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**MICRO-DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES,
HORIZONTAL LINKAGES AND SOLIDARITY ACTION:
CASES FROM PERU AND NOVA SCOTIA**

By

Natasha M. Sacouman

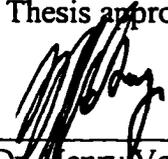
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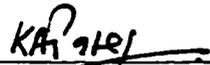
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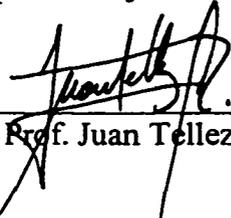
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ABSTRACT

I, Natasha Sacouman argue in Micro Development Initiatives, Horizontal Linkages and Solidarity Action: Problems and Prospects in Nova Scotian and Peruvian Cases, that micro development initiatives are necessary but insufficient when working independent of one another in empowering development as I define it. On the other hand, horizontal networks of micro initiatives towards 'solidarity action' can provide a basis for empowering, transformative, structural changes that both address and improve the lives of the vast majority of the population.

This thesis assesses the problems and prospects of building horizontal linkages towards solidarity action by focusing on the cases of Fishnet in Nova Scotia and nongovernmental organizations in Peru. It concludes with a sober assessment of the problems in building these horizontal networks. Nevertheless, a set of preliminary proposals is offered that enables and supports the establishment of horizontal networking. It also provides direction for building a unified effort towards eliminating the constraints of the various aspects of poverty.

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CHAPTER ONE: POSING THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The adequate conceptualization of 'development' is a central problem in International Development Studies. In this thesis, the term encompasses the structural processes that condition social, economic and political changes. The aim of this change is to improve the quality or standard of life of a majority of a given society. These improvements for the majority can take multidimensional forms - the alleviation of poverty, meeting basic needs, enabling the realization of the individual's human potential, and increasing income and access to natural resources, protection of the environment, increased empowerment and participation, and advances with respect to health and education. Linked to this change and improvement in conditions is a fundamental, structural shift in relations of power. The central goal is to empower the poor majority, while diminishing or placing upper limits on the power that is possessed by those that have more power and resources than

can be justified.

The power of people to act in their own interests and improve their situation for at least themselves is one conception of development reflected in variations of a 'poverty-oriented approach'. Such approaches were formulated and gained broad support in the 1970s but were reformulated in the 1990s in various circles - academic, political, NGO - and development fields as the basis of what has emerged as 'the new paradigm' (ie. Burkey, 1993 & Sato & Smith, 1996). The central trait of this new paradigm is that development must be human-centred and not be imposed by outsiders; rather it should come from within and below (Sato & Smith, 1996). In this paradigm, development requires a shift from resource-based strategies to participatory or interactive strategies.

Development, so conceived, requires trust and cooperation in order to bring about prescribed changes. Working relationships with local government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other communities must be enhanced in order for development to occur and be sustained. There have been many tragedies performed in the name of development (see Caufield, 1996 for the many development disasters funded by the World Bank). For this reason, 'development' is a highly contested terrain. Often it has symbolized the consolidation of power, Western cultural values and in many

contexts an over-emphasis on materialism and a devaluation of the cultural and spiritual dimensions of life. At the same time, one persistent impulse behind the idea - and practice - of development is the possibility and the need for greater (or more) justice and equality. Clinton Robinson (1996: 159) in a spirit of resignation, notes that: "We are obliged to accept (development) because we cannot do without it".

The indicators of development are a continual source of debates (as for example, the UNDP formulation of a Human Development Index). Some organizations, for instance, continue to use a measure of consumption, particularly of personal goods, as an indicator of development - that is, of the physical quality of life. This is generally represented in scales or measures of consumption levels rather than how "developed" people's lives are. This attitude, however, is "enslaving rather than liberating" (Robinson 1996: 159) because it does not include important components such as freedom and empowerment in defining and measuring development.

'Aid' is a notion that is being phased out in development circles and as well criticized in much of the literature on 'alternative development' because it is now widely viewed as a means of using the South to put more money into the coffers of the North. Discussions on this issue have particularly focused on IMF

and World Bank policies (Caufield,, 1996). Charitable donations and aid in its various forms, it is now recognized, are more likely to form a relationship of dependency rather than to alleviate, or eradicate, poverty. Development aid usually ends up serving the donor country in terms of employment benefits and aiding the purchase of its goods and services. Humanitarian aid is certainly needed in times of emergency. However, this is a very small part of the 'development' story - projects and programming designed to bring about change and an improvement in peoples' lives, particularly on the margins of the world economy. And without self-capacitation and empowerment, the poverty of so many people will never be 'alleviated'. If the poor do not have land to grow their own food they will remain dependent on the market. And if they must work in an isolating environment for long hours, they may lose connection with community and family - and, therefore, need social support. Many development practitioners and theorists are skeptical about aid programs because of abuses in the past. Thus, it is lately felt, if not thought, that the word should be kept out of NGO lingo and practice: "Aid ...is the transfer of money from poor people in rich countries to rich people in poor countries, and it does not seem that it should figure large in the NGO program" (Athanasiou, 1996: 159).

Currently, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) constitute

one of the most popular instruments for facilitating the development process. These organizations do not necessarily share any themselves the same interests or objectives for development. Some invite participation from the community they are serving while others almost discourage participation.

Community-based organizations (CBOs) are initiated from the community for projects that in return benefit the participants. The word 'community' has many romantic connotations, and may be used to instil ideas of equality, democracy and happiness. However, this ignores the power rifts, the disagreements and the different realities that are present in many 'communities' or 'societies'. "The community as conceived in development discourse - an organic unity bound together by social bonds, relations of mutual obligation, common interests, and shared social identity - does not seem to exist." (Veltmeyer, 1997a: 320). When communities are examined up close in anthropological and sociological research, class divisions, power and conflict are very much a part of community life (Veltmeyer, 1997a: 320). Gender also plays a major role in development projects in order to eradicate poverty and inequality: "If development is not engendered it is endangered (UNDP, 1997)

Yet, are these power structures more, or less, destructive than the vertical power structure that is inherent when external NGOs

control the development process? The answer is in part that there are various stages of development a community must go through. For example, an external catalyst may be necessary in order to fulfil needs. The process of development may be stimulated by an outside or an inside source, depending, often, on the resources of the community. However, what is important is that a CBO is eventually enabled to control its own strategies and actions by relying on other similar CBOs instead of solely relying on vertical relationships for financial support. On this point there is a virtual consensus among politicians and and theorists of alternative development.

Yet, when community-based organizations focus only on their locality, their actions and strategies may affect their community in terms of its organization and distribution, but not necessarily the wider power structure that sustains the existing social and economic order. In order for poverty to be alleviated, the poor must have greater access to productive resources and the opportunity to control the way they live. This can be safely regarded as a 'principle of development'. For this to happen, development projects must be able to operate and have an impact at the local, national and international levels of society and the economy. This self-autonomy must also be sustainable - another principle. An important way of doing this is through networking with other similar community

projects. This might be termed *solidarity action* - or as is written in feminist literature 'solidarity in action'.

The important point for the thesis argument is that micro initiatives can turn into larger initiatives and have a greater structural, political, economic impact. Ties of support between grassroots organizations is a way of achieving community development on a macro-level. There is a need for horizontal networks in Peru, Canada, India and elsewhere. These should include decision-making and planning which can minimize the effects of exogenous pressures and strengthen the potential for endogenous development.

In the current context of economic globalization (see Martin and Schurmann, 1997), it is crucial to counteract the integration of diverse form of capital - private profit scaling enterprise - with real international cooperation among community-based participatory and people-centered agencies for development such as NGOs. How to win this struggle? For one thing, workers movements, human rights and environmental activists must globalize as well as localize. One example of the strength of this process is the actions of the dockworkers from Liverpool England.

Thesis Statement

Our literature review reveals a lack of serious discussion and relevant data on this important dimension of development: the role of NGOs and of collaboration and solidarity among them. More study on these collaboration and cooperation practices is clearly needed. In the literature there is only passing references on how horizontal collaboration would facilitate the development process. As to methodology and timing, as well as case studies there appear to be few sources. Despite evidence of the benefits of this collaboration there is a dense vacuum here. According to a study (Uphoff, 1987) conducted in 1981 with 150 micro-level organizations, NGOs which had vertical ties generally fared better than those that were isolated, but NGO's with horizontal linkages did even better and NGOs linked to the government did the worst of all.

This thesis argues the need to consolidate horizontal relations among NGOs. Questions which will be answered in this thesis include: Under what conditions is solidarity action possible? What are the problems embedded within this approach? What are the potential benefits of horizontal support systems?

The answers to these questions, I propose, will generally support solidarity action, yet recognize that there are constraints

as to when this action is able to take place. The main purpose of this thesis is to provide a discussion of this dimension of development on the basis of actual case studies from different areas.

Conceptual Framework of the Thesis

Defining concepts in the 'development' field is a political act. Concepts describe what must change, what stays the same, and who controls the development process. There are many debates over definitions and meanings in the development discipline. Because of this, there are many cases of misuse, appropriation, and attempted assassinations of terms because of associations with power. Many terms have loose meanings that can be manipulated to correspond with the view of the speaker or writer, particularly as relates to the belief in the need for change, a fundamental component of the ideology which underlies any study or argument on the diverse dimensions of the development process.

The term 'sustainable development' (development in which benefits are sustained in the long-term) has been used in so many different ways by so many different parties that it has lost any clear meaning. It has been used by such unlikely bedfellows in

theory and practice as left- and right-leaning politicians, economists, development planners, activists and corporations. 'Ecological security' has been adopted by some to replace sustainable development because of the latter's 'fall from grace' (Athanasίου, 1996: 293). And sustainable development is not the only term that has lost its meaning; arms control, human-centred and participatory development are in its company. These are models of development conceived from "those who would have everything change, while changing not at all" (Athanasίου, 1996: 290). Athanasίου (1996) writes that image-management only stalls the solution to present problems. It is imperative to end this "period of suspension" because we are experiencing social and ecological consequences that are very destructive (Athanasίου, 1996).

'Participation', depending on the theoretical perspective that is used to define it, can be problematic or progressive in its implication for action (Veltmeyer, 1997a). There are major approaches, reform-oriented liberal and alternative (for more discussion see Veltmeyer, 1997a). The latter seeks empowerment through people (the beneficiaries) acting; the former seeks to incorporate people into the development process that is so often designed by state bureaucrats and their consultants (Veltmeyer, 1997b).

Another term that has been co-opted by many different agencies is 'empowerment' (see, inter alia, Levins, 1995). At its most basic the term itself is best used to describe all people having control over every aspect of their life. It describes conditions under which people form the capacity to fully participate in the development process: to act themselves to bring about their own development. This implies that empowerment cannot be given or conjured up by outsiders. Empowerment cannot be only for the elite in a community. If it has any reference or meaning in development discourse, it must incorporate or relate to the poorest of the poor.

The World Bank has been accused of appropriating terms and employing them or reassigning them new meanings. However, it is not necessarily the biggest offender in this area. Large corporations hire big public relations firms to use popular terms to substantiate their greenwashing campaigns. 'Greenwashing' is a term that ecologists have used since the seventies to describe when governments and corporations cover up their environmental destruction with a public relations blitz that tells people that the corporations' actions are for social and ecological welfare of civil society. Because development is about people, projects that are supposed to supporting people should be viewed with critical eyes and words should have meaning.

Below are given the definitions of the key concepts used in this thesis.

Globalization

Globalization is viewed as an epochal shift in the way society and the economy is organized. Specifically it refers to a growing trend towards the internationalisation of capital and the system of production as well as communication and culture - the conglomeration of an international economy and society. In every nation, in every culture, the process of globalization is forcing its way into daily life. However, do we ourselves have more interpersonal international connections, or does it just seem that way in a world dominated by transnational corporations? Does globalization necessarily mean an inter-linked, interdependent world? Or is it a world where communities are further isolated from each other because of competition and distrust. The effects of globalization have been said to include: massive unemployment, an increased level of poverty, overpopulation, governments with fewer social responsibilities, powerful transnational corporations, deteriorating work conditions, and communities with little confidence in their own destiny and marginalized from the global economy (Tellez, Nov. 21, 1998; Martin and Schurmann, 1997).

Economists also have argued that globalization of the economy will not solve either the problems of unemployment in the North, poverty in the South and economic inequality between the North and the South (UNCTAD, 1997). This pessimistic stance contrasts with optimism demonstrated by right-wing politicians, CEOs and organizations who support initiatives such as free trade. However, it is the pessimists that are proving to have the more accurate assessment with regards to rising ecological destruction, unemployment, ethnic tension and poverty. Yet, optimism for the present circumstances is easier to stomach rather than a pessimism that suggests the need for an overall change in lifestyle. The idea that we can infinitely use and abuse our natural resources is a kind of “techno-optimism” that is dangerous, but also has a lot of money and power backing it. For example, the recent Climate Change Conference in Kyoto (1997), and the powerful influence of Coal and Energy interests on the American Public and government.

Athanasίου writes that with the formation the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1994, all nations were conglomerated into a “single hair-trigger planetary economy” (1996: 166). With the idea of free trade, however, there is a free movement of money and commodities, not peoples. Therefore, globalization also refers to an “inter-dependent economy”. Global free-trade causes nations and

communities to compete against each other for ecological destruction and poor working conditions so companies can lower costs for merciless global markets. If the test of the market is applied and the value of human life is measured by the value of labour power then the value of human life is reduced to and corresponds to how much people can demand in wages (Athanasίου, 1996: 185). It also corresponds to ecological destruction; for example, pollution is relative to the value of life and vice versa (Athanasίου, 1996: 185). Depending on class, geographical location, ethnicity and gender, some people's lives are perceived to be worth more than others in the "New" World.

The mobility of transnational corporations (TNCs) allows them to pursue profit - generating and enhancing strategies - with little regard and often with a destructive on the environment. They can easily pack up and leave if they do not like a nation's environmental, or labour protection laws. TNCs are global actors that can work on regional and national levels, which can and often does create competition and distrust.

The Concept of Poverty

Poverty is the main impetus to development (UNDP, 1997). Poverty implies not having the means to provide the basic necessities of

human life. There are two basic concepts of poverty. “Absolute poverty” is the absence or deprivation of basic needs, for example: food, drinking water, shelter, education and/or health care. “Relative poverty”, on the other hand, refers to social standards and levels of living conditions and ultimately it points towards the gap between the rich and the poor. Both of these “poverties” have been increasing everywhere (Ransom, 1996). Although child mortality rates, agricultural technology, infrastructure and other such factors have improved, the underlying conditions of poverty - unemployment, destruction of the environment, injustice, power, ethnocentrism, sexism, geographical location - persist (UNDP, 1997). Development organizations have begun to realize that they must consider all of these causes because like a web they interact with one another. Whereas before, organizations thought that they could lobby or act for their individual causes, they now find that injustice is a disease that touches many aspects of life.

The lesson that capitalism teaches us is that the wealth of the few comes from the poverty of the many. The two are linked as is evident in studies by UNCTAD (1998) and the UNDP (1992, 1997). A review by these UN organizations of historical trends clearly connects a pattern of economic growth with one of growing inequalities in the distribution of resources.

Economic Divides/ North and South

While acknowledging the vast and indefinite nature of the terms 'North and 'South', they are used throughout this thesis. The ruling classes and elites in the South can be just as powerful as those in the North, and although poverty is much more extreme in many southern countries, there are pockets of poverty in the North that are also growing with globalization. As one Latin American delegate at the pre-Rio Roots of the Future NGO Conference put it: we must "stop talking about the 'North and the South' and the 'South and the North' and the 'South within the North' and the 'North within the South' and start talking about the fuckers and the fuckees" (Athanasiou, 1996: 218). Because these terms would not be recognized in any formal dissertation on international development, the more vague terms of 'North' and 'South' will be used.

The division of power has particular significance in terms of the present discussions of directions for the future. Ecological destruction is rarely discussed without including a discussion on the widening gaps between the rich and the poor. Tom Athanasiou, in his book, Slow Reckoning: The Ecology of the Divided Planet (1996), describes the growing understanding of the links between the

ecological crisis and economic globalization.

In the 1750s, living standards in the North and the South were not as distinct as they are today (Athanasίου, 1996: 53). In the 240 years that have followed, it has been the North's sucking the resources of the Periphery (the South) to the Centre, rather than the technological and cultural innovations of the North, that have created vast income differentials between the two areas (Heilbroner, 1993: 55-56). This has meant that, forgetting borders, the richest and poorest 20 percent in 1994 had an income differential of 78 to 1, more than doubled than that in 1960 (see HDR 1997).

The principal opposing sides of capitalist development continue to be capital and labour. To continue their rule, capitalists have always attempted to divide labour within itself. The system explicitly sets up workers against workers - usually the older, prosperous workers versus the younger, newly recruited, poorer workers (Greider, 1997: 42-43), but also along gender and ethnic lines. This system promotes distrust and competition between people in the same position. William Greider (1997) says that we need to think in broader frameworks of economic order in order to imagine human possibilities. He suggests a "vast playground where many different children are playing, together and separately, but all

playing in the same game” (Greider, 1997: 43).

Communication

“Communication” in this paper is used to express the interaction between people rather than the means of that association. Issues surrounding the mass media are not irrelevant to a discussion on local development. However: “What communication for rural social development will have increasingly to concentrate on is horizontal, dialogical, participatory communication, first and foremost, ... in the local space ...” (Carmen, 1988: 270). Participatory development approaches cannot communicate with people as effectively “en masse” as on the ground, face-to-face (Robinson, 1996: 43).

There are areas that must be constantly evaluated in this type of development in order that the process does not mirror the same type of imperialist-type scenarios called development that are in the past and the present. For example, the language that is used in interpersonal or -organizational relationships indicates power, cultural respect and equity (Robinson, 1996).

Cultural barriers and perceptions must be lowered if change is going to occur. Many authors feel this way: “Ultimately, each of us must judge the matter alone, but it would help if we could at least talk to one another” (Athanasίου, 1996: 13). Childers (1990: 2)

writes on the critical importance of communication in local development:

Development consists of processes in which various groups are stimulated (by communication) to improve aspects of their ways of living and producing. Development is thus cultural, it is perception - and communication - loaded, and not at all just a matter of material "inputs". Money, material and equipment will only result in development if those supposed to use them decide that these "inputs" are safe to risk using for change that they want themselves; ... All of their decisions are functions of perception and communication; their new tools of knowledge and techniques themselves obviously arrive only with communication. (...) Yet human communication is the usually unwritten line between every actual written line of a development programme or project.

Establishing linkages between community-based organizations maintains legitimacy and acceptance: exchanges of experiences, external funding, support and encouragement. When groups remain local and isolated they are weakened and dependency is created. Horizontal networks (ie. cooperative-to-cooperative, farmer-to-farmer) are able to provide advice and support, as long as there is no competition present. Self-reliant participatory development through the collective effort of small groups has a national multiplying effect - one initiative influences another. Also, ideas and experiences are shared and alliances are forged between

communities. Government co-optation is reduced when like-minded groups form alliances. Solidarity - the mutual interdependence between people - is established. There is a union of responsibilities and interests that creates a kind of camaraderie, not independence or isolated self-sustainment.

Local Knowledge

With globalization, there is a belief that the world will invariably turn into one with a single or limited lines of products, work expertise, strains of produce, animals (and probably eventually humans), and culture. With this move towards singularity, it is believed that other “ineffective”, “ugly” elements will soon disappear. Yet, what is ineffective and irrelevant today may be ‘the saving grace’ of tomorrow. Ideas and knowledge may also become extinct as people are forced to change their lifestyle habits, whether it is knowledge of medicinal properties of plants in favour of biomedical pill-popping, or fishing peoples who eventually lose the knowledge of the sea because of being forced to move inland. This extinction of knowledge may be the most dangerous aspect of the process we call globalization. Again, what counts is the importance of local people controlling their own destiny. One lifestyle should not be more valued than another; yet it is common

for the rich and powerful to create the myth that that their lives are more valuable and therefore should be sustained, salvaged and cherished.

Knowledge is not something that can easily be attained. It is not memorized facts learned from newspaper, television or over the world wide web. Knowledge is something acquired by living, it is learned perception, understanding and comprehension. Experiential knowledge is heart, instinct, feeling and logic. Each cultural organization is said to hold its own indigenous knowledge system from the its experiences, understandings and perceptions. Therefore, agencies that work together with similar knowledge systems may be better suited to understand, learn, share, and therefore, keep their knowledge systems alive.

Methodology

A case study approach and literature review are used for data to argue this thesis. The literature review is in order to demonstrate the vacuous near absence of detailed discourse on horizontal relations. It is important to note that the role of the informal economy, corporations, and the State with reference to the case studies will not be discussed within this thesis. Most of the

literature review was done in Halifax, Canada. Two case studies are used in order to contrast different situations - one is in the third world (Peru) and the other in the first world (Nova Scotia). These case studies were chosen on the basis of accessibility, time and resources. During the time that I was in Peru, my experiences and opportunities provided much exposure to various interesting organizations. In Nova Scotia, I was specifically interested in investigating FISHNET because of the importance of its subject, women in coastal communities, to this Canadian province. I am from Nova Scotia and appreciate the necessity of this group.

The Atlantic women's fishing organization, Fishnet, is used because they are attempting to form ties with other similar organizations in Asia. Fishnet is a fairly recent organization, and the networking that is taken place is mainly a result of a Canadian national NGO. Data were obtained by informal discussions with a key woman in the organization, attending some meetings, and literature on the Fishnet organization itself. The major problems in collecting data about Fishnet were transportation and time constraints.

Case studies of Peru are used because they provide an example of the difficulties of development when there is competition that results from an economic crisis and a government that controls local development in order for its own political and financial

benefit. Many participants in development that I spoke to recognize the need to form linkages, but outline the impossibilities in the present climate. Data from Peru were obtained through participant observation, informal discussions and formal interviews with participants from the various development projects over the months of May, June and July, 1997. The major problems for collecting data in Peru were time and language constraints.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis of this study is that horizontal relations are crucial to the development of community-based organizations. The argument for this thesis is organized as follows: chapter two provides a literature review. The literature review discusses relevant studies on “solidarity action” or networking at the horizontal level. In that chapter I argue that recent literature has not provided adequate discussion of horizontal linkages in the form of case studies, study and analysis. In the third chapter, I present the data collected on the case studies. These data are then analyzed in that same chapter in order to draw conclusions in order to support the importance of horizontal relations for development purposes and in order for those relations to be an objective of development projects. This analysis

also demonstrates the struggles of this type of development under the present conditions of economic globalization. The final chapter then summarizes the conclusions from the second and third chapters.

CHAPTER TWO: NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Introduction

The central argument of this thesis is that micro development initiatives as they are most often constituted, on the basis of NGOs and their support of grassroots actions, are necessary but insufficient in themselves as a means of empowering transformative development. On the other hand, horizontal networks of micro initiatives moving towards 'solidarity action' can provide a basis for empowering, transformative (or at least modificatory), structural changes that both address and improve the lives of the vast majority.

Nongovernmental organizations may work globally, nationally and/or locally to promote development or provide relief. Below is a review on literature that relates to the topic of relations between these development agencies. The purpose of this review is to establish some working ideas and theories which in hypothetical form will serve as the theoretical framework of this study.

Review

There are many assessments done on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Brown and Korten (1989: 16-17) have written a summary of weaknesses and strengths of voluntary organizations (VOs) that have been evaluated by various sources in A Concept Paper Prepared for the World Bank. They list the general strengths of VOs as:

accessibility to the poor and other neglected groups; the ability to promote local participation and adapt to local needs and conditions; the ability to deliver services at low costs; and, because of their small size, flexible administration and relative freedom from political restraints, they are able to find innovative solutions to problems. Typical criticisms of VOs include: inadequate technical capacity diminishes ability to “scale up” successful projects to achieve regional or national impact; self-sustaining community organizations are not developed; they lack managerial and organizational capabilities; and a strategic perspective which seeks to build linkages with other important actors does not exist. This last criticism is the one I will focus on in this thesis. In terms of horizontal relationships few authors discuss this method of development.

Growth in numbers, size, activities and impact of local NGOs

has been termed within the development community as “scaling-up”. John Clark (1990: 74) identifies three ways that this can happen: *project replication*, using past experiences of successes and failures to increase outreach or help others establish similar programs; *building a grassroots movement* by using the local knowledge and contacts of the NGOs to build networks for change; and *influencing policy reform* at the national level. These projects would apply under different conditions (1990: 75-6). The necessary skills for any scaling-up strategy, Clark calls “the five Ls” (1990: 76): listening to allies and critics; learning to improve evaluation and research for specific programs and the macro context; linking, building networks and coalitions; leadership, particularly from the poor themselves; and lobbying, to influence those with greater clout and resources. Most of these recommendations pertain to connecting with the outside. Clark writes that at times, properly built government schemes may have more prospect of achieving changes in policies, institutions, attitudes and customs than NGO projects.

John Clark, who worked for OXFAM in the UK, wrote a book, Democratizing Development (1990), about the need to gather solidarity movements to change policy that inhibits people-centred development. The emphasis is on movements in the North and South working not merely for structural adjustment, but “structural

transformation” (1990). To approach this idea of transformation, and how a solidarity movement can, in fact, take place, he distinguishes between Western Guilt (giving money) and the power of solidarity (group action). Clark emphasizes:

If there is one single message it is this. Voluntary organizations will only achieve their full potential if they develop a more strategic, coordinated way of working. Their projects are important and will remain so, but in themselves do no more than create islands of relative prosperity within an increasingly hostile sea. These projects should be seen not as ends in themselves but as starting points. (Clark, 1990: xi)

Clark says that the challenge for NGOs is to maximize the impact and value of their lessons without sacrificing their motives. This ‘scaling-up’ requires that there be outreach to help other NGOs set up similar programs and coordinate efforts and also use their experience to persuade others to change (Clark, 1990: 8-9). Because NGOs are able to form global structures and linkages they have the ability to build international networks of citizen’s pressure (Clark, 1990: 10). Further, “NGOs do have enough influence to affect change, but only when they act together and plan strategically to maximize their power” (Clark, 1990: 130). Clark writes that when Northern NGOs speak about partnership, it is usually about a financial, bureaucratically-controlled relationship (1990: 60). He writes that

it is not always easy for NGOs to accept that while funds may initially provide necessary aid, the real strength is the poor's solidarity (1990: 90). These prevalent attitudes within the development community towards economic emphasis should change.

Clark observes that NGOs do not give priority to developing the skills for "scaling up" because they are more concerned with "doing" rather than "influencing" (1990: 80). To satisfy donors, NGOs must give reports on project performance - how much money was spent, statistics comparing actual progress to stated objectives (Clark, 1990: 80). They do not report on the events outside of their project (economic recession, government policy shifts and environmental degradation) that affect the lives of the poor. Nor do some NGOs report on the project objectives and/or performance from the viewpoint of the poor (Clark, 1990: 80). Their emphasis is on future financing, not future transformation of structures that perpetuate poverty.

Uvin and Miller discuss methods that nongovernmental organizations may "scale-up" or increase their influence. Four modes suggested for this development are: quantitative, functional, political and organizational. To fully understand these methods of "scaling-up", it is suggested that, beyond aid the social context of the NGOs involvement must be taken into consideration.

Interpersonal linkages are not only a way of making the organization larger, but also they are important to bridge the gaps that of wealth, power and culture (Waddock, 1993) and are therefore very important for bringing about an understanding of each others positions, views and feelings.

Each community “grows” and functions in its own manner, but with outside influence. Interaction with outsiders cannot be avoided in any type of development. Absolute self-reliance is an utopian concept. Thomas Carroll (Intermediary NGOs: The Supporting Link in Grassroots Development (1992: 156)), writes that “The Lone Ranger” is a Western concept that promotes Western cultural values: individuality, equality and independence. Greater self-reliance does not entail social and economic independence; it is growth in awareness, self-worth, pride and confidence. Self-reliance does not necessarily imply self-sufficiency but a process of conscientisation (Burkey, 1993: 51) - an idea of rising from mental constraints and realize social and individual potential, a process of realizing one’s needs and how to fulfil them. Development implies balanced interdependence, not isolationism. This idea of working with independent communities taints development organizations’ strategies and theories. Carroll writes that becoming advocates of a poor community is interesting anthropologically, but does not have a lot

of impact on development (1992: 158).

At the Regional Symposium on NGO Cooperation in Bangkok (1991), cooperation among NGOs was discussed and roles for existing national and regional associations of NGOs were suggested. Reasons that regional cooperation was acclaimed were: to have a forum to develop a common framework for undertaking various poverty alleviation programs and exchange experience; to report success and failure; to share information on training problems and methodologies; and to create stronger bargaining power. Recommendations for establishing regional cooperation were as follows: strengthen national networks; develop a regional forum; and form joint projects/programs (such as capability building, information sharing, and policy advocacy) for promoting people-to-people exchanges.

Carolyn Stremlau, in "NGO Coordinating Bodies in Africa, Asia and Latin America" (1987), writes that NGO coordinating bodies are important because their ability to collect and disseminate information about NGO activities which can help members to identify areas of duplication as well as areas of possible collaboration (1987: 216). She argues that field-level coordination is difficult because NGOs are staunchly independent and wary of factors that may diminish that independence (1987: 216). Stremlau

indicates how coordinating bodies that receive external funding can be problematic. For example, some coordinating bodies in Latin America and the Caribbean receive support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) - an agency that supports policies of the U.S. government. Besides these external donor-funded coordinating bodies, South American, organizations do not have the incentive or interest to establish formal coordinating bodies with broad-based membership because of geographical barriers, political factors, differing views among NGOs about economic and social change, as well as the sheer numbers of NGOs working in the area (Stremlau, 1987: 221). Competition and distrust between NGOs from these factors impedes the formation of ties.

Tongsawate and Tips in "Coordination between government and voluntary organizations (NGOs) in Thailand's rural development", outline five objectives of coordination in development. They are: to avoid overlapping; to ensure a uniform basis for determining the sequence of development efforts; to reduce the number of personnel and small, isolated functions; to provide a foundation for consistent and comprehensive development, and to facilitate the continuation of both existing and new development efforts (1988: 401). As is presented, there is literature that explains the benefits to cooperation/coordination in development projects. However, how

these relationships take place and who are the parties that should be involved is also important as to how power is distributed.

With linkages that are horizontal! - that is, for example, farmer-to-farmer, fisher-to-fisher, shelter-to-shelter - it can be assumed that there exists greater comprehension between the various parties. As Manfred Max-Neef writes: you can never fully understand love unless you have fallen in love; in turn, you can never fully understand the essence of poverty unless you yourself have been impoverished (1992: 102). A benefit of horizontal linkages is understanding which in itself will form similar perspectives for strategizing.

Caroline Kroeker's field experience in Nicaragua, ("The Cooperative Movement in Nicaragua: Empowerment of Accompaniment of Severely Disadvantaged Peasants" (1996)), provides an example of what may happen with a vertical relationship between an NGO and a community. She found that outsiders did not recognize the abilities of the people in the communities and so suggests that education on the management of the project to the community would overcome barriers to empowerment. The transfer of skills and technology is enhanced when there is equality and trust on both sides. It is concluded that researchers must become more involved in grassroot communities to learn the perspectives of its

members. It can be inferred that if the researchers came from communities facing similar situations, there would be more of a comprehension of the issues.

Many authors have written on the effects of external pressure on local projects. When there is State involvement in a development project, it can lead to direct or indirect repression that destroys the solidarity of a group, or there could be subtle co-option through political manipulation with the aim of redirecting the group's own efforts (Burkey, 1993: 164). This leads to a loss of identity and also to a defeat of endogenous objectives. The State wants to promote an ideological perspective, and will fund the projects that do so. Burkey (1993: 165) writes that the often brutal power structures that control the lives of the poor are not often realised by the casual visitor. This must be taken into account when there is any discussion of people's empowerment. However, no people's organization is going to achieve development on its own - a partnership of the people with their government and with the surrounding area must be forged. For more in depth discussion on coordination between NGOs and government, see Tongswate and Tips (1988), Clark (1990), and Brown and Ashman (1996).

Some alternative policies formed by outsiders have been perceived by recipient nations as transgressing national sovereignty

and “a malign scheme to block access of developing countries to “state of the art” technology” (Levitt: 1991). Implementing development programs, especially those that are designed for the liberation of peoples that are persecuted by the state can be difficult for this reason. Also, groups working together at the national level to change policy should include a sector of the government in their project. Yet, government inclusion should follow the fundamental factor of people inclusion - that is full participation of the beneficiaries.

Nongovernmental organizations are regularly believed to be contributing to local democracy and awareness among the population. However, Ricardo Vergara (1994), “NGO’s: Help or Hindrance for Community Development in Latin America?”, writes that they may be doing just the opposite. The emergence of community decision-making as well as general participation is affected when the leaders in foreign NGO’s make decisions that affect the local population.

Carrie A. Meyer, in “Opportunism and NGOs” (1995), provides an analysis of Southern grassroots organizations under the influence of external Northern aid. She argues that with aid these Southern agencies are viewed as businesses that must provide “products” to the international market. Therefore these Southern organizations

lose their ability or position to advocate effectively for the people that they are representing. This in turn effects participation and the conscientization process.

Fundamental human needs are the same in all communities, however, needs are perceived differently according to the ideological and disciplinary views of the individual. Manfred Max-Neef (1991: 20-21) writes that every cultural system has its own choice of “satisfiers” in order to obtain fundamental human needs. He writes “we may go as far to say that one of the aspects that define a culture is its choice of satisfiers” (1991: 21). Diversity should be respected in each other’s methods of development to fulfil human needs. Manfred Max-Neef writes that, “There is nothing in (development) that advocates a final solution, since we are fully aware that human beings and their surroundings are part of a permanent flow which cannot be arrested by rigid and static models” (1991: 12). This can create problems for different community groups working on a project together. The combination of social activism at the local and national levels inspired by a great variety of ideologies, with the rational of some of the rich countries at the international level, can cause awkward problems, misunderstandings and inefficiencies. People’s identity must be maintained throughout this process.

When communities form larger organizations, there is a danger of skimming the best local leadership into the larger organizational network and the dissolution of the local bases of strength (Burkey, 1993: 179). This causes a risk of losing flexibility, relevance, and energy of locally-based innovations and becoming impotent (Burkey, 1993: 79). An evaluation process should pay attention to this foreseeable problem.

Within the community organization itself, there are very often power struggles. According to Max-Neef, there is no possibility of active participation of the people in gigantic systems which are hierarchically organized, where there is top-down decision-making (1991: 13). There are three proposals which counteract this: developing processes of economic and political decentralization, strengthening genuine democratic institutions, and encouraging an increase in autonomy in the emerging social movements (1991: 14). These proposals recognize that there are internal power structures within every community organization.

The urban perception, or invented reality of the 'harmonious village' presents the idealized view of rural village life - that there is cooperation, homogeneity, and friendliness. It is a misleading concept and does not recognize the internal power structures, the tensions and problems which exist within the community (Burkey,

1993:40-41). Brett points out that communities have their own hierarchical systems. All members, ideally should have access to skills technology and production in an activity. These power structures should be recognized while forming the project.

Nongovernmental organizations have their agenda in meeting the needs of impoverished people. However, their approaches, usually concentrate on one issue within a single community or are more similar to aid, rather than promoting full development within a region. This is because NGOs want to maintain an independent status and deliberately neglect other NGOs, and compete against each other for clients and funds, write Farrington and Bebbington in Reluctant Partners? (1993: 23). Like Tongsawate and Tips, Farrington and Bebbington write that these inco-ordinative efforts produce situations where within one region there are several organizations which are duplicating efforts, replicating mistakes, using conflicting approaches and confusing the people they are supposed to be helping (1993: 23). It can be inferred that with improved communication, duplication of the same projects within the same community would be modified.

Brown and Korten (1989) write:

VOs often ignore the larger context in which they operate, focusing only on the micro-level and failing to recognize the extent to which the

communities they serve are parts of systems strongly influence(d) by other agencies and forces. This weakness may stem from a combination of commitment to locality, specific interventions and a sense of moral superiority that leads to undervaluing the ability and intentions of other organizations.

According to this statement, the issue of inco-ordination can be improved if the NGO were to enlarge its scope to outside the community and lose the competitive attitude. Development is an action that requires many actors for support, not just a relationship between one development agency and its client.

Not everybody believes that collaboration is an effective method. Interaction among grassroots groups, private corporations, government agencies and nongovernmental organizations often produces conflicts, power struggles and misunderstandings because of very diverse interests and perspectives, rather than successful collaboration in policy/program design and implementation that addresses critical development problems (Gray, 1989). Some authors believe that cooperation and competition can co-exist. York and Zychlinski (1996) in "Competing Nonprofit Organizations Also Collaborate," examined collaboration among voluntary organizations and found that cooperation and competition are not mutually exclusive and that the external change agent played an important

part in the process of inter-organizational cooperation.

Yet, cooperation and competition have not proven to be co-effective in other studies. Leda and Melvin Hall, "Big Fights: Competition between Poor People's Social Movement Organizations" (1996), analyse a survey of 360 poor people's organizations in the United States and Puerto Rico. They found that within the same city, there are different groups and methods of organizing, that are going to draw eventually on the same financial resources and activists - this is an inhibiting factor for overall development. Two broad areas of competition between social movement organizations (SMOs) are territorial competition that relates to turf and resources, and organizational competition that comprises recruitment of staff, leadership styles, definition of issues, training strategies and recruitment of members. It is concluded that competition, rather than cooperation, is the prevailing pressure on SMOs in an age of declining resources the poor people's SMOs in this study appear to see limited benefits in cooperation.

Issues that relate to communication/coordination of NGO initiatives are summed up in a a pamphlet by the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia: access to information, language barriers, cultural differences, access to resources and training, lack of trust, opportunities to meet/interact and share experiences, and

communication difficulties (CCC Executive Committee Report, 1993/94). These are issues that must be taken into account when forming a relationship with another organization.

Manfred Max-Neef distinguishes in his book, Human Scale Development: Conception, Application and Further Reflections (1992), between conventional (money) and non-conventional resources (non-monetary). Conventional resources are depleted when used, whereas non-conventional resources are only depleted when they are not used. For example, work is more than just a resource, it is a generator of resources and it mobilizes social potential. Financial support is often necessary. However, so are international and national support mechanisms for when human rights are being violated by those in power. Max-Neef gives six non-conventional resources (1992: 79):

1. social awareness
2. organizational know-how and managerial ability
3. popular creativity
4. solidarity and ability to provide mutual aid
5. expertise and training provided by supporting agencies
6. dedication and commitment from internal and external agencies

Non-conventional resources stimulate self-reliance and insure better performance of conventional resources, especially capital (1992: 80). They promote community support, without which the

project will collapse. The type of resource necessary for that community will relate to what level the organization has reached.

Communities should be able to decide for themselves what methods they use to tap resources from exterior sources. The outside world is necessary to access those resources. NGOs, alternately, need to take care on how they distribute conventional and non-conventional resources - if they do indeed distribute them. The conditions for resource transfer as presented in the New Internationalist, November 1996 (p.11) are:

1. *Democracy* in both the donor and the recipient country. A democratic relationship between the recipient and the donor.
2. *Transparency*, frankness, and openness should be the rule followed by an evaluation of projects.
3. *Accountability* of public money that is for public interest made publicly accountable.
4. Promote *equity* to help the poor fight against causes of poverty.
5. *Empathy*, or responsible compassion.
6. *Solidarity* and support for popular movements.
7. *Emergency* aid which is inescapable and legitimate when requested.

In his book, People First, Burkey (1993: 77) discusses different levels of change agents and their emphases: at the village level where conscientisation takes place, at the intermediate level where support is provided for grassroots level change (ie. fundraising, information, research and support), and that the international level

which provides a lot of political support. For these change agents to be effective they must have certain criteria, such as: work *with* the people; work mainly with vulnerable groups; initiate a process of conscientisation; assist the appreciation of working in groups; promote the broadest possible participation; assist groups in their establishment phase; encourage and develop leadership skills; assist and encourage groups and communities to establish external linkages and in communicating their needs and grievances; share knowledge and experiences with people; provide a wider perspective; encourage groups and communities to establish links between themselves and other groups or organizations (to help avoid isolation, being crushed or co-opted); realise that genuine people's organizations and movements have to start as people's movements; review and assess their own role, behaviour, and relationships with others and performance as change agents; and, finally, play the role as energetic observers (Burkey, 1993: 79-81). As you can see, Burkey emphasizes that in order for this participatory self-reliant process to begin, there must be participation with the outside world. Forming a gender and class perspective for a group's agenda is also necessary, and should be added to this list, since power structures are inherent in every culture. The days of aid acting as a motivater for development are outdated. Burkey states that giveaways are

ineffective and detrimental because they instil ideas of dependency and subservience (1993: 181). Receiving “aid” from mutual support is more likely to bring long-term benefits.

Mutual support has other benefits also. Various authors have stated that self-reliant participatory development through the collective effort of small groups, has a national multiplying effect - one initiative influences another (Burkey, 1993: 174, Max-Neef, 1992: 59). Ideas and experiences are shared and alliances are forged between villages, government co-option is reduced, and, people who are united are able to challenge the power structures that control them in a more effective manner.

Yet, diversity exists even between groups that are struggling with the same issues in the same country. Different groups have different concerns - competing professional rationales and psychodynamics. The various organizations must attempt to understand each other's viewpoint. For example, Martha Davis (1996) describes how in order to fight poverty, the women's movement in the United States attempted to align itself with the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) which was led by men who refused to identify with the women's movement. However, when welfare mothers assumed control of the leadership of the NWRO, an alliance began to overcome the profound economic and

racial differences that divided the two movements (Davis, 1996). In this case gender imbalance was tied by the reorganization of leadership.

Tucker and Napier (1994) write that literature on community development does not address the timing and relative utility of various communication methods within the context of theoretical modelling. They write that traditional interpersonal methods remain crucial links in the diffusion strategy, while news media and other alternative methods fulfil a critical supporting role in targeting fragmented client populations with timely information (Tucker and Napier, 1994). Case studies of these interpersonal links - who, what, when, where and how - is rarely discussed, even though, as explained above, it may be a crucial method for *solidarity action* development.

There are ample examples that *suggest* the power of collective force. Ndegwa (1994) provides four conditions for civil society to challenge repressive regimes, based on his study of Kenya in the late 80s and 90s. The four factors are: political opportunity, collective organization and resources, alliances with donors and alliances with other democratic forces in society (Ndegwa, 1994). Note that the collective action that happened in Kenya occurred under a conflict that was probably instrumental in bringing about group action.

Brett (1996) studies the difficulties with the participatory model approach using examples from Latin America in his article, "The Participatory Principle in Development Projects". He writes that a sense of solidarity - especially when there is an outside threat - is a positive factor of community participation. Ishio (1996) agrees that coalition participation increases as event conflict increases, also when there is a large membership and perceived influence.

Methods of communication are changing. Wittig Andrisin, Michelle and Joseph Schmitz analyze the effectiveness of the electronic media on fostering action at the grassroots level. A group who had set up a transitional center for the homeless was used for the discussion. They concluded that electronic networking was neither impertinent nor unnecessary for grassroot activity. However, they stated, in some cases, it may enhance diversity and communication of the participants because physical appearances are not apparent. This article demonstrates that the capacities for people to organize themselves should not be limited to what we define their capabilities.

The postmodern era, in which this time period is frequently referred, emphasizes difference, deconstruction, contextualization. The notion of coming from a common ground, or sharing the same

agenda is almost bold and shameful. Feminism has responded to this discussion on postmodernism, despite the apparent differences between the two theories. How some feminist scholars have tied the two together shows an ingenuity of how solidarity can still thrive and be present amongst a group as diverse as the female population. Feminists refer to “imagined communities of women” which are communities in that the sense that they suggest a horizontal camaraderie, despite the existence of different feminisms. Chandra Mohanty (1991: 4) writes about: “imagined communities of woman with divergent histories and social locations, woven together by the political threads of opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but also systemic”. Ferguson et al (1995: 3) suggest that these “imagined communities” are areas of “potential collaboration across boundaries”.

The women’s movement is well-known for using the solidarity of local groups to apply global pressure. Ellen Dorsey (1997), writes about the women’s movement using global pressure to develop national commitment. She argues that these global forms are necessary to amplify work, commitment and demands from localities at the national level and “in turn, harness the leverage created in the global context to deepen the power base of activities of the ground” (Dorsey, 1997: 356). *Solidarity in action* provides a

shared sense of victory, courage and hope (Dorsey, 1997: 356).

Pilsuk, McAllister and Rothman (1996), in “Coming Together for Action”, discuss the rise of international grassroots activity despite the postmodern era - when transnational corporations have power, with the help of the media, and there is fragmentation and decline of community support networks. This increase of activity has been characterized by environmental, women and disabled rights groups.

Brown and Ashman in “Participation, Social Capital, and Intersectoral Problem Solving” (1996: 1468) concluded in their comparative analysis on thirteen cases of intersectoral collaboration among grassroots groups, international funding agencies, nongovernmental organizations and public agencies, that participation is the factor that makes these initiatives possible. Multiparty cooperation in problem solving is not unknown in developing countries, but is not common according to the authors.

Goldin (1996) writes about a study on how families in a Maya township of Guatemala increased their economic status through diversification of non-traditional crops. This model of development is not common in Mayan society, and was discriminated against by surrounding poorer towns. It caused class differentiation within and between the towns. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are

used for the study. This article shows us that development in one community can involve disempowering another. Goldin writes that there is a marked difference in terms of poverty between townships that produces distrust and resentment (1996: 105). In Almolonga, a sector of the population is benefiting from the possibilities of vegetable production at the expense of a large peasant sector of the region at high human and environmental cost. She ends the article saying: “ This strategy is not now, or in the future, the answer for the majority of the population (1996: 106). For development to really have an effect on poverty, the poor must empower each other.

The root causes of poverty must be attacked. This is the central proposition and guiding principle of all NGOs in the field of development. Schuftan (1996) argues that community development is mostly a zero-sum game; the empowerment of some leads to the disempowerment of others. The example that Goldin gave is very important in that it shows what can happen when development is concentrated on one community. Empowerment is defined referring to local contexts. However, there needs to be a global effort in order to change the way that globalization is disempowering to the majority of peoples. Information about how this effort may be successfully accomplished should be shared and discussed by the people directly involved. Focus on one development project allows

for neglect and misconceptions of relevant actors and issues.

'Participation' is a buzz word in the development literature (see for example Clark (1990), Burkey (1993), and Max-Neef (1991)). Many authors have written that the success of a project boils down to whether or not the "clients" are able to have full participation that included eventually control over the project or program. However, as pointed out many of times, democracy can be just as hard to promote within a community, let alone between the community and an external NGO or the government. Local groups must hold evaluation processes to be aware of internal power struggles.

It is important to emphasize that there should be a mutual relationship of respect between the donor and the recipient. NGOs have no business promoting a development path that is not supported by the recipient(s). Maybury-Lewis (in Kley Meyer, 1994: xiii) wrote that "the worst disasters and injustices committed in the name of development come about when people are excluded from the decisions that affect them or even excluded from consideration when such decisions are being made". The most ideal form of participatory development is when people from the community organize, evaluate and manage their own development. The creativity of the 'disadvantaged' cannot be underestimated. People

have the capacity to organize themselves and should not be limited to what development professionals define as their capabilities.

Development methods that do not focus on participation do not necessarily guarantee the goal of empowerment. Michael Warner (1996) provides two current criticisms on participatory methods. The first is that community participatory planning remains peripheral and isolated from the mainstream government and agency development policy and planning because the definition of “participation” varies on whose interests are being served. This can have implications on the relationship between the community and the government. Secondly, community participatory planning remains a set of *ad hoc* techniques for information extraction rather than a structured method for participatory planning and empowerment. Participatory development can focus on a particular aspect of development that does not seek to change power relations. In order that the organized and the powerful elements in the community do not appropriate the benefits of development activities, those activities must discriminate in favour of the poor and powerless. This means that class, ethnicity and gender must be taken into perspective in any development plan or policy. Communities have their own hierarchical systems. All members, ideally should have access to skills, technology and production in

any activity. Local power structures - who has the decision-making powers and who does not - should be recognized while forming the project.

Another perspective on NGOs is provided by postmodernism (such as Escobar (1995) and Thompson (1995)). Postmodernism argues that the world is not uniform and that there are different realities and perceptions in groups that appear to be homogeneous. Women's groups have incorporated this argument in their discussions - "imagined communities" of women. Women's groups have been successful in supporting initiatives at national and international levels as well as local levels.

Diverting away from postmodernism, Carroll writes about the myth of the "lone ranger" in regards to community development. Isolation is not the key to alleviating poverty because support systems are needed to challenge local, national and global pressures. These support systems - as both Max-Neef and Clark discuss - should be more than financially-based. Non-conventional resources - as Max-Neef describes them - rather than conventional resources, can give more support in the long term because they form relationships that are based more on solidarity rather than money. The difference between these two types of resources is the same difference as between development and aid.

Many authors have written about competition between NGOs that often leads to duplication of projects in the same areas and avoidance of collaboration or cooperation on joint projects or programs. Claims of moral superiority, and competition for finances and clients are the speculated reasons for this individualistic spirit. It can be inferred that the time and energy spent on the actions above deflect from the energies that should be used for forming a solidarity movement of people so that they have effective bargaining power to influence government and control over their lives. Globalization not only is deteriorating conditions for the poor, but also for the institutions that are supposed to be aiding the poor.

Conclusions

Throughout the literature reviewed (ie Max-Neef (1991), Burkey (1993), Chambers (1993) and Childers (1990)), studies indicate that community-based, micro initiatives are preferred over mega-projects. This is because community-based organizations involve the participation of beneficiaries and therefore are more likely to be sustained. CBOs may easily assess and comprehend the community's needs. As well, there is more opportunity to reflect the ethnic, gender and class diversity of that community.

The literature tells us that individual development projects prosper in this time of globalization. Unfortunately, this generates competition and distrust amongst NGOs and also, many authors have noted that isolated community projects do not work. Top-down decision-making that takes place in vertical relations, does not induce a sense of solidarity. CBOs need to network horizontally rather than vertically in order for the beneficiaries to have control of the project, prevent co-option, and be sustainable. Non-conventional resources are made available to CBOs from horizontal linkages and these support the ability to fuel social potential.

The third issue of this thesis - that horizontal relations must have solidarity action as the goal for development - is only implied in the literature. Yet this is an important aspect of horizontal linkages. If this is not the case there will be a power structure that is maintained, either within the community or between two communities; relationships will be undermined by competitiveness and distrust. For structural transformation to occur, CBOs have to decide to form a movement to work with organizations in a similar position.

Recent literature has not provided many case studies to uncover the practical ideas of this process. Case studies on horizontal relationships that show successes and failures are

needed in the literature pool of community development. These are very important for practical purposes as well as theoretical purposes. Anecdotal evidence allows researchers, and others who are interested, to understand what is actually happening . Unsuccessful methods are less likely to be duplicated. Instead, the use of case studies would encourage the replication of successful projects, an important part in the scaling up methods, as mentioned before. In this thesis, I attempt to start the process of filling the gap in the development literature with case studies on the efforts and the problems attaining solidarity action - the final stage of development.

CHAPTER THREE: HORIZONTAL LINKAGES IN PROGRESS

To develop ideas on how micro-horizontal networks might form and further argue in the thesis that relations at the horizontal level for community based organizations are important, two case studies will be employed. The first example is of Atlantic Women's Fishnet, which is followed by an analysis of the fishing crisis in regards to the situation and organization. This analysis is followed with some observations of Peruvian community organizations from Lima and Trujillo and an analysis of the present Peruvian situation with regards to the issue. Most of the following information was derived directly from participants on the basis of informal and formal interviews. In addition, published sources of data were consulted and used to provide a context for the two case studies.

Fishnet

Atlantic Women's Fishnet is a network of individuals with members from the women's movement, trade unions, academia and women from fishing communities. It started as a network in Newfoundland

and expanded to community groups in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick at a conference in Prince Edward Island in 1992. Its main activities are organizing educational workshops in fishing communities and publishing a community newsletter.

Fishnet began in Newfoundland with the support of sociologist Barbara Neis. It was in response to the reality that coastal women were not being consulted for coastal policy programs. In Fishermen's meetings there are hardly ever any women, and if they are present, they are uncomfortable and do not speak out (according to women in Fishnet). The reason that Fishnet was conceived is a common rationale in many women-only organizations in that women who have been ignored for so long will feel uncomfortable with speaking out in front of men.

Women in fishing communities in the Atlantic provinces have been ignored throughout history. Yet, they are an important part of these communities as well as the industry itself. Women perform the bookkeeping as well as work on the boats along with household "chores" such as child-raising, cooking, cleaning, farming, gardening, community organizing and so on. When women do get together they want to talk about community issues, not necessarily the fishing industry. Employment insurance (EI), the "gap" (the period between the end of EI payments and the beginning of the

season) are also important issues.

There are complaints that the government sets-up programs without planning. There is now more of a reaction to a crisis, not pro-action. Women at the Fishnet meeting are concerned that if there is no initiation in the communities there is no action.

Brief Setting of Atlantic Canadian Fishing Communities

There is a real problem with communication in and between the fishing communities themselves. Mary DesRoches says that it is because of a lack of energy. People do not get the information unless they attend the meetings and there can be several important meetings on the same day. People have to make a living so they cannot go to the meetings, and the main organizers cannot fish. There have been cases where the organizers end up getting attacked because of policies handed down by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO).

Internationally the fisheries is in a crisis. Excessive harvesting and over-efficient technology are the perpetrators of this crisis (SAMUDRA No. 2: 8). In the midst of this bad situation there is a potential for action. Fishing communities want to gain control over the fisheries. The action for this process must be in a

global manner since the fisheries are in fact global. It is important that women are not left out of this process as they have been.

Women are important, in fact crucial, in maintaining a community.

They are part of the crisis and therefore must be involved in all processes producing its resolution. This being said, it is important that women are not used in a manner that benefits the men, but that benefits themselves.

In the North, women have been historically marginalized in direct fish-related activities (SAMUDRA No. 2: 8). Some of them found work in fish-processing plants as wage labourers (SAMUDRA No. 2: 8). However, fish processing plants moved South in search of cheaper labour, and the women workers in the North were left unemployed (SAMUDRA No. 2: 8). Therefore, women's fishing organizations tend to be larger and more organized in the South.

The fishing community in Nova Scotia is hardly a self-proclaimed united force. There are two main fisherman's unions in Nova Scotia - the Eastern Fisherman's Federation and the Maritime Fisheries Union. Including these two unions there are about seventy fisherman's unions in Nova Scotia. There is a communication's officer (C.O.) hired by the government. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) wants to download the responsibility of communication onto the C.O. This appears to be more of a public

relation ploy than an attempt to produce a dialogue between government and fishers. There are many government/policy divisions, such as quotas in fishing communities, that divide the people. There is also the distrust and competitiveness that stems from inter-dependent economies.

John Kearney Of Saint Francis Xavier (SFX Oct. 7, 1997) had talked about the globalization of the fishing fleet. He specifies six points of this phenomenon:

1. the expansion of industrial fleets
2. competition with other users
3. land and marine-based pollution
4. underutilized species
5. downsizing of the government
6. privatization of the seas vs. traditional common ownership

Kearney says that with modernization, small-scale, independent and subsistence fishers will soon fade out - along with the industry, the local knowledge of fishing in these method will fade with generations.

Linkages

Fishnet is attempting to link with out side partners in India and Sri Lanka with the help of outside NGOs. February this year the South Asia Partnership funded a program in which representatives from Canadian coastal communities would go to Sri Lanka to experience

the reality of fishing peoples there. Two representatives from Fishnet attended. It was observed that in Sri Lanka the women have recognized that there needs to be another income and access to credit because THERE IS NO SAFETY NET. This is a similar to Atlantic Canada. Women in the Atlantic provinces also need to look for alternative ways to access credit explains Mary DesRoches, a founding member of Fishnet in Nova Scotia. Janashakthi - a Sri Lankan fishing women's organization - started in groups of five and presently has 24,450 members.

There were some problems with the meeting of coastal peoples in Sri Lanka. All the interpreters were men, and it was felt that these interpreters translated only what they felt was relevant or should be heard. Also, the male interpreters and speakers hung out with the Canadian male visitors therefore allowing the Canadian men to get more in-depth information into the workings of the Sri Lankan fishing industry. Women must be taken more seriously in the future for these communities to survive.

In India, the fish-workers are politically organized - as in many other communities. The Indian national debt incurred by the World Bank has allowed foreign trawlers to fish in India's waters in exchange for foreign capital - the trawlers do not even have to bank on Indian shores, rather they are trusted to give accurate numbers.

This situation has sparked action from local fish-workers. In India a women's wing formed out of the National Fish-workers Forum - an independent union of artisanal fish-workers' organizations. The Forum seeks to unite small-scale fisherman, fish merchants, fish processing workers and deep sea fishers against the policies of liberalization. Included in this union would be women from these communities.

The women from the South and from the artisanal communities in eastern Canada want to reorient fisheries development so that women will find the rightful place in the sector so that the fisheries may be sustainable (SAMUDRA No. 2: 8). The role of women both in the development process and decision-making, is paramount in the conservation of natural resources, the sustainability of the sector and the broader perspective of food security (SAMUDRA No. 2: 8).

Problems

Fishnet does have internal problems that hamper effective organization. The present principal method of communication between communities is with a newsletter. Meetings are difficult to organize because of the women's busy schedules and the distance

from many of the communities to a central location like Truro or Halifax. The geographical distances for these communities makes it difficult to find transportation to a central location. There are often complaints that everything happens in Truro or Halifax. Therefore, the issue of communication is a critical one to keep Fishnet active.

There needs to be access to funds in order to keep the momentum going. The organization cannot be expected to run on a volunteer basis only. Many women in fishing communities who are financially-handicapped, lack energy and self-esteem. For this reason, there is a certain class of women organizing, says Mary DesRoches, it is not rural, community women who are organizing.

Observations imply that Fishnet is not adapted to organize rural women. Meetings should not be just located in Halifax, but should revolve around the coastal member communities. Again this method means money to cover transportation. Also, DesRoches has observed that women meet when there is something to do, that means that tasks should be organized for each meeting. This would attract a broader participation.

Informal communication by the phone must be formalized because it all breaks down if people do not call. DesRoches has an idea that would benefit some women who do not have phones in these

communities, and the Fishnet community at large. Phones would be given with the understanding that the women must keep in contact with Fishnet members in and outside their community. Time and money, along with communication, are always necessary to fortify and maintain the organization.

The reality is that Fishnet is not as community-based as its members would have it. Communication is a problem because the isolation of many fishing villages. A creative method must be used to strengthen ties between Maritime communities before forming alliances internationally. These ties should be knotted, at least eventually, by the women themselves rather than an intermediary force. The participants know best their needs and capabilities. Also, it is going to take time and commitment for these relationships to prosper, rather than a casual visit organized by the government or NGO. Nevertheless, it is easy to imagine the potential of such a network working together against global fishing fleets that destroy ecology and local knowledge and only give poverty. This while promoting gender equality with the fishing community itself.

Various NGOs in Peru

Peruvian community organizations often have support from foreign NGOs and the Peruvian government. In Peru, vertical relationships

are commonplace. This has been the situation from at least the time of the Incas. Hierarchical positioning exists in personal relationships to international relationships. In Peru, we went to various organizations at different levels - local, national and international. The vast majority did not have any horizontal relationships, only vertical ones with their sponsors or their participants. Development is largely controlled by international NGO's, other countries, churches and the national government. Villa El Salvador, the famous *pueblo joven* in Lima, is a famous exception to this. However, it is not customary for local NGOs to seek the support of similar organizations, but rather, they ask support from the government, the Church or international NGOs.

The Reality that Prevents Co-ordination

A problem that was stated by various development workers is that projects were frequently replicated within the same area because of the lack of communication between development agencies. The reason for this could be distrust, competition, lack of time or simple laziness. In the *Quinto* sector, a *pueblo joven* in Chiclayo, Peru, there are two health centres. One that is funded by the Church, Santa Angela, and has been in the community for years. It offers

free consultation and health supplies at a minimal cost. The *Max Salud* center is funded in part by the United States Embassy. It is bright white, very clean and modern looking. A consultation there is nine *soles* for children and twelve *soles* for adults which is as much, or more than consultations in the center of Chiclayo. The latter is wondering why there are no clients after the first couple of months. After hearing that there was to be a new health center in the community, the workers of Santa Angela tried to meet with the planners of Max Salud to go over the needs and the means of the community and to prevent replications. The planners of Max Salud never showed up to those meetings. Instead of consulting with the health center that was already in progress in the community, they went ahead building a “white elephant” that is beyond the means of the inhabitants. The irony is that in order to receive funding, they had stated that the project was supported by the community and therefore, would be sustainable.

A representative from Fondo-Peru (Canada) spoke of communication between community organizations being strong solely on the basis of the number of applications that they receive at the embassy. The method of communication that communities use are usually through telephone, as much of the road infrastructure restricts transportation. As for the International NGO's, it was said

that there is very difficult communication between these organizations. Fondo-Peru is supposedly the only international fund that attempts to communicate with other country projects. The European Union representative in Trujillo, spoke of the difficulty of having communication between country development projects because of the different ideas of development. He suggested a Peruvian administration, however, mentioned that the problem with this idea is politics- how would the money be distributed.

Senor Luis of *Nino Jesus* - a shelter for street children in Trujillo - says there is little communication between similar organizations because of distrust and selfishness. He is trying to form a permanent committee to find out the causes of the problems street children face and to coordinate actions in the city. There needs to be discussion on why there is a problem, what are the factors, what are the consequences that stem from this, and there needs to be coordinated actions. Recently the center closed due to a lack of funds.

UNICEF communicates with both the non-governmental and state organizations. The UN organization was involved in forming a provincial state plan which identified the needs of children in the state and what needs to be done in areas such as: health, education, human rights protection and nutrition. At a meeting at Chepen about

the Provincial Plan, the UNICEF representative emphasized that “we are not alone” in reference to the problems and the necessary actions for children in the the district. There is some recognition that experiences must be shared in order to understand the issues and support each other.

With social cutbacks, it is hard for non-governmental organizations to not focus on economics. This could lead to the death of many of these organizations. They need to be self-supportive. *Comedores Populares* (community-subsidized soup kitchens) that were very popular in the previous decades are dying out because of Fujimori’s policies. In these places the women do voluntary work and it depends on the financial stability of the *comedor* as to whether or not they can eat for free. These soup kitchens were once areas where there was organizing around issues of poverty, but this momentum was killed with government involvement and the terrorist group *Sendero Luminoso*.

The priority for these and other Mother’s Clubs may not be to form relationships with others. At a meeting with the presidents of mother’s clubs in Chepen on June 3, they emphasized that they were in a CRISIS. What they most desired out of the meeting was food and vegetables. We were told that PRONA, the government food agency is cutting back on the food that it is currently handing out. It is not

serving all the *comedores* as it did in the past, and not enough food is given to the *comedores* it does serve. The food given out is extremely low quality and does not include vegetables. Once the food is received there is the problem of access to water. With government cutbacks, these necessary organizations are closing their doors. One of the comedores in Chepen, stated that it was cheaper to buy the food themselves than to drive to pick-up the food at the offices in Trujillo three hours away. Some of the comedores claim that they had to drive to Trujillo just to sign papers.

Community organizations that attempt to provide for community holistically (socially, economically, personally...) may bring in people from various aspects of community life together. For example *Centro Santa Angela* is a health, religious, community outreach, and training center, as well as holding a comedor popular. *Grupo Mujer* in Chiclayo had community radio and garden as well as other activities. A communal banking organization, *Solidaridad*, not only loans out money to women entrepreneurs, but also provides spaces for workshops where women can discuss their lives, and education and formation can take place. The profits it makes goes back to the women. These mediums inspire people to meet and discuss issues that affect their lives. For example, Amparro, a women who has been involved in the *comedor* in Santa Angela for

four has said that the comedor has greatly changed her life and the life of other women in the fact that they are now more active in making changes in their community. This has come about from informal communication at the *comedores*,

There are associations for alternative radio programs, religious groups and campesinos. There is communication between *Grupo Mujer* and other national women's groups. Information is passed on about workshops, or seminars, as well as books and leaflets. The health center, Santa Angela, coordinates with other parishes and organizations for its work on the ideals of liberation theology - that the poor can change their lives. *Grupo Mujer* in Chiclayo visits the women's shelter in Lima to see how it functions - they have been wanting to set up a women's shelter for 13-14 years. In spite of this communication, any information about financing - on where and who to apply for funding is competitive and not discussed. For example, the alternative radio stations recognize the benefits of meeting together, but they do not, because of financial competition.

There are many organizations working in Peru presently. They must be united rather than individualistic in order to prevent duplication, relay experiences, and eradicate poverty. This includes working towards freedom of expression and rights for women and

indigenous peoples. Yet, what supports these solidarity links - or, as put in liberation theory - “formation” (a process of education that is integrated and has to do with leadership skills and conscientization)? That is what some of these aforementioned groups are grappling with. Peru’s government is committed to preventing “terrorist activities” from occurring again and is therefore attempting to control all activities, especially in the poor areas. The government would conceivably not support any solidarity action among the poor. Many organizations could not even conceptualize trying to communicate with those in a similar situation as theirs because they possess such dire needs. The beneficiaries must decide what they are ready for, what are the goals and what actions will reach those goals.

Analysis of case study Data

Community development takes place at the local, national and international level. The case studies above provide evidence to the potential effect and the necessities of this inter-relation. Yet, with these examples it must be emphasized that community development starts at the local level and then moves on to increase its size and impact nationally, then internationally. Without a strong local base, the project will eventually fail to meet the needs of the local people

as there would be only a few that are running the organization. A weak local base also debilitates support for international and national partners. This problem arises within Fishnet as there is not a strong participation from women in fishing communities.

Another point that comes up in discussion about organizing is 'readiness'. It is impractical to expect all of the oppressed peoples of the world to gather up in protest and work to change the conditions of their oppression. Various preceding authors have discussed the different stages that an individual or a group goes through to reach the point of conscientization. It is at this point that one realizes what action is needed in order to attain individual and social goals. Many of the women in the soupkitchens in Peru, the street children of Trujillo and in the fishing communities in Atlantic Canada have lived with poverty all of their lives, have been ignored, and viewed as helpless and ignorant. Encouragement to reach their potential is what is needed. Solidarity support ties are not necessarily relevant now.

It is too soon to say what the impact of the international alliances between women in fishing communities will be. Fishnet-Nova Scotia did not appear to have had the structure to work with the information received from the workshops. The NGO that financed the exchanges appeared to have concentrated on the needs of having

the fishermen collaborate, and neglected really organizing the women. Endogenous objectives of Fishnet were neglected. The result was a Fishnet member got to go Asia and learned by speakers what fishing women in these countries did, however, consequential networking did not unfortunately, take place.

Nongovernmental and governmental organizations have their agenda in meeting the needs of impoverished people. However, their approaches, usually concentrate one issue within a single community are more similar to aid, rather than promoting full development within a region. An example of this, previously described, is the Max-Salud Center in Chiclayo, which fails even to meet the immediate needs of the locals. Again, collaboration would have prevented this waste.

There can be negative consequences when there is State involvement in a development project. The State funds to promote an ideological perspective - for example, Fujimori's support of family planning initiatives targeted at the poor. This must be taken into account when there is any discussion of people's empowerment. However, no people's organization is going to achieve development on its own - a partnership of the people with their government and with the surrounding area must be forged. In order to be sustainable, a development project ideally should be administrated

and managed from the people which will receive the benefits. Yet, even this ideal is often difficult to fulfil when there is a crisis situation in which relief is needed. For example, many of the soup kitchens had little autonomy as it was critical to get food any way that they could.

“Solidarity action” development does have its problems that need to be addressed within the community organization itself. For example, those who are marginalized out of the decision-making process are usually the most important to involve in the development process. Mothers’ clubs in Chepen met whenever there was a nutritionist, health worker, or a trainer, but, only the presidents go to meetings and, therefore, are the only ones receiving any information. This may lead to problems internally. Some of the mother’s clubs that we visited had “falling-outs” with their presidents, and found it hard to continue after she had left because she had all the information. These “falling outs” happen within within many organizations in both the North and South. They must be anticipated and regulated before they destroy the work that has been done.

Alliances, collaborations and linkages are indeed very fragile as each movement has its own history and specific demands and is also under the great pressure of its own struggles and limited

resources (No. 3: 14).

With the foresight, secrecy and speed at which the forces of domination intervene, many of these movements are caught on the defensive. Existing resources do not permit them to be effective globally and locally at the same time, and this is the need of the hour. Being continuously under such pressure, they have little energy left for creative thinking, constructive work and inter-sectoral alliances. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that as modern technology disorganizes the working class and makes it redundant, the international working class has to find ways of uniting to save humanity and the planet (SAMUDRA No. 3: 14).

Despite all these difficulties with increasing the scope of local initiative, solidarity action is crucial for these development projects eventually. It is the only way that power structures might eventually change in order to allow the powerless become empowered to promote development and fight the effects of the inter-dependent economy and poverty. Solidarity action declines individualism and 'lone rangers' and unites in a systematic fashion to avoid internal power structures and 'falling outs'. The Atlantic women would eventually organize to fight poverty and support their way of lives with assistance and ideas from women on other coasts. Soup kitchens could be hot beds for political discussions and organizing (as they were in recent history) nationally with methods to communicate. Shelters for street children could really deal with

the issues surrounding runaways, child prostitution, and child poverty if they could break away from government restrictions and listen to the children. Women's groups in Peru could collaborate on methods to build shelters from family violence from across the country. This discussion means in no way to blame these important organizations. What it attempts to do is point out the *sine qua non* of resources available development agencies - people with the same passions and feeling for an issue that will work with you because it will benefit themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSIONS

According to the data, micro initiatives offer the most plausible way of promoting community participation. However, creating a micro initiative is not enough. Many authors write that these Nongovernmental Organizations or Community Based Organizations should focus on supporting horizontal networks in order to 'scale up' - that is to increase numbers of participants and effect. These initiatives must determine to eliminate poverty by empowering the poorest in society . This goal may only be met by community organizations and NGOs networking on solidarity actions together - working toward a transformative development.

In the introduction I posed a few questions about 'solidarity action'. The three main questions were:

1. Under what conditions are horizontal collaborations able to prosper best?
2. What are the problems embedded in this approach?
3. What are the potential benefits?

Through my data analysis, I have attempted to offer

explanations related to these concerns. As concluded in the literature review, recent publications have not fully developed the idea of horizontal collaboration, linking or networking. More discussion on this important stage of development is necessary.

Action in solidarity has been an important tool in the women's movement. Fishnet is a part of this struggle and with continued efforts on the part of its members, a solidarity network of women from fishing communities is possible in the future. Women's groups in Peru would also be more effective if there were more networking at the horizontal level. Women form a majority of the poorest of the poor at the worldwide level. Because of this fact any discussion of development must be accompanied by a large gender dimension.

As there was no successful example of this networking taking place in the case studies used, the conditions under which solidarity action might be most successful are assumed. In these circumstances, it is established in the data analysis that a strong local base is necessary in the community organizations as well as a desire among participants to communicate, trust and exchange resources with others. This includes the fact that participants must have their basic needs met, as they were not in many of the examples in Peru.

There are problems with the horizontal networking approach.

Namely, that it is not supported and therefore fragile in these economic globalization times that promote distrust and suspicion for others. Secondly, power relations within any organization must be structured so that no individual or group is disempowered. Finally, in order for endogenous objectives to be met, the interaction between community groups should not be controlled by a government or a large NGO because they have their own objectives, which may not be in the interests of the community.

The potential benefits of this form of development has been emphasized throughout the thesis. Development - a change in political economic, and social structure - is a process occurring within a framework of liberalization of trade and information. It requires global communication in order to integrate in this globalized society. A grassroots approach - development based on the actions of the beneficiaries - is necessary because the world-wide system is now based on exploiting the majority of the population for the benefits of the few . Empowerment - a conscientization that converts passivity to realize control of personal lives - is needed in order for there to be any changes on the levels of poverty that currently exist and are increasing everywhere. However, grassroots movements cannot remain isolated and competitive with each other as dictated by the globalization agenda.

Communities and organizations need to form bonds nationally and internationally at the grassroots level to counteract the degrading aspects of globalization.

Establishing linkages between community-based organizations maintains legitimacy and acceptance: exchange of experiences, external funding, and support and encouragement. When groups remain local and isolated, they are weakened and dependency on an external entity is created. Horizontal networks are able to provide straightforward advice and support in an uncompetitive atmosphere. When alliances are forged between villages, government and external NGO co-option is reduced. In conclusion, people who are united are able to challenge the power structures that control them in a more effective manner.

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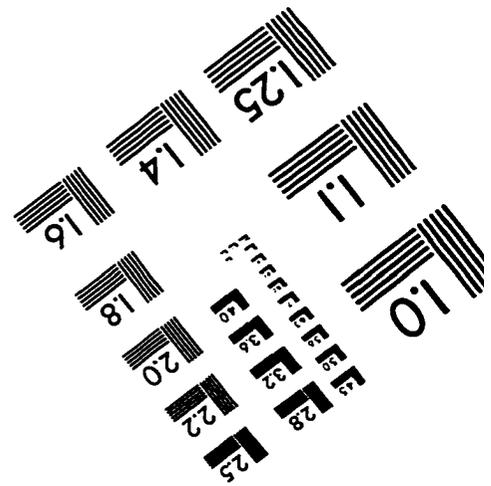
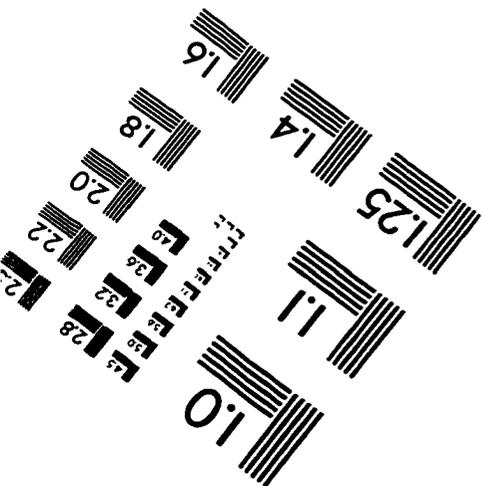
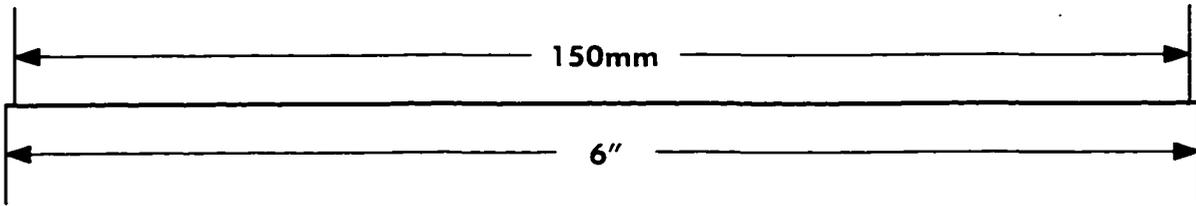
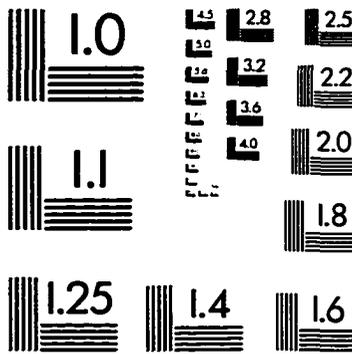
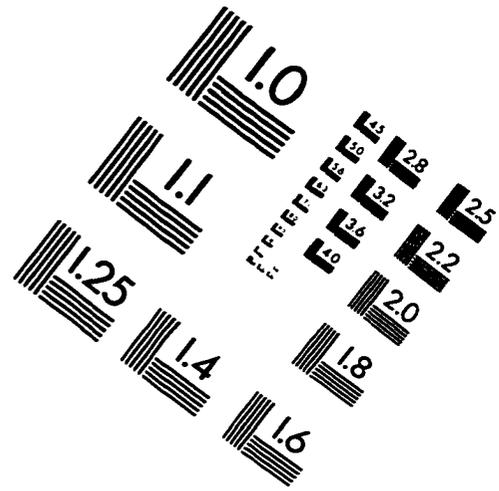
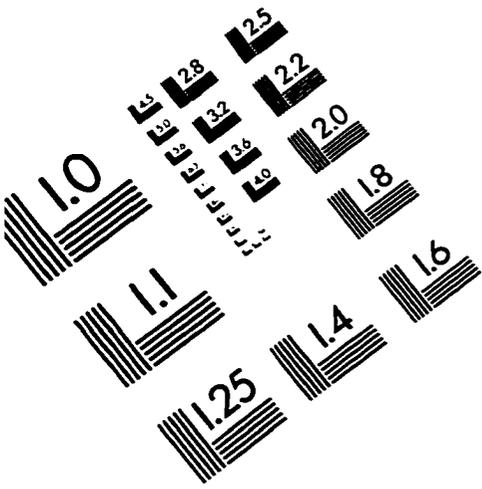
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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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