

# The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK

E890: Global Development in Practice

EMA End of Module Assessment: Response Essay

**What needs to change in the development industry to bring about sustainable differences to people's lives?**



*'Myself as a white Westerner adjusting the microphone for Ho Chi Minh in Saigon'*  
(Cresswell, 2016)

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The evolution of development in various parts of the world has travelled many long and dusty roads over time. In the early days of the development industry, alien forces initiating colonial development took shape across various parts of the world (Cornwall, 2006). The developmental fruits of colonialism have yielded positive and negative ripple effects from past to present, through such ideas of self-help, participation and socio-geographical imagery that requires an outsider (Page, 2014). From this sensitive beginning, development has attempted to shift away from the ‘relationships, perceptions, and attitudes, as well as policies and practices, devised for an imperial era’ as described in Kothari (2006, p. 123). More recent ideas of doing development differently have identified the need to ‘find local solutions to local problems by building local coalitions for change’ (Yanguas, 2018, p. 7). Development still has complex historical ties to its colonial past, through interventions for modernisation, industrialisation and progression. These reassertions of power through the dichotomies of ‘them’ and ‘us’ are unavoidable conduits for interventions even today (Kothari, 2006).

The waves of history in development provide a compass in how development is shaped and managed. Thomas (1999, p. 16-17) defines good development as:

‘those which use the enabling and empowerment mode of management to achieve development goals for the relatively powerless. However, the majority of cases will be more ambiguous, with value-based conflicts, contestation over the definition of development itself, and power struggles. Development management will often remain an ideal rather than a description of what takes place.’

Understanding how development management and interventions can live up to expectations and bring about sustainable differences to people’s lives requires a critically reflective approach to what may need to change in how development is currently being carried out. This literature-based research essay will look into three different intervention case studies, each highlighting an area of possible improvement. This essay explores the four principles of Valters’ (2015) theory of change: 1) focus on the process, 2) prioritise learning, 3) be locally led and 4) think compass, not map, which will help locate the areas for improvement. Each case study analysed will highlight aspects of development that require change because their design or underpinning factors may not bring sustainable differences to people’s lives.

The case studies in question are from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency's (SIDA) efforts in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF) intervention in Paraguay and a Save the Children's intervention in Somalia. These interventions have been analysed using a SWOT analysis (FutureLearn, 2021) to support or retract from the three main areas that need more attention in the development industry (See appendix A).

The three main areas that need to be considered for improvement are: 1) localisation, 2) empowering partnerships and 3) education for and in development. These areas will be explored in the case studies, highlighting the pros and cons of their design, purpose and sustainable outcomes.

According to Wolfenden and Adinolfi (2019, p. 328), 'localisation is seen as a social practice in which the competence of those participating in the practice arises through a relational interdependence between the agency and contributions of both the individual and the collective'. If a post-colonial approach to development unavoidably leads to modernisation and industrialisation, it must be people-centred and acclimatised to the historical significance of self and time.

The second area for improvement is about empowering partnerships with the private and civil sectors and international development organisations. Partnerships can be strategic despite challenging, fostering independence and economic growth for one another. The investment into empowering partnerships is a long-term process that requires all stakeholders to be interdependent while allowing space for the constituents' own focus on programmes and initiatives (FutureLearn, 2021a).

This approach to partnership leads into the third area for improvement: education for and in development. One of the issues in development today is that education is only seen as a cog in the wheel, when it really is the fuel for the process. Sustainable education should be prioritised over temporarily funded educational interventions, which stunt development regularly. Education for development is defined by Freire in Gadotti and Torres (2009, p. 1262) as:

‘the space that is assumed as the centre of rights and responsibilities, where citizenship is created. It cannot be an *escola cidadã* in itself and for itself: it is an *escola cidadã* insofar as it facilitates the building of citizenship among those citizens that use its space. An *escola cidadã* is a school that is consistent with freedom, and with its formative and liberating discourse. It is a school that is struggling for itself, and for all those who educate and are educated, so that they can be themselves.’ (2009, p. 1262).

As seen in various case studies (Gregson et al., 2007; Kelsal, 2011), a prescription of education can resemble Westernised traits and inappropriateness that try strenuously to transform but, in the end, just do not work.

These three areas for improvement are analysed below in the context of the case studies published by SIDA (Scott and Mowjee, 2010), UNICEF (2019) and Save the Children (2021).

### **Empowering partnerships**

Empowering partnerships is a core issue for SIDA in the DRC case study, as its position as an influential stakeholder is questionable. SIDA is one of the major donors in a complex emergency situation, along with other competing partners with a large number of fluctuating interventions in DRC. According to SIDA’s prioritisation of humanitarian values, its interest in the challenging context is high, but actual influence is limited. The SIDA report by Scott and Mowjee (2010) reluctantly admits that the organisation has prioritised its own needs over those of the DRC and relied on its partners to do so. SIDA also admits to lacking the ability to engage directly with DRC constituents and having unsuitable administrative procedures. Along with this, the confusion in decision-making with its partners raises concerns of insufficiency of bureaucracy for SIDA, as they find it hard to share authority, deal with other agencies and cope well with uncertainty and complexity of the development context (FutureLearn, 2021b). As the third-largest donor in its pooled funding partnership, SIDA recognises that when donors pass money onto NGO implementers, they ‘tend to do so through traditional short-term project grants’ (Scott and Mowjee, 2010, p. 16).

Competition is a common challenge in coordination for international organisations. The Danish Refugee Council acknowledges this fact and raises a number of points that reflect SIDA's experience in DRC, such as: 'cluster members not engaging or lacking leadership/cluster coordinators' (Danish Refugee Council, 2021) and how members of coordination structures may often 'keep their cards close due to competition – which risks turning the coordination structure into a territorial/competitive forum' (2021). It does seem that large international organisations are aware of this issue in partnerships.

Concerns around effective partnerships related to types of trust, networks and contextual coordination factors mentioned in Stephenson (2005, p. 338) stem from the absence of 'a single institution possessing authority and responsibility to require humanitarian organisations of all stripes to coordinate their activities'. Stephenson (2005) also highlights that there has been a call for large development players to be allowed sufficient powers to pursue more command in effective partnership coordination for greater effectiveness. However, such an act might return to the good old days of an imperialist, colonial approach in development that would reproduce and reassert Western discourses of dominant knowledge and power (Kothari, 2006). Another limiting factor could be related to a global north (SIDA's own) cultural discourses in logic and understanding in their seemingly prescriptive approach to logframe design (FutureLearn, 2021c) and delivery of their intervention because of the emphasis of their own goals.

What is required in order for SIDA (or any other international organisation) to foster empowering partnerships is a shared social network with a common set of values which relies on trust in one another. In order to know how to repair or reinvent empowering partnerships, each international partner (such as those in the pooled fund with SIDA) should undertake its own research study. Once each partner has completed the study, they should then share and reflect on their findings in order to articulate a way forward. As mentioned in Stephenson (2005, p. 340), research studies should look at strategies of choice that 'include strategic planning, information gathering and sharing, resource mobilisation, common accountability frameworks, assuring a shared division of labour in the field, maintaining workable relations with host governments and vigorous leadership'. As much as SIDA demonstrates strong partnerships in DRC, empowering partnerships by conducting an action research study, working together on project cycles, focusing on the messiness and complexities rather than

predictability and empowering local actors would work towards Valters' (2015) theory of change and its four principles in more sustainable ways for the lives of those in DRC.

## **Localisation**

The impersonal partnerships seen in the previous case study highlight how change may not be sustainable, especially for local people living in a development context. A key element of Valters' (2015) theory of change emphasises that development should be locally led. The case study by UNICEF (2019) in Paraguay is a good example of juggling stakeholders through an empowering partnership with the locals in the field. UNICEF was able to identify how its Care for Child Development (CCD) programme could support policies and systems already in place in Paraguay, customising its efforts with and by the local people and government.

Localisation in this case study prioritised local ownership of initiatives, training, programme operations and increasing the capacity of labour, which would eventually lead to economic growth for the community and country. UNICEF took a non-rivalrous approach by connecting its influence with local and national government figures and policies with the inclusion of constituents' voice and needs to allow for a locally led approach to change (Valters, 2015). UNICEF took an adaptive approach (Green, 2019) to its CCD programme to ensure stability within the processes and systems already in place.

As good as the local efforts in this case study may be, it is unsure if the activities can be sustained due to a few factors: 1) possible political instability and change of government, 2) change in funding and structures, 3) high turnover of staff and exhaustion of workers in the field and 4) continued access to relevant resources. Valters (2015) reiterates these concerns by recognising that development tools and approaches are a top-down theory of change process.

To maximise localisation properly in development, there must be a balance of agency and structure. Having the choice and societal framework by locals for locals is a necessary power balance to avoid top-down complications from international organisations. Research into development interventions in Northern Myanmar by Su (2015) addresses the discrepancy

between agency and structure of localised efforts. Su (2015) also highlights how the motives of international organisations may manipulate, exploit or oppress the voice of the poor. For instance, in Myanmar, the United Nations initiated structures for vaccination and health, when the real local issues were infrastructure and the economic livelihood of the ex-poppy farmers in a narcotic region. The unbalance of agency and structure in development localisation in this instance was probably not reported on by external powers. What this does is change the narrative of localisation to other priorities and discourses. O’Lauchlin (2007, p. 136) recognises this dilution of localisation efforts in development as how ‘conclusions drawn and executive summaries do not always reflect the findings and information presented in the body of the report’.

### **Education for and in development**

UNICEF’s intervention in Paraguay was effective with education by strengthening ‘front-line worker capacity with government and university training’ (2019, p. 18), including home visits, community-based programmes and service providers. The localised effect has strengthened the communities by having education as the driving force for and in development. If institutions prioritise education for development and support educational efforts within the local contexts and stakeholders, sustainable actions and ripple effects can be born. In many cases, this is not always true. Prioritising education requires research in development to be broad and wide.

To understand education for and in development as a recommendation that can create sustainable development in people’s lives, the narrative case study by Save the Children (2021) is explored. It reports on a long-term educational initiative regarding female genital mutilation (FGM) in Somalia that relies primarily on qualitative and not quantitative data to interpret findings and experiences.

Research of development interventions that employ positivist, quantitative tools in data collection such as randomised control trials (RCT) can be problematic. Since a quantitative study design, as described in FutureLearn (2021d), ‘seeks to investigate these twin issues of causality and attribution’, looking primarily at cause and effect and translating a hypothesis into an operational action may not always be the most appropriate. As identified in Deaton

and Cartwright (2018), quantitative problems in development contexts can be related to a state's or federal government's desire for a guaranteed truth. Quantitative data is problematic in development because different research results can relate to different populations, and randomisation does not equalise everything as it can only provide a precise estimate. Meanwhile, with such sensitive development issues like FGM with Save the Children (2021), quantitative measurements would be inappropriate and difficult to attain. Critically reflecting on the learning that goes on in such narratives would be more accurate and helpful towards knowing what actually is making a difference in people's lives.

The narrative approach to qualitative data seen in Save the Children (2021) has demonstrated a less structured, observational and more organic longitudinal form of research (FutureLearn, 2021e). This could be dependent on the nature of the threats and weaknesses mentioned in the SWOT analysis (see appendix A), as well as those in the field understanding the context for appropriate activities and resources to be supported. Save the Children has been able to focus on education at various levels of society by empowering individuals and groups in Somali society who could become conduits of advocacy. The FGM cultural discourse has been in place for centuries, and women are often the ones preparing other young women for the ritual. Such deeply rooted cultural context requires a vast amount of time and education in order to deliver sustainable change.

Education for development requires a reflective and flexible project design. This is evident in Save the Children's (2021) case study, where they reflect on the lessons learnt in previous research carried out, along with the awareness of the challenges FGM poses in separating the practice from both religion and culture. In order to be successful in the goal of extinguishing FGM practices, Save the Children facilitators and development managers must first engage in their own learning through participatory activities that are designed not only for the constituents to learn but also for the intervention staff to learn about the context they are operating in. These kind of participatory activities, as mentioned in Wright (2005), demonstrate how intervention facilitators and development managers have the ability to learn, which then enables the intervention itself to develop and take shape over time.

Education in development is an output that relies on advocacy tools and activities. The kind of advocacy strategy employed in the Save the Children's (2021) case study reflects the ideological system of power described in Coates and David (2002, p. 533) as, 'relying on the

dominance of political, economic or religious beliefs to shape the consciousness of society'. As Coates and David (2002) point out, advocacy is messy; it relies on cooperation, and it can be adversarial. This messiness brings about a clash between the modernisation of international human rights and a well-established ritual. The roll-on effect of activities and advocacy measures in Somalia has enabled constituents to educate and lead their communities about FGM, demonstrating how activities in development can empower constituents and measure what is valued.

This narrative case study reflects on current initiatives and shared stories that could allow for new practices to emerge and best practices to continue. Save the Children's development managers and intervention staff gained a deeper awareness of the context through a prioritised learning process reflecting Valters' (2015, p. 8) theory of change, which can open up a 'black box of causation between inputs and outputs'.

Looking through a different lens, what is sometimes forgotten are the colonial origins in development approaches. This intervention does resemble a self-help method of development that visualises 'colonial practices of mass education and community betterment' (Page, 2014, p. 838). This could be a contributing factor to the global North/South divide that creates different levels of participation, activism and networking, as mentioned in Stroup and Murdie (2012). It could be said that this intervention is no different from Europeans colonising Pacific Islanders using Christianity and Western ideals as a required conformity (Ernst and Anisi, 2016, p. 589), or the forced removal of indigenous children from their families in Australia (O'Loughlin, 2021).

These FGM advocacy strategies and activities may indicate that constituents are more aware and will share the message, but it is unclear exactly how broad the scope or how sustainable their efforts may be. Some limitations could be related to women's feelings towards others who escape FGM, language and cultural inferences, and the scope of religious beliefs in various tribal groups. As much of a good example in how education for and in development this can be, the validity of qualitative data may also require quantitative analysis to support future sustainable differences in people's lives.

## **Conclusion**

Development is complex, and solutions are not clear or apparent. The pendulum of cause and effect will always unearth problems in development as there is no correct road to follow. However, there are lessons to learn from the mistakes of the past and interventions that have led to greater unrest and underdevelopment. Ensuring that development can bring sustainable differences in people's lives depends on three factors: 1) empowering partnerships, 2) localisation and 3) education for and in development.

Empowering partnerships must engage actors in more meaningful activities so that stakeholders can report on development by conducting relevant research. Localisation must always consider the constituents the development context serves and how they can take ownership in their own future prosperity. Education for and in development accounts for an educational immersion of all stakeholders, not only those an intervention is targeting. Taking an educational and empowering approach to partnerships and localisation enables donors and organisations to conduct research more accurately by applying multiple methods to research in order to justify and validate the actions taken. These three factors are not autonomous but rather interwoven in purpose and intention. They are entangled throughout each of the case studies and highlight a precarious balance of organic and adaptive management practices required for sustainable change in development practices and the lives of those involved.

Even though development seems messy, there is hope. Advocacy in the development industry, such as *Doing Development Differently in the Global South* report (Yanguas, 2018) and the adaptive management processes described by Green (2019), indicates an awareness of the importance of these three factors, along with representations of Valters' (2015) theory of change. The elephant in the room across all case studies is the remnant of a colonial past to development, which still seems inescapable. If the development industry and managers emphasise education in their partnerships, research and programme design, it will open the door for empowered local stakeholders who can create meaningful, motivating and life-changing initiatives in their own way. If development can be done differently, there is a greater chance for sustainable changes to happen.

*Escola cidadã*

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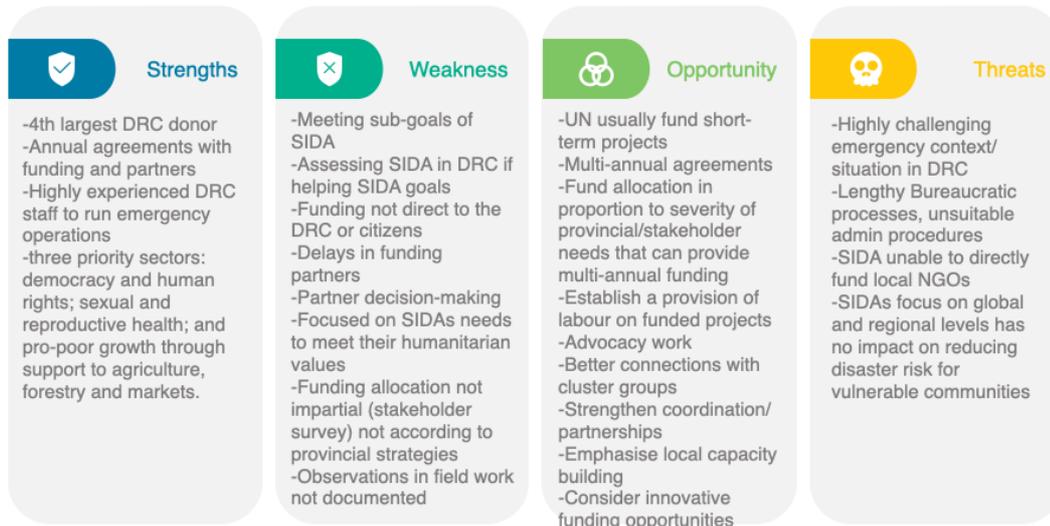
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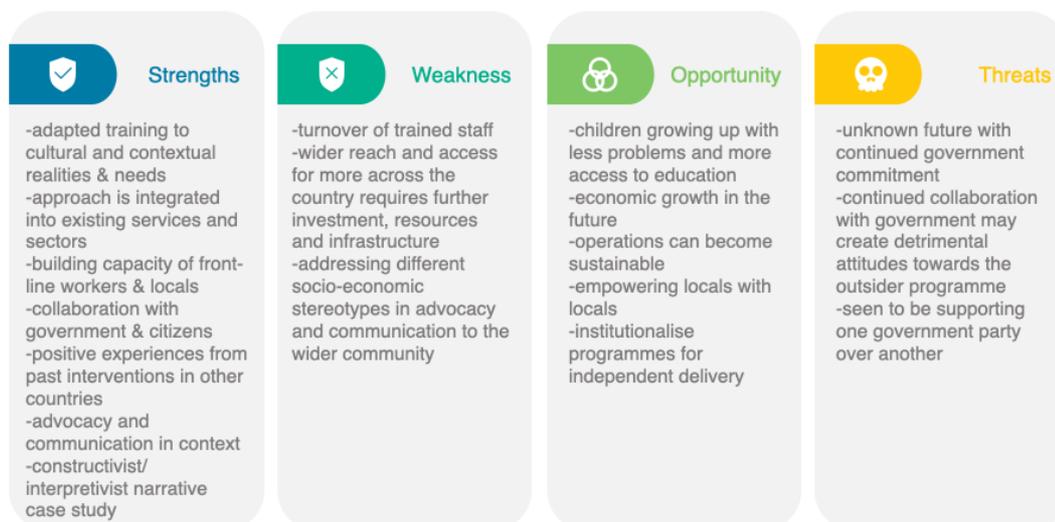
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## Appendix A

### SIDA (2010) SWOT targeting Valters (2015)



### UNICEF (2019) SWOT targeting Valters (2015)



### Save the Children (2021) SWOT targeting Valters (2015)

