being able to make policy recommendations has been made by selecting weak or uncon-

¹ ibid

² Meier, for example

³ Meier, op cit, p 7 - 9

⁴ Meier, op cit, p 7

⁵ Meier, op cit, p 8

troversial value premises.

"If there is no disagreement about the way values used in deriving policy conclusions, then, so the argument goes, nothing has happened to contravene the objective status of these conclusions." ¹

Social welfare functions to determine the community's preferences as a basis for policy conclusions have been used fitfully in economics to show the connections between development objectives and welfare objectives. In Tutton's view the use of non-controversial value judgements, especially of conservative systems like that of Pareto², has been motivated by political ends. Non-controversial value judgements, especially perhaps in welfare, are more likely to lead to politically acceptable (conservative !) policy recommendations³.

Economists, then, have shown a varying propensity to make value judgements in welfare in their consideration of policies for economic development or development as an integral study. This propensity varies with the degree of subjectivity which economists have been willing to allow. They see the conventional tools and measurements of economics as having a necessarily limited role in the total consideration of the factors involved in an integrated analysis of human development.

d) Varying interpretations of the influence of internal and external factors on the extent of underdevelopment:

The development process can be analysed profitably from a negative perspective — from a consideration of the causes and persistence of under-

¹ Tutton op cit p 154

² Pareto is not convinced that loss can be assessed against gain without recourse to explicit value judgements (which amount to a diminution of 'objectivity'). His stress on 'objectivity', though, narrowly conceived as it is, is probably enough, even without Mssrs Hicks and Kaldor, to hang him as a conservative today.

³ Tutton op cit p 154

development. In the generation of the concept of development and of the place of economic considerations here, different emphasis has been given at different times to the extent of factors

(a) external to the domestic economy and

(b) intrinsic in the domestic economy promoting underdevelopment.

The view that the enrichment of the higher income countries and the impoverishment of the majority in the low income countries are linked is a view shared by an impressive array of economists, including Gunnar Myrdal¹, Charles Elliott² and Celso Furtado³.

In the following rather extensive quotation from Elliott, the linkage argument vis a vis First and Third world countries is set out summarily:

"consider the bargaining position of poor countries when they negotiate with either the rich governments (on such issues as access to markets for their exports) or with large multinational corporations (on such issues as local investment, prices to be charged locally, or taxation). It is not true that the poor countries are wholly powerless: this is a myth that saps the little strength they do have. But they do not, and cannot, enter negotiations in an equal or reciprocal relationship with their so-called 'partners'. The non-reciprocity springs not only from differences in size, impressive though these may be. The sales of each of the twenty-two largest multinational corporations for example, exceed the national income of every black African country except Nigeria.

Much more the non-reciprocity comes from, first inequalities in access to (and analysis of) information and second, from differences in need. The first point needs little emphasis here. Imagine, for example, the ability of international mining houses, like Rio Tinto Zinc, or Anglo-American Corporation to command knowledge and intellectual firepower on a world wide scale, and compare it with the more modest resources of the Department of Mines in Papua New Guinea and Zambia.

More substantial, however, is the difference in need. ...Even very large countries like India, Nigeria, or Brazil may contribute less than 5% to total group profits. This means that, if any of these countries individually makes too exigent demands,

¹ Myrdal G Asian Drama Pantheon N.Y. 1968

² Elliott C Patterns of Poverty in the Third World Praeger N.Y. 1975

³ Furtado C Obstacles to Development in Latin America

for instance on taxation or prices, a multinational may simply refuse to invest, and abandon the market to a rival..."¹

Lissner² cautions that four points need to be kept in mind in positing a linkage between enrichment and impoverishment. These are:

- 1 this diagnosis points to a relative impoverishment of low income nations. It therefore speaks of a widening gap between high and low income countries.
- 2 Its validity does not derive from an analysis of past colonialism but from present day economic relationships.
- 3 It does not necessarily imply intent to impoverish on the part of the rich. It analyses objective structures rather than attempts to impute guilt. "The important point is not whether...the mechanism is intentional...but that it exists."³
- 4 Such an analysis does not pretend that underdevelopment has a single cause: it simply puts priority on the exogenous factors.⁴

Implicit in the analysis of both Elliott and Lissner is the assumption that trade is a prime facilitator of (economic) development. Generally speaking theories of impoverishment which focus upon exogenous factors focus upon trade. It needs to be asked, however, perhaps especially in

¹ Elliott Charles Inflation and the Compromised Church; Christian Journals Ltd, Belfast 1975, pp 47 - 50, 57 - 58.

² Lissner Jorgen The Politics of Altruism Lutheran World Federation, Geneva, 1977, p 79 - 80.

³ Ibid

⁴ The linkage between enrichment and impoverishment is most dramatically presented in the notion of a widening gap between rich and poor nations. Lissner and others seem unaware of the debate about the size and nature of the gap, taking the World Bank's Annual Report at its face value. In fact there is a debate as to whether the gap is narrowing or widening. It centres largely on the ambiguous nature of so many of the basic statistics, the difficulty of comparison of measures of GDP per head between countries and the perils of extrapolation. See, eg, Marsden K, "Widening Gap Warning Called Misleading" in World Bank Report, Jan - Feb, 1980, P 1.

the light of research done¹ on the international trade in foodstuffs and its effect upon impoverishment in the Third World, whether better trading conditions by themselves conduce to greater welfare. If they do not it is difficult to see to what extent they promote development.

For a fuller picture of the factors operating in any economy which make for the underdevelopment of any section of it, we need to examine the endogenous sociological variables operating. Exogenous variables can explain part of the picture, but unless we have some knowledge of why inequalities persist in the face of more favourable exogenous conditions, our analysis will be only partial.

This question — the role of local elites in the persistence of poverty and the political implications of this for development — will be taken up in a later chapter.

For the purpose of understanding the range of meanings of the term development, however, it is necessary to note at this stage that patterns of domination which play a part in perpetuating underdevelopment manifest themselves both in the relationship between trading partners and in the relationships between social classes and among socio-economic and geographical groups. This promises to be an important factor in the future debate on development.

There has been, then, a broad range of approaches to the question of what constitutes development. These different approaches have represented, among other things,

—different value judgements about social and economic organisation:

this is particularly represented in the view which different schools have had of the place of the market and the price system in resource allocation,

¹ Lappe F and Collins G Food First Institute of Food Research, San Francisco, 1978.

- different views of the place of normative statements for public policy: part of this must be seen as a lingering view that the study of development must be a social science and hence must avoid strong welfare judgements,
- different notions of welfare in relation to development, varying from close identification to a near divorce of the two; and
- different weightings given to exogenous and endogenous factors in underdevelopment.

This range of perspectives on the notion of development has manifested itself in the different uses to which the term has been put. A brief examination of the recent history of the term will clarify this.

Schumpeter was interested in the question of long term processes initially examined by the political economists. He posited a 'circular flow' economy undisturbed by significant structural change. The mechanism by which this economy is propelled to a different plateau or general mode of production is the advent of innovation: the generating force behind the evolution of an economic system is significant qualitative alteration in technology¹. Innovations have impacts in the social and political sphere as well and thus affect social and class structures. The term he used for this quantum leap in economic variables was evolution or development (entwicklung).

In Schumpeter's view development is essentially an approach to the study of Economic History — an evaluative term applied to a process of economic history, specifically change.

Examining the literature, Bauer² points to false leads that have been taken in the development debate. Two of these are

¹ Schumpeter J op cit

² Bauer P.T. Dissent on Development Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1971,6, p 294ff.

- a) that range of theories that links development with capital accumulation (Harrod Domar et al). These models have not been found adequate for examining the long-term of low income countries as they are designed to examine the conditions required for sustained growth in high income industrialised countries. The capital-output ratio seems to have little applicability to low income countries;
- b) stages-of-growth approaches (particularly Rostow in recent times, but the approach echoes beginnings made as early as the Political Economists, eg, Ricardo). Here the factors making for economic growth are unspecified: the movement in income is largely unpredictable, useful only for ex post explanations.

As Lissner¹ points out:

"Aspirations of people in the Third World go beyond economic indicators to include political and cultural as well as social goals... Political, social and cultural development is not an automatic corollary of economic development; in fact, economic development may even worsen the prospects for such wider development factors."

Hence we must distinguish development (which encompasses the political, cultural and social goals of people in low income countries) from economic development (which stresses the overwhelming importance of raising the average level of real income per head). The former notion is an ethical one in which strong normative judgements are necessary. The values upon which these judgements are made need to be stated, as they relate strongly to distributive justice generally and welfare considerations in particular.

Economic development is an aspect of development. It looks at partial determinants of development, namely the growth in and change in composition and distribution of output (National Income), under the assumption that such measurements correlate with, or in some way repre-

¹ Lissner op cit p 20

sent, changes in the quality of social development. The term economic development contains its own value judgement which distinguishes it from a term like economic growth. Development is a term which is positively value laden. Economic development has often, then, been taken as some sort of proxy for or indicator of 'development' with all the attendant considerations which Lissner points to above.

In our initial consideration of the definition of the term development some final points need to be noted. Firstly, the term development has normally been used as a global concept. Given the geographical, cultural and political variations which operate between regions, however, the term needs to be viewed as regional-specific and historically conditioned. For example the notion of what constitutes distributive justice, in some respects a key consideration in development, will vary from country to country. It will probably vary within countries according to cultural standards and it may vary over time if the culture is dynamic.

Secondly, given this regional and historical variability the use of single factor approaches to economic development, or to the wider question of development must be questioned. Global theories of economic development which stress the agricultural sector, the control of population or industrialisation must be seen as partial approaches with limited applicability for any given region. The question of what conduces towards authentic development — development which is consistent with a society's history — will also vary from region to region and over time and cannot in principle be globally specified by a single-factor analytical tool nor circumscribed by a single set of value judgements.

With these caveats in mind we shall proceed to examine the recent critique of the notion of development, particularly the extent to which

its essentially ethical nature leaves us with quantifiable objectives which can be partially met by aid transfers.

Critique of the notion of development: We shall examine here aspects of the critique of the notion of development by discussing the views of two theorists, Goulet and White. We shall then discuss the dimension of liberation in development — a notion which will have relevance for a later chapter. From this we shall see the extent to which development poses quantifiable objectives and to what extent objectives may be non-quantifiable or increasingly quantifiable as the process of development continues.

The understanding of development: two views:

Goulet, in the paper referred to above claimed that the then current thinking about development was characterised by a general misunderstanding of the 'real issues' at stake. He listed three major causes of this misunderstanding¹.

Firstly, there was the haphazard growth of foreign aid. At various stages the aid debate has emphasised technical factors, outside experts, institutional reform and extra-economic factors. This had delayed the emergence of an understanding of development which would give first place to the values of a society and a subordinate role to the instruments by which agreed social change comes about (including the economic instruments).

Secondly, the countries of the Third World had had inadequate forums in which to say what they wanted to say. Better channels were being established through UNCTAD and regional conferences of Third World countries and a collective position was emerging which was belatedly conveying the message that development was "much more than mere industrialisation, modernisation, urbanisation," but a matter of

¹ Goulet op cit p4 - 13.

"lifestyles" as well — the claim of different cultures to equal respect.

Thirdly, there was a common view that underdevelopment existed only in the Third World. This, says Goulet, is indicative of ethnocentrism and 'self-righteousness' on the part of the "advanced" societies. The reality was that the Western democracies themselves were marked by severe disparities in income, wealth and access to decision-making processes. What is more, these high income countries had much to learn from the Third World about the quality of personal and societal relationships.

Goulet has contributed something to exposing the "real issues" in the development debate. Aid has undoubtedly clouded the issue of the relationship between rising real income and development. Since the most obvious effect of aid transfers is a change in economic structures, the transfers themselves and their effects have clouded a process which would have proceeded without them, namely the consideration by societies of possible and desirable social change.

Inadequate forums for the expression of the viewpoints of Third World countries have undoubtedly been a feature of the development debate in the past. Through the various UN sponsored forums, which have operated since UNCTAD I in Geneva, in addition to those multi-lateral agencies, regional political groupings (OAU, ASEAN) and economic blocs (OPEC) which have arisen in the last two decades, the collective voice of the Third World is being more effectively articulated. What Goulet did not point out, however, is that the expressed viewpoint of the poorest nations may not be the viewpoint of the poorest nor even the relatively poor majority within those nations. To the extent that the Third World is a sociological reality, rather than a geographical reality, the voice of the most poor may still not be adequately heard despite a proliferation of international agencies and forums.

Goulet's contention that there exist marginated minorities¹ within the high income countries shows a problem related to the above: to what extent are welfare considerations truly developmental as well? To what extent are developmental questions merely questions of welfare? Goulet does not raise the crucially important question of the political consciousness of the marginated in separating welfare from development. This point will be explored following a consideration of a second theorist, John White, whose views differ markedly from Goulet's.

White² defines development as a process of social change which increases the total benefits available (a requirement which is translatable into economic growth), which distributes benefits in accordance with need (a requirement which is translatable into equity) and which is sustainable.

White's critique of the notion of development is that it has been used as a device by governments in low income countries to give legitimacy to extreme policies. In the market economies of the Third World, "The poor were to get little or nothing because (they) had a high 'propensity to consume'... Increasing maldistribution of income was seen as an inherent feature of the early stages of development, and perhaps, (for the habit of mind tended to become ingrained) of the later stages also."

In the Socialist economies, "The poor were still to get little or nothing except some additional reading called a 'development plan'."³

¹ Those minority groups within a society who are forced by social structures (employment opportunities, availability of housing, education and other basic needs) to the physical, geographic and psychological margins of that society. Not all minorities are marginated but the marginated tend to comprise minority groups.

² White John The Politics of Foreign Aid The Bodley Head, London 1974 p 30ff.

³ White op cit p 29.

White notes that what are essentially tools of development (higher savings ratios, changed attitudes, etc) have often been mistaken for development itself.

White's definition of development, then, is designed to avoid obfuscation. Both the growth and the distributive elements are more-or-less quantifiable. These processes of social change, however, may not be sustainable. Sooner or later they come up against the opposition of older entrenched social values. Reconciliation of old and new social values is only possible

- a) if society is homogeneous in its present values — which is unlikely, or
- b) if there is an "autonomous communal will" which overrides individual opposition.

This, says White, is not always present. His conclusion from this is that not all societies can develop. Development (a sustainable process of social change) is possible only if sufficient will is present.

Whereas Goulet maintained that an understanding of the "real issues" in development will promote it, White's contention is that no understanding of the real issues can promote development if a society does not have the collective will to embark upon a process of social change. Goulet, of course, is speaking globally, while White is speaking of a specific society: moreover Goulet is less willing than White to give the preponderant emphasis in development to economic growth and distribution. What they point to are two crucial problems in the development debate: the need for an accurate analysis of social reality in isolating factors which promote development and a consensus for change in the community¹ affected.

¹ rather than nation state as Meier contends.

What brings these two dimensions together — the analysis of society and the need for a community consensus for change — is a new element in the debate which we characterised earlier in this chapter as liberationist. Liberation, as it relates to development begins from the analysis of the (presumed) dominance/dependence relationship which exists internationally between low income and high income countries (primarily through the medium of transnational corporations) and domestically between dominant and subservient classes and between geographical regions.

"Liberation calls attention to structures of exploitation against which the poor have to struggle with pain and sacrifice. Traditionally conceived, development implies a primarily positive, almost painless movement into the future. Developmentalists seem to assume a harmony of basic interests between rich and poor and rely heavily on moral suasion to change the rich. Liberation suggests people's actions on their own behalf, while for many people the notion of development connotes something which is done for the poor by the rich. Liberation implies, similarly a more existential and fluid idea of social change... The notion of development as it has been used over the past two decades seems blind to the fact that political, technological and economic power characteristically are not used in a benign way for the masses, but to enhance the interests of those already powerful." ¹

Liberation, in other words works with the ideas that

- structures are not value free;
- there is a political conflict of interest in the allocation of National Income;
- alternative structures are needed to ensure that gains from development flow to the poor instead of the rich.

Liberation, as it relates to development, implies the need for those who experience underdevelopment (particularly poverty) to build social structures which will make for equity in the distribution of income and authenticity in the mode of social change adopted by society. The

¹ Dickinson R.D.N. Shifting Elements in the Development Liberation Debate, Occasional Bulletin: Missionary Research Library, N.Y. Vol XXVI No 1, Jan - Feb 1976.

principle criterion of a liberationist perspective on development is that the people affected are the principle actors. Development is a phenomenon of groups with sufficient self-consciousness to act.

It is the dimension of liberation that perhaps best closes the apparent gap between Goulet and White. Analysis and the collective will to act are the *sine qua non* of development in the eyes of those who argue a liberationist point of view — factors stressed by Goulet and White respectively.

Development Goals: Quantifiable?

There is, as it appears from the above, a range of definitions of the term development. Theorists have used the term to translate a variety of values from the ethically abstract ("freedom", "liberation") through to the most commonplace ("increased benefits"). These different definitions also imply differing attitudes to the forces of social change and the weight to be given to various of its constituent elements (innovation, capital accumulation, "attitudes"). They also imply differing attitudes to a variety of sociological variables, for example, the existence of conflict of interest in society, the existence of laws of development, the role of technology in social change and the nature of the political process.

These differing views of development also hide substantially different value judgements about both the ends of the development process and the means. In some approaches the unstated assumption, for example, is that structures are value free. In other approaches the very focus of analysis is precisely the structures through which processes of social change occur. The very term development, it was pointed out above, involves a value judgement about certain processes of change. Attempts to make the term less evaluative, like narrowing the focus to economic development, have been countered by parallel attempts to make it more so, for example in the term "human development". Finally, it is un-

avoidable that a significant degree of evaluative judgement is involved in any usage of the term — even its basic identification with economic growth.

In the wide array of development ends, some, it has been claimed, are quantifiable. Some ends which are not quantifiable may, however, be able to be correlated with indexes which are so, traditionally the ending of poverty and economic growth. Some, it needs to be added, are patently not quantifiable.

Before isolating quantifiable ends in development, it needs to be borne in mind that some ends overlap with means. For example: equality in the distribution of income; the meeting of basic human needs; a rise in the "benefits" available to a society and self-reliance may all be ends to which the development process is directed. They may, however, all be means as well: equality — a means of meeting basic human needs, basic human needs — a strategy for achieving a further end — equity, and so on.

To the extent that development goals are universal and lack specificity (freedom, liberation, authentic¹ political structures, etc) they tend to be non-evaluable. Conversely, to the extent to which they are evaluable they tend to be technically specific and often lacking necessary ethical dimensions. Both ends and means are perhaps best specified case by case rather than globally.

Basic to this is the assumption that communities undergoing social change of a developmental kind are able to specify goals — even if limited ones — and to evaluate them. The development problem is partly the problem of consultation, specification of the parameters and specifying norms for evaluation.

¹ consistent, that is, with the people's history, culture and shared perceptions.

Development is regional-specific, culture specific and specific as to different systems of social ethics. Some of the aims of development and some of the strategies can be reconciled with the wide variation of ethical and other systems within which people live. Apart from this, what is a quantifiable variable, relevant to development for a specific community, may not be relevant to another community undergoing parallel processes of social change. For example, for a community in Kampuchea, the degree to which raw economic growth statistics reflect accurately the community's perception of its own development may be very high: in a village in the Philippines it may be very low.

With this in mind the following are an unranked sample of what may, at different times, be used as a partial quantification of development for various communities in the Third World: growth of income or benefits, distribution of same, other indicators of equity, the meeting of basic human needs for different sectors — especially the poorest, the extent to which further social change accords with inherited value systems (authenticity), self-reliance in the face of external structures of domination.

For certain communities, under certain circumstances, and at different times, any of the above may be used as a partial indicator of the achievement of development goals. At the risk of over-generalising, it is not unfair to say that a significant misdirection of energies has occurred in development theory in essentially fruitless attempts to universalise the goals, means and evaluative tools of development. Some may be relevant in some communities some of the time. It is impossible that any will be globally valid over time.

Under some circumstances, then, it is possible to specify proxy measures of physical change which can be consistently related, for at least part of the process, to concepts of development which are

strongly normative. Economic growth, as was stated above, is not the only proxy measure available. Indeed, there are strong reasons for avoiding it as an indicator at all under most circumstances. (It is accompanied by negative social and economic costs which are very difficult to evaluate ex ante and which may undercut the "cultural...and social goals" (Lissner) posited above. Additionally, it is, in many Third World countries, a very dubious index even to compile. Much of the national product does not enter the market and that which does often has misleading price weightings). Conventional growth measures are often used as if these problems, long recognised though they have been, were minor. Even where the difficulties are acknowledged the fact that the concept is heavily value-laden is sometimes overlooked.

Economic ends and economic means in development are partially calculable. Of particular importance here are welfare and distribution as both play key roles in most models of development.

Political ends and means play a complementary role here. To the extent that development involves the collective will of a community to specify for itself goals of social change and the means of moving towards these it will involve political processes. Basic to the process of political action is the ability of the subjects to enter into the decision-making processes which govern change. Participation in meaningful political dialogue which has outcomes in the social and economic realms is an important component of development, and, importantly for our purposes, is, in principle, partially quantifiable.

Finally, it bears pointing out that some goals may not be specifiable at the beginning of a process of social change which is developmental, but become specifiable and quantifiable as that process continues. A community which is becoming increasingly conscious of itself, of the possibilities of development and of the means of reaching goals

which it sets itself is hardly static. In a dynamic community goals may become clearer over time. Initial goals may become clearer and initially unrecognised possibilities may emerge and be adopted as new goals, particularly where the community remains integrated and does not fragment under the impact of modernisation. Drawing on an analogy, it is as if a linear program of change becomes curvilinear as the data acquired in moving from one point to another allows the final goals and the means of achieving them to be better specified and changed. To recapitulate: to a large extent the very wide diversity of viewpoints on the meaning of, the goals of and the appropriate tools for development reflects the tendency to universalise concept which should be seen as regional and culture specific. To a certain extent it reflects as well the readiness to utilise measurements of physical change as indexes of development in circumstances or at times when they may not be appropriate.

Our contention is that final and intermediate goals of development, as well as the means by which these are achieved, need to be examined on what amounts to a case by case basis if the intention of specifying them is to determine their quantifiability. There is, of course, a value in speaking of development goals as universal and of specifying general norms for them. These are often of very limited use in specific instances, however, except as a rough indicator of the range of norms available or the possible positive and negative values of the developmental tools to hand.

Development is a process. It follows that perceptions change as the process continues and data accumulates. An authentic development path — one which is consistent with the history and the aspirations of the community affected — may involve an alteration in direction as time progresses and both (the range of) ends and (the effects of) means become clearer.

In this final section of the first chapter we shall isolate those aspects of the development debate which are necessary for a specifically Christian viewpoint — or at least to grasp the limits of the range of Christian viewpoints — on development. In subsequent chapters we shall examine a model of resources transfer which arises from Christian experiences of the development debate. Some knowledge of the origins of this viewpoint is necessary for grounding this examination.

The Christian participation in development, especially in the work of voluntary aid agencies is, of course, a sub-set of the participation of the non-government organisations (NGOs) generally. The range of NGO viewpoints is much wider than the range of Christian viewpoints on development. This reflects the common ethical base of the Christian churches and the way in which this has manifested itself in concrete historical circumstances.

We examined above the extent to which development can be considered an economic concept. The simple answer is that it can be located within economics to any extent desired. More concretely, however, particularly as in later chapters we shall be examining the transfer of material resources, we need to examine how useful for our analysis are those economic aspects of the development question which are quantifiable for a study centering on specifically Christian perspectives.

It is important to note that those aspects of the development question which emphasise the ethical and which are less quantifiable are the aspects which have been of particular interest to Christian theorists. Certainly the increases in general welfare or the distribution of the benefits flowing from development have been a long-term concern of such theorists. Equally important, however, have been the non-economic aspects of development — development as a means of institutionalising co-operative action, development as a methodology of

communal self-reliance in the provision of basic needs and development as the focus for a range of global concerns (peace, disarmament, the Food question, etc).

As we shall see in later chapters where the work of Catholic agencies working in the Pacific will be examined, the very looseness of the term has allowed it to be used virtually as a catch-all term to describe a wide range of ends which specific agencies have wanted to achieve. Whereas development is normally conceived as having important non-economic components, in much Catholic writing the economic component seems to wither away to vanishing point and development is used to describe what amounts to an anticipated higher stage of human development, more the outcome of an evolving social ethics than the emergence simply of more complicated economic relationships.

The Catholic Church has a long history of involvement in what is now called the development question. Before the Second World War there was a variety of mission enterprises in all parts of the world. Much of this enterprise involved the extension of the education system and the consolidation of the local infrastructure. It is interesting to note that a significant proportion of the funds of Catholic development agencies is still allocated to the two key areas in church mission or former mission areas (eg, Papua New Guinea, West Africa).

Catholic Church interest following the Second World War was broadened by two significant factors:

- a) the increasing realisation of the extent of global problems like the arms race, world hunger and the large gap between the living standards of (what were then called) developed and underdeveloped countries, and
- b) growing contact with non-Catholic churches and, from 1968 onwards co-operative effort with the World Council of Churches specifically

on the area of development.

The experience of the First Development Decade was important for various Catholic church agencies for several reasons. Firstly, it focussed on causes and possible resolutions of the problems of underdevelopment. This gave the church agencies a rationale for an entirely new approach to their constituents. Agency-constituency relationships began to be conceived of as two-way, as agencies developed the skills in educating those who supported them in the then current analysis of the causes and possible cures of the vast global problems to which the First Development Decade had directed their attention.

The First Development Decade was important, too, in that it was the basis of a sharper focussing of the questions which it raised. The First Development Decade had been centred on the idea that the problems of underdevelopment were

- a) soluble, and
- b) soluble through applying to poor countries essentially the same economic policies which had contributed so much to the general rise in income in the Western democracies.

The general dissatisfaction with the results of that period led to a fresh evaluation of the causes and extent of underdevelopment.

It is not surprising, for example, that the World Council of Churches in the closing days of the First Development Decade set up two additional funds to address the global problems connected with underdevelopment and to do it in a new way. The Ecumenical Development Fund and the Program to Combat Racism were based on different premises from the programs which had serviced with World Council of Churches' work in the 1960s. Promoting regional economic development was no longer the rationale behind the Church's efforts here: rather, attention was shifting to what could loosely be called patterns of domination as a

cause of underdevelopment. A logical consequence was that throughout the entire period of the Second Development Decade, the World Council of Churches made significant cash grants to revolutionary movements in Southern Africa. Support for political action was seen as the logical focus of development.

Catholic experience of the First Development Decade led to a similar disenchantment with the growth-oriented development models which were so much a feature of that period. This disquiet was articulated in an important Synod of the Catholic Church in 1971, at the beginning of the Second Development Decade. The Statement which came out of this Synod was entitled not Development, but significantly, 'Justice in the World'. It affirmed a number of "principles of development" which have been influential on Catholic thinking on development in the years since the Synod. These "principles of development" are statements on the way societies "should" develop. They include the following:

- people should not be hindered from developing according to their own culture,
- each people should, in principle, be the chief architect of its own development,
- equality should be the mark of international co-operation for development.¹

Additionally, there is a strong emphasis in the document on

- 1 the need to restructure the chief international agencies to ensure "justice" (equal treatment regardless of the economic power of nations) for low income countries,
- 2 the need to improve the "quality" as distinct from the quantity of

¹ Land P Justice in the World: an Overview second edition, Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, Rome.

aid. An idea of basic human needs as an end of the development process is envisaged here,

3 the need to favour multilateral over bilateral forms of funding in foreign aid.

Out of the Catholic Church's reflection on the experience of the First Development Decade (particularly as articulated in the 1971 Synod 'Justice in the World') came a new expression of the Church's understanding of development. It is based on the premise that people ought not to have forms of development forced onto them. Development strategies ought not to be worked out by distant decision makers unaware of the economic and social realities specific to a particular region. Rather, the people affected should, in principle, be the ones who identify both the ends and the means of the development strategy. It is upon this premise that the understanding of development which became operative in the Second Development Decade was based. It is a premise which yields an understanding of development which has been called "human development".

If we begin with Denis Goulet's definition of development¹:

"Development covers a complex series of interrelated change processes by which a social system moves away from patterns of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory and less human towards alternative patterns perceived as more satisfactory and more human."

we could add something like the following to accord with the general understanding of the term in Catholic circles:

The mechanism of such a movement should, having regard to the right of people to be involved in the key decisions which affect their lives, involve the greatest possible participation² of the communities affected in identifying

¹ Goulet Denis The Cruel Choice — A New Concept in the Theory of Development, Atheneum, N.Y. 1971 p 332.

² the greatest possible participation, that is, consistent with the maximum level of achievement of development goals, necessary delegation and full accountability.

the goals of development and in the strategies by which these should be achieved.

What is not stated here, of course, is the way in which communities can be consulted on social change and the way in which the possibilities of development can be explicated. The role of the agent of social change is crucial here and, a point we shall take up later, anything but neutral.

Catholic debate over the First Development Decade and over the issues which were discussed at the above mentioned Synod found its most articulate expression in a world view which lay the blame for the plight of the world's poor at the feet of unequal relationships, particularly unequal trading relationships between nations. Barbara Ward, for example, an advisor to the Synod and possibly the best known Catholic theorist in the field, argues that the problems related to underdevelopment are most profitably examined from a global perspective. The strategy she suggests for responding to them is a set of radically restructured international agencies with a mandate to shift what is seen as a bias (in trading relationships) in favour of the rich countries to something better approaching equality. Positive discrimination in favour of poor countries has been taken up as well in the proposals put forward for a New International Economic Order, and church related agencies have done much work in trying to build up a constituency in the high income countries in favour of the proposals of the Group of 77.

While Barbara Ward concentrates on the relationships between nations, we indicated above that the current preference in Catholic thought on development is to analyse it in terms of communities (sub-systemic components). This is not a contradiction, but an extension of the dominance/dependency model which Ward¹ argues for. It is, as we

¹ Ward Barbara The Angry Seventies Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, Rome 1972.

shall see again in subsequent chapters, a world view which the Catholic agencies of the Pacific rim countries find very useful in describing both the origins of and the strategies for overcoming underdevelopment.

The current view of those economic relationships in the world which make for underdevelopment which is operative in Catholic Church agencies today derives from the debate which was initiated by the evaluation of the First Development Decade. As articulated by Barbara Ward and others, it is basically a dominance/dependency model which links underdevelopment and its attendant problems (hunger, poverty, illiteracy, etc) with the dominant position of the high income countries, their (perceived) preferential access to resources and markets and their (perceived) ability to dictate the terms of trading relationships.

By and large, this view has been further refined to take account of the dominance/dependency relationship which is seen to exist between local communities and urban elites in the Third World, or between the urban poor and the urban middle class and wealthy. The implications of this will be examined in chapter two. For the moment it is sufficient to state that there is a broad consensus in Catholic agencies (and in other NGOs — in Australia at least) having links with the Pacific, that this model fits with their experience and is a useful starting point both for project selection and the education of their constituency.

This broad consensus on the meaning of development and the ways this can be used to provide a world view underlying project selection and to inform development education¹ have been influenced as well by

¹ The agency must divide its energy between raising money and disbursing it. Both will be governed by some philosophy relating to the domestic constituency and the needs of the recipients. The domestic constituency, however, may not realise the real needs of the recipients. Here agencies play a role in raising the awareness of their constituents about the nature of underdevelopment and the role of particular projects in countering underdevelopment. Such a process is called Development Education. It should not be confused with Western assistance to education systems in low income countries — a usage

what were described above as liberationist theories of development to which further reference will be made here. This school of thought, though the way it has been influential in some of the countries in which Catholic agencies operate has come to have a significant influence both on the world view of agencies and hence on the strategies they adopt for development programs. Development, as Gutierrez, the great Latin American theorist of liberation says, is part of the broader theme of liberation:

"Liberation expresses the aspirations of oppressed peoples and social classes, emphasising the conflictual aspect of the economic, social and political process which puts them at odds with wealthy nations and oppressive classes... The issue of development does in fact find its true place in the more universally profound and radical perspective of liberation. It is only within this framework that development finds its true meaning and possibilities of accomplishing something worthwhile." ¹

Liberation, as it relates to development, adds an overtly conflictual dimension to theories of development, emphasising the irreconcilability of class interests in development and the conflict over societal goals that finds expression in the debate over national development strategies.

For our purposes the chief interest in liberationist perspectives of development is in the role of agents of social change. Liberation perspective reinforce a tendency already at work in Catholic agencies' models of social change, namely that communities themselves should be encouraged to articulate their own desired development ends and to choose the development means. For communities to become aware of the possibilities of development and to have a realistic assessment of the

common in North America. See Burns R Development Education as a Key to the Understanding of Social Processes and Problems: Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University.

¹ Gutierrez G A Theology of Liberation Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y. 1973 p 36.

means by which these possibilities can be realised, there is a need for the people embarking on such processes of social change to have their collective consciousness raised, both as to ends and means. This is the origin of the concept conscientisation¹, a mass movement for peasant literacy begun by the Brazilian educationalist, Freire². As we shall see, in the thinking of Catholic agencies operating in the Pacific, the role of the change agent is crucial, and structures through which he can operate (particularly in facilitating conscientisation among communities facing social change) are seen as an important priority for funding.

Before leaving this general consideration of the question of development and the way these thought forms manifest themselves in the Catholic agencies which we shall be considering in later chapters, we shall state summarily what seems to be the operative norms for these agencies. To a large degree these norms derive from, or coincide with official Catholic thinking, eg, the 1971 Synod of Bishops' Statement "Justice in the World". This official approach stresses structural injustice in trading relationships between high income and low income countries and urges a remedy in strengthening international agencies, particularly specialised agencies of the UN, in combatting them. It is open to a dominance/dependency interpretation and has been used within church agencies to buttress precisely this world view. Significantly, however, Catholic thinking in the area, particularly among the agencies

¹ "By means of an unalienating and liberating 'cultural action' which links theory with praxis, the oppressed person perceives — and modifies — his relationship with the world and with other people. He thus makes the transfer from a 'naive awareness' — which does not deal with problems, gives too much value to the past, tends to accept mythical explanations and tends towards debate — to a 'critical awareness' — which delves into problems, is open to new ideas, replaces magical explanations with real causes and tends to dialogue..." Gutierrez, op cit p91.

² Freire P Pedagogy of the Oppressed Penguin, London 1972

with which we shall be concerned, have been influenced by South American liberationist perspectives on development, either directly or through the way these thought-forms have manifested themselves in the Asian agencies with which Western agencies have worked.

Norms for development, as they appear among Church agencies, relate more to facilitating the optimum choice among aid receiving communities. As White points out¹ the question is not so much "What is development?" as "What are the developmental choices open to community x in period y?" Global norms state the ethical parameters of the debate: norms for actual project selection centre on the challenge of facilitating optimum choices among a variety of ends and means. Extending the range both of ends and means may be part of this process, but the focus is upon facilitating the choice, and the chief norm operative here is that the communities affected ought to do the choosing.

This norm will have significance for our study. It will be seen that it dominates the way in which agencies which we examine make their selection of projects and undertake ex post evaluation.

¹ White J op cit p 31

CHAPTER THREE

THE NON-GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT AIMS

In this chapter we shall examine the development aims of the non-government agencies (NGOs) in Australia. Beginning with the way in which the agency views itself and its specific long-term and short-term aims in development, we shall proceed to examine the different views which agencies have had of the means by which the development problem could be addressed. The modal view, we shall see, is of a world in which dominance/dependence relationships operate. For some agencies, however, this model has become only a first approximation and the operative model is a far more refined version which rests on an examination of the sociology of the country in question. The actual stated aims of agencies will be looked at and it will be seen that these aims have been broadened by new methods of project selection and implementation. Following that, we shall focus on the actual recipients of aid and their role in the relationship, particularly their role in shaping the world-view of the donor agency. Focussing again on the intra-agency variables we shall examine the mechanism by which the overall aims of the agency are determined and updated. Finally, as in chapter one, we shall examine the specifically Christian aspects relevant to some agencies and the impact on agency aims of recent developments in Christian thought and practice.

The agency view of its task in development:

Lissner, in his book, "The Politics of Altruism"¹ makes some remarks about the self-perception of the Church related agencies in the US which

¹ Lissner J op cit p 27ff

are highly pertinent to an examination of the recent histories of NGOs in Australia. The following is a summary of his views which will be useful in examining how applicable his observations are to agency work in Australia.

He begins by outlining the range of consciousness which exists among the agencies in the Northern hemisphere. The following is a partial representation of the operative range of viewpoints.

It was taken by him from World Council of Churches sources¹.

RANGE OF RESPONSES TO "WORLD HUNGER" BY AGENCIES

	1	2	3
<i>problem</i>	famine	underdevelopment	exploitation
<i>need</i>	more food	more development	more equity
<i>visual image</i>	starving child	floods / parched earth	wealthy landowner / First World con- sumption
<i>remedy</i>	relief	assistance for self-help	fundamental changes in the socio-economic order
<i>Christian motive</i>	charity	sharing / service	justice
<i>lifestyle response</i>	give surplus money	give money, aid; raise own under- standing	abroad: support peoples' movements home: political education, pressure
<i>long-term consequence</i>	dependence	self-reliance	shift of power and wealth
<i>variation on the proverb</i>	give hungry person fish	teach hungry person how to fish	stop polluting the stream, let fish- erman have market

Read from left to right, the chart outlines a type of 'spiritual pilgrimage' both of agencies, in their analysis of the problems of world hunger and development generally, and of individuals in high income

¹ One World No 12 December 1975, World Council of Churches, Geneva p 21

countries. The columns are not mutually exclusive: they point to where individuals in their analysis, and agencies in their actions place their priorities.

This 'spiritual pilgrimage' represents a loose welfare function as well as a measurement of development. The two meet at some point as welfare and development both stem from people's perceptions of their own needs and the way in which they order them. No cardinal measure of welfare is implied here, of course, as quantification has no basis in Lissner's indicative table. What it does give is an NGO index relevant for certain societies at certain times by which project aims and methods could be evaluated.

On the other hand Meier points out¹ that economic development and social welfare are distinct concepts, having, he implies, no necessary correlation.

"For the process of development has a profound impact on social institutions, habits and beliefs, and it is likely to introduce a number of sources of tension and discord. Some aspects of human welfare might suffer if relations that were once personal became impersonal, the structure and functions of the family change, the stability in one's way of life is disrupted, and the support and assurance of traditional values disappear. Tensions also arise when the inequalities in income distribution, both among individuals and among regions in the developing country, tend to increase: when development creates "open unemployment", as well as employment, and when the pressures of excessive urbanisation occur..."

Lissner's chart, then, also shows how considerations of welfare, in Meier's terms² can come to have priority over considerations of economic development in the thinking of agencies, or rather, welfare can be

¹ Meier op cit p 8 - 9.

² though it needs to be noted that clear distinctions between social welfare and economic development may be undergirt by too strong a distinction between economic and other social variables. Meier is groping for a more robust definition of development. Our term, human development, see below, may provide this.

a better expression of what agencies are attempting to promote than economic development.

There is, among some agencies in Australia, a tendency to re-evaluate the types of response which contribute to a solution of the problems of underdevelopment in the low-income countries (LICs). Among these agencies there is a tendency to view development goals as situated within the broader context of welfare goals. Development is achievable only to the extent that social structures are able to be changed by the people affected. The role of the donor country agency is to support those agents of social change in the recipient country which have the best chance of effecting structural change.

This drift to the right-hand side of the chart has not been absent either from the thinking of the official (governmental) aid donors.

"Convinced of the need for the new approaches being advocated by partisans of 'alternative development strategies' in the earlier 1970s, many of them plunged into a new brand of project activity that was determined to get down to the grass-roots, sidestep traditional status and authority structures, involve the locals and make sure benefits did indeed reach the neediest. Moreover, many project designers were seized afresh with the inter-relatedness of everything in developing country countryside: they sensed a need, not for working on single sectors, let alone single inputs, but for comprehensive local planning..."¹

Or again, speaking of the role of human rights in development, the DAC acknowledges that

"it (Human Rights) interpenetrates questions of equity and participation that, as it were, are permanently docketed on donor agenda. Moreover, the greatest hazard that the injection of human rights considerations into aid operations runs, namely ethnocentrism, is greatest under the arrangement we now, by default follow, ie, unco-ordinated bilateral action. There is, in fact, a universal common denominator core of human rights concern that extends across most of the world, including most of the Third World."²

¹ Lewis J Development Co-operation DAC Report 1979, OECD p 54.

² Ibid

Naturally, the way in which an official development agency would see the inter-relatedness of development and structural change would differ from the way in which an NGO would view it, especially in the light of the latter's greater flexibility. It is notable, however, that the official agencies do acknowledge the necessity for structural change and, as a consequence, a change in delivery systems, if the aims are to be better met.

Two types of aid:

Lissner calls the type of aid which is aimed at structural change 'structural aid', and other types of aid (columns 1, 2) 'resource aid'¹. Even discounting for the fact that

a) structural aid is defined with respect to ends and resource aid with respect to means, and

b) that structural aid has a resource content,

one can see the point he is making. He is distinguishing between aid, the purpose of which is the reform of social structures and aid which has as its purpose the immediate relief of the problems (poverty, inequality, etc) themselves, regardless (in the extreme form) of the mechanism by which these problems are generated.

We shall designate them as Type A aid and Type B aid. Type A aid has as its purpose the identification of the causes of poverty in the LICs, particularly the structural causes — those inherent in formalised societal relationships — and the alteration of such structures in order to lessen and finally eliminate these causes.

Type B aid concentrates not on the causes but on the phenomena of poverty in the LICs. It aims to eliminate these problems by equipping people with the means of solving them (ie, with resources) regardless of the social structures.

¹ Lissner op cit p 279 - 80.

This distinction between type A and type B aid is, of course, a generalisation. Many exceptions can be found. At the level of Official Development Assistance, especially with the largest multilateral bodies it is probably unreal. With NGOs, however, it is a clear outcome of historical forces. Most NGOs were set up with a specific relief function in mind. Many have adopted clearly distinguishable functions subsequently. Obviously some change in the way aid is thought of has occurred. This changed way of thinking is best represented, in most cases, by reference to a recognition of the structural causes of underdevelopment and hence of appropriate methods of countering these causes. Where type B aid had been the standard type of response with NGOs, a number of tensions can be identified, the chief ones being:

- historical: relief was the *raison d'etre* of most of these agencies from the start. Once a pattern of operation which is perceived as successful is established within an agency, it normally requires very powerful reasons to change it;
- political: type B aid is almost universally recognised in the high income countries (HICs) as the 'obvious', 'effective' way of meeting the manifold problems of poverty in the LICs. A switch to different methods (via different projects and delivery systems) would threaten to (indeed has sometimes succeeded in) alienate the domestic constituency;
- intellectual: the understanding of the way in which structures cause or exacerbate poverty in the LICs has, until comparatively recently, been lacking. Although there is now a body of literature on it, there is obviously a time lag between recognition and new modes of action.

The slow steady growth in the provision of type A aid by some Australian agencies has been achieved in particular under the influence of an increasing quantity and quality of contacts between agency personnel and counterparts in the LICs. Particular agencies in the LICs of course, have their own difficulties in breaking with past stereotypes in development action. They are themselves often the victims of their own history (particularly their own past 'successes'), constituency and decision making processes, not to mention the political structures within which they have to operate. Despite this, though, an increasing number of people in agencies in the LICs in the region serviced by Australian agencies are calling for an increase in type A aid in preference to type B. The initiative comes predominantly from the overseas partners. Although constrained by the often conservative outlook of agencies in the HICs, the total effect of the pressure applied by overseas agencies is such that it is having an increasing impact on the projects selected by, and, as we shall see later, the delivery systems adopted by some agencies in the high income countries.

Mechanisms for refining the aims and mechanisms of agencies¹:

The aims of agencies in the field of overseas development vary. For agencies with extensive contacts in the LICs and the ability to be

¹ A note on sources: Very little has been published in Australia on the aims and methods of the NGOs. Some work has been done overseas, notably by the World Council of Churches and the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), both based in Geneva. The best insights into the workings of the British voluntary agencies is probably best obtained through the New Internationalist (funded by a number of them). The only organisation in this country which regularly publishes materials on NGOs is the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA). But even here, little work has been done on priority setting within agencies, or on the way agency aims have changed over time. Some work has been done on the volume, direction and composition of aid but has not been published. The author has worked for and with a number of voluntary agencies in Australia. Assertions and reflections which are unsupported by written evidence derive from that experience, particularly from participation in Committee and sub-committee meetings, attendance at seminars, Council

flexible in the choice of projects and the type of delivery system, the specific project aim can be modified rapidly under the influence of pressure applied by overseas partners.

To a certain extent, the means by which agency aims can be modified depend on what mechanisms there are within the agency to do this. By aims we mean, firstly, the long-term global aim of the agency which is of primary importance in projecting its image in the domestic country (eg, "fighting world hunger", "solving the refugee problem", "ending underdevelopment"). These long-term general aims are important as well in defining the parameters for the selection and evaluation of projects as well as the type of overseas advice to which the agency is open. An agency concerned with the development dimensions of the world food problem, for example, will, in any journey to the right hand side of Lissner's chart, seek to influence social structures in LICs that have particular relevance to the problems of food production and distribution.

Secondly, by aims, we mean the specific aims for a particular program of the agency. These are the ways in which the global aims of the agency (above) are specified for particular programs. Here it is of paramount importance that proper mechanisms exist for bringing the best analysis to bear on how a specific proposal (project or program) can meet a perceived need (a specific situation of underdevelopment). Specifying aims (with respect to the particular programs for the donor agency) then, is a matter of defining what configuration of resources is necessary to meet a certain defined problem. Aims for particular programs can change in accordance with the way the local reality is perceived. The central role of the recipient agency is obvious, as it

Meetings and lectures. A number of people currently or formerly working for voluntary agencies in Australia have also been consulted. Some of what follows is based, then, on oral communication, the rest from reflection on work experience

is this latter agency, or intermediary which has, in type A aid situations, the greatest say in what that reality is.

It follows that donor agencies need mechanisms for incorporating the input of recipient agencies on both the social reality and the development needs of the low income regions in which the latter (and through them the former!) work.

The more efficient these mechanisms are, the more responsive will be the aims and methods of donor agencies to the needs of recipients.

The growing importance of type A aid has indeed, as we shall see in chapters four and five, had its impact on the aims of agencies in the donor countries. The more these agencies have come into formal and informal contact with the counterpart agency in LICs, the more their decision making mechanisms have altered to incorporate the new quality of data being provided. Consultation with LIC agencies on all projects is now standard for some agencies. For some, including the Partnership which will be the specific focus of chapter four, both consultation with and the approval of the recipient agency is necessary before a project can proceed.

One of the characteristics of NGOs is that their global aims are made specific to different projects and programs in different ways. For agencies which have made the "spiritual pilgrimage" (which, of course, is an intellectual pilgrimage as well) from the left to the right of Lissner's chart, the specifying of particular project aims will be inseparable from significant input from LIC partners. Structural change can hardly be attempted without the analysis of those affected, and those affected can only be consulted through their intermediary, the counterpart agency.

Some agencies in Australia are now seeing their task increasingly as the effective consultation of the LIC clients through the medium of the LIC partner agency. Only where the task of effective consultation is taken seriously will the general, global task be met.

The more this consultation proceeds, the more these agencies are coming to favour type A aid which emphasises the reform of social structures within both the recipient and the donor country, structures which are the cause of poverty.

Changing view of the world:

The aims in development which an agency, from time to time sets itself, is partly dependent on the view it has of the nature of the development problem, or more broadly, the view it has of the world. Changing aims, in fact have followed a changing world-view, and the evolution of new methods of project selection and delivery systems have followed on new interpretations of the underlying causes of underdevelopment.

Some agencies, it needs to be noted, have little interest in a comprehensive world-view. Their interest is rather in the phenomena to which they respond — hunger, illiteracy, etc. For a minority of agencies, however, the phenomena of underdevelopment must be analysed causally if the satisfaction of people's basic needs is to be achieved¹.

These latter agencies have been influenced by a number of recent ideas in the literature of development. The most notable have been, firstly, that set of ideas centering on the impact of neo-colonialism, and, secondly, that set which focusses upon the political preconditions for development.

¹ which analysis makes sense only if there is some link between the wealth of the HICs and the poverty of the LICs, a proposition generally accepted in NGOs; see below.

Neo-colonialism as a factor in the agency's world view:

Neo-colonialism explains the persistence of underdevelopment in terms of a dependent relationship of low-income countries on high-income countries. It has been stated in many different forms, most notably, perhaps, in Prebisch's formulation¹, but also in Marxist terms². In broad terms, this set of ideas proposes that some of the chief characteristics of the colonialist era have persisted in the international economic structures which have been left behind. These include:

- the greater amplitude of export-price variation for LICs than for HICs, the latter set of countries being, in the main, more industrialised;
- the easier access to investment capital which the HICs have;
- the bias in the structure of HIC tariffs which discriminates against the processing of raw materials in the LICs.

There is a tendency in this type of analysis to see the trading world as a set of blocs pitted one against the other — the HICs holding the whip hand. It is essentially a simple view, and, particularly as it has been championed by some of the UN agencies (most notably UNCTAD, of which Prebisch is the former Secretary-General), one that has been seized on by most of the development agencies in this country.

The solution to patterns of underdevelopment which derive from neo-colonialist economic relationships consists mainly in a reform of international trade. Agencies that have been most influenced by the centre-periphery argument of UNCTAD, or its most recent re-formulation

¹ Di Marco L.E. International Economics and Development: Essays in Honor of Raul Prebisch Academic Press, N.Y. 1972, p 3 - 12.

² see Pettman's summary of dependencia analysis, Pettman Ralph, State and Class: A Sociology of International Affairs Croom Helm, London 1979 p 157ff.

in the Brandt Report¹ have emphasised both in their project selection and their domestic development education, the effects of unjust trading relationships in perpetuating poverty.

The prime example of this in recent times is the general support given to the NIEO proposals by Australian agencies. The Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, were proclaimed in UN General Assembly Resolution No 3201 and 3202. They constitute a call for stabilised commodity trading agreements between countries, the indexation of the prices of the chief primary products and a continuation of international trade liberalisation. Monetary reforms and the activities of the TNCs have also received attention. The NIEO proposals, being an analysis in economic terms of the persistence of world poverty which has the advantage of being simple yet factual have had a profound influence on the activities of most NGOs in Australia. Faulty or unjust trading structures, the lack of access to international markets, the shortage of capital for industrialisation and the fragility of the market for commodities are commonly seen as the underlying set of reasons leading to the underdevelopment of countries.

Popular though this explanation has been with the NGOs, there has been increasing concern in some agencies² that underdevelopment can be better understood in the context of the political struggle between regions and classes within nations — that international trade as the focus of underdevelopment can distract attention from factors which are more capable of being successfully addressed.

¹ North-South: A Program for Survival Report of the Independent Commission on International Issues (Chairman Willy Brandt) Pan, London, 1980.

² See Development News Digest No 24, June 1978, ACFOA, Canberra, p 8f, p 15f.

Pettman, for example, speaks of the class supremacy in poor states as a more relevant concern in examining the poverty of the periphery.

"One becomes aware of the symbiotic socio-economic 'colonies' actually *within* the state, all the more evident where pre-capitalist conditions still prevail, sustained and intensified, as they have been, by the impact of core states and an expanding world market... Those who rule attempt to consolidate their position by connecting financial political, professional and security elements into a self-sustaining network that in sufficiently concrete instances constitutes a 'political class' ...

Poor countries are still largely agricultural, but agricultural endeavour has not been untouched by the expansion of the West, which has involved even the most remote regions in the world capitalist economy. Peasants and tenant cultivators work smallholdings in feudal or communal circumstances quite different from those of rich states, but there are wide variations also from state to state across the Third World".

He speaks of the common features of the (non socialist) peripheral countries as

- "1 the predominance of agrarian capitalism in the national sector;
- 2 the creation of a local, mainly merchant, bourgeoisie in the wake of dominant foreign capital;
- 3 a tendency towards a peculiar bureaucratic development, specific to the contemporary periphery and
- 4 the incomplete specific character of the phenomenon of proletarianisation."

The general effect of these has been

"...growing inequality in the social distribution of income and growing unemployment within an integrated world system that supports...a bourgeois world society." ¹

More conservative writers, too, have attempted to move the focus of attention away from world trade as the engine of poverty in the periphery.

Currie directs our attention to the "failure to resolve internal problems" in the Third World.

"The use of emotionally charged words should not lead us away from the central point that it is not the trade between

¹ Pettman op cit p 162-3

developed and developing countries that is the villain of the piece, but rather the failure to resolve internal problems which the developed countries have already resolved (!). This is not to say that on occasion the infant industry argument for protection, or under-utilised resources argument, or the argument for the provision of special stimuli to exports is not valid. But in most cases these are only a few of the weapons in our arsenal, and not the most important... It is particularly unfortunate that writers associated with the United Nations have given such emphasis to the 'victimisation' of developing by developed countries, because this provides indolent statesmen in developing countries with a respectable excuse for not espousing necessary but unpopular policies at home." ¹

The Brandt Report notes the disquiet of some theorists here, especially on the question of the distribution of wealth, but turns the argument round to press again for 'high quality' economic growth:

"For most developing countries of Africa and Asia, the seeming failure to distribute wealth is a symptom of a deeper distress which many of them do not have the resources to tackle. Their rate of growth in the last two decades — less than 3% per year — has not been enough to make much difference to the poor... Virtually all these countries have two-thirds or more of their workers in agriculture, and all of them rely heavily on exporting raw materials. These are among the chief economic causes of their slow growth." ²

The Report notes the debate in order to pass on. The point it raises, however, and the other points raised above (political aspects of under-development) find increasing acceptance among the NGOs in Australia (and in other countries as well. The interested reader might consult The New Internationalist, ICDA News, Multinational Monitor and the host of other publications which seek to popularise the views of the overseas voluntary agencies). It is increasingly the way they construct reality and the interest for us in this paper is not so much whether such views are true as whether they are acted on. Many NGOs, in other words, now focus on local structures of domination which, though they may have been present in a country for many years, are held to acquire

¹ Currie Lauchlin Accelerating Development: The Necessity and the Means McGraw Hill Book Co, N.Y. 1966 p 49.

² Brandt (Chairman) op cit p 51.

a new urgency today as Third World countries become increasingly locked into an international system over which the poorest are said to have less control than with a closed economic system.¹

Speaking of the problems which local structures pose for Official Development Assistance, Mehmet states quite bluntly:

"As presently structured, the international aid system is a wasteful and inappropriate mechanism for promoting egalitarian development in most LDCs because the supply of aid and technical assistance is channelled through governmental and political machinery not always dedicated to the ideals of social justice. Where this machinery is controlled by self-seeking elites *they* end up as the principal gainers of aid, rather than the poor and needy groups. So long as the donors cannot *directly* approach and deliver aid to the target population, the international aid system is unlikely to become an effective instrument for egalitarian development."²

Local structures imperil the safety of delivery systems designed to aid the poor. This argument has almost as much force for the NGOs as for the official agencies. Some agencies, as a consequence, have, in their analysis of those aspects of the world economic order which conduce towards underdevelopment, begun to concentrate more upon the local political and economic structures in the region, or among the people being aided. Attention is correspondingly directed away from international trading injustices — though this dimension is not lost. The balance, rather, is moved in favour of, in most instances, analyses which can pinpoint the specific local causes of persistent underdevelopment. On occasion these causes may be exacerbated by or even derive from factors connected with international trade. Where this is so, there is, it is being realised, comparatively little the NGO can do, apart from political representation. Where, however, the causes of the problems of

¹ for a classic statement of this albeit for an overseas NGO, see National Secretariat for Social Action (NASSA) US Imperialism in the Philippines, Nationalist Resource Centre, Manila, 1980 p 151f.

² Mehmet O. Economic Planning and Social Justice in Developing Countries Croom Helm, London, 1978 p 264.

underdevelopment are predominantly rooted in local political and social structures and where, in principle, these causes are treatable, then the task of the NGO becomes clearer. Project selection, delivery systems and evaluation will assume a different shape once attention becomes focussed upon local social structures. This has been the experience, as we shall see, of those agencies which have made these sorts of shifts in analysis.

The Role of the Domestic Constituency:

The more adequate (from the agency's viewpoint) analysis of the causes of underdevelopment has a wider impact for the agency, however, than project selection, delivery system and evaluation. Through its development education program, the agency can educate, and in some instances has, its own domestic constituency on the phenomena of structures of domination in the LICs in which the agency works. Where the focus is upon the structures rather than the outcomes (poverty!), the analysis can be useful in enabling the local constituency to analyse its own society. The analysis of poverty rather than simply the recognition of the phenomenon has the potential for transforming an exercise in charity into an exercise in (additionally) economic and political analysis. The implications of this will be explored in chapter four.

For some agencies, then, that analysis of world development which focusses primarily upon structures of international trade as the mechanism by which the impoverished in the Third World remain that way, is coming increasingly under question. It is being questioned partly because it yields few strategies through which the NGO can operate. More profoundly, however, it is being questioned because of the growing suspicion that reforming international trade structures may well benefit the LICs as a whole, but fail to yield significant benefits for the poorest. It could conceivably worsen the plight of the poorest, espec-

ially where stabilised commodity prices cause an increase in acreage devoted to plantation crops, with, consequently, greater pressures (in the form of rents, wages, costs) being applied to small landholders or tenant farmers.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the NGOs must pay more attention to the sociology of the region being aided. Local structures of domination may, in particular circumstances, be far more important for explaining poverty than unjust international trade structures, real though these might be.

This latter analysis affects project selection, choice of delivery system and evaluation. It also makes more urgent than ever the seeking out and establishing of firm links with local partners who are able to provide, where they are effectively in contact with those most affected by underdevelopment, the best analysis from which regular review and update of policy can be attempted.

Most of the NGOs in Australia were, as was mentioned above, set up to meet a specific global need. The Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, for example was set up to help stimulate food production in areas affected by food shortages. Austcare was set up to meet the needs of the world's refugees. Australian Volunteers Abroad was set up to meet the needs of overseas countries for skilled, temporary workers. Idealistic global aims, of course, have to be tailored to conflicting interpretations of how such aims should best be achieved and the universal constraint of scarce resources.

In seeking to match aims with resources it has been the experience of some NGOs in Australia that the underlying causes of underdevelopment must be sought out if any lasting impact is to be made. The elimination of hunger, for example requires that social, economic and political factors be taken into consideration in any attempt to resolve the problem.

Welfare work and social analysis, then, are complementary. Normally, both are necessary if the many problems associated with underdevelopment are to be treated.

The growth of this awareness within the agencies has been slow in Australia, particularly because there has been a hesitation in accepting the political implications of this insight. The comparatively slow acceptance of the idea of Development Education, for example, testifies to the fact that, although the agency may acknowledge that structures in HICs contribute to poverty in LICs, there is a risk in allocating monies collected for the latter to the task of educating people in the former. The charge of political 'bias' is one which could endanger future support from the domestic constituency.

Despite this, however, the logic has been inexorable, and most agencies now exhibit a variety of methods, in both the HICs and the LICs, in achieving their stated aims.

Methods, too, which are seen in one age as being entirely appropriate are often revised and even superceded as the agency's analysis becomes better. To take an obvious issue: the problem of world hunger. Most agencies in this field would have been agreed in the mid sixties that easing world hunger lay simply in greater food production. Where the combatting of hunger was a stated aim, the means would be through a series of measures (projects) to stimulate production (irrigation, grain storage, credit facilities). Any realistic current analysis of the problem of world hunger, however, must go beyond asserting the need for more production and link local production to local distribution, normally via some mechanism of land reform. A fuller analysis of the world food problem, then shows how, for an agency with limited resources, its task may devolve to promoting land reform — a question of social justice with both political and economic implications.

In this way some agencies which were set up to respond directly to the needs of the victims of underdevelopment increasingly end up addressing social structures in LICs, and support there the local agents of social change. It becomes the structure which is the object of the agency's efforts, and only through that, the victim. This is actually a logical progression from the sorts of shifts in agency consciousness described above. It carries with it, as one would expect, the corresponding need to educate the domestic constituency on the rationale behind what may appear to be a shift in aim, but which is, in fact, a shift in methodology.

Means: Change in Direction From Relief to Development:

Voluntary aid in Australia has changed in both volume¹ and direction in the last decade. While the overall aims of an agency may be the same over a very long period, the intermediate means of achieving these aims may vary from period to period. A threefold division of means will assist at this stage. These divisions are:

- 1 relief
- 2 self help
- 3 development

1 Relief: Relief, as was suggested above, was the end to which most voluntary agencies in this country were set up. It remains, for all agencies, a significant means of achieving their present goals. The relief function of agencies relates to their attempts to transmit monies and materials to areas of emergency need (natural disasters, sudden famines, etc). It is the area of agency work which constituents tend to be most aware of.

¹ Figures compiled from data supplied by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid show that the volume of voluntary assistance from Australia, including an estimate of \$10m pa for remittances made by Church bodies for missionary work which has a developmental purpose,

2 Self-Help: The self-help principle stresses that if people are equipped with the means of earning a livelihood, they will be able to meet their own emergency requirements. The self-help principle is aimed at giving those in need the means of feeding and clothing themselves, rather than the food, clothing, etc, which a relief operation would provide. Generally speaking, constituents of the major agencies can be made to understand this: it is a happy appeal to those imbued with either the charity mentality or the Protestant ethic.

3 Development: Of the many principles involved in the very fluid notion of development, one which agencies in this country have emphasised is the principle that a full understanding of welfare should assert the right, in principle, of people to be the architects of their own development. Where this is a guiding principle in the agency, the role of the local agent of social change becomes crucial, for his task is to assist the people affected in choosing between different possible developmental paths, or, perhaps more accurately, of articulating their understanding of development to whatever agencies (domestic or overseas, governmental or NGO) are in a position to provide external resources for that development.

Part of the change in the direction of voluntary aid in Australia has been a reflection of the historical shift from relief through self-help to development as the means by which the problems of world poverty, as identified by the different agencies, have been addressed. There has been a marked tendency in the development, (as distinct from the relief), agencies to use as the principle methodology the identification and support of sympathetic local change agents in LICs, rather than, in the first instance, the direct relief of the victim.

has probably grown from something like \$13.7m in 1969 to something like \$40m in 1979. This figure is undeflated and corresponds to an average annual increase of about 18%, approximately the same as the rate of alteration in ODA over the same period.

Within most agencies in Australia the progressive expansion of the means available has tended to broaden the actual aims of these agencies. Australian Catholic Relief, for example, now counts Development Education as one of its main aims. In other instances, too, the initial aims of agencies are now seen in a broader context. For Austcare and Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, the issues of refugees and food production are seen in the context of development. Subsidiary aims of these agencies, then, include help for peoples' movements: technical problems are seen and acted on as if they had a political dimension. Development Education is now stated as an aim of several of the agencies in Australia. Properly understood, it is really a means by which the broader aims of development are to be met, an acknowledgement that politico-economic systems in the LICs and those in the HICs are, in many ways, linked.

Development Education:

The agency must divide its efforts between raising money and disbursing it. Both will be governed by some philosophy relating to the domestic constituency and the needs of the recipients. The domestic constituency, however, may not realise the real needs of the recipients. Here agencies play a role in raising the awareness of their constituents about the nature of underdevelopment and the agency's (and hence the constituents') role in countering it. Such a process is called Development Education.

The range of meanings of the term Development Education is not much less than the range of meanings of the term Development itself. Originally it referred to the education of the agency's constituency in the facts of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, etc, which the agency encountered in its work in the LICs. As the dominance/dependence model of underdevelopment took hold in the agencies, Development Educa-

tion took on the additional meaning of educating the constituency in the factors found in its own lifestyle which conduce towards underdevelopment in the LICs. Additionally, the factor of individual development contained in the term Development was accentuated, and Development Education was seen as the education of the constituency in the personal development of ethical responsibility towards the rest of the world.

As pointed out above, development agencies in Australia, with a few exceptions, regard the education of their constituents as vitally important. Following European example, for instance, The Australian Council of Churches Division of World Christian Action (the aid agency of the Protestant Churches in this country) allocates up to 25% of its entire budget to Development Education. A 1978 meeting of Catholic development agencies from the Pacific rim (held in Bangkok) took the linkage argument so seriously that it advocated that agencies in HICs spend at least as much on the (political) education of their constituents as they did on aid projects themselves.

The gradual re-orientation of voluntary aid from Australia from relief, through self-help to development, has been accompanied by a rise, *pari passu*, in the agency allocations to Development Education. An adequate Development Education program is now seen as vitally important, a domestic complement to the overseas project, in the overall development work of the voluntary agency.

This points to an interesting development in the voluntary agencies, the acknowledgement that the constituencies in both the donor and the recipient countries are able to be profitably linked. The mechanism by which they are linked is the project, which has obvious effects in the country in which it is located, but also the potential for consciousness-raising effects in the HIC from which the bulk of the material resources for the project derive.

Development Education is a means of extending the value of the project in the LIC to the agency constituency in the HIC (and even wider, to society generally). It rests on the assumption that the process of questioning and challenging structures of domination ought not to be confined to the LIC, but can, through the educational activities of the administering agencies be replicated in the HIC itself.

Politico-economic change, as an instrument of development in the Third World can become as well, an instrument of development in the First, once the agency has learned to point to the lessons which derive from this parallelism of structures.

The Role of the Recipient:

The aims of the agency would not be able to be carried out were it not for the role played by counterpart agencies in the LICs. As was stated above, one of the high themes in development thinking in agencies in Australia today is that, in principle, the people should be the chief architects of their own development. Internationally, however, people help people through structures — formalised relationships. A set of mediating structures is necessary if the needs of the poor in the LIC and the resources of the agency are to be brought together. The means by which the needs of the poor are made known are through the mechanism offered by the counterpart agency.

Not only does the counterpart agency in the LIC make known the needs of the poor, in many instances it will contribute to the process by which the poor themselves realise their need. It is a common assumption deriving from the idealisation of the simple life that the poor are necessarily conscious of their poverty and sufficiently politicised to want to do something about that. Often this is not the case. Rather, they can be a dispirited mass, ignorant of the nature of the social structures which have pushed them to the margins of society,

ignorant of the possibility of any alternative social system by which their own needs could be better met and ignorant, in all of this, of their own political, and even human rights.

The role of the counterpart agency, then, where it wishes to work with victims of underdevelopment, will include the raising of the political consciousness of the poor. This raising of political consciousness is pre-conditional to the poor's being able to think meaningfully about appropriate developmental choices, and hence, pre-conditional to the assistance of the outside agency. A development strategy built upon the principle that the victims of underdevelopment are, *ceteris paribus*, the most relevant 'experts' in countering underdevelopment, will need to consult continually with these 'victims'. The most practicable and efficient way of doing so under most circumstances is via the mediation of the local agency.

The operation of the agency in both the HIC and the LIC can be viewed as a mechanism which, in a sense, brings together groups of people in both groups of countries. The constituency of the agency in the HIC are brought into indirect contact with the developing community in the LIC through the bridge provided by the activities of the two agencies. For some agencies, the contribution is not one-way. As the flow of material resources helps to unlock the capacity for social analysis and the potential for political action in the LIC community facing up to development choices, so there is set up a backward flow of experience and structural analysis, which, via the medium of the HIC agency's Development Education program, contributes to the capacity of people in HICs to analyse, challenge and change their own society. A number of Development Education programs operating in Australia at the

moment demonstrate precisely this backward flow of structural analysis¹.

The basic link which connects the two agencies (and thus establishes the "bridge") is the funding method used in conjunction with (especially in type A aid) the ex post evaluation. We touch on this briefly here to return to it in more detail in chapter four. It is sufficient to say at this point that parallel with the growth in the understanding of development has gone a corresponding maturing in the understanding of methods by which projects can be funded. Most basic is the project itself: the discrete proposal to meet, with pre-determined resources a specifically defined problem. Second is the program: a more open-ended series of inter-related projects designed to deal, not so much with a specifically defined problem, as a condition which exhibits itself in different symptoms which require treatment on a whole front. Thirdly, there is the notion of partnership funding, which means cooperation between equals in dealing with problems of underdevelopment which involve not one, but both, or all parties.

Improving the process by which the "victims" can be more effectively empowered to achieve their own development and by which the experience of this can be made useful in the HICs depends in large part on the improvement of the project approach. The better selection and evaluation of projects is basic to the capacity of one constituency to contribute to the development of another. It is a challenge apparent to the official aid donors as well.

The closeness of the LIC agency to the grassroots, where development is an urgent priority, means that it is the NGO which has, in principle, the greatest capacity for directly approaching the "victim", of working out the most appropriate delivery systems, systems which can

¹ Eg, "The Third World War", a Development Education program of Community Aid Abroad and "One World Week", a joint Development Education Program of the Church agencies.

bypass the machinery which, as Mehmet points out (cf p 18) prevents official aid from becoming an effective instrument.

The ability of the NGO to achieve a more direct delivery to the "victim" has been acknowledged by Government sources in Australia. Addressing the NGO-ADAB consultation in September 1977, the Minister for Foreign Affairs told the NGO representatives that Government support for NGO projects would continue because of

"your ability to undertake small scale projects which cater for immediate needs at the gross-roots... Another obvious asset of the NGO is your ability to gain the confidence and co-operation of people in a recipient country through your long-established intimate relationships with indigenous personnel."¹

If it is true that NGOs have the potential for more efficient delivery at the grass roots, then they have a greater potential for challenging structures of injustice precisely where they have the greatest effect — at the margins of society.

A delivery system which has the capacity to relate more directly to those on the margins of society has a greater capacity to assist people to change structures by putting into their hands strategic resources. It can allow the poor to break through the strata of society which cut them off from meaningful developmental choices.

"The decisive significance of stratification is...that it sees two kinds of access to strategic resources. One of these is privileged and unimpeded; the other is impaired... The existence of such a distinction enables the growth of exploitation of a more complex type associated with involved divisions of labour and intricate class systems."²

Access to relevant resources is the constraint which limits both social analysis and development. If social analysis is to be more than an unreflective "revolution of rising expectations", contingent upon the

¹ Development Assistance: Key Statements of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Oct 1975 - May 1979 Dept Foreign Affairs, Canberra 1980 p 83.

² Fried M On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State, quoted in Pettman, op cit, p 171.

spread of the mass media, it must be facilitated by local agents of change who are at once part of the people facing development decisions and at the same time familiar with both the possibilities and the limits of developmental choices. Only the local agency can generate agents such as this — agents who can encourage a realistic, human revision of expectations in the local community:

"and once the realm of human expectations has been revised, contingency willing, reality conforms." ¹

Controlling these contingencies, in short is the aim of the partnership between counterpart agencies in HICs and LICs.

Profile of the Domestic Agency:

We come now to the question of the domestic agency, its form and the processes it has at hand for generating links with counterparts in the LICs. The voluntary aid agencies in Australia, particularly the five or six which account for the bulk of the approximately \$30m remitted overseas annually, are all responsible to differing constituencies in Australia. By constituency we mean that group of people from which the agency derives its financial support, upon whose behalf it acts and to which it is at least nominally accountable.

The constituency varies for the different agencies. Some constituencies are counted in the hundreds of thousands, while others are counted merely in the hundreds. What some constituencies lack in numbers, though, they make up for in interest and a notable hallmark of some of the smaller agencies is the high degree of accountability they display to their domestic constituency. Large constituencies tend to be passive, and agencies make themselves accountable largely through intermediaries, eg, representatives on the governing board or in each state.

¹ Pettman op cit p 171

The agency itself, however, is not normally simply a channel by which the uninformed judgements of perceptions of the constituency are translated into action. The agency has its own dynamic which is formed from two principle sources — the governing body of the agency (which may be the executive or the board or the product of some interplay between them) and the Third World bodies, individuals and other sources from which it derives its world-view.

The agency is responsible, not only to its constituency, but to its Third World contacts as well, or, put another way, the Third World contacts are part of the wider constituency to which it is accountable.

It was indicated above that one profitable way of viewing the activities of the chief voluntary aid agencies in Australia is as a mechanism which brings groups of people in the process of development in the LICs into contact with groups of people in the HICs through the medium of change agents, animateurs and, in the HICs, development educators. The proportion of the domestic constituency thus affected will vary with the effectiveness of the local outreach program, but, interestingly, all the major agencies in Australia have this local outreach: all acknowledge, in principle, the important feedback effects of their relationships in the LICs.

Factors affecting the decision making processes of the local agency, then, include the demands of the constituency (which varies from the passive to the highly articulate), the current world view of the decision makers and the evaluations offered by counterpart agencies in the LICs. Refining or perfecting the decision making processes for an agency will be a matter of educating the constituency, making more realistic the world view of the decision makers and ensuring that the proffered evaluations from the LIC

agencies are as useful as possible: (this may be a matter of finding the best overseas agency, or encouraging the overseas agency to equip itself with the resources it needs for adequate evaluation).

The agency has its own set of mechanisms for reaching decisions. Lissner¹, commenting on the experience of the European agencies, proposes that the decision making process can be seen as an outcome of three "organisational considerations",

- a) the desire to maximise the influence of agency values on public opinion,
- b) the desire to maximise agency income and
- c) the desire to maximise agency respectability and leverage.

To the extent that this can be accepted for Australian conditions it should, for some agencies at least, be set against the background of their desire to maximise the input into all stages of decision making of the wider constituency in the LIC. The influence of agency values on public opinion is, to a significant extent, the influence as well on counterpart agency (in LIC) values. The desire to maximise respectability is often the desire, as well, to present the best analysis of the reality of development, while the desire for leverage is for a leverage on behalf of the poor.

Agency decision making, then, should not be seen as a cynical playing off of vested interests one against the other. At its best it can be a very creative exercise in ensuring that the most effective action is taken in the cause of development among both the domestic and the overseas constituency.

Who Sets the Agenda for the Activities of the Agencies?

There are two aspects to this question. One is that the agenda for the activities of the agencies is set within its own structures and

¹ Lissner op cit chapter 4, p 68ff.

under the guidance of its constituency. The other is that the agenda is influenced by the communities in the LIC with which the agency chooses to work. Most agencies work cogniscent of these aspects with a varying mix of local and overseas input. The Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, for example, has a technical sub-committee which vets the project proposals for technical feasibility. Other agencies have no such structure, leaving it up to the LIC counterparts to evaluate the technical variables of the project. Generally, the drift in agencies has been towards greater willingness to allow the LIC counterparts to set the agenda. This has meant greater overseas participation in project selection and evaluation, as well as Development Education in the domestic country.

For some agencies the agenda for action is also circumscribed by their overall mandate. Some agencies have a specific mandate to work on particular issues and these prescribe the limits to their activities. Greater counterpart participation, though, is possible even within these parameters. What varies is the role assigned to LIC counterparts, particularly agents of social change.

Other things being equal, the openness of agencies to a new world view is dependent on its range of contacts in the LICs. A wider variety of contacts in LICs will tend to make available to the agency alternative ways of constructing the reality of underdevelopment. This may leave the agency the unresolved task of communicating to its constituency a differing understanding of the cause of underdevelopment and a new set of problems for Development Education.

We shall return to the role of the agency in the next chapter.

Specific Characteristics of the Church NGOs:

The agencies of the mainstream churches in Australia have a particular importance in the network of the voluntary aid agencies for the following reasons:

—Their network of fraternal and counterpart agencies is extensive.

With the other agencies, particularly those which sprung up in Australia under local inspiration, there has been an historical problem of a lack of ready-made overseas counterparts able to perform the work at the local overseas level on the agency's behalf. In the case of the chief Christian agencies¹, however, they were, in the main, set up after the model of existing Christian agencies overseas. Considerable savings in learning time were experienced because of this and, just as importantly, a ready-made network of parallel agencies was already in existence through the activities, in an earlier age, of the Churches in the northern hemisphere. As well as having a good network of parallel agencies in the HICs, the Church agencies in Australia enjoy good relationships with counterpart agencies in the LICs. The importance of this has already been alluded to, but it bears re-stating, that the more effectively in touch with the local community the local counterpart is, the more likely it is that the HIC agency will have access to the best interpretation of local reality.

—Good local contacts, then, are a second distinctive feature of the main church agencies in Australia. This contact is maintained at several levels: the level of agency-to-agency dialogue, at the level of heads of churches and, increasingly at the level of grass roots contact as well. (The last few years have seen many grass roots community organisers from LICs in the region visiting Australia for the purpose of agency consultation and Development Education).

—A third distinctive characteristic of the main Christian agencies in Australia is their access to high quality analysis — particularly

¹ We are speaking, of course, of christian development agencies and not referring to the activities of missionary groups.

through their overseas networks. The sorts of considerations on the nature of development which were examined in chapter one have entered and had an effect on these agencies principally through the channel of overseas contact, through observation of the ways in which new ideas affect the behaviour of overseas agencies.

Two other characteristics of the main church agencies should be noted. Firstly, a key determinant of agency behaviour in Australia is the behaviour of the counterpart agency in the LIC. The counterpart is anything but a neutral structure here. The way it interprets its local reality and participates in project selection and implementation affect the way in which the HIC agency carries out its functions, including fundraising. Secondly, the activities of the church agencies are viewed (by themselves) as having theological significance. It was pointed out in chapter one that there has been an important influence on development thinking in the Churches of the Pacific region. This has been broadly characterised as 'liberation theology' in one of its various forms. As was indicated there, liberation works with the notion that

—structures are not value free,

—there is a conflict of political interest in the allocation of the National Income,

—new structures are needed to ensure that the gains from development flow to the poor instead of the rich.

The chief contribution of liberation theology to the practice of the voluntary agencies in Australia is that it provides a rationale for a conflictual model of development. Put another way: when a model of financing development projects in the LICs gives rise to conflict, that in itself does not invalidate the methodology from a Christian standpoint (as, perhaps, it once would have done).

The chief Christian agencies, then, are open to the possibility of using a methodology of development which results in social conflict — a social conflict in a more overt manner than may be present initially.

Where the building of new social structures is the intermediate aim of the agency, the potential exists for bringing the Church organisations into conflict with existing social structures. This indeed has happened on numerous occasions. In Zimbabwe, for example, the local Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace was in constant conflict with the pre-settlement (illegal) government over the issue of lack of real black participation in the country's development and government. Similarly in Australia, the Australian Council of Churches has been accused numerous times of supporting, in the name of liberation theology, "terrorists" in South Africa¹. The arguments are bound to continue in the future as long as Church agencies perceive their role as assisting local communities in LICs to become the principal actors in their own development. Interestingly, the very largest of the agencies² has received none of this criticism because it confines its activities to relief.

In summary: We have shown in this chapter that the agency has a certain view of its task. This consciousness can be located somewhere within the limits set out by Lissner in his analysis of the European agencies. The precise location would depend on the relationship the agency perceives between development and structural change in both the LIC and the HIC. What we have called type B aid has, until quite

¹ Michael Barnard, "The Age", February 3, 1979, Christianity's Light, not Marxism's Illusory Dawn.

² World Vision: Though it has come in for a deal of criticism in the past over its too close association with American military and intelligence interests in the Third World. (National Times, Sept 17-23, 1980)

recently, been by far the major proportion of overseas remittances. Increasingly, however, particularly for the chief Christian agencies, what we have called type A aid — aid which has as its purpose the reform of social structures which lead to the institutionalising of violence — has become more important. This increasing importance of type A aid has come about by the modification of agency decision making mechanisms. Global aims (eg, "eliminating world hunger") have been translated into specific projects aiming at social re-construction at the local level by means of a different quality of contact with intermediaries in the LIC — particularly agents of social change with whom the counterpart agency is in contact¹. Effective consultation is seen as an absolute priority in building mechanisms that are truly responsive to needs in the LICs. Parallel with changing mechanisms (indeed deriving from them) has gone a changing world-view in the agencies. The dominance/dependence model which explains world inequality in terms of neo-colonialism is now seen by some agencies as having been a first approximation only. Attention is increasingly being given to structures of domination within Third World countries. This does not exonerate the wealthy nations, however, as neo-colonialism does, in many instances support these local intra-country structures. Indeed it requires them.

What the agency sees as a better analysis of the reality of under-development has its impact not only on project selection but on the agency's constituency as well, particularly through its Development Education program.

The slowly changing consciousness within the agencies in Australia has resulted in a re-orientation of direction from relief through self-help programs to 'development'. The important mark of a development,

¹ or employs!

as distinct from a relief agency is that the model by which it operates presumes the full participation of the LIC counterpart, and as full a participation as possible of the actual people affected by underdevelopment in the process of project selection, evaluation and review. For the chief Christian agencies in Australia the role of the counterpart agency is crucial.

Finally, this chapter has examined the profile of the agency in Australia, especially the distinctive characteristics of the chief agencies. This will have relevance to later chapters when we concentrate on one of these agencies.

CHAPTER FOUR

APPROPRIATENESS OF MEANS TO AIMS, ONE AGENCY AS A CASE STUDY

In this chapter, we shall examine briefly the experience of one agency, particularly the way new means have evolved to meet changing aims. The agency selected is Australian Catholic Relief, the official Catholic development agency in Australia. It was with this group that the initiative began to form the Asia Partnership for Human Development — in many respects the most radical expression of the changing way in which means are tailored to fit ends in the voluntary agencies. The Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD) will be the subject of the two following chapters of this study. In this chapter we shall concentrate on the conditions within its parent agency which led to its formation and demonstrate how the principle of partnership is, above all, a mechanism for ensuring that means fit changing ends.

Aims of the Voluntary Agencies: Effects of Development on Australian Catholic Relief

It will be clear from chapters two and three that voluntary agencies in Australia have, to varying degrees, come under the influence of new modes of thinking about their aims and the appropriateness of the means they have employed. For Australian Catholic Relief (ACR) these ideas began to produce a significant alteration in its modus operandi from about 1971 onwards. This shift we shall trace through Annual Reports and by examining the nature of projects selected for funding.

Among these new ideas which have had an important influence on agency behaviour have been the ideas that —considerable rationalisation would be possible in projects funding if

- counterparts in the funding of projects in the Pacific and in Asia;
- the decision taken in the same Meeting to investigate the possibility of funding projects in India per medium of block grants to the counterpart agency;
- the October 1970 discussions at the plenary level on the need for a co-ordinated interagency campaign to educate agency constituencies on the aims of the Second UN Development Decade;
- the February 1971 consideration of new guidelines for project selection, in which priority was given to treating the causes of underdevelopment, rather than the symptoms, in which 'absolute priority' was given to self-help projects, and in which priority was given to projects which were co-ordinated with complementary projects: program funding;
- the September 1972 deliberations of the Project Sub-Committee in which the Report from the Bundungan International Consortium Seminar (Java, September 5-7, 1972) was discussed. Grass roots development was stressed in delineating the proper role of the voluntary agency;
- the October 1972 decisions (1) to disaffiliate with AFPRO India on the grounds that projects solely to stimulate food production, by themselves, lay outside the guidelines of the agency, (2) to affirm the principle of the block grant, (3) to seek closer ties with Caritas Internationalis (the umbrella organisation for Catholic development agencies) on the grounds that the latter were beginning to stress the structural causes of underdevelopment.

This, of course, is not an exhaustive list of the shifts in agency policy but it does indicate a consistent change in the way in which means were tailored to changing ends. These decisions of principle, of which a sample is listed above, took out their effect in changes in the way in which monies were allocated and the regions which were aided.

Additionally, the by-products of the aid process (including an expanding network and the basis for a development education program) came to assume more and more prominence. To this we now turn our attention.

Direction of Aid by Geographical Region:

Throughout the period under review, the allocations of monies to Papua New Guinea has fallen consistently, from 20% of total disbursements in 1971, through 9.1% in 1974, to 5.8% in 1979. Funding requests from PNG have represented, more than anything else, the difficulties encountered by the agency in deciding between projects. It was indicated above that the technical sub-committee of the agency had encountered practical and philosophical problems in deciding between one project and another, particularly where that project was in another country and where a number of projects were tabled of a similar nature. Although there appears an almost bewildering array of projects in 1971 (water supply, mobile clinics, supplementary school feeding programs, capital equipment for training teachers, etc) they represent, in the main, requests for the provision of capital for small scale development projects designed either to provide more adequate local infrastructure or to diversify or strengthen the local village economy. The decline (both absolute and relative) of assistance to projects in PNG represents a decline in the importance of projects which have simply type B purposes. Moreover, even though the amount of assistance has declined, there has been a noticeable shift in its composition of this declining volume. In 1971, there were no projects listed which could be remotely listed as type A aid. By 1979, however, along with the usual cattle projects, nutrition projects and water supply projects, we find two projects which fund development workers (grass roots animateurs), one project designed to enhance the development network (by overseas training and exchange) and several projects to set up leadership training

centres where local leaders can be trained to a fuller appreciation of some of the complexities of development.

The period under review shows, as well, a decrease in the quantity of assistance to India, assistance which, although virtually indistinguishable on the basis of quality of project supported from that given to PNG, differs from the latter in that it is administered through a block grant. Assistance fell from 7.2% of total disbursements in 1971, to 5.6% in 1974, where it has remained since (1980 — 5.6%). That the volume of assistance has not fallen even further, to conform with the pattern of assistance to PNG is largely accountable by the fact that in 1973 the principle of a block grant was established with the counterpart agency in India, "to be applied", as the 1973 Annual Report says, "according to the priorities and needs seen by its (the counterpart agency's) Committee"¹.

The block grant represents a decisive shift in the way in which the agency operates. No longer, in the case of India, were the principles of decision making affecting the project to be arbitrated in the office of the donor agency. Rather, the decision was shifted to the recipient country and to whatever processes the counterpart agency had at hand to adjudicate between different projects. In principle, such a method of allocation had the advantage of overcoming the problem alluded to above, namely, that the expertise of the technical sub-committee in the donor agency was, in many respects, spurious, or at least irrelevant to the particular development problem. By shifting the decision to the counterpart agency it was possible to shift the power of decision making one step nearer to the people at the grass roots actually undergoing a process of development. The counterpart agency, it might be objected, may not be sufficiently attuned to the aspirations (especially where

¹ ACR Annual Report for 1973, p 12

they have not been adequately articulated) of the local people making the particular request. Although this problem was recognised, it was felt that this was a calculated risk where the likely benefits were liable to outweigh the potential costs. Such a partnership, as the arrangement began to be called could at least establish the sort of inter-agency rapport which could allow the donor agency to at least challenge the guidelines for disbursement of the recipient agency, should that prove necessary. As it happens, the counterpart agency in India, although afflicted by many of the same deficiencies in social analysis as other conservative agencies in Asia¹ has slowly been affected by some of the ideas which have been so important for the Australian agency — the notion, for example, that structures of domination play an important part in the persistence of underdevelopment and must be addressed if development is to benefit the poorest and if it is to continue over time. If the quality of project offered by the counterpart in India is not materially superior to the quality being offered by PNG counterparts, the maintenance of funding levels to India in recent years, compared to PNG levels is explicable in terms of the Australian agency seeing a positive value in the principle of handing over the power of decision making which compensates for much of the perceived deficiency in the quality of projects offered. The decision to hand over this power of decision making, of course, has the potential to be a positive learning experience for the counterpart agency in its relationship with its own constituency as well.

In the period under review the total proportion given through block

¹ Houtart F, Lemercurier G & Legrand M The Development Projects as a Social Practice of the Catholic Church in India Centre for Socio-Religious Research, University of Louvain, 1976. Especially Chapter 9 — The accent of agencies of the RC Church in India has been on the economic aspects of projects and there has been inadequate analysis of their socio-cultural impact.

grant and the total proportion given to the Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD), the biggest recipient of a block grant, have both increased. There were no block grants until 1973, when they comprised some 13% of disbursements (\$130,000). By 1974, the proportion had risen to 16% (\$185,000) and the pattern is one of a steadily rising proportion of funds disbursed this way. By 1979, the proportion of the agency's funds disbursed through block grants totalled 24% (\$812,000). Clearly, the drift in the pattern of agency is towards the funding of programs through this means.

A fourth characteristic in the changing pattern of funding which merits noting is the increased proportion of funds allocated to Development Education. In 1971, the proportion of agency funds allocated to Development Education totalled 2.7%. This rose to nearly 6% in 1979, a figure which does not include the Development Education expenditures of the counterpart agencies using monies allocated through block grants.

Fifthly, the increased allocation of monies to the APHD through block grant (from 11% in 1974 to just over 16% in 1979) represents an increased commitment to the type of program which the APHD conducts. We shall return to this in chapter four. For the moment, however, it should be noted that APHD expenditures represent a different quality of project and the reallocation of the agency's funds there represent a commitment to this different quality.

Sixthly, although there has been, within the agency, a shift of resources to type A aid (especially through block grants to the APHD, but additionally through increased allocations to Development Education), this does not represent a displacement of the agency's traditional concern with relief but, rather, a complement to it. In 1971, allocations to emergency relief were slightly more than 36% of total disbursements. The figure rose to 39% in 1975 (having fallen to less than 15% in

1974¹) and fell to 27% in 1979, or, if account is taken of the large amounts of money processed through the agency's books as a result of a combined agencies' appeal for relief for Kampuchea, it rose to some 46% of agency disbursements². Inasmuch as any pattern can be discerned here, it is that relief has not lost its importance in agency behaviour. Rather, the increase in importance of type A allocations should be seen as the response to a felt need to act with complementary tools if relief is to have any relationship to development.

The behaviour of the agency over the ten years to 1979, then has exhibited the following characteristics:

- there has been a geographical shift in the direction of aid away from PNG. This has left resources free to be deployed elsewhere;
- grants to India have declined as well though not to the same extent as those to PNG. The reason we have posited is that the agency perceives the value of a trade-off between an indifferent set of project proposals and a superior decision-making process³: the Indian agency makes its own decisions about the allocation of monies between projects in India;
- block grants consume a steadily rising proportion of the resources of the agency. This represents a growing commitment to the principle of local decision-making, the assertion that the best development decisions are made by those actually affected by a situation of under-development;
- Development Education has become increasingly important;

¹ Even when account is taken of the relief component of Austcare and Freedom From Hunger Campaign projects funded through ACR.

² For our purposes the lower figure is the more relevant. It represents the underlying drift in allocations more accurately than does the atypical higher figure, incorporating, as it does, an unusually high response to a single appeal.

³ ...which will yield better project proposals in the long-run.

- the biggest increase in funding has been to APHD. This represents an increasing commitment to the type of projects which APHD funds;
- the steady growth of type A aid should, from the perspective of the agency, be seen as complementary to the traditional relief role of the agency.

Means to Ends:

The agency has, in effect, developed a set of complementary means of achieving the changed aims outlined above. One of these complementary means is partnership funding, of which the block grant is the basis. In this section we shall examine in more detail the rationale which, from the agency's point of view, lies at the basis of this principle.

The agency has, in the area of development a set of aims. These aims are both long-term and global on the one hand, and specific to a particular project on the other. The long-term global aims of the agency, which can be characterised as its mandate, are to provide resources by which the problems associated with underdevelopment can be overcome, by engaging in consciousness raising among its constituents in the HIC.

Partnership, as a methodology in development (or as part of a delivery system) complements in a distinctive way many of the other initiatives undertaken by the agency in recent years as well as being a more efficient method of achieving the various supplementary goals which the agency has set itself. These goals can be characterised as:

- in all projects, as full an achievement of self-reliance as possible so that the transfer of material resources does not drain local initiative;
- program aid rather than project aid so that each project is tied into a co-ordinated set of initiatives designed to spread benefits over as wide a geographical region as possible; (it also conduces to self-

- reliance in the selection of projects which constitute the program)
- an educational¹ content is desired in projects where possible so that there is a linkage effect to ensure continuity of benefits flowing from the project or program;
 - the benefitting of groups, rather than individuals². This has obvious impact on the type of project selected (eg, group or co-operative ownership of any capital is to be insisted on rather than individual ownership);
 - a response to felt need of a local community. Evidence of this could well be a counterpart contribution in terms of labour or work input (or, where the community has them, land, materials and money);
 - economic and technical soundness.

These goals have been spelled out in Appendix 1 of the ACR Mandate published as part of the 1977 Annual Report.

Obviously, the simultaneous achievement of these goals is a very difficult if not impossible task in any given project. The agency aim, though, is to achieve an optimum balance in any project. This balance will be constrained by different weightings given from time to time to any single one of the subsidiary aims (eg, the educational content of a project may be given more importance in one particular period than in another) and by the subjective priorities, acknowledged or unacknowledged of those making the funding decision.

Here, in the area of the mechanisms by which funding decisions are made, the agency has experienced severe difficulties. If the projects coming to the attention of the funding body were to be evaluated on

¹ Not Development Education as defined; rather demonstration of the higher productivity of new techniques.

² Public goods rather than private goods — obviously it is felt that it is possible to benefit (some) individuals without benefitting the group.

technical criteria (as in fact they seem to be with some agencies, eg, FFHC) the problems associated with evaluation would not be as acute as they had become in ACR prior to the setting up of the APHD. But in fact, as is apparent from the above, there is a multi-faceted set of criteria which must be taken into account in any consideration of a project. By 1973 these problems were being experienced as intractable, given the funding mechanism then operating.

The funding method referred to was, given the complex aims of the agency, quite simple. The National Committee of the agency was served by four sub-committees, Finance and Administration, Appeals, Liaison and Projects¹.

The Projects Sub-Committee evaluated projects on the basis of the above criteria and on the data available and made its recommendation to the Plenary. Generally its recommendations were accepted. Increasingly, however, this Sub-Committee and the entire Committee as well, came to realise that the growing complexity of the development debate and the issues which were being raised by the commonly discussed principles concerning the desirability of involving, as closely as possible the people experiencing a process of development in the decisions concerning funding, were a clear indication that alternative methods of deciding on the funding of projects needed to be settled on.

Fundamental to the direction taken in deciding on new funding methods was the fact that the agency had already established a sound network among counterpart agencies in the Asia-Pacific region. This network² was a variety of essentially grass roots development bodies

¹ Annual Report 1972

² This will be looked at again later in the chapter. By network we mean a communications mechanism among agencies in LICs and HICs responsible for the design and implementation of programs and exercises in Development Education.

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¹ Annual Report 1972

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perceived to be very closely in touch with the local communities where most of the projects emanated from.

Handing over the actual funding decisions to elements of this network was a natural outcome of the contacts which the agency has established in the region. Additionally, of course, it was an expression of one of the fundamental norms of development which had become current in Catholic development thinking over the previous few years, viz, that those affected should themselves participate in the decision making process.

On the supply side of the equation, as it were, there was the happy by-product of considerable rationalisation of resources when other HIC agencies joined in the combined Fund¹.

Given the restated aims of the agency, then, partnership was seen as a complementary means which could more nearly achieve the varied goals which the agency had set itself. The basis of this new methodology was (a) the block grant. Other means related to this were (b) a superior network and (c) a higher role for Development Education.

a) The Block Grant as the Basis of Partnership:

Block grants entail the principle of handing over to the counterpart agency or agencies the task of deciding between project applications. The perceived advantage of this lies

- in the better contacts which the counterpart has with grass roots communities in LICs;
- in the better perception of priorities among competing needs which the counterpart has, given that it operates broadly under the same general developmental principles²;

¹ As the Partnership was originally called.

² and if it does not, it will not become a counterpart.

- the more efficient evaluation, both ex ante and ex post, which the counterpart is able to facilitate;
- the greater potential for contributing to structural change in the LIC and, through a Development Education program, in the HIC as well. The counterpart, is, in principle, in a better position to deploy limited resources to bear to maximise positive social change than would be the overseas agency;
- block grants can maximise the 'return' on type A funds.

It was pointed out in chapter one that Catholic experience following the First Development Decade led to the generation of highly normative concepts of development, in particular the notions that

- development 'should' be in accordance with a people's culture;
- each people (social unit rather than nation state) 'should' determine its own developmental goals and means;
- international co-operation for development 'should' be on the basis of equality between co-operating partners.

The concept of the block grant seems uniquely tailored to these norms. In the first place the overseas counterpart should, *ceteris paribus*, be in a better position to determine which developmental projects are in keeping with a people's culture and which will undermine it than is the domestic HIC agency. Secondly, the block grant should allow more adequate parameters for locals to determine development goals and means. Whether it does will depend on what structures are erected within the counterpart agencies for disposing of the block grant. In principle, however, it should promote local goals more efficiently than traditional methods whereby projects are vetted by the HIC counterpart. Thirdly, the principle of equality in relationships between counterparts is obviously promoted where the richer partner in effect hands over the chequebook to the poorer partner. Block grants,

then, accommodate much of the most influential thinking current among this particular group of voluntary agencies.

b) Network:

Communication is a vital resource in any development process. A network is a particular mode of communication, linking as it does individuals in different places with one another. Each individual in a network is presumed to have his own set of contacts: thus, any communication with him is presumed to have a multiplier effect. The function of a network in development has been, historically, to bring together different people operating at various levels — grass roots, fundraising, analytical, educational — for the exchange of ideas. A random examination of the Minutes of the agency in question during the period leading up to the formation of the APHD reveals an extensive list of contacts established overseas¹ and sustained by international travel of Committee members. The October 1971 Minutes report Committee representation at international voluntary agency meetings under various umbrellas in Rome, New Delhi, Brussels, Hong Kong and Sydney. Indonesia, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Belgium, Rome, Fiji and Tonga feature in the October 1972 Minutes: and so on. Travel of Committee and Staff Members is, of course, supplemented by a voluminous correspondence connected with projects and educational exchanges (seminars, speaking tours of overseas visitors, etc) — an additional aspect of building a network.

The function of a network is to facilitate the exchange of ideas between people working in essentially the same areas in different regions. In the field of development, the enormous geographical and socio-economic differences between regions, and the need for counterpart agencies to remain in effective communication make the maintenance

¹ See Appendix to this chapter

of a functioning network vital. In type A aid the different sorts of data which have to be evaluated make access to a network especially important. The phenomena of social change are evaluable with respect to development aims and the ethical values which influence these. Social change in turn involves organising and managing the use of resources for collective purposes — in this case development. Sociological data becomes economic data for the purpose of analysis and the interpretation of it in type A aid will benefit from the different perspectives which a network can provide. The interpretative role is crucial. The way the interpreter relates to counterparts in HICs and vice versa is a palpable factor in determining the nature of the funding relationship between counterparts.

It was said above that the establishment of the block grant was fundamental to the evolution of the partnership principle. One of the influential factors making for the evolution of the block grant was the resource constituted by the network of international relationships enjoyed by the agency and the flow of ideas — both formal and informal — which this facilitated.

c) Development Education:

Partnership is designed to be a two-way exchange. It is envisaged that the process of community self-development which the provision of type A aid facilitates will have a corresponding effect in the HIC through development education. Part of this Development Education will involve the task of enabling constituents to make links between structures of domination perceived in many obvious ways in LICs where agency projects operate and structures of domination in their own country. These domestic structures may be, in some circumstances, similar (with respect to purpose, world view) to those operating in the

LIC. That, at least, is the contention of the agency¹.

It needs to be stressed, and it will be in the following chapter, that Development Education is not a happy by-product of the Partnership principle, but integral to it.

In the period under review the agency went through a period of changing, or more accurately, clarifying, its aims. Through several mechanisms, notably, the widening of its international network and the new consciousness which Development Education, and the need to have an expanded role here, had, the agency saw the need to specify its aims more concretely. This was noticeable in the shift, in 1971-2, to a new method of project appraisal where an expanded project application form sought a range of information on non-technical matters (eg, degree of participation of the people affected by a project in the setting of project goals). By and large, the agency sought more and more to facilitate choices by the community being aided and to eschew the then common practice among voluntary agencies of, in effect, imposing models of local development which seemed technically feasible from the Australian perspective but which might have unaccounted dysfunctional effects at the grass roots. Enabling people in LICs to choose went side by side with attempts to equip them with the means of choosing. Putting them in touch with their own counterpart agency was part of this. Although this method may tend to concentrate project selection in one country in the hands of a single agency, this position was no worse than the previous dispensation. Moreover, it is easier for a disappointed applicant to appeal to the local counterpart (or even to frame his project in a different manner) than to an agency in a HIC. Empowering LIC communities to make choices, it soon became apparent, was an integral part of

¹ See study: Wherever human life is oppressed...there is underdevelopment: National study/action program on human development, AWD, January 17 1972.

development. If underdevelopment was caused by structural injustice, which was the prevailing ideology of the Catholic NGOs, then enabling communities to overcome underdevelopment involved helping them in a struggle against injustice. The traditional role of the voluntary agency had been relief. By the early 1970s, it was becoming apparent that relief had to be complemented by efforts to overcome injustice. The church's traditional willingness to aid the victim must be complemented by action to assist agents of social change. These agents of social change could, in principle, be more effectively aided through the medium of the activities of the counterpart agency in the LIC.

As the aims of the agency became clearer so the means began to evolve as well. If participation in the process of social change for LIC communities was a rough index of development, then the means for communities to participate should be found. The first approximation for this was the block grant. The first time this was tried was in the case of India where, ideological grounds apart, the scheme had much to recommend it, as the Minutes show, purely on the basis of administrative efficiency. The subsequent evolution of the principle since then currently ensures that by far the bulk of the agency's funds are distributed in this way¹.

Throughout 1970-1, it was becoming apparent that the selection of projects in Australia had undesirable aspects, the elimination of which could contribute materially to achieving the aims of the agency. It was in this climate that the need was expressed for new mechanisms for promoting the decentralisation of decision making by including to a greater extent those actually involved in the situation of underdevelopment.

¹ 1979 Annual Report: most of the money allocated for development projects or for Development Education projects is allocated in this way.

The context within which the Asia Partnership for Human Development was established was one in which for some years there had been a drift of agency interest away from its traditional areas, notably Papua New Guinea. This reflected dissatisfaction with the types of projects which were being put forward by the agency's counterparts in that country. This dissatisfaction reflected in turn a greater interest by the agency in meeting the problems of underdevelopment more by the provision of type A aid and less by the provision of type B aid — the dominant type of request to come from Papua New Guinea. *Pari passu* with this decline in interest in Papua New Guinea went an increase in interest, as reflected in destination of funds, in the raising of awareness in Australia in the causes of underdevelopment, an educational program presaged on the assumption of links between patterns of consumption in this country and poverty in the Third World. Both these are to be seen against a background of a network of links in the Asia-Pacific region of growing sophistication and usefulness.

Throughout the period under review, there is evident a slow change in the type of project funded towards projects which have a greater proportion of input by those at the grass roots. Participation of the people in the areas affected becomes a formal requirement of project selection from 1971.

The above represents a move to the right hand side of the spectrum as used by Lissner¹. The agency has moved from seeing the remedy to underdevelopment as relief aid, through seeing it as assistance for self-help projects to seeing it as working towards fundamental changes in the socio-economic order. The means it finally selects for this will be Partnership. But even before the restructuring of its delivery system, the agency has gone a considerable distance along the path of

¹ Lissner op cit p 273

'handing over the chequebook' to the counterpart agency, and hence a considerable distance in handing it over to the victim himself!

The attached list is not a description of how the agency's network functions. Rather, it is an indication of the extent of the agency's contacts — the limits within which the network normally operates. The functioning of the network will, of course, vary from issue to issue: the issue and the desired outcomes determine the system which is activated. Generally the agency's aim is to involve the maximum number of counterparts, where their participation is relevant, in accomplishing the end which it originates. Alternatively, if the agency is participating in someone else's initiative, its aim will be to provide input and receive feedback — to influence and to widen its knowledge and expertise. Generally, a network is distinguished by a mutuality of aims, objectives and accountability. The formation of a network, then, will be contingent on the overcoming of bottlenecks and other holdups in communication and action.

APPENDIX

(No 2 attachment to paper 8)

Australian Catholic Relief National Committee — October 1971 Minutes.

NETWORK: ORGANISATIONS WITH WHICH THE AGENCY WAS IN CONTACT IN 1971

A.C.C.	Australian Council of Churches
A.C.C.O.	Asian Committee for Community Organisation (Joint Committee of CCAO — East Asian Christian Conference and the Asian Catholic Committee for Community Organisation)
A.C.F.O.A.	Australian Council for Overseas Aid
ADVENIAT	German Advent appeal for pastoral work in South America
A.F.P.R.O.	Action for Food Production (India)
AUSTCARE	Australian Care for Refugees
A.V.A.	Australian Volunteers Abroad (Volunteer Scheme of Overseas Service Bureau)
A.W.D.	Joint Secretariat on Action for World Development (also known as Joint Secretariat)
C.A.A.	Community Aid Abroad
C.A.F.O.D.	Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (United Kingdom equivalent of A.C.R.)
C.A.S.A.	Christian Agencies for Social Action (India)
C.C.C.E.T.	Catholic Co-ordinating Committee for the Sending of Technicians (Brussels)
C.C.O.D.P.	Canadian Catholic Organisation for Development and Peace (Canadian equivalent of A.C.R.)
C.C.F.D.	Comite Catholique Centre la Faim et pour le Developpement (France — equivalent of A.C.R.)
C.E.P.A.C.	Conference Episcopal Pacifique (Pacific Bishops' Conference)
C.I.	i) Caritas India ii) Caritas Internationalis
C.I.C.A.R.W.S.	Commission of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee & World Service (W.C.C. Geneva)
C.I.D.S.E.	International Co-operation for Socio-Economic Development (Brussels)

C.I.I.R.	Catholic Institute for International Relations (London)
C.I.R.I.C.	International Centre for Reports and Cultural Information (Brussels)
C.O.A.C.	Catholic Overseas Aid Committee (NZ — equivalent of A.C.R.)
CORSO	Council of Organisations for Relief Services Overseas (NZ)
COR UNUM	Pontifical Council for Promoting Human and Christian Development (Vatican)
C.R.S.—U.S.C.C.	Catholic Relief Services — United States Catholic Conference (US equivalent of A.C.R.)
C.O.R.R.	Christian Organisation for Relief and Rehabilitation
ENTRAIDE ET FRATERNITE	Belgian Lenten Campaign
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FASTENOPFER	Swiss Catholic Lenten Fund
F.F.H.C.	Freedom From Hunger Campaign
F.S.P.	Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific
F 10	Force Ten
F.T.W.H.L.	For Those Who Have Less (Australia)
I.C.M.C.	International Catholic Migration Commission (Geneva). Also known as C.I.C.M. in French
I.C.O.	International Catholic Organisation (lay organisations)
I.C.V.A.	International Council of Voluntary Agencies
I.D.A.	International Development Action (used to be S.I.D.— Students International Development) Australia
I.D.I.S.	International Disaster Information Service (New Service)
L.P.P.S.	Institute of Social Research and Development (Indonesia)
L.W.F.	Lutheran World Federation
MISEREOR	German Lenten Fund

NaCSA	National Committee for the Social Apostolate (Ceylon)
NASSA	National Secretariat of Social Action (Philippines)
N.C.C.	National Council of Churches (India)
N.C.C.D.P.	National Catholic Commission for Development and Peace (Papua New Guinea)
N.Y.C.A.	National Youth Council of Australia
O.D.I.	Overseas Development Institute Ltd (London — research organisation)
O.D.C.	Overseas Development Council (Washington — research group)
O.D.C.	Overseas Development Committee (Wellington — ecumenical)
O.S.B.	Overseas Service Bureau (Australia — sponsors of Australian Volunteers Abroad Scheme)
P.R.R.M.	Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement
S.C.F.	Save the Children Fund
SODEPAX	Committee on Society, Development and Peace of the World Council of Churches and the Pontifical Commis- sion Justice and Peace.
U.N.A.A.	United Nations Association of Australia
U.N.D.P.	United Nations Development Programme
U.N.E.S.C.O.	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
U.N.I.C.E.F.	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
U.N.H.C.R.	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
U.N.R.W.A.	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
VASTENACTIE	Dutch Bishops' Lenten Campaign
WORLD BANK	International Bank (UN) Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
W.C.C.	World Council of Churches

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PARTNERSHIP

The ideal system which emerges from the published and unpublished¹ ideas of ACR is one in which emphasis is given to the following:

- the effective involvement of the recipients of aid decisions regarding this aid, its allocation between projects and the evaluation of its impact. (In practice this came to mean a greater emphasis on the role of the counterpart agency as a sort of first approximation to a direct consultation of their clients. The most recent documentation of the APHD² still gives primary place to consulting the victims of underdevelopment: this has given a spur to the setting up of mechanisms by which the poor can be directly consulted in field visits³.);
- the allocation of aid to structural ends (type A) and away from relief (type B). This does not mean that relief aid is discontinued. Rather, the two types are complementary. The fact that APHD decided not to provide relief aid does not affect this commitment to both types of aid in the eyes of the founding agency. The latter continues to provide both types of aid: one of its channels for type A aid is through the APHD;
- a Partnership of equals where the older types of relationship (donor-

¹ particularly Minutes of Committee and Sub-Committee meetings

² Vision and Process

³ Certainly (as a May 1981 visit of the writer to the Philippines revealed), in the Philippines where the counterpart agency has project staff available throughout the country: Thailand, too, has now a usable network for consultation.

recipient) are superseded by a round table collective which reaches decisions by consensus¹ and where development is viewed (partly because of the alleged 'linkages' between poverty in the LICs and wealth in the HICs through patterns of domination — underdevelopment must be fought internationally!) as the outcome of a two-way exchange of educational and material resources;

—the freedom for the Partnership to act on its own construction of reality, formed by direct experience of the conditions of the poor and oppressed. In practice this has come to mean a block grant made to the Partnership by partner agencies.

The Asia Partnership for Human Development represents an attempt by the parent agencies to design a system which relates means to current (and as shown in chapter three, changed) ends. We shall examine in this chapter the evolution of the Partnership and examples of the ways in which it has brought its resources to bear in attempting to fit as nearly as possible, this system. The chapter is set out as follows:

- a) the aim of the Partnership
- b) its history
- c) the selection and evaluation of projects
- d) relating means to ends through Partnership

The Asia Partnership for Human Development:

The basis of partnership as worked out by the founding agencies can be represented by two powerful ideas:

- 1 that the problems of underdevelopment are basically political².

¹ See first evaluation OF APHD

² that is, they have structural causes which are built into social and economic relationships within a political framework. The vagaries of the weather, the presumed innate differences of race, etc, are not enough to explain the persistence of underdevelopment. In ending underdevelopment, the structural causes have to be identified and those who suffer under them 'empowered' to free themselves.

2 that development involves an attempt to shift wealth and power from the rich in all regions (HIC and LIC) to the poor and marginated. It has been taken as a corollary to this that the model of agency behaviour which works on this premise should itself mirror the shift in wealth and power it attempts to bring about¹.

Each of the European countries, as well as the majority of Pacific rim countries has Catholic development agencies which fund projects and programs in Asia. The bulk of these funds have traditionally been fed into the local area through agencies of the local Catholic Church. The system has the advantage of low administrative cost and the possibility of (ex post) evaluation — especially where there is an ongoing relationship between donor and recipient.

A number of the agencies had values, welfare aims and networks which were consistent with a common approach to funding. That a common organisational and information system came out of inter-agency dialogue from 1971-3 seems in hindsight to have been perfectly natural, given the economic savings which could accrue from a common approach to project selection and the capacity for widening input into project selection and execution which a shift of decision making could facilitate².

¹ "Asia Partnership is a partnership for the development of people so they take responsibility for all aspects of their lives. The strategy of (this) partnership is organisation, conscientisation and participation of the poor and oppressed in their struggle for self-determination." APHD Newsletter, No 9, November 1980.

² See footnote on sources p 44. By the early seventies it was apparent to key people in the development agencies that a common policy on project selection and the handing over of decision making to a new collective would provide some administrative economies and facilitate a better exchange of information on international factors making for underdevelopment. Europeans, too, were feeling increasingly uneasy about their role in project selection and implementation in LICs, when the poor already had spokesmen of their own in local agencies. Nothing on the background to the formation of the APHD has been published. This information is gathered from present and past staff members of the agency and from others associated with the original parent agencies. The 'uneasy feeling' of the Europeans, alluded to

The initiative for a common approach to funding came from the Australian agency (Australian Catholic Relief) in co-operation with the Canadian counterpart (Canadian Catholic Organisation for Development and Peace: CCDP). In 1973 the inaugural meeting was held of what was intended to be a Projects Steering Committee. It was attended by representatives of the Catholic development agencies of thirteen Asian countries, as well as the two host agencies. This inaugural meeting requested of the funding agencies the authority to grant final approval of projects, thus removing those decisions from funding agencies¹. The funding agencies agreed and in March 1974 the Review Committee became the Asia Fund (later Partnership) for Human Development (APHD).

The APHD described its rationale in the Evaluation Report of its first three years of operation as:

"an attempt to change the hitherto accepted idea of aid, with its overtones of 'donor-recipient' relationship, to a more dynamic concept of partnership among peoples and their organisations embodying co-operation for change, social justice and human development, not just as goals but as methods;

an experiment in the pooling of resources and the sharing of the decision making process;

a regular meeting place to study the human condition at that given time, to reflect on the concept and practice of development in that context and to elaborate strategies to mobilise people for participation in their development."²

Expanding on these, it describes its programs and projects as "aimed at involving people in overcoming conditions of poverty, hunger, ignorance and injustice."³

above was given due recognition in one of the operating principles of the Partnership, viz, that Asian partners (as distinct from partners from HICs) should constitute a majority of the members of both the G Assembly and the Ex Committee of APHD; see "Partners in Development" Report of the Evaluation of the APHD, April 1976; Sections 5.5.1, 5.7.1.

¹ Partners in Development, section 1.2

² Partners in Development, Section 1.3

³ Ibid

The key concept here is that of involving people in overcoming the conditions of underdevelopment which affect them. This periphrasis hints at the view which is explicated in APHD's later documentation, that if the problems of underdevelopment are to be overcome, they must be by the actions of the people affected — especially where underdevelopment is exacerbated or prolonged by the economic model into which the national government has locked itself.

Elements of the dimension described — involving people in their own development — are outlined in the APHD's description of the types of funding which it has undertaken and wishes to undertake¹.

—education: emphasis is on the informal side of education, eg, leadership training at the local level. Specific mention is made of Development Education in the HICs².

—agriculture: land rights figure as part of this area — acknowledgement that the problem of hunger is not simply a production problem, but a political one of land distribution (which, in its international dimension, may be connected to patterns of international trade³.)

—social action: conscientisation is specifically mentioned⁴. The whole methodology of conscientisation is that the most powerless are assisted in the analysis of their own society with a view to perceiv-

¹ Partners in Development, section 1.3

² It is necessary to expand on this point. It will be understood that the resources of the APHD are contributed by Catholic agencies wishing to fund projects in the Asian region. The large resources of the agencies in the HICs are placed alongside the slender resources of those in the LICs. Projects are funded from this common source. This includes, in principle, development education projects in the HICs themselves so that Third World resources are allocated to First World education about the causes and characteristics of underdevelopment.

³ Lappe F.M. and Collins J. World Hunger — Ten Myths Institute for Food and Development Policy, San Francisco 1977.

⁴ see chapter one, p 2

ing how they themselves can break through structures which bind them to oppressive modes of economic organisation. Conscientisation is education in its most political mode.

—human resources development: the standard list of means makes its appearances here — cottage industries, handicrafts, etc. What is important is the heading itself. Human resources are precisely the resources most likely to be overlooked in Western models of economic development which prefer to concentrate on technical and exogenous factors, possibly because they appear to be more objectively evaluable or have greater predictive capacity in their application.

—health: curative programs are excluded. Emphasis is on preventive medicine, eg, paramedical training. This is to complement the perceived propensity of some governments in the Pacific rim to lock themselves into expensive high technology Western medicine which allocates health resources away from the poorest, increasing their marginalisation¹.

—community development: an acknowledgement of the central importance of existing community as a given resource for development.

The Nature and Work of the Partners:

The Australian and the Canadian agencies were the first to pool the resources which they had earmarked for Asia. Shortly after this the Catholic agencies from fifteen other nations — both HIC and LIC — accepted invitations to join the nascent Partnership. The 1976 Evaluation Report lists the variety of agencies² and their differing functions. They range from the European agencies Trocaire (Ireland),

¹ by which is meant the tendency of social structures to bias the 'nature and distribution of the social product against the poorest' (Elliot op cit p 2) and to force them out of meaningful participation in political processes which might change this.

² Partners in Development, section 1.2

Comite contre le Faim (France), through the Commonwealth agencies, ACR (Australia), NZCOAC (New Zealand) and CCODP (Canada) to agencies in the Asian countries engaged in a wide range of functions. The Catholic agencies in the following countries were represented at the 1976 evaluation¹: Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, France, Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Ireland, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Pakistan, Burma and Taiwan.

By the time of the Second General Assembly in 1979, the Partnership had risen to 21 members, 14 Asian, 4 European and the 3 original Commonwealth members².

The Partnership meets as a plenary (General Assembly) to determine policy and identify priorities every two years. Additionally, the Executive Committee of the Partnership meets six-monthly to allocate monies to projects and programs in accordance with the priorities elaborated at the General Assembly. As will be apparent already, the nature of the Partnership is a pooling (by the partners) of resources destined for development work in Asia³. The relationship between the partners is multilateral — eliminating what is perceived to be the negative elements involved in the superceded bi-lateral 'donor-recipient' relationship. What is pooled in the partnership is, obviously, the material resources referred to above. Additionally, however, there is a pooling of experiences and lessons drawn from reflection on these experiences which are usable in the education of the constituency (and wider society)

¹ Partners in Development, section 1.2

² APHD Vision and Process: the report of the Second General Assembly Penang, Nov - Dec 1979 (APHD, Sydney 1980).

³ development, as distinct from relief: "The Partnership is a development agency. It is not involved in emergency relief work or welfare. Even where funds are allocated for such desperate situations as present-day Kampuchea, it is earmarked for the development projects in education...etc." Vision and Process p 4.

in the HIC. These experiences relate to the causes and cures of underdevelopment, perceived, as it is, as a condition of violence imposed on the poor and perpetuated by social structures.

"Achieving (the objectives of the Partnership) depends primarily on the organisation, awareness and participation of the poor and oppressed in that struggle for their development and self-determination. However, since many of the factors causing underdevelopment and oppression have their origins in wealthier industrialised countries, removing the causes is also the responsibility of people in those countries. Part of the work of APHD¹ is devoted to helping that effort."²

History of the Partnership:

An outline of the history of the APHD is contained in the documentation covering the Evaluation of the Partnership (1976), the Reports of the First (Dec 1977) and Second (Dec 1979) General Assemblies, the regular Newsletters from the Secretariate and reports on the progress of the Partnership made to, and noted in the Minutes of the regular Meetings of Australian Catholic Relief.

a) Guidelines for the APHD: were first published in June 1973³. It was envisaged that the Partnership should assist self-help development projects in selected Asian countries. Specifically excluded (for reasons which should be apparent from chapters one to four) were disasters and emergencies for which help was available from the parent agencies directly. One of the parent agencies⁴ was to provide the services of a secretariate for the Partnership. The Partnership was constituted for three years, after which an Evaluation was to be undertaken

¹ through Development Education.

² Vision and Process p 4.

³ The following paragraphs rely on unpublished information provided as background documentation to participants in the Evaluation of the APHD (May 1976). It comes in turn from the Minutes of five APHD Committee Meetings and relevant correspondence.

⁴ Australian Catholic Relief.

to advise on future operations. It was expected that the processes adopted by the Partnership would, "...allow for more efficiency and give greater involvement in decision making to all concerned."

The APHD (projects) Review Committee, initially charged with making recommendations to the parent agencies on the funding of projects, quickly evolved (by its second Meeting in March 1974) into a committee of final responsibility. This contributed to its being responsible for giving the Partnership a life of its own quite distinct from that of the two parent agencies. Membership of this Committee, which is the policy-making level of the Partnership is on the basis of competence, rather than regional representation. The organisation is a partnership of sponsoring (development) agencies. Agencies, however, are not automatically represented on the APHD Committee — a testimony to the commitment of the partners to the avoidance of situations where nationals may feel obliged to defend prospective projects emanating from their own country. Decision making, from the first meeting onwards, has been by consensus rather than by majority.

b) Criteria for the Selection of Projects: At the first meeting of the Committee the following, presumably unranked, criteria were accepted for the (ex ante) evaluation of projects. Footnoted are refinements or reviews made by subsequent meetings.

- 1 urgent need of a community¹;
- 2 technical and economic feasibility²;
- 3 degree of dependency of the project on a single person or group to ensure implementation.

¹ Finally a value judgement "made in combination with a representative of the national agency, the applicant and the group representing the community." (p 9) Need is meant globally, not regionally (eg, groups with a common interest).

² Nowhere is it explained on what criteria economic and (!) technical feasibility are to be judged.

- 4 probability of continuity of the project¹;
- 5 the degree to which the project leads towards the 'development' of the people being worked with. By way of unpacking the word development, the complementary 'self-reliance', 'self-development' and 'conscientisation' are used²;
- 6 the degree of participation of the community in the project;
- 7 counterpart resources provided from local resources³.

These criteria for the selection of projects were to be (and have been) reviewed at each meeting. Part of the perspective of this review was the observation that development was a process which involved both the LICs and the HICs.

c) Accessibility of the Partnership: Although the APHD is a grouping of Catholic agencies in the Asia-Pacific region, it was concerned from its initial meeting onwards that all groups should have access to its processes and resources. Whether it has in fact been used by other than Catholic groups in the way envisaged is another matter. But from the start it was the committee's policy that all projects which fitted into its priorities would be considered. The advantage of this, from the partners' point of view was that it would open up channels of communication in Asia distinct from those currently available to it.

¹ In principle, a constant danger where a project is overly dependent on the genius, charisma, etc, of a single individual or a group from a single agency is non-continuity.

² Development, it emerges, (p 10) is seen as best assured where there is a strong base of community participation in the project. Interestingly, and perhaps crucially for the methodology of the APHD, "The need of a community may be articulated by an individual..." This ability to articulate is seen as needing the complement of the ability to and resources for mobilising "the people" for action.

³ Obviously reflecting some past difficulties, this criterion should, it seems, be interpreted as affirming the principle of transfer of funds to counterpart agencies, not expatriates. Subsequent meetings noted that this item's tone reflected preoccupations of HIC agencies and reflected a one-sided view of development.

Methodology of the Partnership:

In this section we shall examine the selection and evaluation of projects as carried out by the Partnership. Such selection and evaluation derives from a world view which is distinctive. We shall not detain ourselves with speculation as to whether such a world view is reasonable: that would need to be the subject of a different study. Rather we shall, following Berger¹ assume that the world view is real in its effects, that what is perceived to be real is real in the outcomes of the activities of those (actors) who perceive².

World View: The following gives a fair summary of the operative world view. From the perspectives of urban and rural Asia, the problem of underdevelopment and the reasons for its continuation are seen to be³:

"...the division of (rich and poor world) societies into dominant elites and dependent classes. The dominant classes include the transnational companies, the local political elite and the governments which back them, the local economic elites, whether in industry or agriculture who are often linked to foreign interests. Those dominated are principally the peasants and the industrial and landless agricultural workers.

The networks of the transnational corporations and their dependent local elites seek maximisation of profits for which maximisation of power is a prerequisite. The corporations are agents of the rich industrialised world and use the Third World as a source for agricultural commodities and mineral resources to feed the rich world's industries; as a market for its products; as a cheap and docile labour pool; as a site for its pollutant industries. The corporations are apt to transfer their operations and resources regardless of the consequent dislocation caused in the host nations' economies. Thus, though independence from colonialism has been achieved, a new economic and political dependence or neo-colonialism is now daily reinforced. The Asian economies are locked into the economies of the industrialised countries and it is the poor in Asian countries

¹ Berger P. and Luckmann T. The Social Construction of Reality — a Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge Doubleday and Co N.Y. First Edition 1966.

² "...all legitimations are human products; their existence has its base in the lives of concrete individuals and has no empirical status apart from those lives." Berger and Luckmann op cit p 118.

³ Partners in Development, APHD section 3.1.

who suffer from the ills of this situation. Commodities are highly priced; wages are low; workers are laid off; crop shares are small for the peasants and there are increasing restrictions on collective efforts for self-improvement, ie, on labour movements and peasants' organisations.

As these elites seek to maintain power and protect their interests they tend to build up the military and police capability of their governments for the control of their peoples and they frequently do this with the assistance of First World countries. Political imprisonment...result(s) from the resort to repression and denial of human rights."

It hardly needs adding that this analysis of the Asian reality within which the Partnership operates would be contested by many prestigious agencies, both official and non-governmental. In subsequent documentation, however, the Partnership has been unyielding. This is the construction of reality out of which it operates. The Report of the Second General Assembly, for example¹, reaffirming the priority areas of work of the Partnership looked at the social milieu of these groups:

"Minority cultural communities (are exploited by) tourism, mass media and the advance of consumerism.

Women...are denied a real participation in society. As a result they have a low level of awareness, few organisations for themselves and a tendency to hold on to and pass on to their children the traditional and conservative values which can only perpetuate their dependency.

Urban Poor: trade unionism...encounters effective opposition from employers and governments. Politically, the urban poor have little participation. Efforts directed at obtaining justice in economic, political or socio-cultural spheres are effectively prevented.

Political Dissenters: Arbitrary detention is widespread in the Asian region. Coupled with economic sanctions such as the denial of work to released detainees, this injustice extends to the entire family, legal representation is denied and the practice of having people 'disappear' is increasing. People living in such countries can do very little to help themselves, but pressure from other countries can be effective.

Rural Poor: Dislocation is a key feature of the rural poor because of the existing land structures. In the case of small farmers its causes include landlordism, poor prices

¹ APHD Vision and Process Report of the General Assembly held in Penang, Nov - Dec 1979 p 7 - 8.

paid for agricultural products, etc. The introduction of inappropriate technology, coupled with mechanisation, creates massive unemployment and further migration. Political structures are such that governments in these countries tend to favour cash crops for export. Inevitably, this involves foreign companies, as in the case of plantations, and strengthens the role of middlemen... Decision making becomes centralised and the distance between rich and poor increases. In many...countries the priority of developing the agricultural sector has become subservient to industrialisation, security measures and even military objectives."

This is the social and political context within which the APHD views the question of development. The views of the Partnership can be described as structuralist, ie, it views the causes of underdevelopment as an interlocking series of hostile or dysfunctional structures which impinge most severely on those with least understanding of the structures and/or those with the least power of resistance — the marginated. Elliott, commenting on the difference between structuralist and market perspectives of underdevelopment points out that

"interest groups, institutions and structures of all sorts — political, administrative, legal, tenurial and industrial — combine to ensure that markets work imperfectly, if at all. The structuralist would therefore lay emphasis upon the institutional forces that bias the nature and the distribution of the social product against the poorest." ¹

These 'institutional' forces can be countered by mobilising the people affected and assisting them with the sorts of resources which they need for working for the sorts of change which they identify as being necessary.

"We share the aspirations of all those who want to build a more human world. We look eagerly for opportunities of solidarity with all who struggle for human rights and the full development of peoples. We will act in common with them in areas such as protest, labour and community organising and the sharing of information. We adopt as a major objective the support of people in their own efforts to develop themselves..." ²

¹ Elliott op cit p 2.

² Vision and Process: Report on the Second General Assembly: APHD
p 10

Mobilising People Through the Funding of Projects:

Types of funding undertaken: In chapter two we pointed out two basic types of aid which agencies provided. They were type A aid which is aimed at structural change, and type B aid, which attempts to equip people with the means of solving problems (without reference to social structures). The type of assistance which the APHD has always had the intention of providing is type A.

The projects and programs of the APHD are designed to achieve the aims of the Partnership. The aims of the Partnership, as explicated during the 1976 Evaluation of its first three years of operation are as follows¹:

"The basic objective (of the APHD) is partnership for the development of peoples so that they take responsibility for all aspects of their lives. This partnership is to be characterised by equality in relationships among people and their organisations in Asia and the First World countries. It is a means, not an end. It is a way of operating, not only within (APHD) but beyond; ...co-operation for the building up of a new world founded on religious and human values... The strategy of the Partnership depends on the organisation, conscientisation and participation of the poor and oppressed in their struggle for integral human development and self-determination

Partnership also includes the need for First World people to change their mentality and attitudes...many of the factors causing poverty, underdevelopment and oppression in the Third World emanate from First World undertakings. These factors must be exposed and analysed."

The attempt to achieve such high ideals has given rise to a methodology one of the elements of which is the transfer of resources. The transfer of resources is aimed at the common selection of projects. Projects are envisaged, not as an end but as a means to positive social change:

"What are the best goals, objectives and strategies for (the) Partnership to pursue and support? Participants sought to discern both the obstacles and the points of entry to desired social change. Workshop groups focussed on the political and

¹ Partners in Development section 5.1 - 5.1.3

economic aspects of change, on people's organisations, on the political role of women...

Basically, the task is political: government should be through political instruments created by the people. The long-term objective is integral human development against which various strategies and models must be tested. The following elements were identified as politically important:

- participation by the people in ownership and management of industrial and agricultural enterprises and a just sharing in the fruits of their work;
- participation and representation in the decision making of government;
- indigenous cultures which reflect the aspirations...and values of the majority whilst respecting those of the minority;
- technology appropriate to the needs of the people and the environment." ¹

¹ Partners in Development section 4.1 - 4.2

We have eschewed above any evaluation of the construction of reality out of which the APHD operates. What is important methodologically is that this construction of reality is real in its effects. Some note needs to be taken, however, of a possible conflict between, on the one hand the need to operate out of a group consensus which incorporates minority preferences and, on the other hand, the insistence on self-determination by LIC communities based on their own preferences. This conflict is more apparent than real as the range of minority preferences which has to be accommodated within the Partnership is not wide. It could hardly be so where

- a) new partners must agree to the basis of Partnership before being admitted to the group (Caritas India was not admitted until 1980) and
- b) decision making follows from a shared 'exposure' program in one of the Partner countries (normally Asian) designed to narrow the range of interpretations of reality and hence to narrow the possibility of sharp divergence between the group consensus and specific minority preferences.

It may further be argued that this has authoritarian implications for individual partners. Possibly this is so, though it must be remembered that we are speaking of a partnership of groups — a collective of collectives, not of individuals. (which means, crudely, that resentments are harder to focus!).

Implicit in the Partnership is that group interpretations have their own validity within their own sphere, which is partly why partners do not attempt to make their own decisions independently on the same matters that the Partnership decided on, a principle known in RC circles as subsidiarity. The practical application of subsidiarity

The Partnership has commissioned two studies to evaluate the degree to which the projects and programs undertaken actually fit the criteria which the Partnership has set itself in promoting what it defines as development. These studies are

- 1 An evaluation of Projects funded by the Asia Fund for Human Development, Sept 1973 to Dec 1975, undertaken for the purposes of the initial Evaluation of the APHD in 1976 and
- 2 An overview of Projects funded by the APHD since the First General Assembly Sept 1977 to May 1979, undertaken for the purposes of the Second General Assembly in 1979.

The following section on the extent to which the Partnership itself sees the appropriateness of means to ends relies to a significant extent on the above two documents.

First Evaluation of Projects by the APHD 1973-5:

- 1 The Evaluation Committee in 1976 noted:

"the growing importance given to projects which seek to free people from constraints which impede their integral human development. Characteristic of such projects (are) the growing awareness among people of the real causes of underdevelopment, the formulation of strategies and programs to overcome such causes and the participation of people themselves in their implementation and evaluation...and...the increasing number of projects which (seek) support for change agents in order to foster this process." ¹

Some 265 projects were approved of 450 submitted to September 1975.

The largest number of projects approved were from the Philippines.

Indonesia, Korea, Taiwan and Sri Lanka, which absorbed some 75% of the \$1.1 million made available. The leading groups at which projects were targetted were:

may well be the reason why potential conflicts of preference are not actualised (or have not been so far as far as one can see from the documentation). Conflicting preferences in the area of development education may well be a source of conflict in the future (partners having definite ideas of the needs of their own constituencies and the Partnership having others). As yet, however, it is too early to tell.

¹ 1976 Evaluation p 11.

- a) village or community groups,
- b) farmers and fishermen,
- c) youth and student organisations,
- d) worker groups,
- e) other individual or organisational change agents.

Of the project proponents, one-third were non-Asian.

The Evaluation Committee was aware of the deficiencies in the extent to which projects fitted the overall developmental aims of the Partnership. It observed:

"While projects have a general thrust towards self-reliance and self-development, they remain weak in relation to project dependence on a (particular) person, group or organisation, continuity of the project, participation of the community and technical and economic feasibility. Specifically, for instance, hardly any reference is made¹ to target beneficiaries' participation in planning; there is practically no provision or scheme to transfer administration or responsibility for the project to the beneficiaries themselves (and) there is a lack of in-built evaluation or auto-analysis."²

At that stage deficiencies were becoming apparent in the other aims of the Partnership as well. There were in the area of³:

- a) Reporting: because of poor feedback, the Partnership was limited in the extent to which it could engage in 'dialogue with and reflection on the realities of Asia'. The Partnership, similarly, had little notion of the extent to which projects were contributing to local conscientisation which was fundamental to the overall developmental methodology of the model.
- b) Donor-Recipient Relationship: although this was being reversed or equalised in respect of the funding agencies it was seen to be perpetuated in the relationship between the local project proponent and the

¹ ie, in projects submitted to the APHD

² 1976 Evaluation Summary (a separate document for internal use) p 1

³ Ibid

local target community.

- c) The rationale of the Partnership was to contribute to the elimination of the causes of underdevelopment. It was questionable whether some important types of funding were promoting this, eg, support for co-operatives, particular skills training programs, etc.
- d) Openness to non-Christian groups in the region: although this was an important principle in the operation of the Partnership, it was not reflected in the actual projects funded, the vast majority of which had Church related proponents and/or target groups. It was felt likely that the Partnership's structure tended to preclude the operationalisation of this principle, pointing to a need to alter the Partnership's structure itself.
- e) The preponderance of aid going to a few countries: it was suspected that this bias could be the result of superior structures in the local Church agency rather than of varying needs — a clear question of justice to be resolved.

2 The Second Evaluation¹ of projects funded by the Partnership prepared for the Second General Assembly noted some positive changes in the direction of funding.

"From a rough classification of the projects with some kind of (evaluative) data, about two-thirds had financial reports, a little less than half referred to realising some objectives and one-third indicated some strategy of education/conscientisation. Only one-third of projects had some indication of any growth in people's self-reliance, self-development and conscientisation and only about one-fifth provided some kind of critical analysis of the progress made by projects so far. By and large improvement (was) noticeable when related to the 1976 Evaluation on aspects of financial report and critical analysis of project progress."

It was noted specifically that since the 1976 evaluation there had been:

- a) a better geographical spread of assistance,
- b) an increase in the approval rate of submitted projects,

¹ Overview of Projects funded by the APHD Sept 1977 to May 1979.

- c) a doubling in the mean size of financial assistance,
- d) a qualitative improvement in some types of projects submitted and approved, viz, community based health programs, programs for political prisoners and their families, and human rights programs generally,
- e) a rise in the proportion of funds going to finance operating costs of projects and a decline in the proportion going to capital costs.

Interestingly, from the perspective of the Partnership's view of the developmental problem, there was the observation that:

"there was a slight increase in assistance to social welfare activities, which, as a priority, does not situate within the Partnership guidelines, but which could be understood in some specific instances as the only form of action possible."¹

The 1976 Evaluation of the Partnership had recommended² that future tasks of the Partnership, in collaboration with partnership agencies in Asia and the Pacific, should include:

- a) support for action oriented research and documentation on social justice issues,
- b) increased communication within the APHD network,
- c) facilitating among partners the opportunity to experience the life situations of the poor in order to strengthen "understanding of the realities of structured injustice."³
- d) consolidating the work of partner agencies which are called on to do the bulk of the work of the Partnership,
- e) the systematic study of aspects of poverty and development,
- f) the support of —training of community organisers,
—preventive health services,
—seminars, conferences, etc, which would consolidate peoples' organisations
—the development of appropriate technology.

The Second Evaluation commented⁴ on the extent to which these tasks had been achieved:

¹ Overview of Projects p 6

² Report of Evaluation: section 5.2.4

³ Ibid

⁴ Overview of Projects p 6

- a) 3.3% of project approvals were in this area,
- b), c) and e): little development of project funding in these areas,
- d) there had been a development of direct aid to partnership agencies to assist them in consolidating their administrative and evaluative structures,
- f) apart from the support of projects designed to stimulate the development of appropriate technology, these priority areas had all been supported and a consistently larger proportion of allocations had gone to them.

Of the critical points raised in the 1976 evaluation (p 111 above) there had been some improvement, though serious weaknesses remained in the areas of

- project dependency on a single person or group
- project continuity and economic feasibility
- self-reliance, conscientisation and community participation in design and implementation. This clearly implied that

"most sponsoring organisations or proponents do not have a firm grasp of the whole concept of education-conscientisation ...and ultimately the development of self-reliance." ¹

- the large number of proponents and target groups which were Church-linked
- the slowness of the counterpart agency in transferring administrative responsibility and evaluation back to the beneficiaries themselves.

A brief summary of the Partnership's own evaluation of the types of project funded and their effectiveness in relation to ends is attached in Appendix (i) to this chapter.

Evaluation of the Individual Project:

Reference was made in both the First and Second Evaluations of the APHD to the degree of adequacy of the methods of individual project evaluation utilised by the project proponents. The evaluation of the impact of overseas remittances of agencies can best be examined with reference to the impact of particular projects. The evaluation of

¹ Overview of Projects: p 7

individual projects, then, plays an important role in the operations of the Partnership itself.

It is important to distinguish between evaluation and monitoring. The latter is a simple information-gathering exercise¹ which attempts to measure the degree and the rate of change brought about by the project. Evaluation, on the other hand, implies "the assessment, on the basis of this information, of the acceptability of the changes and adjustments taking place; the advisability of corrective action and the selection of alternative measures should corrective action be necessary."²

Evaluation, to be an effective tool in development, is not simply an ex post exercise; rather, it is continual, having a pre-implementation, implementation and post-implementation phase. Efficient evaluation presupposes that criteria have been delineated beforehand and that monitoring is both possible and accurate.

The need to evaluate projects derives from the following factors:

- 1 In bi-lateral arrangements, agencies are not always aware of the degree to which they are responding to urgent needs in the LICs and the degree to which they are responding to the needs of their own domestic constituency.
- 2 Perceptions of the nature of particular problems change. The evaluation of a project is the most obvious way for the findings of new research to enter the normal processes of an agency. The effect of new research into the world food problem on the activities of agencies in the food area is a case in point.
- 3 A domestic agency must know the degree to which the receiving agency

¹ see World Bank Staff Working Paper No 295 The Technology of Rural Development Oct 1978 p 25

² Ibid

is in touch with the reality of the conditions at the local level where the project is implemented. Working through the most appropriate agency (locally) is the optimum way of ensuring that the remitting agency's own guidelines are observed.

- 4 At the local level, the level at which the project is implemented, the people's own perception of their own needs will change (*a fortiori* if the aim of the project is consciousness raising). Some sort of evaluation is necessary to ensure that the changed perception of needs and methods is translated into future projects.
- 5 To the extent that the education of the remitting agency's own constituency is a high priority — and to the extent that this is achieved through projects — the evaluation of projects is a necessary step in ensuring that Development Education is kept current.

When there has been a shift in the nature of the projects being evaluated, for example, when norms of 'human liberation' are stressed, or the participation of the community affected in project selection is placed paramount, there may, in principle, be some increased difficulty in evaluation, as the criteria are not simply technical. This will be so unless the human values being stressed are compatible with the selection of proxy measures of physical change consistently related to the stated norms for development. The quality of participation and formation of the target community is one, albeit weak, proxy measure of physical change which is stressed in the evaluation processes of APHD.

The APHD's guide for the evaluation of projects¹ sets out a method by which projects should be evaluated at the pre-implementation stage, keeping in mind:

¹ Asia Partnership for Human Development: Guide for the Evaluation of Projects; agenda item 12 of May 1980 Meeting of the Executive Committee.

- a) the developmental norms of the Partnership and
- b) the criteria already used by partner agencies for the evaluation of projects.

Pre-implementation evaluation: Currently, the information sought from project proponents includes the following¹:

Project Proponents: What is the social orientation of the project proponents?

The Community: Who shall directly benefit from the project? What is the proportion of the benefitting community to the total population in the area where the project is located?

—What has been and what will be the community's participation in the project?

—in preparation and planning?

—in decision making?

—in implementation and follow-up?

—financially?

—Does the project promote leadership in the community?

—Could...participation in the project be available to a larger number of people at the project location?

Project aims: Does the project respond to...immediate and expressed needs of the people?

—Does the project attempt to create in the community a genuine awareness of their situation?

Project Methodology: Are the methods used at all stages consistent with the objectives of the project?

—Does the project lead to (positive social?)

¹ Ibid: the full list of questions is attached as Appendix (ii) to this chapter.

change, social justice and (better?) community organisation?

—Is there provision for regular evaluation of the project by the community?

The above extracts from the pre-implementation document indicate the high level of priority placed on community participation in the project. The participation and formation of the target community are a key aim in project evaluation and, as indicated above, may be taken as a proxy measure of physical change.

Implementational evaluation:

The implementational phase of evaluation is undertaken by means of what is called auto-evaluation, by which the project proponents themselves evaluate the progress of the project in terms of the goals stated at the commencement of the project and the changes in the project which have appeared subsequently. Auto-evaluation would seem to have two obvious advantages.

- a) It encourages the project proponent to evaluate the degree to which the project, as it develops, fits the aims of the project as originally outlined. This means that any drift of the project from the original specifications can be identified and evaluated.
- b) It ensures that proponents are encouraged to accentuate aspects of the project which, even though they may not have been identified at the start of the project, appear during the project to be important with respect to fundamental development aims.

Auto-analysis, additionally, provides some (albeit weak) check on the degree to which proponents incorporate the target community in evaluation (and hence in the final outcome of the project).

Post-Implementational Evaluation:

The criteria used here are the initial criteria as well as the

other factors isolated as new, though compatible factors in stage two (above). It includes the evaluation of new factors which have come out in the course of the project, for example, the evaluation of a farmers' co-operative which has come out of a project to build irrigation canals.

The Cost of Evaluation:

Project evaluation, it is obvious, is more than simply the basis for project selection. For once a project is selected the process of evaluation is continued in order to identify positive unanticipated outcomes with a view to their replication in other projects. The most challenging aspect of the methodology of the evaluation processes of APHD is that it is done at minimal cost since the process of evaluation at all stages is carried out predominantly by those undertaking and benefitting from the project.

What is being evaluated? At first glance this question seems out of place. Surely the evaluation needs to be conducted in terms of the original project aims? As pointed out above, however, the original project aims may (indeed in a truly dynamic project will) become amplified by newly perceived possibilities — the possibility of a co-operative coming out of an irrigation canal project for example. Post-implementation evaluation will take these new developments into account and ensure that the benefitting community has learned that it has in fact benefitted in this additional way, and the reasons for this, especially where the reasons are plainly connected to improved community organisation.

What is being evaluated needs to be looked at more in terms of the final aims of the Partnership which are to assist communities to acquire and utilise the power they need to accomplish their own development. The political aspect of development here involves the attempt to enhance people's control over their environment, and whatever else,

evaluation should assess the degree to which this control has been enhanced. From the APHD's criteria for evaluation (see above), it seems clear that control over project design and implementation by the affected community is the first consideration in evaluating the degree of control acquired by the community over its total environment. Once that has been established, the supplementary questions can be asked: how does the project itself assist in enhancing control over the immediate and wider social, economic and political environments in which the affected communities live and work¹.

The proxy measure of development, then, is the degree of involvement of the benefitting community. What enhances (a) involvement in project design and implementation and (b) participation of the benefitting community in social and political decisions which affect it, enhances development!

The Partnership Model: the degree to which means have been related to ends:

By the time of the second evaluation of the projects of the APHD (mentioned above) it was apparent that the organisation was itself reasonably satisfied with the direction and quality of efforts it had made. Appendix (i) summarises the organisation's assessment of the period 1977-9. Two criteria are particularly relevant to the measurement of development and some statement of the way in which the organisation views its own performance in relation to (a) development of people in terms of self-reliance, self-development and conscientisation, and (b) participation of the community (the beneficiaries) in (selection and implementation of) the project, is necessary by way of showing

¹ see World Bank Staff Working Paper No 375 The Design of Organisations for Rural Development Projects, March 1980, for some insight into parallel thinking in WB circles. There are some close similarities, (political action as the attempt to acquire and utilise control over the environment) and some dissimilarities (beneficiaries are assumed to be individuals rather than communities).

how the evaluations are, as it were, evaluated.

a) On the evidence to hand (and for some projects there was little data) some progress had been made, through the projects funded, in the development of people, "in terms of self-reliance, self-development and conscientisation" by May 1979, indeed much earlier, since there is little difference between the evaluation of 1979 and that of 1977.

Evidence for this was in terms of (among other things)

- i) education, formation and conscientisation of benefitting communities with a resultant increase in their ability to analyse their own society and a rise of interest in "traditional forms of collective work."¹
- ii) conscientisation of the public with a consequent increase in the level of public support for human rights in different areas.
- iii) an improvement in social and economic power through the effects of skills training and the increased opportunities available in the small business (and agriculture) sectors.²

The basic strategy of the Partnership is, as was pointed out above, education-conscientisation of the poor, so it is not surprising to find these aspects evaluated first under the heading of development of people. Although progress had been made in utilising this as a basic development methodology, there was still considerable distance to go before project proponents and those responsible for implementation realised its fundamental place in the overall strategy of development as pursued by the Partnership.

"A rough before/after comparison of the projects (as planned and as implemented) reveals that a significant number of projects failed to indicate follow-through of the basic strategy of education-conscientisation or some aspect of it which was originally apparent in the projects as planned..."³

¹ Note that it is the methodology (traditional and co-operative) rather than the productivity of such work which is the focus of attention!

² Note that a rise in the economic and welfare indicators is placed third in the list after two sub-sets of conscientisation.

³ Overview of Projects funded by APHD Sept 1977 - May 1979 p 5.

The reason for this failure to follow through on such basic factors as the fundamental strategy of the Partnership is not revealed. One may surmise, however, if experience from other agencies is any guide that at least part of the answer lies in the ability of project proponents to word project applications in terms of the agency's development strategy almost regardless of the actual content. This factor, in the case of the Partnership, can be expected to be minimised by the oversight exercised by Partnership members of the habits of local project proponents. Perhaps a more important factor in this failure of some proponents to achieve satisfactorily in this area is the implicit need for the Partnership to be seen to engage in some attempts to spread its funding equitably on a geographical basis. Projects proponents not fully imbued with the ideology of the Partnership may thus be able to have projects approved which would have less chance if they emanated from another country. Indeed, the Second Evaluation points out

"a better spreading out of assistance for the countries in terms of both number of projects and amount of assistance."¹

b) The second evaluation also pointed to, on the basis of evidence to hand, a better level of participation of the benefitting community in the selection and implementation of projects. In a significant number of cases there were varying levels of participation via any of the following means: contribution of manual labour, participation in workshops and seminars, contributions of cash, the actual planning and implementation of projects and as a source of information for those (others) drawing up the project proposal.

Beyond this (a and b above), it is difficult to quantify the degree of fit of the projects to the aims of the Partnership at this stage. The Partnership itself acknowledges the inadequacy of the data

¹ Overview of Projects 1977-9 p 6.

available to it for thorough assessment, confined, as it is to written assessments (summaries of project applications, progress reports, agency evaluation and other publications concerning projects)¹. Also, its own evaluation procedures are still in a state of evolution: it will take time for a thoroughgoing system to be built up whereby the high ideals and often intangible aims of the Partnership can be monitored and assessed through the evaluation of the projects it supports. For example, the Second General Assembly contributed² to the evolution of these evaluation procedures by adopting a number of new structures. These included

- i) the appointment of staff to evaluate projects beyond the scope of the individual member agency,
- ii) regional consultation of agency members for evaluation of programs,
- iii) closer contact with project proponents and beneficiaries,
- iv) training seminars for agency personnel engaged in evaluation, and
- v) the short-term exchange, between agencies, of staff engaged in evaluation.

This evolution of the tools of project evaluation can be expected to continue in the APHD. The project itself, it needs to be remembered, is thought of as having a purpose additional to the physical outcomes in the benefitting community. This additional outcome is the cementing of partnership itself, ie, the strengthening of the international agency co-operation and communication which has come about through the operation of the Partnership's methodology. The wording of the Second General Assembly is clear enough:

¹ Overview of Projects 1977-9 p 1

² APHD Second General Assembly (1979) Vision and Process p 12.

"While projects are only one of the activities of the APHD, they are nonetheless...a means for pursuing other objectives of the agency. Among these, the primary one is partnership." ¹

Projects: additional spinoffs:

The project, as pointed out above, is thought of as having purposes additional to the physical outcomes in the benefitting community. Some brief examination of the principal 'spinoffs' is in order here so that we can see how the project in its whole context promotes the aims of the Partnership. The chief spinoffs of the projects funded by the Partnership are in the areas of

- i) network and its place in promoting a common regional understanding of development,
 - ii) Development Education in the HIC, and
 - iii) conscientisation in the LIC.
- i) Network: In chapter three we made brief mention of the operations the network of the parent agency and its importance in building up a facility in sociological analysis essential for understanding the phenomena of development. The APHD also attaches high priority to the development of the network and the more precise understanding of the variables governing development which this can promote. The idea of a network is something of an analogy taken from the biological sciences where complex entities are recognised as built up from less complex constituent parts in turn composed of sub-systems which reach down to the lowly single cell (which, itself, is a complex interacting set of hierarchies). Like all living organisms, human communications networks are active rather than reactive (as a machine would be). They have a capacity to sustain themselves indefinitely in a state of dynamic equilibrium². Taking an additional analogy from Physics, closed

¹ Vision and Process p 21.

² Koestler A. The Gost in the Machine Picador London 1975 (first published 1967) p 198ff

systems tend to entropy — the random distribution of energy over the entire mass — and one of the dangers facing any information network is that of becoming closed and shifting to the position where energy is absorbed into forms in which it is not available for effective development but is negated in leakages, bottlenecks and the many other manifestations of dissipated energy. Entropy is the characteristic of closed systems only and our focus ought to be, rather, on the positive emergence of more complex forms in open networks — forms which enable an enhanced capacity for analysis, action and revaluation.

"In modern communications theory, entropy is equated with 'noise' which causes a waste of information (it may be acoustic noise like the hum on the radio receiver, or 'visual noise' like the flickering of the TV image). Our perceptions, then, become 'negative noises', knowledge becomes negative ignorance...and cosmos the absence of chaos. But whatever the terminology, the fact remains that living organisms have the power to build up ordered coherent perceptions and complex systems of knowledge out of the chaos of sensations impinging on them... The same irrepressible 'building up' tendency is manifested in phylogenesis in the phenomena of evolution by initiative, the slow progress towards more complex forms and functions, the emergence of new levels in the organismic hierarchy and of new methods of co-ordination resulting in greater independence from, and mastery of, the environment." ¹

The development of an open network has been enhanced, in the Partnership, by the way in which projects have been selected and evaluated.

The selection of projects takes place twice annually, at meetings of the executive, the members of which themselves undertake an 'exposure' program to re-familiarise themselves with the experiences of life, personally at village or (urban) slum level. Executive members from different agencies in the different member countries thus undertake a common exposure experience with a common debriefing prior to selecting projects. This contributes to a common analysis of the phenomena of underdevelopment among the agencies in the region and wider ramifica-

¹ Koestler op cit p 199

tions through the local network through which the executive member operates.

The fruits of this common exposure program and the common debriefing can be seen in the consensus statement following one of the exposure programs:

"In Malaysia, the exposure program covered plantation workers, small farmers and fishermen and urban workers. Low earnings, the dominance of foreign investment and a lack of political participation were marked in much of this experience... Pollution and consumerism had arrived with the model of economic development advocated by leading politicians. Strict and repressive labour and union laws, poor housing and basic amenities generally made for a tightly held working population. This exposure group saw a place for the APHD in animating people from all these sectors to identify their needs and press for their rights. The APHD could also provide links with other groups elsewhere in Aisa and the First World." ¹

This, it bears repeating, is a consensus statement from a group of people from outside Malaysia, mostly visiting for the first time, having lived (briefly) with elements of the poor and about to settle on priority areas of funding for a variety of project submissions from around Asia. The function of the exposure program in providing a near to common consciousness in the area of social analysis should be apparent.

As far as the network goes, the exposure program can be envisaged as providing new 'energy' in the form of informational and analytical input to decision makers. In a complex environment it represents the building up of "ordered coherent perceptions and complex systems of knowledge out of the chaos of sensations..." of which Koestler spoke.

ii) Development Education: Development Education which is based on information deriving from the experiences in the field of different projects has the potential for making the issues involved more urgent and to present them more positively than generalised education programs

¹ Vision and Process p 16

based on an overview of the entire Third World. For the APHD to explain which project it is funding and why these in preference to other projects can help its constituents to ask the same questions which the partners themselves asked in the first place. The 1976 evaluation of the APHD recognised this: reviewing the progress of the previous three years the Meeting noted that the Partnership had previously

"confirmed that development education and issues of justice would remain the thrust of the work of the donor countries ...while development (operational) actions/programs would be carried out in the receiving countries in the light of their needs. It was seen that a means of information (had) to be established by which agencies in the materially advanced countries could articulate the needs of the less materially advanced countries." ¹

The 1976 evaluation itself came up with a plan for making that commitment operational:

"the files (of the APHD) contain a wealth of information on Asian countries and on the issues which contribute to under-development in the region... The project system could be made use of as a means of dialogue on the very concept of development. Projects could be effective tools for development education if they contain a strong educational component." ²

By the time of the Second General Assembly in 1979 this proposal had not been made completely effective. The Meeting reaffirmed it in one of its resolutions:

"(8) APHD should make a selection of suitable projects with more detailed information which could be used for development education..." ³

Although projects have not yet become the basis of development education programs among the constituencies of the members, the Partnership is committed to this methodology. It is still a minor, though potentially very important spinoff of the Partnership's projects.

¹ The Evolution of the APHD: A Background (prepared for use during the APHD Evaluation in May 1976) p 18.

² The Evolution of the APHD: op cit p 20

¹ Vision and Process p 13.

Partnership as an Exchange:

In the final part of this chapter we address ourselves to the question of what the nature of the partnership principle is in relation to development. In chapter one we noted the distinction between development and economic development. The former encompassed political, social and cultural goals of communities in LICs. The latter emphasised the growth in quantifiable benefits and must be viewed as essentially a welfare measurement. It is obvious that the notion of development with which the APHD works is highly normative. The most recent summary of it from the APHD's point of view stresses an almost bewildering array of ethical positions¹. The promotion of development involves, for members:

- common priorities (and analyses?)
- involvement with those most affected — the urban and rural poor
- solidarity with those struggling for human rights and development
- the support of peoples in their own efforts to develop themselves
- bringing the demands of minorities into national and international focus
- support for workers' rights: solidarity with strikers and those locked out
- support for the victims of political repression
- the development of international links with kindred bodies, eg, trade union movements, environment groups and human rights bodies
- monitoring the activities of governments and transnational business
- pressuring the governments of HICs on human rights questions
- the education of each member agency's constituency
- the development of mechanisms for the interchange of information

This notion of development can be reduced to something like the follow-

¹ Vision and Process p 10-11

ing. Development is a political process. It involves the ending of underdevelopment which is a condition of violence imposed on the poor. The optimum (authentic) methodology of such development is for communities to generate their own development goals and strategies. In this they can be aided by change agents from within their own country but possibly from outside their own communities. These change agents, in turn, can be the channel for carrying to the developing community international help (solidarity) conceived not as charity but as just restitution for the exploitation which those in HICs wreak on those in LICs via linkage mechanisms such as transnational business and inter-governmental arrangements. Because development is a process of political self-determination which all people can undergo, there is a place for establishing forums for the exchange and pooling of what is needed for maintaining international solidarity. Material assistance can be pooled: so can information, as well as skilled personnel, ideas on and methodologies of education. Political pressure which cannot be applied in one country can be applied in another country if there are adequate links and the means for appropriate exchanges.

Such is the broad idea of development which, it should now be apparent, is the basis of operations of the APHD. It has come a long way from Meier's formulation of the fifties (chapter one).

It is our contention that partnership is uniquely suitable as a methodology for facilitating the development of communities where 'development' is conceived in the normative terms outlined above. It is appropriate to the extent that development can be fostered by the international exchange (of money, ideas, personnel, political support, etc) which partnership makes possible.

We shall return to a fuller evaluation of APHD in the next chapter. For our purposes here, however, it is apparent that the idea

of partnership was worked out to meet certain difficulties experienced by some of the agencies. That it has met those difficulties in the APHD is attested by the growth of and the extension of the principle of partnership among Catholic agencies in the region and among HIC agencies having interests in the region. Partnership has been found to facilitate exchange and this exchange has been found to be a significant factor in development.

If partnership is an exchange, it is based on the premise that comparatively small resources from outside the community can act as a catalyst in the process of development. Partnership, then, is a means of providing that catalyst. Development, of course, is a process that happens in both HICs and LICs: it affects communities that are poor and those that are affluent. Partnership attempts to act as a catalyst in both situations, facilitating the exchange of those necessary exogenous ingredients (money, ideas, personnel) which are needed by both sets of communities in achieving the development goals they have set themselves.

In this chapter we have examined aspects of partnership. We have concentrated particularly on the generation of priorities by the APHD and on the world view which determines these. We have focussed, as well, on the degree to which projects are an adequate means for mobilising people for development and how the APHD has evaluated its own success here. Finally, we have taken an initial look at the degree to which the means available to the APHD have proved adequate to the ends.

There are some obvious questions which this chapter has not addressed, partly because they lie outside the scope of the study and partly because they will be dealt with to some extent in the next chapter. Among the former, which ought to be mentioned in passing are: World view: It may be asked how well the structuralist world view of

the APHD accords with political and economic reality. The structuralist world view determines the structuralist ends of the APHD. The means to these ends include participation, partnership and the particular management technique of the APHD. It is not the values which are built into means and ends which are in question — they are data — but rather the extent to which the world in which these values are supposed to have an influence conforms to reality. The Partnership's analysis of the world can at least be said to be real in the effects which it has on its operations. That is, it acts in accordance with its own analysis. This can be seen from the way it evaluates projects, the criteria for failure, success, etc. There is a large literature, however, which questions this world view. It is perhaps best represented currently in the works of P.T. Bauer¹, but finds sympathetic echoes in some of the prestigious international organisations as well — FAO and IBRD included. I believe that it is too early to answer the question about the adequacy of this approach. Lissner² points out that comparatively few agencies around the world act consciously out of a structuralist perspective, especially one that gives the initiative in development to the community affected. Until more agencies do act this way over a longer period of time, there may not be enough data to assess their efforts when compared to development strategies operating out of competing world views. The future development of the operations of the APHD will be crucial for this comparison, but after only eight years of existence, and with its basic processes still in a state of evolution, APHD itself can only assume that what it hears from its constituents and what contributes to its world view is in fact the reality that must form the basis of its actions.

¹ Bauer P.T. op cit; especially his critique of Myrdall p 223ff, of Baran p 181ff, and of the "consensus" in development Economics p 308f.

² Lissner J op cit p 276

Criteria for evaluation: There are difficulties involved in an evaluation method that does not measure simple physical outcomes (eg, gallons of water pumped through a new irrigation canal) but which uses criteria which are more general, even subjective and which may or may not be transformable into proxy measures consistently related to indexes of physical change. Conscientisation is an obvious case in point. In the long run, of course, conscientisation should contribute to the community's ability to identify the sorts of physical change it wants, but in the short run one can only assume on general principles that raising people's awareness about the social and political realities which obstruct positive social change for them will optimise later choices.

External evaluation: Most of the evaluation of projects of APHD is done internally — which makes evaluation a virtually costless item. In principle, some cross-checking ought to be done by outside evaluation (utilising different methods and different agents) to ensure that (where criteria of participation are not consistently relatable to other indexes) assessments remain objective. The lack of reference to such external evaluation in this chapter does indicate its absence in fact.

APPENDIX I

<u>CRITERIA</u>	<u>SEPTEMBER 1977</u>	<u>MAY 1978</u>	<u>NOVEMBER 1978</u>	<u>MAY 1979</u>
1 URGENCY OF NEED	CLEAR IN A SMALL MAJORITY OF PROJECTS. (ROUGHLY 5 OUT OF EVERY TEN PROJECTS)	CLEAR IN ABOUT 7 OUT OF EVERY 10 PROJECTS	CLEAR IN ABOUT 7 OUT OF EVERY 10 PROJECTS	CLEAR IN ABOUT 8 OUT OF EVERY 10 PROJECTS
2 TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY	MOST PROJECTS HAD MORE OR LESS SOME OR CLEAR INDICATIONS. MAINLY IMPLIED IN OBJECTIVES RATHER THAN METHODOLOGY OR FEASIBILITY.	MOST PROJECTS HAD MORE OR LESS SOME OR CLEAR INDICATIONS. MAINLY SEEN IN OBJECTIVES RATHER THAN METHODOLOGY OR FEASIBILITY.	MOST PROJECTS HAD MORE OR LESS SOME OR CLEAR INDICATIONS. MAINLY SEEN IN OBJECTIVES RATHER THAN METHODOLOGY OR FEASIBILITY ALTHOUGH AN IMPROVEMENT OVER SEPT 1977 AND MAY 1978	MOST PROJECTS HAD MORE OR LESS SOME OR CLEAR INDICATIONS. MAINLY SEEN IN OBJECTIVES RATHER THAN METHODOLOGY OR FEASIBILITY BUT AS IN NOVEMBER 1978 AN IMPROVEMENT OVER SEPTEMBER 1977 AND MAY 1978.
3 PROJECT DEPENDENCE ON A PERSON OR ORGANISATION TO ENSURE COMPETENCE AND IMPLEMENTATION	FOR MOST PROJECTS (ROUGHLY 4/5) MORE OR LESS IMPLIED OR CLEAR WHO CAN ENSURE COMPETENCE AND IMPLEMENTATION. THESE ARE MAINLY SPONSORING ASSOCIATIONS/AGENCIES/INDIVIDUALS/(PROponents), PROPONENTS AND PROJECT STAFF TOGETHER, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT PROPONENTS IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER GROUPS. HOWEVER, DATA IS VAGUE WHETHER MOST OR FEW OR ONE PERSON WITHIN GROUPS OF ORGANISATIONS CAN BE COUNTED ON FOR IMPLEMENTATION. VERY FEW PROJECTS INDICATE THAT BENEFICIARIES ARE NEEDED AND PARTICIPATE IN THIS ASPECT.	MORE OR LESS SIMILAR TO SEPTEMBER 1977	MORE OR LESS SIMILAR TO SEPT 1977 AND MAY 1978 EXCEPT FOR A GOOD NUMBER OF PROJECTS WHICH INDICATE THAT BENEFICIARIES ARE NEEDED AND PARTICIPATE IN THIS ASPECT.	SIMILAR TO SEPTEMBER 1977, MAY 1978 AND NOVEMBER 1978 EXCEPT LESS PROJECTS THAN NOVEMBER 1978 INDICATE THAT BENEFICIARIES NEEDED AND PARTICIPATE IN THIS ASPECT.
4 ASSURANCE OF CONTINUITY OF PROJECT	PRACTICALLY NO DATA FOR A GOOD NUMBER OF PROJECTS. MORE IMPLIED THAN CLEAR IN MOST PROJECTS. FOR A GOOD NUMBER, BASED/DEPENDENT ON EXPECTED PROCEEDS/RESULTS OF PROJECTS, SOME WOULD BE IN TERMS OF TRAINED LEADERS/WORKERS TO CARRY ON PROJECTS. CONTINUING TRAINING, FOLLOW-UP. FOR SOME IT CAN BE DEDUCED FROM THE ORGANISATION'S OR PROJECT'S PAST EXPERIENCE OR EXISTENCE. A COUPLE OF PROJECTS HAVE SELF-SUPPORTING EXISTENCE. ONE OR TWO WOULD BE PART OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, DEPENDS ON DEMAND FOR TYPE OF WORK, EXPECT SUPPORT FROM BENEFICIARIES OR FROM LOCAL CHURCH OR HAVE A GENERAL EXPECT-	PRACTICALLY NO DATA FOR A GOOD NUMBER OF PROJECTS BUT LESS SO THAN IN SEPT 1977. FOR MOST PROJECTS IN GENERAL SIMILAR TO SEPT 1977 EXCEPT THAT CONTINUITY IS IMPLIED IN MORE PROJECTS IN TERMS OF PAST EXISTENCE/EXPERIENCE.	MORE OR LESS SIMILAR TO MAY 1978 EXCEPT FOR MINOR POINTS.	MORE OR LESS SIMILAR TO MAY 1978 AND NOVEMBER 1978.

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CRITERIA	SEPTEMBER 1977	MAY 1978	NOVEMBER 1978	MAY 1979
5 DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE IN TERMS OF SELF-RELIANCE, SELF-DEV AND CONSCIENTISATION	<p>IMPLIED OR CLEAR, MAINLY SEEN THROUGH</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. EDUCATION/FORMATION/CONSCIENTISATION. (INCLUDING EDUCATION TO OR PROMOTING SOCIAL AWARENESS, ORGANISATION OF PEOPLES MOVEMENTS, SOCIAL ANALYSIS, RESTORING INTEREST IN TRADITIONAL FORMS OF COLLECTIVE WORK AND CULTURAL PRACTICE). 2. CONSCIENTISATION OF PUBLIC AND SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND FAMILIES/PROMOTING SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND ACTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. 3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT THROUGH SKILLS. TRAINING FOR ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY, AND EMPLOYMENT, SMALL AGRICULTURES, AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS, CONSTRUCTION OF BASIC PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND FACILITIES: THE RESULTS OF SOCIAL SERVICES (INCLUDING REHABILITATION OF HANDICAPPED, IMPROVEMENT OF DENTAL HYGIENE AND DENTAL SERVICES, AND OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES INCLUDING NON-FORMAL EDUCATION FOR ILLITERATE CHILDREN AND ADULTS, PROMOTION OF COOPERATIVES, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS: LEADERSHIP TRAINING, EDUCATION & PROMOTION OF COMMUNITY BASED OR PREVENTIVE HEALTH PROGRAMS. HARDLY ANY INDICATOR FOR SEVERAL PROJECTS 	<p>IMPLIED OR CLEAR, MAINLY SEEN THROUGH EDUCATION/FORMATION/CONSCIENTISATION AS IN SEPTEMBER 1977 WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT THRU SIMILAR MEANS AS IN SEPT 1977, AGAIN WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, LEADERSHIP TRAINING, EDUCATION IN FOOD AND NUTRITION AND COMMUNITY WORK OR PREVENTIVE HEALTH PROGRAMS. HARDLY ANY DATA FOR SEVERAL PROJECTS.</p>	<p>MORE OR LESS SIMILAR TO SEPT 1977 WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS. HARDLY ANY DATA FOR SEVERAL PROJECTS.</p>	<p>MORE OR LESS SIMILAR TO SEPT 1977 WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, HARDLY ANY DATA FOR SEVERAL PROJECTS.</p>
6 PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNITY (BENEFICIARIES) IN PROJECTS	<p>HARDLY ANY DATA FOR ABOUT $\frac{2}{5}$ OF PROJECTS. FOR THOSE WITH SOME INDICATION (ONE TO THREE PROJECTS EACH) IN TERMS OF MANUAL LABOR, PARTICIPATION IN WORKSHOPS/SEMINARS SOME CASH CONTRIBUTION, PLANNING & IMPLEMENTATION, SOURCE OF INFORMATION, VOLUNTEER WORK.</p>	<p>HARDLY ANY DATA FOR ABOUT $\frac{2}{5}$ OF PROJECTS. FOR THOSE WITH SOME INDICATIONS, (ONE TO FIVE PROJECTS, EACH) IN TERMS OF MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS, MANUAL LABOR PARTICIPATION IN WORKSHOPS/SEMINARS, PLANNING AND/OR IMPLEMENTATION.</p>	<p>HARDLY ANY DATA FOR ABOUT $\frac{1}{3}$ OF PROJECTS. FOR THOSE WITH SOME INDICATION PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION FOR ABOUT $\frac{1}{4}$ OF ALL PROJECTS AND FOR 1-4 PROJECTS EACH, CONTRIBUTING IN TERMS OF MANUAL LABOUR MONETARY CONTRIBUTION, PARTICIPATION IN WORKSHOPS/SEMINARS, SOURCE OF INFORMATION</p>	<p>HARDLY ANY DATA FOR MORE THAN $\frac{1}{4}$ OF PROJECTS. FOR THOSE WITH SOME INDICATIONS, MORE OR LESS SIMILAR TO NOVEMBER 1978.</p>
7 COUNTERPART GIVEN	<p>NO INFORMATION FOR ABOUT $\frac{1}{4}$ OF PROJECTS. FOR THOSE WITH DATA, MAINLY IN TERMS OF CONTRIBUTION IN CASH OR IN KIND FROM SPONSORING GROUP AND/OR BENEFICIARIES; FROM OTHER FOREIGN/LOCAL ORGANISATIONS: AND FROM BOTH SPONSORS AND OTHER FOREIGN/LOCAL ORGANISATIONS; ALSO IN TERMS OF</p>	<p>NO INFORMATION FOR ABOUT $\frac{1}{4}$ OF PROJECTS FOR THOSE WITH DATA, MAINLY IN TERMS OF CONTRIBUTION IN CASH OR IN KIND FROM SPONSORING GROUP AND/OR BENEFICIARIES (TRUE FOR TWICE AS MANY PROJECTS AS IN SEPTEMBER 1977); BOTH</p>	<p>NO INFORMATION FOR ABOUT $\frac{1}{5}$ OF PROJECTS. FOR THOSE WITH DATA, MAINLY IN TERMS OF CONTRIBUTION IN CASH OR IN KIND, FROM SPONSORING GROUP AND/OR BENEFICIARIES: FROM OTHER FOREIGN/LOCAL ORGANISATIONS: FROM BOTH SPONSORING GROUPS AND OTHER LOCAL/FOREIGN ORGANISATIONS. ALSO IN TERMS OF EQUIPMENT, FACILITIES AND VOLUNTEER</p>	<p>NO INFORMATION FOR ABOUT $\frac{1}{6}$ OF PROJECT. FOR THOSE WITH DATA, MAINLY IN TERMS OF CONTRIBUTION IN CASH OR IN KIND FROM SPONSORING GROUPS AND/OR BENEFICIARIES; FROM OTHER FOREIGN/LOCAL ORGANISATIONS; AVAILABLE EQUIPMENT, FACILITIES, ETC. and VOLUNTEER WORK.</p>

APPENDIX II

ASIA PARTNERSHIP FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
(LETTERHEAD)

July 1980

For Agenda Item 12SUGGESTED GUIDE FOR THE EVALUATION OF PROJECTSINTRODUCTION:

Following the Second General Assembly recommendation to work towards common criteria for the evaluation of projects and the decision of the Working Group to experiment on this matter at the May Executive Committee Meeting, the Secretariat has put together a 'Suggested Guide for the Evaluation of Projects' as under.

This guide has been assembled bearing in mind:

- the orientation of the APHD, and
- criteria used by partner agencies for the evaluation of projects.

The Schema and the Guide content for evaluation is by no means complete. It is a starting point to be completed by the Executive Committee.

1 PROJECT IN BRIEF:

- What is the concept of the whole project?
- What aspect of development does it attempt to respond to, test and/or demonstrate?
- Is there a background to the project?

2 THE PROJECT PROPONENT/S:

- What is the commitment and social orientation of the proponent/s and how are these indicated in the project?
- What is the experience of the proponent/s in the field of activity (project)?
- What relations does the proponent/s have with other individuals/organisations engaged in similar activity?
- What in general is the personality of the proponent?

3 THE COMMUNITY:

- Who shall directly benefit from the project. What is the proportion of the benefitting community to the total population in the area where the project is located?

3 THE COMMUNITY: continued.....

—What has been and what will be the community's participation in the project? How will they contribute to maintain the project?

eg + in preparation and planning
 + in decision making
 + implementation and follow-up
 + financially or in kind
 + is the whole community involved even relatively or just a core group.

—How does the community relate to the proponent/s?

—Does the project promote leadership in the community (on-going development)?

—Could the benefits of and participation in the project be available to a larger number of people at project location?

4 PROJECT AIMS/OBJECTIVES:

—What is the final aim of the project. What, if any, are the specific objectives of the project?

—Does the project respond to or start with the real, immediate and expressed needs of the people?

—Does the project attempt to create in the community a genuine awareness of their situation as well as a critical understanding of such situation?

—How does the project situate/relate to local, regional, national situations, programmes and priorities?

—How urgent is the project?

5 PROJECT METHODOLOGY:

—Are the methods used at all stages consistent with the objectives of the project?

—What is the formative value of the methods used. Do they lead to leadership, participation, self-respect, self-reliance, awareness of wider issues, etc?

—Does the project lead to change, social justice and community organisation?

—Is technical and/or other skills needed and available?

—Does project implementation take into account the use of local resources?

—Is there provision for regular evaluation of the project by the community?

6 BUDGET:

—Is the project planned to run at minimal cost?

- eg + are all the items in the proposed budget essential to project implementation?
 + are all the items in the budget based on factual costing?
 + what is the counterpart of:

- the community
- the proponent/s
- other sources

7 PROJECT CONTINUITY:

—Does the project provide for continuity in the event of the proponent/s having to withdraw from the project. What is the provision for community management?

—What is the provision for community financing...progressively?

8 SOME CRITICAL POINTS:

—What parts of the project, if any, need revision?

—What aspects of the project need clarifications or be made more concrete?

—What essential aspects of the project are missing or need to be emphasised?

—Are there any legal implications contrary to the project?

—Is the project unnecessarily duplicating other activities or projects?

CHAPTER SIX

OPERATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE MODEL

Agencies will generally follow, in their operations, some model by which to order the different aspects of their activities. This model is characterised, in the case of the APHD by three particular features:

- a) the productivity of a project as socially determined,
- b) the place of education of the domestic constituency in the work of the agency, and
- c) the place within the agency's methodology of participation in decision-making by those affected by the project.

The importance of these features, and the way in which they come into play in the agency's work are an outcome of both the agency's experience and the values which it wishes to promote in its work.

These features contribute to the economic potential of the model in four main ways:

- Participation as a proxy measure of growth
- Project evaluation
- The allocation of resources
- The role of public versus private goods in development.

a) The Productivity of a Project as Socially Determined:

Productivity is definable in terms of values and measurable in terms of the degree to which the purpose¹ is achieved. One of the problems in

¹ Final purpose if it has changed as the project proceeds

project selection, certainly for voluntary agencies, and possibly for ODA as well, is that values are not always recognised. Particularly is this the case where projects have political implications which go unrecognised in project selection, as where, in a project to increase local product, the distributional aspects are overlooked. Technical feasibility is not sufficient for project approval if the costs involved in terms of APHD values are not justified by prospective outcomes in terms of the same values. This is what is meant by projects being means, not ends¹. To move from a model which emphasises technical assistance to one which emphasises, for example, the empowering of those affected by development would require at least

- a) a wide range of contacts at the grass roots level in LICs,
- b) contact as well with representative intermediaries among agencies in LICs,
- c) sufficient support among the domestic (HIC) constituency for this change in philosophy,
- d) a readiness to come to terms with the human problems which this would create in the HIC agency in terms of project and funding responsibilities. As at least one agency has discovered, once one has a technical sub-committee, it is difficult to disestablish it.

The development of the above will be predicated on the working-out of a value system which leads to the handing over of decision making, or at least its sharing, to those affected, or at least to intermediaries close to them.

It is obvious, but still, perhaps, needs stating, that the quality of agency-to-agency relationship will be entirely different where technical factors are not incorporated within management procedures

¹

which fit into an explicit value system. Otherwise the role of the LIC counterpart will be oriented to the provision of technical information and possibly co-operation in project selection and evaluation. Partnership, with its capacity for interchange of resources and ideas will be absent.

b) Development Education:

The second important factor which affects the partnership model is the importance of Development Education. This is of overriding importance for some development agencies in this country and overseas, especially for those agencies which do no funding of projects at all. Among these in Australia are such organisations as Action for World Development and Asian Bureau Australia, both of which began in the early 'seventies as expressions of the need to educate Australians in the issues of world (or regional) development as a complement to traditional aid programs.

Development Education is vital to the HIC agencies. It is also integral to the work of the LIC counterparts. It is seen as part of the process for mobilising people for edevelopment through participation in decision-making¹. This mobilisation for development is something that occurs in both the LIC and the HIC. Whereas the importance of 'mobilising people for development' can perhaps more readily be seen and appreciated in the LIC, Development Education is also important for constituents in the HIC, where some of the chief causes of underdevelopment are seen to originate.

"One of the most important things which the five 'donor' agencies seem to have in common is the importance which they attach to development education and the need to act on the causes which are located to a great extent within the industrialised countries." ²

¹ The Evolution of APHD as seen from an Asian Perspective: text of a talk given by D Imperial to the First General Assembly 1977, APHD, Syd.

² The Evolution of the APHD as seen from the Perspective of an Industrialised country: text of a talk given by B McKeown to the First General Assembly 1977, APHD, Sydney.

Although this may be fundamental to the operations of the model, this does not mean that the Partnership has yet worked out a completely satisfactory way of translating this into operational reality. Part of the problem may well be the sheer cost of wide ranging programs of public education. Part may be the actual tepidity of agency support for Development Education when compared to project funding. McKeown, in the talk quoted above lamented disproportionate amounts of time given at APHD meetings to project related issues and the consequent lack of time for adequate discussion of Development Education issues which were, in his mind, "just as important, if not more so." ¹

For the successful implementation of the partnership model as conceived by the APHD, Development Education must be made absolutely integral to the operations of agencies in both HICs and LICs. An alternative way of viewing Development Education, for instance, a way which the Partnership eschews, is that which regards Development Education as an adjunct to fund raising rather than as a complement to projects. Education is seen by APHD as part of the process of making known (and making effective), the values which projects are designed to disseminate.

Education, as it enters the processes of partnership, relates to the fact that the economic aspect of project funding has sometimes been conceived of as independent of other aspects of the procedure. Development projects have been perceived by some agencies and in some periods as essentially economic, an emphasis which has imparted an aid of unreality to some of their undertakings. Where the outcomes can be specified in value terms, where both the economic and the political (and, in fact the technical and other) aspects of the project are seen

¹ Ibid

as integral and where necessary abstractions ('technical' evaluations, 'economic' aspects) are not mistaken for the whole reality¹, then narrow technical criteria which do not measure outcomes in the terms sought can be replaced by more appropriate ones. Educationally, this has meant, for APHD that the support of projects has been replaced by the support of people and the (often messy!) political structures they erect to solve their own problems. Development Education in this context would seem to have two modes:

- a) the need to educate, inasmuch as this is possible within the constraints of limited resources, the constituency in the reason for and the extent of new departures in the aid field and
- b) the need to educate the partners themselves in the wider dimensions of the process that they are engaged in.

To replace the simple one-to-one relationship of the traditional aid model with a round table not only involves the HIC agency in dialogue with many more parties, but also involves the parties themselves in new relationships and a different quality of relationship. LIC agencies need to be educated in the possibilities of collective action among themselves, supporting one another in the region in different political struggles in which they are engaged. A recent instance of the development of this type of thinking was the establishment, in 1980, of a 'Hot Line' for political rights set up to activate agencies in the Pacific Rim countries to act on issues of civil liberties involving one of the parties (agencies). Though not directly sponsored by APHD, it was set up by roughly the same set of agencies and must be seen as a logical extension of the model.

¹ Galbraith J.K. and Salinger N. Almost Everyone's Guide to Economics Houghton Mifflin Co, Boston, 1978, chapter 1, for a popular exposition on the dangers of taking abstractions too far.

Education, in this context, is not presented as (in its liberal mode) a high ideal regardless of its consequences — of undoubted value to the individual and hence an indisputably good thing. Rather, it is a necessary complement to the proper functioning of the partnership model. It is action oriented and an irreducible constituent of social change.

Brandt has come to a similar conclusion concerning the first mode at least:

"...the necessary political decisions...will not be possible without a global consensus on the moral plane that the basis of any world or national order must be the people and respect for their essential rights. Only if these ideas are sincerely accepted...will the political decisions be possible and viable. This requires an intensive process of education to bring home to public opinion in every country the need to defend the values without which there will be no true economic development and, above all, no justice, freedom or peace." ¹

Since his emphasis is on the role of national governments and not NGOs he cannot be expected to have a view on the second. In passing, a distant echo of the ideas of collective action and the importance of participation in development is found in his emphasis on decentralisation of administration and the link between sub-regional integration and structural transformation².

c) Participation:

The third, and most important factor in defining the methodology by which the APHD operates is that of participation. The previous four chapters will have made it clear that integral to the partnership model of development is the participation of those affected in development decisions. This is a norm, a principle derived from RC social teaching, and a condition of operational efficiency. Development (as conceived

¹ North-South: a Program for Survival The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt, Pan, London, 1980, p 268.

² Brandt op cit p 285.

in the political framework of the partnership model) is actually more efficient where the principle actors are able to articulate their needs and to participate in carrying them out. Empowering is the name given to equipping them with the resources they lack for working out their own development.

The 1976 Evaluation of the APHD described the strategy of the Partnership as "the organisation, conscientisation and participation of the poor and oppressed in their struggle for integral human development and self-determination."¹ It could be added that the purposes of organisation and conscientisation is precisely, participation!

The participation of the poor and oppressed in their own development can be facilitated by their having control over projects executed in their name. Ideally, the partnership model aims to empower them to this extent. In practice, however, the poor (almost by definition) lack organisation. To give the poor even the modest power represented by control of funding decisions about projects often requires the setting up of servicing structures to facilitate this. Many sorts of mediating structures can play this role. It involves establishing the value system which is shared by the poor, identifying how it is that this value system harmonises conflicts between the individual and the group and how it can be harnessed to make use of resources for long-term development and accommodate the sacrifices which this might entail. The partnership role involves, as well, helping the poor to articulate their shared values, once these values have broadened beyond those of a mere survival system, and hence the sorts of resources which would be useful in helping them in achieving a type of development (consistent with these values) which they want. This role is generally called consultation and it is the basis upon which project requests are initially

¹ Partners in Development: 5.1.3.

evaluated. Once an action for development is undertaken, there is a need, within the partnership model, to monitor it, and finally, to evaluate its impact (ex post).

In some circumstances one or all of these functions can be performed by existing social structures. In some circumstances, though, especially in situations of social disruption, the structures have to be set up, no matter how informally, before the people affected have the possibility of exercising power. In other circumstances, it needs to be pointed out, the process itself can be accommodated to suit what, in fact, is available, eg, auto-evaluation by which the subjects of the project evaluate it against what they and the agency deem suitable criteria.

Given the inadequacy of some mediating structures, then, the participation of the poor in development decisions is an ideal only ever partially realised. Evaluation of projects stresses the extent to which the subjects of development have themselves been involved in the development project. Participation is as much a focus for evaluation as the physical carrying-out of the project.

Aside from the question of the participation of the poor in their own development there is the related question of the participation of HIC agencies in the work of LIC agencies and vice versa. Partnership, after all, is an exchange of resources (material, personnel and intellectual) between the people which the agencies represent. To actualise this exchange as fully as possible each partner needs to participate in the work of the counterpart agencies, and, through them, in the work of local change agents, grass roots organisations, and, finally, the people themselves. Participation between agencies should make possible some existential awareness for, say, the HIC agency of the lives as lived of the poor and oppressed. This makes possible the necessary connection

between structures of domination locally and internationally, and indicates to the HIC agency the quality and scope of possible local action in the HIC. Efficient lines of communication are an aid in analysis.

Partnership as Attempt to Actualise RC Norms of Development:

In chapter one we outlined some aspects of the current understanding of the concept of human development in RC circles following on the 1971 Synod Justice in the World. Important norms were the following:

- people ought not to have alien forms of development forced onto them,
- development strategies ought to be region-specific,
- those affected (in underdevelopment) ought to be the ones to specify development objectives and means,
- the above norms are realisable only through the participation of the subjects of development.

Partnership, as understood in the model of the APHD, is a conscious effort to actualise these norms for human development. In assessing the partnership model the political potential is the aspect most often alluded to in the Partnership's own literature. As we shall see, the economic potential is likewise significant.

Particular Economic Aspects of the Model:

The economic potential of the model is most apparent in four distinct areas:

- participation as a proxy measure of growth,
- the Partnership's approach to project evaluation,
- the partnership model as an exercise in the allocation of resources,
- the model as a way of conceiving development in terms of public rather than private goods.

Participation as a Proxy Measure of Growth:

There are, of course, many measures and models of growth. The most famous of the former is the measurement of GDP per head and of the

latter the 'trickle down' approach — now dethroned¹. Many other measures and indicators² can be used as well and the most appropriate would seem the one that best measures social outcomes in terms of something else that is evaluable. Participation is the index favoured by the Partnership³. It is measurable. It is consistently related to desired social outcomes and it derives from the value base of the model itself.

The idea of economic development has certain motivational aspects to it. The fact that the idea has a normative character means that one can specify desirable institutional and societal changes to bring it about. The stress on participation in the model is designed to ensure that the Partnership's norms have a high probability of being realised as it should make the process of development less exogenous and more endogenous to the society than alternative development strategies would and have in fact.

Evaluation: the Partnership's two levels of project evaluation, ex ante and ex post.

Both attempt to utilise the participation of those affected by the project. This would seem to have advantages in terms both of conscientisation and of resource allocation. It also provides a check on the application, through projects, of Partnership values and helps to ensure that particular projects are those which the subjects of development see as desirable rather than, say, the idea of one or two articulate members of a community or of people from outside the community. Auto-

¹ Jameson Kenneth P. Supply Side Economics — Growth versus Income Distribution Challenge, Nov - Dec 1980, p 26f

² which are sometimes used instead of measures, eg, the USAID's Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI)

³ Participation as understood by APHD. People, of course, can participate in processes which are anti-developmental. Participation here denotes the substance of the partnership model itself. Some circularity is inevitable as the APHD definition of Partnership rests on its definition of development which is its content.

evaluation combines low cost and high recipient input. It aims to establish a consensus-based development path by setting up a mechanism whereby the people are required to evaluate the project as it proceeds, or to evaluate it when one project is completed and another about to begin. As used by APHD, auto-analysis looks at

"the results in terms of how people involved look at themselves as the process of collective auto-analysis takes place. It should be a simple exercise that leads to self-correction, self-appraisal/analysis. It will not only concern itself with the group involved in the project but also with the surrounding community, the role of foreign aid, etc, with a view towards ongoing, concurrent adjustment/correction/improvements in the program as an integral part of the project." ¹

Evaluation, then, is here an attempt to ensure that those who carry out the project, or who benefit from it, learn the skills to situate the project within a broad framework, evaluating the extent to which the formation of public goods, and the security of access to private goods which this facilitates, has affected social outcomes and how local outcomes relate to developments in a wider world.

Such grass roots consultation does not figure prominently in Australia's bi-lateral assistance program² and the model has obvious implications here for ODA evaluation methods.

The Allocation of Resources:

The question arises whether the model is itself an efficient method of allocating scarce development resources among competing ends.

¹ Background Paper for APHD Evaluation May 1976: M Vidal: p 16.

² partly because of the political difficulties involved in direct consultation with the subjects of a development project in another country and partly because of a lack of skilled staff. Australia's two largest bi-lateral projects, for example, the integrated rural development programs in Zamboanga del Sur and in N Samar (Philippines) have proceeded without preliminary sociological data being available. Certainly the post factum sociological study done on the Zamboanga del Sur project (ref: Philippines-Australian Development Assistance Program Sociological Survey—Report; Zamboanga del Sur Development Assistance Program—Project Identification and Evaluation, June 1977) cannot be said to represent consultation on whether the project itself was of the type or the extent wanted by local inhabitants.

The resources are both material and human. They are marshalled from different countries and allocated (via projects, programs, gatherings and other operations of the network) to ends which are material (in the first instance the creation of public goods) and educational. It is hypothesised in the model that educational ends have a feedback effect on the creation of more material resources for development. The efficiency of the system is not, of course, in terms of the price system. Rather, it is in terms of less tangible indicators like the actualisation of values in particular situations, the efficiency of exchange of ideas and other educational data, the effect of the Partnership's educational methodology on public attitudes and the degree of support of the constituency. Indicators of efficiency in any particular project might vary from, say, the rise in levels of participation in the project from commencement to completion to, say, the interest expressed by a group in adding an educational aspect to a project which has material outcomes. The allocation of resources in the APHD model is to a process of development which attempts to equip the subjects of development with the economic wherewithall to make free decisions about the quality of economic development they wish. Any final assessment of the efficiency of resource allocation would finally need to be in terms of how efficiently it facilitates this freedom of choice and how valid, in normative terms, the choice finally is.

The model, at any rate, has been *seen* as being superior to existing models in two distinct cases where it has been substituted for existing institutional arrangements by the sponsoring agencies. They have no formal connection with the APHD. They represent an attempt to apply the model elsewhere. The two attempts are:

i) The Pacific Partnership for Human Development:

This partnership arrangement was worked out for a variety of

reasons, most obviously because of the great potential for duplication of projects in a situation where many outside agencies had an interest in the Pacific. The agreed basis of the Partnership was drafted at a Meeting in Suva in September 1978. Attending were representatives from the Australian and New Zealand agencies and delegates from Fiji, Tahiti, the Cook Islands, Tonga, Western Samoa, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, the Solomons, Gizo, the Gilbert Islands, the Marquesas and the Wallis Islands. The goals of the Partnership were defined as follows:

- to search out a new set of relationships among the donor and recipient agencies,
- to cement structures which service the development of peoples and
- to act, via an educational program, animation and conscientisation, especially at the national level¹.

A mechanism for operating was set up, which was designed to involve all interested parties including the two development agencies and the official church. The secretariat was to function autonomously but to be attached, at least for a trial period of two years, to the New Zealand agency.

ii) The ad hoc Arrangements Made for the Disbursement of Funds from ACR to PNG Through Caritas PNG:

This, too, represents an attempt to apply the principles worked out by the Partnership to the difficult situation of PNG, where local churches get development funds from many parts of the world, where the pressures to concentrate on capital formation are strong and where communications are difficult.

A partnership arrangement was formed in February 1980. Project decisions were handed over to local counterparts. Priorities are now

¹ Pacific Partnership for Human Development: Suva Report: PPHD, Christchurch.

set locally and an increasing emphasis is given to conscientisation. Members of the Partnership are the Australian, New Zealand and PNG partners, together with representatives of the official church.

In these instances at least, the sponsoring agencies have found the model a more efficient means of deploying resources to achieve their ends.

Conceiving Development in Terms of Public Rather than Private Goods:

This aspect of the Partnership's operations does make the problem of measuring development more difficult. Alternative measures, in terms of increased income per head, even where some measurement is attempted of distribution, are inadequate measures of development in Partnership terms as they measure physical outcomes and cannot, eg, take account of marginated groups which may remain permanently excluded from sharing in economic benefits because of structural factors which current economic strategies fail to address.

Applicability of the Model to Australia's ODA:

With the above four factors in mind we shall address finally the question of the extent to which the model is applicable to Australia's bi-lateral aid program.

General applicability:

Broadly, the extent to which the model is able to be applied more widely will depend on:

- the degree to which the agency in the high income country sees as a desirable end the transfer of decision making power to counterpart agencies in the Third World.
- The degree to which agencies in the Asian countries are prepared to allocate decision making power to the group — to give the weight to regional rather than national priorities.
- The extent to which Third World agencies are perceived as being

genuinely representative of local communities.

—The success which the partnership model has in providing solid data for development education in high income countries.

—The extent to which project selection truly reflects local needs: this will partly be a function of evaluation.

The extent to which the model actually is applied more widely will be an outcome of what agencies see as its capacity to meet the problems associated with underdevelopment. The Partnership model described here rests on the assumption that the problems of underdevelopment are not exclusively a factor applicable to the Third World. It assumes that there are linkages with economic phenomena in the high income countries. To solve the problems associated with underdevelopment will require a dual effort — within both the high and the low income countries. An agency which saw underdevelopment in terms other than this — Lissner's columns 1 and 2, for example (p 39) would need to experience a change in its own consciousness before it saw that the Partnership model was a possible strategy in dealing with development problems (viewed as a series of links defining aspects of a relationship between rich countries and poor countries).

This change of consciousness will partly be an outcome of the types of contact which the agency has in the Third World. The more the Third World counterpart agency sees the resolution of the problem of underdevelopment as essentially a political task, the more pressure it will exert on overseas counterparts in high income countries to view the problem in the same way. It is possible to move from a non-political to a political understanding of development: it does not seem possible, on the basis of general principle and experience, to move the other way. Once the movement in agency consciousness has been accomplished, it can be taken as permanent.

There is a tendency, then, for good grass roots contacts to reinforce the type of understanding which would underpin a Partnership model. Put bluntly: handing over the chequebook is a natural response to an understanding of the situation brought about by consulting the real experts — those most affected.

Applicability to ODA Dubious:

It is doubtful that the Partnership model has, at this stage, much applicability for the Government's own Official Development Assistance program. ODA is government-to-government aid, not government-to-people aid. Moreover, the Government is unwilling to fund extensively projects of the small scale inevitable in this type of model. It neither has the contacts to generate them nor the inclination to undertake the high per unit expenditure which small scale projects imply. Most importantly, of course, the Government cannot be seen as engaging in a development program which rests on the cornerstone of political consciousness-raising *in another country*. Only voluntary agencies can do this. The Government can participate only to the extent that it is prepared to fund voluntary agencies¹.

The lesson that emerges is the fact that voluntary agencies have the potential for acting on the best analysis of the development debate. They are potentially in touch with the local level in the Third World in a way in which Government agencies are not. They have access to the experiences and the analyses of the victims of social change in the Third World. They have the ability, moreover, to act on the observation that underdevelopment is the outcome of linkage relationships between the First and the Third World. They are capable of putting into effect, in their mode of operating, the general principle of

¹ ...which, to a very limited extent, both the Australian and the Canadian governments do!

transferring power from the strong to the weak to empower the latter with greater freedom to control key decisions relating to the social and economic environment.

For this potential to be realised, the local agency must seek out the best understanding of the problem and have the commitment to follow through this understanding to its logical conclusion. It is a task that still lies ahead for the majority of agencies in this country.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AGENCY STUDY OF THE NORTH SAMAR INTEGRATED RURAL
DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

A number of unanswered questions remain from our examination of the APHD. In the first place, how do agencies actually come together to effect this "exchange" which constitutes development? What mechanisms does APHD have to facilitate communication between agencies and to fund them in mounting projects which fit into APHD guidelines?

Secondly, how does the APHD objectify (ex ante) the priority goals for development in different projects?

Thirdly, what is the content of Development Education and what are its expected outcomes in any given situation? Are there likely to be net benefits other than those specifically planned for?

Fourthly, what happens when one partner's expectations of another in a partnership arrangement are not fully realised? What is APHD's role in resolving conflict over different expectations from the project?

Fifthly, since one part of the exchange in partnership is a more realistic analysis of the socio-economic variables governing development in the LIC, what are the possible outcomes of analyses perceived in the HIC as being inadequate for HIC agency purposes (educational or representational).

These questions and others are raised in the following case study of a recent project of the APHD. Such a case study gives some idea of how problems arise in practice and are dealt with within the constraints which APHD's structures impose (distance, diverse cultures and political systems, varying access to resources, frequency of meetings and so on).

From the beginning of 1980, Asia Partnership for Human Development has been funding a project linking two agencies in the Philippines with an Australian agency. The purpose of this project is to evaluate an Australian aid project in Northern Samar, Philippines, with a view to assessing its impact on the people affected.

The agencies brought together for this study are:

- 1 the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Australia (CCJP);
- 2 the National Secretariat for Social Action in the Philippines (NASSA);
- 3 Citizens concerned for Human Rights in Northern Samar (CCHR), a Visayan group involved in a number of human rights issues in Samar.

The approach to APHD for the funding of this project came from NASSA and CCJP. In their application they noted that one of the prin-

1 The project being evaluated by the two agencies is the Australian aid project: the Northern Samar Integrated Rural Development Project (NSIRD). It is the second of two large infrastructure programs being pursued by the Australian Development Assistance Bureau (ADAB) — the other one being the Philippines-Australian Development Program (PADAP) in Zamboanga del Sur, Mindanao. NSIRD was pre-evaluated in 1975 and begun in 1978. It is a project to upgrade a series of roads in the northern part of Samar Island in the Visayas, Philippines. These roads will be used to link, more effectively, the various parts of the northern economy and to promote regional integration. There are eventual plans to upgrade roads in the East of the island as well. Although the bulk of the expenditure will be on roads, the project is described as a rural development project because the purpose of the roads is to promote rural income and to improve the provision of services to rural communities. The Australian contribution to NSIRD is to be \$25 million to Phase I, this being met with equal counterpart funding from the Philippines Government.

The region in which the roads are being built is among the most remote and economically underdeveloped in the Philippines. It has among the lowest levels of income per head and, perhaps not unconnected with this, is the scene of significant activity by the New People's Army (NPA), a loose federation of insurgent groups utilising armed struggle to confront the central government of the Philippines (Far Eastern Economic Review, March 27, 1981).

Further details of the project are given in the appendix at the end of this chapter. The precise details need not detain us further as it is the review of this project by Filipino and Australian agencies rather than the project itself which is the object of the relevant APHD funding.

principal aims of the Australian project they proposed to study was the generation of higher regional income. The NASSA-CCJP proposal in turn was to investigate the actual beneficiaries of such aid.

"There is no doubt that an infrastructure project in Northern Samar will generate higher rates of economic growth but a most crucial question needs to be asked. Who benefits from the generation of higher growth? Who are the principal beneficiaries of the infrastructure project itself?"¹

The purpose of the proposed study was further explained in the same application where the agencies outline their reservations about the Australian aid project:

"(there is) evidence of serious and widespread military abuse. There appears to be a pattern of systematic assault on the civilian population of Samar. This pattern is currently intensifying in the northern and eastern provinces.

"The economic interest underpinning the military escalation may be seen in the concentration of military forces and operations in areas rich in natural resources (particularly bauxite and timber) and wherever Australian aid programs operate. These point to the systematic exploitation of Samar's richness. This is "development" without benefit to or consultation with the people."²

The work on the CCHR-CCJP project was divided between the two agencies. CCJP undertook to develop the theoretical basis for the alternative model of Australian aid which the two agencies were to promote while CCHR was to undertake a sociological survey of the population of Catubig (one of the townships affected by the project) to determine what their expressed developmental needs were and to investigate the impact of the roads on the people affected by the project. CCJP undertook, as well, to engage ADAB in a series of consultations exploring aspects of ADAB's policy, presenting evidence from the field and making suggestions for changes on the basis of this.³

1 Application to APHD: Research on Basic Human Needs as a Development Strategy (copy) NASSA: Salazar to Gherardi, July 18, 1980.

2 Ibid

3 CCJP to Zalazar, June 11, 1980.

APHD considered the application (directed to it through its Philippines Partner, NASSA) and approved it. The project fitted within guidelines drawn up with greater precision at the Second General Assembly in November, 1979. Among the undertakings for future action by the Partnership were the following:

"APHD should facilitate action-oriented studies ... between the partners, recognising that all the partner agencies should be instruments of outreach to other groups.

"APHD should become involved in studies considering the effect of private investment and government aid by one country in another partner country. Partners in the industrialised countries should identify the problems and plan a program of action in conjunction with the appropriate Asian Partners." ¹

The project was funded in 1980 and 1981. The content of the project was to be

- 1 action oriented study of the Australian NSIRD in the Philippines;
- 2 Development Education in Australia on Australian ODA and on lessons learned in the study of this particular project.

Specifically, an audio-visual cassette set was to be produced on the Australian project and a researcher from the Philippines was to visit Australia to brief the Australian partner and to undertake an education tour, talking to people in the NGO development network on the project.

The Findings of the Study:

The findings of the study are contained in two sets of papers, the first being a series of papers, published and unpublished, by the CCJP, on Basic Human Needs as a development strategy, and the second being a series of papers compiled by CCHR and NASSA on the economic situation of the Philippines and the place of the NSIRD within that context and on the state of the project itself.

The principle findings are:

¹ APHD, Vision and Process, p 13.

—The major beneficiaries of the Australian infrastructure project will be those who are already comparatively well off rather than the poorest in the region. This benefiting of the already advantaged will come about through

- a) the operation of the tenurial system in Northern Samar;
- b) the design of the Australian project;
- c) the selective distribution of benefits arising from the need to utilise Philippine Government apparatus¹.

—Project design in Australian ODA should operate through the selection of target groups in the region to be aided and the people affected (especially target groups) should be directly consulted on their needs and possible ways of meeting these².

—There should be a thorough review of Australian infrastructure projects in the Third World, especially the Philippines, as these projects result in a highly skewed distribution of benefits in favour of the comparatively well off. Further, they disrupt the local economy in such a way as to disadvantage the poorest³.

Educational Component of the Study:

The joint study also had an educational component built into it from the beginning. This was based on

—the production of educational materials: an audio visual set dealing with the Australian project and its perceived effects on the local population was prepared and released in Australia in November 1981. Additionally, a poster-set on the same topic was prepared and the publication of a Dossier bringing together aspects of the Study is in hand. A symposium involving Australian NGOs, academics and the press is planned;

1 CCJP Working Papers, March 1982, p 194 ff.

2 CCJP Working Papers, March 1982, p 183; CCJP to ADAB, June 4, 1981.

3 Ibid.

—the use in Australia of Philippine personnel acquainted with the project to tour and lecture small groups, especially within the NGO network on the Australian project and lessons in development to be learned from that.

The above refers to Development Education in Australia. There was, additionally, a number of educational gains in the Philippines itself, notably:

- training of staff in grass-roots research methods, especially in consulting the population of the affected area in the level of their appreciation of the purpose of the Australian project, the nature of their own needs and the actual beneficiaries of the agricultural phase of the project;
- the experience of co-ordinated international action between NGOs to achieve a common end. This is often difficult to achieve even on a local level. The problems are compounded at the international level and opportunities for smaller NGOs, like CCHR, to engage in this sort of vicarious representation are rare.

Partnership and the Joint Study:

It will be remembered that the Partnership model which we are discussing has the following objectives:

- to bring the decision-making process in voluntary development assistance nearer to the level of those actually affected by the (NGO) project;
- to establish a round-table partnership in place of a 'donor-recipient' relationship in order to demonstrate in the very methodologies which the APHD uses with the ultimate aim of combating the domination of the weak by the powerful.
- to address underdevelopment on two fronts, in the LIC and the HIC by engaging in an 'exchange' between NGOs in both countries. Material

resources and ideas are exchanged between the HIC and the LIC in order to equip

- a) the LIC community with part of the material resources needed to overcome specific instances of underdevelopment, and
- b) the HIC group with an analysis of the causes of local poverty in the LIC to which it is linked in order to facilitate the actions of the HIC NGO in support actions on these;

—to build into NGO projects an educational component so that (on the assumption that the causes of underdevelopment lie partly in the HICs) the constituency in the HIC can be educated and encouraged to take whatever political action is feasible to reverse HIC policies deleterious to the welfare of those in LICs.

It is appropriate to investigate the extent to which this particular Study fits into the above criteria.

Decision-Making Process:

Ideally, the local NGO contact group would be one able to reflect the consensus of the population affected by the Australian project in Northern Samar. In fact the local project holder, CCHR, is a Manila based group of Samareños with very strong links to various parts of Samar, including the North, but not actually resident in the area. Interviewing the local inhabitants was made through field trips. CCHR is made up of educated, city dwelling, politically conscious professional people, whereas the bulk of the population in Northern Samar is uneducated, rural, unpoliticised and poor. Inevitably, the question must arise as to how representative such a group can be of the population on whose behalf they purport to be acting. In defence, it must be said that the alternative project holder would have been NASSA, which ended up merely in a facilitating capacity. NASSA is the national development agency of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines and although having some interest in such areas as Samar, cannot be expected

to have that intimate knowledge of the area which would come from permanent close contact. The partner agency, in other words, (NASSA) has attempted to locate the project nearer to the grass-roots than it would have been able to achieve.

CCHR's activities as change agent pose the question of the extent to which its agenda in this project is the same as either the facilitating agency's or the Australian agency's.

The Australian agency summarised the work of its counterpart in the Philippines as "loosely worded global prophesies"¹ and resolved, if the Study was to continue

"to persuade our Philippines counterparts of the value of more careful micro-analysis."²

More detail on CCJP's attitude towards the joint study is given in correspondence to NASSA. Commenting on the Report of the Australian project sent by CCHR to CCJP the Commission comments:

"The empirical data contained within the Report is necessarily of a provisional nature. Although the Report as it stands is the basis of an educational program (it provides sufficient data to raise important questions about the causes of poverty in the Philippines and the degree of effectiveness of aid programs in countering this poverty) it is not, we believe, sufficient yet to provide the basis for achieving (CCJP's) first aim, namely, to change Australia's aid practices. Specifically, the areas (which) need to be pursued relate to the impact on selected groups (identified by CCHR from among the poorest 20 - 40%) over the duration of the (Australian) project and the extent to which the spending of money on the project increases the marginalisation of these groups. The Report, as it stands, does not give this information. It provides a base-line survey and a macro-analysis of the political variables in the region, all of which ADAB would, in principle, be aware. Unless it demonstrates to (ADAB) that the project actually impoverishes significant numbers of people, then no change in Australian aid practices can be expected. The educational aim of the project may be achieved without achieving the social-change aim."³

1 CCJP, March 1982 Working Papers, p 194.

2 Ibid

3 Correspondence: CCJP to Salazar, January 18, 1982.

Whereas the Australian agency clearly wishes to challenge the Australian Government agency (ADAB) on Australian aid practices, the Philippines counterpart's "global prophesies" are more in the nature of political tracts condemnatory of the policies of the Philippines Government and its perceived supporters (including the Australian Government working through its aid program). Though the Australian agency may eventually have got to this point its immediate interest is in pursuing dialogue with ADAB as far as possible before embarking on a macro-analysis which would question the motives of the Philippines Government and, by extension, of the Australian Government as well.

Clearly, doubt about the role and the agenda of the change agent is raised by this apparent asymmetry of immediate ends. To what extent are immediate, discrete aims being overlooked by the counterpart in the latter's attempt to utilise the joint project as a lever to achieve alternative aims of its own (opposition to the Philippines Government) which the HIC partner may or may not have sympathy with but which lie outside the scope of the project? Clearly, this needs to be evaluated by the Partnership.

Partnership as Exchange:

An exchange has certainly been effected in this project: material resources for the employment and deployment of staff have been made available "from outside" to the counterpart, CCHR, through the intermediary Partner, NASSA. Flowing the other way has been a series of reports which have enabled the Australian counterpart to carry on a dialogue with ADAB and to engage in an educational effort to raise in Australia some of the more salient issues posed by the joint study. Precisely how suitable this analysis has been for the purpose for which it was intended is another question. The following are assertions lifted from the CCHR Report provided to CCJP for the purposes of its third consultation with ADAB:

"The objectives of SIRDP and NSIRDP also stand to be defeated for when placed within the context of the existing feudal/semi-feudal set-up of Northern Samar and the Philippine Government's BOI thrust, the development of the island's agricultural potentials and industries linked to these would not uplift the condition of the poor majority. On the contrary, these projects would only serve big landlords and local foreign investors who have the needed capital to develop these potentials while peasants and workers continue to supply the needed cheap labour.

"There is no such thing as free lunch. Foreign aids or, indirectly, foreign loans have always been tinged with political colour and favours. On the one hand, aids are used to attain certain concessions from recipient countries, eg, trade or investment concessions. On the other, recipient countries welcome such aids to prop up unstable regimes, such as that of Marcos. It is not surprising then that in October 1976 during the IMF Conference in Manila, President Ferdinand Marcos and Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser signed an agreement that Australia will provide uranium to the Philippines for a certain number of years. In November of the same year, SIRDP was signed into law. Such timely succour to maintain stability in a distant country, however, is not without vested interest on the part of the donor country. It must be pointed out that Australia has in the recent decade come to realise that by virtue of its geographic position, it has an important role to play in the Asia-Pacific region. Increasingly, it is being drawn to the Asian Affairs as if perhaps to fill the vacuum left by the US after her debacle in Vietnam. US ally, Australia pitches in to maintain the US expansionist domination of Asian countries and maintain as well the present political, economic, and military arrangements in the region, which, of course, are to the ultimate advantage of industrialised Western countries and Japan.

"In other words, such Australian aid and loans from the US controlled IMF-WB, are not meant to bring any real changes in Samar. The SIRDP Project is at best a palliative that will never bring structural changes that will free the people from imperialist and feudal exploitation. Instead, it will only prop up the US backed Marcos regime, help "contain insurgency" in the area, and only maintain the power of the ruling class of landlords, mining and logging capitalist and local bureaucrat capitalists.

"While the US-Marcos partnership rules Samar by coercion through the military (10 battalions of them) at the same time it rules by deception through the SIRDP. (NSIRDP) The project promises to bring "development" through its program of infrastructure, telecommunications, electrification, agricultural development and disease control.

"At face value there appears nothing objectionable about such projects. However, when one tries to take a look at where the "development thrust" lies, one gets to suspect that the

economic and social development projects are being used to achieve political and military ends." ¹

Clearly, the usefulness of this as an analysis of a particular aid project is limited. None of the assertions made is supported by evidence elsewhere in the text. Additionally, there are factual errors (eg, the Australian Prime Minister was not at the IMF Conference). As it has transpired, much of the data used in consultations between CCJP and ADAB have been on the basis of a desk study done at CCJP using resources available in Australia. Where the gap between the perceptions of the two agencies is so great on what constitutes adequate evidence for raising the issue locally and carrying on a dialogue with a governmental agency, there is clear scope for considerable wastage of resources in collecting this data.

Action-Oriented Education:

Notwithstanding the above, the data collected by the Philippines counterpart and the use made of it by the Australian agency are such as to conduce towards serious questioning of the Australian aid project in Northern Samar. The basis of this questioning is the belief that the satisfaction of the Basic Human Needs of the people affected is not the prime purpose, not even one of the anticipated results of the project. It is, however, the basic principle of the two agencies² investigating the Australian project. There is a danger, however, that in undermining public confidence in one specific Australian aid project, the agencies may jeopardise another of their policy objectives, viz, the raising of Australia's official aid allocation to 0.7% GNP. There is no indication in the published documentation of the two agencies that 0.7% GNP can be absorbed by recipient country governments through projects

1 Report to CCJP: The NSIRD — Development for Poor Samarenos?
Ch 1, p 24, unpublished.

2 Correspondence: CCJP with Ministry Foreign Affairs: July 23, 1979; November 22, 1979.

not comprising extensive infrastructure expenditure. This lays the agencies open to the accusation that they are, in fact, agitating for the phasing out of official development assistance, under the guise of criticising a particular project. If they are doing this, there is no indication in the published or unpublished documentation of either agency that this policy accords with the wishes of those most affected — the poorest in the regions being aided.

Clearly, there are grounds for APHD being less than satisfied that its high aims in developmental methodology have been fully met. The following are relevant considerations in assessing this, however:

- APHD provided no oversight of the project, preferring to utilise its auto-evaluation techniques. This latter may not be entirely suitable where agencies are operating in international concert on a single project as coincidence of aims, both short-term and long-term needs to be established and monitored.
- APHD needs to establish in its own collective mind the desirability of required levels of and types of projects for official developmental assistance. It has no stated policy on this and thus no criteria for evaluating the outcomes of projects it funds to research this question. Project proponents, that is, may well come to conclusions at variance with APHD policy. APHD may well find this acceptable, but, for the sake of conserving limited research resources should at least establish its own position first on policy and on dealing with partner dissent on policy.

Such a case study gives some insight into the questions raised at the beginning of the chapter concerning

- mechanisms at the disposal of APHD to facilitate communication;
- the actualisation of APHD's goals for development in projects;
- Development Education and the way it is built into a particular project;

- APHD's role and its limitations in resolving differences between partners in achieving the goals of the joint project;
- the usefulness of the analysis of the LIC agency for the purposes of the HIC agency;

Other questions which would merit attention in a longer paper would relate to

- the mechanisms by which evaluations of projects are utilised in the generation of new projects;
- the means at hand for further devolution of decision-making in project selection and design. Local agency representation may well be a reasonable first approximation to grass-roots participation but there seems ample scope (though whether there is specific opportunity in any given country is another matter) for extending participation closer to the actual victims of underdevelopment in LICs.

APPENDIX

The attached Information Release details the project in question from the Government's, and as will be perceived, an entirely different perspective.

PHILIPPINES

NORTHERN SAMAR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The Philippines Government has become increasingly concerned with the degree of regional economic inequality which exists between various areas of the Philippines. With assistance from the United Nations Development Program and the World Bank, it has produced a number of integrated rural development plans aimed at improving the economic and social welfare of people who live in the more remote and backward areas of the country. One such area is the island of Samar. In 1975 Australia was asked to assist with the development of the northern part of the island, with the World Bank assisting with the development of the rest of the island.



Widening road as part of 'upgrading' program to provide rural access to markets.

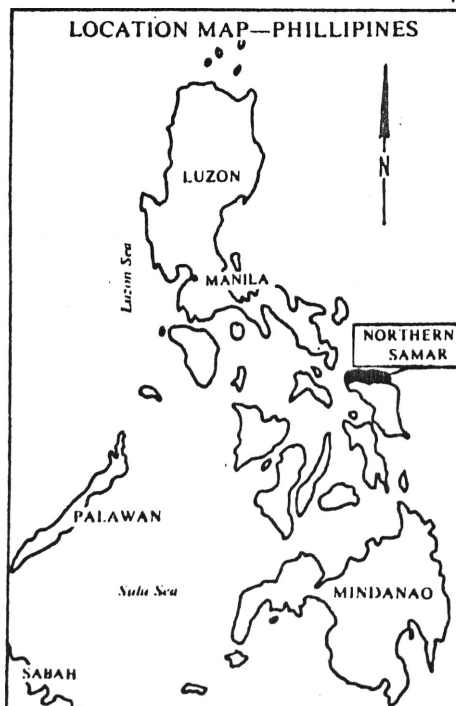
AUSTRALIA'S RESPONSE

At the request of the Philippines, Australian consultants on behalf of the Australian Government

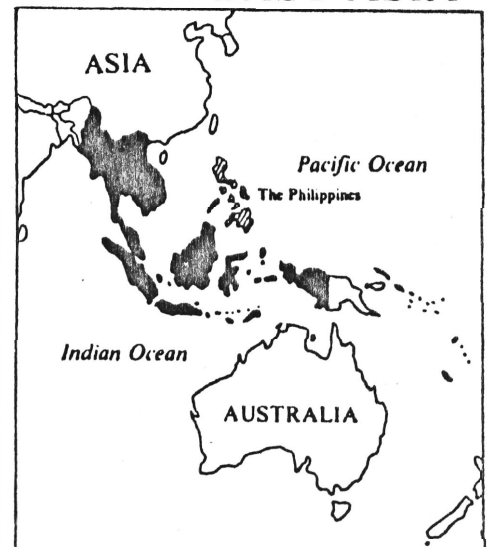
made detailed field investigations and consulted with local planning organisations and local people in order to draw up a plan of action to raise incomes and standards of living in Northern Samar. In

SAMAR'S NEEDS

In Samar, basic infrastructure such as roads, power supply, water supply, drainage and sewerage systems are virtually non-existent. Four-fifths of the people live in rural areas, though with a combination of low incomes, few local job opportunities and a moderate to high population growth rate of 2.8 per cent, migration from the area is high. Standards of living are poor and there are major health problems. Most of the terrain is rugged with river valleys containing most of the arable land. Soil fertility is good and the rainfall heavy, but the region is subject to typhoons with resulting high winds and flooding. The region does have a great potential however for agriculture, livestock, forestry, fisheries and tourism.



SOUTH-EAST ASIA



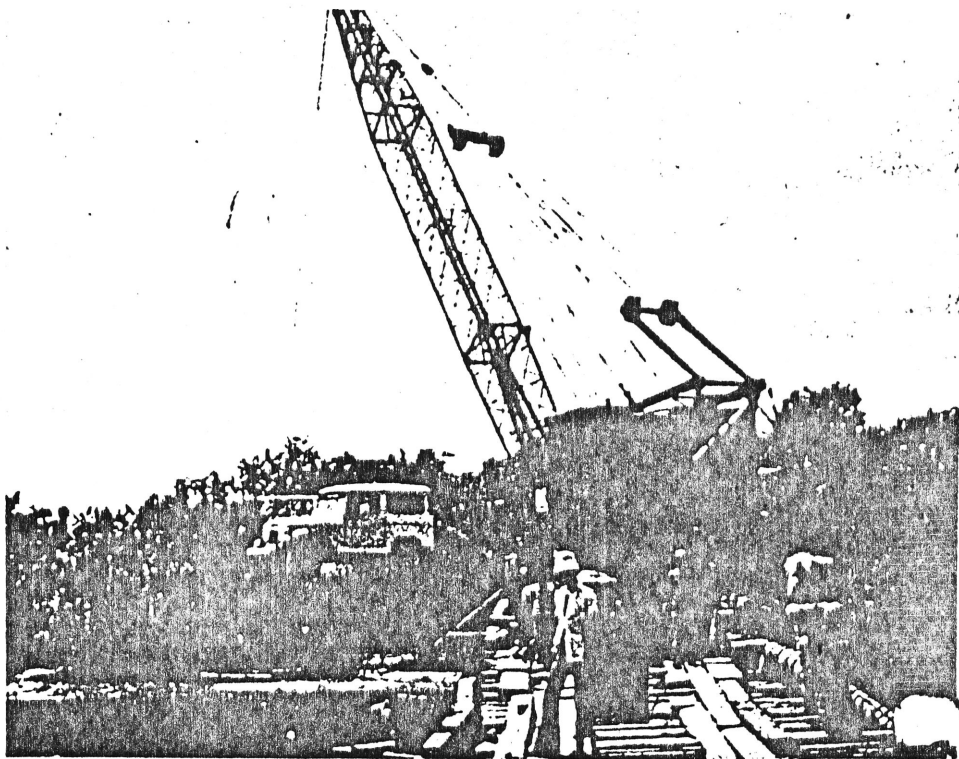
order to improve rural productivity it was found that the construction of roads would be necessary, together with the development of agriculture, flood control, drainage, irrigation and power supplies.

A project was designed around these aims in which most of the construction work was to be done by local public agencies, with Australia providing technical advice, equipment, agricultural inputs, and payment of some of the costs incurred by the local agencies. In this way Philippines expertise would be developed to the point where the project could be run entirely by the Philippines agencies when Australian assistance is phased out. Australia is funding up to 50 per cent of the total cost of the project, and expects to provide \$25 million over five years as a non-repayable grant controlled through the Australian Development Assistance Bureau.

Although emphasis has been laid upon the early construction of roads in order to provide rural access for other project inputs, they are not the primary objective of the project. A program of agricultural development will help increase crop and livestock yields and improve farm management. Other improvements include the development of ports to help with the export of produce, and the generation and distribution of electricity in rural areas. Irrigation will provide conditions for sustained agricultural output. Drainage works and the provision of clean water supplies are aimed at reducing the incidence of water-related diseases and lessening the labour involved with water collection.

BENEFITS TO THE PEOPLE

It is hoped that these development activities will raise the standards of living of the people of Northern Samar by providing a framework for the region's future economic and social development. Farmers' incomes are expected to be raised through the improved roads which will facilitate the transport of produce to markets, improved agricultural productivity, introduction of new



Pile-driver/crane lifts landrover onto bridge.

technologies and reduced costs of production and marketing. The quality of life is expected to be better through the control of water related diseases and an improvement in nutrition brought about by increased productivity and incomes. Improved transport and communications will also make various services (such as agricultural extension, health and education) more readily available to rural areas, where current levels are amongst the lowest in the Philippines.

Produced by:



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1981

For further information write to:

**THE INFORMATION UNIT,
ADAB,
P.O. BOX 887,
CANBERRA CITY, A.C.T. 2601**

STATISTICAL PROFILE

Australian Cost	\$25 million
Philippines Cost	\$25 million
Time Period	1979-84

Agencies:

Australian
Filipino

Crooks Michell Peacock Stewart Pty Ltd;
G.R.M. International Pty Ltd
Samar Integrated Rural Development Project
Office, under control of the National
Council on Integrated Area Development,
plus many Government departments.

Personnel:

Australian
Filipino

14
Over 1000

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The history of economic thought offers us a wide variety of interpretations of the word development. These different interpretations stem from different value judgements which social scientists make about their society, from different attitudes to normative standards in the social sciences, from different notions of the connections between welfare and economic growth and different weights given to factors external to and internal to economic growth in a particular country. There has been an increased stress, in particular, on attempting to explicate the values which underlie particular models of development and as a corollary, the values which should be the ones directing development. The actual phenomenon of development will vary from region to region and from time to time, but in specific situations goals are specifiable, evaluable and partly quantifiable.

Roman Catholic agencies have their own particular history of involvement with the development debate. Of particular importance for the evolution of RC thinking in the area has been the World Synod in 1971, on the theme of justice, which stressed the interrelationship between what has subsequently come to be called North and South. These interrelationships mean that patterns of resource usage in one region affect possible resource usage (via distribution) in other areas. Development, then, involved fundamental questions of justice concerning the distribution of the world's resources. Other themes from RC social thought which were taken up by this Synod or developed in the wake of it included the ideas that people affected by underdevelopment have the

right to be effectively consulted in the solutions to them: people have the right to be "architects of their own development", and the idea that agencies of the HIC should not use their obvious power to impose solutions on the agencies of the LICs. Undergirding this set of ideas was the influence of liberationist thought on the activities of agencies, adding an overtly conflictual element to agency analysis.

In general terms, some of the non-government development agencies in this country have, for a few years, been undergoing a shift in thinking on both the means and ends of their development activities. In particular, there has been a slow but steady increase in the amounts of agency money being allocated to those sorts of programs which have as their aim the reform of social structures which make for underdevelopment. This shift has been influenced above all by the changing analysis within some of the agencies, of the causes of poverty in LICs. The preferred analysis lays stress on patterns of resource usage in the HICs which cause or exacerbate poverty in the LICs. Agencies in the process of changing the type of aid they give in order to lay more stress on structural factors in underdevelopment, generally view the causes of poverty as having two levels:

- a) local causes which arise from local patterns of domination and
- b) international causes which impinge on local communities from overseas.

They see their role in countering underdevelopment as (in the case of [a]) adopting the best programs and the best mechanisms for generating and executing these programs, and (in the case of [b]) creating an educated constituency in the HICs, able to take action politically to correct within the HIC those factors which exacerbate poverty overseas in the LIC. These two methods of acting on behalf of development are called, respectively, the funding of programs and development education.

The particular mix of programs funded overseas and development education locally will vary with the agency's perception of the relative importance of (a) and (b) above in contributing to poverty in those LICs in which the agency operates.

The process by which one of these agencies (Australian Catholic Relief) moved from one type of mechanism for funding to another type illustrates the sorts of factors which were operating in generating the model of partnership which emerged. Changing aims in development indicated the need for different means. The changing aims were in turn the product of new intellectual forces (above) and an expanding network in the Asian-Pacific region. There was, from the early 'seventies, an increase in amounts given via block grants, a different regional emphasis, a shift to type A aid and an increased commitment to development education. Partnership was the most comprehensive expression of the shift in thinking which had occurred in the agency.

Partnership, as it worked itself out in the processes of the agencies which comprise the APHD, is a system of exchange whereby one set of resources (material) are exchanged for another (educational). It is a system designed to shift the decision making process in aid allocations closer to the actual victims of poverty by using a consensus model in which agencies of the poor from the whole participating region share equally in decisions about which types of structures will be addressed in countering underdevelopment, in which geographical regions this will be done and by which means. The basic aim of partnership as a model for development is firstly to empower communities to make development decisions which are consensus based, aimed at causes of underdevelopment (to ensure that the solutions are permanent) and authentic (not imposed from the outside), and secondly to provide

partner agencies in HICs with the best analysis of the causes of underdevelopment on the assumption that action for development in LICs is possible from people who live in HICs and represents an efficient use of resources when compared to alternative uses of these resources in the LICs. One alternative use of these resources, obviously, is education in LICs about the causes of underdevelopment. This is not development education as defined, but rather, conscientisation, which assists in helping communities articulate their values and hence specify the goals of programs aimed at achieving this. That the Partnership places such emphasis on development education in the HICs testifies to its particular construction of reality which holds that some of the causes of underdevelopment can only be addressed in HICs, and then only by an informed constituency. Development education then is integral to the whole program which the APHD sets itself on combatting underdevelopment by the most efficient means on both (HIC, LIC) fronts. Both the funding of programs and efforts in development education in the HICs are seen as the most appropriate means to the end of combatting underdevelopment in these two different situations.

The above features (the place of education of the domestic constituency in the HIC, the orienting of structures to increased participation) in addition to the socially determined nature of the project's (program's) product have central value in actualising the member agencies' shared values. The model is, of course, a way of actualising values which are shared by a community of RC agencies which are in important respects similar. It does not seem likely that the model has much applicability where these specific values are not shared¹.

¹ eg, ODA, but other NGOs as well

APPENDIX

The Asia Partnership for Human Development was established in 1973. It links 21 Roman Catholic development agencies in Asia, Europe, North America and the Pacific. The objective of the Partnership is:

"The development of peoples so that they take responsibility for all aspects of their lives. To this end, partner agencies, working together in a spirit of equality and mutual trust, pool their resources, both financial and human, to promote genuine human development." ¹

Its current target groups are:

- workers
- peasants, farmers and fishermen
- slum dwellers
- youth and students
- cultural communities
- women
- political prisoners and their families

The Partner agencies currently comprise:

Australia:	Australian Catholic Relief (ACR)
Bangladesh:	Caritas Bangladesh
Belgium:	Broederlijk Delen Entraide et Fraternite
Canada:	Canadian Catholic Organisation for Development and Peace (CCODP)
England:	Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD)
France:	Comite Catholique Contre La Faim et Pour Le Developpement (CCFD)
Hong Kong:	Caritas Hong Kong
India:	Caritas India
Indonesia:	Lembaga Penelitian dan Pembangunan Sosial (LPPS)

¹ From: Asia Partnership for Human Development: Partnership in Practice, APHD, Sydney.

Ireland:	Trocaire
Japan:	Caritas Japan
Korea:	Human Development Committee, Korean Catholic Bishops' Conference (HDC)
Macau:	Caritas Macau
Malaysia:	Catholic Welfare Services, Office of Human Development (OHD)
New Zealand:	New Zealand Catholic Overseas Aid Committees (COAC)
Pakistan:	Caritas Pakistan
Philippines:	National Secretariat for Social Action (NASSA)
Sri Lanka:	Social and Economic Development Centre (SEDEC)
Taiwan:	Caritas Taiwan, Commission for Social Development
Thailand:	Catholic Council of Thailand for Development (CCTD)
Regional:	Office of Human Development, Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (OHD-FABC)

Disbursements

Funds collected and disbursed from partner agencies are expected to total \$4,000,000 in 1982, this representing a smooth progression from \$500,000 in 1974¹.

Structures of APHD

Membership of the Partnership is open to those agencies appointed and recognised by Episcopal Conferences.

The General Assembly is the co-ordinating, policy formulating body of the Partnership. The General Assembly is held every three years and is comprised of two representatives from each partner agency. The Executive Committee of the APHD is responsible for implementing General Assembly policies and decisions. It meets once a year and is comprised of one representative from each partner agency. This representation is automatic upon joining the Partnership. In addition, the Executive Com-

1 APHD does not publish a publicly available Annual Report: These figures were quoted in private briefing from the Secretariat.

mittee has appointed a small Working Group to assist in its work. This meets at least once a year between Executive Committee meetings. Decisions of the Partnership are by consensus. Decisions on projects are made at the meetings of the Working Group and the Executive Committee in May and October each year.

The Partnership also has a mechanism — the Discretionary Fund — for giving financial assistance to projects, situated within the orientations and priorities of the APHD, of a particularly urgent nature.

The Partnership has a Secretariat with staff responsible for carrying out tasks assigned by the General Assembly, the Executive Committee and the Working Group. The Secretariat is currently located in Sydney.

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