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Dominant Modern Development: Its rationale and limitations

Hideki MATSUI

© November 1997

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts degree in International Development Studies
Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

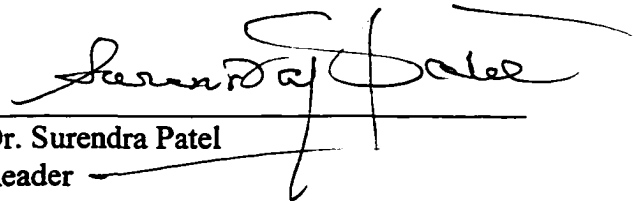
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Abstract

Hideki MATSUI

Dominant Modern Development: Its rationale and limitations

18th November, 1997

Under modern development, which is widely equated with development, 'help' is always given from 'developed' countries to 'developing' countries. It is assumed that 'developed' countries are in a position to guide 'developing' countries. An example of how this belief works in 'development' practice is shown in Chapter 1, where I examine a development project in Cambodia. This modern development dominates the mind of developmentalists and many other people, taking modernity as the only norm and neglecting diverse aspects of human lives. But I found non-modern lives as normal as modern life. In an attempt to demonstrate this point, Chapter 2 is dedicated to a description of lives in a Cambodian village. Some discussions on the manifestation of belief in modernity found in donor policies are made in Chapter 3. The division we make in modern development or 'development', i.e. 'developed' and 'developing', is based on material performance (in which money economy is *the* pillar) or in other words based on what we can easily measure. Several development indices have been designed to legitimize this conceptual alignment of human lives from backward to advanced or from non-modern to modern. In Chapter 4 a conventional index is examined in order to reveal the embedded modern assumptions and some alternative indices are constructed as an example to see development from a different point of view. In Chapter 5 some observations of the modern world are discussed. Five inherent dangers of modernity are identified here. Among these dangers the belief in modern rationality is the underlying source of other dangers. Modern rationalism is based on an assumption, sometimes explicitly but often implicitly, that things are knowable to human beings, that we have an ability to know everything. This assumption with actual inability of human beings to know has made the world material centred, economy centred and consequently increasingly unsuitable for humans to live. This same assumption has also made us, who believe in modern rationalism and living in the modern centre, put ourselves above nature and peoples living in non-modern lives. Although, in reality, modern rationalism has stripped us of the ability to deal with the complex real world. Ever growing systems backed by the rational belief in efficiency coupled with our lack of imagination has made it difficult for us to think of how our modern life is actually an inhumane form of lifestyles, we have forgotten to think of nature and future generations. Development, dominated by modern development, has been the tool to propagate this modern world crushing other lives which may be better equipped to deal with the real world. Some essentials to alter this mighty modern development current are discussed in Chapter 6.

If we, people in the modern 'developed' centre, can not be satisfied, as we are not, amidst this affluence, it is that we have taken a wrong road, 'development' has been a wrong tool. The people who have to change are us, but we instead tell other peoples to change.

Abbreviations

CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency

DAC: Development Assistance Committee

FASID: Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development

HDI: Human Development Index

HDR: Human Development Report

JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency

MNC: Multinational Corporation

OECD: Organizations for Economic Co-operation and Development

SOC: State of Cambodia

SRD: Secretary for Rural Development

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

Introduction

Motivation

When I came to study at International Development Studies (IDS) Programme, Saint Mary's University, I expected that the study at the Programme would help me become an efficient development worker and go back to the field of 'development'. But, at the same time, since I had not had formal education in development, I was also looking forward to learning about the fundamental concepts of development, such as: what is development? and why are we doing it? Although several specific development-related issues such as development economics and research methods were addressed in classes, I found that the fundamental concepts of development were seldom discussed. Actually I became more uncertain about development as I continued to study 'international development', stay in Canada where I belonged to a visible minority group, and travel in both 'developed' and 'developing' countries. I came to realize that the development we were talking about in classes was actually a particular type of development, i.e. modern development based on a particular set of assumptions, without being aware of taking such a specific position. I also began to think that the origin of this phenomenon (uncritical modern development thinking) came from deeply rooted modern supremacy in international development studies as well as in the development community in general^a.

^a Personal experiences such as followings made me pause, think and then write this paper:

In classes

- A fundamentally important question, 'what is development?' is hardly asked in classes, as if we all know the answer.

- When a student from a 'developing' country said she was interested in studying on South Africa, she was told by a professor "Why don't you write about your country?" No one seemed to be surprised in the class. I was. What is the underlying reason (or assumption) to treat a student of IDS differently depending on whether s/he comes from a 'developed' country or a 'developing' country? (continued to the next page)

Now dominant modern development is mightily at work in both 'developed' countries and in 'developing' countries. It is this 'development' which is primarily responsible for the dehumanizing society and ecological crises. Nevertheless, the development community is largely failing to give a serious consideration to the inherent connections between modernity (and its machine, modern development) and these phenomena. We should shed a critical light on this belief in modernity (it has to be an imaginative as well as a really critical one, given the deep and wide roots of the belief in our mind). Otherwise we may be doing something terrible while believing we are doing it for the good of society.

Some clarification of terms

Here the concepts of modernity, modern development or 'development', and development will be clarified.

-
- In 'Education in Development' its professor never questioned what education is. For him and almost all participants in the class, education = modern (historically Western) education. Modern education is universal, period.
 - When I said in a class 'development is happiness', many responses were that happiness is unmeasurable and undefinable objectively, and that therefore it doesn't fit to academy of IDS.
 - In another class I found that the professor and students strongly believed in human knowledge, the ability to know and modernity. They didn't feel to need to question this belief.
 - A professor told me, when I mentioned the essentiality of linking development in 'developed' and 'developing' countries, that IDS is study of development of the developing world, implying that development is essentially and exclusively about the 'developing' world.

From general observations

- Through travelling and staying in various countries I noticed various peoples' various capabilities.
- There are many serious, dehumanizing problems in 'developed' countries, many of which are inherent in modernity.
- There is an ecological limit to this planet.
- I found a strong sense of modern supremacy everywhere - in IDS, Japan, Canada, among development project staff, etc.
- As a visible minority in Canadian society, I noticed that although we live in a same physical world, the perception which the same world gives each individual could be completely different depending on who you are.

Modernity is a way of life in which modern rationality is the theoretical backbone. Ideal modernity is supposed to function following modern rationality. Modern rationality is the source of justification or the yardstick in a modern world. The basic assumption of modern rationality is that the right answer to a problem is obtainable by thinking rationally, i.e. thinking objectively using data (as clearly measurable and objectively comparable as possible information, which are considered neutral, value free and therefore scientific), and human beings have an ability to know. Therefore we, modernists or modern believers, believe that we can lead the world to a right place through rationality. In a modern world modern rational thinking is the only legitimate way of reasoning. Historically, Western culture happened to be the origin of modernity. Modernity can be said to be idealized Westernity.

I believe that development is social vectors towards livable worlds. In recent history, modern development, a single vector pointing towards a modern world, has been *the* dominant form of development. The essence of modern development or 'development' is to change a non-modern being to a modern being. 'Development' is a tool to convert and incorporate non-modern worlds to a modern world. At the same time the modern or 'developed' world, too, is developing at an unchecked speed. This should also be considered as 'development', since both phenomena (one in the 'developing' world and another in the 'developed' world) are social evolution driven by the same principle: modernity. Therefore 'development' is 'making the world a modern world, a more and more modern world'. In practice, because people believe in the way 'developed' countries are in terms of 'development', 'development' is basically about

pushing ‘developing’ countries to follow the path that now ‘developed’ countries have taken.

This modern development is so dominant in our mind that we tend to equate modern development to development rather unconsciously, and we are often talking about modern development or ‘development’ while believing we are talking about development.

Note on methodology

This paper is grounded in my observations and experiences of development practice and daily lives rather than in quotations from literature. Because development is overwhelmingly dominated by modern development, I feel it is necessary to rethink development from its foundation. But exactly because of the dominance of a modernist perspective, the majority of development literature and development community does not question development. It was therefore thought that starting from one’s own experiences and observations could be a valid tool to see the issue from its foundation^b. Especially because, unlike other single disciplinary subjects, development is about our whole lives, I also believe it is legitimate for anyone to speak out as one of the participants in our lives without depending on the authority of ‘experts’.

^b I use ‘I’ in the paper. When I write “I believe” or “I think”, I am asking the reader what s/he thinks about the issue. In the dominant form of academic paper, statements are supposed to be put in objective form. For example, if someone writes “economy is the most important human activity”, this is actually “I agree with the idea that economy is the most important human activity”. But after people omit this ‘I’ part when writing and read articles without ‘I’ over and over again, people come to believe the statement is a plain truth. In this paper readers are encouraged to dust the seemingly universal dominant common sense.

In Chapter three policy documents of development agencies are also used to examine concepts of and rationales for development. Given the influence and power of these agencies it is important to look at their policies in order to discuss current development. In Chapter the Human Development Index (HDI) of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is used to draw attention to the persistence of modern ideology in our mind as well as to lead to an attempt to construct some alternative indices from a different perspective.

Outline

A purpose of this paper is to urge readers to think about current development and to rethink development from its foundation. In the first chapter a ‘development project’ in Cambodia, which I was fortunate to observe closely from its preparatory stage, is examined. The observations include conversations with village people and project staff, and participatory observations of the activities of selected project experts. These observations revealed how villagers were treated as ‘recipients’ of ‘development’.

Although people in a ‘developing’ country are treated as incapable people in ‘development’ as demonstrated in Chapter one, my observation was different. I found people’s lives were as normal as anywhere else. Thus, in the second chapter lives in a Cambodian village are described. The observations include the influences of ‘development’ as well as daily lives in the village.

Despite the capabilities of people discussed in the previous chapter, why does ‘development’ treat them as incapable and needy people as shown in Chapter one? To look into this, the ‘development assistance’ policies of ‘developed’ countries are

examined in Chapter three. The narrow modern-centred nature of the development assistance policies are discussed here. In contrast, Cambodian development policy shows a potential for other types of development (in other words, ways of lives). Later in the chapter the role that philanthropic motivation in donor constituencies plays in 'development' is discussed.

'Development assistance' such as discussed above follows a widely accepted belief that 'developed' countries are advanced and therefore better than 'developing' countries. If one looks at World Bank statistics such as Gross Domestic Products (GDP) or Human Development Index (HDI) of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), we might conclude that this belief is right. But there are many elements other than those measured in above indices in life and therefore in development. In Chapter four the HDI is re-examined and some alternative development indices are experimentally proposed in order to think of development from different angles.

People and lives in a 'developing' country are capable and viable as discussed in Chapter two. As statistically shown in Chapter four 'developed' countries may not be more developed or advanced than their 'developing' counterparts. What these suggest is that we may need to rethink the whole picture of development and 'development'. To do this it is essential to think about lives in the 'developed' world which has been *the* model for development of the 'developing' world. Some anecdotal discussions including my development experience in Japan are analyzed here. It seems fair to say that the modern world is running in a wrong direction and the 'developed' countries cannot be *the* model

for development. Therefore essentially 'development', which is a tool to propagate the modern world, is a wrong tool for human beings.

So, if 'development' is not a right tool for our future, what should we do then? In the last chapter (Chapter six) some proposals on essential elements in development are discussed. What we need is the reconciliation of the 'developed' and 'developing', and nature and human beings. Suggested keys to make this happen include participation, spirituality, community, seeing goals directly, and imagination.

Chapter 1

‘Development Project’

In our classes, ‘development’ of ‘developing’ countries is *the* subject matter. This ‘development’ is often carried out in the form of ‘development projects’, from a large national scale project to a village scheme by various agencies such as United Nations development agencies, governmental development agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Experts from these organizations go to ‘developing’ countries and do ‘development’. I had opportunities to observe ‘development projects’ closely in Kenya and Cambodia. Since the experience in Kenya was too long ago, here my observations in Cambodia are discussed.

I visited Cambodia three times since 1993. During my first two stays in the country I worked with a rural development project in its preparatory stage which was being carried out by a foreign quasi-governmental development agency (an arm’s length development agency of the donor government of the project) under a contract with United Nations High Commission for Refugees (as the political situation in Cambodia changed, the United Nations Development Programme later took the UNHCR’s place and the contract moved under the UNDP). During the third visit, I stayed in a village which was included in the project area. I had an opportunity to observe the project activities as an outsider, but more closely to the recipient’s view than implementor’s view.

1-1. Rural Development Project

The project was called the 'Rural Development Project'. It was originally proposed by the foreign minister of a foreign government at an international conference on the restoration of Cambodia in 1992. The project was funded by the foreign government. Before the contract was officially signed, a study team consisting of donor government officials and two private consultants visited Cambodia to formulate the project. The government officials stayed in the country about a week, while the consultants stayed about a month and a half.

According to its Project Formulation Study, the consultants analyzed the development needs in the project area through: 1) a series of discussions made with the provincial government officials; 2) interviews with local people; and 3) an analysis of present development constraints in the provinces¹. They investigated development needs in three fields; agriculture, education (including vocational training) and public health. The Study states "the objectives of the project are to improve the agricultural production techniques, to improve the quality of rural life including education and public health, and to increase income generating ability of local population in the project area"². It also states that;

the project aims at a model rural area development, focusing on upliftment of the living conditions of local population. ... In order to achieve the project objectives, the Rural Development Centers will be established. ... The Centers will promote the upliftment of agricultural production base for the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production, and increase in income generating activities. The role of the Centers is to support the improvement of the agricultural techniques, production increase, strengthening the provincial Department of Agriculture, and the overall upliftment of the living conditions in the rural area³.

A unique character of this project is that four ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) members sent 10 experts each to the project, although all expenses for sending experts were paid by the initiating donor government.

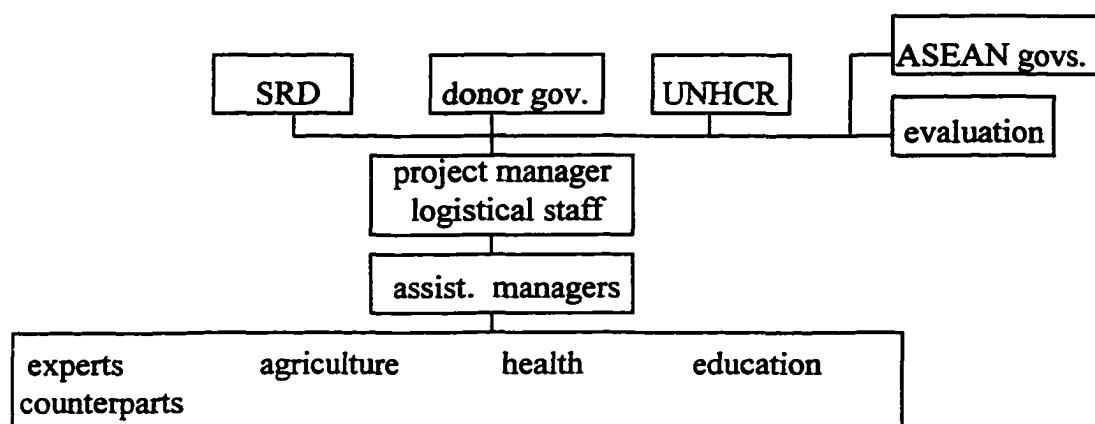
When I visited the project for the first time in 1993 for a period of one month, five people (two Cambodians, three from the donor country) were working at an office in Phnom Penh to prepare the project to start with fifty experts. However, due to general insecurity after the general elections in May 1993, the actual operation of the project was delayed, and when I visited in 1994, the project had just started its implementation. This time I stayed at one of their centres in a province and carried out a survey. The survey report is attached to this paper (Appendix 2). In August 1995 I began my stay in a village which was one of the target villages of the project^a.

With this project, the experts had signed one or two year contracts before they were sent to Cambodia. Some of them worked individually and some worked in groups. In either case, they (individuals or groups) were given a few weeks to formulate their work plans in their technical fields. Experts' (or groups') individual projects were carried out independently rather than coordinated. However, each project was subject to the approval of the project manager and meetings among the experts in a same technical field were held when necessary. There were a few non-field staff including the project manager, mostly devoted to logistical support. Each expert was assigned a Cambodian counterpart from the Secretary for Rural Development (SRD) of Cambodia. These

^a The village in which I stayed, Tropeang Chuuk, was bordering the district where I had done the survey a year earlier. The local people suggested to me that it could be more dangerous for a foreigner to live in the surveyed area than the area where Tropeang Chuuk was located because the surveyed area was closer to hills where sporadic Khmer Rouge activities were reported.

Cambodian counterparts were expected to receive technical transfer from the experts in specific technical fields. The highest decision-making took place at meetings among the SRD, embassy officials from the donor government, the project manager, and the UNHCR (later the UNDP) and the embassies of the participating ASEAN countries when necessary. Evaluations were carried out once a year. The evaluation team consisted of government officials from the six governments involved, and some of the experts and observers from another development agency in Cambodia. The contract of the project had to be renewed every year after an evaluation.

Fig. 1-1 Structure of the project



1-2. Experts in a Village

Two experts from the project were conducting their project activities in Tropeang Chuuk village, one in agriculture and the other in income generation. The agricultural expert was trying to increase the yield from watermelon fields, which produced the biggest cash income for many families in the village, by introducing pesticides and chemical fertilizers. First he provided those inputs and later introduced a revolving fund for the purchase of the inputs. In another village he tried to introduce corn to substitute

rice where water often failed to fill the paddy field. The other expert was originally trained in food processing. However, the project manager instructed her and other experts to promote income generation activities, because the manager and officials at the funding foreign governmental development agency identified the lack of cash income of families in the area as the one of most serious problems which, they believed, hindered development in the area. One of officials from the agency said when he visited the country “One of problems people here have is that they do not know that they are poor and their life is miserable without money”⁴. The project manager said “By introducing income generation activities to villagers I want them to know that making money is important and enjoyable”⁵. Actually, despite the foreign official’s belief, thanks to TVs and other foreign things, several villagers often told me, whenever I talked with them, that they were poor and they needed money. The expert, following the project manager’s instruction, introduced candy production to a group of mothers in Tropeang Chuuk village. Women were selected for this project as the empowerment of women was officially another area emphasized by the project. The two experts each visited the village a couple of times a week to a couple of times a month. Each time they spent from a few minutes to a couple of hours in the village.

The agriculture expert was trying to modernize villagers’ agricultural practices. He thought that growing corn in the fields where paddies sometimes failed due to water shortage was rational. So he said the villagers’ hesitation to switch to corn was irrational, and thought that it came from ignorance. His emphasis was more on a cash crop, i.e. watermelons, partly because increasing household income was one of the Project’s main

objectives and partly because the expert himself thought villagers were poor and needed cash (and actually villagers were increasingly coming to believe this). However, he did not see the villagers' life as a whole. He saw the village life only through the lens of his technical field. Farming was an integral part of village life for the village families; it is inseparable from every other part of their lives. For example, for them rice is the absolute staple food, an ingredient of most sweets and a part of the culture as well. Giving up rice for corn is not only a matter of moving from one crop to another. Also, for many villagers the sale of watermelons is an important source of income, however, if he had thought about village life including other aspects, for example, their diet, he might have come up with a different idea with a focus more on widening the variety of food production for their own consumption.

He and other agriculture experts were also eager to introduce crops and techniques which were successful in their home countries. They did adaptation tests of some foreign varieties for the different soils and climate in Cambodia. However, they seemed to pay little attention to local culture, including farming practices and techniques of the villagers. Their assumption (and that of the managerial level of the project) was that because the crops and techniques were successful in *their* countries which were more 'developed' than Cambodia, *their* crops and techniques were better than Cambodian ones. Of course they, because they were agronomists, knew suitable crops varied depending on the local conditions. However, for them the 'local conditions' meant only physical conditions, not cultural conditions.

As far as I know, only one group of experts set up a more integrated approach, although technical rather than holistic, within which the focus was on agricultural production including rice, vegetable, livestock and aquaculture. They built huts in some villages for villagers to meet among themselves and the experts to discuss their agriculture. This group was more open to hearing from villagers.

When the agricultural expert working in Tropeang Chuuk formed a group of villagers as cooperators, he picked a villager who showed spontaneous interest in the project and the group was formed around him. When the candy production was introduced by the other expert to a group of mothers, the wife of the above villager was asked to form the group. This happened because these people were easy to reach for the experts. There were other families who needed more help, such as some families headed by women. However, they were less visible to outsiders because, for example, they could not afford time to attend gatherings when experts visited the village for demonstrations. I saw little effort by the project to identify differences in needs and degrees of needs within a community. They tended to provide services to people who came forward spontaneously. In this way they could probably reach a greater number of people in a limited period of time than trying to reach less visible people, and could report the greater number of 'beneficiaries' in the evaluation reports. I actually heard some complaints from villagers who were not included in target groups that the project was not fair, and the project was not reaching villagers who needed help more than others, if others needed 'help' at all.

Candy production was introduced to a group of mothers in the village. The expert loaned a propane gas stove and the necessary cooking utensils. To begin the project she visited the village one day and gave the mothers instructions for making candies. When they started the production it was profitable because the expert provided them with materials enough for one month to two months of production. When these materials began to run out, they had to start buying the materials and their profits became increasingly slimmer. The expert rarely came to the village to consult. I went to markets in Phnom Penh to check if there were cheaper prices for the materials. I suggested to them that it might be necessary to reduce the amount in a bag. However, the mothers were reluctant to change from whatever the expert had told them to do. Their bookkeeping was volatile; they often had less money left than there was supposed to be after a batch of production and sales. Some mothers complained to me that too many people were involved in the activity to share a little profit. Complaints, however, were not made to the expert because she seldom visited the village and the mothers, and other villagers as well, were reluctant to complain in any way to the experts who were always considered as the source of material benefits.

One day the family who was the centre of the group surprisingly bought a propane stove, borrowing money, so that they could produce the candies by themselves without sharing the profit. Now two groups (which had been one helping group) were competing in a small market. I had rather hoped that the production would cease when the expert withdrew the stove which she had loaned for a few months under the assumption that by then enough money would be saved to buy a stove by the group.

I hoped this because the project was so poorly planned, with little effort to know the local situation. In this case, the project and the expert did not pay much attention to the local economic system. Under the subsistence economic system which was the villagers' economy, having to purchase inputs for production is a big disadvantage. If they had grown peanuts (a major ingredient in the candies) by themselves, they would have made a good profit (still, the amount of money here is at most a few dollars a day) to supplement their dietary needs or other needs. This is how villagers usually run their income generation. The economic system there is basically not for profits but for sharing surplus with everyone. If outsiders try to intervene in the economy, they have to carefully investigate the economic system which may be fundamentally unique to the locality, contrary to the belief of modern economy.

1-3. Project: Outsider

I had many discussions with the experts and managerial staff. Living in the project area gave me many questions about 'development projects'. From my point of view, there were four major questions. First, the project and its experts saw village life only through the lenses of their technical fields and did not see the integral whole, and therefore, the real implication of their interventions. Nevertheless, when negative implications come to materialize they may be long gone. The project and its experts may not be there to take responsibility for their interventions. This is the second question. Third, their projects tended to increase villagers' dependency on outside inputs, i.e. materials and knowledge, rather than strengthening self-reliance. Fourth, they tended not

to believe in villagers' abilities. Therefore they did not try hard to listen to the villagers, and did not look into their lives in detail.

In the first case, for example, I thought that agricultural experts could have done much to enrich the families' diet by cooperating with experts working in public health. Officially improving diet was one of the Project's objectives. However, because of the lack of the integrated efforts of experts in different technical fields and the lack of investigation into the families' diet, the agriculture experts just showed demonstration vegetable gardens and delivered some seedlings of fruit trees to some families; they were soon forgotten. If there had been support and explanations from health experts, the result could have been different^b. The agriculture experts were also eager to introduce new crops. Without looking into the village diet, which was a part of their culture, a new crop, even if it was suitable to the local agronomic condition, would not be adopted.

Two health experts were doing a project on child health. Living in a village, watching families with many children and listening to villagers say that having too many children made them poorer, I wondered if each child would have enough land to feed him/herself and his/her family if they had to divide their farmland into small pieces among children in the future, or if there would be enough jobs to absorb them if they were pushed to cities. So I talked to the experts and asked why they did not pay attention to population balance and birth control (not only narrowly about contraceptives) while they were working to improve child health. They told me these were outside of their

^b I always wondered whether their diet, which relied very heavily on rice with few sources of protein or vitamins, was good enough for the people. However, people were fit and strong. I sought an opinion from someone such as a doctor or dietitian who was familiar with the diet in rural Cambodian villages, but I failed to find such a person.

focus on child health. Certainly, their efforts in child health particularly may not produce a significant difference even in the area twenty years down the road. Nevertheless, outside interventions affecting population balance are happening in many developing countries on a large scale. Partly because of modern medicine, which was brought from outside, the population has grown too rapidly to be absorbed by the ecosystem and/or the labor force. In currently 'developed' countries this process took place in a much milder manner because the development of modern medicine occurred alongside with the modern development of the countries and inside their society. Therefore people had enough time to adapt themselves. Also they could easily bring necessary resources from outside because of their advantageous position with more advanced and powerful technology.

But experts in 'development' bring rapid and exogenous changes. They often fail to think about the real implications of their work, because of their narrow technical view. In Cambodian villages people by no means blame the experts who may be helping their future problem become more serious, instead they thank the experts for their 'help'. Even when the villagers have to face the problem in the future, caused or accelerated by a project intervention, they will probably not blame the experts who are here today but will not be when villagers face the consequences. Outsiders come to the villages to 'help', but with their own agenda. They measure their success by their own yardstick and leave. Worst of all, if something goes wrong later, they won't be there to take the responsibility or even simply to take the blame. This lack of responsibility presents a very fundamental question to 'development'.

Once the project manager told me that he admitted the multifaceted nature of life, but it was their job to strictly stick to 'technical assistance', which many experts believed was universal; and working according to technical fields was a practical way to produce results. To the contrary, in a community where life is more integrated in the same sphere, technical assistance is likely to have broader consequences than in the narrow technical field or than in the modern society where, for example, the work place is a separate sphere from other parts of life. When outsiders intervene, seeing a life which is different from their own, and only through the narrow lens of a technical field, the results will not be very helpful.

In Tropeang Chuuk village, the project was working effectively to increase villagers' dependence on outside help. After the Vietnamese-backed force ousted the Khmer Rouge from Phnom Penh and established their government, a handful of NGOs and international organizations started working in Cambodia. Other than this the country was excluded from the outside world. A big change came in 1991 when the Paris Peace Accord was signed; finally Western countries lifted the exclusion of Cambodia and foreign aid, both governmental and non-governmental, flooded into the country. The interim government, which was set up under the Paris Peace Accord, was changing the socialist economic policies by steering to the open market economy. In the area where I later lived, a new, bigger, local market was built mainly by people from cities and towns. More and more merchandise and foreign things became visible to the villagers through the local market and more significantly through TVs at some local restaurants and a few homes. Huge differences appeared between the outside and themselves. And it was

always the outside that looked much better than their own lives. At the same time, foreigners began to come to the area to 'help' the 'poor' people. They came with a lot of things; new trucks, cars, and in new and neat clothing. They provided things and services free of charge no matter whether they were what people really needed or not.

A few lucky people got jobs at foreign agencies working in the area, as assistants, drivers or sweepers. While a local teacher earned less than 30 Canadian dollars a month, if one got a job at one of projects the salary was about 100 to 200 dollars a month. In the case of the project, to be that lucky one, one had to have a good connection with the district chief (and often had to pay a monthly commission to him). In a community like Tropeang Chuuk, this kind of information spread in no time. So when the project was launched everyone in the village, like anyone in the area, looked forward to receiving benefits from the project. It did not disappoint the expectations of some people, although those people tended to be picked up at the convenience of the experts.

The project budget was, like many other organizations of the same kind, planned yearly before a fiscal year started. The budget structure was not so strict and switching expenditures from one plan to another was not a problem. However, the allocated budget had to be spent within the fiscal year, otherwise the budget would be cut next year and the project would be blamed for not running as planned. Now, having passed half way through a fiscal year, the management was busy encouraging experts to spend more money. When the cooperators got free pesticide and chemicals other villagers were jealous. In the first place, some experts believed that aid was about giving away things and foreign technology. Villagers always welcomed whatever they were going to get,

especially because it was when the villagers' self-confidence had been so shaky. Even if villagers do not agree with an expert on his/her idea (this may not happen often, because both parties tend to believe that the expert is right) they may not say so because they fear losing a chance to get some thing. This worked well to make the villagers more dependent on outsiders rather than self-reliant.

From my point of view it should have been completely the opposite. I found the villagers were capable enough to make their living in their own way. What I worried about most was their losing confidence, or losing a chance to regain confidence when peace had finally come. What they needed most was encouragement for their capabilities, and material assistance was of far less importance. They needed advice to strengthen their community, while in Tropeang Chuuk village the project was doing exactly the opposite. My neighbours used to ask me to tell the project that they needed help (often material help), that, from my point of view, they could have managed by themselves if they had really wanted. As far as I saw, the villagers had been and still were a very independent entity. They did not get government assistance because the government was under construction, they did not need to pay tax, they were not systematically exploited because commercialism and the government were still weak, and they had their own land. They were very much on their own and I believe that they would want it that way in the future too. In this way they would be able to determine their own future, though I am not optimistic given the circumstances, including foreign assistance mentioned here.

The last, but not least, question on my list is little respect from the project for recipients' capability, and a sense of superiority. Outsiders in development believe they are superior to the people in the target area who they believe need help. A managerial person at the project told me in a conversation "The villagers are not able to identify their needs because they do not know much and they can not think rationally. But we can do that for them." Because of this confidence and belief in the universality of technology, it took only one and a half months for the formulation study of the project to be completed; the project expected the experts to start their work after a few weeks of preparation in the area; and there is no system in the project structure to listen to the people whom they were officially helping. The project and experts occasionally hosted meetings with key persons in the area and in technical fields such as teachers. However, the range of people was rather narrow and the voices heard were not systematically incorporated into decision making in the project process.

Although they did not see the villagers as capable people, my observation in a village was quite different. Although they claimed they knew, watching the candy production I doubt if they did know the economic system in the area well. Some vocational training courses they taught gave the participants skills which were later found to have little market in the area.

As will be examined in a following chapter, the donor government's development policy⁶ states that their list of focuses in development include cultivating human resources, building up social and economic infrastructure and meeting basic human needs. This Rural Development Project in Cambodia certainly covers these items. They

had Cambodian counterparts from the SRD for technical transfer. The project repaired a local trunk road. One of the activities in education was constructing school buildings. The project itself was meant to help local people meet basic human needs. However, all of these activities were very much exogenous. Rather than searching for, or encouraging, spontaneous and endogenous initiatives from people living in the area, these initiatives were imposed by the project, by outsiders. Given the notion by a managerial staff member that local people do not know their own needs, this was a proper strategy for the project. Their approach is justified if development is the universal modernization of the world, and the dominant development community sees development exactly as the universal modernization of the world.

The above is my observation of an application of development, i.e. a development project. The project is still in its early stages and it is a unique project involving experts from ASEAN countries and therefore is in a learning stage^c. (Though its short budget/planning cycle and the short contracts of experts may well hamper the learning.) However, the problems identified here are not unique to this particular project. The problems identified are rather common problems to development projects. Especially the sense of the superiority of modernity is an inherent and serious one.

¹ JICA, 1992, Project Formulation Study on Resettlement of Refugees in Cambodia Final Report, JICA, Nov.; pp. 17

² JICA, 1992, Project Formulation Study on Resettlement of Refugees in Cambodia Final Report, JICA, Nov.; pp. 30

³ JICA, 1992 Project Formulation Study on Resettlement of Refugees in Cambodia Final Report, JICA, Nov.; pp. 20

⁴ Sankei Shinbun, 1995, Oct. 12; pp. 5

⁵ Sankei Shinbun, 1995, Oct. 12; pp. 5

⁶ JICA, 1996, "Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct.

^c As of July 8, 1997 the Project was again interrupted by violent political fights between the two parties which formed a coalition government since 1993.

Chapter 2

Lives in a 'Developing' Country: A Cambodian Village

2-1. Assumption in 'development'

One of the fundamental assumptions of modern development is that the modern world is superior to a non-modern world. Development projects such as the one analyzed in the previous chapter operate based on this assumption. When people in 'developed' countries hear "developing countries", many associate this term with negative images such as poverty, backwardness, uneducated people, misery and so on. If you watch the TV programmes of NGOs used for fund raising, you will only watch and hear these negative, miserable lives of 'developing' countries over and over again. I traveled (backpacked) several countries including 'developing' countries. I stayed in Kenya for two and half years. I also stayed in Cambodia for a little less than a year in total. What I saw and felt was somehow different from what those NGOs claim and what the modern ideology would have us believe. I found the lives in those 'developing' countries were normal; just like lives in any other part of the world. In this chapter I attempt to describe people's lives in a Cambodian village as closely according to what I saw as possible.

2-2. Cambodian History

As a political entity, Cambodian history dates back to when the area belonged to the South-East Asian kingdom of Funan from the 1st to the 6th century, which played a vital role in developing the political institutions and culture of later Khmer states. It was the Angkor era, beginning in the 8th century, that really transformed the kingdom into an

artistic and religious power of which the Khmer people are still proud. After 1431, when the Thai kingdom of Ayudhya ousted Angkor, the area did not have a single dominant state for one and a half centuries. From the 17th century a weak kingdom ruled the area until the French turned the land into a protectorate in 1863. A relatively peaceful period followed. In 1941, the French installed 19 year-old Prince Norodom Sihanouk on the Cambodian throne. After the end of the Second World War the kingdom became strife-torn, with the weakening French colonial power aided by the proximity of the Franco-Viet Minh War.

In 1963 the country proclaimed independence, headed by Norodom Sihanouk. Under his Popular Socialist Community the country had a relatively peaceful period in its history as an independent nation. Norodom Sihanouk was a rather enigmatic figure and exercised his power in his own way, but older Cambodians miss this independent period. Meas Nee says “in those days our hopes for the future were high”¹.

In 1969 the United States began bombing suspected North Vietnamese communist base camps along the Vietnam-Cambodian border, killing thousands of Cambodians as well as Vietnamese. In 1970, when Sihanouk was out of the country, General Lon Nol, backed by the US government, took power and established a military regime.

Despite US support, in April 1975 communist Khmer Rouge forces ousted the Lon Nol government from the capital Phnom Penh. Over the next four years the Khmer Rouge, under Pol Pot’s leadership with Khieu Samphan as the official head, vacated cities, killed and starved to death in tandem with heavy forced labour more than one million of their own people. The regime especially targeted educated people in a bid to

turn Cambodia into a Maoist peasant-dominated agrarian cooperative. Most highly trained people such as doctors, teachers and engineers were killed, while some lucky ones fled the country. This still hinders Cambodia's development greatly. At the same time, the regime severed relations with the outside world except for few countries such as China.

In January 1979, the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation, formed by dissidents who had fled to Viet Nam and supported by the Vietnamese government, entered Phnom Penh, forcing the Khmer Rouge to flee to the relative sanctuary of the jungles along the Thai border. The National United Front established the People's Republic of Kampuchea, later the State of Cambodia (SOC). From that point the country was separately governed by the State of Cambodia government and three other factions, i.e. three former governments, each with an area and forces of their own. The SOC government controlled the largest part of the country. The following decade was characterized by armed conflicts among these four groups and floods of refugees. Although the tremendous tragedy caused by the Khmer Rouge began to emerge to the outside world, because of Vietnamese influence on the SOC government, the international community (except for a few Soviet bloc countries) rejected the SOC and instead continued to recognize the Khmer Rouge, now joined by other two factions (Sihanouk and Lon Nol), as a UN member. Western countries set up refugee camps in Thailand along the Thai-Cambodia border to lure Cambodian people into an exodus. However, since mid-1987 these four groups have sought a political settlement and have had several formal and informal meetings.

In 1991 the Paris Peace Agreement was finally signed by all four groups. It was agreed that general elections would be held in 1993 under UN supervision. Although the Khmer Rouge, whose political future in the elections appeared gloomy, canceled the Agreement before the elections, in May of 1993 the general elections were held and declared fair by UN observers. In order to avoid another division of the country among political leaders, the new government was formed with two major parties sharing the power equally, although this did not reflect the exact election results. The waning Khmer Rouge is still somehow alive and continues sporadic low level guerrilla activities without much political future. Because of the instability in the government, due to its unusual formation, the lack of trained human resources in the central government and among local authorities, as well as other public sectors, and the lack of a sense of human rights among politicians, the Cambodian people still carry a tremendous burden on their shoulders. However, for the first time after almost three decades (or for more than a century except for the short, peaceful independent period from 1963 to 1969) they finally have a chance to build their own country, a chance which had been denied by their political leaders and the international community^{2 a}. This is the political and historical context with which I observed development in this country.

^a In July 1997, however, the country's coalition government established in the 1993 general elections collapsed due to violent political fights between the two parties in the government.

2-3. Lives in a Cambodian village

2-3-1. The Area

I visited Cambodia three times between 1993 and 1996. On the third visit in 1995, I lived in a village for five months and had an opportunity to watch village lives closely, although, inevitably, as an outsider.

As one might guess there are currently several problems generated by the political turmoil of the last few decades. Government agencies at the local level are poorly equipped in terms of human resources, finance and materials compared to neighbouring countries. Official social and agricultural infrastructure is virtually non-existent in rural areas. In spite of these, I found that people in the village where I stayed were capable enough to deal with their daily needs. The biggest problem, it seemed to me, was that villagers did not have confidence in themselves despite their capability. It was not technical or financial.

Phum Tropeang Chuuk is a village off National Route 3, one hour and a half away from Phnom Penh by bus and then a quarter hour walk. Except for some hills, where occasional Khmer Rouge guerrilla activities are reported, and which are 10 kilometers away from the village, the area is flat and covered with paddy fields and scattered patches of coconut, banana and other trees. People rely on their own rice grown during the rainy season once a year for their food supply, as rice is their absolute staple food. Since there is no major river, and no major irrigation system in the area, in a dry season there are not many farming activities around unless one is fortunate enough to have a stream or pond

next to his/her field. In the rainy season the land is entirely covered with a green and then a golden colour. The green carpet was beautiful and soothing, which I appreciated on the way to a market every morning on my bicycle, especially when it was not raining. Of course, villagers appreciated the rain most. When it was turning to golden brown I could share some feeling of anticipation for the harvest with the villagers, especially as it was a good year in the area after two years of a poor harvest, because of drought in one year and flooding in the following year.

Villages consist of a few dozen families to a couple of hundred families, along a road or clustered within a few hundred meters in diameter. Some houses are stilt houses and others are built directly on the ground. Stilt houses are more comfortable in the hot and humid climate. Houses built directly on the ground are easier and less expensive to build. They are made of wooden columns, wooden boards, nippa leaves and/or tin plates. In some villages, houses are surrounded by trees (many of which provide food, wrapping material or traditional medicines) and sometimes small vegetable gardens and small ponds, while in other villages houses are more densely built, close to each other with small yards. A house is generally large to the eye of a city dweller from Japan, but probably not so to a Canadian, having one to three rooms to accommodate maybe a couple or maybe a couple and ten children. They may have another small house for cooking. There is no power supply, water supply or postal service.

In the area all roads, except National Route 3, are non-tarmac. Some of them are relatively well constructed so that they are passable for motor vehicles even after heavy rain. A few villages are not accessible by car and the number of such villages may

increase during a rainy season. But this is not necessarily a big problem, because people usually walk or ride bicycles or motorbikes. They are actually good off-road riders. Trunk roads are maintained by the central government with financial and technical help from foreign governments and international organizations. Other roads are maintained by the communities which each road passes. The community members contribute labour, skills, materials or money. I sometimes came across village chiefs collecting donations from motor vehicle drivers passing by to raise funds for road maintenance.

From anywhere in the paddy fields if you look around, a building that you are most likely to see is a Buddhist temple, while other human-made structures are lower than trees and invisible from a distance. There is a small Muslim population (about 5%) in the country (concentrated in one ethnic minority group), while the dominant religion is Buddhism with approximately 95% of the total population³ as adherents, as stated in a national development policy document⁴. People traditionally pay a lot of respect to Buddhist monks. The Khmer language has several special verbs to be used for people to speak to monks. In each village there is a person called 'lok achaa' who is responsible for organizing and taking care of religious occasions in the village. Some young villagers may become Buddhist clergy for a few years. People, from rich merchants or successful repatriates to poor (in money-economic terms) villagers, make various contributions and donations to Buddhist temples. Consequently, magnificent temples are everywhere (one for every few villages), providing something they rely on in their minds and religious festivals, which are some of the few large entertaining events villagers really look forward to.

There are usually markets at major road junctions. Villagers go to those markets to buy vegetables, oil, sugar, fish and household ware. Some villagers go there to sell their products to the shops, such as vegetables, sweets, bamboo crafts or pottery. Others may have their own stands to sell food they prepare or vegetables they grow. At a smaller market there may be only simple structures for stands which mainly sell foods. A larger market may have a market building as well as many stands in a square next to the building or on the streets around the building. At larger markets there are a variety of shops, and villagers' daily needs are all met here. (Probably the most expensive thing sold here, except for jewelry, is a car battery (not for cars though, for TVs) which would cost 30 US dollars if it is new.) There are several small stands for vegetables, fish, beef (run by Muslim Cham ethnic people), pork, bean sprout, sweet potatoes, sweets, rice and beans, household goods, old and new clothing, cosmetics, battery charging and food stands. Larger shops include hardware shops (selling agricultural tools, too), jewelry shops, restaurants, bike repair shops, electrical shops (selling batteries, radios, black and white TVs, cassette players, karaoke sets, etc.), pharmacies, groceries, tailors and karaoke places. Larger shops and stands are generally owned by towners, many of whom live in the market town and some smaller stands are run by villagers who live in the vicinity. These markets are open from early morning; some stands and shops open at 5 o'clock. Most of them open around 6 o'clock. At 7 o'clock market places are full of energy. By noon time customers are on their way home. In the afternoon, larger shops and stands around bus stops stay open until 4 or 5 o'clock, although business hours are already over. I would estimate that each of these larger markets serves ten to thirty thousand people

from the surrounding areas. Although markets are filled with people every morning, each family in the village may not go to the market for shopping very often. Not going to market often means that, first, they don't need to buy things as much as people in cities, and second, they may not have much disposable money every day.

2-3-2. Tropeang Chuuk Village

To get to Tropeang Chuuk village from Phnom Penh one takes a bus, small truck or a car at one of a few bus terminals in the city. The smaller the vehicle is, the more expensive the fare, and maybe the faster the trip. The bus fare to the nearest stop on the National Route 3 to village is about one Canadian dollar; this may vary, though, depending on how you look and how you negotiate. If you are a foreigner in neat cloths and with no Khmer (Cambodian language), the conductor will probably charge you a VIP fare. But even if the vehicle is totally packed, other passengers will kindly squeeze themselves or clear the top of one of the boxes they carry to make room for this stranger to sit.

After riding a packed and dusty bus for one hour and a half, one comes to the entrance to Tropeang Chuuk village. The village of about one hundred families starts from this entrance along a straight non-tarmac road and continues for a kilometer. Houses are scattered along this road. A house may be one hundred meters away from its neighbour while some houses form a row. The width of each compound measures 20 to 40 meters along the road. A family may have a paddy field or a watermelon field at the back of the compound. When a child gets married the parents may build another house in

the same compound for the new couple, or the new couple might live together in the parents' house, or build a new house on a different plot of their land along the road. In this village each compound has a yard in front of the house which is usually a stilt house. In the yard and back of the house there are coconut, banana, guava and other fruit trees that provide food (vitamins and refreshment) and some cash income. The yard also provides a space for agricultural operations such as drying harvested stalks, threshing them and drying rice grains; and, of course, for children to play. The space under the stilt house is also an important space for storing agricultural equipment and other tools (mainly carpentry tools) and for family members to eat or to rest on a bench or a hammock, or for neighbours to chat - especially during scorching daytime. Some families keep their cattle under the houses during the night. There are two wells in the village, a public one built by UNICEF and another private one in a watermelon field which was also built by a foreign aid agency. There are also some ponds around the village which are owned privately. The public well, rainwater jars at each family dwelling and ponds provide all water needs for the villagers.

When I was looking for a place to settle down in the area I found in this village a space between two compounds in which there was a village well. So I went to see the family that owned the compound to ask for permission to build a small house in exchange for the house when I leave. The request was unusual and therefore I asked them to consider it for a few days. The couple agreed to my plan instantly. Soon I hired two carpenters from a nearby village, who usually do farming just as other villagers do and occasionally when asked hire out their carpentry skills, and we started building a small

stilt house. It took us less than three weeks to complete the house, though we worked five days a week^b and heavy rain often interfered with us.

The carpenters brought a handful of tools with them. None of them were sophisticated tools and each of them looked like a single purpose tool. Actually, they were not only used in ways which I had expected but also in many other ways. My landlord, i.e. my host father, joined in the construction. These three people (of course excluding me) were completely efficient and skillful in carpentry as were, as I later witnessed, many of the male villagers. All three were knowledgeable enough to build a house with good accuracy; so skillful, versatile and strong in using tools that these few tools shaped a complete wooden house in little more than ten days. I will never have as comfortable a house as this again the rest of my life. At the same time, I started building an outhouse (a toilet and a shower room) at the back of my house, this time by myself. First I dug a hole which was 1 meter wide and 1.5 meters deep. It took me two full days. (Later I was ashamed when I went to help the villagers construct a road next to the village at seeing how strong the people, both men and women, were. They were raising a road by digging on both sides of it and putting the soil on top at the centre.) Then I started laying bricks. From the beginning of this work neighbours, including many children, were so curious that some came to see my progress a few times everyday. Some offered advice and a hand to help, but since I wanted to complete it by myself, I did it alone. When it was completed, after having to ask for some more advice, I was very proud of the outhouse, although it turned out to be a kind of avant-garde shape and it would not match

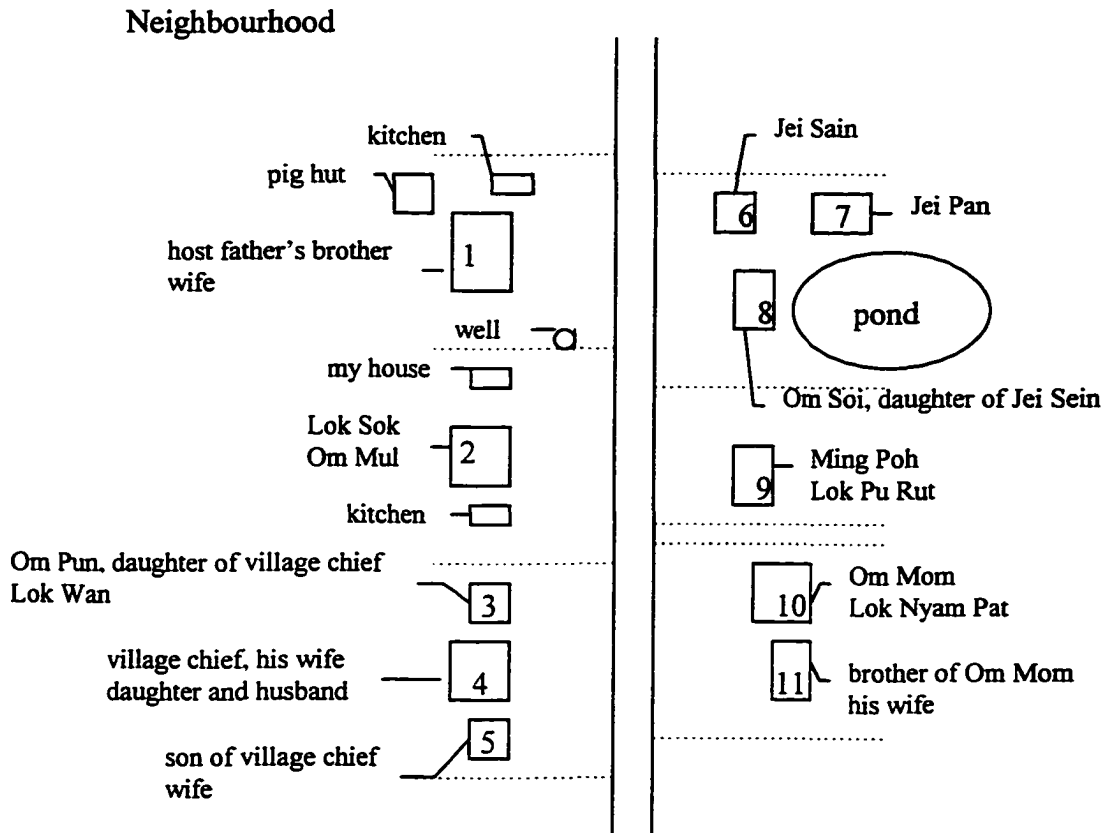
^b Although I decided to work on the house five days a week, people in the village do not have a particular resting day. They work when they need to work.

a villagers' high construction standard. (I have a master's degree in engineering, and still can do much less than people in the village.) I began living in the village.

In the village all families have their own land for a house compound and patches of paddy fields and usually some fields for watermelon or vegetables, though the sizes vary from one family to another. In my neighbourhood each family (extended family) had a large house compound, large house(s), one to two hectares of rice field and comparable sized watermelon fields. Some own ponds. This village in general seems to be a better-off village than average, given the results from my survey in 1994. This is partly because the villagers were relatively less disturbed in the Khmer Rouge era and the unstable political situation and insecurity of the following decade compared to other regions in the country and other areas in the region. Actually, the village was never abandoned during the Khmer Rouge regime and most of the villagers managed to continue to live here. After the Khmer Rouge was ousted from the central government and started guerrilla activities, the village's geographical advantage, i.e. relatively far from mountain areas where Khmer Rouge guerrillas had larger presence than in the plains, contributed to the relative peace.

Here in Cambodia, generally people have larger families than in present-day Canada or Japan. For example, my host couple had ten children over a little less than thirty years. This seems to be changing since many younger couples do not want to have as many children as their parents had.

Fig. 2-1 Neighbourhood



House No. 1:

husband; my host father's brother, runs a bike repair (mostly puncture) and battery charging shop
 wife; runs the shop with the husband
 adult daughter; works at home, does most of the household work and a substantial part of the agricultural work
 adult son; teacher at a local primary school
 adult daughter; moved to Phnom Penh to start working at a garment factory there during my stay in the village
 child son; goes to a primary school
 child daughter; goes to a primary school
 One adult son is working in Phnom Penh as a translator. One adult daughter is married to a village man, living in the village

House No. 2

husband; host father, hard working farmer in the village
 wife; host mother, trusted by mothers in the village, sister of the village chief
 child daughter; goes to a secondary school
 child son; goes to a primary school though does not like it and skips often
 child daughter; goes to a primary school

Two married daughters live in Phnom Penh. One adult daughter is married to a village man and lives in the village with her grandmother. Her husband is a truck driver and seldom comes home. One adult son is in service for the government army. One adult daughter is married to a man from another village and lives near the village. Two adult daughters live in Phnom Penh and work at a garment factory with one of their married sisters.

House No. 3:

wife; a daughter of the village chief
husband; a farmer
child daughter; goes to a secondary school
child daughter; goes to a primary school
child daughter; stays at home (too young to go to school)

House No. 4:

husband; village chief, elder brother of my host mother
wife
adult daughter
daughter's husband
baby boy

House No. 5:

husband; son of the village chief
wife; daughter of house No. 8
baby boy

House No. 6:

grandmother; mother of the head of family at house No. 8

House No. 7:

grandmother; mother of the wife of house No. 9
adult son
adult daughter

House No. 8:

mother; makes rice noodles and sells them at a food stand in a local market every day
adult son;
child son;
child son;
daughter; goes to a primary school
The mother's daughter is married to a son of the village chief.

House No. 9:

wife; primary school teacher, daughter of house No. 7
husband; from Phnom Penh, occasionally does carpentry work for others
child daughter;
child daughter;

House No. 10

wife; occasionally does tailoring for money, sister of the husband of house No. 11
husband;
child daughter; goes to a secondary school

child daughter; goes to a secondary school
child son; goes to a primary school
House No. 11
husband;
wife;
child son; goes to primary school
child son; goes to primary school

Villagers begin their day early. My neighbours get up around five o'clock. A mother starts preparing a simple breakfast. A father may move the family's cattle from under the house to the backyard. Someone, maybe the father, mother or children depending on the family or the day, fetches water from the well next to my house. I start sweeping my host family's large yard. Children wash their faces, brush their teeth and prepare for school. My host mother and children start breakfast. Before seven, children leave for their schools. It is a three quarter hour walk for primary school students and a one hour and a quarter walk for secondary school students. Several of them are given bicycles and often two additional kids get rides on a bike. In any case they are very fit. My host father usually does some work, such as feeding the cattle in the field or various agricultural work, before his breakfast. A couple who live next to my house have rushed to their bike repair and battery charging shop to open it. Om Soi (Aunt Soi), a mother living across the road from my house, must be on her way to a market six kilometers away with a bamboo basket full of rice noodles, soup, herbs and plates on her head. Young mothers are breastfeeding their babies. Jei Pan (Grandma Pan) may be selling banana desserts at the entrance of the village on the national road.

Sometimes vendors visit house to house in the village to sell fish or a few other things. Recently, a young mother in my neighbourhood started making and selling fried

bananas in front of her house, but not everyday, so I have to be lucky to have one. After the children have left for school the village becomes even quieter. Although, for example, people who have vegetable fields are busy watering, some may go to a local market for shopping, mothers may wash clothes around the well or ponds. A family member spends a few hours everyday feeding the family's cattle in the fields, which is often the father's routine. Then children come home for lunch. Usually the mother cooks, although, a daughter sometimes prepares foods or the father occasionally cooks together with his wife or alone when the wife is not at home. In many cases both the wife and husband are excellent cooks. After lunch children go back to school. Parents usually have a rest or nap in the afternoon except for busy times such as the planting or harvesting seasons. At other times neighbours may get together to chat. Om Soi is already back from her noodle stand near the market and is now busy grinding rice grains with a heavy stone mill to make another batch of rice noodles for tomorrow.

Many families make some food or sweets for sale when the materials for production become available in their yards. Bananas and sticky rice are the ingredients most frequently used. They may sell them by themselves in the village or sell them to nearby shops. So just sitting in my house I could buy varieties of sweets and snacks, boiled sweet potatoes, fish, vegetables (these two come from other villages) or even a bar of ice cream sold by a man on a bicycle from a market town. In the afternoon some villagers, often with their children, may go to collect firewood; fortunately they don't need to travel a long distance since they still have relatively large treed yards around their compounds, as far as this village is concerned and at present. After children come home

in the evening from school the village cheers up with the children running around, playing various group games such as rope jumping, rope skipping, hide-and-seek, marbles or dancing; village children are wonderful dancers (both traditional and pop dancing). Sometimes children help their mothers prepare supper, although they may not be very excited about this. Boys may go fishing or catching crabs or frogs (how seriously they do it to supply the family's dietary need, I don't know).

In the evening villagers bathe at the well or ponds. Many people wash their own clothes when they bathe after a day of work. After supper neighbours may get together again to chat sitting on a large bench under the stars. I occasionally saw children do their homework under a kerosine lamp. A relatively new evening routine of the villagers is watching TV in someone's house who owns a car battery-operated TV set. When a favourite programme is playing a dozen people or more gather in a house and enjoy it together. Those programmes may be imported from Thailand, Hong Kong or occasionally from the West, or locally produced in Phnom Penh. Some Thai singers are particularly popular among young people. Afterwards people usually go to bed between ten and eleven.

Generally villagers' lives have a relaxed pace. During rice transplantation and harvest seasons, the whole village becomes very busy. For nursery and paddy field preparation men and cattle work together from early morning till evening. Transplanting seedlings is done through team work by women and it is back breaking work that continues for several days. When women are transplanting, men are carrying seedlings

from the nursery to the field if they are not ploughing. During harvest the village becomes busy again. Harvesting rice, i.e. cutting stalks, is largely done by women, though I joined in this part. Many village women form groups called 'samaki'. Each group generally consists of about five families from a neighbourhood. They harvest each other's paddy without monetary exchange. (The basic assumption here is that each family provides roughly equal labour.) If a family has enough family workforce or close kinship in the village, the family may work by itself without joining a 'samaki'. In some cases a family hires other village people for harvest, such as when too much paddy becomes ready for harvest at once, or a family does not belong to a 'samaki' and does not have enough workforce within the family, or someone wants to work for money. Men carry bunches of straw from paddy fields to home on their shoulders if the field is near; if it is far, they use cattle carts. The straw (with grains) makes beautifully shaped piles in the front yards. The harvesting lasts one to two months. During the busiest weeks schools are closed and everyone in the village is in the field. People go to the field with the sunrise and boxes of breakfast and come home for lunch and rest for a couple of hours. Then they go back to the paddy fields until sunset. If paddies are ready in several fields they continue to cut stalks under moonlight or if there is no moon, one might bring a lamp or battery torch. When harvested straws are dry enough, they go on to thresh them after a quick supper. Villagers do not seem to get tired during harvest. Actually, they are full of energy, especially when the harvest is good, looking forward to a year of secure life.

Some might call the villagers "farmers", or more particularly "subsistence farmers". Villagers call themselves 'kaseko' whose English translation is 'farmer'.

However, what I found in people here does not quite fit the word 'farmer'. 'Farmer' or even 'subsistence farmer' sounds more like a job category, which is a concept in industrialized 'developed' countries where 'job' is a separate sphere from other elements in one's life. Farming is undoubtedly an essential and big part of the villagers' life; however, farming is a more integrated part of their life than the concept of occupation in industrialized 'developed' countries. If this is not understood well, technical experts, whose focuses are divided by technical fields, would not be of much use. For example, the villagers' way of making a living or production is more multifaceted than only farming, and it is incorporated in and inseparable from their daily life. Their calendar of events is a product of the agricultural cycle, seasonal changes and Buddhism. Paddy fields are not only for producing rice, they also provide fish, crabs, frogs, herbs and fodder. Therefore, the villagers may sometimes be called fishing people as well as farmers. They are also involved in many other types of production. Materials for production are usually available in their own fields or yards. They may also be called craft people, housebuilders or workers in a food industry of their own. Villagers weave nippa leaves, which are obtained in their backyards, for roofing or walling, for themselves or for sale. Some villages specialize in hand loom, pottery, bamboo weaving or other hand crafts, usually utilizing materials and skills they have in their hands. Villagers in Tropeang Chuuk village often make some sweets for their families and for sale such as banana fritters (the batter is made of rice powder), steamed bananas wrapped in sticky rice (this is wrapped in a piece of banana leaf which gives the sweet, special flavour), rice noodles in herbal soup, or boiled rice balls (from rice powder) and coconut meat in sweet

soup. Most of these ingredients are from their land. Villagers know what is used in their products, what they eat and what they do. They know well the system in which they are operating in their daily lives. They are very capable in their life, probably more so than people in a 'developed' society where systems are so large, complicated and beyond anyone's control, and where there are many human-made black boxes which make people feel frustrated and powerless.

During my stay I heard an interview with Japanese farmers who were visiting Cambodia for a solidarity programme. The Japanese farmers appreciated the way Cambodian villagers grew rice as a suitable and sustainable way of farming in the local ecosystem. They also said that they had found Cambodian farming villages still retained the wholeness of life, a virtue which Japanese farming communities had long lost. Of course, there is one big factor that villagers have less means of controlling or lessening its unfavourable effects than in 'developed' countries, i.e. nature, including weather and diseases. Certainly people in 'developed' countries appear to have more control over nature. However, this seems to work more to make us arrogant than to truly help us. Therefore the lesser amount of manipulation of nature by Cambodian villagers should not serve to discount their capability in their lives.

Unfortunately, it is true in a Cambodian rural village that if the rain fails to come as wished, villagers can only watch seedlings wither, especially in relatively high fields. If there happens to be too much rain, paddies are flooded in low lands and there is nothing that can be done. There surely are things to be done, but preferably in their way,

such as ponds and small scale irrigation. For example, my host family plans to build a pond in their field which can be utilized in many ways and under their control.

As mentioned above, villagers are multitasked. Mothers and some fathers are excellent cooks. The centre of the diet is definitely rice - a lot of rice - but their side dishes are always good (although the ratio between rice and side dishes may sometimes give my spoiled tastes some dissatisfaction). Villagers get most of their food stuff from their own land, i.e. rice, fruits, tamarind, some vegetables, crabs, fish, frogs, coconuts, bananas, peppers, herbs and so on. They also buy some of these and others such as vegetables, fish, seasonings, sugar, salt and meat. What and how often a family buys depends on the resources a family has and the priority of dietary needs in the family economy. If a family has a vegetable garden they do not buy vegetables as often as a family which does not have such a garden. If the purchase of a TV set is of a higher priority for a family than buying a bunch of nappa for supper they would buy the vegetable less often. Villagers said to me that their cooking was only 'mhop srae', i.e. 'country cooking' or 'field cooking'. I found they were too modest. My host mother's cooking was always very tasty. I could not figure out how she made her soup so special without using soup stock. Her daughter's fried fish was also good, though she, who was thirteen years old and went to secondary school, didn't seem to enjoy cooking very much. I liked Om Puun's (Aunt Puun's) fried fish cakes. Lok Pat's (Uncle Pat) specialty was soup with various vegetables and pork skin. He was an essential kitchen staff member during festivals at a temple near the village. The ways people here cook are usually not

elaborate, which does not mean that they pull out a plate from a box and put it in a microwave oven, but rather means they may not use many ingredients for one dish and they may not do restaurant-like cooking in daily meals. Nonetheless, some dishes are time consuming and labour intensive. For example, if a mother wants to have baked rice powder for her noodle topping to give the noodle a wonderful flavour, she will first bake some rice grains in a pan, this requires a little patience (of course, before this she has to have some firewood and then make fire in a stove). Then, she will probably send one of her children to someone's house where there is a stone mill and have the child grind the baked rice grains. Villagers are allowed this luxury of time to make simple but good meals. When a mother is making sweets her children wait around the stove playing. Once I asked my host mother if they had made these sweets during the Khmer Rouge regime. She replied, "It was hard to have such time and ingredients to make sweets. But we could not forget them. We have had these sweets for generations to cheer us up." They may not appear to be very sophisticated sweets to Westerner's eyes, but they surely cheered me up, especially after working in the paddy field on a hot and exhausting day. The mothers had several good recipes for sweets^c. Not only was the taste good, some of them were very good looking as well. An example is a steamed rice ball with beans. This is wrapped with woven nippa leaves which gives a sweet fragrance and pretty appearance. So pretty that I always hesitated to open it. No plastic wrap can do this.

In addition to being good cooks, village women are also business people, and experts in child rearing as well as experienced farmers. Many of them are active (some

^c Some recipes for sweets and snacks are found in Appendix 1 in this paper.

daily, others occasionally) in income generation. They make and sell food and sweets, and weave nippa leaves as roofing and walling material. Some do contract tailoring. In some other villages women weave cloth. They are in charge of keeping money for the family. A woman learns how to take care of babies when she is a small child. Women constitute a significant amount of the workforce in the field.

Village men are good farmers, carpenters and mechanics. In the village every man knows how to build a house (at least those who are currently adults, in the future I am not sure), and how to make a table or a chest that looks good with sufficient accuracy without fancy electric tools. When the village pump broke, the men knew how to fix it with cooperation and minimum tools. If one's motorbike has got a trouble, many know how to fix minor problems. The father who lives next to my house (my host father's brother) knows how to weld and repair motor bikes, skills which he utilizes in his family shop. Some of them know blacksmithing. They may not know how to drive a car but surely know how to make bulls listen to them.

Children are experts in group play. They know dozens of kinds of play for a small group to a large group. They are good dancers and singers. They play with songs. Through playing they learn socializing skills, numbers, songs, care for smaller children and so on. These are passed on from older children to younger ones. It is also good physical exercise (I do not know if they need any more as they walk three to four hours everyday to school). Actually they are thin, fit and strong. A girl of five years old knows how to rear a baby and holds a baby in her arms whose weight may be a half of hers. Boys are fishermen in streams and paddy fields.

All of these activities take place within one sphere, i.e. in the village around their houses or in the fields. Some activities take place simultaneously and inseparably. For example, the collective harvest can be a social gathering as well as agricultural work. When children are asked to help harvest they not only learn how to do farming but learn how to make a pipe from a straw and find a way to play. Family members and often neighbours are together when they work and when they rest.

Villagers may not have the same kinds of entertainment as we have in the 'developed' world. Although TVs have entered their daily lives and have started influencing their world view, along with things such as foreigners and foreign aid, villagers still look forward to and enjoy their own entertainment. Several Buddhist festivals in their Buddhist and farming calendar are among the most popular events. A wedding ceremony can also be a big entertaining event for all villagers. On these occasions I could feel that the whole village was filled with anticipation. On one such day, everyone whom I came across asked me if I was going, or how I felt about it after I had been. People dressed up, especially women in beautiful traditional Khmer dress.

During a Buddhist festival, in and around the temple dozens or sometimes more than a hundred stands pop up selling food, drink, herb, religious ornaments, toys and so on. Once my host family took me to one of the temples where a big celebration was going on. It was almost a one hour bicycle ride, past countless bountiful paddy fields shining under a bright full moon. As we came closer to the temple the road became full of people. At the temple I had never seen that many people in the area. I saw so many

people from my village that I thought the village must have been emptied. Children were happy to have their mothers buy snacks for them which might not be the case everyday. People looked to be enjoying themselves very much. Traditional plays and dances were performed on a stage set up for this occasion. Of course, people did not forget to pray and offered donations from their disposable cash which is generally small in amount.

At a wedding, which took place during my stay in the village, they hired professional facilitators who at the same time played comedies (this is a Cambodian tradition) and a band (Western band, sort of). We all (literally all the villagers) enjoyed the food, comedy and dance, both Khmer and Western. (Although this wedding ceremony may have been more than ordinarily luxurious, a wedding is an expensive event for the two families here as well as in many other parts of the world.)

‘Bon laung phtea’ (house warming) is another celebration. When a new house is completed the family holds this celebration. The neighbourhood gets together and prepares food and a place for a ceremony in which monks are invited to pray. (I had a little one when my house was completed. My neighbours came to help me and I returned the favour with labour during harvest.) Threshing can be another celebratory event. When the piles of rice stalks in the front yard become ready for threshing, some families invite young male villagers to thresh them on one evening. Women in the neighbourhood prepare a good meal for these men. This is a noisy occasion, from early evening until midnight, not only because a dozen men beat paddy against threshing boards at the same time, but because of cheerful chat and music from a radio. This is more of a celebrating of the harvest than farm work. Here work, rest and fun are usually shared among the

family, among the neighbourhood and among the village, in one common place. These elements of lives (work, rest and fun) are not separable but incorporated.

Schooling makes up a significant part of the daily life of children in the area. In my survey in 1994 the school attendance rates between 6 year olds and 15 year olds were 58% for girls, 72% for boys and 64% for all. This age range basically covers elementary and secondary school age children. At the primary level most of the village children, both girls and boys, go to school^d. When it comes to secondary education the situation is quite different. In the 1994 survey, I did not investigate school enrollment ratios for elementary school and secondary school separately, because some students repeat some grades, start schooling late or are away from school some years for some reason or another and it was difficult to obtain numbers separately. At a secondary school I saw only a handful of girls among hundreds of boys. While the boys ranged in age from younger to older, probably up to around twenty years old, girls attending secondary school are mostly younger ones. It was apparent that the majority of girls went to school up to elementary school and stopped there. The minority who started secondary education tended to give it up within a couple of years. At school, students learn subjects that are commonly taught in the Western education system such as mathematics and language as well as some farming. Although there are culturally sensitive components in education, like teaching farming, as

^d In the village of Tropeang Chuuk as far as I knew, one boy, who was elementary school age, was not going to school because, according to my neighbour, his aunt (he was an orphan) could not afford the expense of sending him to school. In Cambodia education is officially free and teachers are paid by the central government, however, schools usually collect some money from students for the maintenance of school facilities and/or the purchase of teaching materials due to the lack of such funds from the government. I also heard that at a secondary school, English teachers collected fees from their students using the subject's popularity. My host family's son, who was 10 years old, was often good at finding an excuse not to go to school.

discussed later, formal education in the area, which is largely modern education, is contributing to the orientation of young people's minds toward modern life.

In the 1994 survey it was asked how much money families in this area earned and spent in a month, but it was thought that the accuracy of the numbers was not good. Villagers do not record each transaction in a book and, understandably, do not necessarily want to disclose it to others. In the survey area, which is the adjacent district to Tropeang Chuuk village, the mode (the most frequently answered number) of the monthly income and expenditure of a family were both 30,000 Riel (approx. 16 Canadian dollars). The major sources of income included palm leaf products (roofing and walling material), labour, selling farm products, selling prepared food, carpentry and others. They spent money for food, fuel, sending children to school, agricultural inputs, medicines, donations to religious occasions among others.

During my stay in Tropeang Chuuk, I observed the economic activities of village families. A family, which I asked for cooperation, tended to spend 1000 to 5000 Riel for daily expenditure of which most went to food supplements such as beef, fish, vegetables or sweets for children, every second or third day. Some other families spent less on supplemental food and saved for the purchase of durables such as a radio, TV or motorbike. When a monk or 'lok achaa' came to visit each family for a donation, maybe a couple times a month or more, families donated generously. For example, this family usually contributed a few thousand Riels each time. I also tried to estimate the family's income;

this decision). Some families have to work harder to satisfy their needs. Some other families, although they have no problem in satisfying their needs, choose to do some extra work for their desire for money and things (or they may just like doing things, work is not a mere economic activity). In this 'poor' village it seems to me that there is a distinction between 'need' and 'desire'. Although, because of increasing influences from outside, this 'desire' part is growing among villagers rapidly. I have certain reservations over project interventions in the form of income generation activities as they tend to accelerate this change. One of the assistant managers at the Project told me that this was an inevitable process in 'development'. However, I doubt if outsiders should contribute to accelerating this process.

A variety of products from many families are sold within the village, to nearby villages or at the local markets. Most of these marketing activities are undertaken by women. These are important means to obtain cash to buy daily necessities such as food stuffs, which they do not produce, kerosine for lamps, medicines, donations to temples and school expenses for children. These are an important and essential part of their economy, though their economic system remains a subsistence agricultural economy. It is misleading to think that these economic activities for obtaining cash income are a sign of a money economy. These activities should be seen as a way to share what they have with larger population in the community (in the area) through money which is non-perishable and enables the villagers to get what they need later. Basically this is not for profit but is a delay technique. They share the surplus for minimal prices through 'income generation activities' so that everyone can share and benefit. Local markets are where people

exchange their surplus and goods which they do not produce through a medium which is money. Although money is the currency but is more purely currency than in a money economy (or modern economy) where money is not mere currency as a medium but is the purpose itself. This is an economic system they have built to suit their own needs.

To fill needs and desires, nowadays more villagers are looking for jobs in cities (in case of Tropeang Chuuk, this means Phnom Penh). And outside influences, which drive villagers' desire for money and things, and school education, directly contribute to this job (and life) searching in cities. They infuse the villagers with an idea that a city is an affluent and better place to live, farming is a dirty and unworthy job. Especially susceptible is the younger generation. Three of my host family's daughters are working at a garment factory in Phnom Penh. Each earns 30 to 40 Canadian dollars a month. The two younger daughters sometimes bring their city friends home, all in neat Western clothing, to show how well they are doing in the city. The family's eldest son is a soldier stationed far away from the village. He too is hoping to get a job in a city. The host mother told me "when he was a small boy he used to tell me he would help us grow rice, but not any more. Now I want to wait for my little boy to grow. But I am not hopeful. I think it would be good if every one of my children gets a job and helps us when farming is busy."^f

^f The host mother said she would expect another son, not daughter, to stay, and this may sound that paternal inheritance is a norm in the county. Actually, in this village and area I also observed many cases in which a husband lived with the wife's family. I heard that in the area inheritance traditionally follows the maternal line.

Since I began to stay in the village I noticed that children did not help their parents very much, though some families' children were working harder, some less. One day I asked the host mother about this. She told me "If parents told their kids to work too often they might come to dislike living and farming in the village. So we cannot push them very much."⁸

A *Medicins Sans Frontieres* (MSF) report on their Cambodian projects gives observations of weak communities in the country. "Cambodia is made up of families rather than larger social units"⁵. Compared to the 'developed' society, communities in Cambodia, no matter whether villagers are aware of it or not, are stronger. Neighbours spend a lot of time together daily. Babies are taken care of not only by the families but also among relatives and neighbours. When the village well broke, neighbours got together to fix it (some time after the break, though). When we moved a house (literally carried a house on our shoulders) most of the village men gathered. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, even in the practice of 'samaki', in which families work together during the busy agricultural seasons, people calculate how much labour they get in return.

⁸ I heard the same story somewhere before. It was in Japanese farming communities, most typically 40 to 20 years ago. Younger people in those communities thought farming was not a cool thing to do. This happened at the same time as TVs began to spread in the country. The parents' reaction? Same again as in Tropeang Chuuk. Compounded with government agriculture policies, which were designed to pamper farmers who were big supporters of the ruling conservative party, Japanese farming became a side business for many farmers only to keep their privileges in taxation. I don't think this will happen in Cambodia in the near future. However, it is true that I felt strongly that we share a lot, even with family and social problems, as well as in culture (this cultural part is mainly because I am from the same Asian region, but also more broadly as a human being). When I talked about this experience with someone in the development field, he agreed that we (people in 'developed' and 'developing' countries) share some similar problems, but also said 'at different levels'. I do not think that the feelings of children and their parents in Cambodia were different from those in a disintegrating farming community in a 'developed' country because one is in a developing country and the other is in a 'developed' country. Why do we (people in 'developed' countries) instantly think we are different from (and implicitly more advanced than) people in 'developing' countries?

If a family has little workforce to offer, no family welcomes that family in their 'samaki'. No initiative by the village chief in the village in organizing village matters was seen during my stay^h. As shown in my survey in 1994, no cooperative, agricultural or any other kind, was found in the area. When my host father told me about his plan of digging an agricultural pond in his field, he said he would hire people from outside. I asked "Why not to organize a group in this village to dig ponds one by one for each group member? There must be many families who want to have ponds." He replied "No one wants to wait his turn. Working together is what communists used to do." I heard the same sentiment from some other villagers about the communist era, i.e. the Khmer Rouge and the following Viet Nam-backed communist government. For example, in the area there are huge ruins of earthen banks which were planned to be a large irrigation pond under the Khmer Rouge regime, however, it never became functional. It is not difficult to imagine that villagers in Tropeang Chuuk village, as well as other villages, were forced to work for its construction only to exhaust themselves.

Therefore, now many villagers distrust authority and cooperation even among themselves. A Cambodian, Meas Nee, recalls that before the wars it was only natural for the people in a village to help each other or weaker members in the village⁶. During the wars and Khmer Rouge era, in which more than one million people died, people had no choice but to do anything to survive. One could believe no one else. This memory and the memory of forced labour seem to still haunt villagers' minds. I thought this was one of the biggest issues for the villagers. I believe that now is a good time to restore this

^h The only occasion organized village-wide which I saw was road construction, however, this was sponsored by a foreign development agency through the local authority.

trust and cooperation, because firstly the most peaceful time in the past few decades has finally come; and secondly the authorities are still weak, they could be corrupt later and could adversely interfere with village matters; thirdly, although foreign development organizations have been working in Cambodia, mostly since 1991, and making villagers more and more dependent, given the current lifestyle of villagers it is not too late to reinforce their own communities; and finally, although the money economy is invading villagers' life, in the villages money still does not occupy the centre place of life, indebtedness has not become a major issue, and almost all families own their land. Therefore, at present, power distribution in a village is relatively even and outside exploitation is still minimal. Although, as outside influences such as the money economy, TVs, foreign assistance and individualism increasingly affect villagers, these conditions are likely to change (hopefully not the peace situation, at least). Such efforts to restore trust, cooperation and helping may become more difficult even in the near future.

According to the 1994 survey, in the surveyed area there were 36% more adult women than adult men. 14% of families interviewed were women-headed families without adult men, while less than 2% of families did not have adult female family members. In my village there are several grandmothers living alone helped by their children in the village or living with their children. But I knew only a handful of grandfathers. There seem to be four reasons for this. Women tend to live longer than men. Usually more men die during a war than women. Some men get employment or

work on their own outside their villages. For example, many rickshaw drivers in Phnom Penh come from poorer rural villages and live in the city by themselves. Some men abandon their families and move to cities, in several cases to live with other women.

In my neighbourhood there were three women-headed families without adult menⁱ. One family has only a mother and her adult daughter. They have enough rice fields for two people and some watermelon fields. They also have a pond and land to grow vegetables beside the pond. So they keep themselves busy, especially since growing vegetables constantly requires labour. They tell me that their life is good; they have food to eat and time to chat. The other two families have small children. They don't have large watermelon fields. They have much less sense of security than the families with men. One of the two families has a mother and an adult daughter to support the family. In the other family it is only the mother. When it is rice planting or harvesting time their children are also working in the field just as any other children to help their parents (some are not serious though), but I rarely saw these three women taking a rest. It is not a common scene that other villagers give these families a helping hand. Meas Nee says that villagers have forgotten helping during the struggle for survival in the wars and this is what Cambodians have to regain^{7j}.

One of those three families was abandoned by the husband. He now lives in Phnom Penh with another family. Partially because of demographic distortion due to the wars, I have heard of few other similar cases. How does the status of women in

ⁱ In the area a woman-headed family with the husband living together at her family's place is not unusual.

^j I really hope that before villagers are thrown into economic survival mode, helping in a community will be recalled. This will require an initiative by someone who really knows the needs of village families. Watching development in Tropeang Chuuk village, including what an outside development agency does, I am not optimistic.

Cambodia appear to me? When I asked the interviewers working for my 1994 survey who usually called the shots in their families, they, all of whom happened to be men, said the husband and wife would consult each other. However, for example, girls' school education is not considered as important as boys', as in many other parts of the world. The literacy rate of adult women is far behind that of adult men. A man who leaves his family does not seem to carry much stigma, while a woman doing the same is unheard of. Probably many women work longer hours than their counterpart. (Nonetheless, because people here work in their living sphere, the men perhaps recognize what women do more than some men in industrial countries do.) While the husbands appear to represent their families and their village in formal occasions, within a family the balance (or imbalance) of decision making power seemed not so uniform, i.e. women are not always listening to men. A few women seemed to have more decision making power than their husbands in their families or had more influence in 'samaki' or village groups than some men. In more official or formal spheres women are under-represented. For example, I have never seen a female village chief nor a female commune chief.

2-3-3. Changing Situations

Since Cambodia opened its door to the outside world in 1991, even rural areas like Tropeang Chuuk and its surrounding area have changed a lot. (In fact it was not Cambodia which closed the door after the Khmer Rouge was ousted, it was the international community.) The nearest local market, where some of the village women sell their products and which is one of the largest in the area, was built at the current location mainly by ethnic Chinese people, many of them from cities and larger towns,

after the government loosened its economic policy. Now, expatriates who fled the country as refugees can send money to their relatives and visit them easily. Goods are ready for sale on the market shelves. Although their economic system remains different from a money economic system, among the owners of bigger establishments in local markets there is a sense of profit-making and commercialism, and people are beginning to think of 'profit' inspired by foreign things. When expatriates visit their relatives they rent a car from Phnom Penh, and they are in nice Western clothing. They look very rich because they can visit from a foreign country, an event of which villagers here would not even dream. Foreigners began to visit their villages to do 'development', in neat clothing, with Western things and new cars and trucks. Some families began to own TVs. This really has a strong influence. Now villagers can see real-time pictures from the 'developed' world every evening. Through the tube the 'developed' world looks good, looks to be offering any 'thing' which villagers have least. Now villagers think they are poor, and their lives are miserable.

Villagers felt powerless during the political turmoil and wars in the past few decades (always fueled by foreign governments which included Japan and Canada, maybe indirectly sometimes) because they could not secure their physical safety. Now, when finally peace is coming to their place, they have begun to feel powerless again because they have been told by intruders that they do not have any money-based economic power. Foreign aid workers tell them not only that they are money poor but also knowledge poor, without making efforts to know their capability.

The turmoil before and during the Khmer Rouge regime destroyed the school system in the country completely. Now the country is struggling to rebuild it. In Tropeang Chuuk village it has been successful to the extent that almost all the younger children attend elementary school. Some continue to go to secondary school. Younger women can read and write as well as men do. At the same time, current school education is making children think that village life is not as worthy as city life or modern life, compounded with other outside influences. Parents have mixed feelings about this. As described in my host family's case, parents, too, see the need for money, and a money earning job in a city sounds great to them. If children get jobs in Phnom Penh, the parents will be glad and proud of their children, but at the same time they will feel lonely as my host mother did when she was talking about her son. They may lose children who would otherwise be willing to help farming. (Actually some villagers in their 40's and 50's are well motivated to expand their agricultural operation. My host father's plan to build a pond is one example. Another family bought a piece of land from a townner to expand their rice production.)

In reality, finding a good paying job in Phnom Penh for someone from a village is extremely difficult and will remain so as more people will look for jobs in cities. On the other hand, because of the end of wars and medical aid, the population is growing rapidly, and of course the growing population is children. In this area, since most of the land is already cultivated and there is little room to expand, population pressure, too, will push villagers, especially the younger generation, to cities no matter how little prospect they have of getting jobs there. One of the solutions I can see is reinforcing the agricultural

infrastructure, such as small scale irrigation, and making food production more diverse and even more labour intensive by encouraging and supporting villagers to increase rice and other food production without depending on hybrid varieties or chemicals which would require outside purchases. Whoever encourages and tries to convince villagers to make these changes must know the area well and gain real trust from villagers (a job which is not easy for outsiders).

Cambodian rural life has been unstable and insecure for a long time. Now it is still unstable but in a different way; it is changing rapidly, largely because of outside influences. It is not easy to envisage the real consequences of these influences and to my eye many of them contain negative impacts on village life. It is vital to know that right now Cambodian villages have good prospects of rebuilding their communities. This opportunity should never be missed. In order to take this chance, the most important thing is to regain villagers' confidence in themselves. Given their knowledge, abilities and the lives as described above this self-confidence is exactly what they deserve. Nevertheless, in reality this is eroding again, this time because of outside influences. It is 'development' which makes me very concerned.

¹ Told by Meas Nee, scribed by Joan Healy, 1995, Towards Restoring Life: Cambodian villages, JSRC Phnom Penh, July; pp. 17

² Grant Curtis, 1989, Cambodia: A Country Profile; pp. 12~19

Lonely Planet, 1996, Lonely Planet Destinations: Cambodia, www.lonelyplanet.com.au, Dec.

³ Thla Suon, Huon-Nam Ing (Ed), 1996, "People", Cambodian Auto-Genocide Page, Dec.; pp. 1

⁴ SRD, 1994, The SRD National Programme Framework for Rural Development in Cambodia, SRD, Kingdom of Cambodia, Jan.; pp. 3

⁵ Willem van de Put, early 1990's, Empty Hospitals, Thriving Business, Medicines Sans Frontieres; pp. 8

⁶ Told by Meas Nee, scribed by Joan Healy, 1995, Towards Restoring Life: Cambodian villages, JSRC Phnom Penh, July; pp. 18

⁷ Told by Meas Nee, scribed by Joan Healy, 1995, Towards Restoring Life: Cambodian villages, JSRC Phnom Penh, July; pp. 52

Chapter 3

Concepts of Development

The governments of 'developed' countries and UN agencies 'help' in the 'development' of 'developing' countries. Although in the recent years we have become less generous in giving 'assistance' to 'developing' countries because of economic situations in 'developed' countries^a, we still take this direction of assistance flow for granted. As described in a previous chapter, I found that people in Tropeang Chuuk Village were capable of making their lives just like people in any 'developed' country. As argued above, a 'development' project would even effectively increase people's dependency spoiling the self-reliance of which they are capable. Nevertheless, outsiders come to villages to do 'development' or help them 'develop'. Why do they tell other people what to do? Why do 'developed' countries give 'development assistance' to 'developing' countries? In this chapter the concepts of and rationales for development among some major players in development are examined. More specifically, policy documents from the United Nations Development Programme, three donor governments and a 'developing' country government are used^b. The donor governments include Canada, Japan and the United States of America. The Cambodian government is chosen as the 'developing' country.

^a Official Development Assistance (ODA) from Development Assistance Committee (DAC) member countries hit a peak in 1992, and the following two years saw less ODA flows. (OECD, 1996, Development Co-operation 1995 Report, OECD; pp. A4)

^b According to the UN, "States have the primary responsibility for the creation of national and international conditions favourable to the realization of the right to development". (United Nations Department of Public Information, 1995)

3-1. Development (Donors' Version)

The Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations states,

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom¹.

This, the UN's general mandate of promoting social progress and better standards of life, is not particularly written regarding the development of 'developing' countries.

Nevertheless, this view is shared among the UN's development-related agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

According to its Statement of Purpose, "UNDP promotes human development. We seek to create opportunities through which people's abilities, talents and creativity can find full expression. We aspire to a world where people can better their lives in a manner of their own choosing"². In 1991, the UNDP director defined development as widening the range of people's choices - in health, education, income and employment³.

Donor governments are also influential players in 'development' since they contribute funds to UN development agencies and engage in bilateral development programmes. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) says "development is about people"⁴. According to the CIDA, development is to "create an environment that nurtures the tremendous creative potential of the human race, and frees it to build the better world we all want to see"⁵. The CIDA claims that this can be done through the alleviation of poverty, which it describes as lack of choice, lack of access, lack of

opportunity and underdevelopment of human potential. It lists the symptoms of poverty as repression, epidemics, famine, desertification and ecological degradation⁶. The CIDA also relates 'the better world' to 'social and economic progress'⁷. Although the CIDA claims that what it does is on a humanitarian basis, in 'Canada in the World' in 1995 it is said that international assistance programming is justified by the fact that it "connects the Canadian economy to some of the fastest growing markets of the world"⁸. Although even before this statement, business motivation had been occupying an important part of development assistance, as its domestic economy faced a difficult time, the Canadian government shifted the gravity center of development assistance further to the business side in its publicity as well as in the actual activities.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), whose government has been the world biggest donor in recent years, lists three basic elements in their development assistance. They include;

- cultivating human resources
- building up social and economic infrastructure
- meeting basic human needs⁹

The JICA claims that these are important because these are preconditions for economic prosperity. They admit that there are aspects in development other than economy, however, those issues have to be tackled so that the base for economic development is strengthened. For example, when the JICA talks about 'environmental conservation', "sustainable economic development can only be achieved by taking full account of environmental considerations, not by focusing narrowly on growth objectives."¹⁰

Although this is a common view in the government development community, for the JICA this ‘sustainable economic development’ is *the* central idea of development.

The JICA also claims that in addition to conventional development assistance (i.e. to help build up economic infrastructure in a rather broad sense for purely economic purpose) it is facing new challenges which include the environment, population and HIV/AIDS, children’s health, and women in development (WID). For these allegedly new issues, too, the economic implications of them are emphasized. It also says that the most important values in its development assistance are “support for democratization and introduction of a free market”¹¹. It claims that these two are “common values shared in the world community”¹².

‘Participation’, ‘people centred development’ is getting certain attention in the JICA and its affiliates. For example Japan’s Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development (FASID, one of the JICA’s affiliate institutions) says “In the absence of a strong sense of participation of local inhabitants it would be difficult to efficiently run and maintain the community property created by such an aid project”¹³. This may sound fine. However, one might sense that although people are admitted as an important part of projects, projects (or physical infrastructures) are the center and not the ‘local inhabitants’.

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) claims it “works in five principal areas crucial to achieving US foreign policy objectives:

- promoting economic growth
- advancing democracy

- delivering humanitarian assistance to victims of famine and other natural and man-made disasters
- protecting public health and supporting family planning
- protecting the environment”¹⁴

The USAID also explains that US development assistance consists of two parts; economic assistance and humanitarian assistance. According to the USAID, among the above five principles, all but assistance to disaster victims are considered to constitute economic assistance. This categorization shows that several aspects in development such as democracy and human rights are considered essential because they contribute to sustainable economic development rather than being valuable in themselves as development.

The USAID states, “Faltering democracies and persistent oppression pose serious threats to the security of the United States and other nations. Stable democratic nations make the best trading partners for the United States and help promote international security.”¹⁵ Their emphasis is on the economy and security of their own country in this interconnected world and primarily not the people in a recipient country. The USAID also says that it promotes democracy because it is an American value.¹⁶

For the US government “development is good business”¹⁷. Development is, by and large, an investment in ‘developing’ countries for economic return to Americans for now and in the near future. For now, since “close to 80 percent of USAID’s grants and contracts go directly to American firms and non-governmental organizations”¹⁸ and “by law, nearly all US assistance must be spent on American-produced items”¹⁹, it is “creating US jobs and advancing American economic well-being”²⁰. For the future, because “poor countries are poor customers; countries moving up the development

ladder are much better customers”. Therefore, naturally the USAID lists the promotion of the free market as an essential part of development assistance.

3-2. Concepts in Donors’ Development

The Preamble to the UN Charter describes what should be valued in this human world, i.e. human rights, dignity and worth of the human person, equal rights of men and women. Development should lead us to the realization of these values. Discussions on development need to dig into the contents of these values in order that their realization can be pursued. As shown above, however, development agencies tend to jump into focusing on the implementation of development. Without serious contemplation on these values, these development agencies’ development policies have ended up being dominated by a materialistic orientation, particularly with the economy at its centre. Because modernists (including donor development agencies) tend to believe that human rights in the modern world are *the* universal human rights and the way we live now in the modern world is *the* way people can achieve those human rights, we do not see much of a necessity to discuss the contents of human rights, dignity and equality from their foundation. Instead they assume that modern development is the only means to propagate those ‘universal’ human values.

From the donor governments’ documents it is clear that economic return for the constituencies of the donor government is a major reason for ‘help’ing ‘development’ of ‘developing’ countries, and what ‘development’ should be. In other words, one of the definitions of ‘development’ can be “donor supported activities in a ‘developing’ country

in order to reap economic benefit (and secondly security) for the donor constituencies”.

These governments do talk about a more humane version of development assistance. If it is extracted from the documents, it can be summarized as ‘cultivating and freeing human potential to make social and economic progress while paying attention to environment’. Social and economic progress is associated with human rights, democracy, a free market economy, a better standard of living, and widening choices.

This may seem to be a widely or even universally acceptable concept of development. Nevertheless, the discussions on the contents remain superficial and dominated by modern ideology without critical thinking. For example, education is considered as an important means to cultivate human potential. Since human potential is very complex and diverse, education must also be complex and diverse. But, as an example, the JICA claims “Japan also provided aid to upgrade quality of education”²¹ From this simple sentence it is hard to sense that the JICA pays serious attention to the complexity of the quality of education in this diverse world. The JICA offers a simple and clear answer. “In combination with the effects of the latter type of aid (aid in education), the improved economic infrastructure has attracted foreign direct investment to these countries ... resulted in expansion of their exports.”²² In their view the production of competent workers is what education is. In their ‘development’, ‘education’ means building schools, equipping them with teachers and teaching materials such as blackboards and computers, and sending children to those buildings called “school”. This ‘education’ primarily follows modern (or Western) educational philosophy. Does this implementation really cultivate and free human potential or mould

diverse human identities into modernity and cultivate their potential within that mould? The development agencies do not seem to be interested in the diversity of human potential. Given the serious social and ecological problems that modernity has created and its inability to deal with those problems, enhancing the production of modern beings and narrowing human diversity may not be a good idea.

These days development agencies do not forget to mention environmental consideration and people-centred development. For example, the UNDP says “sustainable human development is development that not only generates economic growth but distributes its benefits equitably; that regenerates the environment rather than destroying it; that empowers people rather than marginalizing them”²³. Although the above development agencies emphasize equality among people, the protection of environment and empowerment of people, they have to say that these must come with economic growth. It is often said that the goal of development is ‘social and economic progress’. But does economic progress have to be paralleled with social progress as development agencies claim? To make social progress, if certain economic progress is necessary, it will have to be done anyway. So why do they have to separately and explicitly state ‘economic progress’? While these agencies advocate for ‘economic progress’, they talk little about how global free markets, which they all praise, are marginalizing people economically; how powerful modern development, which is their business, is marginalizing people culturally; and do not show how they will realize both economic growth and regeneration of the natural environment at the same time. They emphasize environmental degradation in ‘developing’ countries (and consequently global

environmental degradation) attributing it to poverty and population growth, while grossly neglecting the tremendous harm that a “successful” economy in ‘developed’ countries is causing to the planet.

The alleged contents of ‘progress’ such as democracy, free market economy and standard of living are not discussed in detail and particular modern assumptions are made. Modern (Western) nation state-based democracy^c, in which numbers dictate the decision-making in principle, is universal as often assumed in ‘development’^d? Free market ideology is a powerful tool to ply open a foreign economy and/or change a foreign economic system to a money (modern) economic system for the sake of donor constituencies as is well expressed in their documents. Enhancing a free market economy may benefit only a few people (usually already advantaged) in a ‘developing’ country while widening the gap between those advantaged and others or even harming the disadvantaged^e. The elements in ‘standard of living’ are diverse and vary widely from one place to another. Even basic elements may not be the same the world over, and include more than material conditions, as implied in Cambodian development policies

^c We should not forget that many nation states in ‘developing’ regions themselves, for example in Africa, were brought into existence by former Western colonizers. The modern world forced them to accept a new and foreign container (nation state) and may still be forcing a foreign content; modern nation state democracy. These two, nation state and modern democracy, may make a good pair if the former has the right foundation. But if this container is not appropriate it may be rather natural that the content does not function properly.

^d For example, the UNDP (1992 Annual Report) says “human development also involves the quest for economic and political freedom. It is the pursuit of free and fair elections ...”. It is clear that the UNDP assumes that (large scale) election-based democracy is the only form of democracy.

^e Although some people are well aware of the negative effects of a free market economy, a director of the UNDP said in its 1993 Annual Report “What we can do today with technology - properly deployed and managed - is also extraordinary. Added to this are major opportunities that have arisen through the globalization of markets and the spread of democracy. A world without want is within our grasp”. There is no caution for the negative effects of the global free market here. It is also forgotten that, driven by the global free market, technology seems to be becoming even harder to control. Also driven by the global free market, ‘world without want’ does not seem to offer any satisfaction to ‘development’.

which are discussed later. It can be difficult for outsiders to know those elements in a foreign land. Similarly, various peoples may see the contents of progress and their priorities differently. Is it not technological ‘progress’ that has greatly contributed to global environmental crises and high unemployment (especially those without ‘high-tech’ skills) in ‘developed’ countries? Given the deep and rarely scrutinized modern universalism in the modern world and in ‘development’, pursuing ‘progress’ in a different culture may well constitute little more than cultural^f invasion.

Although the humane version of the concept of development stated above may seem reasonable, if looked at closely there is a lot of room for reconsideration. The 1993 UNDP Annual Report says “(UNDP) has an important role to play in narrowing the gap between what is and what could be”²⁴. If we use this ‘narrowing the gap between what is and what could be’ as a definition of development, development will gain a space to right what has gone wrong with past development, but only if we can think of ‘what could be’ in very imaginative ways. Nonetheless, if we consider ‘what could be’ is the proximity of the current ‘developed’ world, or the vector towards ‘what could be’ is the same one to which the current ‘developed’ world is pointing, the results will be socially and ecologically problematic.

3-3. Rationales for ‘Development’ and Philanthropy

From the above official documents, common rationales for development assistance are summarized as follows:

^f ‘Culture’ should be considered as the people’s world view, the way people see the world around them and not merely the local variety of people’s appearance.

- By assisting developing countries the donor country develops markets for their goods and services for now and in the future;
- Humanitarian considerations: assisting the less fortunate is a Canadian tradition (CIDA)²⁵, moral duty of the rich to help the poor (JICA)²⁶, modest assistance to the less fortunate an American value (USAID)²⁷;
- In this interdependent world, problems in developing countries such as environmental degradation, political instability, HIV/AIDS, or economic stagnation, are not contained in a country or a region, but they are transferred and affect developed countries as well;
- Environmental degradation threatens the future of the world and in developing countries the eradication of poverty is the most sure way to control environmental degradation. It is not only charity any more.

Although these are the reasons for development assistance, the first rationale, business motivation, often dictates others⁸.

In 'humanitarian consideration' CIDA and USAID mention 'less fortunate'. There are peaceful communities in 'developing' countries. Nevertheless, they may become targeted by 'development' projects. Are they really less fortunate? The Cambodian people may have been unfortunate because of the wars (a human-made disaster fueled by factional and international rivalry), but the automatic extension of this notion to their whole life may be a mistake. JICA talks about rich and poor. In this diverse world this single dimensional classification by economy may not always be a

⁸ Some examples of economy over other issues are huge loans and other forms of assistance to the Indonesian government from the Japanese government (Indonesia had always been the biggest bilateral recipient until China replaced the position) despite the incidents in East Timor, and the EU's failure to impose sanctions on Nigeria for human rights abuses because both countries are oil rich.

valid yardstick. When it comes to 'environment', the donor community (including UN agencies as mentioned above) lacks fairness in presenting contributions to environmental degradation by the 'developed' and 'developing'.

People, i.e. tax payers, in donor 'developed' countries share the above rationales to various extents when they pay the bill for 'development' in 'developing' countries. The mixture of those rationales varies from one person to another depending on whom you ask. Among the rationales, people's philanthropy (base for humanitarian motivation above) is such a precious thing. It makes this human world worth living. Because of this, people make donations to NGOs and endorse their government's spending in foreign countries which may not have apparent returns to the country^h.

However, what mobilizes philanthropy in people's hearts as far as foreign assistance is concerned? For example, messages from development NGOs in their TV ads emphasize that while viewers are living in this affluent society there is another place where people are all poor and lives are only miserable. Their messages insist that lives in 'developing' countries are something which deserve compassion from the rich. Although this may be an extreme example (which is very unfortunate given the roles NGOs play in development field), the widely perceived and persistent image of the 'developing' world in 'developed' countries is little different from their messages (partly thanks to those effective ads). Many people in 'developed' countries know that people in 'developing' countries generally do not have as much money as people in 'developed' countries or social infrastructure similar to 'developed' countries, and conclude that lives in the

^h For example, each Canadian contributed average C\$97 to Canada's Official Development Assistance in 1993. "[F]or every dollar spent on the ODA program (in 1992/1993) it is estimated that approximately C\$0.5 returns to Canada directly". (Brian Tomlinson, 1995, in The Reality of Aid 1995, Eurostep; pp. 39)

'developing' world must be miserable and deserving of pity. Potential donors see the ways of lives of peoples in the 'developing' world in a negative light. This is the fundamental difference from, say, when Canadian people made donations to the flood victims in Manitoba. The former is for changing life by outsiders, while the latter is for recovering life to its original state and the original state does not carry any stigma. Consequently 'development projects' supported by such compassionate reasoning are destined to follow this negative image of the 'developing' world. In those projects people in communities are called passive 'beneficiaries' and treated as incapable in their lives, an assumption which does not match what I saw in a Cambodian village and many other 'developing' communities. Projects and people from the 'developed' world decide what 'beneficiaries' need because those outsiders are believed to know better than local people, 'beneficiaries' are supposed not to know their own needs, as well articulated in a project assistant's remark in Chapter 1. They are not treated as equal to the people in the 'developed' donor countries who give philanthropic supports. They are deprived of equal dignity with donors in this picture. Therefore this philanthropy could even be a source of hypocritical satisfaction in the mind of donors, people in 'developed' countries, given the fact that their affluent lifestyle contributes to the vast exploitation of human and natural resources in 'developing' countries and the destruction of global ecosystem.

There are other questions regarding philanthropy and 'development'. First, even if one had the good will to care about people in 'development', it is possible for an outsider to know people's real needs? Second, what is the legitimacy for outsiders to intervene in others' lives? A 'development project' through foreign aid is such a strange

thing that one day people whom the local residents have never seen and who are from a different culture far away suddenly show up and tell the residents 'you are poor and miserable, we are going to help you because we are richer and know more'. Have the local residents asked them to help? Since the bombardment of modern development is so pervasive in every part of the world, and the 'developed' world looks so good that people in 'developing' communities are effectively convinced to believe they are poor and their lives are miserable; they may have asked outsiders for help when outsiders came to conduct interviews, who looked mighty in the eyes of local people because of their image of the 'developed' world. In either case outsiders come to communities to 'help'.

Because of diverse nature of human lives it is difficult for outsiders to gain an in-depth understanding of the lives of others in order to make a positive intervention. Even if a development project tries to be culturally sensitive in seeing lives in a foreign land, it may not be able to abandon the idea of the superiority of the 'developed' world, the idea that has brought it to the 'developing' country to 'help' 'development' in the first place. If the belief that 'modernity' is a universal norm superior to cultures is maintained, it will hinder the learning. And what makes it legitimate for outsiders to intervene in others' lives, or to impose their beliefs? This legitimacy, too, seems to be derived from the belief in the superiority and universality of modernity. Based on this superiority and universality, we, modern believers, believe we can help peoples in the non-modern world, we believe we can do something good for themⁱ. In reality, we may be just helping modernity, one of many cultures, gobble up other worlds.

ⁱ One of significant characters of modern development is its self-righteousness. Although it is a conqueror, it does the business of conquering with a justification that it is for the sake of people who are actually to be conquered. There have been many conquerors in human history, but many of them knew that they were

3-4. Development ('Developing' Country's Version)

The Cambodian government, one of the recipient governments, sees development as:

- to improve the standard of living throughout the country
- to preserve Cambodia's heritage and culture
- to preserve the natural resources and the environment
- and to promote human rights and social justice through a fair and impartial judicial system²⁸

In order to materialize the above objectives Cambodia's Secretary for Rural Development

(SRD) identifies its tasks as follows:

1. to provide the basic needs of all impoverished Cambodians
2. to safeguard the right of the rural population to participate in plans affecting their futures

These goals can be achieved by:

1. raising the standard of living for the rural population through improving access to:
 - primary health care
 - education
 - adequate nutrition
 - clean water and sanitation

doing it for themselves. Modern development believes that what it is doing is right and for the conquered. Modern world has, as a matter of fact, admitted some mistakes. Such as racial discrimination, gender discrimination, unrestricted pollution of environment, and unrestricted exploitation of natural resources. When I raised the last two mistakes to some aid workers, they all said that we had learned lessons so now we could tell others the lessons. In this it was assumed that others would (and should) follow the same path which 'developed' countries took (a guide is useful when the other follows a path the guide knows, if the guide knows at all). Modern world assumes that every time it admits a mistake it is right this time. It remains right until it admits a next mistake, and the moment when it admits the next mistake it is right again, i.e. it is always right because it is *the* norm.

The other day (Oct. 17, 1997) at a seminar at Saint Mary's IDS, the guest speaker was talking about aboriginal people's empowerment. When he mentioned reviving a traditional culture, someone pointed out the gender inequality of the traditional culture. He replied that he would want to see the modernization of that particular part of the aboriginal culture. The person who asked the question did not further question. No one else questioned his remark. Why do we believe modernization is *the* answer to oppression such as gender discrimination? In the seminar indigenous cultures were treated as if they were static, when they should evolve they were assumed to follow modernization, the path of a certain culture. Indigenous cultures are not static. They always change just like the modern culture is evolving. But many people parallel modernism and traditionalism, associating traditionalism with cultures in the non-modern world. This categorization does not match the reality. Tradition exists in both modernity and non-modernity. Evolution is inherent in both non-modernity and modernity, though the pace of evolution is different. When a non-modern culture evolves (including positive changes), it does not have to be 'modernization'. Given the serious modern problems, what we have to do is to find ways to realize positive changes outside the fatal modern culture, but many unquestionably believe that modernization is *the* way to make such changes happen.

a safe environment
income-generating opportunities
other resources provided by the government, international agencies and
NGOs

2. recognizing and strengthening the dignity, wisdom and self-determination of Cambodians living in rural areas
3. promoting the human rights of the rural poor, and ethnic minorities
4. promoting the quality of rural life through encouragement of cultural traditions and practices, religious observances and participation in the democratic process at the local, provincial and national levels
5. re-establishing the rightful place of the monks and the Buddhist faith within the rural societies where appropriate and encouraging tolerance of other faiths where needed.²⁹

The Cambodian development philosophy shows us the quite down-to-earth insights of Cambodian development. This philosophy suggests that Cambodian development is the improvement of lives both by material and social justice, guided by Cambodia's heritage and culture with the participation of local people, without sacrificing the natural resources and the environment.

Considering their history, for Cambodians the importance of human rights and social justice cannot be exaggerated. There are no fancy calls for 'economic growth', as far as SRD is concerned. They aim at the improvement of the standard of living, as any other country does, nevertheless, they are not looking particularly at industrialization or the global free market as a launching pad. Rather than facilitating modernization, SRD's strategy in the document is to rehabilitate rural communities. They see their culture's strength in its ability to regenerate vital communities as being equally important with material conditions which they have to rely on in their daily lives^j. The SRD assumes "recognizing and strengthening the dignity, wisdom and self-determination of

^j I have certain reservations regarding the word "preserve" as in "to preserve Cambodia's heritage and culture", since culture is always a dynamic creation of human beings.

Cambodians living in rural areas”^{30 k} as one of its mandates. Donor governments, too, often mention respecting local people’s ability, but the SRD shows the importance far more clearly and strongly.

They also emphasize the importance of religion. This is noteworthy in terms of the incorporation of a non-material component (spirituality) in development^l. This can be a more holistic approach to development. It is increasingly becoming clear, especially in ‘developed’ countries, that human beings can not live by bread alone. Depleting natural resources and ever-emerging social problems will make us realize that development by material (i.e. economy) is not achievable. Therefore it will be interesting to watch the development of the country in this regard^m.

3-5. Development as Widening Choices

Cambodia’s inclusion of spirituality in development policy provides an interesting view point as it suggests a different approach to development. A director of UNDP gave a definition of development, ‘widening choices’³¹. CIDA lists lack of choices as one of the definitions of poverty. Certainly, if one looks at lifestyles in ‘developing’ countries

^k This remark reminds me of my observations in Tropeang Chuuk. Although I found that people in the community were capable in their lives, they felt a deep powerlessness and lacked confidence partially because of recent ‘development’. Therefore it was a pleasant surprise for me to find this down-to-earth philosophy for their development. At the same time, given the circumstances of such a powerful modern development paradigm, the lack of confidence and feeling of inferiority to the modern world, and the once destroyed social structure, pursuing Cambodian development as stated above is not an easy road. I hope that having a philosophy like this one will eventually make a difference.

^l In this case the government is talking about Buddhism. When a government brings up religion, one might see its intention as another means of the state to control people. However, given the weakened organizational power of the Buddhist community in Cambodia due to severe oppression during the Khmer Rouge regime and negligence under the SOC, I see more moral value in this clause than as a governing tool for the state.

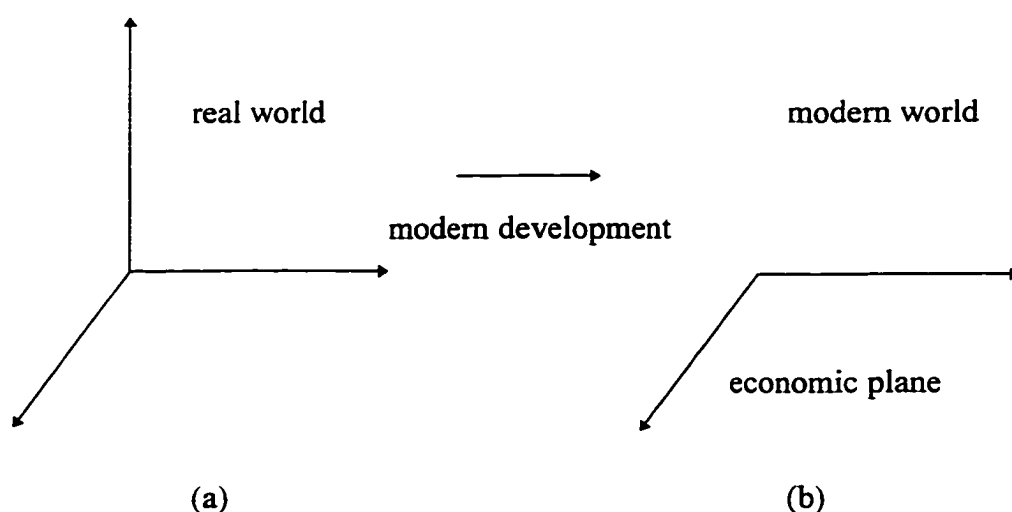
^m Because ethnic and religious groups form complex relations, it is a difficult but important task for the government to guarantee equality among different groups (which is stated in the SRD’s document).

and 'developed' countries s/he might think that modern development gives us more options to choose from. There are not only numerous apparent material options which can be found in a huge shopping complex, but also, for example, educational options, occupational options and so on. But many of these options are offered to serve someone's business interest rather than truly serving the welfare of people. And these options, which appear non-material, too, are too often measured in terms of economy (e.g. educational options are often considered for potential income the future job fetches). Enlarging options in the modern world is often made at the cost of nature and this cost is felt by peoples disproportionately (in many cases economically weaker (consequently politically as well) people do not benefit but pay the cost). Widening material choices unlimitedly may not be possible and may not even be desirable since it will push people to become more materialistic. But many who agree with the definition, 'widening choices', do not give consideration to these factors.

Furthermore, modern development does not allow us to choose lifestyles other than a modern lifestyle, i.e. economy-(material-) centred lifestyle. Suppose the real world and the real options are three dimensional (which sounds natural, Fig. 3-1 (a)). The options allowed in a modern lifestyle are only in a two dimensional world, only on a plane, an economic plane (Fig. 3-1 (b)). On a plane it may seem that we can enlarge options unlimitedly because the area is unlimited. You can choose whatever you want as long as it is on the economic plane. On the economic plane everything is reduced to a monetary value and this monetary value is the only yardstick. Values other than monetary value are not counted or somehow translated to monetary values without being properly

valued. For example, staying poor (i.e. not having much money) is stigmatized, being honest or having good friends is not as valued as being rich^a. Now, given its ecological implication, having more money and consequently consuming more should be devalued. But once one gets used to living on the economic plane, s/he might not even notice the existence of other options. As a result we equate development with economic development or in other words, modern development. But if someone, who knows that the world is three dimensional, looks at this, the one would tell us that we are only limiting our potential.

Fig. 3-1 Real world and Modern world



In this light the significance of Cambodian development policy is clearer. By giving priorities to local culture (i.e. people's own world view) and spirituality, it is more

^a One might say that being honest or having friends is also valued. But they do not appear in development indices or in our textbooks at IDS, which proves, as a matter of fact, they are not as valued as money in the modern world and in 'development'.

holistic than donors' development policies. It potentially adds the third dimension to its development, while donors see development in a two dimensional way.

After all, the question 'what is development' comes down to where you stand, whose view you take. If one's concern is being a tax payer in a donor country, asking development to have economic return to his/her country may be a legitimate demand for him/herself. If one is working for a multinational corporation it may be reasonable for him/herself to have development work for an open free market. If one's concern in development is people in 'developing' and 'developed' countries and future generations what s/he sees in development must be different from the above two people. Everyone has a different view of development (and the world) depending on who s/he is^o. Therefore everyone's voice must be heard and considered without imposing a dominant idea, i.e. dominant modern development.

¹ UN, 1995, Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs, UN, New York; pp. 1

² UNDP, 1996, UNDP home page, UNDP, Oct.; pp. 2

³ UNDP, 1991, 1991 UNDP Annual Report, UNDP; pp. 1

⁴ CIDA, 1987, Sharing Our Future, CIDA; pp. 36

⁵ CIDA, 1987, Sharing Our Future, CIDA; Statement by Monique Landry

⁶ CIDA, 1987, Sharing Our Future, CIDA; pp. 23

⁷ CIDA, 1988, Canadians and International Development, CIDA; pp. 2

⁸ The government of Canada, 1995, Canada in the World, The government of Canada; pp. 40

⁹ JICA, 1996, "Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct.; pp. 6

¹⁰ JICA, 1996, "Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct.; pp. 7

¹¹ JICA, 1996, "Challenges to Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct.; pp. 5

¹² JICA, 1996, "Challenges to Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct.; pp. 5

¹³ JICA, 1996, "Evaluation Report on Japan's Economic Cooperation", JICA home page, JICA, Oct.; pp. 25

¹⁴ USAID, 1996, "What is USAID, Why Foreign Aid, About USAID", USAID home page, Oct.; pp. 1

¹⁵ USAID, 1996, "Advancing Democracy, Why Foreign Aid, About USAID", USAID home page, Oct.; pp.1

^o One might think that relativism here would undermine my whole argument. Relativism may not be a good strategy in an academic paper, but the arguments in this paper are what I believe. As I argue for alternatives, neither modernity, which many see as 'the' way without questioning, nor 'the' alternative, it is essential for me to maintain this 'relativism'. Recognizing different world views must be one of the essentials in a search for alternatives.

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- ¹⁶ USAID, 1996, "Advancing Democracy, Why Foreign Aid, About USAID", USAID home page, Oct.; pp. 1
- ¹⁷ USAID, 1996, "Development is Good Business, Why Foreign Aid, About USAID", USAID home page, Oct.; pp. 1
- ¹⁸ USAID, 1996, "What is USAID, Why Foreign Aid, About USAID", USAID home page, Oct.; pp. 1
- ¹⁹ USAID, 1996, "Development is Good Business, Why Foreign Aid, About USAID", USAID home page, Oct.; pp. 1
- ²⁰ USAID, 1996, "Introduction, Why Foreign Aid, About USAID", USAID home page, Oct.; pp. 4
- ²¹ JICA, 1996, "Contributions made by Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct., pp. 1
- ²² JICA, 1996, "Contributions made by Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct., pp. 1
- ²³ UNDP, 1993, 1993 UNDP Annual Report, UNDP; pp. 3
- ²⁴ UNDP, 1993, 1993 UNDP Annual Report, UNDP; pp. 1
- ²⁵ CIDA, 1987, Sharing Our Future, CIDA; pp. 9
- ²⁶ JICA, 1996, "Japan's ODA", JICA home page, JICA, Oct.; pp. 5
- ²⁷ USAID, 1996, "Why Foreign Aid", USAID home page, USAID, Oct.; pp. 2
- ²⁸ Secretary of Rural Development, 1994, The SRD National Programme Framework for Royal Development in Cambodia, Secretary of Rural Development, Kingdom of Cambodia, Jan.; pp. 2
- ²⁹ Secretary of Rural Development, 1994, The SRD National Programme Framework for Royal Development in Cambodia, Secretary of Rural Development, Kingdom of Cambodia, Jan.; pp. 2-3
- ³⁰ Secretary of Rural Development, 1994, The SRD National Programme Framework for Royal Development in Cambodia, Secretary of Rural Development, Kingdom of Cambodia, Jan.; pp. 3
- ³¹ UNDP, 1991, 1991 UNDP Annual Report, UNDP; pp. 1

Chapter 4

Development Index

4-1. UNDP's Human Development Index and its Validity

UNDP's Human Development Index is one of most publicized indices regarding development and widely perceived as a measurement of development. It is a multifaceted index unlike the simplistic GDP per capita. The UNDP claims "the index (UNDP's Human Development Index) is best seen as a measure of people's ability to live a long and healthy life, to communicate and to participate in the life of the community and to have sufficient resources to obtain a decent living"¹. It consists of three indicators; life expectancy, educational attainment (as the combination of literacy and overall school enrollment with weight of 2:1), and income employing the premise of diminishing return. In this section it is discussed how well these indicators measure development, i.e. our lives.

Life expectancy is included in the Index to represent 'a long and healthy life', and certainly longevity represents a long life. Having a long life probably is a good thing in itself, especially since life expectancy at birth also reflects very sad deaths such as child mortality and maternal mortality. However, what if some people have to live in loneliness, though for a long time, without a community in which people could nurture organic human relations, or are severed from nature? What if old people are not valued because of the rapidly changing society? What if lives are sustained in hospitals without the dignity we deserve? If one is always bombarded with too much commercialism and always feels dissatisfied with whatever s/he has, despite the fact that her/his possessions

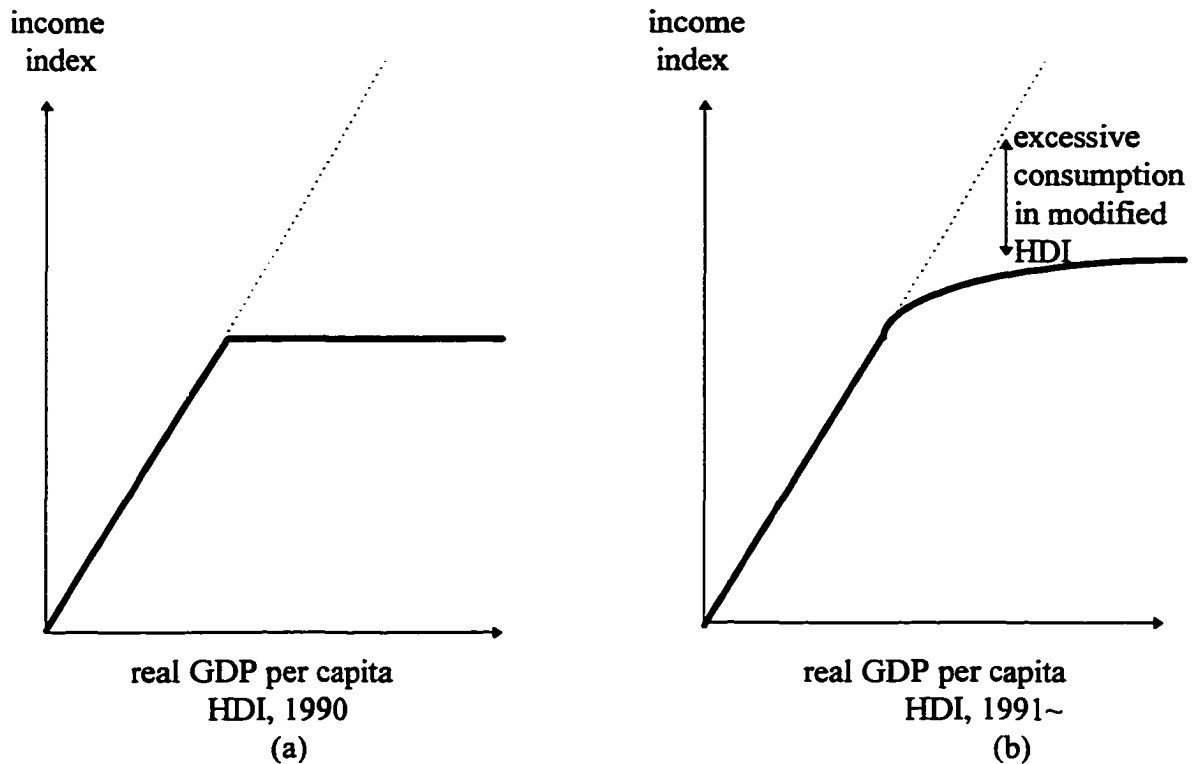
are ever growing, is this a healthy life? There are many factors in a healthy life that we have to ask ourselves before compiling numbers.

They let literacy and school enrollment represent the ability to communicate and to participate in the life of a community. Although literacy is important in our lives, there are cultures which have been functioning without a written form of communication. If, as they say, this is to measure the ability to communicate and to participate in the life of the community, non-scriptive communication is perfectly valid for this purpose and practices such as oral history should have been given a consideration. But the UNDP adopted only the written form of literacy without a question. For the UNDP, school enrollment means formal school enrollment. Wisdom outside the formal school system and the ways it is passed on are not counted. As described in the second chapter, formal school education, which is mostly based on modern education (or, in other words, modeled from Western education) and may have little cultural relevance in a different locality, can be an efficient tool to destroy non-modern non-industrial cultures and communities. This is a contradiction to what they claim. While they, on one hand, say 'to measure the ability to communicate and to participate in the life of the community', on the other hand they use a tool to destroy the community as the measurement.

Last but not least, they use income to represent the ability to have sufficient resources to obtain a *decent* living. Surely in the Human Development Report (HDR) 1990 they gave a zero weight to income above the poverty line to serve this purpose (Fig. 4-1 (a)). Its message was that there was a certain level of income which enabled a decent living, or in other words as far as the decent material standard of living is concerned, a

certain level of income was necessary and *enough* (and a higher level of income with resulting consumption does not need to be counted as human development). However, in 1991 they decided to remove the zero weight to ‘help discriminate among rich countries’². Although the actual increases are small since they adopted diminishing return (Fig. 4-1 (b)), this is apparently a departure from, and contradicts, what they say in the above statement. In the 1990 Report, which was their first Human Development Report, the message was clear that to achieve human development it was necessary to secure certain physical resources, but it was not necessary to use unlimited amounts of physical resources to achieve the goal of human development. This was actually a remarkable decision. The next year this cap was removed. They decided this time to return to endorsing unlimited economic growth. It is not difficult to imagine that there was pressure on the editing economists of the HDR from ‘developed’ countries and middle income countries as not serving their interest. ‘Developed’ countries were again justified in their never-ending pursuit for more and more affluence which they had been good at. For ‘developing’ countries and their peoples, they were told in 1990 that they might find their own way to develop and still they would be classified as ‘developed’. Next year the new message (or an old message) from UNDP told them “there is no other way to develop but economic growth or you will forever remain underdeveloped”.

Fig. 4-1 Income index



In the 1990 HDI the income index (adjusted real GDP per capita) increases as real GDP per capita increases until the real GDP per capita reaches the cap (average income). A real GDP per capita over the cap does not get any extra points in the index. With the 1991 HDI after the GDP per capita reaches the threshold (average income) the income index (adjusted real GDP per capita) still increases following the assumption of diminishing return. Countries with more consumption are rewarded with more points in the index.

Or, more fundamentally, while life expectancy essentially reflects physical conditions in people's lives, why does a human development index have to have GDP as one of its components? Also while the HDI counts consumption as development, it does not consider the cost on nature and people and sustainability of consumption^a

^a If these are considered 'development' may look like this:

There is a criminal gang family in your neighbourhood. The family members do anything to feed their greed. They let their people steal, threaten, kill, smuggle, exploit, or whatever you name. They have tacit influence on police and politicians. Of course, their life is 'good'. They live in a huge mansion guarded by their security. Their children get an excellent education. One of the children has a Ph.D. Another is a lawyer. All work for the family. They are clever and use their ability to build their wealth even more. The family has its own clinic and hires a doctor. So the grandparents are very well for their age. Unfortunately, there are some other families like this in your city. One day the mayor, who is of

course under strong influence of these families, gave three people the award of model citizens of the year 1996. Surprisingly or maybe not, all of them were from those criminal families. The mayor says "These citizens are good. They give their children good education. They take care of their parents' health well. Most importantly they spend a lot of money in the city and contribute to the city's economy. You, fellow citizens, learn from them. They are your model." The list reads as follows.

1. Canada
2. USA
3. Japan

Some people complained about the list, "Why should those gang families be praised?" Those families didn't listen but announced "We are selling membership, so join the family. The membership is not cheap. But if you buy it we will teach you our techniques, how to steal, threaten, kill, smuggle, exploit, whatever you name. Sounds awful? Don't bother. You want to become rich like us, don't you? So no need to wonder. But hurry. As you know we can not all be thieves. There've got to be people to be robbed. (Actually the families did not tell the truth here. They've got a sort of a time machine to steal from the future. So if all people in the current world join their criminal business they still have someone to rob, at least for a while.) And you know, the police and politicians are on our side. Buy the membership. You'll be rich." Someone asked "But what if too many people join your business? We will have too few to rob." The gang boss answered "Don't worry. Probably while we are alive it'll be all right". The guy was still not convinced "How about my children?" The boss said "Who cares! I'll do whatever I want to. Let me tell you if you don't know, this is a basic right. I will never live a miserable life like yours." Then the boss remembered that he had to sell the franchise and tried to make a friendly smile "Don't worry too much now. You don't want to miss the chance. It will be OK. Anyway, I can help you to become rich. It is sweet, you know. You come to our side. We will be all happy".

This city is called 'international community' or 'global village'. The mayor's office is called 'UNDP'. And the three gang families among others have been mentioned already.

Interpretation

"They let their people steal, threaten, kill, smuggle, exploit, ...": To support our affluent lifestyle we, modern believers living in the modern centre, get whatever we want. Surely we pay money, but we don't care how the money is distributed or do not think of a possibility that the sacrifice is far greater than the monetary compensation or we are extracting something money should not buy. When a foreign government forces the extraction of resources (natural and human) in its country for the regime and us, we turn a blind eye (i.e. give virtual support). We may say something, but it is too often nothing but just a gesture, we wouldn't change our lifestyle which is the basic cause for the oppression in this instance. We are very much involved in 'steal, threaten, kill, smuggle, exploit...' See a discussion on a protest against Nigeria and the Sable Gas Project which took place in Halifax in the next chapter.

"they live in a huge mansion the grandparents are very well for their age.": Our material conditions (including formal education and health care) are certainly good, built on whatever we want to have from wherever available, using any means.

"1. Canada, 2. USA, 3. Japan": These are the top three countries in the UNDP's Human Development Index 1996. As the Canadian government is proud of, we often take this as a kind of official recognition for the best countries in the world.

"I will never live a miserable life like yours. ... Don't worry too much now. You may miss the chance. It will be OK. Anyway, I can help you to become rich. It is sweet, you know. You come to our side.": Some of us may have realized that our future generations may not have a future if we continue to live like this. If we live much less affluently somehow like people in 'developing' countries live, our children may do better. But most of us never want to lose this comfortable lifestyle, so we have come up with a good alternative to ease our guilt. Take all people to our side and make this lifestyle the norm. That is 'development'.

When we were kids teachers taught us stealing was bad. But the modern world and 'development' come with vast exploitation of people and nature all over the world. In the 'development' community not only the same principle is not confirmed, but the opposite is not questioned from its foundation, is accepted and encouraged. Development indices support this trend by producing narrow, simplistic and materialistic

In addition to validity problems with each of the three indicators of the HDI, the overall index is faulty because it assumes human development only consists of material conditions. Other conditions such as mental or spiritual conditions are not considered at all. People are quick to say to me “Of course not, they are not precisely measurable. If they are incorporated somehow, it will bias the objectivity of the index and it won’t be scientific any more. The HDI is reliable exactly because it employs objectively measurable indicators.” It is this rationality that narrows and distorts our view of reality and weakens our ability to tackle reality. This is dangerous rationality.

4-2. A Modified HDI

As discussed above the UNDP’s HDI is not following its own statement of purpose (though it is fairer than the simplistic GDP per capita). It does not measure what it claims to measure. In this section a modified index is constructed in an attempt to make the Index fairer and closer to the reality with small modifications to allow comparison with the original HDI.

The modified HDI consists of four indicators; life expectancy, literacy, adjusted real income with diminishing return, and difference between real income and adjusted real income.

First, the ability to live a long and healthy life. Life expectancy alone does not tell much about how healthy someone’s life is from the holistic point of view, however,

but supposedly legitimate scientific data. The principle we were taught before should have some credit, should it not? Alternative development indices in this chapter are constructed in an attempt to accommodate this principle and different values than modern values.

it certainly tells how long people live at average. Also it reflects very sad deaths such as child mortality, maternal mortality and other early deaths. Peacefulness (more of physical peacefulness than spiritual one, though) contributes to longer life expectancy. Life expectancy is adopted in the modified index as in the HDI.

Second, the ability to communicate and to participate in the life of a community. Although UNDP uses formal education and literacy to measure this ability, as I observed in a Cambodian village, dominant formal education also carries negative effects on communities. It tends to narrow people's views and choices only into the modern lifestyle. Therefore school enrollment is omitted from the modified version. Actually in the 1990 HDR it was only literacy, and school enrollment was not used. School enrollment was first included in 1991 to discriminate 'developed' countries from less developed countries just like the income cap was removed. It is true that using the written form of literacy excludes the spoken form of literacy, but because it is difficult to find information on the spoken form of literacy covering these many countries and meaningfully quantifying it, I compromise to use the written form of literacy here. (Unlike myself, UNDP might be able to afford the challenge of measuring non-scriptive forms of literacy, if they wish.)

Third, the ability to have sufficient resources to obtain a decent living. The same method of calculating adjusted real income as in the 1996 HDR was employed here. However, this will be discounted as explained in the following.

Fourth, a discounting factor is added to the HDI. As the UNDP's HDI employs the premise of diminishing return in the calculation of adjusted real income, the economists at the UNDP admit that as income increases a part of the income is spent for

purposes other than necessity to obtain a decent living. This part of spending of income, i.e. luxury, as well as spending for a decent living, consumes resources including material resources and produces wastes. Given the limited carrying capacity of the planet, it is quite fair to add another indicator to discount countries who consume more than necessary. It makes the index much fairer reflecting some of the reality in which we are not paying the due bill under the name of development. Here the adjusted real income is taken as the necessary consumption to maintain a decent living following the 1996 Report. The fourth component (excessive consumption index) is therefore calculated as the difference between the real income (PPP) and the adjusted real income for each country in the 1996 Report. The following Table 4-1 summarizes each indicator.

Table 4-1 Construction of HDI and modified HDI

UNDP's HDI in 1996 Report ³	Modified HDI
For the construction of the index, fixed minimum and maximum values have been established for each of these indicators: - Life expectancy at birth: 25 years and 85 years - Adult literacy: 0% and 100% - Combined enrollment ratio: 0% and 100% - Real GDP per capita (PPP\$): PPP\$ 100 and PPP\$ 40,000.	In order to allow comparison between the two indices the minimum and maximum values in the index calculations are kept same as UNDP's HDI.
1. life expectancy index $= \frac{\text{a country's life expectancy} - 25}{85-25}$	1. life expectancy index $= \frac{\text{a country's life expectancy} - 25}{85-25}$
2. educational attainment index $A = \frac{\text{a country's percentile literacy} - 0}{100-0}$ $B = \frac{\text{a country's overall enrollment} - 0}{100-0}$ educational attainment index = (2A+B)/3	2. educational attainment index $= \frac{\text{a country's percentile literacy} - 0}{100-0}$

<p>3. Adjusted real GDP per capita (PPP\$) index</p> <p>The average world income of PPP\$ 5,711 is taken as the threshold level (y^*), and any income above this level is discounted using the following formulation based on Atkinson's formula for the utility of income:</p> <p>real GDP per capita (PPP\$) = y adjusted real GDP per capita = $W_{(y)}$ $W_{(y)} = y^*$ for $0 < y < y^*$ $= y^* + 2[(y-y^*)^{1/2}]$ for $y^* \leq y \leq 2y^*$ $= y^* + 2(y^{1/2}) + 3[(y-2y^*)^{1/3}]$ for $2y^* \leq y \leq 3y^*$</p> <p>.....</p> <p>$W_{(40000)} = 6040$ $W_{(100)} = 100$ adjusted real GDP per capita index $= \frac{W_{(y)} - 100}{6040 - 100}$</p>	<p>3. Adjusted real GDP per capita (PPP\$) index</p> <p>The average world income of PPP\$ 5,711 is taken as the threshold level (y^*), and any income above this level is discounted using the following formulation based on Atkinson's formula for the utility of income:</p> <p>real GDP per capita (PPP\$) = y adjusted real GDP per capita = $W_{(y)}$ $W_{(y)} = y^*$ for $0 < y < y^*$ $= y^* + 2[(y-y^*)^{1/2}]$ for $y^* \leq y \leq 2y^*$ $= y^* + 2(y^{1/2}) + 3[(y-2y^*)^{1/3}]$ for $2y^* \leq y \leq 3y^*$</p> <p>.....</p> <p>$W_{(40000)} = 6040$ $W_{(100)} = 100$ adjusted real GDP per capita index $= \frac{W_{(y)} - 100}{6040 - 100}$</p>
	<p>4. excessive consumption index</p> <p>Since $W_{(y)}$ is the part of income utilized for obtaining sufficient resources the consumption from the remaining part may be considered excessive. Therefore;</p> <p>excessive consumption index $= (y - W_{(y)}) / ((40000 - 6040) - (100 - 100))$</p>
<p>The HDI is a simple average of the life expectancy index, educational attainment index and the adjusted real GDP per capita (PPP\$) index. It is calculated by dividing the sum of these three indices by 3.</p> <p>HDI = $\frac{\text{life index} + \text{education index} + \text{income index}}{3}$</p>	<p>Given the limited carrying capacity of the nature the excessive consumption index is discounted in the modified HDI as the following formula:</p> <p>modified HDI = $\frac{\text{life} + \text{education} + \text{income} - \text{consumption}}{3}$</p>

The list of the modified HDI is shown in Table 4-2. The highest ranking country in the modified HDI among the top ten countries in the 1996 HDI is the Netherlands at 27th. Canada and Japan are at 49th and 41st respectively, almost at the bottom of the high human development category (the UNDP classifies countries with HDI of 0.8 and

higher as countries with high human development). United States is in the middle human development category (HDI between 0.5 and 0.8). The excessive consumption of 'developed' countries is an important component of this index. For example, Japan with the highest literacy (99%, like most of 'developed' countries) and the longest life expectancy in the world can not climb up this development ladder any more as long as its people stick to their over-consuming lifestyle, i.e. modern development.

Table 4-2 Modified HDI

Modified HDI rank	HDI rank	country	literacy index	life index	income index	consumption index	modified HDI
1	31	Costa Rica	0.95	0.86	0.94	0.00	0.92
2	41	Slovakia	0.99	0.77	0.93	0.00	0.90
3	32	Uruguay	0.97	0.79	0.95	0.02	0.90
4	21	Greece	0.94	0.88	0.96	0.09	0.90
5	40	Antigua and Barbuda	0.96	0.82	0.89	0.00	0.89
6	46	Hungary	0.99	0.73	0.95	0.01	0.89
7	43	Panama	0.90	0.80	0.95	0.00	0.88
8	37	Czech Rep	0.99	0.77	0.96	0.08	0.88
9	33	Chile	0.95	0.82	0.96	0.09	0.88
10	30	Argentina	0.96	0.79	0.96	0.07	0.88
11	38	Trinidad and Tobago	0.98	0.78	0.96	0.08	0.88
12	10	Spain	0.98	0.88	0.98	0.23	0.87
13	52	Thailand	0.94	0.74	0.95	0.02	0.87
14	29	Korea Rep. of	0.98	0.77	0.97	0.11	0.87
15	47	Fiji	0.91	0.78	0.91	0.00	0.87
16	49	Colombia	0.91	0.74	0.95	0.00	0.86
17	48	Mexico	0.89	0.77	0.96	0.04	0.86
18	44	Venezuela	0.91	0.78	0.96	0.07	0.86
19	55	Latvia	0.99	0.73	0.83	0.00	0.85
20	23	Cyprus	0.94	0.87	0.98	0.24	0.85
21	25	Barbados	0.87	0.84	0.97	0.14	0.85
22	19	Ireland	0.99	0.84	0.98	0.27	0.85
23	56	Poland	0.99	0.77	0.77	0.00	0.84
24	28	Malta	0.87	0.85	0.97	0.17	0.84
25	35	Portugal	0.86	0.83	0.97	0.14	0.84
26	24	Israel	0.95	0.86	0.98	0.27	0.84

27	4	Netherlands	0.99	0.88	0.98	0.34	0.84
28	6	Finland	0.99	0.85	0.98	0.31	0.84
29	9	Sweden	0.99	0.89	0.98	0.35	0.84
30	45	Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.90	0.75	0.96	0.10	0.84
31	16	United Kingdom	0.99	0.86	0.98	0.33	0.83
32	14	New Zealand	0.99	0.84	0.98	0.32	0.83
33	8	Iceland	0.99	0.89	0.98	0.37	0.83
34	11	Australia	0.99	0.88	0.98	0.37	0.83
35	53	Malaysia	0.82	0.77	0.96	0.07	0.83
36	57	Russian Federation	0.99	0.71	0.78	0.00	0.83
37	20	Italy	0.97	0.88	0.98	0.36	0.82
38	60	Seychelles	0.88	0.77	0.82	0.00	0.82
39	26	Bahamas	0.98	0.80	0.98	0.30	0.82
40	7	France	0.99	0.87	0.98	0.39	0.82
41	3	Japan	0.99	0.91	0.98	0.43	0.82
42	13	Austria	0.99	0.86	0.98	0.39	0.81
43	18	Germany	0.99	0.85	0.98	0.38	0.81
44	12	Belgium	0.99	0.86	0.98	0.40	0.81
45	58	Brazil	0.82	0.69	0.91	0.00	0.81
46	61	Belarus	0.98	0.74	0.7	0.00	0.81
47	5	Norway	0.99	0.87	0.98	0.42	0.81
48	62	Bulgaria	0.93	0.77	0.71	0.00	0.80
49	1	Canada	0.99	0.88	0.98	0.44	0.80
50	17	Denmark	0.99	0.84	0.98	0.42	0.80
51	54	Mauritius	0.82	0.76	0.98	0.19	0.79
52	15	Switzerland	0.99	0.88	0.98	0.49	0.79
53	64	Ecuador	0.89	0.73	0.72	0.00	0.78
54	65	Dominica	0.94	0.78	0.62	0.00	0.78
55	74	Romania	0.97	0.75	0.61	0.00	0.78
56	22	Hong Kong	0.92	0.89	0.98	0.46	0.78
57	72	Kazakhstan	0.98	0.74	0.61	0.00	0.78
58	68	Estonia	0.99	0.74	0.59	0.00	0.77
59	39	Bahrain	0.84	0.78	0.98	0.28	0.77
60	34	Singapore	0.90	0.83	0.98	0.39	0.77
61	59	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	0.74	0.64	0.95	0.01	0.77
62	36	Brunei Darussalam	0.87	0.82	0.98	0.37	0.77
63	70	Jordan	0.85	0.72	0.72	0.00	0.76
64	75	Suriname	0.93	0.76	0.6	0.00	0.76
65	79	Cuba	0.95	0.84	0.49	0.00	0.76
66	2	USA	0.99	0.85	0.99	0.55	0.76
67	67	Belize	0.70	0.81	0.76	0.00	0.76

68	66	Iran, Islamic Rep. of	0.66	0.71	0.89	0.00	0.75
69	73	Saint Vincent	0.91	0.77	0.58	0.00	0.75
70	77	Grenada	0.98	0.77	0.51	0.00	0.75
71	27	Luxembourg	0.99	0.85	0.99	0.57	0.75
72	81	Lithuania	0.98	0.76	0.51	0.00	0.75
73	76	Saint Lucia	0.82	0.78	0.62	0.00	0.74
74	80	Ukraine	0.95	0.74	0.53	0.00	0.74
75	69	Algeria	0.59	0.71	0.92	0.00	0.74
76	85	Paraguay	0.92	0.75	0.55	0.00	0.74
77	71	Botswana	0.68	0.67	0.86	0.00	0.74
78	83	Korea, Dem. People's Rep. of	0.95	0.77	0.49	0.00	0.74
79	84	Turkey	0.81	0.69	0.69	0.00	0.73
80	78	Tunisia	0.64	0.72	0.82	0.00	0.73
81	88	Samoa (Western)	0.98	0.71	0.49	0.00	0.73
82	86	Jamaica	0.84	0.81	0.52	0.00	0.72
83	89	Sri Lanka	0.90	0.78	0.49	0.00	0.72
84	90	Turkmenistan	0.98	0.67	0.51	0.00	0.72
85	87	Dominican Rep.	0.81	0.74	0.6	0.00	0.72
86	63	Saudi Arabia	0.61	0.75	0.98	0.20	0.72
87	42	United Arab Emirates	0.78	0.82	0.98	0.44	0.71
88	51	Kuwait	0.77	0.83	0.98	0.46	0.71
89	94	Uzbekistan	0.97	0.74	0.41	0.00	0.71
90	93	Armenia	0.99	0.80	0.33	0.00	0.71
91	91	Peru	0.88	0.69	0.54	0.00	0.70
92	92	Syrian Arab Rep.	0.69	0.71	0.69	0.00	0.70
93	99	Kyrgyzstan	0.97	0.74	0.37	0.00	0.69
94	96	Azerbaijan	0.96	0.76	0.35	0.00	0.69
95	98	Moldova, Rep. of	0.96	0.71	0.38	0.00	0.68
96	95	Philippines	0.94	0.69	0.42	0.00	0.68
97	97	Lebanon	0.92	0.73	0.4	0.00	0.68
98	50	Qatar	0.79	0.76	0.99	0.50	0.68
99	101	Georgia	0.95	0.80	0.28	0.00	0.68
100	102	Indonesia	0.83	0.63	0.53	0.00	0.66
101	103	Guyana	0.98	0.67	0.34	0.00	0.66
102	104	Albania	0.85	0.78	0.35	0.00	0.66
103	100	South Africa	0.81	0.64	0.51	0.00	0.65
104	105	Tajikistan	0.97	0.76	0.22	0.00	0.65
105	82	Oman	0.35	0.75	0.97	0.13	0.65
106	108	China	0.80	0.73	0.38	0.00	0.64
107	107	Maldives	0.93	0.62	0.35	0.00	0.63
108	113	Mongolia	0.82	0.65	0.34	0.00	0.60

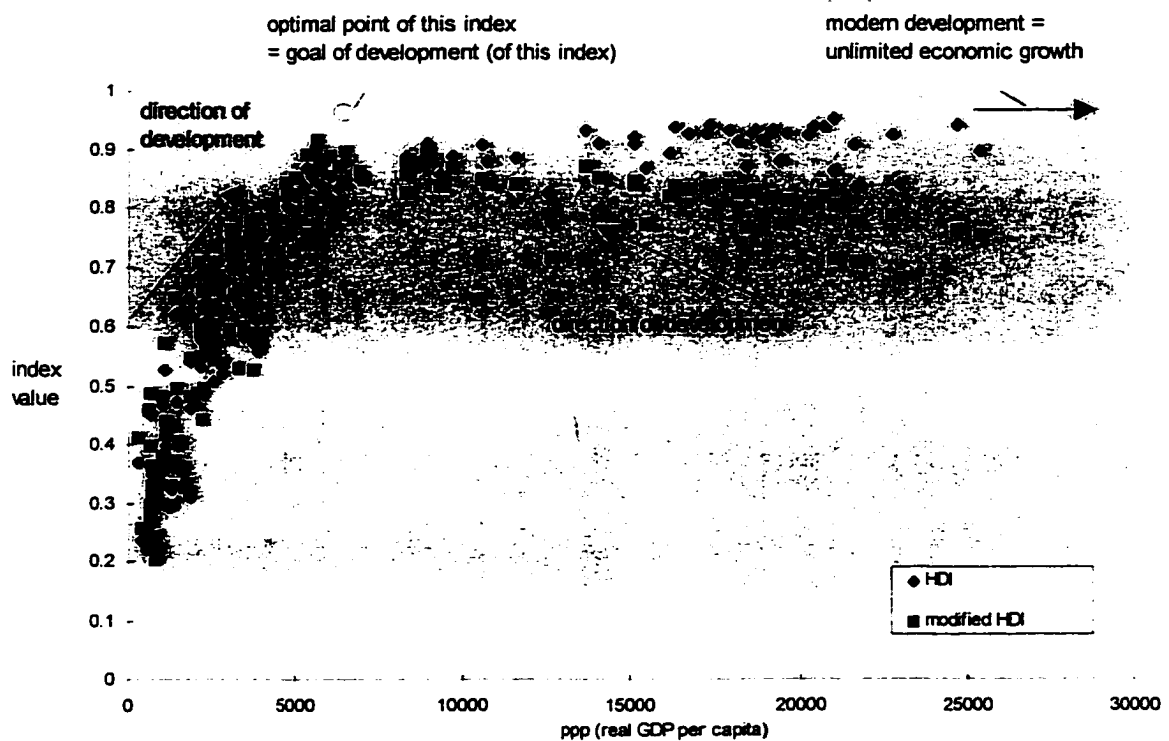
109	111	Bolivia	0.82	0.58	0.41	0.00	0.60
110	109	Iraq	0.56	0.68	0.56	0.00	0.60
111	115	El Salvador	0.70	0.70	0.38	0.00	0.59
112	110	Swaziland	0.75	0.55	0.48	0.00	0.59
113	112	Guatemala	0.55	0.67	0.56	0.00	0.59
114	114	Honduras	0.71	0.72	0.34	0.00	0.59
115	106	Egypt	0.50	0.65	0.62	0.00	0.59
116	118	Solomon Islands	0.62	0.76	0.36	0.00	0.58
117	117	Nicaragua	0.65	0.70	0.37	0.00	0.57
118	119	Vanuatu	0.65	0.67	0.4	0.00	0.57
119	121	Vietnam	0.93	0.68	0.11	0.00	0.57
120	120	Gabon	0.60	0.48	0.63	0.00	0.57
121	124	Zimbabwe	0.84	0.47	0.34	0.00	0.55
122	122	Cape Verde	0.68	0.67	0.29	0.00	0.55
123	126	Papua New Guinea	0.71	0.52	0.41	0.00	0.55
124	125	Congo	0.72	0.44	0.45	0.00	0.54
125	123	Morocco	0.42	0.64	0.53	0.00	0.53
126	116	Namibia	0.40	0.57	0.61	0.00	0.53
127	127	Cameroon	0.61	0.52	0.36	0.00	0.50
128	128	Kenya	0.76	0.51	0.22	0.00	0.50
129	133	Myanmar	0.82	0.55	0.09	0.00	0.49
130	129	Ghana	0.62	0.52	0.32	0.00	0.49
131	130	Lesotho	0.70	0.60	0.15	0.00	0.48
132	131	Equatorial Guinea	0.76	0.39	0.29	0.00	0.48
133	132	Sao Tome and Principe	0.60	0.70	0.08	0.00	0.46
134	134	Pakistan	0.36	0.61	0.35	0.00	0.44
135	136	Zambia	0.76	0.39	0.17	0.00	0.44
136	135	India	0.51	0.60	0.19	0.00	0.43
137	139	Comoros	0.56	0.52	0.17	0.00	0.42
138	141	Zaire	0.75	0.45	0.03	0.00	0.41
139	138	Lao People's Dem. Rep.	0.55	0.44	0.23	0.00	0.41
140	137	Nigeria	0.54	0.43	0.24	0.00	0.40
141	144	Tanzania, Rep. of	0.66	0.45	0.09	0.00	0.40
142	140	Togo	0.49	0.50	0.15	0.00	0.38
143	148	Central African Rep.	0.56	0.41	0.16	0.00	0.38
144	145	Haiti	0.43	0.53	0.16	0.00	0.37
145	146	Sudan	0.44	0.47	0.21	0.00	0.37
146	143	Bangladesh	0.37	0.52	0.2	0.00	0.36
147	150	Madagascar	0.46	0.53	0.1	0.00	0.36
148	142	Yemen	0.41	0.42	0.25	0.00	0.36
149	147	Cote d'Ivoire	0.38	0.43	0.26	0.00	0.36

150	149	Mauritania	0.37	0.45	0.25	0.00	0.36
151	155	Uganda	0.60	0.33	0.14	0.00	0.36
152	152	Rwanda	0.58	0.37	0.11	0.00	0.35
153	158	Liberia	0.36	0.51	0.13	0.00	0.33
154	153	Senegal	0.31	0.41	0.27	0.00	0.33
155	156	Cambodia	0.35	0.45	0.19	0.00	0.33
156	157	Malawi	0.55	0.34	0.1	0.00	0.33
157	154	Benin	0.34	0.38	0.26	0.00	0.33
158	161	Guinea-Bissau	0.53	0.31	0.13	0.00	0.32
159	160	Guinea	0.34	0.33	0.29	0.00	0.32
160	159	Bhutan	0.40	0.43	0.12	0.00	0.32
161	164	Djibouti	0.44	0.39	0.11	0.00	0.31
162	163	Chad	0.46	0.38	0.1	0.00	0.31
163	151	Nepal	0.26	0.48	0.15	0.00	0.30
164	162	Gambia	0.37	0.34	0.18	0.00	0.30
165	165	Angola	0.43	0.36	0.1	0.00	0.30
166	166	Burundi	0.34	0.42	0.1	0.00	0.29
167	167	Mozambique	0.38	0.36	0.09	0.00	0.28
168	168	Ethiopia	0.34	0.38	0.05	0.00	0.26
169	169	Afghanistan	0.30	0.31	0.12	0.00	0.24
170	172	Somalia	0.25	0.37	0.1	0.00	0.24
171	171	Mali	0.28	0.35	0.07	0.00	0.23
172	170	Burkina Faso	0.18	0.38	0.11	0.00	0.22
173	173	Sierra Leone	0.30	0.24	0.13	0.00	0.22
174	174	Niger	0.13	0.36	0.12	0.00	0.20

Since the UNDP's HDI takes the average world income as a threshold in the calculation of diminishing return, discounting the consumption index means discouraging consumption above the average income, i.e. this modified index consequently stands for global zero economic (modern economic) growth. Fig. 4-2 shows the relationship between real GDP per capita and the UNDP's HDI and modified HDI. As shown here, the UNDP's HDI encourages unlimited economic growth as it recognizes higher income (and consequent higher material consumption) as higher human development. The modified HDI shows that there is a limit to economic growth

in achieving high human development. (Under the above assumptions the highest human development index can be obtained with the adjusted real GDP per capita at \$5756, indicated with a circle in the figure.)

Fig. 4-2 Direction of development



This tells us that given the limited material resources, development has to achieve its basic social requirements, such as health care and education, with limited material economy, i.e. limited consumption. For the countries which have already exceeded the limit it is necessary to find ways to lower its material economic activities without harming social achievements. Of course in pure economic terms, since the reason for lowering economic activities is the necessity to lower the material consumption, it looks possible to lower the material consumption to some extent by shifting the industrial

structure from heavily material consuming industries to less material consuming industries in a country. Actually this is happening in many 'developed' countries as the information industry and the service industry (more precisely 'formal' service industry) grow. Nevertheless, as long as we do not change our lifestyle, our material consumption will simply be fed by outside sources other than domestic industries in 'developed' countries and it does not make any difference to the global aggregate of consumption. More importantly the harm of development and the lifestyle that development has promoted is not limited to ecological problems.

At this stage one might want to argue "it is still true that UNDP's HDI shows the development of human abilities with those indicators". Two questions to this opinion need to be mentioned. First, the philosophy in the measurements of human abilities is based on modernity and is not universal^b. Second, the consequence of having higher and higher income, i.e. over consumption, is simply harmful. Praising people like us who are committing mother*ucking and infanticide (in much more moderate terms, robbing nature and future generations) is criminal.

The modified HDI is fairer than the original, but it should be emphasized that these indices are of only limited use. Because; 1) these figures are national aggregates and do not reflect varieties of realities within a country^c; 2) numbers can carry only tiny

^b Counting formal school education while neglecting other forms of education is one example. Making GDP per capita as one of pillar measurements, i.e. money centred thinking, is another example.

^c For example, UNDP's Report provides other indices including income disparity or gender disparity in literacy within countries, however, these are not considered in the Human Development Index. Also there are countries where income disparity worsened while HDI index improved, such as Indonesia during 1980s. (UNDP, 1993, Human Development Report 1993, UNDP; pp. 170, UNDP, 1996, Human Development Report 1996 UNDP; pp. 170)

bits of reality. Most of reality is unmeasurable. While the UNDP's HDI represents only narrow interests in development, the modified HDI adds an essential dimension to how to see development. Nonetheless, it shows only the measurable part and a rather materialistic view of reality (i.e. it measures things, such as physical health and literacy, which is increasingly taught in schools, that money can play a significant role to improve). Ecological crisis, which is incorporated in the modified HDI in a simple way, is only a part of the danger that is inherent in dominant modern development.

As indicated by arrows pointing to an optimal point in Fig. 4-2, the modified HDI shows us a direction in development (in this case, based on a global zero economic growth model) which is clearly different from the UNDP's HDI whose direction is unlimited economic growth. Unlike the UNDP's HDI, which requires unlimited monetary economic growth, modified HDI is an achievable human development index. This does not mean at all that development stops there. It shows only basic (and rather physical) requirements, and it is only the beginning of the new creation of development which can not be plotted on a sheet of paper. With the dominant development this is much simpler, because the dominant development treats development and human beings in a one-dimensional way, i.e. the dimension of economy. Its assumption is simple; money can buy anything, your satisfaction, happiness, anything. Therefore, as far as money (GDP per capita) is plotted, development can be discussed and planned on a piece of paper. But in reality, nature, human beings, and therefore development are not one-dimensional. In this real world we can not afford to be 'idealistic' like the UNDP's economists or those who believe in dominant modern development. We have to be

realistic, since we are living in a real world, not in an ideal, simply reduced world such as the economic world.

4-3. Another Development Index (An Example)

While the UNDP's HDI tries to express human development by the aggregates of health, education and income, since income is (or should be) a mere medium to obtain certain living conditions, it should be possible to construct development indices without an income indicator. Although as mentioned above indicators are of limited use, another development index is constructed in this section in order to help see development from a different point of view. The important aspect of this exercise is not the precise order in the resulting ranking of countries, but for everyone to think about development in its essence and to see how the result could be different from the dominant development categories.

First, basic conditions necessary for a life which I would want to live. I came up with five components here: 1) equality, 2) health, 3) ability to participate in the life of a community and in a larger sphere when necessary, 4) degree of community^d, and 5) the cost of our living on nature.

1) Equality is expressed using indicators from three spheres; political equality, economic equality and equality in daily life. Although these three respectively involve various factors, because of data availability and in order to assume comparability for as

^d I believe that the existence of a community as a more or less complete living unit in which people have organic relations is essential in our lives, since we are seeing various social problems which large state organizations are not able to handle, such as jobless growth and the coarse social welfare net, or problems caused by the extinction of communities.

many countries as possible, the indicators were selected as follows; for political equality, the gender ratio at ministerial, sub-ministerial, and parliament level in a government; for economic equality, the income ratio between richest 20% and poorest 20%; for equality in the daily life, the gender gap in literacy.

2) Health is measured by using life expectancy and maternal mortality. Life expectancy is used to indicate general health conditions of all people. I believe that reproduction has great importance for our being and reproductive process should be well taken care of.

3) The ability to participate is measured by literacy, though being aware of its limitations as discussed above.

4) The community component consists of two parts; the combination of recent migration and urban population, and propagation of TV. My assumption for the former is that less migration in a country tends to retain communities more than in a country with greater migration, and urban populations tend to have less degree of community than rural populations. The assumption for the latter is that TVs are a good tool to destroy community lives. In a UNDP report it was said “Globally marketed consumer products and the media are superimposing a uniform and stultifying view of the world. ... They (TVs) can also be a new form of cultural domination through the incentives and values they inculcate”⁴ and “One study in the United States suggests that the spread of television, which now takes up 40% of the average American’s free time, is responsible for a sharp reduction in voluntary activity”^{5 e}.

^e In Japan as TVs entered family life less and less children played outside. This coincided with my childhood, as more TVs spread communication even within a family ceased. In a Cambodian village having TVs at some homes has begun to change the villagers’ thinking and lifestyle. Evening chatting, their social

5) The damage we are causing on nature is measured by energy consumption and excessive consumption which was calculated in the modified HDI.

Each of five components is calculated by taking the simple mean of its indicators. An index is obtained by subtracting the fifth component from the total of the first four components and then dividing by four (Table 4-3)^f.

function, is being replaced by sitting behind a TV set. The world they see through the tube looks much better than theirs. Now people think their life is miserable. Younger people want to leave the village for urban life.

One might ask "How well does the lack of TV sets represent the strength of a community?" One might become doubtful of this indicator as a component of a development index. However, I believe that community is an important aspect in our lives and therefore in development, and given observations such as the above, it seems that this indicator can be a development indicator. Still one might ask me to be more scientific or it does not mean anything. But I rather want to argue that it is actually not clear how well income, which is often the core indicator (at least one of core indicators) in a development index, is related to development. Income and 'development' or modern development may have a close relation (exactly because 'development' has been conceptualized around material progress), but the relation between income and development is quite different. Nevertheless, because we, modern believers, are dipped into the powerful modern development mind-set, we do not feel strange to find an income component in a development index.

At my defense one of my classmates asked me, "I was surprised to find Sri Lanka at the top. The human rights records of the country are very bad. Why didn't you include human rights records in the index?" Surely I could and it is a good idea. But why don't we say, when we look at UNDP's HDI or the distinction of 'developed' and 'developing' which is based on GDP per capita, "I was surprised to find Canada, USA, Japan at the top of the list. Why can countries which are so wasteful and having poverty problems though they are rich countries be 'developed' countries?"

^f The base data here were obtained from the following statistics:

UNDP, 1996, Human Development Report 1996, UNDP

OECD, 1989, External Trade and Income Distribution, OECD

UN Statistical Office, 1992, 1992 Energy Balances and Electricity Profiles, UN

UN Statistical Office, 1992, National Account Statistics, 1992, UN

Europa, 1995, The Far East and Australasia, Europa

Europa, 1995, The Middle East and North Africa, Europa

Europa, 1993, South America, Central America and the Caribbean, Europa

Table 4-3 Indicators in the alternative development index

indicator		component		development index
(average percentage of women in ministerial, sub-ministerial positions and parliament)/50	a	equality (a+b+c)/3	k	alternative development index (k+l+m+n-o) 4
female literacy/male literacy	b			
32.1-(income of richest 20%/income of poorest 20%) 32.1-1	c			
life expectancy index from HDI	d	health	l	
(1800-maternal mortality)/1800	e	(d+e)/2		
literacy	f	ability	m	
((1-migration ratio)+(1-urban population ratio))/2	g	community	n	
(100-number of TVs per 100 people)/100	h	(g+h)/2		
(16878-commercial energy consumption)/16878	i	consumption	o	
excessive consumption index from modified HDI	j	(i+j)/2		

The result of this index is shown in Table 4-4. Because of limited data availability indices are obtained only from 55 countries and these may tend to be countries with relatively good social infrastructure (this is why they could produce all data needed here), however, it still shows a different picture from the HDI.

Table 4-4 Alternative development index 1 (with consumption index)

alternative index 1 rank	HDI rank	country	equality index (k)	health index (l)	ability index (m)	community index (n)	consumption index (o)	alternative index 1
1	89	Sri Lanka	0.66	0.85	0.90	0.91	0.50	0.71
2	31	Costa Rica	0.66	0.91	0.95	0.78	0.49	0.70
3	9	Sweden	0.88	0.94	0.99	0.53	0.55	0.70
4	52	Thailand	0.60	0.81	0.94	0.93	0.49	0.70
5	5	Norway	0.89	0.93	0.99	0.55	0.59	0.69
6	56	Poland	0.70	0.88	0.99	0.65	0.44	0.69
7	19	Ireland	0.69	0.92	0.99	0.68	0.57	0.68
8	6	Finland	0.79	0.92	0.99	0.53	0.52	0.68
9	95	Philippines	0.69	0.77	0.94	0.79	0.49	0.68
10	46	Hungary	0.70	0.86	0.99	0.58	0.45	0.67
11	4	Netherlands	0.79	0.94	0.99	0.52	0.56	0.67
12	108	China	0.61	0.84	0.80	0.89	0.49	0.66
13	10	Spain	0.71	0.94	0.98	0.56	0.56	0.66
14	32	Uruguay	0.63	0.87	0.97	0.64	0.49	0.65

15	11	Australia	0.69	0.94	0.99	0.54	0.56	0.65
16	1	Canada	0.73	0.94	0.99	0.47	0.54	0.65
17	49	Colombia	0.62	0.84	0.91	0.70	0.48	0.65
18	14	New Zealand	0.69	0.91	0.99	0.54	0.56	0.64
19	20	Italy	0.68	0.94	0.97	0.60	0.62	0.64
20	17	Denmark	0.78	0.92	0.99	0.49	0.62	0.64
21	12	Belgium	0.70	0.93	0.99	0.52	0.58	0.64
22	15	Switzerland	0.67	0.94	0.99	0.62	0.67	0.64
23	7	France	0.65	0.93	0.99	0.59	0.60	0.64
24	48	Mexico	0.59	0.85	0.89	0.68	0.48	0.63
25	29	Korea Rep. of	0.62	0.85	0.98	0.57	0.49	0.63
26	16	United Kingdom	0.63	0.93	0.99	0.55	0.58	0.63
27	18	Germany	0.72	0.92	0.99	0.48	0.59	0.63
28	33	Chile	0.55	0.89	0.95	0.65	0.52	0.63
29	44	Venezuela	0.60	0.86	0.91	0.63	0.48	0.63
30	100	South Africa	0.56	0.76	0.81	0.82	0.44	0.62
31	53	Malaysia	0.56	0.86	0.82	0.73	0.50	0.62
32	87	Dominican Rep.	0.60	0.84	0.81	0.72	0.49	0.62
33	43	Panama	0.42	0.88	0.90	0.75	0.49	0.62
34	3	Japan	0.68	0.95	0.99	0.47	0.63	0.61
35	91	Peru	0.58	0.77	0.88	0.71	0.49	0.61
36	102	Indonesia	0.62	0.63	0.83	0.84	0.49	0.61
37	2	USA	0.72	0.92	0.99	0.39	0.59	0.61
38	34	Singapore	0.56	0.91	0.90	0.56	0.57	0.59
39	124	Zimbabwe	0.55	0.58	0.84	0.86	0.49	0.59
40	114	Honduras	0.51	0.80	0.71	0.81	0.50	0.58
41	71	Botswana	0.47	0.77	0.68	0.87	0.49	0.57
42	78	Tunisia	0.52	0.81	0.64	0.77	0.49	0.56
43	111	Bolivia	0.57	0.61	0.82	0.75	0.49	0.56
44	69	Algeria	0.51	0.81	0.59	0.77	0.48	0.55
45	58	Brazil	0.39	0.78	0.82	0.62	0.48	0.53
46	129	Ghana	0.57	0.55	0.62	0.87	0.50	0.53
47	136	Zambia	0.57	0.43	0.76	0.81	0.50	0.52
48	135	India	0.52	0.64	0.51	0.90	0.49	0.52
49	112	Guatemala	0.38	0.78	0.55	0.85	0.50	0.51
50	134	Pakistan	0.47	0.71	0.36	0.88	0.50	0.48
51	143	Bangladesh	0.51	0.52	0.37	0.93	0.50	0.46
52	123	Morocco	0.45	0.65	0.42	0.80	0.49	0.46
53	137	Nigeria	0.49	0.44	0.54	0.83	0.50	0.45
54	168	Ethiopia	0.53	0.30	0.34	0.95	0.50	0.40
55	149	Mauritania	0.40	0.47	0.37	0.75	0.50	0.37

One might suspect that the difference comes almost solely from discounting consumption, so, another index is shown in Table 4-5 without discounting consumption. (Because less data were required than in Table 4-4, the number of countries is 56 in Table 4-5.)

Table 4-5 Alternative development index 2 (without consumption component)

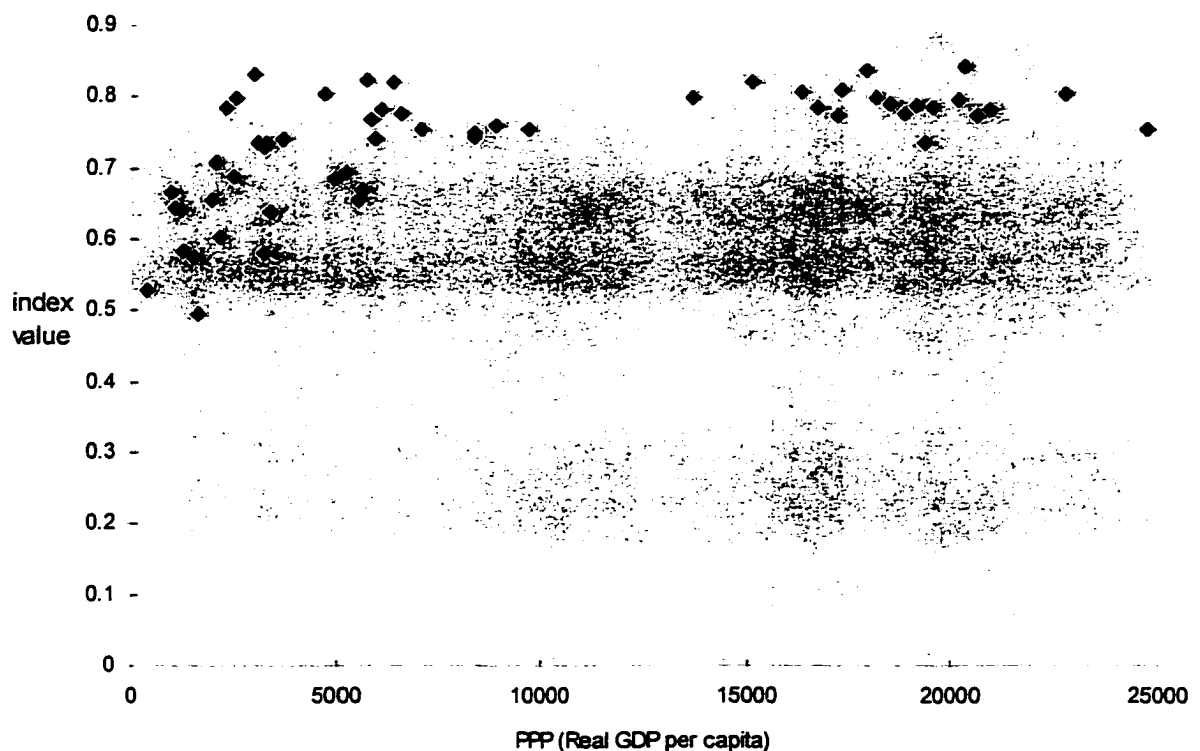
alternative index 2 rank	HDI rank	country	equality index	health index	ability index	community index	alternative index 2
1	5	Norway	0.89	0.93	0.99	0.55	0.84
2	9	Sweden	0.88	0.94	0.99	0.53	0.84
3	89	Sri Lanka	0.66	0.85	0.90	0.91	0.83
4	31	Costa Rica	0.66	0.91	0.95	0.78	0.82
5	52	Thailand	0.60	0.81	0.94	0.93	0.82
6	19	Ireland	0.69	0.92	0.99	0.68	0.82
7	4	Netherlands	0.79	0.94	0.99	0.52	0.81
8	6	Finland	0.79	0.92	0.99	0.53	0.81
9	15	Switzerland	0.67	0.94	0.99	0.62	0.81
10	56	Poland	0.70	0.88	0.99	0.65	0.80
11	95	Philippines	0.69	0.77	0.94	0.79	0.80
12	10	Spain	0.71	0.94	0.98	0.56	0.80
13	20	Italy	0.68	0.94	0.97	0.60	0.80
14	17	Denmark	0.78	0.92	0.99	0.49	0.79
15	11	Australia	0.69	0.94	0.99	0.54	0.79
16	7	France	0.65	0.93	0.99	0.59	0.79
17	12	Belgium	0.70	0.93	0.99	0.52	0.79
18	108	China	0.61	0.84	0.80	0.89	0.78
19	14	New Zealand	0.69	0.91	0.99	0.54	0.78
20	46	Hungary	0.70	0.86	0.99	0.58	0.78
21	1	Canada	0.73	0.94	0.99	0.47	0.78
22	18	Germany	0.72	0.92	0.99	0.48	0.78
23	32	Uruguay	0.63	0.87	0.97	0.64	0.78
24	16	United Kingdom	0.63	0.93	0.99	0.55	0.77
25	3	Japan	0.68	0.95	0.99	0.47	0.77
26	49	Colombia	0.62	0.84	0.91	0.70	0.77
27	33	Chile	0.55	0.89	0.95	0.65	0.76
28	2	USA	0.72	0.92	0.99	0.39	0.75
29	29	Korea Rep. of	0.62	0.85	0.98	0.57	0.75

30	48	Mexico	0.59	0.85	0.89	0.68	0.75
31	44	Venezuela	0.60	0.86	0.91	0.63	0.75
32	53	Malaysia	0.56	0.86	0.82	0.73	0.74
33	87	Dominican Rep.	0.60	0.84	0.81	0.72	0.74
34	43	Panama	0.42	0.88	0.90	0.75	0.74
35	100	South Africa	0.56	0.76	0.81	0.82	0.73
36	34	Singapore	0.56	0.91	0.90	0.56	0.73
37	91	Peru	0.58	0.77	0.88	0.71	0.73
38	102	Indonesia	0.62	0.63	0.83	0.84	0.73
39	114	Honduras	0.51	0.80	0.71	0.81	0.71
40	124	Zimbabwe	0.55	0.58	0.84	0.86	0.71
41	71	Botswana	0.47	0.77	0.68	0.87	0.69
42	111	Bolivia	0.57	0.61	0.82	0.75	0.69
43	78	Tunisia	0.52	0.81	0.64	0.77	0.69
44	69	Algeria	0.51	0.81	0.59	0.77	0.67
45	130	Lesotho	0.45	0.63	0.70	0.89	0.67
46	58	Brazil	0.39	0.78	0.82	0.62	0.65
47	129	Ghana	0.57	0.55	0.62	0.87	0.65
48	136	Zambia	0.57	0.43	0.76	0.81	0.64
49	135	India	0.52	0.64	0.51	0.90	0.64
50	112	Guatemala	0.38	0.78	0.55	0.85	0.64
51	134	Pakistan	0.47	0.71	0.36	0.88	0.60
52	143	Bangladesh	0.51	0.52	0.37	0.93	0.58
53	123	Morocco	0.45	0.65	0.42	0.80	0.58
54	137	Nigeria	0.49	0.44	0.54	0.83	0.57
55	168	Ethiopia	0.53	0.30	0.34	0.95	0.53
56	149	Mauritania	0.40	0.47	0.37	0.75	0.49

It is interesting that some countries which are usually classified as ‘developing’ countries are among high index countries in both Table 4-4 and Table 4-5. This may suggest that they are at a good starting point to their own development to be built on their strengths such as those demonstrated in these indices. Because these indices are more multifaceted than the HDI, they show each country’s strengths and weaknesses in their development more clearly than the HDI. On the other hand, the HDI was designed following the modern development paradigm, making current ‘developed’ countries look

good (i.e. maintaining their status as 'developed'), and consequently reinforcing the paradigm. Therefore indicators had to come from income and things money could buy (things that economic progress could improve relatively easily). With this alternative development index 2, income is not a determinant to development above a relatively low income level (around 5,500 USD) as shown in Fig. 4-3⁸. It is noteworthy that some countries with almost one tenth of the income of 'developed' countries earned higher index values than many of those 'developed' countries.

Fig. 4-3 Real GDP per capita and Alternative development index 2
(without consumption index)



⁸ Fig. 4-3 shows the relation between Alternative index 2 (without consumption component) and income level. Because Alternative index 1 has a consumption component the index declines above a certain income level, showing a similar tendency to the modified human development index.

The above two alternative indices might not be accepted by many people who would instead prefer UNDP's HDI as a development index. Many people believe that economic development is the core of development. However, it has become more and more obvious as 'development' goes ahead in 'developed' countries and prevails in 'developing' countries that modern development, whose core is indeed economic development, creates more social and ecological problems than it solves. Now is the time to construct new development indices by thinking about the essence of our lives.

4-4. Linear Comparisons between 'Developed' and 'Developing'

Modern development indices (conventional development indices) make comparisons of this diverse world on a linear economic (or modern) scale. An assumption widely accepted in the development community and around the world, 'developed' countries are rich, advanced and better; 'developing' countries are poor, backward and worse, is reinforced by those indices. Modern social science allows and legitimizes these linear comparisons, in an attempt for the social science to be 'scientific'. Nevertheless, modern development indices deceive us in two ways; they give us the false perception that 'life' in 'developed' countries is better than in 'developing' countries while what is really measured is material performance, not life, usually without counting its cost; and they give another false perception that 'life' in 'developing' countries is worse than in 'developed' countries without telling us that value systems vary from one place to another but those indices impose only one value system, the modern value system.

In the 'developed' world, the advancement of technology brings us unemployment; although it is supposed to be a good place to live, people's minds are occupied with competition, survival or anxiety even more than ever; people do not feel happy amidst this affluent lifestyle; we are not sure how long we can continue to live this lavish lifestyle (these are discussed further in the next chapter). I didn't find the lives in a rural Cambodian village as miserable, though they are considered one of the world's poorest. When I was travelling in some Asian countries I often felt people's warmth. In the capital city of a Scandinavian country people seemed not to want to talk with me. These are not considered in, for example, the HDI.

The other day my friends and I were talking about our experiences in 'developing' communities. One said that when she was staying in a rural community she tended to forget about the poverty they were facing. Another agreed with her, saying that it was rather hard to remind herself of poverty in the community once she had started living there (both of them were working for NGOs), but when she saw, for example, poor access to health services it reminded her of their deep poverty. Probably everyone wants to have good access to health services. It is true that in the same world some people have better access and other people only have a little access. This is indeed an unfair world. However, what I felt uncomfortable was that we tend to compare one thing (or some things), often economic, material or something money can buy, between 'developed' and 'developing' and instantly judge and stigmatize the whole life of the 'developing' world. In these comparisons the standard is always the 'developed' world, using measurements invented from the value system of the 'developed' world. If life in a community in the

'developing' world is something which makes us forget the poverty, why do we try to look for a trace which would make us comfortably conclude that their life is poor? There may be a possibility, as my friends forgot, that they are not poor, they may be rich in many ways. This 'poverty' may be a judgment which we decided to give them only based on our modern value system. Modern development indicators are designed within this value system and therefore produce results which 'scientifically prove' the advancement of 'developed' countries, which are actually supported by exhausting outproportioned natural and human resources, and backwardness of 'developing' countries. The current development and development studies are operating based on this unilateral judgement.

People do not question the universality of the modern scale in those development indices. People do not see the fact that the scale was derived from a particular culture. Actually the scale is not neutral but value loaded. 'Development' is driven by these ill-fitted comparisons. For example, we, modern believers, see poverty as the state of the lack of income in money. It is largely believed in 'development' that to alleviate this state, i.e. to increase income, is the most important purpose (or *the* means) of development. The categorization of 'developed' and 'developing' countries is a clear manifestation of this belief. We, modern believers, take it for granted because the money economy has been our norm in the 'developed' world for some generations. We do not think of a possibility that there may be a world where there are different value scales other than money economy or modernity, or where being poor or rich is not a matter of having little money or a lot of money, or where being poor or rich is not *the* priority.

As a result, we have been comparing countries and peoples by putting them on a simple single unilinear modern scale from poor to rich, worse to better, the vector is always toward ‘developed’ countries because the scale is so designed. In reality, we human beings can not and should not be measured by the single unilinear scale of economy (a particular cultural value). We should be urged to look at the world using multifaceted scales because human beings and lives are multifaceted. Or given the diversity of peoples and lives, maybe we should have different sets of scales for different places^h.

Most importantly, we have to remember that what we can measure is very limited. After all, indicators are able to handle only measurables which are the tiny fraction of reality (besides they are quite susceptible to manipulation such as political intentions). Our lives are diverse and basically unmeasurable. Therefore, although indices and numbers may still offer some help, it is critical to think holistically using imagination and try to put yourself in someone else’s shoes.

¹ UNDP, 1993, Human Development Report 1993, UNDP; pp. 104

² UNDP, 1993, Human Development Report 1993, UNDP; pp. 111

³ UNDP, 1996, Human Development Report 1996, UNDP; pp. 106

⁴ UNDP, 1996, Human Development Report 1996, UNDP; pp. 62

⁵ UNDP, 1996, Human Development Report 1996, UNDP; pp. 59

^h This may not allow overall comparisons among different peoples, but it may be the nature of human lives.

Chapter 5

'Developed' World

5-1. Do we know?

We, modern believers, believe 'developed' countries are better than 'developing' countries. This is why UN development organizations, governmental development agencies of 'developed' countries, and NGOs from 'developed' countries do 'development' work in 'developing' countries and not vice versa. This belief forms the basis for International Development Studies: for the study of 'development' of 'developing' regions. Many people in 'developed' countries admit that our place, too, is not perfect. However, we, modern believers, still believe we are certainly ahead of others on the road of development. Is this belief true?

A couple of years ago I saw an OXFAM Canada's TV ad. In that they told us "Teach them how to fish so that they can feed themselves for good". But if one recalls the confrontation between Canada and Spain in northern Atlantic, and thinks of the situation of the fishing industry in Newfoundland, s/he might wonder. Do we really know how to fish? We boast of our advanced technology. Nevertheless, in reality, we are not able to predict the ecological impacts of human activities; controlling them is beyond our dreams. Automobiles employ combustion engines which still have miserably low energy efficiency and still are very polluting; besides that, to transport only 100 to 200 kilograms of passengers an automobile weighs one ton or two. Another example is waste disposal, including landfills and incineration. Although we recycle very small amounts of resources, most of the leftovers from our consumption are simply dumped or burnt. We

have been doing basically the same practice almost since human beings appeared on the earth. What has changed though 'development' is the amount we throw away; it has increased astronomically and the quality (bio-degradability and the degree of hazard) has worsened tremendously. We often talk about the fast advancement of computer technology as well as the accompanying computer illiteracy. If computers are something which makes people feel intimidated, obsolete or stupid, it means computer technology is still far from serving people with the intended purpose. These are only a few examples of what science and technology, which we boast of as advanced, can offer.

Nevertheless, the modern world's mind set is always "we are much more advanced than the 'developing' world". When Saint Mary's organized the 'Viet Nam Project', students sent to Viet Nam from the school were expected to contribute to the Vietnamese side one way or another as well as learning. In exchange, Vietnamese professors were sent here to learn. Another group of people from Halifax, several of whom were students, was sent to the Gambia to teach about environmental issues after having received a few workshops on the subject. People from a country which is one of the most energy consuming in the world (fourth in terms of commercial energy use per capita¹) go to teach environmental issues to one of the world's least wasteful people, yet no question is raised in this scenario. The IDS community largely supports and reinforces this mind-set.

5-2. Dangers of Modernity

As discussed above, we, modern believers, tend to be blindly confident of our 'developed' world. This confidence of ours over the 'developing' world mostly comes

from the relative material success of the modern world. Surely modernity, the ideological foundation of the modern world, happened to be a good tool for material advancement (engineering progress) and accidental historical circumstances made free exploitation of resources (human and natural) possible for modern development beginning from now 'developed' countries. Some modern technologies were powerful enough to conquer others by physical force^a, and most of which were powerful enough to conquer people by psychological force, partly backed by the physical force. Because of this accidental glossy appearance this modernity has become the predominant norm and is permeating into the 'developing' world hand in hand with 'development'. But I see great dangers in the modern world and 'development' exactly because of modernity for several reasons.

First, modernity neglects the limited capacity of this earth. Currently the industrial modern centre is consuming more than their fair share of those so-called natural resources, both in terms of distribution in the current world and in terms of the temporal frame. In other words, the modern industrial centre is exhausting resources, both at the cost of people in the peripheries (non-modern world) and at the cost of future generations. Even if conservation technology improves, industrial culture with mass consumption and a growth orientation can not be sustainable in the foreseeable future^b. We do not know how to escape from the limitation of natural resources and how to control environmental degradation. Unfortunately, the modern society does not give serious attention to this warning. Because modernity (or rationality in it) supports efficiency as a virtue in a

^a Western colonization and many wars in recent history can be the witness.

^b M. K. Gandhi talked about this long time ago. "There is enough in the world for everybody's need but not for anybody's greed." Of course, in this he was talking not only about limited physical resources, but also greed for power and domination.

system, it consequently justifies the growth orientation of systems (e.g. scale effect of mass production). Also modernity's faith in progress works well to worsen the situation (regarding the exploitation of nature) by justifying the unlimited desire for a more affluent and convenient life, giving people little time to stop to think, and giving false optimism. Modernity neglects the fact that we are mere tenants on this small planet.

Second, modernity neglects the ill compatibility between technologies and human beings. Even if technological breakthroughs ease the ecological constraints, the modern world is not able to cope with emerging problems which new technologies present us. For example, the advancement of technologies has often effectively worked to widen the gap between those who have access to the new technologies and those who do not. This widening gap between countries and within a country is not only disadvantageous to those who are denied the access but also causes various types of social unrest. Another example of problems that modern technologies cause is the advancement in medical technology. Now one's life can be sustained by the support of machines regardless to one's will or dignity. Because now we can know the sex or some genetic deficiencies of the fetus, in some parts of the world some female fetus and fetus with deficiencies are selectively denied to be born.

We ought to ask ourselves many questions before such technologies are utilized. In this economy-centred world, however, no new technology would wait when the market for it exists or if such a market can be created deliberately. This is not to reject technologies all together, but we need to think about how we should use them. The modern world does not give us the time to consider these questions. It never waits for us

to stop to think, although, obviously human beings can not evolve as quickly as technologies do. Technology and human beings have different paces. Modern society requires human beings to adapt, not technologies.

Third, modernity does not see the limitation of rational and scientific thinking. Modernity does not question the viability of rational and scientific thinking. Rather it believes, or pretends to believe and forces others to believe, that rational and scientific thinking is the only legitimate and right way of judgement. Nonetheless, it is based on only what we can measure, neglects how little we know and can know, rejects what we cannot measure as non-scientific, and would not tell us that it can deal with only very simple matters in this complex world. In spite of all these limitations, it claims that it is *the* way to see things. Modern institutions, such as governments, universities and multinational corporations (MNCs), are supposed to act following, and backed by, modern rational thinking. But when the limitations of this modern rationality are neglected those modern institutions can do a lot of harm to people, still being justified by modernity. When its limitations are neglected, modernity can be very harmful to human beings.

Fourth, it is monoculturalistic. Modern development sees development as unilinear evolution to a universal modern society. Therefore it is essentially monoculturalistic. Some people, such as certain alternative developmentalists, emphasize the importance of other cultures, saying that those cultures are viable for people in the communities where those particular cultures have been their tradition. I also argue that there is another importance of the coexistence of different cultures, i.e. the importance of

cultural diversity. Monoculturalistic world (modern world) can offer only limited options for us and our future generations in this complex problem-loaded world. Monoculture means less wisdom^c. The modern world alone can never cope with this complex world. The diversity of a multicultural world would offer more options and wisdom. We will have more chances to find viable alternatives by learning from others. But modernity does not allow this learning.

Fifth, modern society gives the economy the centre place of our lives. In modern society economy is the most important activity of human beings. Consequently, in modern development, politicians, planners, development agencies and development theorists alike make their arguments centering on the economic aspects of development. For them, economic development equals development, and they do not think of questioning this equation. Some of them might not admit that this equation is their central belief^d and might argue that there are other aspects in development. However, in practice, often their analyses and development planning are primarily argued around economic aspects assuming economic values as *the* yardstick. One typical example of this practice is cost-benefit analysis. Certainly, those who use this analysis admit the importance of other aspects of development than the purely economic aspect. Although, they do not hesitate to translate other values into monetary value, and not the other way around. Many people say this economic-centred world is *the* reality. Many of us take it for granted as if it has always been around with human history and as if it will essentially

^c A patriarchal world (one form of monocultural worlds) also means less wisdom for the same reason.

^d Because of the vast pervasiveness of this assumption people may not even notice that their beliefs are based on this assumption.

be so forever. The dominance of the economic-centred world view is a relatively new phenomenon in human history^e and there is no evidence that it has to be so forever.

The economy-centredness with a mighty free market seems to benefit, of course in a material way, a few economically stronger players such as MNCs who can utilize any single means to fight economic battles while unilaterally and decisively^f disadvantages economically (merely modern-economically) weaker peoples. For the profits of companies, people are laid off in this economy-centred world, and it seems to be taken as logical and as *the* reality. In the economy-centred world, people who are least competitive in the modern economy are the most disadvantaged in many aspects of life and even denied their human dignity, which should not be an economic matter (as found in the relationship between people in 'developed' and 'developing' countries)^g.

5-3. Modern Rationalism

Modern rationality is the engine which has nourished modern science and technology and has brought this modern world into being. We, modern believers, believe this rationality is what has made the 'developed' world a better place than the 'developing' world, through 'development'. The conceptual foundation of this

^e Economy (monetary or other forms) has been a part of our lives for tens of thousands years. Nonetheless, the dominance of money economy appeared only after the industrial revolution. Yet those days this economism was not as much decisive as today, the acceleration of the dominance in the last few decades is unprecedented.

^f "Decisively", because economic failure means everything in the monoscale economic-centred world.

^g Some people in 'development' argue for the economic empowerment of communities as a coping strategy against stronger economic players. In as much as I admit the importance of such a strategy as a certain leverage for those communities, I rather think that as long as communities play by the other's rule (i.e. the economy-centred rule or much stronger player's (e.g. multinational corporations) rule) the community peoples' chances to win must be slim. So, I argue that if people are to win the game, people should not play by the other's rule. As long as we stick to economy-centredness we will not be able to solve many problems that we face in this modern world, at least for the majority of peoples.

'development' is to convert non-modern beings into modern beings, i.e. beings who think and act (modern) rationally. We, modern beings or at least modern believers^h, believe in and are proud of modern rationality. But it is modern rationality, the foundation of the modern world and modern development, which has an inherent fault and has become the underlying cause of other dangers of the modern world discussed above.

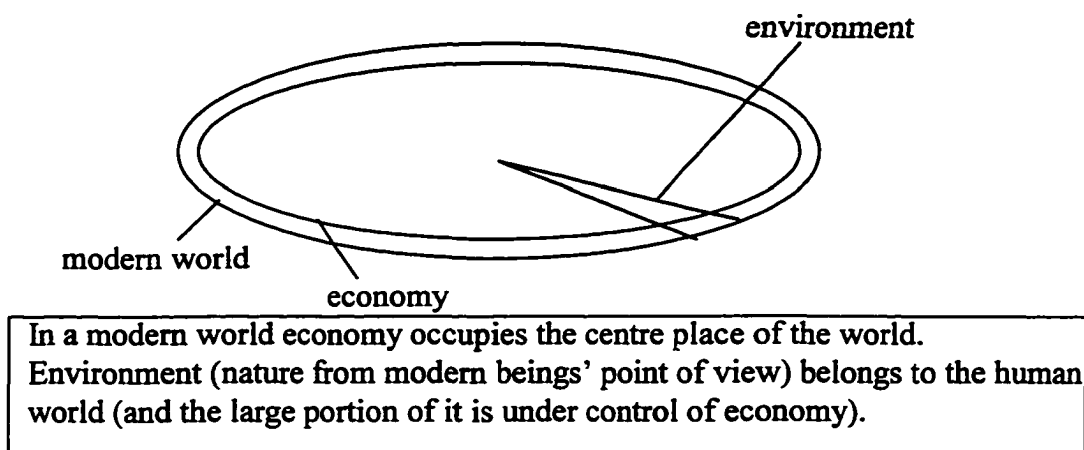
Modern believers' faith in modern rationality is based on our assumption, conscious or unconscious, that we are able to come to a right answer by thinking using 'objective' data (scientifically obtained, presumably neutral information). Here, we often unconsciously assume that things are knowable to human beings; we have an ability to know everything, at least eventually. This is a false assumption. Actually, our ability to know is very limited. Nevertheless, based on this, usually unspoken, assumption, we, modern believers, neglect things we are not able to know or simply which are not measurable. We pretend as if they do not exist because this assumption allows us to see only things clearly visible and measurable. The work of natural and social scientists tends to be more appreciated if it is objectively measured, because it is considered more scientific. This has worked somehow well, especially for natural science to the extent that we believe we have made great success in the development of the human world (actually material success). Social science tried to follow the same methodology.

In the process of measurement many elements of phenomena simply go uncoun-
ted because of our limited ability to know. Only tiny remnants of reality are put on paper. People are satisfied with those remnants because other ways of understanding are

^h In a modern world (not necessarily perfect one), people try to become modern beings because it is believed to be the way human beings to evolve. But by nature human beings cannot become modern beings perfectly. So people remain as modern believers hoping to become (perfect) modern beings.

believed to be non-scientific and not legitimate. Scientists tend to try not to deal with anything unmeasurable, because otherwise they may be seen as non-scientific, non-academic, and consequently leaving reality behindⁱ. We have reduced our versatile imagination to scientific theoretical thinking which could work only within the measurable world which is a tiny and porous world almost detached from the real world. This is an underlying trend in the modern world and also in the study of development. Human beings are, in reality, not numbers, therefore the process of modernization is inevitably a process of dehumanization. Human beings can not be accommodated in the modern world. So what is most easily measurable among human activities? It is indeed money economic activities. What is most easily visible? It is material things. This is why in the modern world where rationality is its foundation, economy has the greatest might in our life (Fig. 5-1, 5-2). Real human beings have been reduced to walking barcodes.

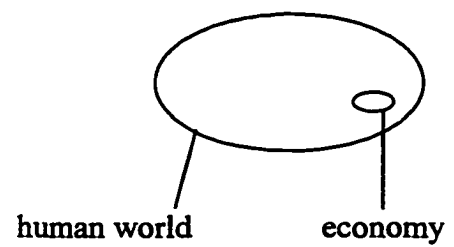
Fig. 5-1 Modern world



ⁱ F. E. Schumacher puts this this way, "To accept anything as true means to incur the risk of error. If I limit myself to knowledge that I consider true beyond doubt, I minimize the risk of error, but at the same time I maximize the risk of missing out on what may be the subtlest, most important, and most rewarding things in life." (E. F. Schumacher, 1977, A Guide for the Perplexed, Harper & Row Publishers; pp. 3) Minimizing risks, for example, by managing and standardizing environment is considered to be a great virtue of the modern world, but we may not be counting the sacrifice properly.

Fig. 5-2 Real world

Nature



The human world is a tiny part of nature.
The human world has much more to offer than economy.

We, modern believers, reject reasoning other than modern rationalism as nonscientific or irrational, because we believe in our rationality, our ability to know and consequently our ability to create, control, solve and improve by modern science, i.e. by thinking (modern) rationally. We have pushed this confidence to the extent that we put ourselves above everything, i.e. nature. One of the consequences of this - just one of many - is (as mentioned in the previous section) we neglect the limited physical capacity of this earth. Many of us admit, to various extents though, that our knowledge and ability are limited at the present time, but at the same time, we tacitly assume that our knowledge, ability and potential are expanding unlimitedly and linearly. We, modern believers, do not see a boundary. We believe that our science and society (i.e. modern world) are on the way to a mighty victory of modern beings. We do not question how far it is, needless to say whether we are on the way or not, but we have hollow confidence.

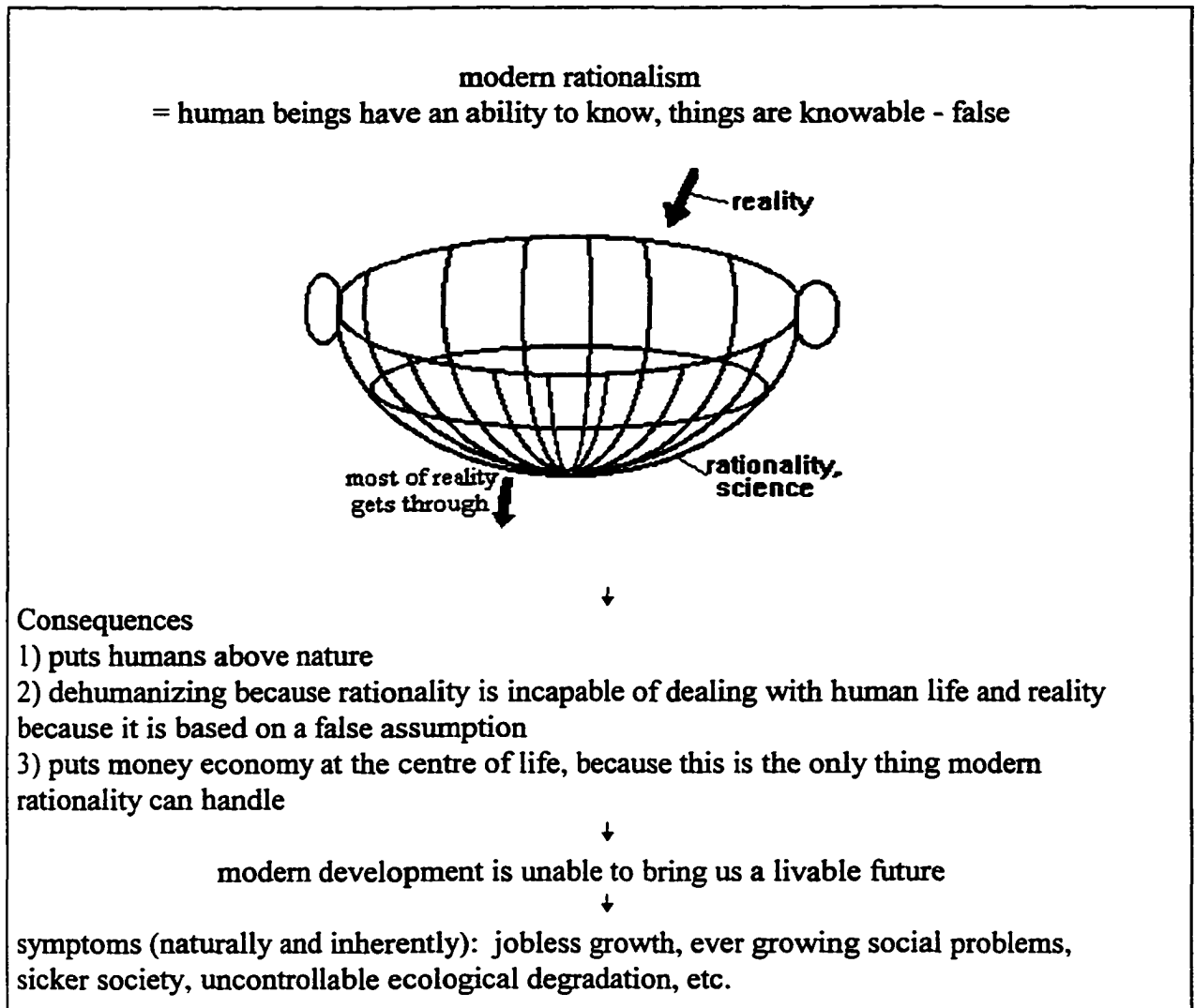
In reality our ability to know is limited. So limited that we have allowed economy to conquer the centre place in our lives which used to be more different and diverse the world over. So limited that natural science is far behind in its ability to fix what we and science have done to nature. Apparently at present everything is not known, and there is no guarantee that everything will eventually be knowable to human beings. This should shake the confidence in modern rationality. Given the limited ability to know and very limited knowledge there is no guarantee that modern rationality deserves the confidence to put itself upon other ways of thinking. If we realize that our ability to know and knowledge are so limited, how could we tell that the answer derived from modern rationality is right but other answers from other ways of thinking are wrong?

The modern world and modern development, a machine to produce a modern world, are defective from their foundation. They are destined to collapse because they are equipped with a tool which is unable to deal with the real world but gives us false confidence (i.e. arrogance). Ways of thinking which do not assume our illusional mightiness must work with the real world better. This is exactly what we need to seek now.

Unfortunately, the modern world has worked well to proliferate itself all over the world, because of its relative material success. It has certainly been photogenic or TV-genic as far as it can exploit resources (people and nature) freely. People all over the world have bought and are buying this good-looking modernity. Modern life surely is comfortable as far as one's mentality is set not to question it.

For many people all over the world this modern world has become the overwhelming norm in life to such an extent that we believe this is the only way to go. Therefore, in the modern world, although people may be annoyed by any kind of modern troubles, and while even some people call this modern era the 'age of anxiety', they feel they have no other choice but to swallow all the problems. This powerful norm is still pushing people from other ways of life into its territory through 'development'. But, at the same time, it has been becoming clearer that our modern life 'still' has many problems. Modern believers assume that this is because our 'development' has not yet reached the level that can solve those problems, then conclude that we need to push for more 'development'. We, modern believers, do not see the emerging problems as the inherent consequence of modernity.

Fig. 5-3 Modern development



The problems are both social and ecological. For example, now 'developed' countries are suffering 'jobless growth'. This is a rational consequence of modern development. Making a company efficient, raising productivity, i.e. keeping or raising production with less people, is in the rule book of modern development. Private enterprises are economically efficient and therefore a favourite way of pursuing modern development. They have to survive in free competition and this is seen as the way to

ensure higher efficiency which is rational, and what modern development highly praises. Jobless growth is not a failure of modern development, but a success of it.

We say “We have entered an information age. Wherever you are on this planet you are connected through the information highway. Information technology such as the internet and CNN brings you the world. The whole world is becoming one global village.” Certainly in the modern centre, a sea of information is at our instant disposal. In the ‘developing’ world TVs (including satellite TVs) are increasingly pumping in information and images from other parts of the world (mainly from the ‘developed’ world). At the same time, in the search for efficiency (monetary efficiency) and helped by modern technologies, systems tend to grow larger and larger around us. As a consequence we have to increasingly rely on information that technologies provide, not feelings our senses tell us. But we, human beings, may not have a good ability to grasp reality from what we see on a TV screen or computer monitor. Systems in which we operate have grown globally, maybe beyond our ability to see the whole picture of each system^j.

^j For example, the emergence of health and environmentally conscious customers well educated by media in the modern centre has resulted in the springing up of health and organic food shops. With the long lost connection between consumers and producers, they demand organic vegetables year ‘round as they have had such convenience with large grocery chains. This has resulted in the trucking of organic vegetables from thousands of miles away. A Nova Scotian farmer said on CBC radio “This is not ecologically sensitive at all. Trucking Californian vegetables to Nova Scotia consuming tons of fuel does not make it environmentally friendly. We could have heated green houses to grow organic lettuce during winter. But this is, too, not environmentally sensitive. Even though some chemicals may be used, having seasonally available vegetables makes much more sense, when organic vegetables are not locally available”

When Dr. Owens Wiwa, a brother of Nigerian dissident, late Ken Saro-Wiwa, came to give us a lecture at Saint Mary’s University (‘Shell Shocked’, April 3rd, 1997, Theatre Auditorium, Saint Mary’s University), the audience enthusiastically expressed their support to condemn Shell for its exploitative operation in Nigeria. But no one in the audience mentioned that it is our lifestyle that drives MNCs like Shell to such destruction in communities which have nothing to do with the fossil fuel dependent society. On the other hand, one of speakers at the gathering declared “Sable offshore oil field is ‘our resource’ (resource of Nova Scotians). We should save it until we need it” (the Sable offshore oil field was the other topic of the gathering). Yes, mine is mine, yours is mine. We will use it when the oil fields in Nigeria have

Some people say that the propagation of TV and other information technologies will bring us all over the world the propagation of universal values such as democracy. But when the information flow is vastly unilateral from the 'developed' to 'developing' (i.e. a very undemocratic nature is exercised, or even within 'developed' countries we see concentration of information providers), we have to think twice before we conclude that media and information technologies serve to propagate democracy. When the information flow is unilateral, who decides what is a universal value and what is not? It doesn't seem very democratic that people in 'developed' countries hope information technologies will spread our own version of 'universal values' and 'democracy' to other peoples^k. When TV programmes and other information are produced by someone else, motivated by the interests of someone else, and driven by the commercialism of the economic world, how could it serve the various peoples in this diverse world, especially for those who are not well equipped to voice their views in a larger domain? Given the overwhelming and little questioned appreciation for modern communication technologies, they, most of all, serve to crush the identities of those who are only to be fed with information by those who have resources to have their voices (world view, values, etc.) heard.

The observation of the modern world gave me some other examples of concerns which are seen as inherent consequences of modernity. They include the weak sense of

been completely depleted by ideally a little bit more friendly MNC. This illustrates how easily we fail to connect realities and see a larger interconnected system, in the middle of the flood of information fed by modern technology.

^k There may be contents in those 'universal values' which are agreeable with many peoples in this world. But an agreement takes place only if it is asked. Seeking such agreements (two way conversation with other peoples) first is an essential process if we believe in those 'universal values'.

community, fragmentation of life (i.e. our lives do not take place in one integrated sphere), rapidly changing technology and society which make people obsolete, and professionalism which accelerates materialism (commercialism) among others¹. All of these come down to an important notion, that in the modern world we do not feel secure or peaceful, we are frustrated and dissatisfied amidst this affluent life. If one does not feel happy or satisfied surrounded by this affluence, it is not a question of becoming more affluent but the way s/he seeks satisfaction in life is the problem. According to Greta Regan "Dissatisfaction is taken as an indicator of development, because dissatisfaction

¹ In a non-modern world like in a Cambodian village, various aspects of life such as work, socializing, education and resting are all integrated in one sphere in a community (in Cambodia, currently education is increasingly being taken away from the community sphere though). On the other hand, in the modern world each function of life takes place in a different sphere. Work is done in the work place, i.e. office, factory, and so on. Education takes place in schools by teachers. For entertainment, people often go to places outside where they live by themselves, or stay at home watching TVs and videos, or playing with computers. There is little socializing as a community involved in this. In a village, entertainment is to be enjoyed by all people in the community. For most city dwellers in the modern centre a work place is a place to work and home is a place to rest, they do not want to mix these functions. In fact they feel comfortable with this separation with privacy well kept. In a big city one may not know who lives next door, but we may feel okay about this. On the other hand, many social problems have emerged in the modern centre because of the weak sense of community and the fragmentation of life. In Japanese cities every year some old people are found dead in their houses sometimes even a few months after their deaths. This is totally unthinkable in a community like Tropeang Chuuk. The increase of juvenile crimes, too, is one of the symptoms. In a community the responsibility for raising children is shared not only in the family but also among the community. In the modern centre even parents tend to vest the responsibility of raising their children onto professional teachers. With the increase of the nuclear families and single parents, parents do not have enough time, do not get enough help, which is a norm to receive in a community. Fast changing technology and society have made the older members of a society look less capable and less valuable (this is a great sin of modern progress). The younger generations have lost respect for older generations, i.e. children do not know whom to look to for the model and wisdom. Parents cannot trust a nanny they hire and feel the need for a surveillance camera. Volunteers who want to take care of children need to be screened thoroughly.

In the modern centre people may get better medical treatment than the people in the non-modern world. However, we may not look very much healthier than them. Or to the contrary, we may be less healthy in many aspects. We have to pay fanatic amounts of attention to not having too much fat, cholesterol, chemicals or simply food. We go to gyms or buy exercise machines while we prefer driving a car to walking, or taking an elevator to using a staircase. While we are able to have whatever we want to eat, many feel they have to take vitamin supplements. We often get frustrated or depressed for numerous reasons. We seek professional help such as psychiatrists for whom you are merely one of many clients and not your respected neighbour who knows you well, i.e. uncles or aunts in a community. If you look at a copy of the New York City Yellow Pages, the section for lawyers continues for pages and pages. People are confrontational and they seek a solution from professionals who do not know you but do it only for money. This professionalism, commercialism, and materialism reinforce each other.

leads to greater effort to obtain goods and services, which leads to both greater production and greater consumption, which leads to the Industrial society's greatest good, economic growth"². So, this is no mystery. Development has to keep us unhappy to survive development itself^m. We have to be frustrated and dissatisfied to stay in this modern world.

Once we are happy and satisfied we have to fall from this modern world. Modern development is not at all a mechanism to make us happy, it is actually the opposite. So it is guaranteed that as far as we are seeking more and more development we will be more and more frustrated, dissatisfied and sicker, and at the same time it is also promised that environmental constraints will become tighter and tighter, i.e. free exploitation of natural resources, one of the fundamental conditions of modern development, will be increasingly difficultⁿ.

5-4. 'Development' Experience

When I was a small kid in Japan the country was a 'developing' country, although the country had been relatively highly industrialized from the end of the last century. When I was born, Japan had real GDP per capita 35% of Canada's at that time. I remember when I was going to elementary school our clothes usually had a patch or two. Although I was living in a big city of more than three million people, streets in my

^m The beneficiaries of this scheme are economically stronger groups.

ⁿ Here I do not elaborate on the environmental problems we now face due to modern development, because they have already been well publicized. However, I would like to quote from Greta Regan's thesis. "Even the recent concern within the Industrial society for the future of the environment is framed in terms of a diminishing resource which must be carefully managed; this is very different from worrying about the health of one's mother." (Greta Regan, 1994, Worlds Apart, Saint Mary's University; pp. 21)

neighbourhood were not paved. Until I was five there was no TV at home. We could only dream of travelling abroad. When my friend's father, who was running a small but successful business, got a car it was really shining to my eyes. When I was born, Japan had just begun its stride of 'miracle economic growth'. Three decades later the country has changed a lot. If I stood at a corner of my old neighbourhood (I later moved) I would not be able to tell where it is. However it is discounted by the high prices, we have become much richer than before, and compared to the international standard. Life has become drastically more affluent and convenient. Now no one has his/her shirt patched. Every year more than ten million people travel abroad. These tourists are famous for their shopping zeal in every tourist spot all over the world. After this 'miracle' have we become much happier? Do we really have a good life? Shouldn't we (because my country was so successful in 'development')? Now the Japanese yen is so appreciated that it is three times more expensive in dollar value than when I was a child and it is driving manufacturing industries out of the country. The modern economy has finally demanded Japanese business abolish its long kept tradition of lifetime job security. Unemployment and under employment, which was not a disturbing factor during the past recessions, has been rising and is shaking the social confidence of Japanese people. It seems that Japan has passed its peak in the economic terms which count most in this modern world. So, it is time for Japanese people to look back and contemplate. Thanks to the recession we have a little more time out of work place, to think about what we have really got after a few decades of hectic, sometimes suicidal, working hours. At least, I feel my life is good enough. I have whatever I need. How about when we had only a

third of Canadian real GDP per capita? Were we only a third happy compared to now? Of course, it can not be measured, but it is worth asking ourselves; Have we become much happier? Were we much less happy at that time?

In the 60's my parent's generation worked as hard as the workforce in the 80's and 90's but with a less hectic pace, and the relationships in the workplace were more human to human, not machine to human nor stranger to stranger. Although my neighbourhood was a residential area in a big city, we knew who lived where, we knew each other. If I did something (especially something I didn't want my mother to know) in the area it came to my mother's knowledge in a day or two. Although compared to Canada it was and is an awfully crowded place, my friends and I did not have a hard time finding a place to play because not many vehicles were on the roads. When streets began to be paved kids lost the puddles in which to play. We have lost many traditions as well only in the matter of three decades. In Japan the new year season used to be and still is a most enjoyable celebration. When I was a small kid I used to look forward to a group of people who came with a mortar and a pestle and other stuff to make rice cake during this season. This event disappeared when people began to have different schedules and became indifferent about the neighbourhood. Before, we had many more people wearing the beautiful Japanese kimono (traditional dress) during this season. As the number of nuclear families grew we lost the grandmothers from homes who used to help granddaughters put on the kimono. Now a few people, who believe it is worthwhile, go to beauty salons to get help. After all, I do not think that we were unhappy and our lives were miserable three decades ago, although our life was much less affluent, i.e.

economically poorer, compared to now and Western countries at that time. I believe that three decades ago and now, in both cases we had and have material conditions to create a happy life, good life, healthy life or peaceful life, and despite the more material affluence, now people may feel more dissatisfied. Something may be wrong in our lives.

There is a Japanese word 'mottainai'. We used to use this word often. If one throws away the leftover supper it is 'mottainai'. If one gets something very fancy which does not suit that one it is 'mottainai'. Or if one receives a word from someone highly respected it is 'mottainai'. According to my dictionary 'mottainai' is 'wasting', 'to be too good' and 'impious', and these three concepts are closely related in 'mottainai'. I used to feel 'mottainai' when I was washing rice grains before cooking and some grains escaped to the drain. I felt (I still do) this way (mottainai) not only because my parents used to tell me to think of the farmers' dedication to growing rice (rice used to be, and still is to a lesser extent, the staple food of the Japanese diet) but also because we believed that food, produced from nature, is kind of divine. 'Mottainai' conveys not only material waste but also spiritual sin at the same time. As Japan has grown to be one of the world's economic powers, this word has become used less frequently and the spiritual implication has been reducing its importance to the extent that younger generation does not know the real meaning or, if they know, the word tends to be considered 'uncool' to use. Of course, in the modern economic world a few grains of rice carries money value for the number of the grains but nothing more than that, so if your time is more expensive than collecting some rice grains it is very rational to let them go.^o I feel that by becoming modern beings

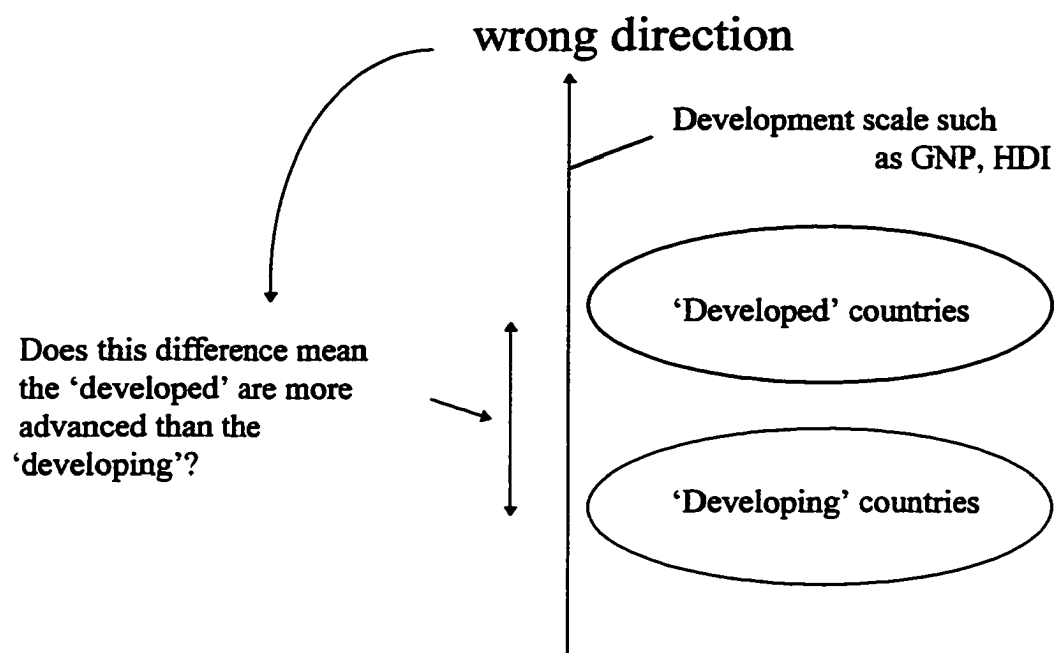
^o A good example of this can be found in a modern manufacturing factory.

we are losing a very important part of our life. But in modernity this is called progress because we have become more rational. Anyway, this is one example of how successfully modern development has changed people's mentality. Modern development has changed and is changing people so that they can see the world only through the lens of economy (measurables). This inevitably makes us more materially greedy and makes it difficult to reconcile with nature of which we are actually a part. This is not a unique problem to my country.

It is true that to many eyes modern life looks great. Therefore it is no wonder that people all over the world run after 'development' as the means to obtain modern life. It is also true that there is certain human progress which came with modernity. However, we need to see the whole package in which this human progress was made. If such human progress can stand only through the exploitation of nature and people in a larger picture, it is not truly progress. The modern world cannot be separated from robbing nature and dehumanization because of its inherent materialism, as discussed in this chapter.

Running after a more and more modern world is running in a wrong direction . We have drawn a scale, represented by indicators such as GNP or HDI, pointing to this wrong direction. We decided to call the countries running ahead 'developed' and running behind 'developing' or 'underdeveloped' on this wrong scale which leads to a wrong goal (Fig. 5-4). Based on this scale, we also decided to teach 'development' to 'developing' countries.

Fig. 5-4 Running in a wrong direction



¹ UNDP, 1996, Human Development Report 1996, UNDP; pp. 182, 205

² Greta Regan, 1994, Worlds Apart, Saint Mary's University; pp. 16

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6-1. Reconciliation

In the previous chapters it has been discussed how narrowly modern development is constructed and why it is destined to fail. We have seen that modern rationalism can not be the right foundation of our life because of its inability to deal with the real world. The modern world ('developed' world) can not be the model of our life and modern development can not be the tool to develop our world. We need to change the course of our life from the one depending on modern development, for the sake of our survival, i.e. to remain as human beings.

If one realizes that we, people in the 'developed' countries, have come a long way in a wrong direction, development will be an assignment of those who live in the modern centre, i.e. us, as well as people in the 'developing' world. This is a more difficult and more urgent assignment for us in the modern centre because we have already made serious and massive mistakes and we are still moving fast on the modern development highway. For example, our system has grown too large, communities have been greatly weakened, or we have been spoiled by this convenient lifestyle without paying the due cost. So we may have little idea where to start.

I see two essential starting points. They are 1) learning from peoples in the non-modern world (largely in the 'developing' world), 2) restoring the right order between nature and human beings. To do either of these we have to abandon the sense of superiority that we believe in modernity over people in the non-modern world and nature.

Since the foundation of modern development, modern rational thinking has a severe fault, and as this 'development' prevailed this fault has become fatal because of the size and depth of 'development'. Therefore it is urged that we, whose norm has been modernity, find viable ways of thinking. Learning from other ways of thinking will help this search. In the now modern world many other ways of thinking have disappeared or gravely weakened. However, in the non-modern world or the 'developing' world, there must be better chances to meet other ways of thinking which are being practiced. ('Developing' and non-modern are not necessarily synonymous, because modern ideology has permeated to most parts of the world, though, to various degrees. And in the 'developed' world there are people who have not completely bent to the modern ideology. Even in the modern believer's mind, modern rationalism and other reasoning coexist, though we, modern believers, have been trying to be modern rational beings.) The other ways of thinking in the non-modern world are not merely old-fashioned and obsolete ways of life. They are a diverse accumulation of wisdom which have been derived from diverse natural and social environments. (The modern world always tries to standardize its environments.) The importance of true multiculturalism lies in its potential as a source of diverse wisdom. Culture is important not only for the people living in the culture as a viable way of living for them. Multiculturalism is not mercy for marginalized people at all. This learning process can take place if one has realized (or at least, has begun to realize) the fatal nature of the modern world and the nonsense of the categorization of 'developed' and 'developing'. One can then build the sense of mutual respect in his/her mind which will be the foundation of this learning process.

By learning from non-modern cultures and non-modern ways of thinking, we have to find ways to displace modern rationalism from the centre position of the world (modern world) with different ways of thinking which are better equipped to deal with the real world (nature and the human world). Ways of thinking that are capable of taking account of the unmeasurables, i.e. which are operational without reducing nature and people to numbers. These ways of thinking should enable us to build value systems different from the modern value system, i.e. material centred value system. These new (some of them maybe old and re-discovered) value systems should not depend on limited material resources, but will depend on unlimited matters such as human values. Consequently, this process should oust money economy centredness and material growth orientation from the dominant position in the current world. By shifting and diversifying value systems from the material value system we should be able to search for satisfaction in our lives with much less dependence on material affluence.

People in a non-modern culture, too, must realize the vitality within their own culture. Since it was developed over generations in their own environment, it must have many strengths. They also need to know that modernity is not anything superior to their culture, so that people can restore self-confidence to make their own decisions for their own future, at the same time learning from other peoples on equal footing.

Modernity and Multiculturalism

People see various different cultures. Canada has its own unique culture consisting of various cultures. Cambodia also has its own (of course it, too, has varieties in itself). This is what everyone admits without difficulty. Probably most of us would also agree on the

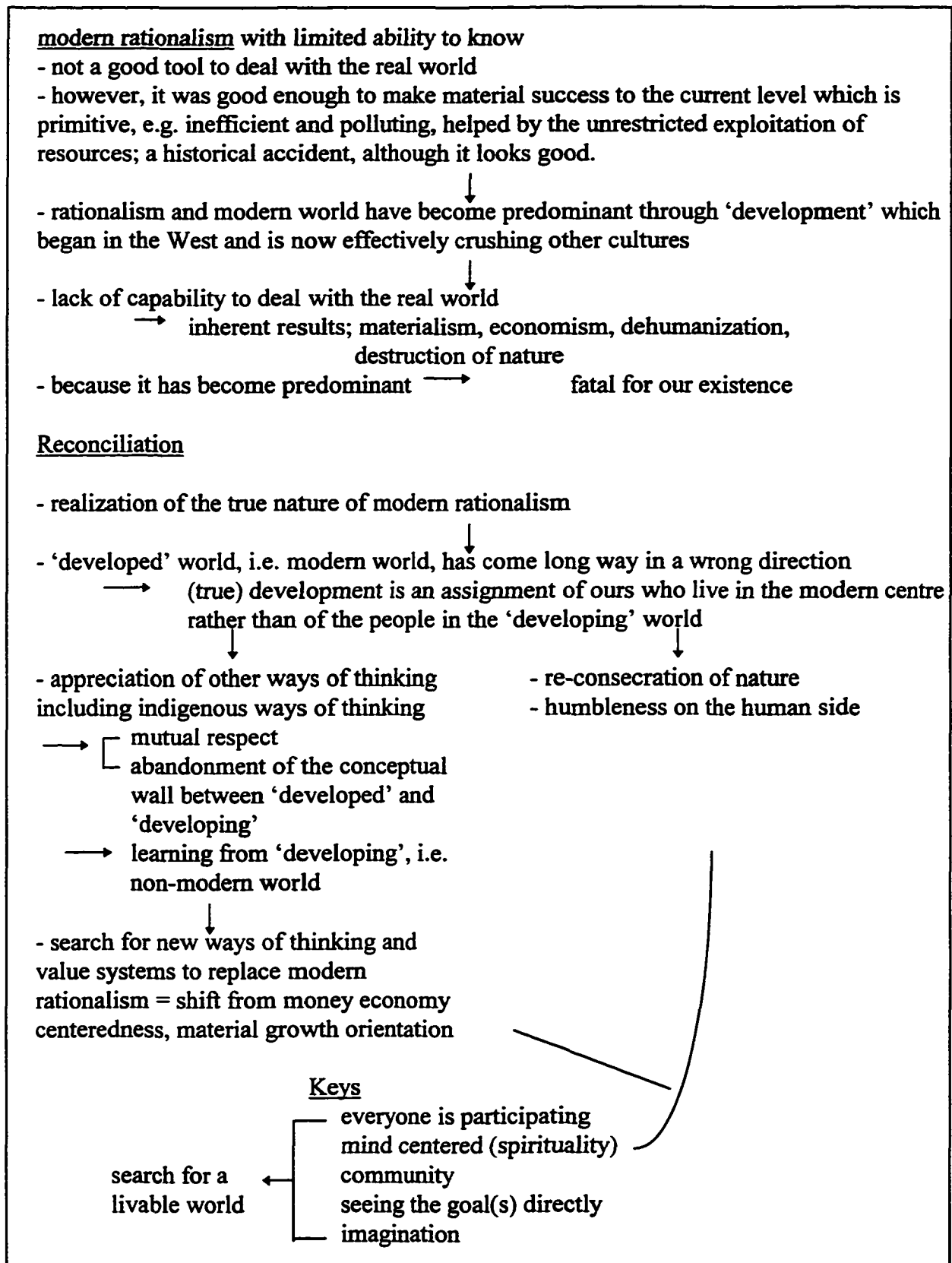
principle of respecting different cultures. But many people, while they admit or even advocate for the importance of considering different cultural values, seem to maintain an idea that modernity is the universal norm all over the world and not one of cultures which naturally differ from one place to another, modernity is the universal civilization itself and has a superior position over cultures. People in the modern centre tend to believe we can eliminate cultural bias in our judgement and see things neutrally by using this modern norm which is believed to be above cultures. People in this dominant modern culture believe the way we see is 'normal'. Other ways of life are therefore abnormal or subnormal and this idea then justifies 'development'. This modern universalism seems to be now shared by both people in 'developed' countries and people in 'developing' countries, especially elite and urban populations. Modernity is actually one of many cultures, equal to other cultures. Modern development has always imposed its cultural values consciously and unconsciously. Some people believe that replacing a culture of their own or of someone else with modernity is what should be done. Some other people are doing their development work believing they are paying due attention to respecting traditional cultural values of the area, while giving no serious examination to their belief that modernity and its foundation, i.e. modern rationalism, are universal, neutral and not a culture. Is this belief really true? In this time when social and ecological problems do not seem to be being solved despite 'development', or rather those problems, with new problems one after another, seem to be becoming greater and more complicated, we have come to the point where we all have to stop for a moment to think whether this modernity is the universal norm superior to cultures, or should be the norm, or one of many cultures, or a fatal culture, and so on.

Another important starting point is respect for nature. Modern ideology has put the modern world above nature, it reduced nature to a part of the modern world as environment, based on a false assumption that human beings (more precisely, modern

beings) are able to control nature, at least eventually. This is, in fact, the remotest thing of which we could think. As the natural result of this assumption, we are facing various and serious 'environmental' problems. Given our limited abilities in reality what we should do is to restore the proper order between nature and human beings, i.e. to admit that nature is the whole (and above us) and we are a small part of it. It is probably fair to say that this would involve the re-consecration of nature and what is required on our side is humbleness in front of nature. We, modern believers, have been wrongfully aggressive against mother nature.

I anticipate that these two kinds of restoration of order, between peoples and between nature and human beings, will bring the essential conditions to build our livable future, we will be better equipped to deal with the real world.

Fig. 6-1 Flowchart of conclusion



6-2. Keys

Our development, the assignment of searching for a livable future, includes fundamental changes such as displacing modern rationalism from the current dominant position. This can be such a difficult task that some people might think it is impossible. As mentioned in a previous chapter, one's world view is entirely up to the individual. If one is comfortable with the current arrangements in this world and does not want to bother to worry about his/her children, it is no problem for that person to stay this way. Maybe s/he can hope that s/he will be all right for another few decades if s/he is better off now. If one feels uneasy with the current arrangements or cares about his/her children, I see no other choice but to think and act to make the changes possible. Some key issues which I believe are essential for the changes to happen are; participation, spirituality, community, seeing the goal(s) directly, and imagination.

6-2-1. Participation

If human civilization must be carried on to our future generations, it is our responsibility to find viable alternatives to the modern world which is our invention and not socially and ecologically sustainable. One might say, even if s/he agrees that this world is not fair and/or not going to be a livable place for future generations, that it is simply impossible for us to change the course because the current world is *the* reality. Certainly, it is easy to give up and not to change what we are doing, letting the 'reality' go as it wishes. We have to recall that 'its wish' is precisely the collective flow of our wishes and activities, under the larger structure of nature.

Even without mentioning nature, one might say that big institutions such as political parties, business enterprises (including multinational corporations), military regimes and people at the centre of those institutions are so powerful that we can only be the subjects of whatever they want, and the relationships can never be reversed. Indeed, it may look as though these institutions set all the rules in the world, and we do not have any choice but to follow their rules, or even those powerful players just have to operate within the 'reality', in this case, the modern paradigm. But in reality, this world is a collective production of all participants. Although the ability of human beings can only be very limited, and that the power (power to act as s/he wishes) of each individual seems to vary tremendously, all realities, everything that we see in this human world, have been the collective production of all individuals who have lived on the earth from the beginning of history, through countless activities of individuals. This seemingly mighty modern world, i.e. the 'reality', must have begun from someone's or some people's thoughts, desires and activities. It must have involved numerous embryos from different times and different places and then took enormous processes in which thousands of millions of people participated. This is what will happen in the future too. For good or bad, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, accepting to do or refusing to do, actively or passively, no matter what one's motivation for doing or not doing is, what one does or does not do will influence the course of our future. What we think and how we act will inevitably count.

To utilize this procedure is the only way to make our world livable. Changes are always possible, they have actually been happening all the time. What matters is the

directions of those changes. We, to various extents but definitely all of us, have contributed and are contributing to determine the directions. We will be constantly influencing the formation of our courses as well. If more and more people give a little thrust in their countless daily decisions, which we are making everyday anyway, toward a livable world which each one has to imagine within one's capacity, it makes differences. Everyone is participating anyway. Fundamental changes to modern life in favour of a livable and sustainable world can happen if we wish so and only if we wish so.

If one looks around the current unjust and unsustainable modern life, it will lead to a conclusion, 'we all^a have to think from the beginning'. No one can tell which ways exactly the courses will take to realize a livable world for everyone. Those courses to a livable world will take shapes only when people think and act. These actions may take various forms, however, to keep thinking and to reflect it in our daily decisions and, as the results of those decisions, daily behaviors are most important.

This process will inevitably involve political decisions. Social systems must be changed through political decisions in order to make large changes in the systems and to make people's changing their behaviors easier. Because many changes will cause currently privileged people in the modern centre some inconvenience, in the current democratic system of the modern world political institutions (especially larger and established ones) would not want to initiate such changes for the fear of losing their positions. We cannot expect those political institutions to be the vanguard. Therefore, it is necessary for us to change ourselves first to initiate the process. If we do not

^a People working in 'development', i.e. those who are trying hard to spread the modern world, are of course among those who really have to think (IDS people are included here), although my emphasis is 'we all'.

participate in this process, we will find ourselves participating only to reinforce the essentially unjust and unsustainable modern world.

6-2-2. Spirituality (opposed to modern rationalism)

Since modern rationalism (as the only 'legitimate' way of thinking) does not work for human beings, it is necessary to restore the legitimacy of non-modern ways of thinking which are more capable in this complex world. The essential quality of other ways of thinking sought here is an ability to see things without excluding elements which are not measurable. This will involve establishing spirituality^b (or one may call it humanity) at the center of our value systems. This change should be able to stop the inherent dehumanization process of the modern world. By replacing modern rationalism with spiritualism and other ways of thinking, we should be able to build non-materialistic value systems to replace the currently dominant monocultural modern value system. With value systems centred around spirituality and other non-materialistic ways of thinking, the goal of development can be sought without exhausting material resources; it can be sought by utilizing the unlimited resources within ourselves^c. To make this change happen, it is essential to admit the inability of modern rationalism, i.e. the limitation in human ability (especially in modern ways such as science and technology). Then we will have room in our mind for other ways of thinking to come in.

^b Here, 'spirituality' does not exclusively mean 'noble' spirituality. It is meant to include 'what one feels', 'what one's heart tells him/her'.

^c Among resources we use the most exploited and limited is materials, the most neglected and unlimited is what we have within ourselves, and what we actually have more of than we usually think is time, which if you think you do not have enough it appears you have little, if you think you have a lot you can have plenty.

6-2-3. Community

The reinforcement, restoration or creation of organic communities^d is crucial in our development. A community can play two vital roles in our development. First, conscious collective decisions and actions and mutual encouragement in the course of transition from modern life to alternative ways of life will enhance the process and ease the pain of giving up some of privileges which we are enjoying in the modern world. It would be difficult to change one's habit all by him/herself, when the same habit is practiced by people around. If one's neighbours get together and decide to change their habits collectively, mutual encouragement and peer pressure can be generated, and greater results can be expected than when it is done by a single person. This will be more likely to convince more people in the community that they can make meaningful differences and the movement will have more chances to keep up steam.

The other consideration, and probably more important in essence, is the implication of having an organic community. An organic community can play an essential role in the re-humanization of our lives. For example, in modern society larger institutions are preferred because modern rationality has given efficiency a high priority, therefore authorities tend to be centralized, social conditions (individuals' situations) are treated as statistics, and decision making has to be standardized, often relying on numbers (those statistics). This system is unable to adapt to individual situations which could be very different from one to another, even if the statistical figures out of those situations do

^d 'Organic communities' here means communities which have two essential qualities. First, in these communities individuals are not treated as numbers or statistics. In decision-making, decision-makers are able to think of people as people, not numbers, statistics or votes. Second, in an organic community work and other human activities are not severed from each other. These are more integrated around homes and the community than in the modern centre. Both conditions require small livelihood units.

not show the differences. In this system it is hard to remain humane. By reviving or creating organic communities and decentralizing authorities to the communities, people will be able to make more humane decisions adapted to individual situations. This decentralization may cost more money to communities, but in these communities efficiency and monetary cost are not the first priority. People will be compensated for the decrease of monetary power in other ways.

This compensation will be possible when we diversify value systems from the mono-scale of the economism in the modern world. A community itself plays a role in diversifying value systems. By nourishing organic human relations within a family, with neighbours, and in the community including work places, people may find ways to enjoy themselves and enrich their lives without relying on money and commercialism. People will not need to be hectic because of the smaller size of their community and a conscious decision not to live a hectic life. By having work places in the community, those work places will no longer be a separate part of life; work, which is an important part of life, will be re-integrated into other parts of life. This will help humanize work and the work place. People in the community will join various types of community work, paid and unpaid. Through the re-integration of work into other parts of life, the wall between 'formal' work, household work and community work will be greatly lowered. Work other than 'formal' work will be more appropriately appreciated, and through this process, a fairer redistribution of work will take place. This re-integration of work will help the shift of values from material to others take place. Because, in the modern world, 'formal' work, which is a separate part of life from other parts, has been *the* legitimate

way of making a living, and making a living and making money have become synonymous, i.e. the concept of 'formal' work and the money centredness of the modern world are mutually reinforced.

A community as discussed here is relatively small in size so that members can have organic relations with each other, everyone can participate and everyone's opinion can be heard and considered (in other words, a democratic atmosphere prevails). Advanced communication technologies may have some role to play in this community in order to enhance opinions to be heard in the community and, when necessary, in a larger domain. However, they should remain secondary in importance. This is because we can hardly grasp real feelings out of a TV tube or a computer screen or when the living unit is too large. But having organic relations and real feelings of lives rooted in a community will likely help people in the community to imagine other people's reality even when the information is communicated through such technologies. The community should be a more or less complete entity in which, as mentioned, living and working take place in close spheres or in the same sphere, so that, for example, children know how their parents support the family, or similar interests (events, issues or problems) can be shared in the community. Also, it should be more or less self-sufficient in terms of material resources, or at least there should be constant awareness and efforts to make the community less and less material resource consuming.

Modern World, Commodification, and Patriarchy

In the modern world nature and human beings are commodified as natural resources and as labour. Some economists and environmentalists propose to put more price tags on nature so

that environmental costs can be counted in development and development will be more sustainable. Some feminists or community activists propose to put price tags on human activities more widely, such as child rearing and volunteer work, so that women's work and other uncoun­ted and undervalued work are more appropriately counted^e. This may sound good. People may say this is better than not counting them as in the current situation. But this is a tricky choice. Because this would further push the commodification (and consequent dehumanization) of nature and humans. People may say this is a measure for a transitional period. But if the systems after the transition, i.e. alternatives to the modern system, are not looked at, of course, transition never happens. Unless we keep reminding ourselves that this is an emergency measure only for the transitional period and keep working on the search for alternatives, this strategy will only reinforce the modern economic world. At least, in the longer term, what we really have to do is completely the opposite. We have to admit that nature is beyond our management and something sacred that we cannot measure in monetary terms. This is probably the only way by which we will appreciate nature properly and leave a habitable environment to our future generations.

I see the same argument with human activities. Counting more and more human activities in monetary value will further enhance the dehumanization of human beings. It will further deepen the separation of work from families and communities. We, human beings, should not be rendered to monotonous monetary value (besides it is an impossible task).

One human activity which is most difficult to measure in monetary terms (or the human activity which is most remotely situated from such a concept) is women's reproductive role. This modern world always tries to put a price tag on everything including human activities. Given the impossibility of measuring the reproductive role, the modern world is essentially a patriarchal system. (Of course, a patriarchal system is not the exclusive patent of the modern

^e For example, Richard Barnett began his argument from the job crisis in the US job market, which is a modern problem, and ended up talking about counting community work in monetary terms, transforming traditionally uncoun­ted jobs into countable jobs (1994, "The end of jobs" *Third World Resurgence* No. 44, pp. 15). As a reunion of human activities this could be an embryo for the humanization of commodified labour and for reviving a community. However, the vector of transforming should eventually be opposite.

world, though.) Therefore, the modern world and feminism are inherently incompatible. I believe what we have to do is not to surrender more human activities to the modern economic system, but to try to withdraw currently commodified human activities from an open (global) market to families and communities.

6-2-4. Seeing the Goal(s) Directly

After a few generations of modern dominance, we have become used to seeing our lives through the narrow lens of economism. Now we feel that economic advancement is the primary way to ensure our well being, though, as a matter of fact, we are kept dissatisfied in the midst of this material affluence.. We have forgotten to see what we really want in our lives. If we do not feel satisfied in the midst of this material affluence, it is not for material (economic advancement) that we need to strive, and besides, this quest for material affluence is unsustainable. What we really have to do now is to stop and think about the essence of our lives, consciously recognizing the distinction between ends and means, and trying to see the end directly using our imagination. In the modern world we are used to mistaking economy, one of the means, for the end. Even though some people claim that economy is a means and not the end, we often unconsciously take economy as *the* means and inevitably the end becomes economy-centred. We really should free ourselves from the modern ideology, even if only for a minute, and think about the essence of our lives. One may come up with many questions about our current life or may find many possible ways of life other than modern life.

Goal(s) of Life and Development

Do these two have many things in common? Shouldn't they? Attention to and investigation of what we ultimately want should earn a proper position in development since, I believe, development should be a tool to help people achieve their ultimate goal(s) in life. For example, let's suppose that happiness is the goal of our lives^f. It is probably true that for most people material affluence is one of the factors which contribute to making us feel happy. At least, we need certain material conditions to sustain our lives. But I still cannot help feeling that there is a huge disproportion here, i.e. currently dominant modern development almost solely focuses on material affluence or, in other words, economic development as if it is the ultimate goal of people's lives. Modern development does not try to link between itself and people's lives and the goal(s) of life. It does not try to see that there may be other ways (other than economically) to achieve the same goal(s). Or it simply does not see beyond the material affluence which it is trying to raise to, in reality, unsustainable levels. Development should consider what its aim is, i.e. to achieve material affluence or to help achieve the goal(s) of human beings.

One might argue that development is an economic division of human efforts to achieve the goal(s) of human beings, while other divisions such as ethics and religion take care of other aspects of the same goal(s) and actually development, too, takes care of some of the other aspects than those which are solely economic. I want to raise two objections to this view. First, modern development may include aspects other than economic affluence, after all they are mostly added to enhance economic development^g or to mitigate the negative effects of

^f Happiness may be the goal. Peacefulness in people's mind and in communities may be. A world without discrimination or a world without deprivation can be the goal, too. (In this regard feminism in Gender And Development was the only subject I ever took at the IDS which primarily addresses development itself.) Meredith Campbell argues that holistic health is the one (exactly speaking she says 'development is (holistic) health' in Meredith A. Campbell, 1996, Redefining Health in Development: A Feminist Approach to HIV/AIDS as a Development Issue, Saint Mary's University; pp. 37). Or maybe these are all talking about a same thing with different expressions. But probably they all involve holistic conditions than simply physical ones.

^g For example, a World Bank report emphasizes the importance of investing in people and goes on to say "When economies are badly managed, investments in people may go to waste." (World Bank, 1991, World Development Report 1991, Oxford; pp. 52) Here the purpose of investing in people is for nothing but

economic development^h, and material affluence is still the definite centre of modern development.

Second, while there are other 'divisions' taking care of several aspects of human needs in an effort to make this world more livable, development, if it is to be a right tool for human beings, should see human life in much more holistic ways because it is how human beings are. Someone might still maintain that my argument is nonsense because development is assigned to dealing with the material part of human life in the first place. If we find it is an incorrect assignment we should not hesitate to change it, because 'development' affects our lives in many aspects anyway. We have to reconsider and redefine development so that development will become an appropriate tool which aims straight at what we really want to have in our lives.

Good or Better, Happy or Happier

Which one are we looking for? I know I am lucky and happy. Why do I still want to be luckier and happier? Can't I stop? If I can stop wanting more, should I be called lazy? Wanting more, wanting to be happier or, one might say, an effort for progress is what has made us what we are now. Progress must be a human virtue. With a little twist toward material which has limits in amount, this perhaps was *the* mistake of human history.

Probably we have to find ways to get rid of or, at least, decrease our huge appetite for material in the search for happiness, satisfaction, holistic health or whatever we consider as the goal(s) of life. Perhaps this can be done gradually replacing this appetite with something

economic return. Also see the argument of JICA in Chapter 2. For many NGOs poverty alleviation is *the* mandate in their projects, which are supported by 'rich' people in 'developed' countries. To alleviate this situation called poverty, or to empower women, we too often try to 'solve' the 'problems' by economic means in 'development'.

^h The widely acknowledged Brundtland Report (Brundtland, 1987, Our Common Future, Oxford Press) is a good example. It proposes to add environmental aspects to 'development', but its goal is to maintain economic growth. An NGO group claims "Donors seem to regard the mitigation of adverse impact on the poor as an adjustment success, whereas NGOs believe that an improvement in the situation of the poor should be the benchmark by which development interventions, including adjustment, are assessed." (International Council of Voluntary Agencies, 1995, The Reality of Aid 1995, Eurostep; pp. 10)

else, material greediness to 'other forms of greediness' so to speak. Greediness seems to be human nature. Modernity does not discourage material greediness; rather it sees this as the engine for progress (modernity's attention is on material progress). By finding other ways we will be able to become more accommodating to each other and with nature. So what can this 'something else' be? Something not so materialistic, something of which we have unlimited supply, something we would gratefully share. Progress will find a lot of room to explore in this humane side. Further, it may not be a bad idea to learn to be contented.

6-2-5. Imagination

I believe that imagination is the most important human quality. Especially when human activities have become more and more interconnected globally and human beings have become able to affect nature at an unprecedented scale and speed. I believe that imagination is the vital tool to open possibilities toward a livable human world. When communities were small and isolated from each other, what one saw with one's own eyes was the world. One could feel another's feelings with more real sense than in the current modern world, because these two people in a same community had more things in common. Now the situation has changed drastically.

The isolation of communities has broken and communities themselves have even been disappearing. What we do affects the other side of the world socially and ecologically. In this situation, the use of our imagination is urged more than ever to grasp reality and then to build a livable future. While technological advancement has enabled us, especially people in the modern centre, to receive more and more information at increasingly greater speeds, we easily fail to grasp real feelings from the information provided through TVs, the internet and other media. One simple example is the fact that

we still can stay with modern ideology and this wasteful lifestyle with little pain, though we know this lifestyle is destroying community lives and nature in other parts of the world. This is partly because we do not have the ability to grasp the real feelings of others when we have long lost organic relations in a community and with nature, and partly because imagination has been overshadowed by modern rationalism, i.e. when what we feel is not backed by objective data, it is greatly discounted and/or not accepted as legitimate.

When the modern world, with incapable modern rationalism at its foundation and 'development' as its troop, is gobbling up the world, we really have to use as much of our imagination as possible to think of ourselves, other peoples and our future generations, along with the efforts to build our own communities, and to see the essence of life. All this begins from one's imagination.

6-3. Personal Approaches

I came to study in the IDS programme in order to become a good 'development' worker. Yet, through classes, discussions with classmates, travelling, research and thinking, I have gradually come to think that I would not want to work for 'development' anymore. So, after having said all the above, what can I do?

One of my primary areas of interest is development education. This development education will not aim at raising pity in the minds of the people of the 'developed' world for 'poor' people in the 'developing' world. It is to show the people in the 'developed' world that the 'developing' world is not what we are often told, that lives in the

'developing' world are vivid and viable. I want to encourage people in my home country to question the widely accepted belief that the modern world is better than and superior to the non-modern world. I would like to tell them that this belief may be a big mistake. I would like to tell my neighbours that the people who should learn from the other side may be us, rather than them as we usually believe. I would be doing this through the introduction of vivid cultures and, of course, through people such as foreign students and their families (this may be rather difficult because people from 'developing' countries living in the 'developed' world may have come to the 'developed' world believing in the superiority of the 'developed' world).

Another future project is to bring a group of people who are deeply troubled with modern problems to a rural village in a non-modern world (at least, largely non-modern) and let them live there for some time. Of course, they have to be very modest people, but if they are really sick and tired of life in the modern centre and looking for alternatives seriously, the chance to find a hint is high. This project would offer two benefits, i.e. people from the modern centre will appreciate the real values of the lives in the 'developing' world and find some hints for alternatives back home, and the people in the community will gain (regain) some confidence by knowing that the modern centre is not a perfect world and they can offer help.

At the same time I would like to combine the above projects with another effort; that of reinforcing a community in my neighbourhood which is very much in need of building a livable future and in which I have more legitimacy than if I am doing 'development' in a community to which I am foreign.

If I happen to be working on a 'development project', I would rather work in order to slow the affects of 'development' than to enhance 'development'. I won't go with any preset agenda or plan (I may have to have them officially, though). Amounts of materials and money brought into the area by the project would be as small as possible, of course depending on the situation. This is not to say any assistance is unnecessary and evil, but the basic assumption in 'development' that we, people from the modern centre, are in a position to teach the 'recipients' is wrong and would do a lot of harm. The greatest effort would be paid to encourage the people in the area to rely on their own strengths, of which they have many. At the same time, I would be making efforts to convey as fairly as possible information that should be including a lot of positive information about lives in the area to the 'developed' world.

The above is only my would-be approach for development. The strategy of everyone in the IDS must be formulated through his/her own contemplation, because everyone has different interests, capacities, qualities and circumstances. Even if one is working on a 'development project' it should be possible to reflect his/her questions of 'development' in his/her actions. Though it is true that we have to survive in the real world, there are always some choices and the choices are up to what we think and believe.

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Author's Note

It was a lot of struggle to produce this paper. Many people suggested that this would not quite make an academic paper. The IDS Student Handbook states about thesis research as follows:

The primary reason a thesis is required is to help the student develop a cluster of skills which demonstrate the capacity to analyze, interpret and synthesize ideas and data in order to present their findings cogently and clearly; and to appreciate the wider significance of their contribution.

The Handbook also says “The practicum does not have the theoretical rigor of a thesis” implying a thesis requires ‘theoretical rigor’. Several people told me that my paper should have been written objectively from a neutral scientific point of view, an academic paper was not for expressing subjective opinions. But I felt that most subjects taught at the IDS were caught in objective scientism or in other words, patriarchal academism. In academic circumstance, most of us believe in natural science-like objectivity and feel uncomfortable talking about living human beings which consist of diverse individuals with feelings, emotions, and all kinds of subjective unmeasurable things, as a result, delinking the study of development from reality (wholeness of life)¹. But it is a modern cultural judgement that sees social science can be and should be objective and neutral, due to a belief that we have seen a great success in modern natural science (actually it was modern engineering rather than natural science) and social science should adopt the methodology of natural science, neglecting the huge difference between the complex human world and the production of gadgets, i.e. engineering. The above requirements for

¹ In this regard I am hoping that feminism will make a breakthrough, if we are clearly aware of this potential (but not the feminism which is not interested in investigating the complex structure of domination).

a thesis and 'theoretical rigor' are translated in the modern cultural way by many people and such translation is imposed on students. I was told that a master's thesis was only a practice to write an academic paper in order to get used to the academic framework. But moulding students into the modern cultural way of seeing and thinking is part of this practice, believing the universality of their belief. One might say "Since you chose to come to a university where modern science is the currency, it is you who should accept the way we see and think". If I were here to study a single disciplinary subject such as economics, I would follow their way of thinking, because the single disciplinary economics self-explanatorily declares "This is a subject which translates the world though a single lens of economy". But the interdisciplinary IDS should be different. Essentially it has to deal with different cultures, i.e. different ways of seeing and thinking. It has to deal with the wholeness of life. Because of its banner 'interdisciplinary' it is not allowed to limit itself to a particular way of seeing and thinking. Besides the predominant objective science is not capable of handling the wholeness of life. Furthermore, should eliminating domination and realizing a equitable world be a purpose of development, an IDS programme should not operate based on the monopoly of the modern cultural way of reasoning. It should be urged to try to end the domination of modern scientific reasoning.

I don't see this little-spoken domination of modern culture would take us to a livable world. Also, since I came to this land I have learned what being dominated is like, as well as how difficult it is to realize the massive domination and real diversity when dominating. I could not help writing about this in this paper, driven by what I have seen and felt.

Appendix A

Some Cambodian Village Recipes

These are some of Cambodian recipes (mainly sweets) which I learned from the mothers. In any part of the world food is a good part of culture and home cooking comes out of one's care for the family. These Cambodian recipes survived the atrocity of the country, because of the great care of the mothers (and sometimes the fathers). As I said, food is an inseparable part of culture, therefore to appreciate it most you need to be there. I was so grateful as well as the host family's children when my host mother prepared 'num onsom cheik' with newly harvested sticky rice. I was one of the people who were harvesting the rice everyday from dawn to dusk. Please try to imagine the life in a Cambodian village with some Cambodian snack.

Num onsom cheik (steamed banana)

1. Soak sticky rice in water for a few hours
2. Shred coconut meat out of shell
3. Place sticky rice and a small amount of coconut meat on a piece of banana leaf (15cm*15cm) to form a layer of 0.5cm*10cm*10cm
4. Place a half cut banana on top of 3., wrap with the banana leaf
6. Steam

You may also steam the rice first and wrap in the same way then bake. This is even more flavorful.

Chrok trosok (cucumber pickle)

1. Boil water add sugar, small amount of salt, remove from heat
2. Soak cucumber, bean sprout, chili, let stand for 2 days

Num kalaochi

- 1. Roast and chop peanuts, roast black sesame seeds**
- 2. Grind sticky rice**
- 3. Mix sticky rice with water to make manageable dough, form balls of 1 inch in diameter**
- 4. Boil rice balls in a sauce pan, wait for half a minute after they come to the surface**
- 5. Drain them well**
- 6. Put rice balls on a plate, sprinkle with peanuts, sesame seeds and sugar**

Num kroi (stuffed doughnut)

- 1. Soak mung beans overnight**
- 2. Grind sticky rice, shred coconut meat out of shell**
- 3. Cook mung beans, changing water twice, until soft**
- 4. Drain**
- 5. Add sugar (half the amount of beans), stir constantly on stove, until it makes paste**
- 6. Add coconut meat (a fifth the volume of paste)**
- 7. Mix rice flour with water, make manageable dough**
- 8. Flatten 3 tbsp dough on your palm**
- 9. Wrap 2 tbsp mung bean paste with dough, form into a disc shape**
- 10. Deep-fry**

I always asked for one right from the frying pan.

Banyu chenuo

- 1. Prepare mung bean paste as described above**
- 2. Prepare sticky rice dough as described above**
- 3. Soak shredded coconut meat in small amount of water. Squeeze shredded coconut meat wrapped in cloth to make coconut milk**

4. Wrap 2tbsp mung bean paste with the dough to make a small ball
5. Boil the balls, then drain
- 6 Prepare syrup with sugar
7. In a small bowl arrange a few cooked balls, pour some syrup and coconut milk

Num kon trai (literally translation is 'small fish dessert')

1. Grind sticky rice
2. Shred coconut meat
3. Boil water in a large sauce pan, add palm sugar
4. Mix the rice flour with water to make manageable dough
5. Form small balls (2cm in diameter) of dough
6. Cook the balls in the simmering soup
7. Add coconut meat into the soup

Cheik chien (banana fritter)

1. Grind rice
2. Mix the rice flour with water to make batter
3. Sandwich a ripe banana with plastic wrap, flatten the banana to 5 mm thick
4. Dress the flattened banana with the batter
5. Deep-fry

Num cheik onbok (banana onbok fritter)

1. Prepare onbok (roasted and flattened sticky rice)
2. Prepare rice batter
2. Cut ripe bananas into three pieces each
3. Dress banana pieces with onbok

4. Dress them in rice batter

5. Deep-fry

This is very flavorful. Jai Pan (Grandma Pan) was good at making this.

Num angko sondaek (rice and mung bean sweet soup)

1. Soak mung beans and sticky rice overnight

2. Prepare coconut milk

3. In a large sauce pan cook mung beans and sticky rice until soft skimming floating foam

4. Add sugar and coconut milk

Somlo kluon (whole soup)

Soup with ground baked fish, ground roasted peanuts, tamarind and salt

This may be poured onto rice noodle or eaten scooped with a raw Chinese cabbage leaf (which has a spoon like shape)

Pickle of Chinese radish with peanuts

1 small Chinese radish, 2 tsp salt, 2 tbsp sugar, 2 tbsp lemon juice, 1tbsp chopped ginger,
4 tbsp roasted and chopped peanuts

1. Roast and chop peanuts

2. Peel and thinly slice a Chinese radish. Stir in salt.

3. Add sugar, lemon juice and chopped ginger

4. Add roasted and chopped peanuts

Appendix B

Survey in Cambodia, 1994

Note (January, 1997)

I planned and conducted a survey in rural villages in Cambodia in 1994. At this point I was planning to conduct further research the following year. Therefore, this survey was supposed to be a preliminary baseline survey to plan the next stage of research which would include another baseline survey to study changes over the past year, especially to observe the effects of the Project in the area. I was hoping to organize some participatory research after comparing the two baseline surveys. I also hoped to live in a village during the next research phase so that I could obtain more detailed insights into village life, which would be difficult to grasp in a structured survey. The baseline surveys were intended to identify 'problems' which could be addressed and 'fixed' with participatory research. However, my thoughts slightly shifted in the following year. I dropped the idea of doing participatory research in which the researcher expects him/herself to help people in a community solve 'problems'. I decided instead to just live in a community to feel the lives there.

Now I have read the survey report again. I still admit that this sort of survey may offer some insights which can be used in community development for both local people and, if there have to be, outsiders (who may appreciate it more than local people because local people already know or have a feeling of what a survey could tell). In this report I tried to be objective, and ended up talking about 'data' and seeing villagers as the source of 'data'. I wrote that one of the purposes of the survey was 'to identify problems'. Without knowing anything about the villages and lives there, I unilaterally declared that people there had to have problems. Of course, no place is perfect on this planet, but what

I had in mind was ‘this is a developing country therefore there must be problems’, without doubting how arrogant this statement is, and forgetting to appreciate the lives there. As far as the survey results are concerned many villages in Kong Pisei District, where the survey was conducted, may not look as good as Tropeang Chuuk Village where I stayed in 1995. Nonetheless, it should be noted that if I had stayed in one of the ‘poorer’ villages in the District I would have found encouraging and vivid lives there as well as some discouraging stories.

In the survey I analyzed the economic situation in the area from the survey data, assuming that the economy in the area was not much different from what we see in a modern money economy, only a poorer version of it. For example, I wrote “more than half of the households did not have access to credit or market, which are crucial for setting up an income generation activity and selling its products”. This analysis may not be totally false. However, I assumed the same principles as those operating in the money centered economy, without paying due attention to the local economy in which money is basically a medium more for distributing surplus and storing the surplus in non-perishable form, than for profit. As a result the above analysis failed to include small but many and important economic activities (non-modern form, though) within a community. In the survey planning and analysis I assumed that the economic situation, which can be measured by income and expenditure, was the most important subject to investigate in order to understand the general situation in the area. Now I find it difficult to agree with this idea.

Field Research Report

IDS 560.1

**Baseline Survey in Kong Pisei District,
Konpong Speu Province, Cambodia**

July, 1994

Saint Mary's University

IDS 9337759

MATSUI, Hideki

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Field Research Report

Baseline Survey in Kong Pisei District, Konpong Speu Province, Cambodia

Abstract

A baseline survey was carried out in Kong Pisei District, Cambodia, to obtain basic information on the lives in the area for both the researcher and project staff who had started a rural development project in the area. A semi-structured questionnaire was designed to cover four fields including income generation activities, agriculture, education, and public health because the project was working in these four areas. Some important problems were identified. These included structural vulnerability to poverty and indebtedness, lack of organized cooperation among villagers, and gender discrepancies.

1. Introduction

From March to April of 1993 I worked in Phnom Penh, Cambodia for a rural development project funded by the Japanese government through the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees and was supposed to be joined by fifty experts from Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. Although those experts were not posted at that time because of the tense situation in the country, delaying the project, the project interested me very much. Therefore I decided to do my graduate research in the area where this project would be implemented.

From April to July 1994 I went back to Cambodia to carry out a baseline survey in the project area to see the basic situation and to identify problems in villages in order to plan my graduate research, as well as providing a basic picture of the area to the project experts as little data on rural lives was available in the country.

2. Procedure

Formulating a Questionnaire: I planned to interview villagers in rural areas to get a basic picture of the area and to identify problems there. In the first four weeks of my stay at the project centre in Tram Khna Village, Kong Pisei district, Konpong Speu Province (Map 2), I made some visits to project sites, and interviewed some Cambodian project staff and experts who had been posted and started their work. Then I formulated a questionnaire draft for the baseline survey as well as doing some work for the project. After formulating the questionnaire draft, I consulted some members of the Cambodian staff and the project manager to adjust the questionnaire to the local context. The questionnaire was then translated into Khmer and back-translated into English by different persons, to check the Khmer translation. The questionnaire was designed to be semi-structured. Since I intended to hire some interviewers to carry out the survey because I did not understand Khmer, and also because it was deemed necessary to interview over two hundred families for statistical comparisons with the following year's survey. The questionnaire in English is attached in this paper.

Getting Permission and Selecting Households Interviewed: After the formulation of the questionnaire, permission for the survey was sought from local authorities. Visits were made to the Kong Pisei District Office because I decided that the baseline survey would be carried out in the district in which the Project Center was located. The district chief gave me permission for the survey plan and promised to inform commune chiefs about the survey. In the district there were 250 villages in 13 communes with approximately 86,300 people in 16,500 households (1992)¹. A village consisted of approximately 30 to 100 households. I decided to do the survey in twenty villages which were to be selected randomly from the list of villages in the district using randomized numbers. I hired a person from a village who spoke some English and had a motorbike. These two people visited all commune chiefs and village chiefs of those selected twenty villages to explain the survey and asked for permission and cooperation. All of them gladly accepted my request. In each village, one fifth of all households in the village were selected randomly from the list of households which was obtained from the village chief on the visit. This selection process was done in front of the village chief and other villagers so that they understood that the selection was made randomly and without any intentions of the researcher.

Carrying out the Survey: To carry out the survey, I hired five people with motorbikes from the nearby villages and a translator from Phnom Penh. In the first two days of the survey week, the pretest and explanation of the questionnaire was carried out. During this process some modifications were made to the questionnaire. A hexagonal pencil with


numbers from one to six was given to each interviewer to select a particular adult interviewee from a household to be interviewed^a. Actual interviews were carried out starting on the third day, and this process lasted for eleven days. Two hundred and thirty-nine households were interviewed. Every day the answers from the previous day were tabulated on a spreadsheet using a computer. Each evening I met the interviewers to brief them on the survey progress. Some problems (misunderstandings and simple mistakes) in the interviews were found during the tabulation and further instructions were given to the interviewers. Families from which incorrect data had been gathered were re-visited. Throughout the process the interviewers were also asked for their opinions whenever I had questions arising from the survey answers.

Survey Analysis: The analysis of the answers started during the interview period and some findings were reported to and discussed with the interviewers so that they might become more interested in the survey and their living situations. In this baseline survey I put more emphasis on seeing the general living situations of villagers in the area where the project was being implemented rather than focusing on a particular subject. This is because, first, the original purpose of this research was to get a basic idea about the area for next year's research, and, second, to provide a general picture of the area to the project experts who had started working in various technical areas such as public health, education, income generation activities and agriculture. Because little social information was available in Cambodia, and the experts were starting their activities without

^a First adult family members (over 15 years old) were numbered according to their ages from the oldest to the youngest. Then the interviewer rolled the pencil. The person whose number matched with the number obtained from the pencil was interviewed.

sufficient basic information about the area, I thought providing them with the survey results was important. Therefore the analysis was mainly focused on the simple presentation of gathered data. Statistical analyses were also carried out in some cases, such as finding the determining factors of school attendance rates and examining differences in the economic situation between old villages and new villages.

The survey results were presented to the project experts with handouts at a presentation. The same report was translated to Khmer and the copies were delivered to the district office and those twenty villages where the interviews were carried out. The report was also handed to some NGOs in Phnom Penh which I visited to conduct interviews about NGO cooperation. Those NGOs seemed to be interested in the survey because of the scarcity of statistical information in the country.

week	research activity	other activities
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * exploration of the project area * interview of the project staff * formulation of a questionnaire * translation and back-translation of the questionnaire and correction * visit to district office * visits to villages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * preparing project reports including LFA and a progress report * general duty as an unofficial project assistant
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * hiring interviewers * training interviewers * carrying out the survey * tabulation and feedback to the interviewers 	
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * analysis of the survey answers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * organizing a concert at a nearby village involving projects staff and villagers
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * presentation to the project staff 	

10	* feedback to the district office and villages * sharing information with other NGOs	
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Table 1 Itinerary of the field research

3. Survey Results

The Area

This survey was done in randomly selected villages in Kong Pisei District, Konpong Speu Province. Although Konpong Speu Province is next to Kandal Province in which the capital city, Phnom Penh, is located and is only one and half hours away from the capital by public transportation (bus), it is said that the local administration in fields such as education and public health is poorly managed compared to even neighbouring provinces in Cambodia where, generally, the administration is barely functioning.

Most of the population are rice growing farmers (in my survey 98.7% of households interviewed were rice growing farmers) living in nippa or wooden houses, in many cases stilt houses. There is no public water supply, electricity supply, telephone service or postal service in the district. Phnom Penh is one and half hours away by a national road which is a poor tarmac road with many holes and patches of soil and gravel. In the rainy season the road is easily washed away at several points and Phnom Penh may become inaccessible for days. Within the district there are no tarmac roads; however, some main roads are relatively well constructed, mainly by foreign aid, although they have maintenance problems. Some villages surveyed were not accessible by vehicles. In the rainy season many more villages become inaccessible by cars and trucks and some

become difficult to reach even by motorbikes. The land is mostly flat except the central western part of the district which is mountainous and where sporadic Khmer Rouge activities are reported.

Population and Families

As shown in Fig. 1 half of the population is made up of children under 15 years of age. This means that the population is young and growing rapidly. Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 show the serious social wound which wars in the last three decades in the country have left. In the area the number of adult males (15 years old and over) was 20% less than females. Separated women were as much as 8% of the total population while separated men were less than 1% of the total population. Disabled males were almost 2% of the total population and triple to handicapped females. In Fig. 2 the number of married males is less than the number of married females. This trend is attributed to the fact that some males were away from home to take jobs such as cyclo or moto (motorbike) drivers in Phnom Penh.

The average size of the families was 5.7 persons per household. A standard family may consist of two to three adults and two to three children under 15 years old. In the area where the survey took place usually the eldest daughter inherits the house and land, and she becomes the househead.

According to the survey an average family may have:

- land (on average 0.78ha including 0.63ha of rice field)
- a house (93% of respondents answered they owned houses.)
- no bank savings or cars (0%)
- an oxen plough (63%)

- a hand-pound or foot-operated rice mill (68%)
- domestic animals
 - 2 cows (average 2.2)
 - 3 chickens (average 2.7, may have 1 duck)
 - 1 pig (average 0.8)
- monthly cash income and expenditure
 - income: mean 51200 Riel (approximately 20 USD)
 - mode^b 30000 Riel (approximately 12 USD)
 - expenditure: mean 33800 Riel (approximately 14 USD)
 - mode 30000 Riel (approximately 12 USD)
- others
 - a motorbike / 8.2 households
 - a bicycle / 2.6 households
 - a TV / 15.9 households
 - a radio / 3.1 households

Economic Situation of Villagers

Both average income and expenditure levels from the survey are small even considering prices in Cambodia. (An ordinary lunch at a local restaurant may be about half a USD. One kilogram of carrots may cost 1 USD. One kilogram of rice is about 40 US cents. Household goods are relatively expensive in Cambodia because even light manufacturing industry hardly exists in the country and most goods have to be imported.) Almost 30% of the respondents answered that the family earned less than 6 USD a month. Besides which, they are not always self-sufficient farmers.

^b Mode is the number obtained most frequently, while mean is an average.

Fig. 14 shows the landholding distribution of the respondents' households. Although most households owned land and houses, half of the households interviewed answered that they owned less than 0.5 ha of rice field. Since the average rice yield in the country is only one to two ton/ha, this landholding is hardly enough to support a family which has five to six members on average. (Later I heard that one person consumed two to three hundred kilograms of rice (with husks) a year.) Therefore, although they are farmers with few other income sources, they had to buy rice, their absolute staple food, quite regularly. The area failed to have regular rainy seasons for the last two years, and this survey was conducted at the beginning of a rainy season, when people had to wait for the next harvest for another four to five months, therefore a number of households had no stock of rice. If a family is lucky enough to have better-off relatives they can expect support from those relatives. If not, they would have to borrow rice from others, likely a private rice mill, with high interest which they will have to pay with rice from the next harvest, which will not be much in any case.

The income generation activities of households are shown in Figs. 6, 7 and 8. Three-fourths of the households interviewed answered that they were doing some income generation activities other than farming. Casual labour was the most common form of income generation, followed by selling their own agricultural products, making palm crafts and vending food products. "Others" in Fig. 7 includes moto drivers and cyclo drivers in Phnom Penh. Although it is not included in these figures, selling domestic animals such as pigs and chickens was an important means of income (Fig. 10). Figs. 11 and 12 show that more than a half of the households did not have access to credit or

markets which are crucial for setting up an income generation activity and selling its products. In the surveyed area, no credit union or cooperative, which could play an important role in improving their income generation, was found.

Only 19 persons among all family members were employed. Their jobs included teachers, policemen, soldiers and public health workers. Their monthly salaries varied from 2 USD for a vice village chief to 50 USD for a company employee. Usually government officers including teachers get 10 to 30 USD a month.

Household expenditures are shown in Fig. 5. Although they were farmers, they were constantly buying food. Fuel for lamps, expenditures related to sending children to schools, agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and farm tools, and medicines also made up their expenses. That many respondents listed medicine as one of their major expenditures supports a survey finding that self medication is a common form of health care (Fig. 50), and is related to another finding, that many households had sick persons (Fig. 48). Some respondents (55 respondents) listed religion-related expenses such as donations to pagodas, funerals and weddings as major expenses.

Agriculture

As mentioned above, the vast majority of the households are farmers, growing rice as their staple food, as well as some other crops and vegetables. The land is generally flat; however, a project expert said that it was not very fertile and there is no big river or large irrigation scheme in the district. Farmers grow rice once a year, almost totally depending on rainfall (Figs. 15 and 16). They use oxen ploughs for land preparation. Two thirds of

the respondents owned ploughs and two or more cows (the plough is used with two cows). No use of tractors was found. Most households (97%, Fig. 53) were making compost, although the amount was thought to be insufficient for their farm land. Two-thirds of the households primarily used their own hand-pound or foot-operated rice mills (Fig. 18), while 15% of the households used private mills as their first choice (Fig. 19), for which they paid 10% of the rice milled (another 15% used private rice mills as their second choice, Fig. 21). As shown in Figs. 24 and 25, while most respondents (90%) did not sell rice and had to buy rice (76% answered that they sometimes or often bought it), this was partly because of the insufficient rainfall in the last two rainy seasons. Many of them also grew some other crops and vegetables such as spinach and pumpkin (Fig. 30), as well as buying ones which they did not grow. Only one third of the households answered that they sometimes sold their vegetables. None sold vegetables regularly (Fig. 26). No cooperative for selling their agricultural products collectively existed in the area, though some complained of the low prices for their products.

Raising domestic animals such as pigs, chickens and ducks was an important source of income and, to a limited extent, of protein. A family might sell a pig once or twice a year and buy a piglet to raise. A middle-size pig earns a family around 60 USD which could be a great financial help. However, on average a family held only one pig. They explained that they could not afford to buy and feed more piglets. Chickens could have provided a good protein source (i.e. eggs), as well as a source of income without a big investment and worries about feeding. However, because of the possibility of disease

killing all chickens in the compound at once, farmers did not want to risk such a loss by having many of them.

Education

The average school years of the respondents, who were 42 years old on average, were 1.9 years for females and 4.2 years for males. The overall average was 2.8 years. The fact that half of the female respondents said that they had never had formal school education, while only 15% of the male respondents did not have formal school education, contributed to this gender difference, as well as the tendency for girls to attend school for shorter periods than boys, if they went at all. The literacy rates were 43% for females and 90% for males (the question in the interview was simply “Can you read?”).

Cambodian schools are officially free. The teachers are paid by the government, though the amount paid is not a generous one. Under the Pol Pot regime most of the teachers were killed and schools were destroyed. After the regime had been ousted from the central government, it was tried to produce as many teachers as possible in as short a period of time as possible. To date, the number and quality of the teachers never meets the demand. School facilities are poor. Some school buildings do not have walls or roofs to protect students from rain or the strong sun. Teaching materials are barely available. School education is free; however, this does not mean that a family does not need to make sacrifices (as in many other countries). Parents may have to buy uniforms and school supplies for their children. Many schools collect money to raise funds for repairing, building or rebuilding school buildings, or purchasing teaching materials. Another factor that limits children’s education is that children are an important labour force in the

families (also common in developing countries). Often a family can not do without its children's work and thus do not send them to school.

Current Educational Situation of Children

The average school attendance rates for children (6 to 15 years old) in the sample population were 58% for girls, 72% for boys, and 64% for all children. I searched for determining factors for school attendance rates of the children. Some tendencies were identified by comparing school attendance rates in several sub-groups, although none of them was statistically supported by a t-test at 95% a confidence level. The criteria used to make sub-groups include distance to school, income, expenditures, adult-child ratio, family size, years of settlement, and protein intake.

Those tendencies include:

When compared village by village,

- The attendance rates for girls were found to have a negative correlation with distance to schools, i.e. the farther a school is, the less the girls go to school.
- The attendance rates for girls were found to have a correlation with the monthly spending and the amount of property of the family, i.e. the more better-off the family is, the more the girls go to school.

When compared family by family,

- The attendance rates for girls were found to have a negative correlation with distances to schools and a positive correlation with protein intake. This means the farther a school is, the less the girls go to school; and the more better-off the family is, the more the girls go to school, or the more the family pays attention to family nutrition, the more the girls go to school.

These findings seem to be reasonable, although the differences between sub-groups were not significant enough to be supported statistically. It appears that whether a girl

goes to school or not depends more on the family's financial situation than in the boys' case, because with boys the differences between sub-groups were insignificant. Parents seem to tend to give up their daughters' education if they face financial difficulties rather than their sons'. That no determining factor on school attendance for both girls and boys was supported statistically means that family situations such as those surveyed in this research do not always dictate their children's school attendance. This might suggest that if parents become aware of the importance of education for their children regardless of their sex, and give more priority to children attending schools, the number of children who go to school may increase without an environmental change such as financial improvement. Therefore, awareness raising for parents on the importance of education might be worth trying for development workers in education.

The Effect of Education of the Adult Family Members

The literacy and educational attainment of respondents are shown as follows:

	persons	average age	literacy*	years in school
Female	137	41.9	43.1	1.9
Male	97	41.6	89.6	4.2
Total	234	41.8	62.4	2.8

* self-evaluation

Regression analyses were conducted to see how educational attainment (school years) affects villagers' lives. The findings include:

- No significant effects of the educational attainment of the adults were found on their income and expenditure (neither both sexes combined, men or women). (Fig. 35, 36)

- The possession of durable goods (motorbike, bicycle, TV, radio and plough) was found to be negatively related to adult males' educational attainment and positively related to adult females' educational attainment (Fig. 39, 40).
- No significant effects of the educational attainment of the adult members were found on their possession of domestic animals, which was an important source of cash income and protein.
- The educational attainment of female members was found to have a positive effect on their families' protein intake (Fig. 38).
- The school attendance rates of boys and girls combined, boys, and girls were found to be positively related to the male adults' education of their families (Fig. 33), while female members' education did not have a significant effect on their children's school attendance (Fig. 34). This suggests that although women often inherit family assets and become househeads, the decision-making power is still held by male family members.
- Given the positive relations between women's educational attainment, and protein intake (Fig. 38) and family assets (Fig. 40), it can be seen that women are working hard, fully utilizing their ability and knowledge which they obtained in their schooling for their families' welfare, their traditional role. One might say that public education surely has a positive effect here. However, positive financial effects of men's education could not be confirmed statistically in this survey (Fig. 39). It may be said that for men staying in school longer means having less time in their life to accumulate wealth.
- Although the above tendencies were found in the survey, the correlation in each case was weak. A larger sample may be necessary in order to formulate projects based on these findings.

Hygienic and Health Situation

Three-quarters of the households listed ponds as their main domestic water source and one-fifth answered that they used wells for domestic water consumption (Fig. 42).

Approximately one-third of the households boiled water to drink regardless of their water sources. Half of the households said that they occasionally boiled drinking water; for

example, when they had stomach problems (Fig. 44). Only four households out of 239 answered that they had latrines (Fig. 46). Fig. 45 shows that people were primarily bathing in ponds, and when rain water was handy in the rainy season they might take a shower in the rain.

More than half of the respondents answered that they had sick person(s) at home at the time of the interview (Fig. 48). Eighty eight per cent of the respondents answered that their primary medical practice was self-medication. For 31% of the total respondents, self-medication was the only medical practice when someone got sick (Fig. 50). Many had financial difficulty buying medicines. Public hospitals did not charge for medical treatment. There was supposed to be at least one public health worker in each commune, whose average population is six thousand in Kong Pisei District. However, it was said that public health workers were not organized and not active. Public hospital staff and public health workers were said to be busy doing their private business of selling medicines which they skimmed from hospital routes by using their professional privilege. Only nine respondents (4%) answered traditional healers as their primary choice, and 23% of the respondents reported the use of traditional healers. A report by Medicins Sans Frontieres (MSF) said that traditional healers were so common in Cambodia that people did not feel necessary to report the usage of them when they were interviewed². Therefore, the use of traditional healers may be more common than these figures. Traditional practices of taking care of health conditions were widely observed in Cambodia, including urban areas.

The contents of meals were also asked for, to determine protein intake. The average intake was as shown below:

meat 1.7 time/week fish 4.5 egg 1.6 milk 0

This implies that a family had some protein once a day. At local markets chicken, beef, pork, fish, and eggs were generally available. One kilogram of beef or pork cost about 1.6 USD. An egg was 8 cents. Milk other than canned sweetened condensed milk was not available at the local markets. (In Phnom Penh imported milk was sold mainly to foreigners.) Villagers might fish at ponds. Given the numbers of domestic animals, most of the time families seemed to have to buy meat and eggs and it appeared difficult to buy sufficient protein sources and other food stuffs including vegetables when a family had an average income of 12 USD a month. Many experts in the project including public health experts noticed that children in the area were very small for their age. The insufficient diet likely contributed to this.

4. Discussion

Accuracy of the survey: I identified three factors which undermined the accuracy of the survey; villagers' expectations of foreigners, lack of records, and difficulty in defining categories. The survey was conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire.

Households to be interviewed were selected randomly in 20 villages. I visited all village chiefs to ask for permission and cooperation, emphasizing that the survey was for obtaining basic information about the area and would help the project experts in implementing their projects, which were not necessarily in the area of the survey and that

the survey would not directly benefit the families selected for the interviews. These explanations were given in order to avoid unnecessary expectations by the villagers. Households selected were informed about the survey by the respective chiefs. The survey team received complaints from villagers who had not been selected for the interview that they wanted to be interviewed. (This fact that villagers wanted to be heard helped the survey a lot, actually.) Many of interviewees claimed they were poor and needed help^c. The villagers (as well as local authorities and school masters) expected a lot from foreign aid agencies such as the project and other NGOs, although, in reality, not many of the local people had had actual contacts with these agencies. This expectation might have biased their answers. Respondents might have given, for example, smaller figures for their income than the actual numbers in order to emphasize their need for financial help.

Second, we asked for some figures in the interview such as monthly income and spending, and size of land. The respondents might not know the exact size of their land. Agricultural income is usually irregular and the other income sources are also somehow irregular. It should not be expected that records of income and expenditures are kept.

To decrease these two factors, i.e. irregularity and lack of recording, several probes were employed to increase the accuracy of each subject. For example, to see villagers' financial situations both their income and expenditure were asked to cross-check each other. Still, I expected both of them not to be accurate enough, and not to be sufficient to depict their situation. Therefore, we did not solely depend on the income and expenditure

^c I later heard a rumour that one of our interviewers had suggested to some of his interviewees that the project would help villagers build their houses, despite the fact that the interviewers were told several times that the interviews would not bring any immediate benefits to the interviewees and they were instructed to make it clear to their interviewees.

to see their financial situation; we also asked other questions which were thought to be related to the financial situation such as property holdings, income generation activities and the sale and purchase of agricultural products.

Third, answering with numbers leads to another source of inaccuracy. For example, we asked how many children in a family went to school. Some children who only attended school irregularly might have been included. This vague character of numbers contributes to inaccuracy in structured or semi-structured questionnaires, especially when they are to be treated statistically. To decrease this problem, more detailed questions have to be asked; however, this may make the interview too long and complicated. Appropriate balance should be sought considering the purpose of the survey and the required accuracy for a particular question.

Vulnerability of households: The findings that for most households, buying and borrowing rice and buying vegetables was a more common practice than selling them, despite the fact that they were farmers and they had little cash income, show the vulnerability of the households in the area. Since there was almost no irrigation system, agricultural production itself was vulnerable to the climate irregularity. Besides, the farmers could be chronically indebted given the small landholding even if the climate was reasonably good. If one considers that the life in the villages has not been involved in a cash economy to a large extent, it may be suggested that urging the establishment of self-sufficient agriculture should be the first stage of area development, rather than facilitating growing some cash crop. Given the small landholding and lack of irrigation, to focus

more on self-sufficient agriculture would unavoidably mean more labour intensive agriculture. Where would they get the labour? Again, children? This question requires more research into village life.

Income generation activities: Many households (three-fourths) answered that they were engaged in some activities to earn cash income other than farming. Nonetheless, generally the income generated was small. One might do carpentry work for others but only once every few months. Another might have a small shop in front of his or her house selling food, but having only a handful of customers a day. If you do farm work for others, one day of work (50 cents to one dollar) might buy you lunch or might not. I thought that they should have taken advantage of being located close to Phnom Penh which has a giant market in Cambodia. Since Phnom Penh is only one and a half hours away, a person could go and sell merchandise and come back within a day. A wholesaler or a broker could visit villages and collect products and return to the city within a day as well. One villager or one family alone could not manage this, and villagers are not organized in such a way as to facilitate such an activity (the MSF report says villagers are not organized in any way in the country³).

Need for cooperation: Cooperative or Union: In the survey no cooperatives or unions were reported. Some informants told me that they did not trust organizations such as cooperatives, claiming they had been only instruments for the state to collect money from grassroots farmers. When they were asked who decided prices of their agricultural

products when they had cooperatives, and who decides now, the answer was when there were cooperatives, cooperatives decided prices, and brokers decide prices now and they price cheaply. I believe the villagers could start their own cooperatives now that they have achieved a more or less stable situation in the country (at least less, unstable than the last three decades). At present, villagers in the area had little organized cooperation in their daily lives, even at the village level. Some of their problems might be solved or reduced by organizing cooperation. If households in a village or in some villages nearby form an agricultural cooperative, and purchase agricultural inputs and sell their products collectively, they may obtain more bargaining power, have more access to markets or direct access to Phnom Penh, or improve water management. The same cooperative may have positive effects on their income generation activities other than agricultural income generation activities. A credit union could also be formed if villagers get support both financially and in institution-building from others, at present most likely international aid agencies, in the early stage of its formation. A credit union could help villagers to set up income generation activities, or buy agricultural inputs.

People in Cambodia generally do not trust authorities, neither central nor local. They have a strong sense of powerlessness from their past experiences. Besides, it was hard to find any convincing evidence that the administrations in the country were improving to become a more organized institution. Therefore, I believe that people have to start something by themselves to improve their lives or at least to reduce the vulnerability in their daily life, although they may need external support, including patiently encouraging villagers' initiatives (which is crucial given their persistent feeling of powerlessness).

Gender issues: In the area we surveyed, it was found that women inherit the family property such as house and land, and they usually become the househeads. Unfortunately, however, this does not mean that women have the same position as or superior position to men in the family or society. Clear evidence of this in the survey were the gender disparities in the school attendance rates of the children and in the school attending periods of the respondents. The district chief, and all the commune and village chiefs whom I met were men (I knew a female ministry director in the central government, though). When I asked my interviewers, who were introduced by the district chief and were all males, who decided matters in a family, they told me that both the wife and husband would discuss the decision together and decide regardless of which is the househead. I do not know to what extent this was true given the gender disparities that exist. On the other hand, women were active in the economic activities in the area, e.g. vendors were generally women. This is common in many developing countries and may only be evidence of women's double workload. However, I knew some women who controlled household matters and had a strong say in the families. The relation between the tradition of women's inheritance and their actual status was one of the questions I could not clarify in this research.

Another fact which needs to be mentioned is that there are many female-headed families in the country because of the wars in its past. Therefore, there must be a lot of things to be done focusing on and involving women in Cambodia. Development projects

should have a special interest in the situation of women-headed families and generate careful support for their struggles.

5. Conclusion

I believe that the objective of this research was achieved in terms of obtaining basic pictures of the area for myself and project staff, though practically rather than academically. Because the project experts had just started their work with little information about the area, the survey findings will help them plan their projects. This survey motivated some of the experts to begin their own surveys in their respective technical fields. I believe that any technical field has locality, and therefore it is essential for a technical expert to begin a project with research on the local situation. I am planning to visit Cambodia again next year for a longer period of time than this year. The information from this survey will help me understand the local life. I am thinking of focusing on organized cooperative activities of villagers during the next stay, because such activities were hardly found and yet are believed to have the potential to be an important way to improve their situation, involving project staff and villagers.

¹ JICA, Project Formulation Study on Resettlement of Refugees in Cambodia, Final Report, JICA, 1992; pp. 8

² Willem van de Put, Empty Hospitals, Thriving Business, Mediciens Sans Frontieres, 1992; pp. 18

³ Willem van de Put, Empty Hospitals, Thriving Business, Mediciens Sans Frontieres, 1992; pp. 8

Questionnaire

a. Respondent

a1. Sex: Male Female

a2. Age:

a3. Position in the family -- Househead, Spouse of the househead, Parent of the househead,
(one) Parent in law of the househead, Child of the househead, Relative
Others ()

b. Family

	Males in the family	No.		Females in the family	No.
b1	Adult males (15 years and over)		b5	Adult females (15 years and over)	
b2	Boys (6 years - under 15 years)		b6	Girls (6 Years - under 15 years)	
b3	Boys (under 6 years)		b7	Girls (under 6 years)	
b4	Total (Males)		b8	Total (Females)	
b9	Married Males		b13	Married Females	
b10	Unmarried Males (never married)		b14	Unmarried Females (never married)	
b11	Separated Males (widowed, divorced)		b15	Separated Females (widowed, divorced)	
b12	Handicapped Males		b16	Handicapped Females	
	School Boys			School Girls	
b17	Boys who go to nursery		b20	Girls who go to nursery	
b18	Boys who go to primary		b21	Girls who go to primary	
b19	Boys who go to collage		b22	Girls who go to collage	

c. Education

c1. How many years were you in schools? _____

or What is your last school and which year is your last grade?

Primary, Collage, Lycee, Vocational, University;

Grade _____

c2. Can you read a newspaper or a letter in Khmer? Yes No

c3. How many of your family members can speak English? _____

c4. How many of your family members can speak French? _____

d. Family history

d1. How many years has the family of the househead been living in this village? _____

d2. Is the family of the househead originally refugees? --- Yes Go To d4.

--- No Go To d3.

d3. Is there any member who used to be a refugee in the family? --- Yes -- Answer below
--- No -- Go To e1.

How many _____

When did the person(s) come to this family? _____ Go To e1.

d4. Why did you come to this village? (*all applicable*)

Because I had: Parent(s) Child(ren) Relative(s) Friend(s) in this village

Others (_____)

d5. What were your and your spouse's former jobs before becoming refugees?

Yours _____

Spouse's _____

e. Daily life

e1. Number of people who are employed regularly by someone else _____
(persons who go to the work everyday)

Specify the job(s) 1. _____ (M, F)
(sex) 2. _____ (M, F)
3. _____ (M, F)
4. _____ (M, F)
5. _____ (M, F)
6. _____ (M, F)
7. _____ (M, F)
8. _____ (M, F)

Approximately how much cash does the family earn from the jobs above a month?
(in Riel or Dollar) _____

e2. Farming -- Where do you grow rice?

On your land (_____ ha), On someone else's land (_____ ha) -- you pay to the landlord
- you get paid

e3. Do you sell rice? (*One*) No, Rarely, Sometimes, Every year

From the last harvest how many bags of rice did you sell? _____

e4. Do you buy rice? (*One*) No, Rarely, Sometimes, Often

e5. At the last harvest did you hire other people? (*One*) Yes, No

e6. At the last time did you use an oxen plough for land preparation? (*One*)

Yes, by my own plough, Yes, by a rented plough, Yes, by a borrowed plough No

e7. At the last time did you use a tractor for land preparation? (*One*)

Yes, by my own tractor, Yes, by a hired tractor, Yes, by a borrowed tractor, No

e8. Since the last harvest where do you get your rice milled? (*One mainly used facility*)

By your own, Communal mill, Private mill, Cooperative

Others (_____)

How: Hand-pound, Foot-operated machine, Engine or motor-operated machine

Others (_____)

e9. Do you sell other crops or vegetables? (*One*) Yes regularly, Yes sometimes, No

If yes, please specify what you sell. _____

How do you sell them? By yourself, To vendors, Through a cooperative

(*All applicable*) Others (_____)

- e10. Do you buy other crops or vegetables? *(One)* Yes regularly, Yes sometimes, No
If yes, please specify. _____
- e11. Other income generating activities of your family -- In-house *(All applicable)*
Mainly who does it? Male or Female?
Bamboo crafts (M, F), Palm crafts (M, F), Sewing (M, F), Weaving (M, F),
Repairing motorbikes (M, F), Repairing bikes (M, F),
Repairing electric utensils (M, F), Mending clothing (M, F),
Mending other domestic utensils (M, F),
Others (_____)
- e12. Other income generating activities of your family -- Out-of-house *(All applicable)*
Vending: Agricultural products of your own (M, F) Food stuff (M, F)
Hardware (M, F) Others (_____)
Trading (M, F), Carpentry (M, F), Casual labour (M, F)
Others (_____)
- e13. From the above (both in-house and out-of-house) how much did your family earn last month? _____
- e14. Monthly spending of your family (in Riel or Dollar) _____
For what? Five from the biggest expenditures.

(1. Food 2. Loan 3. School fees 4. Fuel 5. Rent 6. Hardware
7. Agricultural input, If there are Others please specify.)
- e15. How many bags of rice does your family consume a year? _____
- e16. Do you have electricity in your house? *(One)* Yes, No
If Yes, how do you get it? *(One main source)*
Your own battery, Your own generator, Sharing a battery, Sharing a generator,
Buying electricity from someone else, Others (_____)
- e17. Domestic animals (How many) *(All applicable)*
Cows (_____), Buffaloes (_____), Chickens (_____), Ducks (_____),
Pigs (_____), Others (_____)
- e18. Properties *(All applicable)*
Savings, Land (How large? _____),
House, Car, Motorbike, Bicycle, TV, Radio, Oxen plough
Others (_____)
- e19. Irrigation *(One main source and one main method)*
From: Pond, River, Irrigation channel, Rain Water, Well,
Others (_____)
How: Powered pump, Manned pump, Natural flow, Bucket, Seesaw-type
bucket, Only wait for rain, Others (_____)
- e20. Pond you usually use *(One)*: Your own (_____ ha), Communal, Others (_____)
Use *(All applicable)*: Irrigation, Domestic water, Fishculture,
Others (_____)

- e21. Membership of unions: Agricultural, Credit, Consumer's,
(All applicable) Others ()
- e22. Access to credits (One): Yes without any problems, Yes, but with some restrictions, No
What kinds of restrictions ()
- e23. Access to markets (One): Yes without any problems, Yes, but with some restrictions, No
What kinds of restrictions ()
- e24. Does any of your family members participate training, extension or seminars?
Yes, No
– Field (All applicable): Agriculture, Income generation, Primary health care,
Literacy Others ()
Who organizes (All applicable): Village, Commune, Other government agency,
NGO, Others ()
- e25. How do you think about the activities of foreign organizations and foreigners in rural
development. (One)
Welcome, OK, Not interested, Do not like, Others ()
- e26. Do you know that any of those from Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, The Philippines or Thailand
are working for rural development in this area. (One)
They are working with me, I am receiving training from them, I saw them,
I heard about them, No

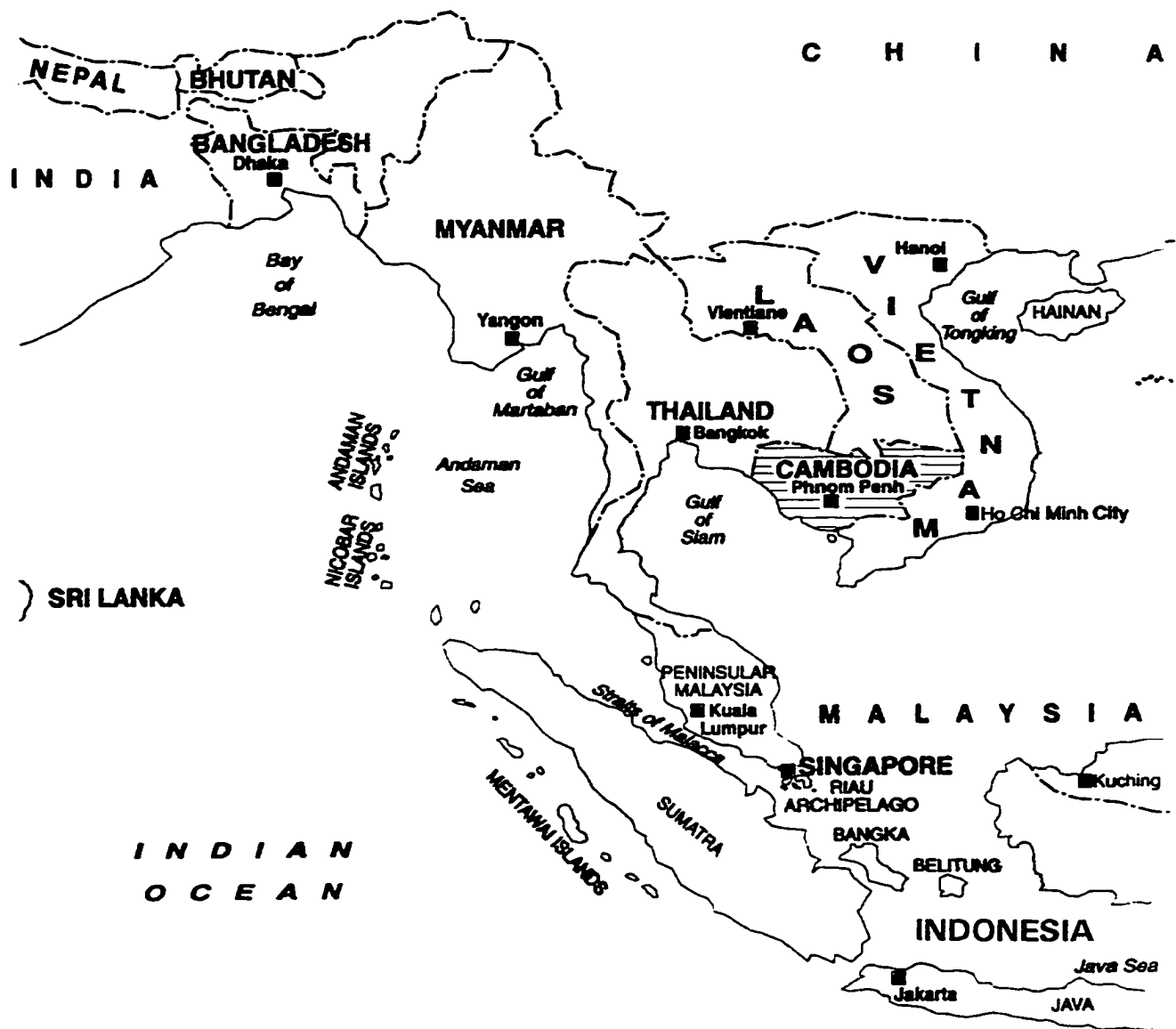
f. Hygienic Situation

- f1. Water sources (All applicable): Well, Deep well, Pond, River, Rain water,
Others ()
Among above what is the main water source of your family? (One) _____
How far is the main water source of your family? (One) _____
Who owns the main water source of your family? (One)
Your family, Commune, Village chief, Other person, Public
Others ()
- f2. Do you boil drinking water? (One) Yes, No, Occasionally,
Others ()
- f3. How do you throw away garbage? Around the house, Field, Bury in the ground,
(At the most Three main ways) Incineration, Compost,
Others ()
- f4. Toilet (One most common way): In the house, Toilet out of the house, Out of the house,
Field, Others ()
- f5. Fuels (At the most Two common sources): Fire wood, Charcoal, Cow dung,
Others ()
How do you get the main fuel? (1.): Buy, Collect,
(2.): Buy, Collect,
Other ways ()
- f6. Bathing (Most common one): In the house, Outdoor (rain water), Pond,
Others ()

- f7. Sick family member: At home () persons, Hospitalized () persons
 Problems: Digestive organs, Skin, Malaria, Cholera, TB., Dysentery,
 (All applicable) Acute respiratory infection (ARI), Injury,
 Others ()
- f8. Handicapped persons: How many 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Over 5
- f9. If a family member becomes sick, firstly: Rest, Medicine, Traditional doctor,
 (At the most Two common ways) Health worker, Clinic, Hospital,
 Others ()
- f10. Meals / day (One): 1, 2, 3, Others ()
- f11. Meal: Meat () times/week, Fish (), Egg (), Milk ()

Observation

- Location of the house: Tarmac roadside, Non tarmac but main-roadside,
 Branch-roadside, Not roadside
- Construction of the house: Nippa, Wood, Brick, Cement,
 Others ()
- Total number of the rooms in the compound: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, Others ()
- Distance to the nearest market: within 0.5 km, within 2 km, within 4 km, Over 4 km
- Distance to a primary school: within 0.5 km, within 2 km, within 4 km, Over 4 km
- Distance to a clinic: within 0.5 km, within 2 km, within 4 km, Over 4 km
 (If you walk 0.5 km = 5 min, 2 km = 30 min, 4 km = 1 hr)



Cambodia and The Region

CAMBODIA



Konpong Speu and Camboia

Demography

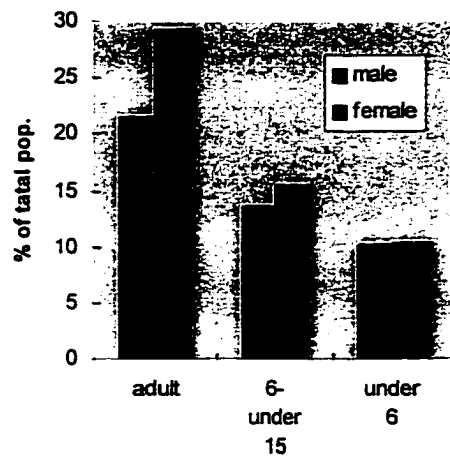


Fig.1 Population distribution
by age group

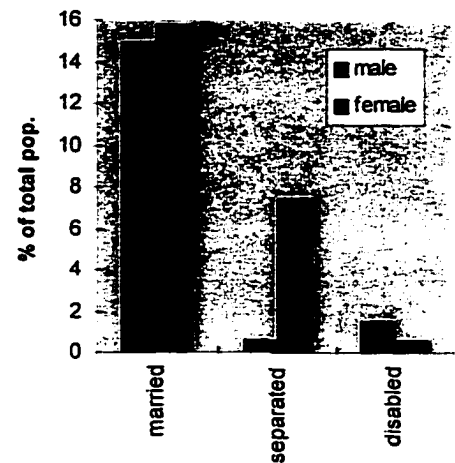


Fig.2 Population distribution
of married, separated and
handicapped persons

Economy

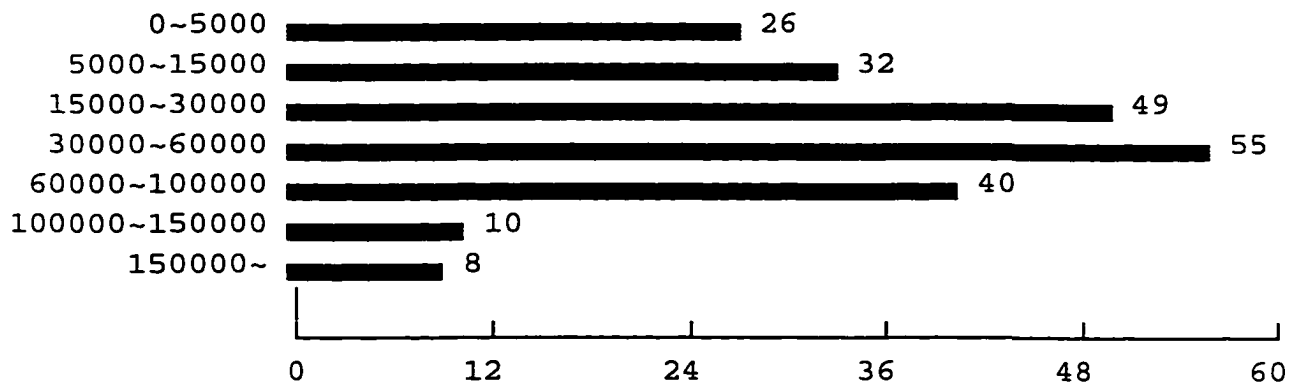


Fig.3 How much cash does your family earn in a month?

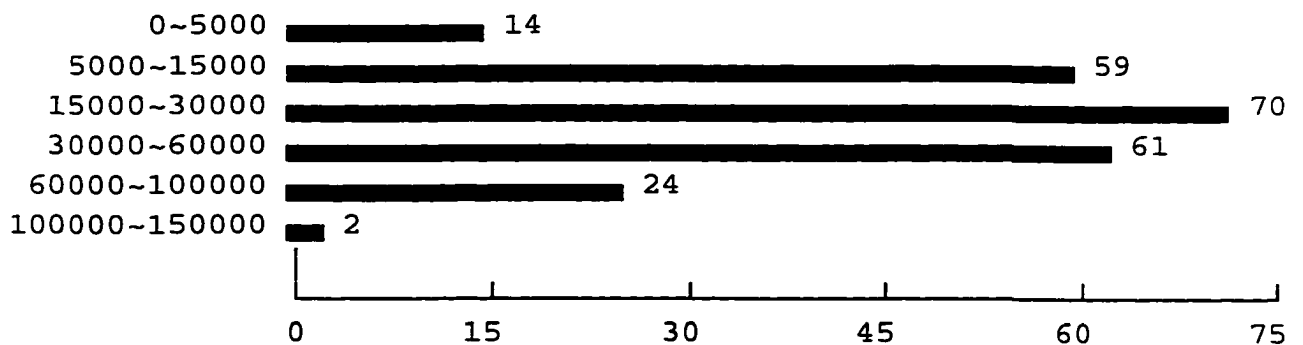


Fig.4 How much money does your family spend in a month?

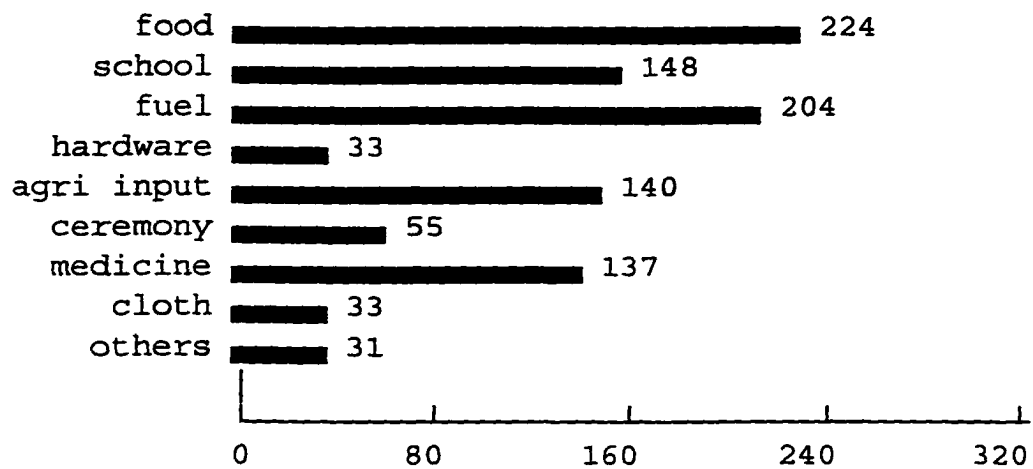


Fig.5 What do you spend your money on?

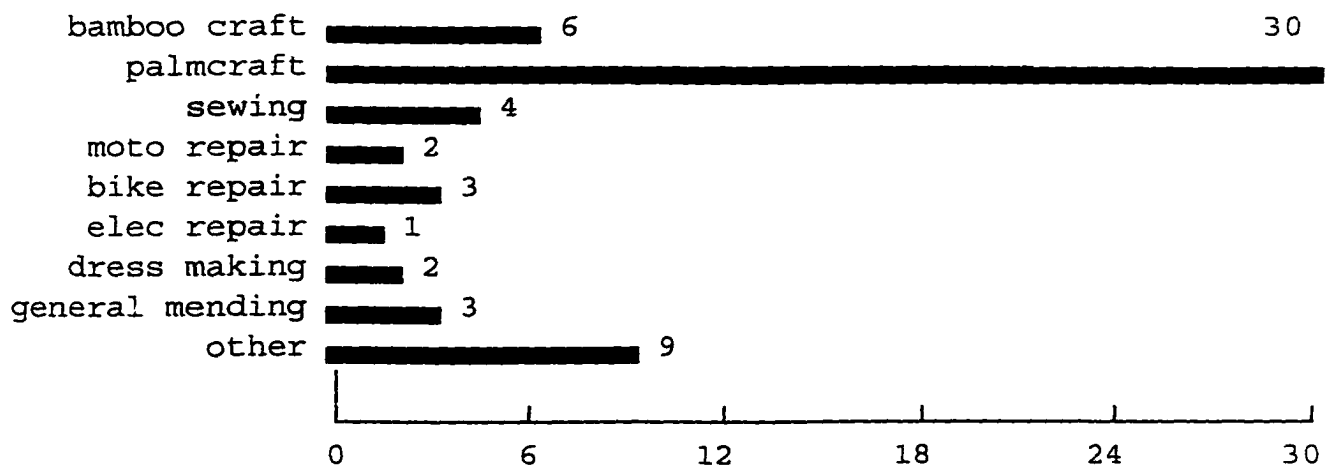


Fig.6 Income generation activities (in house)

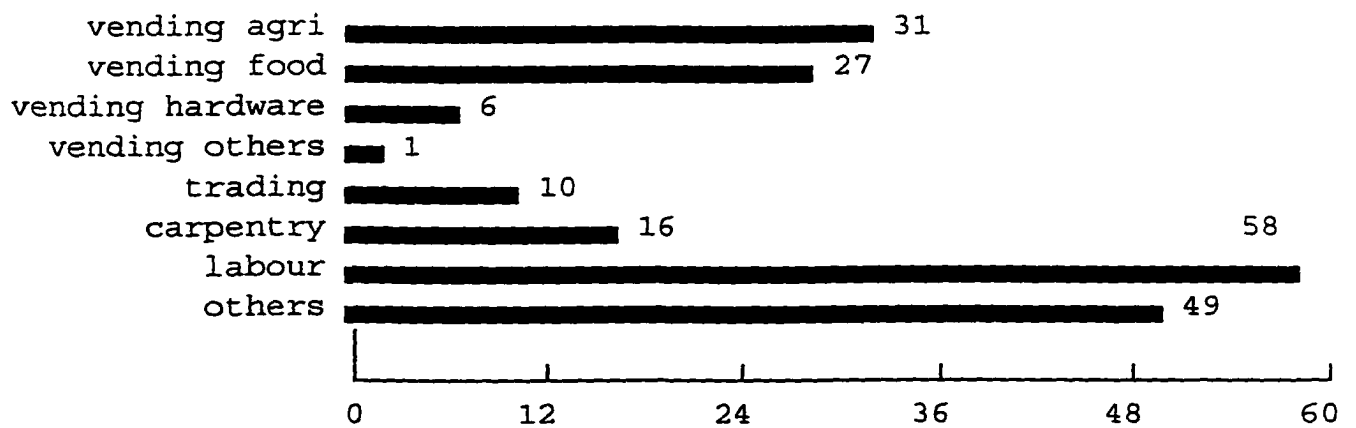


Fig.7 Income generation activities (out of house)

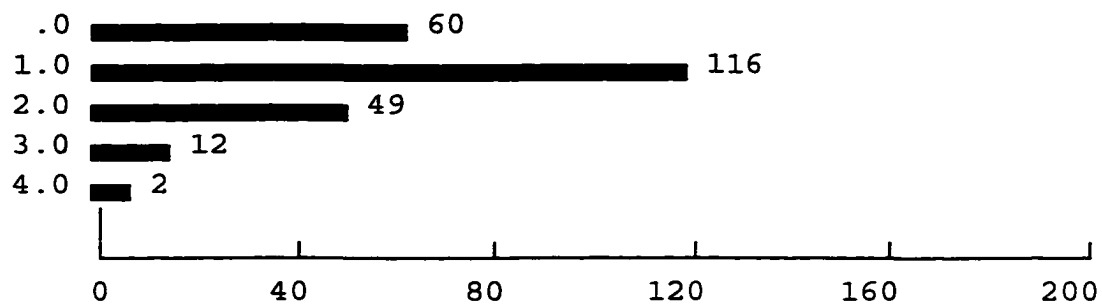


Fig.8 How many kinds of income generation activities does your family do?

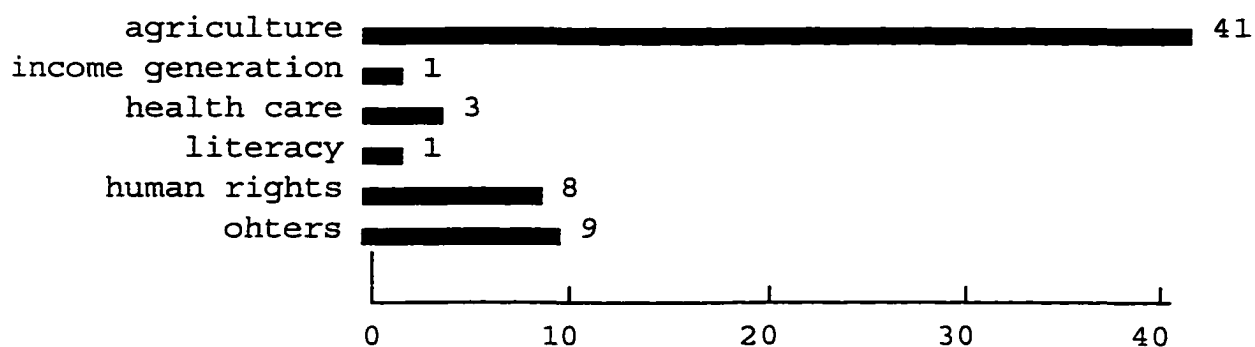


Fig.9 Does any family member get training courses or seminars?

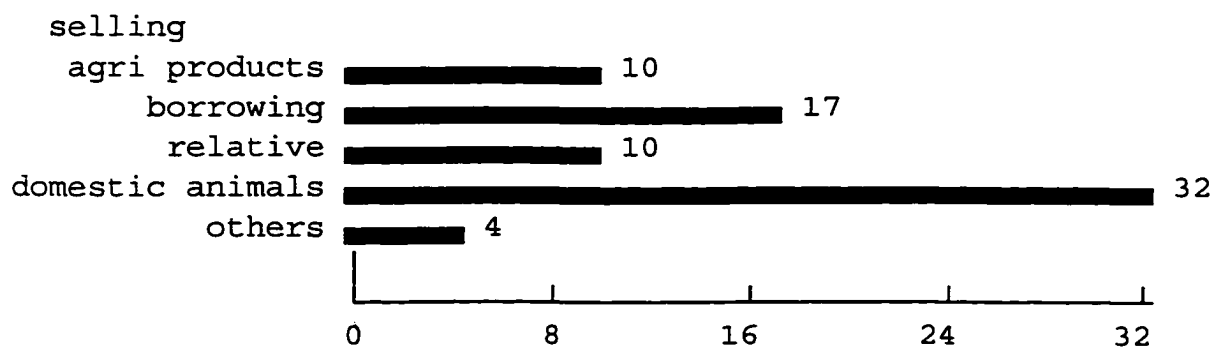


Fig.10 How do you manage deficit?

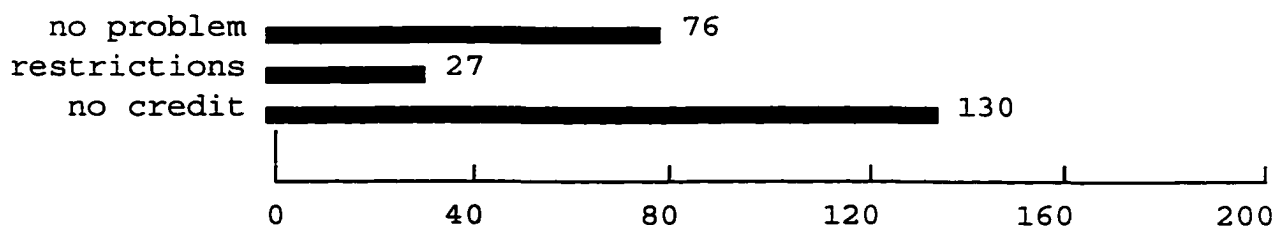


Fig.11 Access to credit

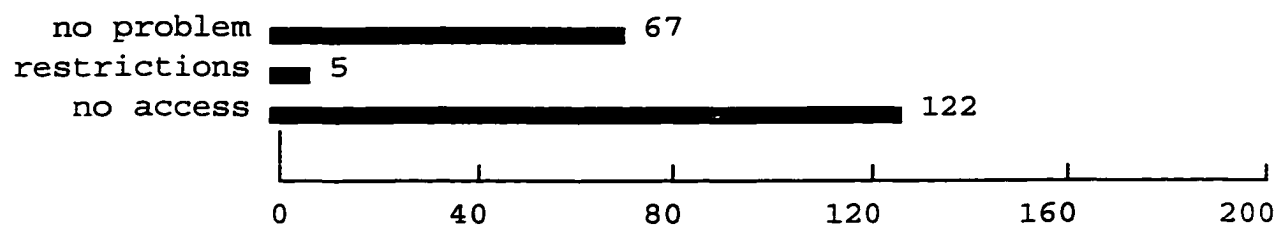


Fig. 12 Access to market

Agriculture

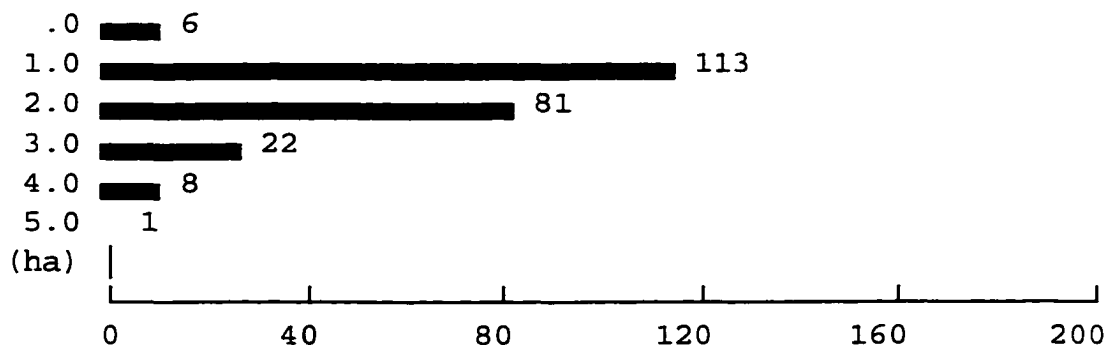


Fig.13 How much paddy field does your family have?

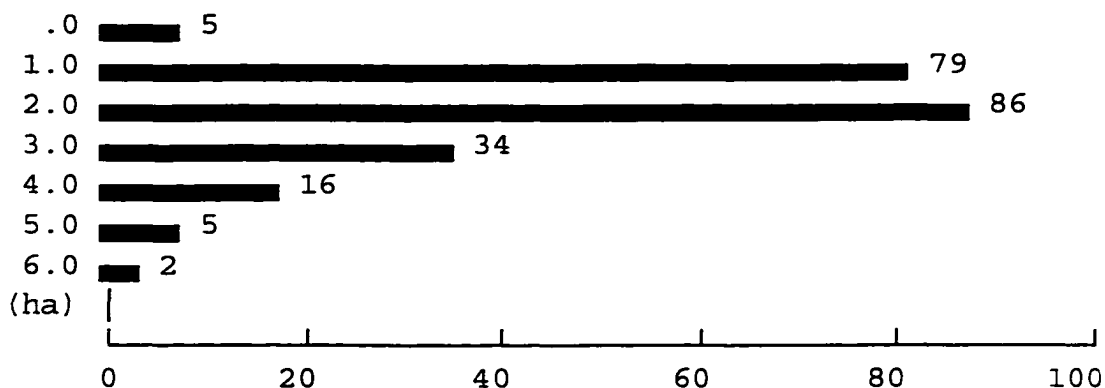


Fig.14 How much land does your family have?

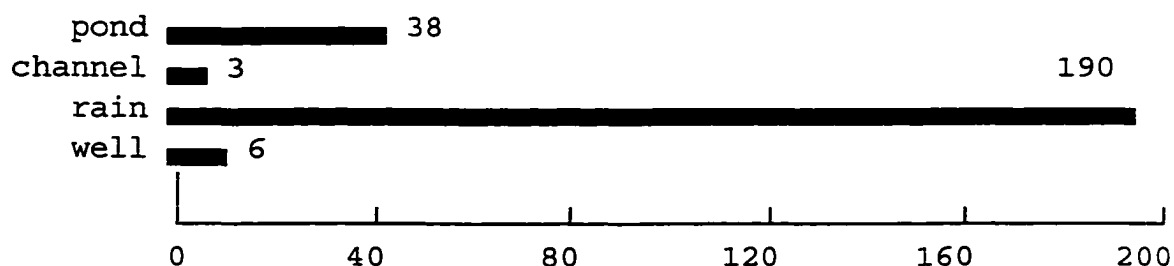


Fig.15 What is the primary irrigation source?

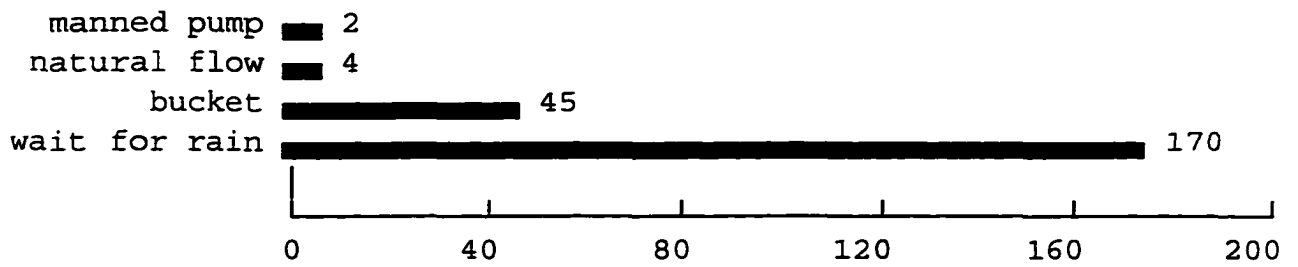


Fig.16 How do you get water to your rice field?

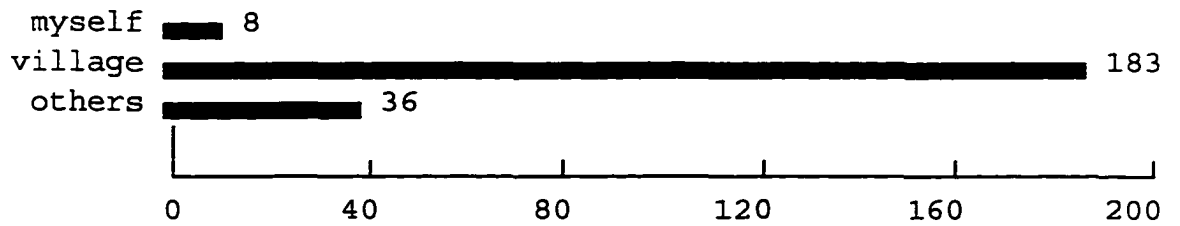


Fig.17 Who owns the irrigation ponds you use?

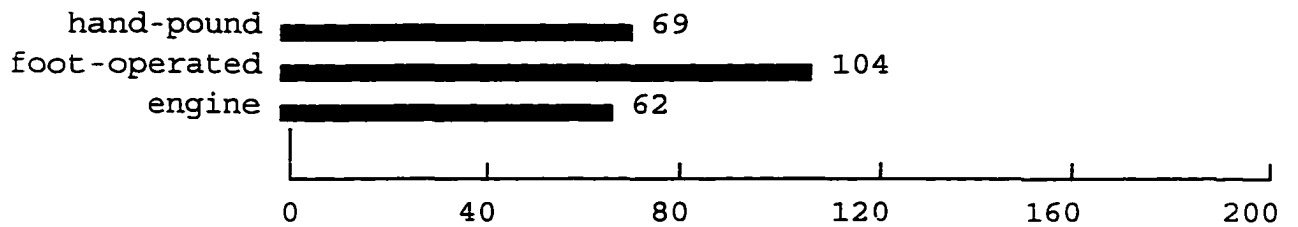


Fig.18 What kind of ricemill do you use most?

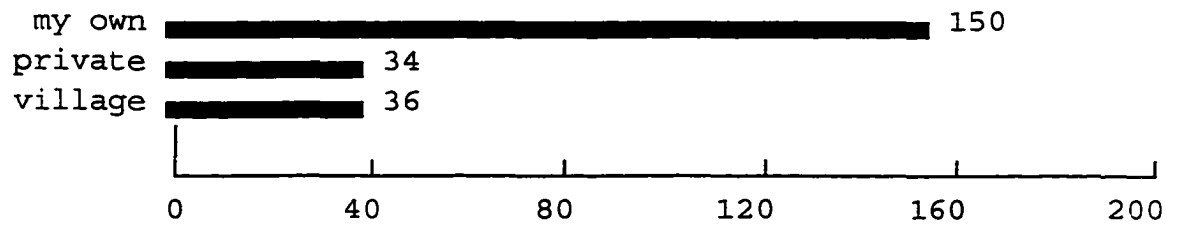


Fig.19 Whose rice mill do you use primarily?

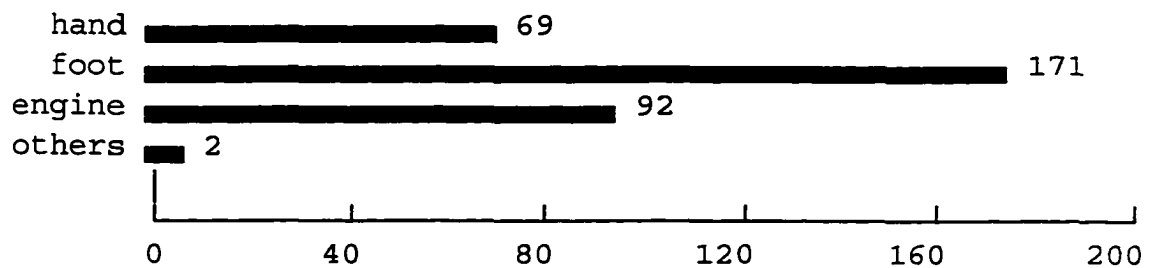


Fig.20 What kind of ricemill do you use? (multiple)

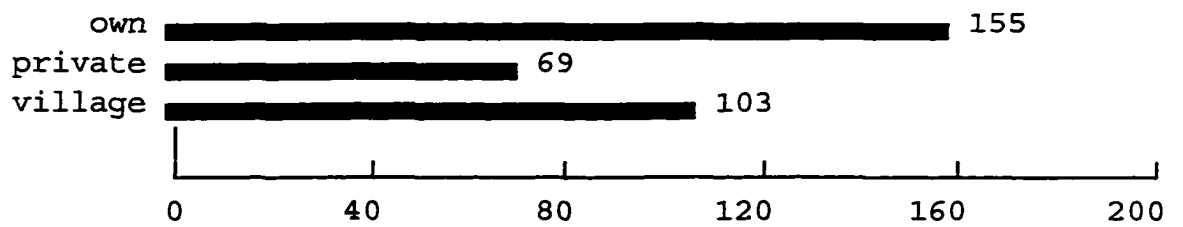


Fig.21 Whose ricemill do you use? (multiple)

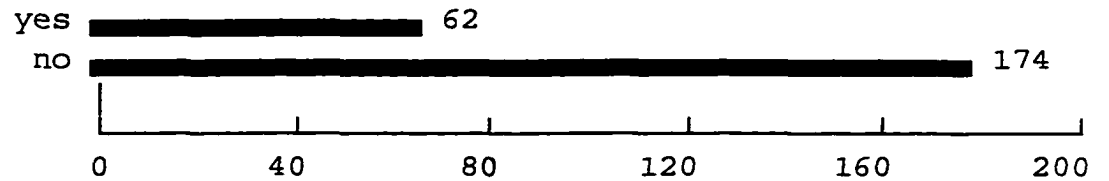


Fig.22 Do you hire other people for farming?

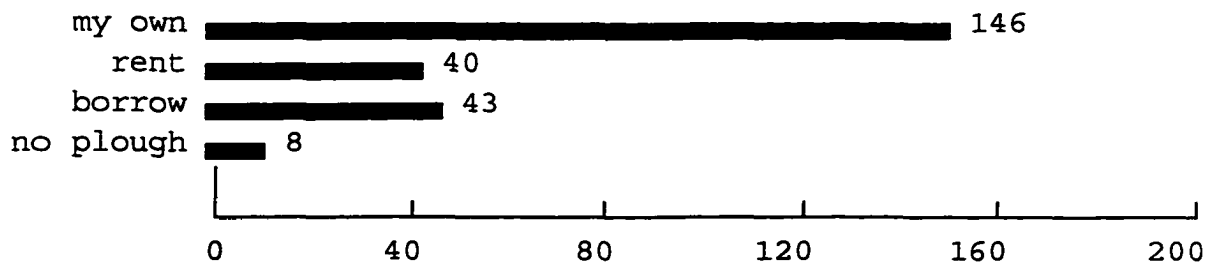


Fig.23 Whose plough do you use?

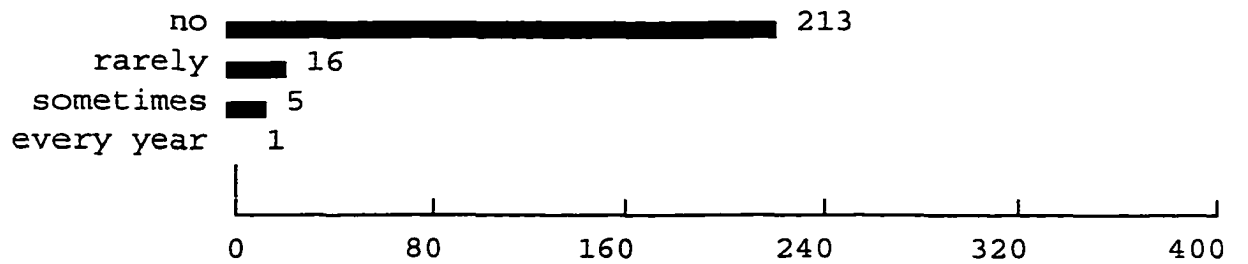


Fig.24 Do you sell rice?

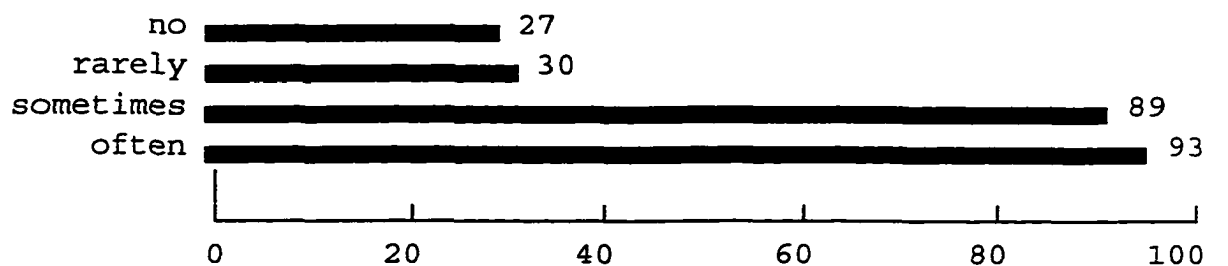


Fig.25 Do you buy rice?

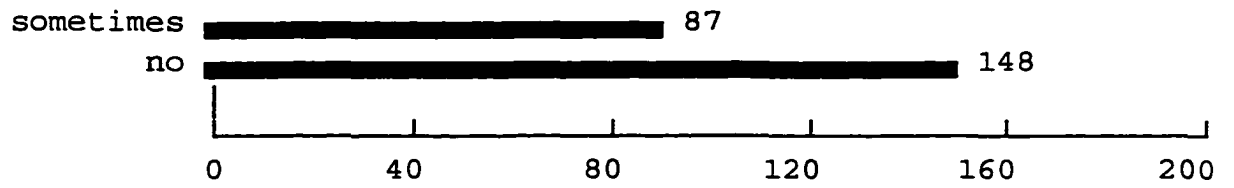


Fig.26 Do you sell vegetables?

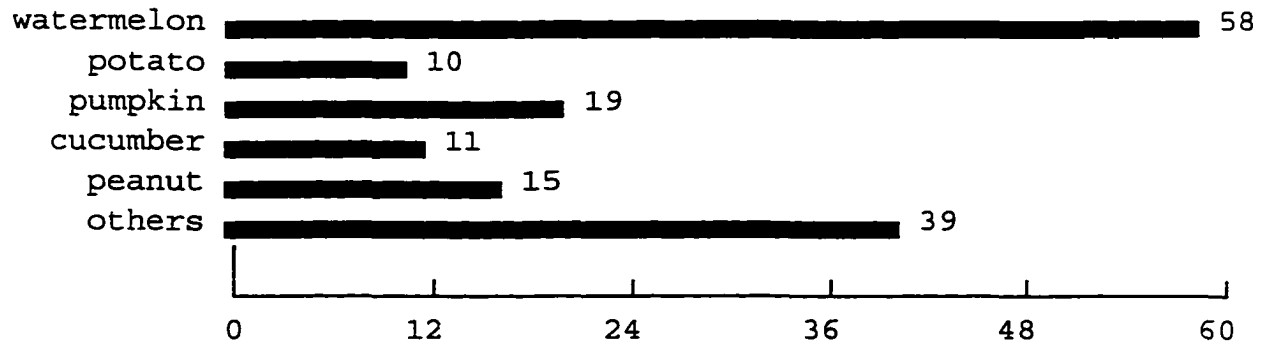


Fig.27 What kinds of vegetables do you sell?

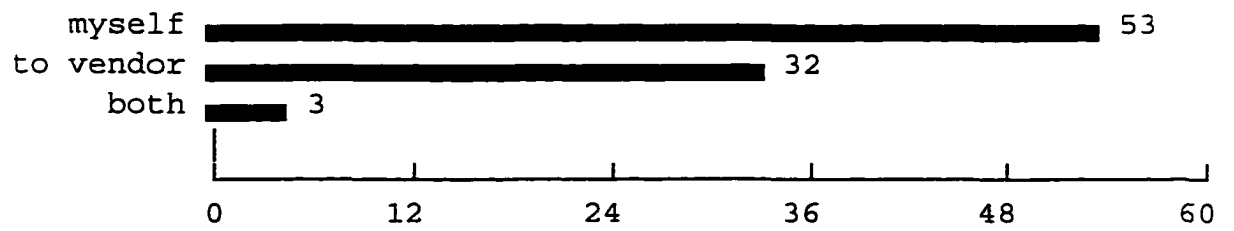


Fig.28 How do you sell vegetables?

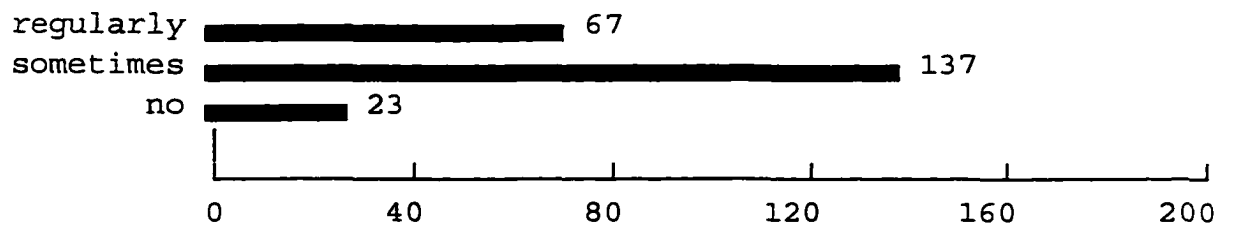


Fig.29 Do you buy vegetables?

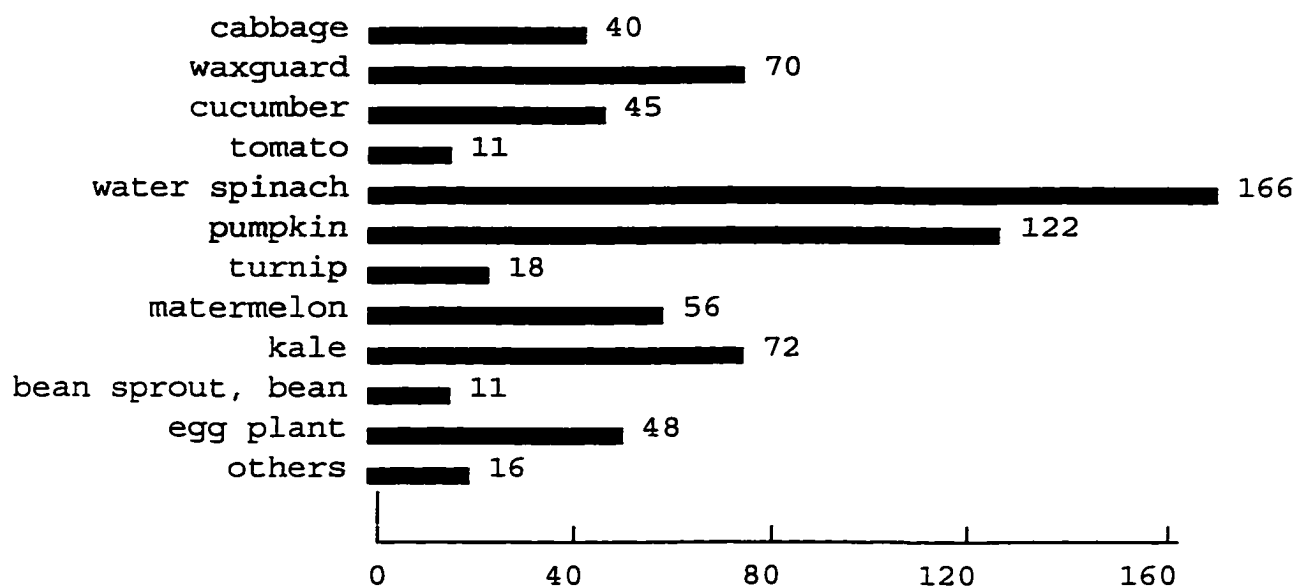


Fig.30 What kinds of vegetables do you buy? (multiple)

Education

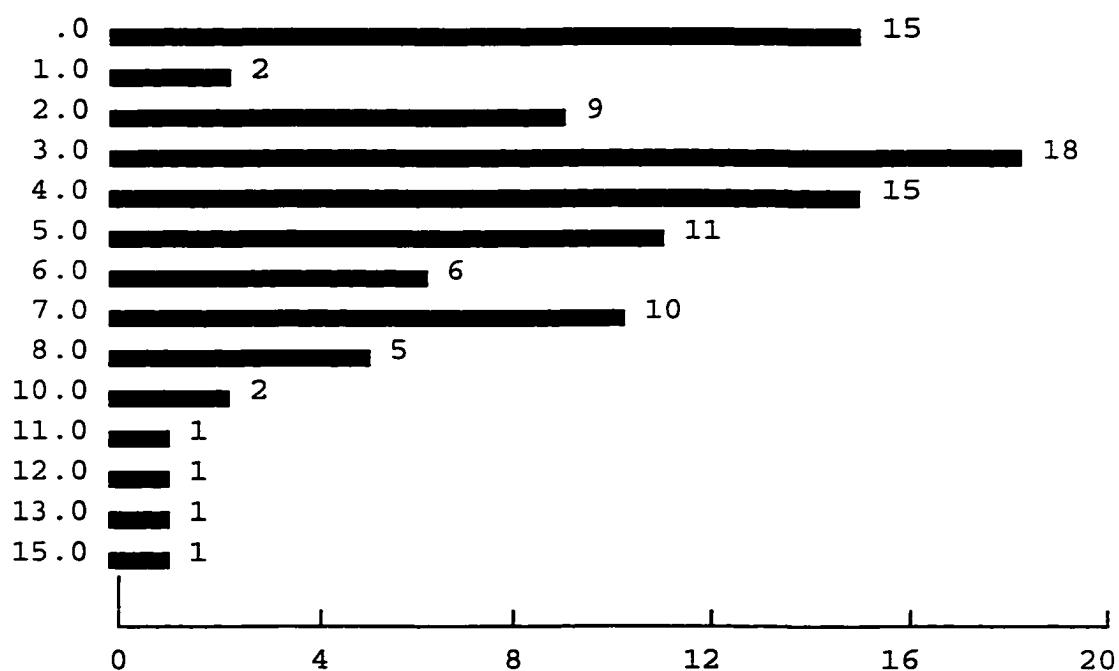


Fig.31 How many years were you in school? (male)

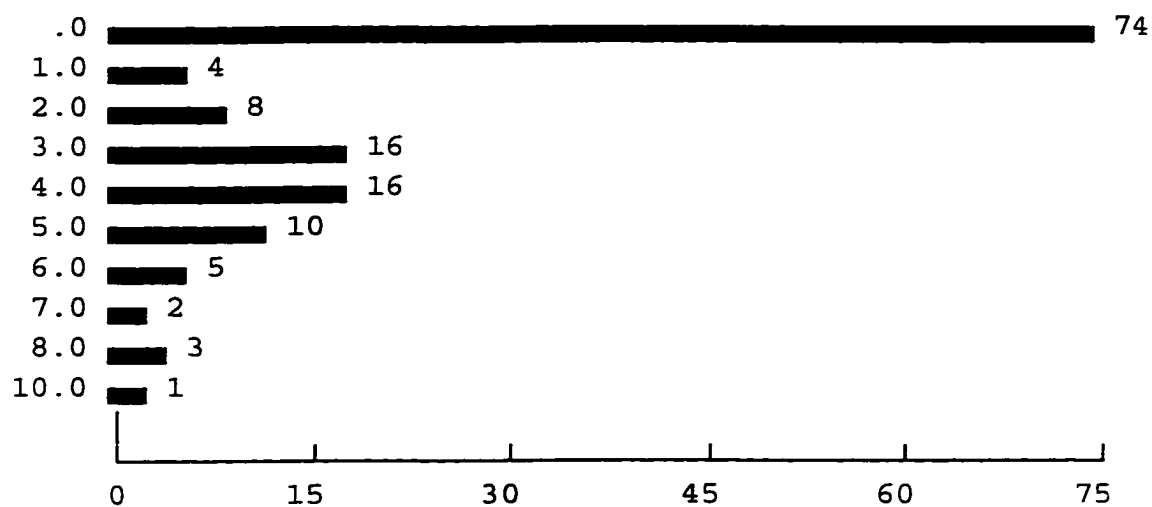
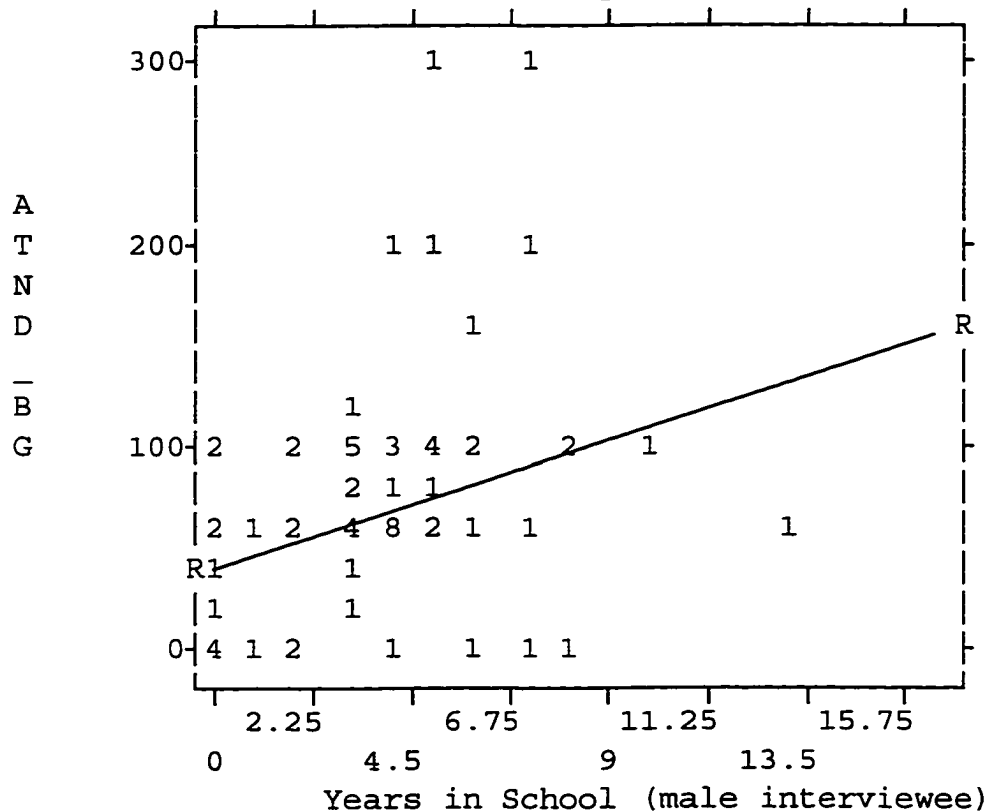


Fig.32 How many years were you in school? (female)

PLOT OF School Attendance of Boys and Girls WITH Years in School



Regression statistics of ATND_BG on Y_IN_SCH:

Correlation .30847 S.E. of Est 57.97506

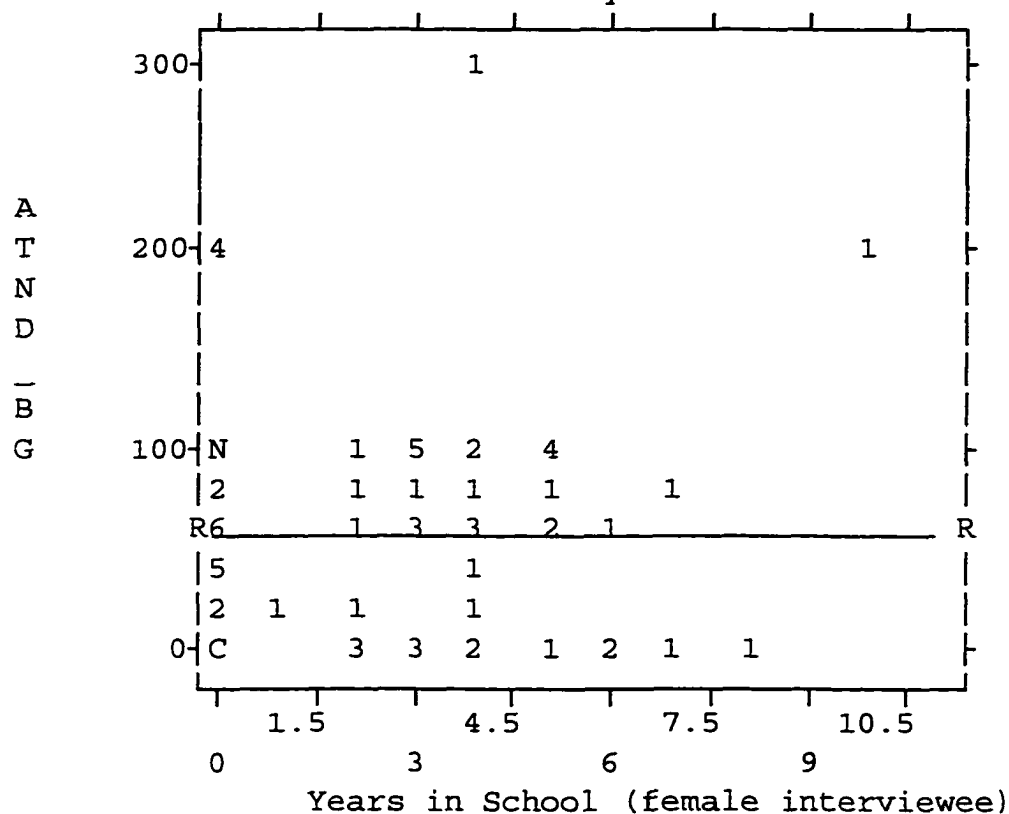
Sig. .0099 Intercept(S.E.) 48.16088 (12.57234)

Slope(S.E.) 7.31005 (2.75398)

(Legend is found on the next page.)

Fig.33 Male members' school years and children's school attendance

PLOT OF School Attendance of Boys and Girls WITH Years in School



Regression statistics of ATND_BG on Y_IN_SCH:
 Correlation -.02011 S.E. of Est 56.39766
 Sig. .8426 Intercept(S.E.) 66.59350 (7.20681)
 Slope(S.E.) -.48297 (2.42529)

Fig.34 Female members' school years and children's school attendance

Legend

Correlation: correlation coefficient
 S.E. of Est: standard error of estimates
 S.E.: standard error
 Sig.: observed significance level

PLOT OF Monthly Income WITH Years in School

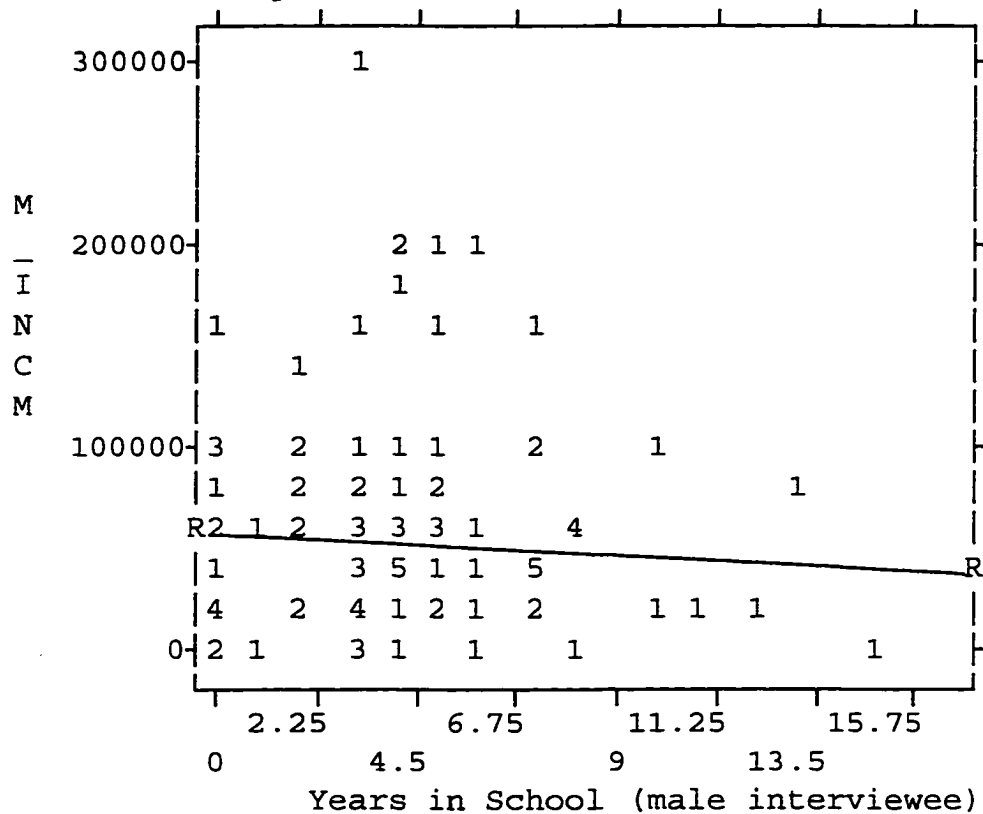


Fig.35 Male members' school years and family income

PLOT OF Monthly Income WITH Years in School

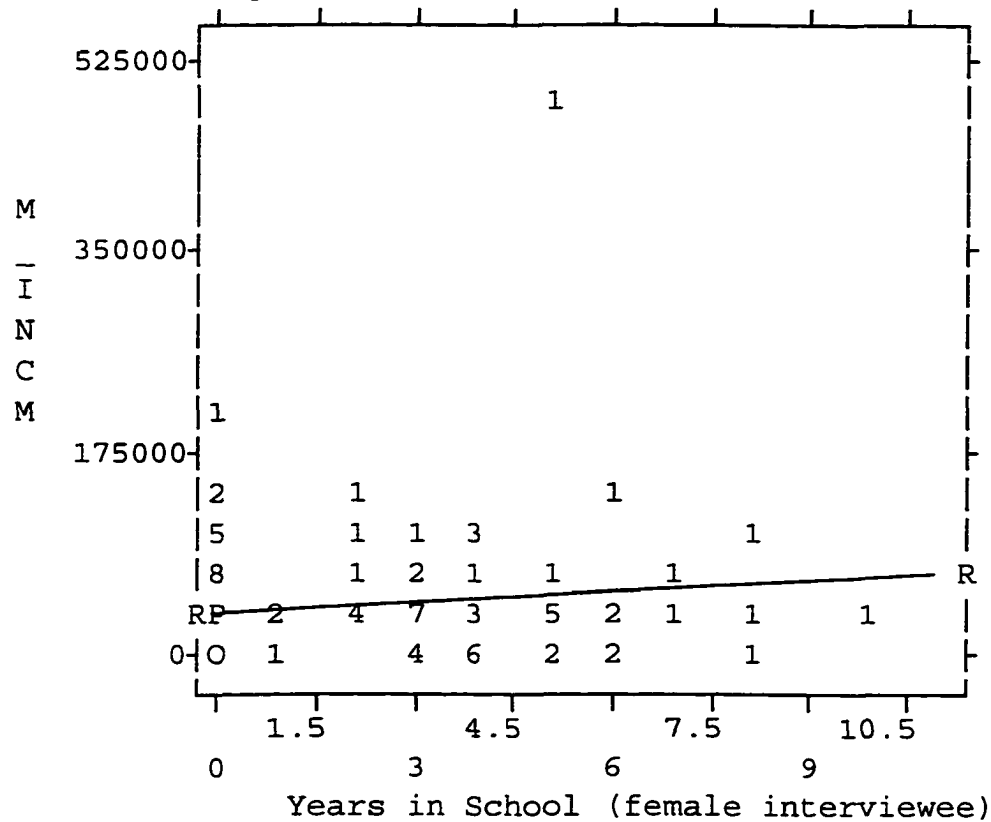


Fig.36 Female members' school years and family income

PLOT OF PROTAIN WITH Years in School

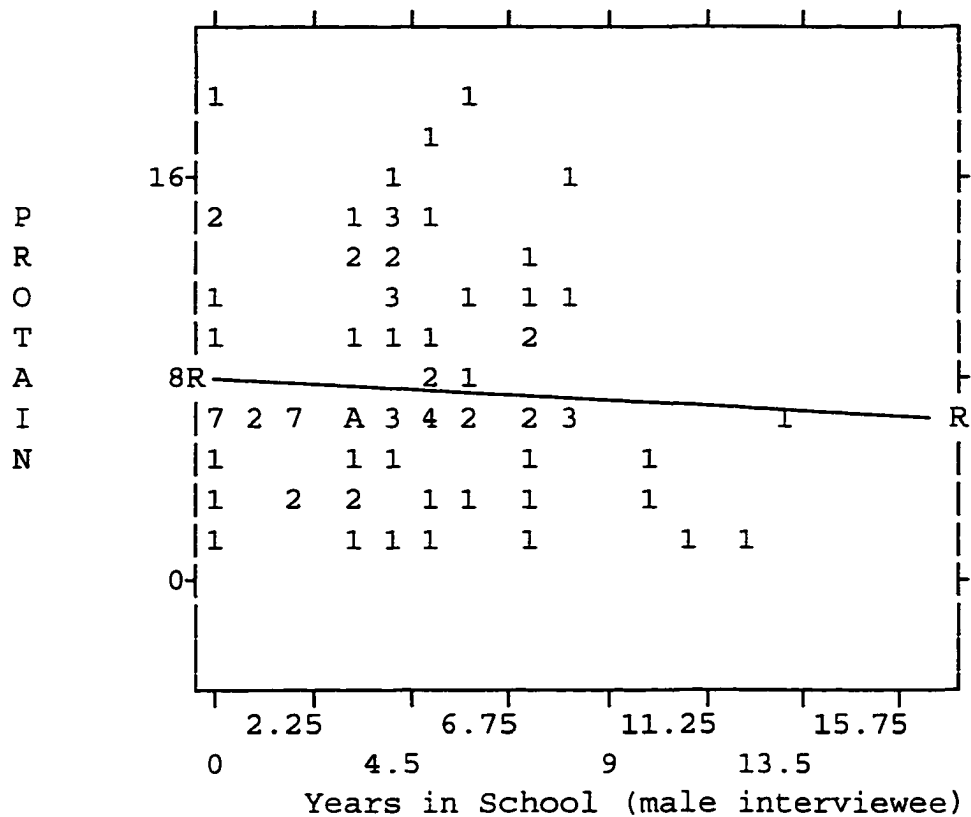
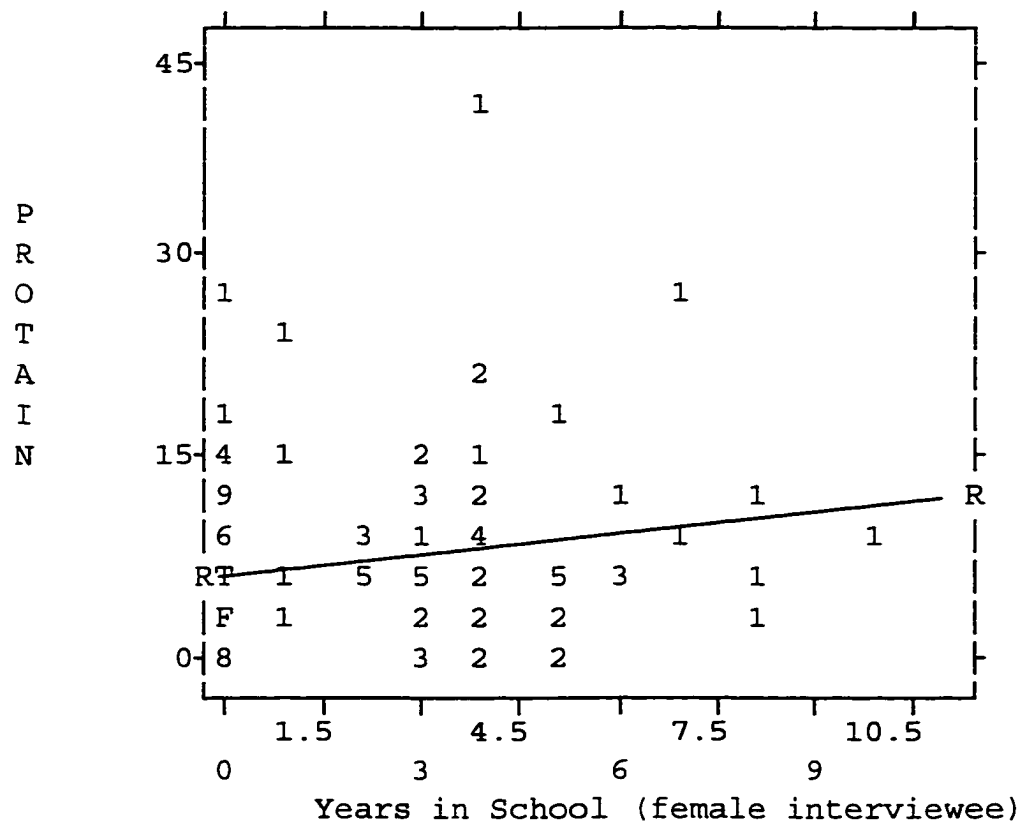


Fig.37 Male members' school years and family protein intake

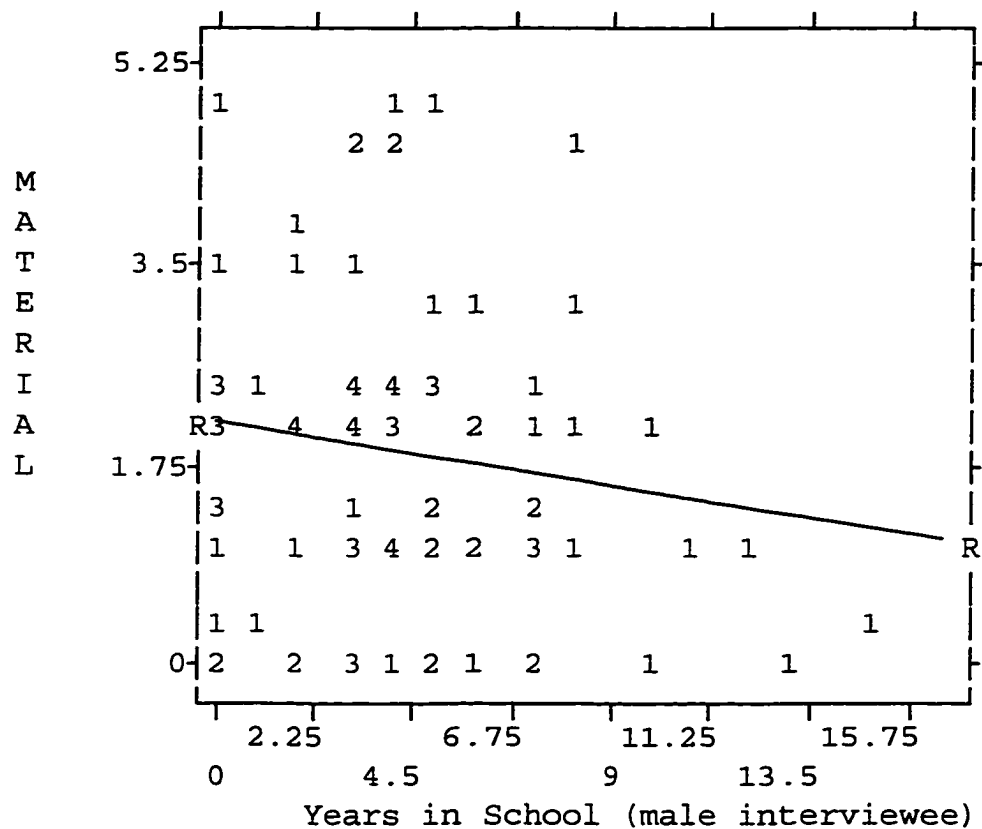
PLOT OF PROTAIN WITH Years in School



Regression statistics of PROTAIN on Y_IN_SCH:
 Correlation .15343 S.E. of Est 5.97775
 Sig. .0734 Intercept(S.E.) 6.97749 (.65177)
 Slope(S.E.) .39403 (.21841)

Fig.38 Female members' school years and family protein intake

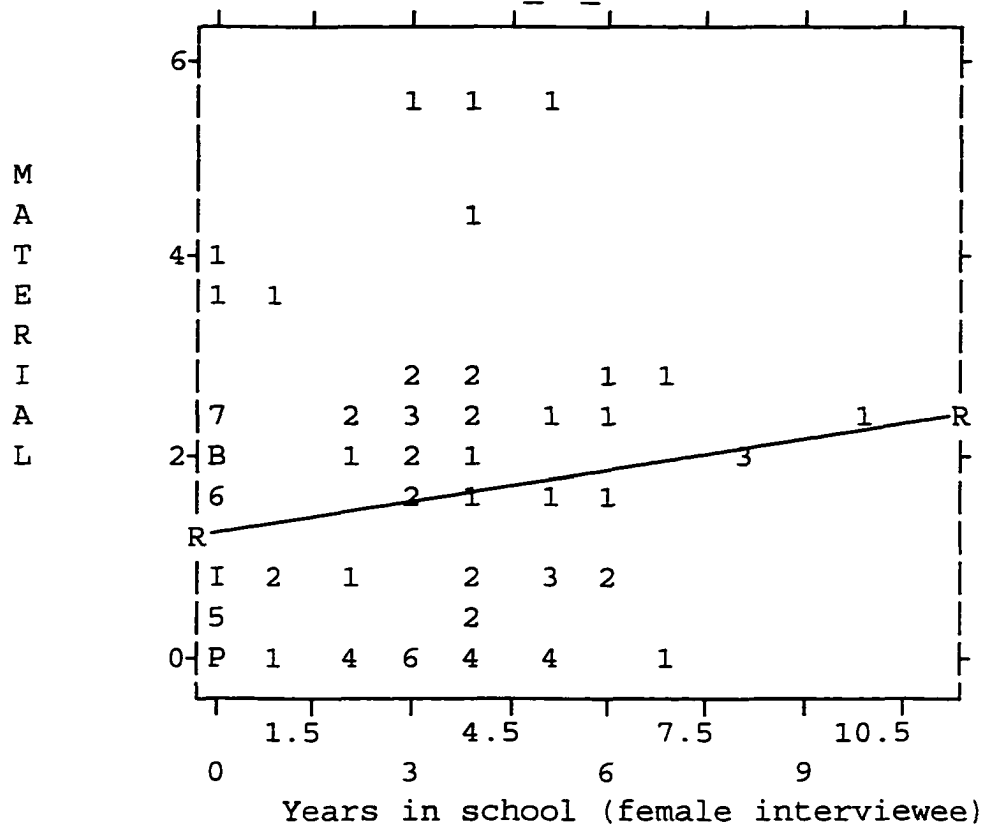
PLOT OF MATERIAL WITH Years in School



Regression statistics of MATERIAL on Y_IN_SCH:
 Correlation -.17166 S.E. of Est 1.29278
 Sig. .0962 Intercept(S.E.) 2.10705 (.22326)
 Slope(S.E.) -.07332 (.04364)

Fig.39 Male members' school years and material possessions

PLOT OF MATERIAL WITH Years_in_School



Regression statistics of MATERIAL on Y_IN_SCH:
 Correlation .22134 S.E. of Est 1.21920
 Sig. .0088 Intercept(S.E.) 1.05141(.13210)
 Slope(S.E.) .11675 (.04395)

Fig.40 Female members' school years and material possessions

Hygienic and Health Situation

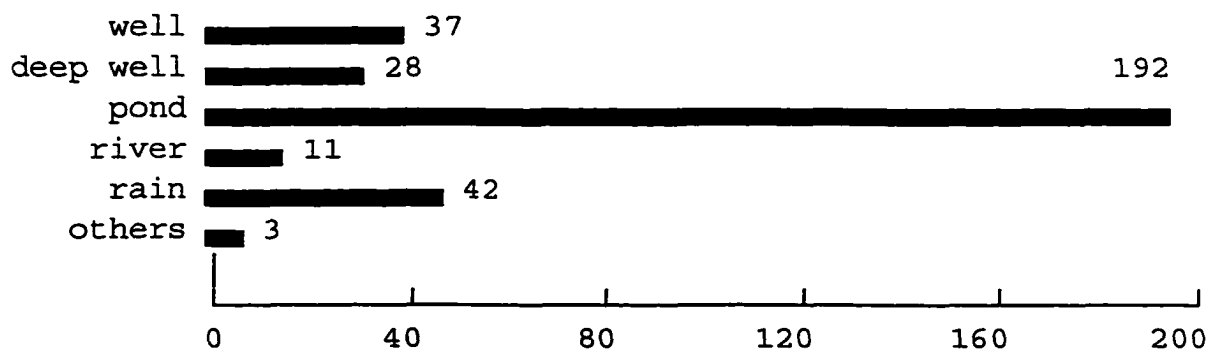


Fig.41 From where do you get water for domestic use? (multiple)

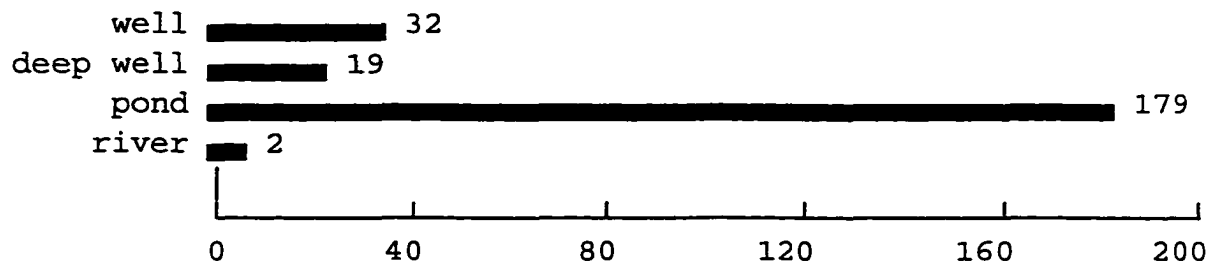


Fig.42 What is the primary water source for domestic use?

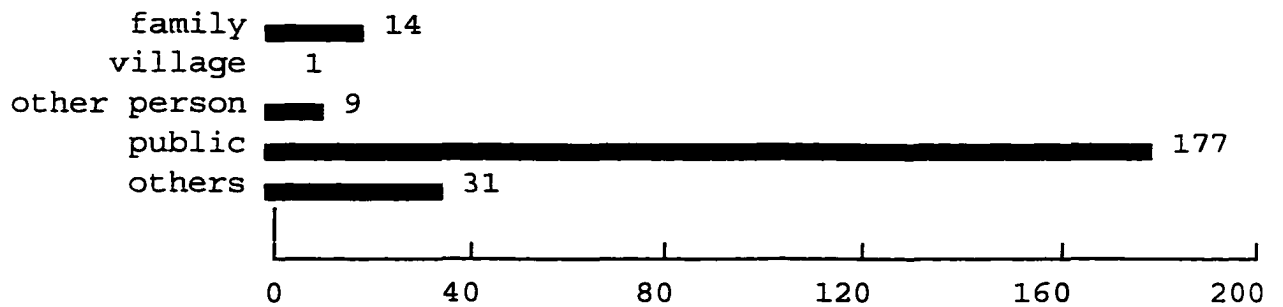


Fig.43 Who owns the main domestic water source?

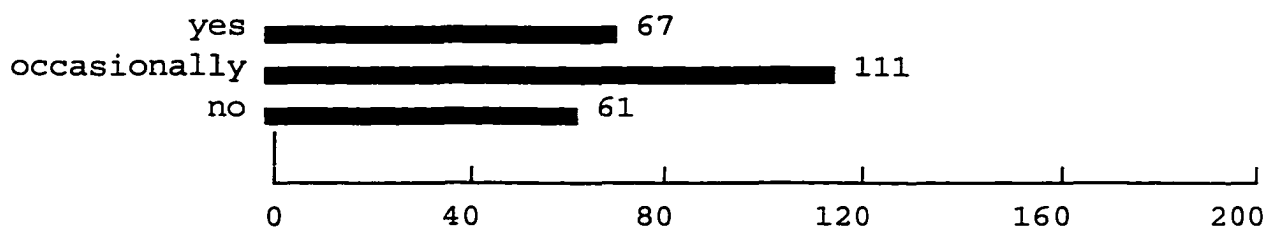


Fig.44 Do you boil drinking water?

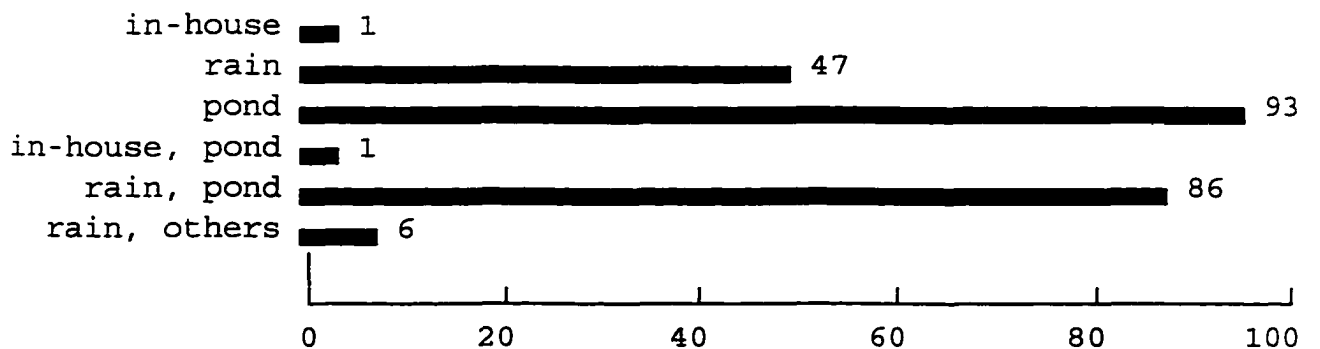


Fig.45 How do you bathe?

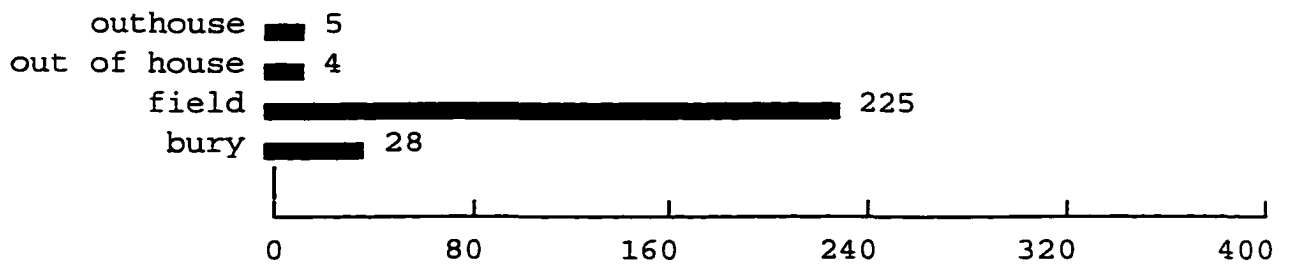


Fig.46 Toilet

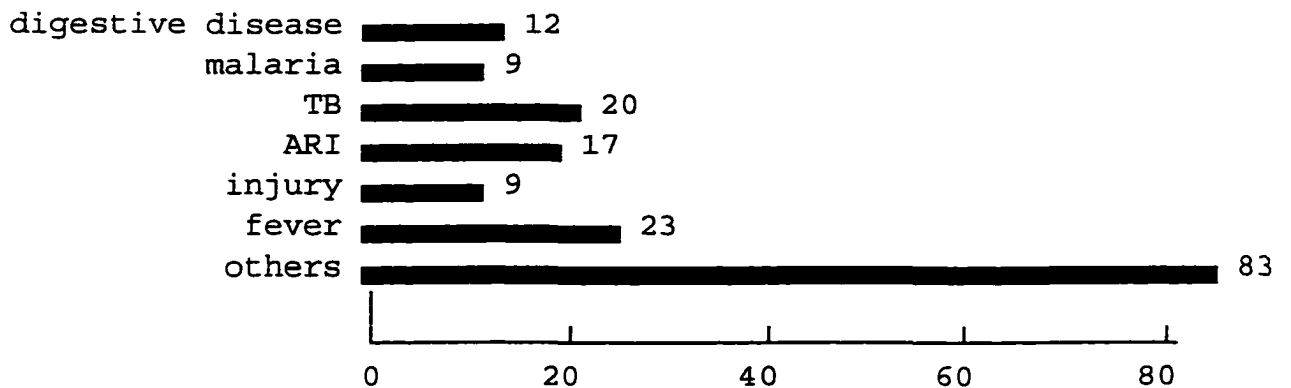


Fig.47 What kinds of health problems do your family members often have?

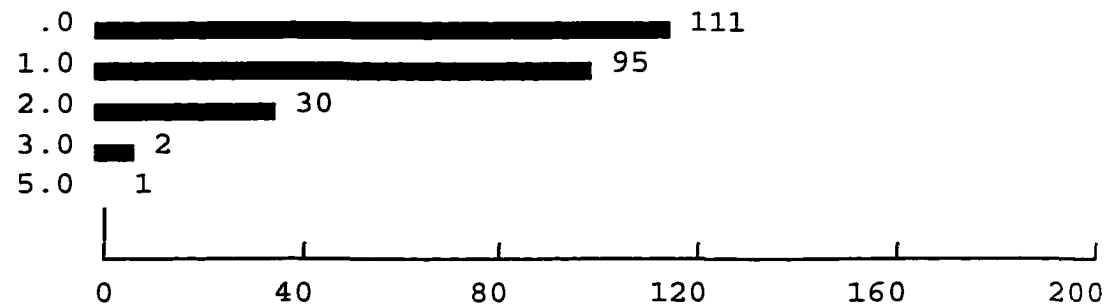


Fig.48 How many house members are sick at home?

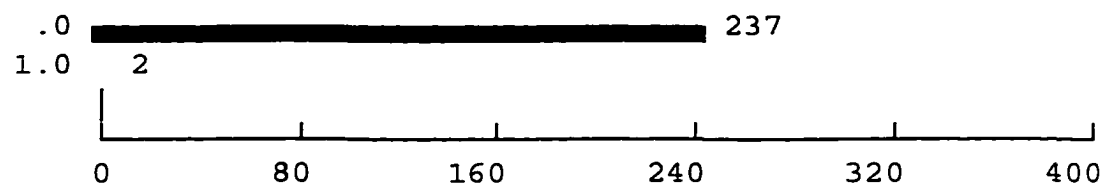
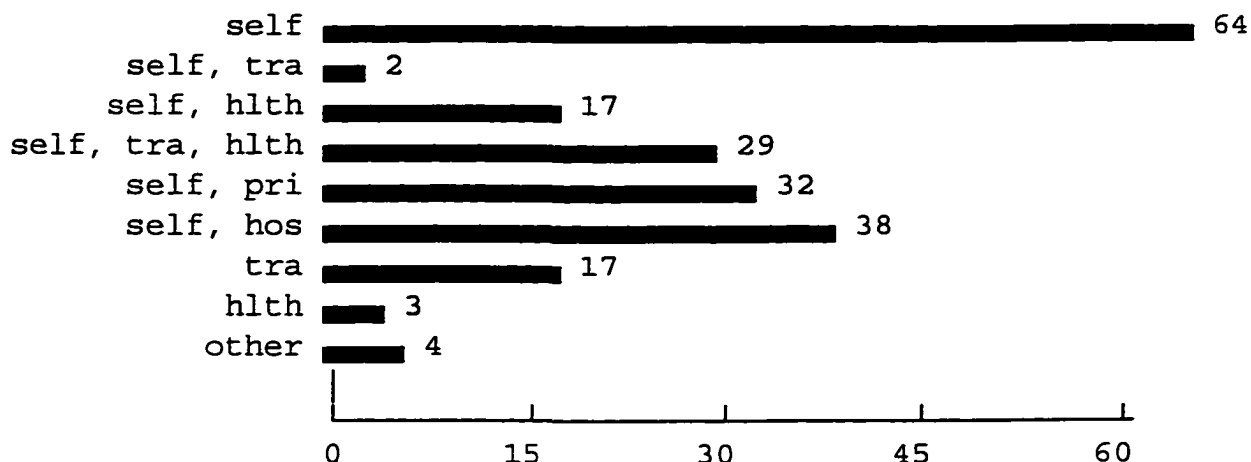


Fig.49 Is any house member hospitalized?



self: self medication, tra: traditional healer,
 hlth: commune health worker, pri: private practitioner
 hos: public hospital

Fig.50 What do you do when sick?

Daily life

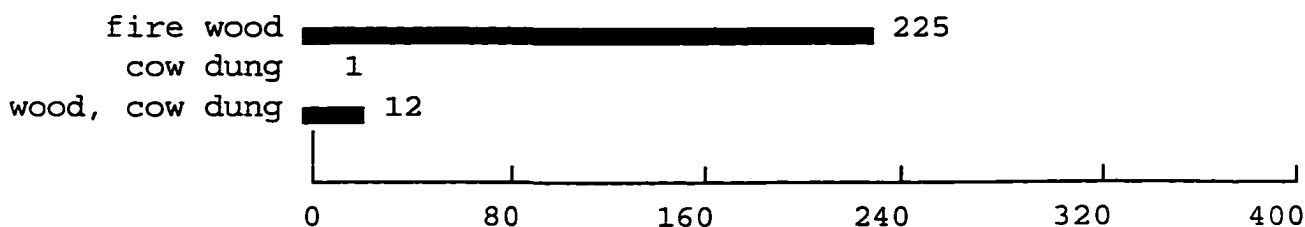


Fig.51 What fuel source do you use for cooking?

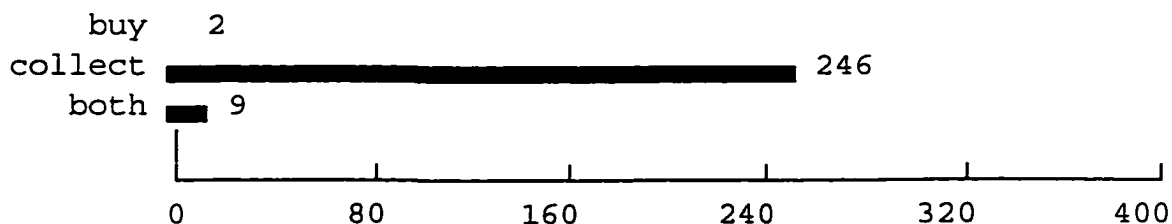


Fig.52 How do you get the fuel?

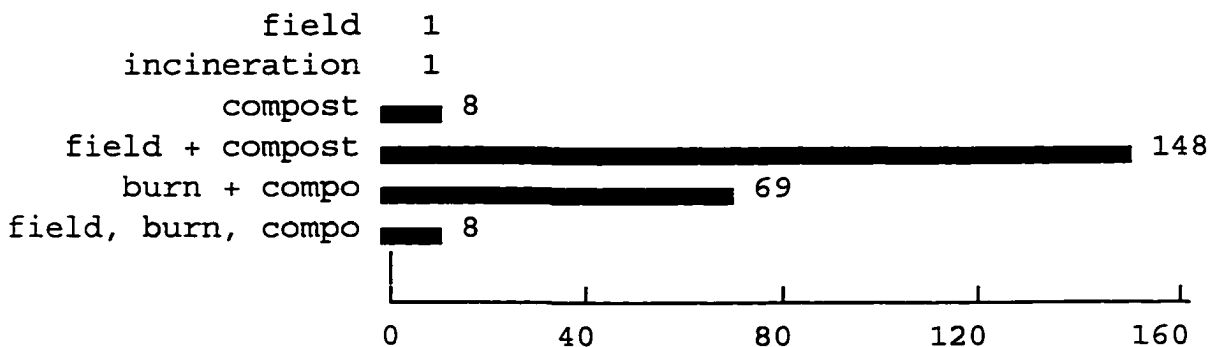


Fig.53 How do you treat garbage?

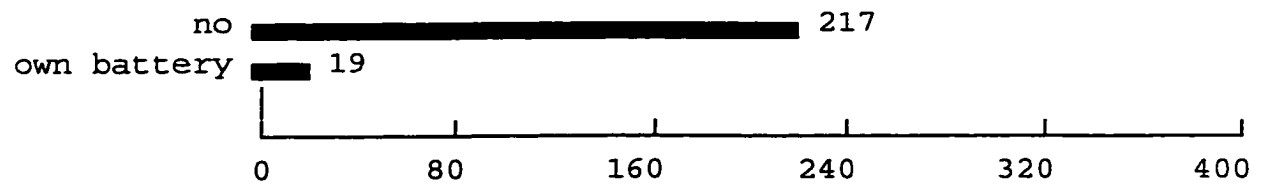
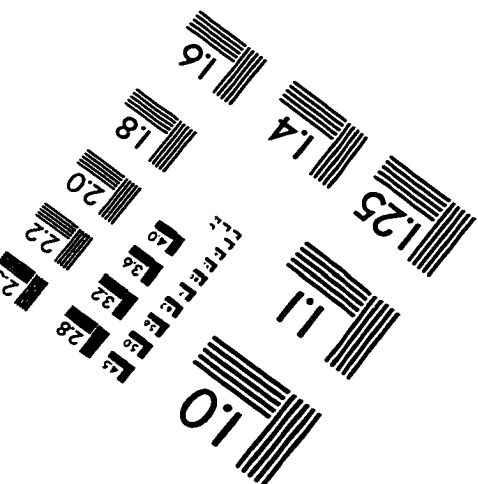
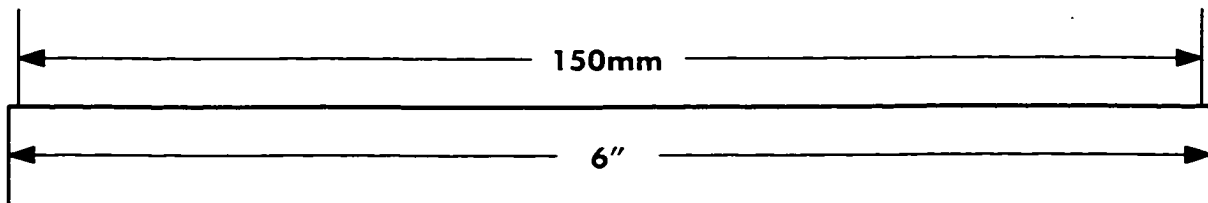
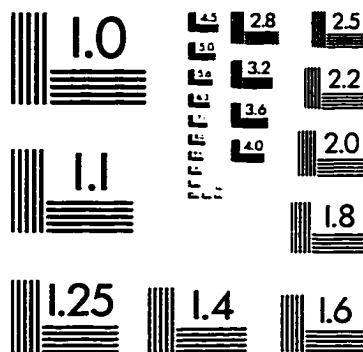
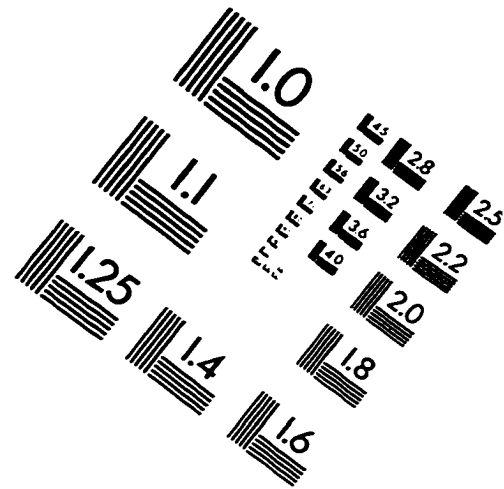
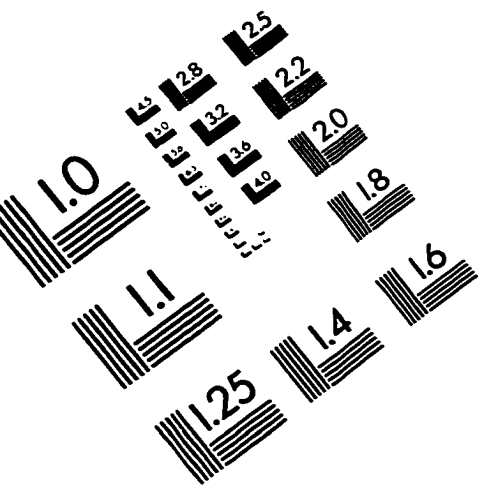


Fig.54 Do you have electricity?

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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