

DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY

*encounters in the
real world*

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preface

THIS BOOK IS ABOUT how anthropology is used in international development projects. Written from a practitioner's viewpoint, it is designed for people who are—or intend to be—active in planning and carrying out programs of directed change in culturally diverse environments.

Although anthropology has been involved with international development for decades, the discipline has yet to have a determinant influence on how development is done. Today, however, the field of development is in the midst of a major transformation that will present us—as all transformations do—with new challenges and opportunities. If anthropology is ready to meet these challenges and opportunities, it can play a key role in development work in the future.

Today, nowhere on earth is truly remote. It often appears, thanks to television and the Internet, that the world is growing more Westernized with every passing day. But differences remain, many of them more important than ever. Advances in transport and communication have simply brought us into closer contact with the different worlds that were always there and that continue to shape and inform human interaction. We now have to deal with difference directly, instead of at a distance.

Nothing illustrates this better than international development itself, which is really an extended and intimate form of cross-cultural conversation. Our ability to manage this interaction in mutually productive and satisfying ways will be crucial to achieving the outcomes we all hope for.

Development is our biggest global project. If successful, it will not only transform the lives of billions of people, but change the way the world operates in fundamental ways.

But wishing is not enough. The philosopher Reinhold Niebuhr reminded us: "The same strength which has extended our power beyond a continent has also . . . brought us into a vast web of history in which

As this book will make clear, the development industry is at present generally ill-equipped to manage the demands of sustained and focused cross-cultural collaboration, a necessary condition for development success. In a fundamental sense, international development work is an encounter between different worlds. To succeed, development needs to incorporate diversity of viewpoint and to forge common understandings and purposes that both acknowledge and use this diversity.

The subtitle of this book is "*encounters in the real world*." In truth, however, the so-called real world is not a single entity, but consists of multiple worlds, each culturally-constructed. Anthropology, with its emphasis on, and respect for, these different cultural worlds, can make a major contribution . . . to developing humankind's ability to understand and manage difference as we work to move the development agenda forward.

This book is an attempt to show how this can be done.

Within the development literature, few books exist that describe how anthropology can be used in the design and management of change. One consequence of this is that few anthropology graduates are well equipped to enter this field and succeed within it. Indeed, our academic conferences and journals, to the extent that they discuss development at all, almost invariably emphasize accounts of projects that failed or agencies that ignored our contributions.

This text is a modest attempt at changing that situation. It provides a description of how development work today is done, focusing on projects the nexus of the encounter between different cultural worlds and offering illustrations and examples of how anthropologists can contribute making these encounters successful. By examining how projects work, anthropologists can better understand how to help them succeed. Each chapter contains one or more mini-case studies, many of them drawn from actual projects.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One, "Anthropology and development," contains three chapters that lay the groundwork for understanding how development takes place today and what role anthropology has in that effort. Chapter 1 presents an overview of anthropology as a discipline and outlines the essential components of the anthropological approach. Chapter 2 examines the growth of the development industry, looking particularly at changes over time in how devel-

Part Two, "Development Projects Examined," consists of five chapters that look in detail at what projects are, how they are crafted, and how anthropology is used in that process. Chapter 4 examines how development projects are put together and how anthropology is used to do this. Chapter 5 looks at the role of information and local input in project work. Chapter 6 focuses on aspects of design. Chapter 7 concentrates on project management. Chapter 8 addresses project evaluation, and how agencies and organizations learn—or fail to learn—from project experience.

Part Three, "The Way Ahead," looks at the future of development efforts. Chapter 9 discusses how the development industry might be reformed to make it more effective. In like manner, Chapter 10 presents suggestions for changing how anthropology is taught to make its impact more pronounced. Chapter 11 outlines some thoughts on how a new paradigm to guide development might be created.

The appendix provides some suggestions for preparing for a career in development anthropology. A glossary of terms and list of sources cited complete the book.

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ENDNOTES

1. Quoted in Kaplan (1997: 60).

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Anthropology, international development, and cross-cultural learning have come to be my professional life. Three individuals in particular are responsible for the direction that my career took, and I would like to thank them most sincerely at this time for opening doors to me—and, at times, pushing me through them. Arnold Sio at Colgate University suggested the Peace Corps to me, an experience that was to irrevocably change my life and my view of the world. Souleymane Faye of the village of Khenene in Senegal patiently showed me how to see with someone else's eyes and heart. Peter Lloyd at the University of Sussex helped me understand how anthropology could be used in development work, and encouraged me to stick with it. To each of these three quite different individuals, who inhabit cultural worlds very far away from one another, I owe much more than I can ever repay, much less express.

This book is dedicated to them.

PART ONE

anthropology and development

ANTHROPOLOGY NOT ONLY SHOWS US that there are different cultural worlds beyond our own; it helps us understand how to interact successfully with them. Encounters between the world's diverse cultures occur daily, on a variety of different levels, but none are more important or significant than those relating to international development. This book examines how anthropology is used in those encounters.

Part One, "Anthropology and Development," provides the background and framework for this examination by looking at anthropology, development, and the relation between them.

Chapter 1, "Anthropology as a Science of Discovery," examines the discipline itself and what makes it special. Chapter 2, "The Rise of the Development Industry," looks at the way in which international development began and evolved from its post-World War II beginnings. Chapter 3, "Putting Anthropology to Work," focuses on the application of anthropology outside the university and specifically within the development industry.

chapter 1

ANTHROPOLOGY AS A SCIENCE OF DISCOVERY

A DIFFERENT WAY OF SEEING

Anthropology enables us to discover the different cultural worlds that human groups create and inhabit, and to understand these worlds in terms other than our own. Anthropology helps us appreciate that each culture has its own distinctive ethos or worldview, each with its own logic and coherence. Anthropology therefore serves as a bridge across cultures, making one intelligible to the other, preserving the integrity of each.¹

In the United States, anthropology has traditionally comprised four subdisciplines, or fields. *Physical anthropology* deals with human evolution and the biological aspects of contemporary human variation. *Social or cultural anthropology* focuses on contemporary human societies.² *Archaeology* examines cultural history, and *linguistics* looks at language and how it is used.

Social and cultural anthropology, which form the focus of this book,

The Primacy of Culture

Culture is a central concept in anthropology. With minor variations, culture has a generally accepted definition among anthropologists; it refers to the distinctive, shared way of organizing the world that a particular group or society has created over time.³ This framework allows the members of that society to make sense of themselves, their world, and their experiences in that world—who they are, what they value, and where they are going in life. Culture provides groups with identities, ways and means, and ultimately destinations.

A human invention, culture has enormous implications for group evolution and survival. The cultural patterns developed over generations of interaction enable a group's members to organize their experience, make sense of it, and tell others what they know. Culture helps promote security and predictability in human affairs, thus freeing group members to be more productive and creative. Throughout history, culture has been instrumental in helping human beings adapt to—and influence—their surroundings. Groups value their culture, because it provides them with a way to structure their world, to give meaning to their experiences in that world, and to help them respond to events and circumstances. Cultures create different worlds, and just as people will protect their physical selves from assault, so too will they act, individually and collectively, to protect their symbolic selves—that is, their cultural worlds.⁴

There are three generally accepted components to culture: *artifacts* (the things we make), *behavior* (the ways we act), and *knowledge* (what we believe and know about the world). These facets of culture are manifest in every aspect of our lives. Often, all three are combined in particularly powerful symbols, such as a flag or a logo.

Culture is not static but dynamic and flexible. One of the most interesting things that anthropologists do is to look at the way in which groups and individuals manipulate their culture and its symbols in interactions, constantly negotiating or redefining cultural categories, meanings, and values.

Culture, however, groups some individuals together and excludes others; it makes some of us alike and some of us different in important ways. The way we dress, the gods we worship, the languages we speak, the food we eat, the things we value or despise—all of these are culturally derived, and serve to differentiate the members of one culture from those of another.

Such differences are learned. At birth, we are not American or Mexican or Japanese. As young children, we begin to acquire the framework of values, beliefs, and expectations that forms our cultural identity. As we gain experience with this framework, our behavior is reinforced by the people around us. By the time we are adults, our acquired culture is practically second nature to us.

So although we all develop distinctive individual personalities, we operate as individuals within our cultural framework. As Americans or Mexicans or Japanese, we use this framework to help us satisfy the same basic needs that all humans have, but in ways that are American, Mexican, or Japanese.

Across groups, cultural differences are immediately apparent in terms of the things people make (artifacts) and what they do (behaviors). Anthropologists, however, are particularly interested in the less visible aspects of culture that generate these observable differences. They pay close attention, therefore, to *cultural knowledge*—how members of a culture arrange their world, and what meanings and values people assign to aspects of that world.

People use their cultural knowledge to look at their surroundings and to organize what they see. They use their culture to arrive at judgments about what is happening in their world, to help them select appropriate responses to those happenings, and to draw conclusions about the results of these actions. Cultural knowledge is organized in complex but discernible patterns, and although these patterns are essentially arbitrary, they don't seem arbitrary at all to the members of a particular society. Instead, they appear as logical, normal, right, and proper.

Cultures in Contact

As useful as culture is to us in many ways, it can also create problems. Although people everywhere must contend with many of the same issues in

Cultural Differences

assumptions and biases and tend to take them for granted. Because our cultural frames of reference are so implicit, we tend to believe that the way our culture has taught us to see the world is the way the world really is. Anthropologists call this *naïve realism*. "Pigs," as one child explained, are called pigs because they're so dirty."

Just as culture creates a "we" identity for us, it also creates a "they" category for everyone else. We deal with "them," much of the time, through stereotypes: summary generalizations about other, culturally different groups. Although stereotypes can reduce the threat of the unknown by enhancing predictability, they are abstract and one-dimensional, and tend to obscure important information in new situations. If we apply stereotypes unthinkingly, we will eventually make serious mistakes. Not all American tourists overseas are loud and boorish, not all Frenchmen are charming, and not all English soccer fans are hooligans.

Culture also encourages individuals to be *ethnocentric*; to judge other cultures in terms of our own set of standards. An ethnocentric person assumes, in Shaw's words, that "the customs of his tribe and island are the ways of nature."⁵ Again, this can lead to mistakes in perception. What is different is not always inferior.

All this can make contacts between one culture and another potentially difficult. As we shall see, international development is, above all, a cross-cultural encounter.

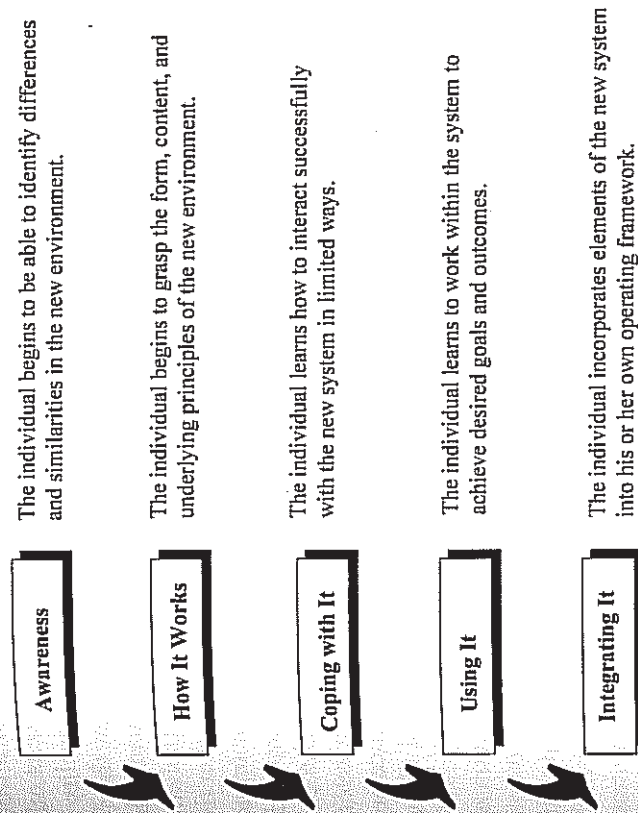
HOW ANTHROPOLOGISTS WORK

The Ritual of Fieldwork

Although many disciplines engage in fieldwork, none do it as intensively as anthropologists, and the importance of fieldwork for both the discipline and its adherents cannot be overstated. Fieldwork is a true rite of passage, heavily invested with value. Students leave familiar surroundings for unknown places where strangers teach them new lore. When sufficient knowledge has been gained, the neophytes reenter their original community, but as profoundly changed individuals.

Many anthropologists consider their fieldwork experience as one of the defining moments of their life; as the time when they became aware

FIGURE 1.1 A Model for Cross-Cultural Learning



SOURCE: Nolan 1999: 25.

Today, anthropological fieldwork is done within corporations as well as in remote villages. Whatever the setting, the anthropologist's goal is the same: to achieve an "out-of-culture" experience through immersion in another way of life; to transcend one's own cultural boundaries and limitations, and see—really see—new worlds through the eyes of others.

In this sense, fieldwork is similar to other cross-cultural learning situations, and involves a set of linked stages of comprehension. Figure 1.1 sets these out.

Fieldwork takes time, luck, skill, and patience. A period of fieldwork will last anywhere from three months to three years, and it is not unusual for a doctoral student to stay in the field for a year or more gathering data for a dissertation. By remaining in the field for long periods of time and

Fieldwork takes as its premise that a culture's reality is socially constructed; that the members of a culture really *do* live in their own world, and that this cultural world differs in important ways from those of other cultures. The fieldworker seeks to discover and build up that reality inductively, based on what members of the community think, how they organize, and evaluate what is significant to them, and how they manipulate these things in daily interaction.

Anthropology therefore proceeds by a process of discovery rather than verification.⁶ Although every field investigation begins with one or more hypotheses, a culture's categories, patterns, and values are not imposed or defined at the outset. Rather, they emerge over time as the anthropologist gains more familiarity with her surroundings. Fieldwork is therefore a process of emergent process, in which each data-gathering experience helps to structure subsequent interactions. In this respect, as we shall see, doing fieldwork is very similar to mounting a development project.

A map, for example, is a simple two-dimensional representation of a place on the earth. It contains a great deal of basic information, but very little cultural context. The anthropologist seeks to bring the map to life, by looking at how the inhabitants of the area see and use what is marked on it: which neighborhoods are regarded as desirable, for example, or as dangerous; which routes are quicker for the morning commute; and where to go for lunch. This "off the map" knowledge is precisely what most anthropologists are seeking when they go into the field.⁷

Do fieldworkers gain special or unique insight into a culture? Not really; on one level they simply come to understand what members of that culture already know. On another level, however, anthropologists come to understand a particular culture within a broader cross-cultural context. To an insider's, or *emic* perspective, is added the *etic*, or outsider's, viewpoint.⁸ These combined perspectives help anthropologists to describe, predict, and analyze change in ways the members of the culture itself might not necessarily be able to do.

Participant Observation

Anthropologists acquire their knowledge from other people through *participant observation*. Participant observation is learning by doing to gener-

and energy trying to understand how people use language to talk about—and think about—what is important to them.

Learning the local language allows anthropologists to participate, observe, question, and measure using local terms and categories. Anthropologists in the field, far from being "objective" or "detached" observers, are extraordinarily dependent on the people around them for data, knowledge, and ultimately understanding. It is local people, in the end, who will determine the success or failure of the fieldwork enterprise. An example of language-based cultural misunderstanding learning that happened to me early in my career as a development planner is outlined in Mini-Case 1.1, "On the Road to Tunis."

Gaining an insider's understanding of another culture takes time and effort, as patterns fall into place one piece at a time. The process can be profoundly uncomfortable, physically and emotionally. Despite this, many fieldworkers have emphasized the intense creativity and passion of the experience, as a new culture opened itself before them, one day at a time. For many anthropologists, participant observation may begin as a field technique, but it eventually becomes a way of life, an approach to learning.

The knowledge gained and used during fieldwork is often unexpected; meanings and connections appear that might remain hidden to the more casual investigator. This includes serendipitous discoveries, made by simply being in the right place at the right time.

What is learned during fieldwork is often disconfirming in one way or another. That is, the reality of the culture almost invariably turns out to be different from what was assumed, and modifies—sometimes considerably—whatever original hypotheses or constructs the fieldworker began with. This is so well known within the discipline that most fieldworkers expect to have their initial ideas challenged, if not altogether disproved.

Relativism

Relativism is another key aspect of fieldwork methodology. Anthropologists believe that all people are fully and equally human, and that the only way to develop significant understanding of another culture is to judge it on its own terms. Because fieldworkers seek understanding from an insider's viewpoint, they adopt an attitude of relativism—the suspen-

MINI-CASE 1.1 ON THE ROAD TO TUNIS

Several days after I first arrived in Tunisia to begin a long-term contract, I was invited by another American development worker to take a drive in the country.

Both of us were new to Tunisia, both of us spoke fluent French, but neither of us spoke any Arabic, although I had arranged to begin Arabic lessons in a few weeks. We spent several hours driving through the beautiful Tunisian countryside, admiring the villages, the Roman ruins, the mountains, and the coast.

Late in the afternoon, we stood at a crossroads, wondering where on earth we were. We'd discovered, to our surprise, that once out of Tunis, mileposts were marked only in Arabic. It was growing late, and we needed to find the right road to get us back to the capital.

Fortunately, we spied a Tunisian farmer trudging up the road. "Bonjour, monsieur," my friend said. "Parlez-vous français?"

The farmer looked at us. "Bien sur," he said. "Of course I speak French. What can I do for you?"

My friend rubbed his hands together. "Great. We need to go to Tunis. Can you show us the right road to Tunis?"

The farmer's eyebrows went up. "You're already in Tunis, monsieur," he said.

My friend smiled indulgently. "Perhaps you didn't understand me," he said. "We want the road to Tunis."

The farmer smiled back. "I heard what you said, monsieur. Tunis is here."

My friend's smile grew somewhat tight. "No, no, no. We—want—the—road—to—Tunis. You know, *Tunis*. Where is it?"

(continues)

avior usually makes sense within its own cultural framework, where morality and efficiency are defined differently.¹⁰ she provides an example from development planning:

animal scientists attempting to introduce small ruminants (llama) in Peru were frustrated by Andean pastoralists' seeming irrational reluctance to cull their herds by slaughtering sick or old animals. The anthropologists . . . found that the principal reason for stock raising in the barren Andean highlands

MINI-CASE 1.1 (continued)

Speaking slowly and carefully, as if to a child, the farmer said, "Tunis, yes. I understand. You want to go to Tunis. You are here." Pause. "It is here. You—*are*—in—Tunis."

At this point, the exchange took on the aspect of a Laurel and Hardy skit. My friend grew red-faced, his voice creeping into a higher register, accompanied by waving arms, "This isn't Tunis, how could this be Tunis? I don't know where this is, but it's obviously *not* Tunis!" He was hopping up and down now. "So—one more time . . . where is the road to Tunis? It's not here, that's for sure! I don't *want* to be here, I *want* to go to *Tunis*! I—*am*—going—to—*Tunis*, do you hear?"

The farmer looked at him for a long moment. Then he shrugged. "Eh bien, monsieur, bon voyage." He picked up his tools and walked down the road, shaking his head.

We eventually found the right road, of course, and we spent quite a bit of our time on the long drive back to the city chuckling at the strange farmer. A few weeks later my Arabic instructor began our first language class with a geography lesson, and the shoe finally fell.

I raised my hand. "Let me get this straight," I said. "In Arabic, the word for the country of Tunisia and the word for the city of Tunis—they're the same?"

"Of course," said Hichem. "*Tunis*." He wrote it on the board:

تونس

"Same word for the city, same word for the country. Everybody knows that, n'est-ce pas?" He smiled.

I smiled back, remembering our adventure in the country and the farmer who was now not so strange after all. "Of course," I agreed.

Although relativism may pose philosophical and ethical problems when carried to extremes, there is no doubt that the suspension of judgment is necessary during fieldwork to reach cross-cultural understanding. Imposing an outsider's framework on the culture you're trying to under-

MINI-CASE 1.2 THINKING DIFFERENTLY ABOUT DECISIONS: DOUKOLUMA FULBE HERDERS IN WEST AFRICA

In the early 1970s, John Grayzel conducted fieldwork in rural Mali among FulBe herders, at a time when a USAID-funded cattle development project was being planned for the area. An important part of Grayzel's work involved understanding how the FulBe used the grazing resources of the local area. This included looking at decisions about the sale of animals, sizes of herds, the movement of these herds within the locally available pasture, and the composition of herds.

Although Grayzel found that herd management followed essentially "rational" principles, he also discovered inconsistencies in the data, "broad variations in behavior among individuals that were not economically, managerially, or environmentally adaptive. Some practices made no contribution to sustaining maximum livestock production, while others appeared to have negative effects." These variations in practice, Grayzel concluded, could not be accounted for by any overarching generalizations about "rational" economic behavior.

The explanation, he felt, lay at the personal level, and could be understood by looking at the code of behavior and values, called *pulaade*, which characterized FulBe society as a whole. *Pulaade* comprises four main values: intelligence, beauty, wealth, and independence.

The FulBe admired any demonstration of intelligence, and believed that they, as a group, were particularly well-endowed with this trait. . . . The FulBe attitude about physical beauty was similar; they considered themselves to be better looking and more intelligent than their neighbors. . . . The fundamental value of beauty was in the pleasure it gave the beholder. If the possessor was a woman, beauty was an avenue toward achieving the third most important FulBe value, wealth.

Finally, freedom and independence were perhaps the most complex as well as the most important of all their values, and in a sense they incorporated all the others.

Grayzel then reexamined his data and found that the values inherent in *pulaade* did indeed help to explain individual variations in herder behavior.

MINI-CASE 1.2 (continued)

ior: The pursuit of wealth or beauty, he notes, "often overrode economic benefit or family solidarity." In many cases, it appeared that a basic desire for independence—from family, community, and government—guided herders' choices. *Pulaade*, Grayzel noted, did not necessarily override economic and environmental factors, but it did influence a herder's response to them.

The proposed USAID project, as it appeared to be taking shape, would have contradicted *pulaade* in several important respects. Delimitation of the grazing area, the registration of herders and animals, the subordination of herders' decisions to those of outside technicians, and the bias toward maximizing returns with a smaller number of animals—these things were fundamentally inconsistent with FulBe attitudes toward the independent exercise of intelligence in pursuit of wealth, beauty, and emotional satisfaction. The FulBe worldview, as Grayzel dryly comments, "presents a thorny problem for those who tend to view life largely as a series of economic or production coefficients."

He continues:

While certainly cognizant of their own needs for pleasure and comfort, in general development planners fail to include this sphere of human activities in their plans for others. On the contrary, they often attempt to subvert or destroy indigenous emotion satisfying institutions. Expenditures on folk festivals or religious structures are often labeled by planners as non-productive, and efforts are sometimes made to redirect these investments into shovels and fertilizer.

That a way of life—*pulaade* or any other—might be deeply satisfying emotionally to people, and might be considered an end in itself, appears to have been lost sight of in many development projects. Although local value systems, as Grayzel notes, are often cited as obstacles to the adoption of more "rational" practices, little attempt is made by planners to use such value systems as a basis from which to plan.

SOURCE: Grayzel 1986.

rational from a Western viewpoint was in fact perfectly consistent with the culture's own value system.

Holism

Holism is relativism's complement. Holism, simply put, is the notion that parts of a culture are connected in one way or another, often in ways that are not immediately visible. Fieldworkers therefore pay particular attention to the linkages between things. Like relativism, holism can pose problems at a philosophical or political level (seeming to justify, for example, situations of inequality, exploitation, or violence), but as a tool for gaining understanding of how a culture is put together, it is very useful.

One aspect of a culture—decisions about resource allocation, for example—can be studied and analyzed on its own, without any of the in-depth fieldwork we have been talking about. But one can never fully understand why people make the economic decisions they do without understanding much more about the rest of the culture to which these decisions are connected.

In the mini-case presented earlier, for example, to understand why FulBe herders made decisions about time and resources, it was necessary to understand FulBe notions of beauty, intelligence, independence, and other basic aspects of what might be called the FulBe worldview; the notion of what it was to be a FulBe at all. These essentially philosophical concepts had direct connections to the decisions that herders made on a day-to-day basis.

Mini-case 1.3, "One Thing Leads to Another," demonstrates in stark fashion the principle of holism as it details various far-reaching changes that occurred within an Australian Aboriginal society as the result of the introduction of a single item of new technology.

Domain Analysis

Anthropologists often use *domain analysis* to help them understand how people in a society define their world. Since all cultures use some system of categories to order experience, the anthropologist tries to determine what categories are important to people, how they are arranged, and

MINI-CASE 1.3 ONE THING LEADS TO ANOTHER: STEEL AXES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Lauriston Sharp conducted fieldwork in the early 1930s among the Yir Yoront, an Aboriginal group living on the west coast of the Cape Yorke Peninsula in northern Queensland. As part of his research, Sharp documented the effects of the introduction of a single piece of Western technology—the steel axe—into the social and economic system of the Yir Yoront.

Sharp began his explanation for what happened subsequently, and why, by looking at the traditional functions of the stone axes that the Yir Yoront had used until the time that steel axes became available from missionaries. The stone axe was crafted by men, using materials—wood, bark, and gum—freely available in their environment. The stone that formed the head of the axe, however, was not found in their territory, but much farther to the south. Yir Yoront men had therefore established long lines of male trading partners. In these exchanges, the Yir Yoront would trade stingray spears for stone axe heads. Such exchanges were particularly important during the dry season, when large Aborigine fiestas would take place. These fiestas centered around various rituals associated with totems or initiation, and attracted large numbers of people from different areas.

Once the axe had been crafted by men, it could be used by anyone, including women and children, but it always belonged to a man. Furthermore, the stone axe also had a place in Yir Yoront cosmology, and was associated with one of the several dozen clan groups in the society. The axe was essential to many important tasks, such as making wet-season huts, storage platforms, or shelters. The axe was also used in hunting, fishing, and food gathering. In only two areas was the use of the axe limited to men alone: for gathering wild honey and for fabricating ceremonial paraphernalia.

The axe, then, was not just a useful implement, but a definer and regulator of a host of social, economic, and symbolic relationships. Yir Yoront men depended on their far-flung trading partners for axe heads. Women and children wishing to use the axe needed to ask permission of a man, and this was done according to the group's rules of age and kinship. Indeed, Yir Yoront society was a complex of superordinate/subordinate relationships, wherein no one could be on an exactly equal footing with anyone else. The axe both symbolized and enforced this system.

components, their arrangement, and the rules governing this arrangement. Once the structure of the domain is understood, the anthropologist can explore the values, expectations, and attributes that surround different components.

A cultural domain is any area of life that is of local importance. It is crucial that the fieldworker not define this domain in advance; rather, the domain should emerge from the concerns and interests of the people themselves. It is the fieldworker's task to discover which domains are culturally significant, rather than to impose her own.

Often, the outline of a domain is obvious. Modes of livelihood, for example, are probably universally important to people. So is the life cycle and its component stages. Categories of people and how they are grouped differentiated is another. Typically, a fieldworker will be able to identify significant domains through interviewing, collecting life histories, and by observing members of the community interacting with each other.

Once a domain has been selected, interviewing and observation are used to determine how the domain is structured. How is the domain broken down into categories? How are these categories arranged? What is the rationale or basis for the arrangement? Finally, what values, beliefs, and expectations accompany the categories?

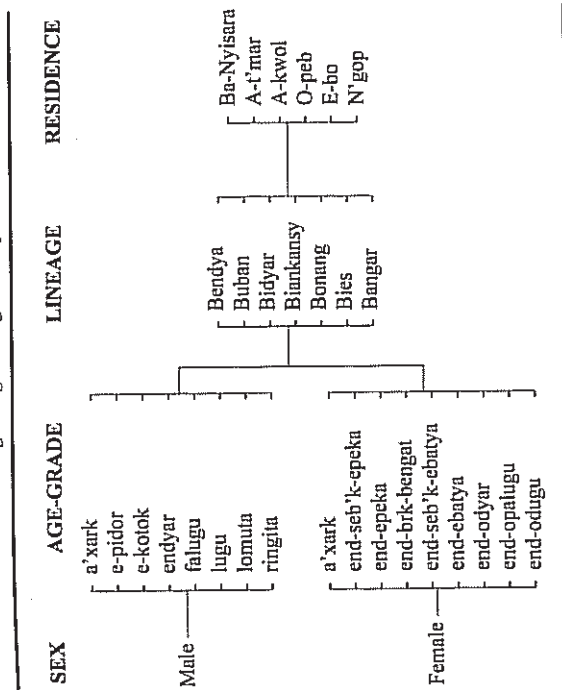
In many respects, domain analysis is merely a more careful form of a process that we use daily to make sense of new information. But fieldworkers are attempting to understand, not their own cultural domains, but those of others. These domains are often significantly different from their own. Mini-Case 1.4, "Organizing Principles in a Bassari Village," outlines how domain analysis helped me understand how village structure in small and highly homogeneous West African society was put together. Although cultures have many broadly structured domains, differences within the same culture in how subgroups identify and structure domains are also important. Fieldworkers are aware that the constructs they elicit are often highly specific, even within an otherwise homogeneous society. The process of domain analysis is likely to reveal the presence of subgroups that see things differently, even though they live in the same community.

A study of Los Angeles, for example, presented a series of maps of the

MINI-CASE 1.4 ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES IN A BASSARI VILLAGE

In the Bassari village of Eryolo in eastern Senegal, where I did fieldwork in the 1970s, I began by looking at how villagers were organized. "What kinds of people live here?" became the broad domain on which my efforts focused. Eventually, the outlines of village social structure became clear. Males and females, for example, occupied quite distinct ritual and economic niches. Within the male and female groups, an elaborate system of age-grades helped structure relationships between different cohorts. Each Bassari villager, furthermore, belonged to a matrilineage. Finally, each villager belonged to a residentially based labor exchange group.

Village Organizing Principles



These four principles—age, sex, lineage, and residence—served to structure almost every aspect of village life. Males and females owned different sorts of property (including land and agricultural produce) and controlled different but complementary aspects of ritual life. Age-grades had very specific rights and obligations vis-à-vis each other, as well as important ritual

MINI-CASE 1.4 (continued)

sites and ceremonies, and determined marriage patterns. Residence-based labor exchange groups were an important source of economic support for families in good times and bad.

Such an analysis is interesting in itself; it presents a clear picture of how a West African society views itself, and gives an indication of some of the core values that are important to people in the society and that shape their lives. But having charted a system of categories does not, in fact, tell one very much about how a society actually works. Construction materials, as one investigator remarked, are not architecture. Of equal or greater interest, therefore, are the ways in which such categories are used by a society's members in their dealings with one another and with outsiders.

Over the course of three years of field study among the Bassari, for example, I was able to document how these basic organizing principles influenced their response to external opportunities presented by schooling, wage-labor employment, exogamy, migration, military service, and religion. The cultural categories and associated values were—and are—used by groups and individuals in Eryolo in a never-ending process of interaction, negotiation, and manipulation for desired ends.

SOURCE: Nolan 1986: 13–22.

leading to the city center. A Spanish-speaking group drew maps showing only their immediate area, city hall, and the bus station—their main way in and out of the city.¹⁴

James Spradley's work with urban nomads in Seattle, presented in Mini-Case 1.5, "The City Through Other Eyes," illustrates clearly how different the world can look to members of cultural subgroups within the larger society.

DEVELOPMENT AS A CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTER

Improvement refers to betterment in ways that local populations understand, accept, and value. *Empowerment* means building local capacities for the planning and management of the changes associated with improvement. *Participation* means the involvement of different members of a society—groups and subgroups—in the decisions that will affect their lives, now and in the future.

Development—often emanating from outside—can pose a threat or challenge to existing cultural practices. Development opportunities, furthermore, do not arrive as discrete packages, but as part of a complex cultural system, with associated elements, values, and consequences.

Development is not a thing or a concept, it is a *process*—of negotiation and sometimes conflict—over whose goals and values will prevail in change, whose rules will apply. Groups use their culture as a resource—and sometimes, as a weapon—to help shape responses to such changes and opportunities. Stakeholders in a development encounter manipulate and opportunities. Stakeholders in a development encounter manipulate cultural categories in complex ways as they negotiate. If reality within one culture is in a sense constructed, then the reality of a development project is also a construction, arising from stakeholder interactions.

In this cross-cultural encounter, the potential for disappointment and disaster is high. Outcomes that satisfy neither development agencies nor local populations are all too frequent. Most of the time, development failures stem from a lack of fit between proposed changes and local cultural contexts, not a lack of finance, technology, or goodwill.

Content and Context in Development Work

Successful development work requires both content and context knowledge. *Content knowledge* includes specific details of processes, operations, and formulae—the procedures necessary to accomplish a task. *Context knowledge* refers to the understanding of a specific environment in which that task will be carried out.

Knowing the vocabulary and grammar of Arabic, for example, is a type of content knowledge. Understanding the appropriate thing to say in Arabic to a particular person at a particular time to produce a specific result is an example of context knowledge.

Gift giving is another example. The mechanics of shopping for a gift,

MINI-CASE 1.5 THE CITY THROUGH OTHER EYES: URBAN NOMADS IN SEATTLE

What do people from different cultural groups actually see when they look at something? James Spradley, in an investigation of "urban nomads" in Seattle, used domain analysis to show how very differently these people conceptualize and use their surroundings.

Spradley notes that people do not live in the city so much as they live in their socially constructed versions of the city. When some people look at a downtown area, they may see places to work. Others see places to shop and eat lunch. Still others see places to park—or the lack thereof.

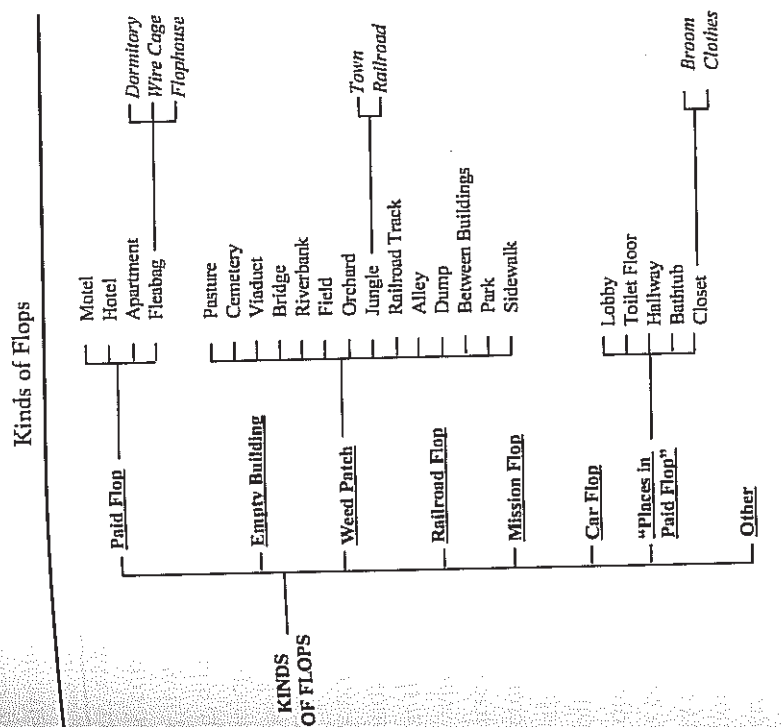
What do urban nomads see? As Spradley shows us, first and foremost, they see safe places to sleep. Spradley points out that any urban area will contain cultural subgroups and that a "normal" way of life for one of these groups will not necessarily characterize all the groups. Some groups engage in very different sorts of activity within the city. At other times, groups may engage in similar activities, but define them differently. Using domain analysis, Spradley attempted to discover what urban nomads see when they look out at the city, to build up what he calls a "cognitive map" of their world of experience.

Spradley began by defining significant domains. Based on interviews and observation, he hypothesized that "making a flop"—finding a place to sleep—was a highly significant domain for Seattle's urban nomads. Once he had identified this domain, he began to collect statements about it. Based on these statements, he began to derive possible categories, questions, and forms of contrast. By asking his informants a series of structured and semistructured questions, and by continuing to observe and listen, he was able to build up, from the informants themselves, a "taxonomy" of places to sleep. A selected portion of this appears below. In Spradley's study, the taxonomy is much more elaborate.

He noted several interesting features of this taxonomy. First, the categories of objects are arranged in terms of their function as places to sleep, and not in terms, say, of their physical form or any functions they might have for other people.

Second, the categories themselves are numerous—far more than most "ordinary" Americans would probably ever use or imagine. Indeed, Spradley comments that "places to sleep" does not appear to be a highly

MINI-CASE 1.5 (continued)



SOURCE: Adapted from Spradley 1972: 250.

about how, for example, they make decisions about where to bed down for the night.

To investigate this, he questioned his informants further, using sorting techniques, substitution frames, and contrast sets. Eventually he discovered that his informants used eight major considerations in deciding where to spend the night, considerations that directly reflect some of the most salient features of their daily life. Three of these appear below (again, Spradley's study provides much more detail).

MINI-CASE 1.5 (continued)

Criteria for Choosing a Flop

WEATHER	☐ Almost no protection
	☐ Out of the rain or snow
	☐ Out of the wind
	☐ Out of the wind, possibly out of the cold
	☐ Out of the wind and rain or snow
	☐ Out of the wind and rain/snow, possibly out of the cold
DEGREE OF INTOXICATION	☐ Must be sober
	☐ Must be drunk
	☐ Any state of intoxication
SECURITY	☐ Public/Concealed/Protected
	☐ Public/Concealed/Unprotected
	☐ Public/Unconcealed/Protected
	☐ Public/Unconcealed/Unprotected
	☐ Nonpublic/Concealed/Protected
	☐ Nonpublic/Concealed/Unprotected

SOURCE: Adapted from: Spradley 1972: 250.

why the world of our informants looks the way it does. By further examining how informants use their cognitive maps, we gain additional insight into how culture—in this case, the culture of urban nomads—can be used as a problem-solving tool.

SOURCE: Spradley 1972.

each culture will have a different set of artifacts, behaviors, and associated values.

Many cultures give gifts, in other words, but not all cultures give the same gifts, not all cultures give gifts in the same way, and not all cultures value gifts in the same way. So although giving a gift looks simple in the abstract, what is chosen, who receives it, and how it is presented—all issues of context—will ultimately determine whether the gift is seen within that context as homage, tribute, thanks, appreciation, payment, tipping, a bribe, or perhaps as a deadly insult.

Development work tends to focus on matters of content—budgets, technical specifications, procedures, deadlines, and policies. Development specialists, whatever their discipline, therefore tend to share a common base of content knowledge that makes it possible for them to communicate effectively in many situations and to craft policy prescriptions at the macro level.

But when one moves from policy to practice, the common universe of discourse becomes more fragmented. The success with which macro policies actually work in the field depends far more on context than anything else—that is, on the extent to which cultural assumptions contained in the policy actually fit with those operating in the local environment. In development situations, the cross-cultural nature of the encounter means that the content knowledge that drives policy, finance, and technology almost always requires detailed context knowledge of the local situation to be both relevant and effective.

Regrettably, these two types of knowledge are often separated in the day-to-day operations of a development project. The engineer or architect may have little understanding of how villagers' use patterns affect the roads or buildings they construct; the doctor may not comprehend how local concepts of disease influence demands for health care; the economist may ignore symbolic or qualitative aspects of resource use and decisionmaking.

The local cultural context within which a development project is situated can be ignored, in other words, and often is. But it will not go away unless the people do. Cultures are flexible, resilient, and able to change, but they are also remarkably enduring. As fifty years of development experience has shown, development efforts that fit with their surroundings

Anthropology and Development

In the development encounter, anthropology provides the means both for understanding context and for incorporating this context into planning and action in mutually satisfactory ways.

In some important ways, anthropologists are ideal development practitioners. Their inductive and nonjudgmental approach means that they enter a field situation with few preconceptions about what they will find here. Anthropologists are wary of generalizations, assumptions, or foregone conclusions. They are naturally interested in people rather than things, in what people do as well as in what they say. Anthropologists are aware that our own arrangements, with which most of us are so comfortable and secure, are essentially arbitrary, and indeed, exotic to others at times. We remind our colleagues that there are minds out there that think as well as we do, but differently.

Does anthropology really matter for development work? Or is the idea that cultures differ in significant ways and that everything in a culture is somehow connected to everything else, something that any talk show host already knows?

That the world looks different to people from different cultures is obvious. But how and why such differences affect the success or failure of development efforts is much less clear. This is where anthropology provides essential context-based insight.

Anthropology provides us with a way to look into other cultural worlds, to uncover and understand the shared meanings by which others act and react. It is through anthropology that we learn the things that aren't immediately obvious; that aren't revealed by surveys or quick site visits. Anthropology helps us understand how a culture is patterned, why changes in one part of the pattern may resonate elsewhere, and how norms and values affect plans, policies, and prescriptions. Anthropology, in short, helps us understand why actions, thoughts, and feelings make sense to people who inhabit cultural worlds often quite different from our own.

Anthropology provides a way of seeing that complements rather than challenges the kinds of knowledge generated by other disciplines. Anthropology does not conflict with these other approaches, but extends and enhances them. It is a way of seeing that complements rather than

Listening to what Gbansu knows is the right way to begin. And that means seeing the forest, the bush and the swamps through the eyes of the different strata in Gbansu society. It means knowing what rice means and how it works, and thus not insensitively imposing swamp rice technology on a community which has good reasons for not accepting it. It means working at each level of development with those individuals, families and social groups that already operate at these levels. It means understanding how the village and the hamlets stand in the relation of producer and consumer, laborer and manager. It means seeing the central village as a microcosm of the 400 square km of forest, bush, swamp, river, trail, farm, hamlet and village, and seeing the totality of the land as the central village writ large.

But above all it means seeing that all of these work together to form a living system. It is not possible to tinker with one part of the system without affecting the remainder. Thus the outsider intervenes with fear and trembling, unless he or she is intent on destruction. Far better is to approach Gbansu quietly and patiently, waiting until it shows where it is going and where it wants to go.¹⁵

Anthropology not only uncovers different cultural worlds, it makes it possible for them to engage with each other. As a cross-cultural encounter, development is a protracted negotiation; unless both sides win, everyone must lose. As in life itself, success in development means coming to terms with different ways of seeing the world and learning how to create outcomes that draw on diversity as a source of intelligence and strength. Anthropology in development can help ensure that different cultural worlds that come together in projects and programs do so in ways that are mutually acceptable and satisfactory.

Development anthropology is anthropology applied, in a pure sense, but it is not traditional anthropology. The next two chapters examine this, looking first at the emergence of the development industry and then at the growth of applied anthropology.

Because culture creates a world for people that is very real and because different cultures embody different worlds, it is important to understand what happens when different cultural worlds encounter one another. Anthropologists are able to uncover a culture's patterns through fieldwork, using a variety of inductive research techniques.

Development projects are, in essence, situations of cross-cultural encounter. Development, which aims to improve people's lives, is not a thing but a process of negotiation between different ways of thinking, seeing, and valuing. In the negotiation process, although technology, finance, and management are important, knowledge of context is fundamental.

Anthropology, with its distinctive approach to investigation, provides the understanding of context that is needed for development. The anthropologist's ability to move between cultural worlds and facilitate their interaction through forms of brokerage enables partners in the development effort to achieve outcomes that are mutually satisfactory.

ENDNOTES

1. Spradley and McCurdy (1972: 9) put it this way: "[Anthropology] is a systematic attempt to discover the knowledge a group of people have learned and using to organize their behavior. . . . Instead of asking 'What do I see these people doing?' we must ask, 'What do these people see themselves doing?' And cannot answer this question with our own concepts, for that would implicitly reduce our view of their actions."
2. I know that some of my colleagues would vigorously dispute this statement. Someone who was educated in Britain and teaches anthropology in the United States, however, I am convinced that the similarities in approach and intent far outweigh the differences.
3. Here again, others might differ with me, since there are almost as many definitions of culture as there are anthropologists. Many of these, to my mind, distinctions without a difference.
4. Goldschmidt (2000: 11).
5. George Bernard Shaw, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, act 3.
6. E. Chambers (1985: 175–176). Finan (1996: 303) puts it this way: "... [cultural] knowledge is encoded in a local idiom with unique categories and classifications, which anthropologists are trained to recognize. The researcher thus faces a challenge of discovering this social knowledge in terms of its own idiom."

8. The terms derive from linguistics, where phonetics refers to the range of sound that can be made by the human voice box, and phonemics focuses on those specific sounds associated with a particular language.

9. Belshaw (1976: 25).

10. A classic example of this is Laura Bohannon's well-known article "Shakespeare in the Bush" (Bohannon 2000), which describes how Tiv villagers in Nigeria reinterpreted the tale of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, in terms that would be odd to most students of English literature, but that made perfect sense within the framework of Tiv society.

11. Fiske (1990: 20).

12. Moerman (1968) likens the imposition of an outside analytical framework to putting chocolate pudding in an egg crate. Although the material is neatly compartmentalized, its fundamental structure and composition remain a mystery.

13. This approach to field investigation is, with variations, widespread in anthropology. The clearest exposition of the methodology and its rationale probably remains James Spradley's *The Ethnographic Interview* (1979) and its companion volume, *Participant Observation* (1980).

14. Gould and White (1980).

15. Gay (1995: 285).

THE RISE OF THE DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRY

A WORLD OUT OF BALANCE

The World Bank defines poverty as living on one U.S. dollar per day or less. By this definition, some 1.2 billion people are poor. Raise the limit to two dollars per day, and two-thirds of the planet—over 4 billion people—live in poverty. Seventy percent of these are women.

Poverty is not simply a matter of income. Many millions are homeless, for example, or are living in inadequate or unsafe shelter. One and a half billion people have no access to safe drinking water. Nearly one-sixth of the world's population cannot read or write, and of these—again—almost 70 percent are women.

Although poverty is found throughout the world, inequalities across nations are particularly striking. Africa, in particular, seems especially hard-hit. Of the world's twenty poorest countries, eighteen are in Africa, and over 50 percent of the population lives at or below the dollar-a-day line. In 1993, for example, Africa's total gross national product (GNP) was less than that of the Netherlands, and Africa ranks low on the quality-of-life indicators.

TABLE 2.1 Defining Poverty (The World Bank divides countries into four groups [data used are for 1999])

Grouping	Annual per Capita GNP	Number of Countries	Examples	Percentage of World Population
Low Income	\$785 or less	62	Afghanistan, Benin, Moldova, Vietnam	35%
Lower-Middle Income	\$786–3,125	60	Algeria, Iraq, Russia, Panama, Sri Lanka	39%
Upper-Middle Income	\$3,126–9,655	37	Botswana, Estonia, Mexico, Libya, Turkey	10%
High Income	\$9,656 or more	53	Brunei, Japan, Slovenia, Greenland, Qatar	16%

SOURCE: Adapted from World Bank 1999.

these countries contain only 30 percent of the world's population. Africa, with some 13 percent of world population, has but 1 percent of the world's Internet users, with the overwhelming bulk of these in South Africa.²

The number of poor people in the world, furthermore, continues to grow. The income gap between rich and poor, already extreme, seems to be growing as well. World population rises by nearly 90 million people each year, which is an increase equal to the entire population of Mexico or Germany. Although birth rates are falling slowly across much of the world, enough people have already been born to ensure that population will continue to rise for at least the next half-century, possibly reaching 8–9 billion.

The overwhelming bulk of that increase is taking place in the poorer regions of the globe. In 1950, for example, sub-Saharan Africa's population was half Europe's. In 1985, it equaled Europe's, and by the year 2025, it will be three times Europe's.³ By 2050, according to UN estimates, India will be the world's most populous country, with over 1.5 billion people, followed closely by China.

TABLE 2.2 Quality-of-Life Indicators Compared: Africa and Asia

	Africa	East Asia
Children in Primary School	41.5%	59.5%
Literacy Rate	55%	82.7%
Life Expectancy at Birth	50.9 years	70.5 years

SOURCE: *New York Times*, June 6, 1996.

growth will be in developing countries.⁴ In 1950, only New York and London, each with populations of 8 million or more, could be termed "megacities." By 2015, nine of the top ten megacities will be in the developing world.

DEVELOPMENT AS A GLOBAL PROJECT

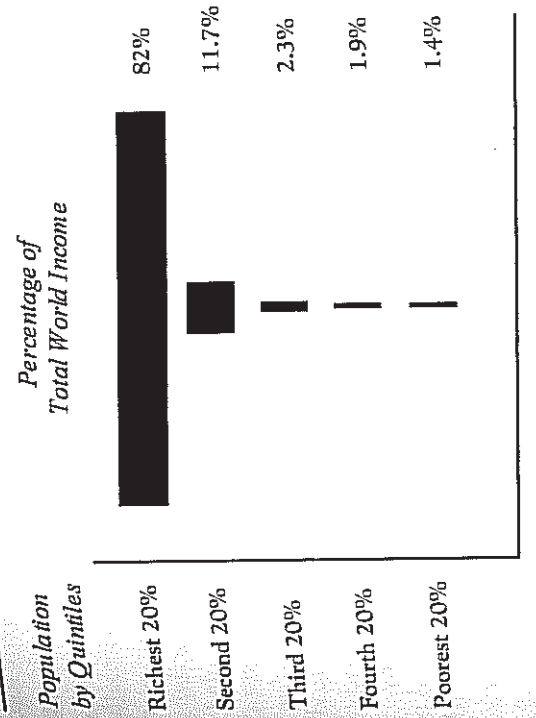
Early, we live in a markedly unequal world, and by all accounts, the inequalities are getting worse. Although the human race has always known poverty, two things are different today: poverty today is highly visible and we now possess the means to bring it to an end, if we so choose.

Development is the word we use to describe the worldwide effort to eradicate poverty and its associated ills. Since the end of World War II, a remarkable development industry has arisen, focused on improving life for billions of people around the world. Hundreds of thousands of people on all corners of the globe work in this industry, and enormous sums of money have been expended. As humanity's first global project, development is a test of our skill and commitment, and carries vast consequences for people everywhere.

To succeed, development efforts must connect the diverse cultural worlds that we inhabit in ways that acknowledge the value of this diversity at the same time generating results that are both sustainable and universally recognized as fair and satisfactory.

This is a very tall order. Pico Iyer has remarked: "Insofar as we aspire to our brothers' keepers we have to acknowledge that we have five—eight—billion brothers and sisters."

FIGURE 2.1 World Income Distribution



SOURCE: Serageldin 1995: 114.

Successful development, as we shall see, requires people who plan and carry out development to learn a great deal about cultural worlds other than their own, and to use what they know intelligently. Until quite recently, the development industry has not really recognized this need to learn, but has concentrated instead on trying to impose an essentially ethnocentric view of progress on other countries, with highly variable results.

To understand why the development industry took shape the way it did, it is instructive to look briefly at its origins and past experience.

Antecedents

European empire-building transformed much of the non-Western world in ways that are still significant today. Spain reached the New World in 1492, and within fifty years, controlled territory from Mexico to Chile.

twentieth century, Europe had established dominion over most of the globe. The imposition of Western rule took several different forms, but in nearly all cases, changes in indigenous societies were both rapid and drastic.

In the colonized territories, Europe's presence touched virtually every aspect of daily life for most people. Within local communities, the authority of established groups (such as elders and local councils) was replaced, challenged, or undermined. Outside administrators ruled alongside—or in place of—traditional authorities. New legal systems defined crimes, acceptable procedures for resolution, and the penalties for infractions. Rights to land and other resources changed character. Traditional forms of wealth and prestige, although not always displaced, had to compete with the demands and attractions of a wage-labor economy.

Social and cultural landscapes began to change as well. Local populations were counted, categorized, converted, or displaced, according to the circumstances. In some cases populations were massacred. Local boundaries were redefined and reorganized. In the schools brought by the Westerners, history was redefined and reinterpreted.

Western medicine saved many lives but led, in some areas, to population increases that put pressures on land, food, and other resources. Local practices offensive or foreign to colonial sensibilities, including cannibalism, infanticide, polygyny, and female circumcision, were banned or driven underground. Other practices such as bride price or initiation ceremonies were regulated. All of these changes had long- and short-term consequences for social and demographic patterns.

By the mid-twentieth century, the "developing world" had come into existence—poor, dependent, and for most of us, very far away.

Creating the Framework

World War II signaled the end of the age of empire, although the final breakup would take several decades more. By the time the war finally ended in late 1945, the economies of the colonial powers lay largely in ruins, several overseas dependencies were in active rebellion (with the uncertainty of more to follow), and a new and decidedly uneasy relationship was taking shape between the West and the Soviet Union. Even before peace was concluded, the West recognized that the

fashionable resort in the mountains of New Hampshire to devise mechanisms for guiding postwar recovery and regulating economic relationships among states. The resulting Bretton Woods agreement created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), better known as the World Bank.

The Bretton Woods framework embodied and promoted an economic approach to development in which rapid reconstruction and growth were seen as essential to the establishment of national economic health. The benefits of economic growth at the national level would be seen in such gross indicators as higher export earnings, healthier balance of payment figures, and larger current accounts. These benefits, it was assumed, would then filter down through the economy and be distributed across groups and sectors. Political stability, greater democracy, and increased participation would follow. First applied to war-torn Europe through the Marshall Plan (see below), the Bretton Woods philosophy was soon extended to the emerging nations of the developing world.

By the mid-1950s, a new terminology had arisen to describe geopolitical arrangements. The poor countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, many of them colonies or former colonies, were now lumped together as the Third World. The term "Third World" (*tiers monde* in French) is attributed to the French demographer Alfred Sauvy. First used in 1952, it referred to countries belonging neither to the Western industrial democracies (the First World) nor to the centrally planned economies of the Soviet bloc (the Second World).

Third World countries varied enormously, but tended, on the whole, to have a common profile: low per capita incomes, shorter life expectancies, higher rates of infant mortality, and a higher population growth rate than industrial countries. A high proportion of their population also tended to work in agriculture. And as already noted, most Third World countries had been former colonies, and were therefore equipped—or saddled—with a range of Western-style institutions.

But in many respects, the term "Third World" has obscured more than it has clarified. Third World countries were not and are not uniformly poor, for a start. Their experiences with colonialism, thought by many to be a fundamental common attribute, varied greatly. They also exhib-

healthy nor industrialized, neither wholly Western nor part of the Soviet bloc, the term provided little real insight into the nature of either poverty or development.

TODAY'S DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRY

Today, development is a multibillion-dollar industry comprising four main groups: multilateral agencies, bilateral agencies, nongovernment organizations, and private consulting firms.

Multilateral Agencies

Multilateral agencies are government organizations composed of two or more nations. Although development multilaterals do not, in principle, challenge or replace state sovereignty, they are active and powerful. Some multilaterals—such as the United Nations—are global in scope and membership. Others, like the Organization of American States, are regional or subregional.

Today, the bulk of the world's resources for development—money, ideas, information, and people—flow through a small number of multilaterals—in particular, the World Bank, the UN, and the various regional development banks.

United Nations. The UN is the world's most important multilateral development organization, with 90 percent of its resources devoted to the resolution of social and economic problems. Its operating budget has risen from \$147 million in 1945, when it had fifty-one member states, to \$3 billion dollars and 185 member states in 1995.⁶

Although the UN has many development-oriented agencies and groups under its broad umbrella, the most important is the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), founded in 1965. In each country, UNDP resident representatives coordinate technical assistance, funding, and relief efforts.

FIGURE 2.2 The World Bank Group

THE WORLD BANK GROUP

IBRD:	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA:	International Development Association
IFC:	International Finance Corporation
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
ICSID:	International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes

cies. In part because of this independence, these organizations have considerable power to influence other countries, and in many respects they resemble self-contained and sovereign states. Traditionally, the World Bank is headed by an American, the IMF by a European.

The IMF, with 184 members, is primarily a finance institution. It provides temporary balance of payment assistance to countries and facilitates currency conversion. It also provides a certain amount of technical assistance and collects information on financial matters. The World Bank, in contrast, is a development organization. It has 177 member countries and is comprised of five subagencies. Two of these, the IBRD and the International Development Association (IDA) (which makes loans to the poorest countries on concessional terms) constitute the largest single source of official funding for development. The World Bank also provides considerable technical assistance to countries.

As a result of its loans and technical assistance programs, the Bank possesses vast quantities of data on the countries it serves, together with

Bilateral Agencies

Almost all major industrial nations have one or more *bilateral agencies* involved in international development. Unlike multilaterals, which are composed of members from diverse nations, bilaterals represent the interests of one nation alone. For this reason, the policies of a bilateral agency usually reflect the particular political, social, or economic priorities of that country.⁷

USAID. The U.S. government has well over 100 agencies and departments with an international mandate, but its primary development agency is the United States Agency for International Development, commonly called USAID or simply AID. AID has existed in one form or another since the early 1950s, but has undergone a series of name changes and organizational reworkings. Today, it is part of the U.S. State Department. Like the UNDR, AID is made up of functional bureaus divided between administrative tasks and geographic regions. The regional bureaus are then linked to field missions in various countries.⁸

AID is accountable to the U.S. Congress, which in turn is influenced by a variety of interest groups, internal and external. Congress requires a great deal of accountability from AID, and it is said that the number of congressional reports required from AID is second only to that required in the CIA. Throughout its history, AID has had to contend with shifting political and economic priorities, and the agency is often expected to promote agendas that may have little to do with development directly.

One aspect of AID operation that is constant, however, is the need to have development money through the pipeline as quickly and smoothly as possible. Since AID runs on yearly congressional appropriations, and since there is perennial disagreement in Congress about the merits of foreign aid, it is in AID's interest to spend its money quickly, and in ways that can be presented as effective. In this effort, the agency faces a host of procedural problems stemming from its own labyrinth of regulations, which have grown, by accretion, over the years. It now takes several years to design and approve a new project or program.

AID's yearly budget appropriation typically consists of three main

TABLE 2.3 USAID Budgets FY 1997-FY 1999: Millions of Dollars

Major Categories	FY 1997	FY 1998	FY 1999 (requested)
Development Assistance	1,130	1,172	1,266
Development Assistance	500	550	503
Child Survival and Disease Program	190	190	205
International Disaster Assistance	12	11	14
Credit Programs	—	(8)	(15)
Development Credit Authority	518	508	517
USAID Operating Expenses			
Economics Support Fund	2,386	2,420	2,514
Economic Support Fund	475	485	465
Eastern Europe	625	771	925
Newly Independent States	867	867	867
PL 480 (Food for Peace)	6,703	6,974	7,276
Total			

SOURCE: USAID Fiscal Year 1999 Budget Request Summary: www.info.usaid.gov.

Overseas, an AID mission is part of a "country team" that includes representatives from the economic, political, and military offices in the embassy, as well as the Peace Corps, intelligence agencies, and so on. Each AID mission draws up a strategic development plan to guide programming decisions about how development aid will be used in that country. This, together with congressional guidelines, mandates, and requirements, forms the core of AID policy in each specific country, and is the basis on which programs, policies, and projects are crafted.

AID does not have sole authority for its programs, however, and its operations have always been heavily informed by diplomatic and security concerns. Although programming is done by AID, the coordination of AID programs with other overseas activities (military aid, for example) is

Nongovernment Organizations

Nongovernment organizations (or NGOs)—also known as nonprofits—are increasingly important as a source of ideas, funds, and technical assistance in development work.⁹ Although the largest and most influential nonprofits are Western-based, increasing numbers of them are headquartered in the developing countries themselves. A number of universities, foundations, and think tanks also fall into the nonprofit, nongovernmental category.

There are several different types of NGOs. Some are traditional disaster relief or humanitarian agencies. Others specialize in various forms of technical assistance. Still others focus on education, community development, institution building, or policy formulation. They may have a particular character (for example, linguistic, political, cultural, religious) either in terms of their members and contributors, or in terms of the groups they target.¹⁰

NGOs proliferated throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Development-oriented NGOs registered in OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries rose from 1,600 in 1980 to nearly 2000 in 1996, but their actual number is probably much higher.¹¹ Finance grew along with numbers. In the mid-1980s, NGOs spent between \$3–4 billion yearly in the developing world, a figure double or triple what it had been in the 1970s. By the mid-1990s, the total had increased again: one estimate of OECD-registered NGOs put the annual expenditure for 1993 at nearly \$6 billion.¹² World Vision, a faith-based NGO and the fourteenth largest fund-raising charity in the United States, raised over \$200 million in donor support in 1993. Cooperative American Relief to Everywhere (CARE) raised nearly \$50 million in the same year, and Save the Children raised over \$40 million.¹³ Between 1990 and 1996, donations to major U.S. NGOs went up by an average of 10 percent.¹⁴ Today, the twenty-five largest development NGOs probably channel 10 percent of all development aid money.¹⁵

NGOs raise the money they need in a variety of ways: through contributions, subscriptions, and grants. Increasingly, however, their funding is to budget allocations from the large multilateral and bilateral agencies, leading to worry about the degree of control that large agencies have over this money.

Private Consulting Firms

There are an enormous number of consulting firms in the United States alone that offer technical assistance services to the development industry.¹⁶ AID, for example, does business with an estimated 3,500 consulting firms, and close to 80 percent of AID's grants and contract awards go directly to either consulting firms, individuals, or nonprofits.¹⁷

A group of these consulting firms, known as the "Beltway Bandits" because of their proximity to Washington, win the majority of contracts for U.S. agencies and for a substantial share of multilateral agency contracts. Mini-Case 2.1, "The Development Consulting Business," outlines how these firms operate.

Some consulting firms, in fact, have no other clients than the large development agencies. They offer a variety of services: architecture, engineering, regional and urban planning, education, health, agriculture, and so on. Outside the United States, every major industrialized country has a number of firms that also specialize in development work.

Development contracting is big business; in 1996, the top twenty-five development consulting firms in the United States were awarded over \$2 billion in contracts.¹⁸ Overall, the large development agencies award some \$4 to 5 billion in contracts to firms and individual consultants each year. In addition to this, an estimated \$30 billion in contracts are awarded by the countries that borrow aid funds from the large agencies.¹⁹

Integration Within the Industry

Although varied in size, purpose, and operation, the organizations that make up today's development industry are closely interconnected. These connections are of several different types.

One is through *funding*. As mentioned above, the smaller agencies, principally NGOs, often receive a substantial portion of their funding from the larger multilateral and bilateral agencies. Although some NGOs seek to remain relatively independent of the larger agencies, others have no problem with accepting funding from them. In most cases, of course, funding comes with a variety of attached strings.

Another important way in which the industry is interconnected is

MINI-CASE 2.1 THE DEVELOPMENT CONSULTING BUSINESS

Although some consulting firms provide specialized services to the development industry—such as mapping or data processing—other firms operate across the entire span of the project development cycle, from design and implementation to evaluation. Mickelwait's analysis of these firms would seem to place them in the category of a "mature" industry, whose products are increasingly undifferentiated, and where growth, profits, initiative, and innovation are low. Such firms fall into two main categories: those that focus on production activities, such as agriculture and small business development, and those that are centered on social services, such as health and education.

Mickelwait traces the process whereby AID officials withdrew over time from hands-on contact with projects in favor of hired contractors. Although the number of firms offering contracting services to USAID grew, so did the competition, as well as the complexity of preparation and bidding procedures. Larger firms tend to dominate this market; smaller firms seek to form consortia or to enter into subcontracts with larger firms.

Because AID's needs are so specialized and its procedures are so unique and complex, firms have developed profiles and capabilities that tie them increasingly to this highly specific funding source: "Winning an AID contract requires that a firm produce support units, ranging from accounting and contract management to recruitment and overseas logistic support, whose staff is knowledgeable about AID regulations and is experienced in complying with them." In a mature industry, price tends to emerge as the market determinant:

(continues)

MINI-CASE 2.1 (continued)

Even in a mature industry, successful firms attempt to distinguish their product by claims to unique skills, successful corporate expertise, sound financial controls, efficient project management, and corporate integrity. But AID often ignores these distinctions. It has always had an underdeveloped capacity to judge the competence of consulting firms, as evidenced by contract ranking systems, which rarely capture knowledge of past performance on similar contracts. Successful firms cling to the belief that doing the job correctly will pay off over the long term, but the sad truth is that there is generally little connection in any one competitive contest between corporate integrity, good will based upon past performance, and contract award.

The end result of the current system is that fewer firms have either the skills or the inclination to compete for AID contracts; those that do must either establish themselves as uniquely qualified in some respect or must price their services competitively—sometimes below break-even points. Although this may be good business for the federal government, it does little to build AID's understanding of how projects actually operate in the field, discourages innovation and risk-taking in development approaches, and focuses attention instead on the process and procedures associated with preparing proposals and winning bids.

SOURCE: Mickelwait, nd.

The development industry is also linked through the exchange of information. The major multilateral and bilateral agencies all maintain large databases and publish numerous reports and summaries. The World Bank, for example, has its own bookstore, and an impressive backlist of titles on virtually every aspect of development. Data from development agencies are now widely available on CD-ROMs and web sites as well.

Finally, agencies *collaborate* with each other on specific projects. It is not unusual for two or more agencies to work together to plan and carry out a project. Smaller firms and NGOs will also join with each other in consortia to bid on and manage development projects for larger agencies. In some cases, agencies share responsibilities for the entire project; in others, agencies agree to work separately on different aspects of the project.

In one urban development project with which I was involved in Tunisia, for example, the World Bank funded the physical upgrading of the area, including roads, drainage, water, and electricity. AID funded the social and economic infrastructure, including loans to small businesses, vocational training, health education, and literacy. In turn, both larger agencies hired several consulting firms in the United States and elsewhere to work on specific aspects of the overall project.

Thus, although the development industry is composed of some quite different types of organizations, there is an overall sense in which they are all part, in one way or another, of a common enterprise with a remarkably uniform approach to development planning and implementation. Although some smaller NGOs have begun to develop more independent strategies in recent years, the vast bulk of development funding and other vital resources (personnel, information, and experience) is still tied to larger agencies and their partners. It is therefore worth looking in some detail at how development itself has developed in the decades since the end of World War II.

THE EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE

To understand how the development industry grew and evolved and how it has attempted to address problems of world poverty, we need to begin with the underlying assumptions that characterized the early years and that played a crucial and determinant role in shaping what development was to become.

early on, to dominate development thinking.²⁰ Dealing with underdevelopment was seen as a technical problem, essentially one of making poor countries more like rich ones, and economics seemed to promise quick and clear solutions.

Classical Western economic theory explains underdevelopment simply and cleanly: low incomes produce low rates of saving; low rates of saving result in low rates of investment; and low rates of investment discourage growth in production, jobs, and—ultimately—income. Early development thinking therefore centered on the use of capital: where to put it and how to use it.

Development capital, furthermore, needed to come from outside—hence the term “foreign aid.” The technology financed by the capital would also be external, in most cases. And the management systems used to raise production would, in turn, be derived from the successful models of the West.²¹

The problem of development thus came to be seen primarily as one of how to stimulate rapid, large-scale, and sustained economic growth. It was assumed that such growth would benefit the nation as a whole, that these benefits would be distributed in some relatively rational and equal fashion, and that this distribution would promote the general welfare. Planners hoped for some form of “takeoff” in which investment increases, manufacturing sectors grow and prosper, and supporting national institutions arise to sustain further growth.²²

Although experts argued over whether balanced growth (spread over a range of sectors) or unbalanced growth (financing a few strategic sectors) was most effective, few questioned the axiom that increase was the goal. Keeping track of development results, logically enough, meant looking at key growth indicators, chief among which were measures of national output such as GNP.

What might be termed a *technicist* approach therefore guided development thinking from the outset. The *ends* sought were primarily material, *strategy* was derived from Western economic theory, and the *means* consisted of Western capital combined with Western technology and know-how. Progress, of course, would be measured in economic terms, and industrialized societies would be the model to which weaker economies should aspire. Development, in this view, was essentially a unilinear evolution.

The implications of the technicist paradigm for development had a number of very important consequences. For one thing, it established Western industrial nations as the template or standard in planning and conceptualizing. Second, it tended to lump every other society into a residual category of "less developed," thus ignoring the range of differences existing between them, the specifics of their internal processes, and their particular problems or concerns. Most significantly, the technicist approach relegated social and cultural factors to the background, in many cases omitting them altogether from consideration. They were messy, too diverse, and essentially distracting. Culture, to many development theorists, simply did not matter.²³

Finally, it was assumed that helping countries to develop would be a relatively simple matter. Western countries would provide finance, technology, and advice that the governments of the poorer countries would readily embrace, as countries in Europe had embraced the Marshall Plan. Within a few short years—certainly within a generation—we would, it was hoped, see takeoff.

The Impact of the Cold War

If economics was instrumental in shaping development thinking, politics played an equally important role, given the growing tensions between the West and the Soviet bloc. Although Cold War concerns helped shape virtually every Western country's development policies, this was particularly true in the United States.

Development assistance quickly came to be seen as a way for the United States to counter Soviet threats—real or perceived—in the newly emerging nations of the world. These nations, short on cash and trained manpower, readily accepted foreign assistance from both sides, and quickly learned to bargain for aid within the framework of superpower rivalry. Within a few years, *security assistance* had become an important subcategory of development aid.

Superpower rivalry helped explain why so much American aid in the 1950s and 1960s went to countries like Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, South Vietnam, Egypt, and Israel. In each case, aid was intended to counter the threat of communism, either within the recipient country

The Packaging of Development Aid

A set of basic aid structures and procedures soon emerged to guide the way development would be done. Development agencies crafted policies to guide funding decisions and *programs* for various countries, embodying these policy guidelines. The programs were then implemented at the grassroots level through individual *projects*.

The project approach quickly became the preferred method for delivering development assistance, whether in the form of money, equipment, or technical expertise. Projects were designed primarily by donors or by donor-paid contractors, and managed, for the most part, by expatriates who were also paid by donors. Project funding took place either through *loans* carrying various rates of interest, or through *grants*, which did not normally have to be repaid.²⁴

Projects focused on specific *development sectors*—some aspect of national life seen as important for development. Transportation, education, manufacturing, agriculture, or health are all examples of development sectors. Projects typically were designed in terms of one or more guiding *development approaches* that determined how the project was actually done. A project in the agricultural sector, for example, might adopt an approach that focused on women farmers and used low-level technology. Another agricultural project, however, might emphasize mechanization and cash-crop production. The development industry has tried a variety of approaches over the years.

Most development aid came with strings attached. This was termed *conditionality*, and could be of several different types. One was simple quid pro quo—if we do something for you, then you should do something for us (like staying away from the Russians). Another was *tied aid*; money that could only be used for very specific purposes. Many countries, for example, have traditionally tied their bilateral aid to commodity purchases, transportation on national carriers, and hiring their own technical experts. A third form of conditionality (discussed in more detail below) involved policy reform and structural adjustment. Whatever the mechanisms, development agencies retained a large measure of control over what was done with their funding, right down to decisions made at the field level.

Driven by economics and Cold War politics, and using a project-

Postwar Reconstruction: Early Success in Europe (1945-1955)

The initial phase of development activity focused on rebuilding postwar Europe. Spearheaded by the United States, the Marshall Plan (1949-1952) was intended to help war-damaged countries get their economies going again. The success of the plan—designed in part to forestall a Communist takeover in Europe—seemed to demonstrate that national economic growth could be stimulated quickly and relatively simply through the infusion of large amounts of money. This success explained in part the optimism with which the West then later approached the task of promoting development among the emerging nations of the world. It also gave credibility to the notion that aid could be used as an effective barrier against the growth of Soviet influence.

By 1948, the World Bank was making loans to Latin American countries.²⁵ A year later, in his inaugural address, President Truman urged the Americans to "embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas." This proposal, which came to be known as Point Four, was America's first coordinated attempt to provide aid to underdeveloped countries. Point Four concentrated primarily on the provision of technical assistance for large infrastructure projects, mainly in East Asia. The Act for International Development, which in 1950 authorized the Point Four program, also created the Technical Cooperation Administration, AID's precursor.

By the start of the 1950s, therefore, essential bureaucratic structures and policies were emerging. Finance was flowing, and the emerging nations of the world, anxious to raise living standards, were willing to join partnership with the West to achieve economic growth and prosperity. "Development" as a global project had been launched.

Tech-Fix: The Growth of the Development Industry (1955-1970)

From this point on, the development industry grew quickly. In the United

The United States was the clear leader during this early phase of development. Emerging from World War II with an intact industrial base but alarmed at growing Soviet power, the United States saw alliances with the emerging nations of the world as essential for its own continued growth and security. Most influential development theoreticians of the day linked the fate of the United States, Europe, and Japan to that of the less-developed world.²⁶

Development efforts focused on macro-economic planning designed to boost aggregate production in key sectors. Donors favored large projects in infrastructure and technology, designed to promote industrialization, transportation, and large-scale agriculture. Western-style education was also a priority, so in addition to airports, harbors, and highways, money also went into schools.

Much of this was enthusiastically welcomed by Third World nations that, for the most part, had little money, minimal infrastructure, and few trained specialists of their own. Centralized state planning was something most of them were already used to, and foreign aid allowed them to strengthen the center and extend control over groups within the country. Regions, villages, and populations that accepted state power would receive access to development resources, in much the same way that the new nations themselves, by playing the Cold War game, could gain resources from the West.

The approach that characterized this period of development was, for all its faults, confident, optimistic, and forward-looking. The people of Europe and the United States, exhausted after a century with two world wars, a depression, and the rise of the Soviet Union, were attracted to the notion of a modern-day crusade where the West could once again lead the world. In reality, of course, the development effort was quickly enlisted into the service of the budding Cold War, and foreign aid became a reward for states that chose our side.²⁷

Money and technology, it was assumed, could solve the problems of the developing world, particularly if they were coupled with Western management models. The development problem was essentially one of smooth and efficient transfer, and once this transfer had been accomplished, the job would be done. AID, indeed, was set up as a temporary agency, to be disbanded when the task was completed.

chinery, and faster results. Within the technicist model for development that drove planning, local knowledge, customs, and traditions were seen mainly as obstacles to change.

Only a few people in the development industry questioned the rightness of this approach. Mini-Case 2.2, "The Ugly American and His Transformation," presents one famous case of disagreement.

New Directions: The Limitations of Donor Aid (1970-1980)

By the early 1970s, however, development planners had become less optimistic. Problems with the original approach to development had appeared, starting with the fact that it didn't seem to be working very well in many countries. Despite heavy investments in infrastructure and technology, some economies were simply not taking off in the ways predicted by the models. In other cases, growth was occurring, but the benefits of growth were somehow not finding their way into all corners of the economy.

With Robert McNamara's appointment to World Bank leadership in 1968, a greater concern for equity issues in development work began to appear, together with more of a focus on the needs of the very poor.²⁸ Within AID, a similar shift in thinking was taking place. The U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 contained a *New Directions* mandate, aimed at providing people with a minimum level of basic human needs—food, shelter, jobs, medical care, clean water, and so forth. By focusing more on poverty and deprivation, planners hoped to create conditions for economic growth, at the same time promoting the idea of equity in terms of the distribution of growth's benefits.

The types of projects and programs funded by the large agencies now changed. Although some large infrastructure projects continued to be financed, much greater emphasis went to projects that focused on poverty alleviation, job creation, small farmer agriculture, capacity building with local organizations, and so on.

Indeed, the 1970s was a decade of innovative approaches to grassroots development. The notion of *integrated rural development* (or what would be called *regional development*) was a new idea. It was a way of

MINI-CASE 2.2 THE UGLY AMERICAN AND HIS TRANSFORMATION

In 1958, William Lederer and Eugene Burdick wrote a book about what was then happening in Southeast Asia. They called it *The Ugly American*. A polemic, the book's targets were the U.S. "country team" members fielded by our government: diplomats, military attachés, economic and political experts, and technicians. The book savagely criticized U.S. officials for their ignorance, their arrogance, and their lack of professionalism. Although much of the book was a thinly disguised call to arms in the fight against creeping communism, much of it also dealt directly with issues of local-level development.

Everyone in the book—a loosely structured narrative set in Vietnam, Cambodia, and the mythical kingdom of Sarkhan—seems larger than life, either a hero or a villain. Ambassador MacWhite, Joe Bing, Colonel Hillelendale, Tex Wolchek, and others exist as stereotypes in a development morality play, unfolding against the backdrop of the impending Vietnam War.

Homer Atkins, the Ugly American, does not make an appearance until chapter 17, but his character clearly serves as a leitmotif for much of the book. Homer is a gruff and plainspoken engineer from Pittsburgh, and he is not a handsome man: "His hands were laced with prominent veins and spotted with big, liverish freckles. His fingernails were black with grease. His fingers bore tiny nicks and scars of a lifetime of practical engineering. The palms of his hands were calloused."

Clearly, Homer doesn't fit in. Here he is at a meeting with embassy officials, explaining to them why their ideas for foreign aid are all wrong: "Atkins was aware of the fact that he was the only man in the room not wearing a tie. In fact, he was wearing a rough khaki shirt, khaki pants, and old Marine field boots. He still had the smell of the jungle about him; the other men, Vietnamese, French, or American, all smelled of aftershave lotion."

Homer and his wife—who is as ugly as he is—live in a small cottage in a suburb of Haidho, the Sarkhanese capital. "They were the only Caucasians in the community. Their house had pressed earth floors, one spigot of cold water, a charcoal fire, two very comfortable hammocks, a horde of small, harmless insects, and a small, dark-eyed Sarkhanese boy about nine years old who apparently came with the house." Homer's wife learns to cook lo-

MINI-CASE 2.2 (continued)

them learn to speak the local language. Homer's obsession is a hand-powered water pump to irrigate the local rice paddies. He's insistent, however, that the solution be a local one: "Now look, dammit, I've explained to you before," Atkins said. "It's got to be something they use out here. It's no good if I go spending a hundred thousand dollars bringing in something. It has to be something right here, something the natives understand. . . . Whenever you give a man something for nothing the first person he comes to dislike is you. If the pump is going to work at all, it has to be their pump, not mine."

Atkins spends time talking to the locals, trying to understand the context in which the pump will be used. "He talked to the headman, a venerable man of seventy-five, without an interpreter. It was not easy, but he could tell that the headman was pleased that Atkins was making the effort to talk the language. With infinite courtesy, the old man sensed what words Atkins was searching for, and politely supplied them."

Eventually, Homer Atkins meets Jeepo, a local mechanic. Together, they tackle the problem of the pump. Finally, by pooling their skill and knowledge, they find a workable solution. The pumps are wildly successful. At about this point, a "technical adviser" from the U.S. embassy shows up.

[He] called at the warehouse and watched quietly for several hours. The next day the counselor of the Embassy called. Taking Atkins to one side, he pointed out to him that for white men to work with their hands, and especially in the countryside, lowered the reputation of all white men. He appealed to Atkins' pride to give up this project. Moreover, he pointed out that the French, most experienced of colonizers, had never allowed natives to handle machinery. Atkins' reply was brief, but it was pointed, and the counselor drove away in anger. Atkins returned joyfully to his work in the warehouse.

(continues)

MINI-CASE 2.2 (continued)

Later, Mrs. Atkins, using an approach similar to her husband's, introduces long-handled brooms to her Sarkhanese women neighbors.

Although the story of the Ugly American and his wife occupy only three chapters of the book, these are almost the only foreigners portrayed in a positive light. In their epilogue to the book, Lederer and Burdick draw attention to people like Atkins, who "... speaking the language, [are] able to go off into the countryside and show the idea of America to the people. These characters are based on actual Americans known to the authors. There are others like them; but by and large they are not beloved of the American officials in the various Asian capitals, and are a wild exception to the rule."

They conclude their book this way: "We do not need the horde of 1,500,000 Americans—mostly amateurs—who are now working for the United States overseas. What we need is a small force of well-trained, well-chosen, hard-working, and dedicated professionals. They must be willing to risk their comforts, and—in some lands—their health. . . . They must speak the language of the land of their assignment, and they must be more expert in its problems than are the natives."

This angry and uneven book caused a stir when it was published. Reread today, its descriptions reflect—in an eerie fashion—some contemporary development situations. But the Ugly American, alas, has today been transformed from a hero into a villain. The public has forgotten the gruff engineer who spoke the language, respected the village people, and worked side by side with them to find local solutions to their problems. Today, the label of "Ugly American" refers to an overweight and boorish tourist who flaunts both his affluence and his lack of cross-cultural sensitivity. It is a strange and sad legacy indeed for a book which had, years ago, a very different purpose.

SOURCE: Lederer and Burdick 1958.

more concern with women's issues in development and a greater emphasis on the environment in all aspects of planning.

all, required development specialists to actually know something about them.

in the office, taking care of the necessary paperwork. These two seemingly contradictory trends—a concern for the grass roots coupled with an increase in bureaucracy—opened up major opportunities for anthropologists interested in development work.

The Debt Crisis and Policy-Based Lending (1980–2000)

By the 1980s, however, more problems had appeared, centering on Third World debt. Although the World Bank's IDA, set up in the early 1960s to serve the poorest countries, had provided up to a quarter of Bank financing on concessional terms throughout the 1960s and 1970s, most development lending was at market or near-market rates. And much of it, as time went on, was not being repaid. Borrowing had always been the cornerstone of development aid, but the debt levels of many poor countries now posed a major threat to the system.

Overoptimistic lending by multilateral agencies was one trigger for the debt crisis; the oil price shocks of the 1970s were another. Awash in money, OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) countries transferred large sums to Western banks. These banks, in turn, needed to put the money to work. They did this, in part, by lending money for doubtful projects to countries whose ability and willingness to pay them was often equally doubtful. By 1982, when Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil defaulted on their loans, the debt crisis had officially arrived.³⁰

In 1970 Third World countries spent approximately ten cents of every dollar earned from exports on debt repayment. By 1986, this had doubled. In that year, Third World debt amounted to about \$1 trillion. There was now more money coming to the West in debt repayments than there was going to the Third World in loans and investments.³¹

Debt was not the only problem with the development business, however. Donor fatigue—a combination of cynicism, weariness, and a lack of new ideas—was mounting in some quarters, as continued aid efforts produced few dramatic—or even visible—results. Poverty alleviation on any significant scale was proving to be very difficult, and in many countries whatever gains had been made were small and temporary.

ment. The stage was now set for yet another reconceptualization of development policy.

It arrived in the form of *structural adjustment*. Structural adjustment, also known as policy-based lending, supported the new trend in development thinking toward privatization, private enterprise, and market reform.³² Mini-Case 2.3 outlines the essentials of structural adjustment.

Structural adjustment did not sweep away other development concerns, however. Projects still continued to be the vehicle through which most development assistance was delivered. Previous development priorities, including rural development, the environment, and women, still continued to command both attention and resources. To these was added a new concern with urban development.

In these and other areas, more attention was being paid to issues of management and policy, giving rise to a new term in the development lexicon: *governance*, referring to the manner in which power was used internally to manage a country's resources for development purposes.³³

In some countries, it had quickly become clear that structural adjustment alone would not transform the economy, as long as decisions were being made in the same ways as before. Governance was seen as the key to creating the long-term stability necessary to nurture and sustain economic turnaround.

Governance projects, beginning in the 1980s and extending into the 1990s, emphasized public-sector accountability, the decentralization and deconcentration of government, election reform and the creation of political parties, the encouragement of a free press, more open policies on information, the encouragement of private voluntary organizations, and legal reform, including alternative dispute resolution. Although agencies maintained that the governance agenda was nonpolitical, the approach clearly favored openness, participation, lessened state power, and an altogether more *laissez-faire* economy.

Mini-Case 2.4, "Means and Ends in Development Policy," summarizes the various shifts and changes that took place in the development industry from the end of World War II to the present.

The 1990s posed challenges to the development industry on a number of fronts, bringing both opportunities and further problems.

The breakup of the Soviet Union opened dozens of countries to the

MINI-CASE 2.3 WHAT IS STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT?

Structural and sectoral adjustment loans are aimed at helping countries revamp their economic policies and structures to redress balance of payments problems. Their purpose, in effect, is to change the structure of a nation's economy, balance the books, and thereby free up resources internally that can be used for development. Structural adjustment lending began at the World Bank and the IMF in the 1980s. Under A. W. Clausen, McNamara's successor, adjustment lending increased significantly, up from 9 percent of the bank portfolio in 1983 to 23 percent by 1987.

Structural adjustment, also termed policy-based lending, has the effect of drawing recipient countries closer into the global economy and reorienting their internal economic policies so they are more compatible with the needs and goals of this global economy.

Structural adjustment's message was quite simple: Governments should spend within their means, abolish most if not all subsidies, let businesses operate freely, close inefficient state operations, let prices rise to market levels, and keep exchange rates realistic.

Such loans proved popular with large agencies, in part because their design requirements were relatively straightforward (that is, not linked to a specific local sociocultural context), and because they allowed agencies to move large amounts of money quickly. From 1980 to 1992, over seventy countries were subject to the structural adjustment measures prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF.

(continues)

War also meant the disappearance of superpower rivalry as a major component of development strategy.

Despite some successes with structural adjustment, debt problems continued to plague many countries. In 1996, the World Bank identified some forty nations as "heavily indebted poor countries" with "unsustainable" debt. Most of these countries were in Africa, where debt service was having a major impact on national budgets.

Tanzania, for example, has a literacy rate of only 50 percent, but spends a third of its national budget on debt repayment, and four times

MINI-CASE 2.3 (continued)

Policy-based lending is quite simple in concept: In exchange for cash transfers into a country's central treasury, the recipient government agrees to make fairly significant changes in its economy, its administration, and the way it does things. Whereas a *project loan* may release funding for specific costs associated with a specific undertaking, and a *sector loan* may do the same for a linked series of projects of the same general type, a *structural adjustment loan* is contingent on nationwide (or perhaps sectorwide) changes in things like interest rates, exchange rates, or tariffs. The money is not used to pay for project expenses, but usually pays for imports. It is therefore quite different from other forms of development assistance.

Structural and sectoral adjustment loans began to be used increasingly to channel development finance and technical assistance and to leverage an agency's influence with the recipient country. Policy-based lending—although in principle tailored to each individual country's specific circumstances—tended to promote a remarkably uniform set of prescriptions, including austerity measures (for example, reduction in the civil service, curbs on government spending); the privatization and deregulation of state-run enterprises; trade liberalization; changes in monetary policy (such as devaluation and credit reform); and the decentralization of administration.

SOURCES: Hellinger et al. 1988: 147; McMichael 1996: 132; Staudt 1991: 164–165.

calls for debt forgiveness—hitherto considered treason within the development industry—were being heard with increasing frequency.

Despite the debt issue (and in part because of it), pressures for internal reform in developing countries continued to come from donors. Reforms emphasized privatization, the role of open and free markets, and the encouragement of the institutions of a "civil society"—for example, a free press, stock markets, access to information, and local participation.

In many countries, such changes were welcomed, but not in all. The West's insistence that growth and prosperity could be achieved only

MEANS AND ENDS IN DEVELOPMENT POLICY

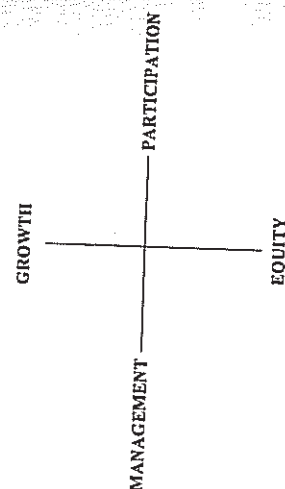
Although there appears to have been little in the way of progress in development thinking across five decades, policy shifts and changes have not been altogether chaotic. Four major goals or ends have tended to characterize most of the policies adopted by major agencies, and within these broad groups, specific types of programs, or means, have been adopted by the same agencies in an attempt to translate policies into action. The four major goals include:

- Growth in the national and regional economy, as measured by broad indicators such as GDP
- Management of activities designed to promote development, on the regional and national levels
- Equity, referring to the distribution of development benefits
- Participation, meaning the involvement of diverse groups of people in development decisions.

The various approaches or strategies that have formed the basis for particular development programs can then be located within the matrix.

Approaches that characterized the early years of development included an emphasis on centralized state planning, capital investment, and industrialization. These strategies favored economic growth and management.

Four Major Goals of Development

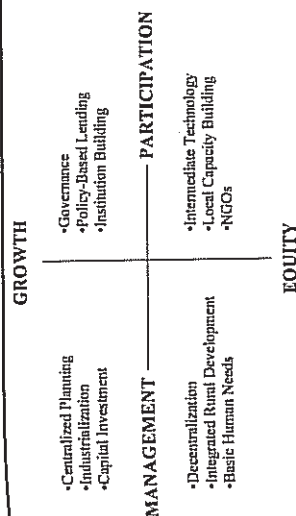


SOURCE: Adapted from Hyden 1990.

(continues)

MINI-CASE 2.4 (continued)

Development Strategies



SOURCE: Adapted from Hyden 1990.

Later on, development strategies shifted from growth per se into a preoccupation with the equitable distribution of development benefits. Emphases now included decentralization of planning and integration of planning efforts in rural areas. Development efforts centered on the provision or enhancement of needs such as food, shelter, and basic services (health, education, and so forth) in an effort to create preconditions for growth.

Later, keeping the emphasis on equity, planning approaches began to pay more attention to issues of participation in development planning. Such approaches included attempts to use intermediate technology in development planning, building local capacity for planning, implementation and assessment of development, and the encouragement of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) as partners in the development effort.

Finally, development policy began to shift back toward a concern with macro-level growth issues, this time through programs centered on governance, structural adjustment, and attempts to create (or re-create) viable national institutions.

SOURCE: Adapted from Hyden 1990; Serageldin 1995: 64.

These emerging Asian success stories challenged the development orthodoxy of the large agencies, but they were by no means the only challenge that appeared in the 1990s. Although there had always been criticism of the development industry and its development models, this had been confined, for the most part, to the academy, or embodied in various peripheral movements with little or no real impact on policy and practice.³⁵

Now, however, this changed; attacks began to come from mainstream groups within industrialized Western countries themselves. For some critics on the left, development was simply another form of exploitation of the poor and weak by the rich and powerful—as effective as colonialism, but cheaper. Others, more to the right, saw foreign aid as little more than a form of international welfare at best, or at worst, outright robbery—the poor people of the rich countries helping the rich people of the poor countries. Still others, simply weary of seeing pictures of starving children and miserable refugees on the television each night, felt that little could be done.

The most telling attacks, however, came from unlikely coalitions of workers, businesspeople, environmentalists, and ordinary citizens, all of whom sensed that problems of world poverty and inequality were linked to their own political and economic futures. Their concerns, though diverse, were nonetheless highly coherent, centering around environmental degradation, population pressure, famine, regional insecurity, and disappearing jobs, declining wages, or both.³⁶

The conditions under which running shoes or children's clothes were produced in far-off countries, as only one example, triggered demonstrations and boycotts in local shopping malls in the United States, Canada, and Europe. Protesters saw a marked lack of progress in solving the world's problems, and had concluded that the policies of the development industry were at least partly to blame. The 1994 "Fifty Years Is Enough" campaign in the United States drew public attention to the World Bank to a degree hitherto unknown, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle in 1999 focused that attention even more sharply on how multilateral institutions work.

Insightful observers drew attention to the relative poverty of thinking within the development industry, pointing out that in past decades, thinking had flowed mainly into easy options—such as that the

vice was often given to the particularities of each country's situation, development agencies appeared to treat all developing nations in much the same way. Structural adjustment programs, in particular, were singled out as "cookie-cutter" blueprints, imposed by large agencies with little regard for local circumstances. Ironically, however, *within* each country one would often find a bewildering array of donor agencies, each jockeying for position and influence, each with its own specific set of procedures, requirements, and goals.

As the 1990s drew to a close, it was clear that the paradigm that had guided development policy and practice for decades was in need of a substantial overhaul. Although considerable progress had been made in some countries, the role of development assistance in promoting that progress was by no means clear. Even in areas where development efforts had clearly made a difference in certain sectors, regions, or communities, there was scant evidence of any overall impact on the ominous and growing gap between rich and poor, both within countries themselves and across the regions of the globe in general.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 2

This chapter has provided a broad overview of the international development industry and how it operates in response to global problems of poverty.

I began with the emergence of the developing world after the Second World War, and the creation, at the same time, of a new economic framework by Western nations to promote reconstruction and promote regional security; a framework that formed the basis for the development industry.

I then looked at the constituent parts of this industry: multilateral and bilateral agencies, together with a growing number of nongovernment organizations of several kinds. Multilateral agencies dominate development work, although all parts of the development industry are closely connected through finance, personnel, information, and collaboration on a variety of projects.

promote equity and participation in development to attempts in the 1980s and 1990s to reshape national economies through programs of governance and structural adjustment. Until quite recently, these policies were heavily influenced by Cold War rivalries.

At the end of the twentieth century, as the development industry continued to search for more effective ways to fight poverty and promote equitable development, dissatisfaction with the results of five decades of effort began to grow. As the world entered the new millennium, it was clear to many people that the time had come for a new development paradigm.

ENDNOTES

1. See *New York Times*, March 17, 1996; *The Economist*, September 25, 1993.
2. Eade (1997: 161); *New York Times*, July 8, 1999: D8.
3. Serageldin (1995: 9–10).
4. See, for example, *New York Times*, June 6, 1996; *The Economist*, October 7, 1995: 120; *The Economist* 21, March 1998.
5. Pico Iyer (1994).
6. See Yoder (1988); *New York Times*, October 22, 1995: 8.
7. See Tendler (1975) and Hoben (1980) on USAID, Bruneau et al. (1978) on Canada's CIDA, and Conlin (1985) on Britain's Overseas Development Administration.
8. Porter (1990) provides a case study of AID, outlining the history of AID policy.
9. Gorman (1984) provides an overview of NGO involvement in development efforts. Paul and Israel (1991) focus on NGO involvement with the World Bank.
10. See Staudt (1991: 184).
11. See Gardner and Lewis (1996: 107); Smillie (1995: 2); Hackenberg and Hackenberg (1999: 6); Lewis (1988); Feeney (1998: 25).
12. Gardner and Lewis (1996: 107); Hellinger et al. (1988: 100); Brodhead (1987: 1).
13. Smillie (1995: 117).
14. Smillie and Helmich (1998: 25).
15. Feeney (1998: 25).
16. See Bodley (1994: 339); Micklewait (nd).
17. USAID (1998: 2).
18. Berrios (2000: 46–47).
19. *New York Times*, May 25, 1996.

this: "Economics as a profession has a social agenda: to develop the Economy, not merely to research economic facts and construct theories. Sociology has something of an agenda, to improve Society, but it is vague and no one quite knows how to do it. Anthropology has no historic agenda: its task was pure research, the construction of cultural portraits." Ferguson (1997: 165) would no doubt agree: "... given the institutional needs of development bureaucracies, the anthropological talent for demonstrating the complexity of development problems (and for disclaiming certainty in offering prescriptions) could hardly compete with the universalistic, context-independent projections and prescriptions so confidently dispensed by the economist or the agronomist."

21. Korten (1997: 159) puts it this way: "When stripped of complexities and qualifications, the basic premise that has shaped most international assistance can be summarized as follows: Economic growth is the key to alleviating poverty, reducing population growth, protecting the environment, and strengthening civil order. Economic growth is a function of investment, which poor countries are too poor to generate through domestic savings. Therefore, their growth depends on the transfer of savings from abroad, either in the form of foreign aid and/or foreign investment. The larger the amount of foreign aid and/or foreign investment, the more rapid their growth (development) and the faster poverty will be eliminated, population stabilized, the environment preserved, and civil order maintained."

22. See Rostow (1960) for the classic explication of the "takeoff" theory of economic development.

23. Hoben and Hefner (1991: 25).

24. For a comprehensive overview of various aspects of development aid, see S. Browne (1990).

25. Hellinger et al. (1988: 14).

26. See, for example, Rostow's comments in 1954, quoted in McMichael (1996: 54).

27. See Sagasti (1997).

28. The effects on Bank policy of McNamara's accession are discussed in some detail in Ayres (1983).

29. For example, Rondinelli (1985: 234–235).

30. See Rapley (1996: 37).

31. See World Bank (1988: 25–28); McMichael (1996: 126, 133).

32. A discussion of structural adjustment policies and their effects can be found in Mosley et al. (1991).

33. This is the World Bank definition, in Feeney (1998: 13).

34. *New York Times*, June 17, 1999: C2.

and more cogent reason is that most critical analyses of development, short of calling for revolution, have remarkably little to say about how change or reform—on whatever scale—is to be brought about. The literature, in other words, is not so much wrong (indeed, it is often extremely perceptive), as it is obvious, and its message is more exhortatory than revelatory.

36. There is a considerable literature criticizing the development industry. See Lappé et al. (1987) for just one example. Some of this literature also looks specifically at the role of anthropology in development. See, for example, Escobar (1995) and Autumn (1996).

chapter 3

PUTTING

ANTHROPOLOGY

TO WORK

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE COLONIAL PAST

Anthropology arose—and flourished—during the colonial period. As Europe explored the world beyond the Mediterranean, anthropologists' accounts were added to those of travelers, missionaries, traders, soldiers, and government officials. The first ethnological societies were established in Paris and London in the 1830s and 1840s, and by the late 1870s, anthropology had emerged as a full-fledged discipline.

Anthropology served European expansion well, as the history of the discipline clearly shows.¹ *Applied anthropology*—the use of anthropology outside the boundaries of the discipline itself—was a major aspect of early anthropology.² In Great Britain, for example, anthropologists carried out field investigations in far-flung corners of the empire, both to salvage ethnographic data from societies in the midst of major change and also to provide colonial authorities with information and insight as they went about the work of administration. Anthropologists studied

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line were written during this period.³ Although these were typically in a timeless ethnographic present, many of them also dealt with culture contact and change.

As we know, anthropology has been heavily critiqued and condemned both from within and without the discipline for its activities during the colonial period.⁴ But although many anthropologists of the time were indeed involved in aspects of colonial administration, the relationship between anthropologists and administrators was far from simple, and varied considerably from one situation to another. Administrators often ignored that anthropologists had to say, or were at times actually hostile to them.⁵

DEVELOPMENT OF AN APPLIED PERSPECTIVE IN U.S. ANTHROPOLOGY

Applied anthropology in the United States developed in the late 1800s only for domestic purposes, centering on Native American populations.⁶ World War II—coinciding with the formation of the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) in 1941—ushered in significant new opportunities for the application of anthropology. Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and others produced “culture and personality” studies designed to illuminate the way we, our allies, and our enemies thought and behaved. Other anthropologists became involved in the relocation of the Chinese-American population. Still others provided training and background information for American personnel about to enter unfamiliar overseas.

After the war, opportunities continued to grow as the development industry began to take shape. Some of the best writing on the application of anthropology to problems of development and change date from the end of the late 1940s to the early 1960s, when anthropologists were both domestically and overseas as administrators, consultants, and so on. Several significant projects in applied anthropology were done during this time, notably the Fox Project in the United States and the S Project in Peru.⁷

At the same time, however, two countervailing influences arose that

The second influence was the Vietnam War. Anthropologists largely opposed the war, and many became increasingly reluctant to involve themselves in government-sponsored work. The fact that development aid, as noted in the previous chapter, had become increasingly linked to security issues did nothing to help reverse the trend away from engagement. For many anthropologists, the controversies of the Vietnam era achieved a focus in the intense discussions that surrounded Project Camelot and the Thailand projects (see below).

A decade later, however, things had changed again. The mid- and late 1970s saw the end of academic expansion, coupled with continuing growth in opportunities for anthropologists outside the academy. Legislation such as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, and the Community Development Act of 1974 created a need for studies and reports that anthropologists were ideally suited to provide.

Organizational shifts and realignments within the discipline echoed these changes. In 1978, the SfAA began to publish *Practicing Anthropology*. The Anthropology Documentation Project at the University of Kentucky began collecting applied materials and publishing updated lists of them. Within the American Anthropological Association (AAA) itself, 1984 saw the formation of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA), which over the next decade produced an important series of monographs focused on aspects of application. Academic training for anthropologists also began to change. In the 1970s, only a few programs for applied anthropology existed. By the end of the 1980s, however, dozens of applied training programs had been created, and discussions of course content, internships, and other aspects of training had become a regular feature of SfAA meetings.⁸

Despite all this, application remains stepchild to the more traditional and academic side of the discipline. Applied anthropology still has no unifying theoretical base, and has been largely unsuccessful in asserting its interests and concerns over those of the more traditional mainstream.⁹

With a few notable exceptions, applied anthropologists have remained outside academic anthropology's inner circle, largely unpublished in major journals and book series. Criteria for recruitment, promotion, and

Among traditionalists, debate continues about the precise definition of applied anthropology, its significance for the discipline, and its relation to theory. Some still hold the position that "applied" anthropology is not anthropology at all.¹⁰

While the academy debated, however, changes had already occurred in the applied arena that began to have profound and long-lasting effects on the discipline. To understand these changes, it is useful to look more closely at how applied anthropology is actually done.

VARIETIES OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPLICATION

Today, many anthropologists claim to do applied work, but not all anthropologists apply what they know in the same way. Applied anthropology today falls into three broad categories.

The first of these is the more traditional academic anthropologist, who, from time to time, participate in applied activities—typically as a short-term consultant or expert witness. For this type of anthropologist, application is interesting and important, but essentially peripheral.

A second type is the applied anthropologist per se. This is typically someone operating from a university base and whose interests center on applied areas. Although this person's teaching, research, and extramural activities reflect these interests, they are carried out from within the context of a university setting.

The third type is the anthropologist practitioner; someone with an advanced degree (M.A. or Ph.D.) in anthropology but with no permanent or direct attachment to an academic institution. Such a person usually works in an outside organization or is self-employed, often as a consultant. Some practitioners have relatively stable and secure jobs, whereas others move from one assignment to the next. Although the application of anthropology is central to their work, none of them have a university home. These distinctions can be seen in sharper focus below in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1 Differences Between Academic, Applied, and Practicing Anthropology

	Place of Employment	Core Activities	Who Judges Results
Academic Anthropologists	Academically employed.	Research; service; grant-writing; publication; teaching. Topics forming the core of one's work are often, although not always, centered on theory.	Inside the academy, evaluations are done by peers, tenure committees, and review boards. Outside the academy, evaluations are done by peer reviewers (for publications or grants) and members of professional bodies.
Applied Anthropologists	Academically employed in most cases; operates as a temporary consultant outside the university at times and in situations of his/her own choosing. The university is used as a base of operations and a refuge.	Similar to academic anthropologists, but with the addition of activities performed on behalf of outside constituencies. These include training, consulting, advocacy, research, and so on.	Results are ultimately judged by one's peers inside the academy. The assessments of outside constituents, although important in many cases, do not usually adversely affect one's career or job security.
Practicing Anthropologists	Self-employed in many cases; employees of agencies and corporations in others.	Activities are widely varied and change according to the assignment. They include research, management, evaluation, training, consulting, advocacy, and so forth.	Employers and clients judge results, usually according to their own standards. The results of evaluation have direct consequences for future jobs or assignments.

ore anthropologists outside the academy than inside it.¹¹ In 1986, John Willigen described the situation this way: "It appears unlikely that large numbers of anthropologists entering the job market as practicing anthropologists now will take academic jobs in the future. They will not return because there will not be jobs for them, their salary expectations cannot be met, and they just do not want to."¹²

This trend appeared to reach a high point in the mid-1980s, when over 50 percent of anthropology graduates worked outside of academia. Once then, the proportion appears to have stabilized at 30 percent of graduates.¹³

Several things explain the rapid growth of practice. One, already alluded to, was the lack of academic jobs relative to the production of graduates, which meant that the discipline was no longer a closed system, able to fully absorb its own products.

In addition, new fields for anthropology were opening up outside the academy. Public sector programs, backed by legislation, required vast quantities of social data in planning and evaluation. As practitioner networks began to form, more graduates found it easier to find work beyond the confines of the university.

There is now a large and increasingly well-organized practitioner community. The excitement and prospect of nonacademic opportunities have captured the interest and imagination of graduates, and anthropological practice is arguably becoming the most dynamic aspect of the discipline.

Although most published discussion of anthropological practice still occurs within the academy, the academy is no longer able to define and control the culture of practice that is emerging on the outside.¹⁴ Practitioners are increasingly self-organized—through networks, local organizations, and the Internet—in ways that, although not exclusive of the academy, in no way depend on it.

Local practitioner organizations (LPOs) are a particularly important part of this emerging culture of practice. One of the first LPOs, the Society of Professional Anthropologists (SOPA), was founded in 1973 in Tucson, Arizona. The Washington Association of Practicing Anthropologists (WAPA), founded shortly thereafter.¹⁵ Although LPO membership is typically open to all interested anthropologists, LPOs arose in part because of a

full-time professional working outside the university—is well established. Anthropologists are no longer exclusively involved with exotic populations in remote settings; they work within agencies, government bodies, and corporations, both in the United States and abroad, with a range of issues, constituents, and colleagues. Increasingly, such practitioners are full-time staff members within organizations, and have advanced into policymaking roles.

In sum, the growth of practice has produced a large body of nonacademic anthropologists who operate outside the control and purview of the academy. Although a few of these practitioners might be considered in some sense to be failed academics, the vast majority are not. The growth of this community of practitioners has provoked continuing discussion inside and outside the discipline about how anthropology could and should be applied to areas such as health, education, urban planning, social services, the environment, and many others. Practitioners have grown increasingly sophisticated in finding ways to bring anthropology to bear on these and other issues. The task now is to find more effective ways of bringing the world of practice and the world of the academy together, so that each may learn from the other.

Is practice really a different kind of anthropology? In many ways, yes. Practitioners do not merely observe the world, they engage with it as active and committed participants. As participants, they bear the consequences of their actions.¹⁷ They look at things from the inside out, as well as from the outside in.

The world of practice and the world of the academy constitute, in many ways, different cultural worlds. Some of the most salient of these differences are outlined in Figure 3.1.

Practice is not simply another kind of anthropology—it is a catalyst, forcing anthropologists to grow and change, and in the process, rethink both the basis and the purpose of their discipline.

DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY

Within practice, one of the most challenging and exciting fields is that

FIGURE 3.1 Some Salient Differences Between Academics and Practitioners

ACADEMIC RESEARCHERS		PRACTITIONERS
if any pressure for decisions	⇐	DECISIONS ⇐
if any timetables, other than the academic year	⇐	TIMETABLES ⇐
Collegial and informal relationships. Work is done largely independently	⇐	WORK RELATIONSHIPS ⇐
Neutrality and objectivity commitment to truth and discovery	⇐	ENGAGEMENT AND OBJECTIVITY ⇐
Interest in describing the world, concerned with explanation (often after the fact)	⇐	THE GOALS OF ACTIVITY ⇐
Often highly specialized	⇐	DEGREE OF SPECIALIZATION ⇐
of analysis and abstraction be either very high or very low	⇐	FOCUS OF ACTIVITY ⇐
Individuals tend to approach problems from one disciplinary standpoint	⇐	THEORETICAL STANDPOINT ⇐
Individuals are largely independent, with little direct or mediate accountability	⇐	ACCOUNTABILITY ⇐

SOURCE: Adapted from Bernard 1974; Fisher 1988; Barger and Hutton 1980.

...thirty-five, and by 1983, over fifty. By the early 1990s, there were five anthropologists working full-time within AID, many of them in senior positions.¹⁹ Although few held the official title of "anthropologist," many were involved in crucial policy areas, in addition to work in design and implementation.²⁰

What Development Anthropologists Do

Anthropologists working in development perform three closely interconnected roles. They collect and analyze information; they help design and policies; and they carry out these plans through action.²¹

FIGURE 3.2 Major Aspects of Development Anthropology



SOURCE: Adapted from van Willigen 1986: 9-10.

Information is directly linked to policymaking and planning. Anthropologists use information to help them design policies for development work and to plan programs and projects to put policy into effect. Policies for social impact assessment, for resettlement activities, and for the treatment of indigenous peoples are among the key development policies that have been crafted by anthropologists working with AID and the World Bank.

In terms of action, anthropologists frequently work as program and project implementers, either alone or as members of multidisciplinary teams. Sometimes, these roles are short-term and temporary, as anthropologists are brought in as consultants at various points in the project cycle.²³ But increasingly, the anthropologist is a full-time member of the project team, involved from start to finish. Indeed, there has been a tendency in recent years to favor anthropologists for the position of group leader or chief of party on the project team because of their broad perspective and their ability to work with a variety of stakeholders.

Anthropology's Contribution to Development

Despite problems with the application of anthropological knowledge and methods to development work (discussed in detail in later chapters), anthropology has had a major impact on development over the past few decades. Anthropology provides, among other things, a clear and keen sense of the real, and can often be crucial for bridging gaps between policies, plans, and ground-level implementation. At the same time, devel-

DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE WORLD BANK

MINI-CASE 3.1

"Sociological issues," says one observer, "do not naturally fit into the goals and procedures of the World Bank" (Kardam 1993: 1777).

About 70 percent of the World Bank's professional staff are economists (Escobar 1995: 165). Many of the rest are engineers. Horowitz (1996a: 1) says that the ratio of economists to all others at the World Bank is 28 to 1. Robert Chambers (1997: 49) claims that the ratio is somewhere between 20 to 1 and 50 to 1.

Despite the overwhelming preponderance of economists at the World Bank, the number of anthropologists working there has grown steadily in recent years, from twenty-two in 1992 to sixty-four in 1996 (Horowitz 1996a).

During the 1970s, as poverty alleviation began to assume importance, anthropology began to become important at the World Bank. According to Perrett and Lethem (1980), official attention to the "social context" of development projects began in 1972 with a report on the use of anthropology in project operations. The appointment of a full-time sociologist followed soon thereafter.

A focus on poverty meant a focus on the communities of the poor, and now they worked. Anthropologists and sociologists worked mainly in agriculture and rural development projects at first, where perhaps one-third of bank lending was taking place. The anthropologists and sociologists worked, not at technology and finance, but at human factors and resources, and tried to produce a "fit" between what the projects were attempting to do and what local communities already knew how to do.

Today, the group of anthropologists and sociologists at the World Bank constitute, in Cernea's (1996) estimation, the largest group of social scientists—between fifty and sixty individuals—working on development anywhere in the world.

Social scientists began to advance their agenda within the Bank through informal networks. In the late 1970s, this network surfaced as the "Sociology Group," a voluntary and still informal collection of interested individuals, not exclusively anthropologists or sociologists, who met regularly to discuss, debate, and share information. Kardam (1993: 1779) terms this group "an important vehicle for internal advocacy and change at the bank." The group used two principal strategies to present its views within the World Bank. The first was persuasion, through discussion and demon-

MINI-CASE 3.1 (continued)

Cernea (1996: 10) summarizes the thrust of this effort: "... the sociological/anthropological knowledge required for and embodied in social research and analysis is not a luxury or a marginal add-on to inducing development, but is as necessary as the economic analysis is for designing and ascertaining the feasibility and adequate goal-directedness of development programs" (emphasis in the original).

As Cernea (1991: 21) points out, bringing anthropology and sociology into the World Bank required more than just "inserting" more social knowledge; it involved changing the rules by which the Bank made decisions about this kind of knowledge. Policy formulation thus became a key "entry point" for anthropology and sociology.

The following figure illustrates some of the main policy areas—sectoral, cross-sectoral, and general—where anthropology has been influential.

Anthropology and World Bank Policy: Key Areas

- Involuntary resettlement;
- Indigenous peoples;
- Nongovernmental organizations;
- Urban growth;
- Primary education;
- Forestry and reforestation;
- Water resources;
- Poverty alleviation;

This work continues. In March 1996, a Social Development Task Force was set up by President Bill Clinton to recommend ways that the Bank could integrate the social dimensions of development more effectively into its operations.

The picture is not entirely positive, however. The World Bank's policies have been criticized by anthropologists and others outside the agency as inadequate or biased (see Bodley 1988: 406–413, for example, for a critique of Bank policy toward tribal peoples). Other have pointed out that the Bank is still primarily interested in economic growth first and poverty alleviation second. Although it uses social input, it does not accord it primacy in its planning. Cernea (1996) characterizes much of Bank thinking as "econocentric," "technocentric," and "commoditocentric." Anthropology at the Bank, Horowitz (1996a: 4) claims, is "ghettoized"—shunted into peripheral areas, sidelined by the dominant economic paradigm of

MINI-CASE 3.1 (continued)

Impressive as [these results] may be, the change has been limited, due to the contextual factors and internal counter-resistance as well: limited sensitivity of the Bank to external pressure, resistance stemming from the prevalence of economic paradigms and biases or obsolete procedures. Yet, without the conscious efforts of some staff members, it is very questionable that even these results already achieved could have been attained.

Cernea has observed that one of the main obstacles to getting more anthropology into the development agencies is the generalized ignorance of what social science can do for them, on the part of their current senior staff. He comments: "The magnitude of this obstacle on a global scale is underestimated. This gap [in understanding] persists, and in fact is being recreated with every class graduating from technical colleges, because of the manner in which technical experts are "grown" in the groves of academe" (Cernea 1987: 21).

He also notes that anthropology must, in turn, learn more about the institutional context of the agencies themselves: "Living daily inside an economic tribal culture, I can confirm that anthropology as practice can—indeed must—be strengthened by learning more from economic concepts and by internalizing quantifying methodologies" (Cernea 1996: 24).

SOURCES: Cernea 1987, 1991, 1996; R. Chambers 1997; Escobar 1995; M. Morowitz 1996a; Kardam 1993; Perret and Lethem 1980; Bodley 1988.

important areas in which anthropology has contributed to development are sketched below.²⁵

Research

Anthropologists have generated a great deal of useful research—as well as developing innovative research methodologies—relating to many as-

Leadership

Anthropologists now play leadership roles in many development projects, often serving as team leaders or chiefs of party. They now work more closely with other specialists on key development issues. For example, problems of poverty alleviation and its relation to long-term environmental sustainability have brought anthropologists, biologists, and ecologists together as collaborators.²⁶

Assessment

Because anthropologists have been able to show how some development policies or projects have been detrimental to the lives of supposed beneficiaries, anthropology is increasingly used across the entire cycle of project and program development. Although initially restricted to social impact appraisal and ex post facto evaluation, anthropology is now used with growing frequency at all phases of project development.

Indigenous Knowledge and Local Perspectives

Finally—and perhaps most important—it is slowly becoming accepted that a beneficiary perspective in planning and implementation is not simply useful but essential to development success.²⁷ Anthropologists have been able to uncover reservoirs of local skill, knowledge, experience, and expertise, and to show policy makers how these resources can be used to shape or reshape the nature of planning and action in the field.

THE DIALECTICS OF APPLICATION

Anthropology's experience with development work has brought several key areas of application into sharp focus. These include *policymaking*, *brokerage*, *advocacy*, and *ethics*. Such concerns are not new within anthropology, but in each case, the development experience has added an important dimension to our understanding.

MINI-CASE 3.2 ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

There have been several important comparative studies of development projects, illuminating factors that seem to favor project success. Cernea (1987), for example, presented an analysis of twenty-five large-scale World Bank projects done between 1969 and 1980. Kottak (1985) studied fifty-seven agricultural and rural development World Bank projects. From 1978 to 1984, Development Alternatives, Inc. (DAI) and Research Triangle Institute (RTI) carried out research on twenty-four integrated rural development projects in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Honadle and Van Sant 1985).

The Cernea study was based on impact studies that were carried out between 1980 and 1984. Among other things, these studies looked at "sustainability," defined as the maintenance of an acceptable net flow of benefits from the project's investments after its completion. All the projects that were examined had initially been judged successful, with good long-term prospects. Later analysis, however, indicated that although twelve had achieved long-term sustainability, the other twelve had not. Five sets of factors were seen as responsible:

1. Institutional buildup and participation of beneficiaries
2. Technological improvements
3. Socioeconomic compatibility
4. A favorable policy environment
5. Recurrent cost financing or recovery

In his analysis, Cernea stressed institutions as one of the keys to success. He observed (1987: 125) that agencies still prefer to focus on finance rather than on organizing beneficiaries and participants. But projects will fail, he reminds us, unless they create or strengthen local institutions and organizations that will outlast temporary investments.

(continues)

MINI-CASE 3.2 (continued)

Kottak's findings drew attention to the compatibility of projects with their local context. In his study, the thirty projects whose design was compatible with the traditional cultural and socioeconomic context had an estimated economic rate of return (ERR) of 18.3 percent, whereas the twenty-seven projects that were incompatible had an average ERR of only 8.6 percent.

Honadle and Van Sant's conclusions (1985: 5) emphasized the interactive aspects of project development: "... program failure is not primarily a result of lack of political will. Instead, it results, at least in part, from wills in conflict and the impact of this conflict on the organization and management of the development process." They identified seven factors that favor project success, five of them "process" factors and two of them substantive or structural factors. Process factors included:

- Collaborative style
- An emphasis on learning how to make things work instead of relying on predetermined solutions
- Risk sharing
- Involvement at multiple levels
- Emphasis on demonstration

Structural factors included:

- Presence of incentives
- The resource base

Success, in the authors' view (1985: 98-99) is owing to a combination of microprocesses, plus "the need to understand the peculiarities of specific circumstances before plunging ahead with broad agendas that may not be appropriate."

SOURCES: Honadle and Van Sant 1985; Cernea 1987; Kottak 1991.

delines. These rules are embodied in policy—frameworks for action and choice, focused on specific goals.²⁸ Today—and particularly in devel-

deadline. Policy work is anything but value-free and neutral—rather, it is advocacy-based and highly political. And policy—whether good or

yses that aid decisionmaking will be favored over theory, thick description, and hypothetical scenarios. Most policy makers don't want the studies or more data beyond what is immediately necessary for their purposes, and they particularly do not want more information if it will challenge what they consider "givens."

The formulation of policy is one thing, but its implementation is quite another. The architect's drawings for a building may be inspiring, but construction itself may prove to be a nightmare. It is here that ideas are put to the test, where plans become practice, and where results—or similar adverse consequences—start to appear.

Part of the reason why policy work is so difficult is the fact that there are many *stakeholders*—groups and individuals with both an interest in the outcome, and the ability to influence them in some way. We will return several times to the topic of stakeholders and their importance in the years ahead.

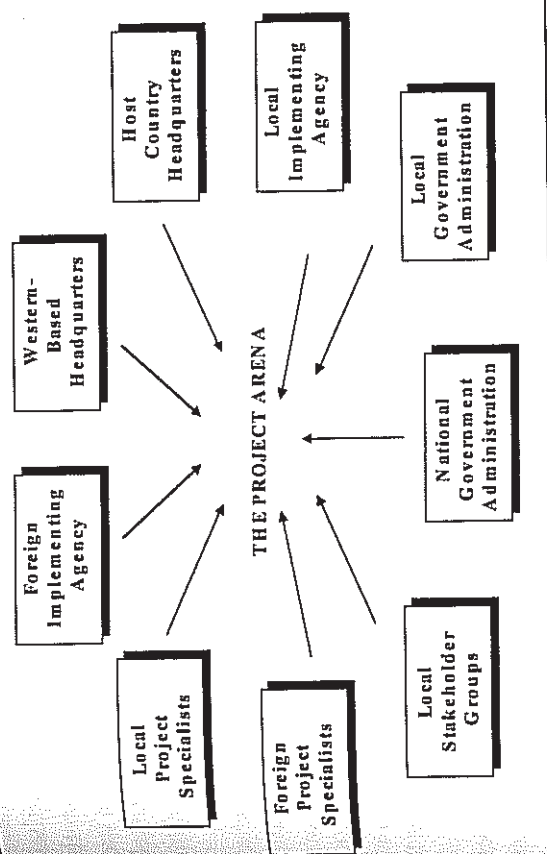
Each group of stakeholders has the potential to either complicate or enhance both the process of policy formulation and its later implementation. Anthropologists entering the world of policy must therefore expand focus from one group to many, and look at how policy dialogues between stakeholders develop and change over time, and how different aspects of seeing the world play a role in how policy is developed and implemented.

Years ago, Edward Spicer urged anthropologists to create a comparative ethnography of decisionmaking for policy development, reminding us that an understanding of the way in which ideas are transformed into action was essential for successful participation in that transformation.²⁹ I'll return to this idea in a later chapter.

Brokerage

The presence of diverse stakeholders often creates the need for what anthropologists term *cultural brokerage*. A typical development project involves a variety of different groups. To work effectively, the anthropologist must manage not only her relationship to all these groups, but also her relationships to each other.³⁰ This means promoting collaboration and coordination, trading information, sharing resources, engaging in

FIGURE 3.3 Stakeholder Groups in a Typical Project



groups that are antagonistic or even hostile. Brokers also serve as *teachers* or *informants*, bringing information back and forth, and sometimes as *catalysts*, making suggestions that eventually produce results.³¹ Brokerage is in fact a very complex activity, involving both the mastery and manipulation of symbols, meanings, time, and resources.³²

It is widely assumed that brokers facilitate the exchange of information, but often, the broker's job is actually to *manage* information. This may involve not telling all that one knows, or telling what one knows in very selective and strategic ways. A broker is a type of interpreter, and as Ambrose Bierce once famously observed, an interpreter is someone who helps two other people understand each other by repeating to each what it would have been to the interpreter's advantage for the other to have said.³³

As with policy work, brokerage in development makes special demands on anthropologists—demands for which classical theory and ethnography often provide few useful answers.

d Council of Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Survival, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, and Survival International.³⁴ development anthropologists became more involved with these issues and movements, *advocacy* became an important addition to the they could play in shaping and implementing change. Unlike brokerage, where the anthropologist attempts to be a helpful but relatively al go-between, advocacy involves taking sides and making commitments.³⁵

Advocacy relationship has three important aspects. First, the anthropologist works for—and furnishes information to—the community rather than working for an outside agency. Second, the topics and issues to be worked on are determined largely by the community, and not by the anthropologist. Finally, the anthropologist-as-advocate is accountable to the community first and foremost, and only secondarily to professional peers or colleagues.

Advocates, anthropologists can play a number of different roles. Usually work, not as front-line activists, but as researchers, trainers, resource persons on behalf of less powerful groups. Other roles are sometimes available as historians, lobbyists, expert witnesses, or—in extreme cases—whistleblowers. The overall aim, whatever the advocate's specific role, is the same—to empower the community and help build capacity within it.³⁶

Advocacy therefore means subordination of one's own goals to those of the group, working appropriately and efficiently in terms of standard procedures as defined by the group, and producing results tailored to the needs. Successful advocacy requires a high degree of political sophistication, drawing anthropologists once again into activities and arenas that may fall far outside their training and previous experience.

Ethics

Over or later, interactions with stakeholders in a development project raise questions of *ethics*. As we have seen, the stakeholders in a typical development project include a wide variety of groups, some of which may even be physically present on the project site. Problems arise from obligations to these different groups conflict, as they inevitably

appeared. The AAA's *Principles of Professional Responsibility* emphasize accountability to six major stakeholder groups: those we study; the public; the discipline; our students and trainees; our employers, clients, and sponsors; and governments. To these groups, we are required to disclose our methods, our goals, and the source of our sponsorship. We must respect the communities we work in. We must not hinder our professional colleagues in their work, at the same time providing open access to our students. We must make our skills and knowledge available to the society at large, and in our work we must render accurate and competent service to those who employ us.³⁷

Anthropology's concern with ethics intensified during the 1960s and 1970s. The Vietnam War and its antecedents, especially the well-publicized Project Camelot controversy, raised serious questions within the discipline about the propriety of applied work and the limits of involvement. This debate was at times as much about politics as ethics; as one applied anthropologist observed, "In the radical view, applied anthropology, whatever its expressed purpose, became nothing but a means by which those in power could tighten their grip on the downtrodden."³⁸

Development anthropology's ethical dilemmas tend to center—as many ethical dilemmas do—on issues of power and information. What is investigated, whose interests are served, what happens to what we learn, and—most important—what actually happens to *people* as a result of our work, are among the most significant of the ethical minefields that development anthropologists must cross.

Often, we must recommend on the basis of incomplete knowledge. In this respect, anthropologists are little different from most development specialists, but our claims to expertise are often couched in terms of unique in-depth understanding. We may indeed know a great deal about the community in which we once did fieldwork, but how much can we claim to know about a place we have been in for only a few weeks? How much knowledge, in other words, is "enough?"

Development projects are planned and financed by large and powerful agencies that often have explicit political agendas, in addition to whatever socioeconomic concerns they may acknowledge. Projects unfold, often, in poorer countries with no long tradition of political freedom, much less a tradition of unfettered academic enquiry. Certain areas may

MINI-CASE 3.3 PROJECT CAMELOT, THAILAND, AND COUNTERINSURGENCY RESEARCH

Project Camelot was a social research project begun in 1964 and funded by the U.S. Army. Its goal was to develop "a general systems model which would make it possible to predict and influence politically significant aspects of social change in the developing nations of the world." Specifically, the project sought to develop ways to assess the potential for internal conflict in developing societies and to identify actions that might prevent such conflicts. Originally begun in Latin America, it was intended to include countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe as well. Although anthropological involvement in this project was minimal, the project created a highly publicized controversy, documented by a number of books and articles. Resolutions were passed by professional associations against "clandestine" research and against the use of social science as a counterinsurgency tool. In part because of the stir it raised among social scientists, the project ended quickly and without fanfare.

At the same time, however, anthropologists were involved in other activities in Thailand that also would cause controversy and would raise—as Camelot did—fundamental ethical and political questions regarding the appropriateness of certain types of research and how anthropologists' research ultimately might be used. For some years, anthropologists carried out work among the hill tribes of northern Thailand, work that received substantial funding from the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) of the U.S. Department of Defense—the same group that later became the Internet. As the Vietnam conflict grew, so did ARPA's research funding for northern Thailand. Like Camelot in Latin America, the goal seemed to be the collection of basic cultural and demographic information for counterinsurgency purposes.

The controversy surrounding the Thailand research projects was much more bitter and drawn out than it had been with Camelot, although in the two events tended to become fused into a single issue. Camelot in Thailand provoked a useful and far-reaching discussion of ethics among anthropologists and forced many field researchers to examine issues regarding the use of data by outsiders, but there is no doubt that the controversy also had a chilling effect on the use of anthropology in international development work for most of the period from the mid-1960s to the 1970s, when USAID's New Directions and the World Bank's McNamara Doctrine presented new challenges.

specific client who is only one of a number of stakeholders. Often, the nature of the problem that the anthropologist is to work on—and often, the shape of the expected solution—have been defined in advance by the client. Issues that lie outside the client's interests—or that might possibly be detrimental to those interests—are in effect, ignored.

Development anthropologists quickly learn that they, like other specialists, are paid to do the client's bidding. Although paid specialists are allowed to complain a great deal, and sometimes are allowed to persuade those in power to see things differently, one basic rule remains: If we cannot persuade them, then we either fall into line or get out.

Finally, anthropologists must decide how much to tell of what they know, and to whom. This has been called the "dirty hands—guilty knowledge" problem.³⁹ Waste, fraud, corruption, incompetence, and inattention are not necessarily more widespread within the development industry than elsewhere, but they are certainly present. Anthropologists, like others, have had to carefully consider whether to tell everything they know (and to whom?) about how development projects actually get done. Speaking truth to power is a fine idea in principle, but will it dry up future jobs? Worse, will it erode popular support for development overall?

There is little consensus at present within the discipline with regard to these and other questions. Again, the demands of development work have challenged anthropologists in multiple ways, forcing them to extend their own capabilities at the same time as their beliefs and principles are being tested.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3 has examined how anthropology has been applied to contemporary social problems. Applied anthropology has been a feature of the discipline from colonial times, and today it is a vital and growing part of the discipline.

on, formulating policy, and designing and managing projects in the anthropologists have had a major impact on key aspects of development work, despite a variety of problems. At the same time, the nature of development work has challenged practitioners and their discipline in a number of ways. Despite these successes, development anthropology—and applied anthropology in all forms—still retains an ancient and second-class relationship to its parent discipline.

ENDNOTES

1. See for example van Willigen (1986), R. Chambers (1985), Grillo and (1985), Ervin (2000).
2. Pitt-Rivers is said to have coined the term in the 1880s. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown used it in the 1920s, as did Bronislaw Malinowski, who called for the establishment of "practical anthropology" to study how societies under colonial rule were changing.
3. See Gardner and Lewis (1996: 29), Naylor (1996: 10), and Grillo and Rew (1996: 10) for discussions of this period. Forde (1953) provides a concise account of anthropology in British colonial Africa.
4. See Gough (1968), Hymes, ed., 1972, Asad (1973), and so on for more on this.
5. See Naylor (1996: 10); Gardner and Lewis (1996: 33).
6. See van Willigen (1986) for a detailed discussion of the early development of applied anthropology in the United States.
7. The Fox Project took place among the Mesquakie Indians from 1948 to 1953. Rubenstein (1986) provides a discussion and background citations concerning the project. Vicos, also known as the Cornell-Peru Project, was begun in 1959 by Allan Holmberg, and lasted until the mid-1960s. Dougherty (1987) and Mangin (1979) provide accounts of this project.
8. Trotter (1988) provides an excellent introduction to the structure, content, and philosophy of these applied training programs. In 1989, the SfAA is planning a *Guide to Training Programs in Applied Anthropology* (Hyland and Kirkpatrick 1989) listing nearly thirty such programs in the United States. In 1990, events took a similar course, but later. Grillo and Rew (1985) provide a summary of these developments. In 1977, the Royal Anthropological Institute set up a Development Anthropology Committee. In 1985, the Applied

9. Shore and Wright (1996) give a useful review of the current status of applied anthropology in Britain.
10. See Partridge (1985: 139, 141).
11. Interestingly, this position is echoed in some quarters in France. See Nolan (1998).
12. Bodley (1994: 352); E. Chambers (1985: 215).
13. van Willigen (1986: 34).
14. Fiske and Chambers (1996: 4–5).
15. See Fiske and Chambers (1996: 8).
16. SOPA's founding has been described by Bainton (1979). Bennett (1988) produced a NAPA Bulletin detailing the growth of LPOs. Fiske and Chambers (1996) provide additional information about LPOs.
17. E. Chambers (1985: 215).
18. See Partridge (1985: 144) on the same point.
19. Hoben (1982) and Pillsbury (1986) provide a comprehensive overview of the growth of development anthropology.
20. See Weaver (1985); Grimm (1998).
21. See Ferguson (1997) for the history of anthropology's involvement with development.
22. van Willigen (1984: 278).
23. Several anthropological studies of development projects (Uphoff 1985; Kottak 1991; Cernea 1987) have made major contributions to our understanding of the ways in which social factors affect project success or failure.
24. See Wilson (1998) for a discussion of anthropologists as consultants.
25. Hoben (1986: 194). See also Horowitz (1998a: 1).
26. See Horowitz (1994: 5–8) for an excellent discussion of some of these points.
27. Horowitz (1996b: 336) comments: "Today it is not uncommon for an anthropologist to lead a team composed of economists and other technical specialists, because not only is cultural expertise desired, but it is increasingly recognized that anthropologists, by virtue of the holistic focus of their discipline, are often best able to integrate the various specialist reports into a coherent set of recommendations for action."
28. See Cernea (1991: xii) and Green (1987: 24).
29. van Willigen (1986: 9, 143).
30. Spicer (1976: 129–132).
31. Gow (1991: 11).
32. See E. Chambers (1985: 30–32) for more discussion of some of these.
33. There is a fascinating literature on this in both political anthropology and

See van Willigen (1986: 118) for more discussion of advocacy. "The aim of the expert," say Schensul and Schensul, "must be to increase capability of client group members to speak for themselves in political, planning and service areas" (in Grillo and Rew 1985: 25).
 From Kemper and Royce (1997: 479-480).
 Angrosino (1976: 3-4).
 See Fetterman (1983).

PART TWO

development projects examined

IN PART ONE, "ANTHROPOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT," we looked at two things: how international development grew into a major worldwide industry and how, at the same time, anthropology developed its capacity for applied work, particularly within the development industry itself.

Part Two, "Development Projects Examined," looks at how development is done in the field, particularly at how anthropology is used in this effort. Chapter 4, "The Nature of Development Projects," describes what development projects are and how they are used by agencies to implement change in the field. Chapter 5, "Information in Project Development," looks at the role of data in the process of project development. Chapter 6, "Framing Projects," looks at how projects are actually designed and focuses on the important initial decisions that will "frame" the undertaking. Chapter 7, "Managing Projects," discusses some of the key tasks involved in project implementation. Chapter 8, "Assessing Projects," concludes the examination of projects by looking at how they are reviewed and judged.