PRIA

INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY

Initiative in Education & Lifelong Learning

Certificate Programme

Civil Society Building

Unit 3

Civil Society And Development

Units Of Certificate In Civil Society Building

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INTRODUCTION

Development is a crucial term that needs an entire discussion in the study of civil society and civil society building. It is one of the most contested terms since there have been various definitions affected by socio-economic and socio-political factors like colonialism, the World Wars, the Great Depression, neo-liberal globalisation, etc.

The existing definitions of development have affected the functioning of CSOs and their level of intervention in development activities. Many a time CSOs have also played a pivotal role in subverting popular discourses on development. They have been able to represent the voices of poor and marginalised in the mainstream.

This Unit will give you an insight into various discourses on development and the varied roles CSOs can play in promoting development.

Learning Objectives

After completing this Unit, you will be familiar with:

- The meaning of development and how it has evolved historically
- What participatory and related approaches of development mean
- How CSOs are involved in various aspects and forms of development
- The issues and challenges involved in development work by CSOs, currently and in the future

3.1 Development – Meanings, Origins And Evolution

We have seen in Units 1 and 2 that civil society plays important roles in the two inter-linked fields of ‘development’ and ‘democracy’. We will examine the latter in more detail in Unit 4. Here we look at the role civil society plays in development.

3.1.1 What Is Development?

Like other terms we have used, such as ‘civil society’ and ‘democracy’, development means different things to different people.

We tend not to talk of ‘development’ in isolation but to add explanatory words to it – social development, human development, economic development, industrial development, infrastructure development, and so on. These focus the term on a particular ‘aspect’ of development.

We also use geographical terms, such as international development, global development, national development, local development, even urban development, and rural development to give an indication of the ‘scope and location’ of development.

There are also terms such as ‘trickle down’ development, ‘bottom-up’ development, people-centred development, participatory development, and others, which focus on the ‘methods’ being used.

And we use other terms, such as sustainable development to indicate underlying principles and/or long-term goals.

Let us focus on the word on its own.

Very simply, development implies a process of change. It entails an improvement in the social, political and physical conditions of the citizens of a country (Van Rooy & Robinson, 1998).

Development is, thus, akin to some kind of change for the better. In the context of the focus of this course, we can reduce it to its barest essentials and say that it means bringing about betterment in society and empowering people to achieve their goals and aspirations (Clark, 1991).

These very general definitions imply three things (The Economist, 2005):

- If we are to know what people's aspirations are, and come to decisions about such matters as the priorities to be attached to them, then development needs to be founded on democracy and people's participation
- In turn, this means that development is much to do with the advancement of what we have called 'the public good' (in Units 1 and 2)
- 'Enabling' implies that development is something done by people (with the assistance of others) rather than something done to them or for them

This leads to a more extended general description:

"Development…is a process of change that enables people to take charge of their own destinies and realise their full potential. It requires building up in the people the confidence, skills, assets and freedoms necessary to achieve such a goal... This demands that equity, democracy and social justice be paramount objectives, alongside the need for economic growth. It must enable the weaker members of society to improve their situation... It must combat vulnerability and isolation. It must ensure the sustainable use of natural resources and combat exploitation... And it must make the institutions of society accountable to the people" (Clark, 1991, pp. 26-27).

The above, it is stressed, are offered as starting points. They are imperfect and open to debate.

THINK TANK

Taking account of any reservations you have about the above description, now attempt a revised one of your own.

3.1.2 A Brief History

In Unit 1, we set out a brief historical account of the evolution of what 'the public good' means. In Unit 2 we gave an account of some of the historical trends that can be observed among donor and aid agencies. These accounts touched upon or implied certain trends in thinking and policy about development, within civil society, within governments and within donors.

In this Unit we will give a fuller account of the evolution of development internationally to illustrate how the definitions and description offered above, while they are still contestable at present, would have been entirely alien to earlier policy-makers and practitioners, even up to quite recent times. The account also shows how civil society has influenced, or been influenced by, the evolution of understanding and practice of development.

The Colonial Era

Driven by the demand for raw materials and labour that began with the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Europe five centuries ago, its countries began by seeking what they needed through commercial activities, and then consolidated power over them by establishing colonial regimes. Through this period, 'development' therefore meant the development of the colonising countries through the exploitation of the human and physical resources of the colonised, although it was often justified as the 'protection', 'advancement' and 'development' of the people of the countries concerned. This exploitation was paralleled by the destruction of many traditional systems through which development had taken place over many centuries before colonisation. The systems of administration and methods used in the provision of services in the colonised countries were based on the models used in the colonising

countries. Thus, to the colonial powers, development also meant ‘doing things our way’.

As we have seen, action by civil society was important, and in many countries central, to bringing about the end of colonisation and its associated impacts.

Post World War II And The 1950s- Development As ‘Growth’

In the 1950s, the development paradigm laid emphasis on industrialisation and economic development with Gross National Product (GNP) becoming the indicator of progress. In his inaugural address in 1949, US President Truman declared that America would help Third World countries become like itself through new and innovative programmes for their growth and development (Esteva, 1992).

The first institutions to provide the fuel for this were already in place. In 1945, in the town of Bretton Woods in New Hampshire, USA, a conference was held to plan a system of regulating currency exchanges across countries and support reconstruction and development following the war. Thus, were born what are called the Bretton Woods Institutions – the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The World Bank was originally named the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, clearly conveying its mandate. It contributed its first loans for the reconstruction of Europe after World War II.

In the growing ranks of the newly independent countries of the South, ambitious development plans at national level were formulated, implemented and financed through ever-increasing borrowing. This was the ‘top-down’ (or ‘trickle down’) approach to development, based on the premise that from large scale economic and infrastructure development, human and social development would follow.

Typical of this approach were the Community Development Programmes that were first initiated in 1952. These aimed to build rural socio-economic structure, and an elaborate government administrative machinery was established to manage them (Singh, 1986). As a result (as noted in Unit 2), there was a general decline in civil

society – its organisations and association were seen as obstacles to progress and at best their role was restricted to the traditional one of 'welfare'.

The 1960s – 'Social' Development

By the late 1960s, the 'top-down' model of development began to show signs of mal-functioning. Poverty, marginalisation and social exclusion were still a reality. This pointed to the need to bring in the social dimension. It was not that the top-down approach was dropped, but rather that thinking and practice about it slowly changed; policy-makers and administrators began to look for strategies to bring community participation into the development process. Within the United Nations, the shift to integrate economic and social development was manifested in the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to set up the Social Development Unit in 1962 (Esteva, 1992).

This shift from the growth orientated, top-down approach to development was much influenced by civil society although, as noted in Unit 1, in India the most visible sign of civil society actions were the protest movements of the period.

The 1970s – The Redistributive Model Of Growth And The Rise Of 'Participatory' And 'Integrated' Development

The continuing realisation that benefits of economic growth were not reaching the poor led to emergence of the 'redistribution school' of thought in the 1970s, which saw the meeting of basic needs – relating to nutrition, health, education, etc. – through public service provision and progressive redistributive taxation arrangements as a key development strategy.

At The Same Time, the 1970s saw the beginning of thinking about the need for people's participation. There was increasing pressure from social scientists, grass-roots groups and NGOs not just to bring people themselves into development processes, but to put them at the centre of development. The decade also witnessed growing recognition of the value of popular knowledge and collective action as essential components of development actions (Tandon, 1996). Such Recognition

Was Translated into Action through the Growth of Participatory Research and Participatory Action-Research methods during the decade (Rahman, 1993).

The outcomes of a number of international conferences also influenced national development planners. The FAO's (Food and Agriculture Organisation of United Nations) 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reforms and Rural Development, for example, called for the involvement and organisation of grass-roots rural people and stressed that the rural poor's participation in the institutions and systems which govern their lives is a basic human right (FAO, 1983). The crucial role of women in development was emphasised by the 1975 UN Conference on Women. At the same time Northern international development agencies were shifting their focus towards meeting people's basic needs and rights (hence 'rights-based development') and addressing the social aspects of development. This also influenced national development planners in the South.

Typical of the new approach were two programmes in India. The first, the *Minimum Needs Programme (MNP)*, was designed to improve the consumption levels and the productive efficiency of people below the poverty line. The provision of free or subsidised civic amenities, facilities and services – such as elementary education, rural health, roads, electricity, nutrition – through public agencies, were prominent features of the Programme (Singh, 1986). The second, the *Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)*, was introduced in 1978–79. It combined a minimum needs programme with programmes of income generation and employment opportunities development for the rural poor. Even so, it encountered problems; most critically, people were not involved enough in the process (Singh, 1986).

This was, in large measure, because government agencies and officials were still the key development actors in the programmes. Preoccupied with administering and managing a delivery system, they gave little thought to involving the recipients.

In addition, during this period, a number of social movements pressing for more sustainable livelihoods and greater social justice appeared, nationally and internationally. People's own struggles on issues of rights and control thus came into the picture.

The 1970s, thus, witnessed increased pressure on policy-makers and development managers from civil society groups to put and keep people at the very centre of development.

The 1980s – 'The Lost Decade' Of Development Alongside CSO Growth

Let us explain this evidently paradoxical sub-title. The 1980s were marked by 'structural adjustment'. The billions of dollars that had by then been spent on large scale, top-down, government run economic and infrastructure development projects had failed to bring the desired results. The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and associated financial conditionalities of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund required more export-orientated industrialisation, economic liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation with shift in functions from the state to the market sector.

While the new approach also involved shifts in functions from government to civil society, in terms of delivering services, the resources available for development began to diminish. Hence, while they witnessed the growth of development NGOs generally, the 1980s are often referred to as the 'lost decade' of development (Esteva, 1992).

Rojas (1999) describes sustainable development in terms of the needs of the current and future inhabitants of the earth. There needs to be balance between what the current generation consumes and what the future generations will need. This would imply living without endangering living conditions, reducing use of resources, being environmentally friendly, etc.

The 'rights based' approach to development also gained strength during the decade. The negative impacts of SAP on the poor of the South were highlighted by, and

galvanised the work of, development-focused NGOs in the South and international NGOs. They saw SAP as increasing poverty and marginalisation. The Structural Adjustment Participatory Research Network (SAPRIN) was formed as a world-wide network of CSOs studying and publicising the impact of SAPs on the poor. Weisen, Prewitt & Shobhan (1999) posit that CSOs' pivotal role lies in its capacity to challenge existing institutions and policies to be poor-friendly and in taking their vantage point into consideration. This has proven to become a paradigmatic shift from viewing overcoming of poverty as a development requirement to fulfilling citizens' rights and entitlements.

Thus, this is the paradox of the 1980s. On one hand, because of SAPs, there were fewer resources available for development and increasing associated poverty. On the other hand, there was greater recognition than ever before for the need for participatory approaches, the recognition of new aspects of development, and the growth of more NGOs (particularly evident in India and many South Asian countries).

The 1990s – Human Development

In the 1990s the development focus shifted to 'human development'. International and intergovernmental agencies gave impetus to this change in thinking and practice. The UNDP for example urged the enlargement of all human choices – economic, social, cultural and political – rather than just economic choice. It introduced the concept of Human Development Index (HDI) as a better and more appropriate measure of development than GNP or GDP.

The United Nations organised a number of international conferences on development issues. The World Summit for Social Development (WSD) held in 1995 was a milestone in recognition of the role of civil society in achieving poverty reduction, the expansion of productive employment and social integration. Within civil society, NGOs were recognised as important actors in realising WSD commitments.

The World Bank set up the 'Learning Group on Participation' in 1990 to identify challenges in incorporating participation in its operations. The Group defined participation as: "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them" (The World Bank, 1994, p. 1).

These stakeholders were identified as any group that could influence the bank's actions and policies or could be affected by them. While the governments of borrowing countries were the primary stakeholders, secondary stakeholders were NGOs, businesses and professional bodies having technical expertise and linkages to the primary stakeholders. The Asian Development Bank also developed a framework for mainstreaming participatory development.

The OECD defines popular participation as a situation where people are able to actively be an influential part of decision-making that will deeply affect their everyday life (OECD, 1995).

The 2000s – Entering The Millennium

As human society entered the 21st Century, intense debates began to take shape on the achievements related to the goals of poverty eradication and human development particularly in developing countries. One of the most important milestones in the history of international development achieved in 2000 was the consensus on a set of development goals, known as Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations and adoption of the United Nations Millennium Declaration (agreed to by 189 member states), eight MDGs were adopted. A total of 21 specific targets for each goal was agreed upon to be achieved by the end of 2015. The MDGs were:

1. To eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. To achieve universal primary education
3. To promote gender equality and empower women

4. To reduce child mortality
5. To improve maternal health
6. To combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
7. To ensure environmental sustainability
8. To develop a global partnership for development

The other trends of the 1990s continued: governments, bilateral and multilateral agencies, internationally and nationally, continued not just to recognise the need for participatory methods in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development strategies, actions and processes, but also to apply them. All this was given additional impetus, as we noted in Unit 1, by the phenomenon of globalisation and the parallel emergence and/or escalation of a range of social problems, such as HIV/AIDS, human migration, and terrorism.

Parallel developments in thinking and practice about democracy and governance added further impetus to this. 'Decentralisation' of governance became a key objective in many countries, with local governments given more power and responsibility. While this did not mean giving more power to people, it at least brought the locations of power and responsibility closer to them. In India, for example, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts of 1992 paved the way for new institutions of local governance at the village and district levels in rural areas through the revitalisation of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and municipalities in urban areas. These institutions were entrusted powers and authority to formulate and implement schemes for economic development and social justice. The positive implications of this for participatory development, as well as participatory democracy, will be self-evident.

The 2010s – Sustainable Development Revisited

The combined forces of globalisation, economic liberalisation and privatisation received a new momentum in the last decade. Many developing countries began to

aggressively pursue economic growth measured through GDP as the prime mover for development. This inevitably caused increased use of natural resources like extraction of mineral resources to feed industrial production, developing large infrastructures (e.g., roads, dams, etc.) and expansion of urban centres to promote markets for industrial productions. Although the emphasis on economic growth has been going on for several decades, a new conscience started to emerge as the negative impacts of indiscriminate use of natural resources resulting in 'climate change' and unsustainable outcomes became evident. A number of international forums, summits and agreements marked this decade.

As the target year (2015) for achieving the MDGs neared, the international development community and various national governments started taking stock of the achievements. A global discourse, most popularly known as 'post-2015' has started taking place. The United Nations through a variety of mechanisms (like a high level panel of eminent persons, working groups, etc.) came to propose a new set of goals known as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Till date, the 12th Session of the Working Group on SDGs has proposed 17 goals to be achieved by the end of 2030.

In concluding this account we should note that historically the main civil society actors in development have been development NGOs, now commonly termed 'intermediary' CSOs. However, since the 1990s, the contributions to just and sustainable development made by other types of CSO (such as community-based, self-help, traditional, religious and membership associations, and social movements) have come to be documented, studied and thus more and more recognised. The reason for this is simple – such associations are participatory in their nature: they are *of* the people and *for* the people. They are the vehicles for people's participation. While this recognition is now strong within civil society itself, it is still in its infancy in the eyes of governments and donor agencies, and this is a challenge for the immediate and longer term future. We urge you to keep this in mind as you read on and in your own future work.

3.1.3 Civil Society Roles In Development

It would be easy to assume from the foregoing that what civil society contributes is simply the function of enabling people's participation in development. But there is much more to it than that.

Let us start with the World Bank (The World Bank, 2005). According to the Bank, engaging with CSOs in poverty reduction and development programmes results in (The World Bank, 2005):

- Promoting public consensus and local ownership for reforms and for national poverty reduction and development strategies
- Giving voice to the concerns of primary and secondary stakeholders, particularly poor and marginalised populations, and helping ensure that their views are incorporated into policy and programme decisions
- Strengthening and leveraging the impact of development programmes by providing local knowledge, identifying potential risks, targeting assistance and expanding reach
- Bringing innovative ideas and solutions to development challenges – at both the global and local level
- Providing professional expertise and increasing capacity for effective service delivery, especially in environments with weak public sector capacity, in post-conflict situations or in humanitarian crises
- Improving the public transparency and accountability of development activities

In the late 1990s, a study was carried out of the perception of donors (albeit mostly US-based ones) of the roles they saw civil society carrying out in democracy and development (Van Rooy & Robinson, 1998). Those conclusions concerning the

former will be set out in Unit 4. As far as development is concerned, the perceptions of donors, or their expectations, were as follows (Van Rooy & Robinson, 1998):

- ***Equity:*** "Civil societies are…assumed to foster the activism that brings about equitable development*"* (p. 39)
- ***Reaching the poorest:*** "One key reason for adopting a civil society approach is to reach the poorest through organisations that either represent them or can reach them more reliably than can governments" (p. 39)
- ***Promoting human rights*****:** These include, not just state-given rights, but wider social and economic rights that come from actors, such as the private sector, elite classes, and international lending organisations
- ***Replacing the State*****:** "Pressures to decrease the size of governments in the South (primarily through loan conditionalities) has…led to the expectation that domestic groups will partly take over, through sub-contracting or by default, the provision of key services…." (p. 41) At the same time, however, donors were concerned that this might result in 'dumping' of services onto the voluntary sector which "will take over the work without a corresponding transfer of funding and development of a mutual relationship with the state" (p. 42)

Perhaps in recognising that the expectations amount to a daunting and rather complex list (we will look at the extent to which they have been met later), and apply largely to intermediary CSOs, Tandon (2003) sets out three clear and simple roles that CSOs of all kinds can play in development.

Innovation

This involves identifying and establishing creative solutions to problems in fields such as primary health care, soil and water conservation, functional literacy, education, livelihood, marginalised groups, forestry, credit schemes, and development projects for women, to name but a few. Large scale development programmes have been influenced by such micro innovations of voluntary

organisations, the most well-known being the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which we describe in more detail in the following section.

NOTE BANK

Expectations Of NGDOs In Development

A study carried out by UNRISD in the late 1990s examined and synthesised the expectations of official aid agencies and other development actors of Non-Government Development Organisations (NGDOs), more commonly called voluntary development organisations (VDOs), or 'intermediary CSOs in India.

The findings concluded NGDOs:

- Cost-effectively help expand access to, and effectively deliver, tangible services (such as education, health care and credit) that reduce unemployment and levels of poverty among the most vulnerable of the world's population – particularly women, children and indigenous peoples
- Have a positive influence within civil society. For example, they will foster social integration and contribute directly and indirectly to the pre-conditions needed for democratic governance
- Engender people-centred social development processes, build local capacity, and the 'ownership' of benefits that will be sustained without external finance
- Gain leverage on national and international policies that condition progress towards social development goals
- Act as watchdogs of the public good and safeguard the interests of disadvantaged sections of society
- Through interaction with funders, have a positive influence on the quality of aid practices employed by governments and bilateral and multilateral agencies
- Exhibit integrity and provide unambiguous, verifiable accounts of the resources they employ
- Maintain voters' motivation to support allocations for aid

(Fowler, 2000)

Interaction

A second key role for development NGOs is in facilitating interaction among the marginalised groups to organise and form collectives and grass-roots organisations and social movements; and facilitating the participation of the poor and marginalised in the formulation of development policies and interventions.

Influence

The third important key role of development NGOs is that of influencing the thinking and action of other key actors in society. These include the wider public, through public opinion and public education work, and policy advocacy, as will be discussed in Units 4 and 5. The latter includes acting as public policy watchdogs, through monitoring and, where necessary, 'whistle-blowing'.

THINK TANK

At a students' reunion you meet your old Professor of Economics, who has retired since you graduated. In conversation you tell him about this Unit of the course and your understanding of the many and varied roles that CSOs play in development.

He asks you what they are, and as you describe them, a smile steadily broadens on his face, to the point where he starts laughing.

You grind to a halt.

"Why are you laughing?" you ask the professor.

And he replies: "I think you are getting carried away," he says, "donors and governments involve NGOs for one, yes one, very simple reason: they do things more cheaply than governments can. Never mind all the rest of the so-called reasons they give…"

How would you answer him?

3.1.4 Functions Of CSOs In Development

The Commonwealth Foundation (1995) noted that the functions of NGOs in the field of development "are best seen as forming a spectrum ranging from those which are principally orientated to care and welfare" through "service delivery" to those which are about "mobilising public awareness campaigning and advocating change or reform".

This enables a simple classification of the functions of intermediary CSOs in development to be produced as in the following table:

Table I: Simple Classification Of Functions

FUNCTION	**Development Focus (Examples Only)**
Care and welfare	Disability
	Rehabilitation
Service delivery	Livelihood
	Education
	Health
	Integrated development
Education and advocacy	Conscientisation and mobilisation
	Networking
	Policy advocacy
	Support

3.1.5 Participatory Development

We have noted the notion and practice of participation as an aspect of the development process that has been in existence in development discourse and debates for over four decades. We have also noted that, since informal CSOs and

associations are the vehicles of people's participation, their importance is being increasingly recognised.

PRIA defines participatory development as the process of enabling people to be able to plan and implement their own development (2006).

What makes participatory development happen? The enabling factors, as highlighted by the World Bank (1994) include:

- *Information sharing mechanisms*: Use of local languages; use of the media, and information sharing public meetings
- *Consultative mechanisms*: Consultative meetings with all stakeholders (including the people themselves), field visits and interviews at different stages of the work
- *Joint assessment mechanisms*: Participatory research and evaluation involving all stakeholders and beneficiaries
- *Shared decision-making mechanisms*: Use of workshops and retreats, and meetings to resolve conflicts and foster ownership among the people
- *Collaborative mechanisms*: Formation of joint committees with stakeholder representatives
- *Empowering mechanisms*: Capacity-building of stakeholder organisations, handover to, and management by stakeholders

The important roles played by local, informal ommunity-based organisations will be evident in the above and become even more apparent in an extensive literature review by Oakely (1988) that described the enabling factors in these terms:

Conscientisation: People's power is established and exercised by learning to interact and organise, by breaking previous relationships of submission and dependency; and by learning to recognise their ability and potential through collective research,

recovery of historical knowledge, cultures and traditions, valuing and applying folk culture, and the diffusion of new knowledge.

Community organisation: The existence of an effective community or non-governmental organisation is important in facilitating community participation. The prior existence of social movements and/or grass-roots groups that have traditional and vernacular ways of interaction and leadership is also important. When such movements or groups have concrete goals, and have the capacity to maintain permanent organisational structures and alliances with other organised movements and groups, the extent of participation will be positively influenced.

Organisational factors: Participatory development projects should: be processes of learning, enabling and empowering, with open-ended time frames; have a 'no blue print approach'; have participatory management; and be decentralised in their organisation. Only then can they aim to go beyond meeting practical needs to negotiating for political power and generating countervailing power.

Structural factors: Bureaucratic decentralisation and political support help create an enabling environment for participation.

Social factors: Tradition and a positive history of participation in the community also facilitate people's participation in development programmes and projects.

3.2 Examples Of CSO Interventions In Development: South Asia & India

In this section we will set out brief illustrations of CSO interventions in development. We will do this in two ways. Firstly we will use the Innovation–Interaction–Influence roles identified earlier in Section 3.1. From this it will quickly become evident to you that these roles do not represent another typology of CSOs: while we have grouped the case studies so that there are two or three under each of the three headings, you will discover that most of the organisations are involved in all three 'I's' simultaneously.

Secondly, we will use the Care and Welfare–Service Delivery–Education and Advocacy classification, set out earlier ni Section 3.1, and will identify the functions of various organisations in India and in other South Asian countries in it.

While the illustrations and organisations referred to are mostly intermediary CSOs, this is a reflection of the fact that the roles played by other types of CSO are not yet properly and systematically documented.

3.2.1 Innovation Role

The following two illustrations will highlight the innovation role of CSOs.

Illustration 1: The Grameen Bank, Bangladesh

The Grameen Bank was started in 1976 by Mohamed Yunus, a professor of economics at Chittagong University, as an experiment to provide credit to poor landless people in rural areas. Initially supported by funds from some commercial and nationalised banks, Grameen became an independent bank in its own right in 1983, and has received funds from a number of donor agencies including IFAD, the Asian Development Bank and the Ford Foundation.

Members of the bank are poor people who organise themselves into groups of five or more. Each group of five individuals is loaned money, but the whole group is denied further credit if

one person defaults. This creates economic incentives for the group to act responsibly, increasing Grameen's economic viability. More than half of Grameen borrowers in Bangladesh have risen out of acute poverty thanks to their loan. This is measured by

standards as having all young children in school, all household members eating three meals a day, a sanitary toilet, a rainproof house, clean drinking water and the ability to repay a 300 taka-a-week (US$8) loan.

One unusual feature of the Grameen Bank is that it is owned by the poor borrowers of the bank, most of whom are women. Of the total equity of the bank, the borrowers own 94 per cent, and the remaining 6 per cent is owned by the Government of Bangladesh. As of February 2013:

- The total number of borrowers is 8.54 million
- 96.21 per cent of them are women
- The Bank has 2567 branches with a total staff of 21,851
- The loan recovery rate is 96.67 per cent
- Since inception (till 2011) a total of Tk 684.13 billion (US$ 11.35 billion) of loans has been disbursed. Of this, Tk 610.81 billion (US$ 10.11 billion) has been repaid.

The Grameen Bank has inspired many similar projects around the world. Besides extending micro-credit loans to poor people, it has initiated several other innovative programmes for poverty eradication. These include a 'struggling members' programme' focused on distributing small loans to beggars. Here, the existing rules of banking are not applied: the loans are completely interest-free; the repayment period can be very long (for example, a beggar taking a small loan of around 100 Taka (about US $1.50) can pay only 2.00 Taka (about 3.4 US cents) per week); the borrower is covered under life insurance free of charge, and the bank does not force borrowers to give up begging; rather it encourages them to use the loans for generating income by selling low-priced items. As of 2005, around 45,000 beggars have taken loans of about Tk 28.7 million (approx. US $441,538) and repaid Tk 13.66 million (about US $210,154).

Another innovative programme is the Grameen rural telephone programme. Bangladesh has one of the lowest telephone densities in the world. Of its more than 85,000 villages, many are not covered under the land-phone network offered by the government-owned telecom company. To ameliorate this situation, Grameen Bank introduced a programme to bring telephones to distant villages. Grameen Phone, a sister company of the bank, is already the largest mobile telephone provider of the country. Using its nationwide network, Grameen Telecom, another sister company of Grameen Bank, brought radio-telephones and mobile phones to almost half of the villages of Bangladesh. The bank also distributed loans to

almost 139,000 poor women in rural areas to pay for the phones. The women set up call centres in their homes where the other villagers can come and pay a small fee to use the phone.

(Bornstein, 2005; Ghai, 1988)

Illustration 2: Pratham, India

Pratham started in the slums of Mumbai in 1994, as a result of the vision of two committed individuals who, after much deliberation, decided to tackle the problem of education headlong. The Pratham Movement is now an innovative coalition between community members (who are grassroots workers, mainly women, and who form the real engines of Pratham), corporate leaders, academics, members of the local and central governments, and professionals from the corporate and non-profit world. It has spread to 29 centres across 10 states in India to address the problem of children being out of school and not learning.

Pratham's goal is to ensure that every child in India is in school:

- In an environment that is mentally stimulating and physically attractive;
- With teachers who are committed, dedicated, skilled, and happy;
- Within a community that cherishes children and provides its best to children's care and development.

Pratham has five main programmes:

- Balwadi Pre-School Programme for 3-4 year olds from low-income families
- Balsakhi Remedial Education Programme that provides support for weaker municipal primary school children
- Bridge Courses targeting children who have never been to school or dropped out
- Outreach Programme for working children, child labour and children in conflict with the law
- Computer Assisted Learning Programme that aims to familiarise municipal school children with computers

Programmes are for underprivileged children, mainly in slum areas. Each programme unit has an average of around 20 children and instructors are young women from the local community, who are at least educated up to Standard X level. Space is provided by the community and classes are held either in a municipal school, community space or at the teacher's home.

Pratham does not itself build schools but strives to strengthen the existing government school system. It:

- Strives to build a working partnership in the field of education between the people and the government;
- Creates programmes to supplement the municipal school system, rather than supplant it;

- Seeks to make governance of education more effective through people's democratic participation. Pratham aims at a private-public-community partnership to address issues related to education

One of the biggest achievements of Pratham has been that it has managed to mobilise thousands of community women, across India, to take charge of the educational needs of their community. These, mostly young, women mobilise their entire communities to take responsibility of their children's education. This makes for a sustainable approach in the sense that because the community takes ownership of its educational needs, the change that happens is bottom-up, democratic and more likely to be sustainable.

The Pratham model is simple to implement and easily replicable. No immovable assets are acquired unless a donor specifically requests. Administrative costs are kept low. Every attempt is made to reduce overheads as much as possible. Pratham is highly cost-effective and spends in the region of Rs. 500 to educate each child per year. Given the extensive Pratham network in slum areas, it is easy to undertake other services (health, computer education) at a minimum cost.

(Pratham, 2014)

3.2.2 Interaction

The interaction role of CSOs will become clearer from the following two illustrations.

Illustration 1: Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), India

Of the female labour force in India, more than 94 per cent are in the unorganised sector. Their work is however not counted and hence remains invisible.

SEWA was formed in 1972 as a trade union for such self-employed poor women living in the slums of Gujarat. Until SEWA's formation, such women were not recognised as workers by legislation or by society. Thus, their struggle is related as much to women's desire for recognition as legitimate workers as to securing improvements in income and working conditions. SEWA membership was drawn from three categories of women workers: petty vendors and hawkers; home-based producers; and providers of casual labour and services. SEWA has since spread to cover women agricultural workers and home-based workers in rural areas.

Gandhian thinking is SEWA's guiding force for organising for social change. SEWA follows the principles of *satya* (truth), *ahimsa* (non-violence), *sarvadharma* (integrating all faiths, all people) and *khadi* (propagation of local employment and self-reliance). SEWA is both an organisation and a movement. The SEWA movement is enhanced by its being a *sangam* or confluence of three movements: the labour movement, the cooperative movement and the women's movement. As a trade union, SEWA worked to secure higher wages for casual workers, for those on contract work as home-based workers and for service suppliers such

as cleaners and launderers. It also extended its services to organised workers in enterprises. It instituted a credit scheme for vendors and hawkers and home-based workers to finance working capital and the purchase of raw materials and tools.

This scheme eventually developed into SEWA's own bank – Shri Mahila SEWA Sahakari Bank Ltd (popularly known as SEWA Bank). This was established in 1974 on the initiative of 4,000 self-employed women workers with a capital of Indian Rupees 60,000. The bank is owned by the self-employed women as the shareholders, and policies are made by their own elected Board. The Bank is professionally run by qualified managers hired by the Board. Today it has nearly 51,000 depositors and a working capital of Indian Rupees 100 million. It has been financially viable and self-reliant from the beginning, and uses its surpluses to further strengthen individual workers as well as their movement.

The SEWA Bank provides all finance-linked supportive services to SEWA members, and with that aim has started a work security insurance scheme and a housing programme. In addition, the Bank is now actively expanding into the rural areas through savings and credit groups.

Further activities have been developed in the form of producers' cooperatives for food sellers, bamboo workers, hand block printers, weavers and dairy workers. The economic capacity of members has also been enhanced through the provision of training in a wide range of skills, including printing, plumbing, carpentry, radio repair, accounting and management. SEWA has also sought to address some of the social problems faced by workers through such initiatives as maternal protection scheme, widowhood benefits, child care, and midwifery training

Drinking water is another area where SEWA women have taken the lead. Gujarat being a dry, and in some regions, drought prone state, water is a major issue for most people. SEWA has helped women build their own water structures – wells, ponds, hand-pumps – and helped them manage these through their own water committees. Thus, SEWA gives poor women control of natural and financial resources.

(Ghai, 1988)

Illustration 2: Participatory Institute for Development Alternatives (PIDA), Sri Lanka

PIDA was established in 1980 as an NGO for the promotion of grass-roots participatory groups. It is an action-research collective with a membership of approximately 15 'animators' working in 40 villages in various locations. PIDA grew out of a UNDP-sponsored project known as the Rural Action Research and Training Project initiated in 1978.

PIDA's main objective is to promote participatory and self-reliant organisations of the rural poor, which can become the main vehicle of their economic and social advancement. The key role in this process is played by the animators. They encourage the villagers with similar backgrounds to come together for informal discussion of their socio-economic situation, the problems they face and the steps they might take to ameliorate their living standards and working conditions. After initiating the process of group discussion and reflection, the

animator attempts progressively to reduce his/her role. They leave it to the villagers themselves to conduct their enquiries, form groups, and take initiatives to strengthen their economic position.

The resultant initiatives have taken a variety of forms. Some groups focused their attention on possible savings from purchases of consumer goods from village stores. They expanded

their activities to procure and distribute a range of basic consumer goods and started savings and credit societies. Those groups, which started on the production front, cut down their cultivation costs through various collective efforts, used spare time to cultivate a common plot of land as a means of increasing their collective funds, initiated actions to develop irrigation facilities and diversify crop patterns, established links with banks to access credit and thus eliminate their dependence on usurer credit, and bargained for improved access to public services.

Some groups began with activities in the field of produce-marketing. They devised collective marketing schemes, explored and discovered new market outlets, de-linked themselves from village traders and other intermediaries, thus increasing their income, and began to store part of some crops so as to take advantage of better prices. Among the groups comprised of waged-labourers, attempts were made to reduce expenditures from their incomes by the formation of informal cooperatives for consumer, credit and savings activities, and to obtain access to land and other productive assets.

(Ghai, 1988)

3.4.3 Influence

The following three illustrations will provide you with an understanding on the influence role of civil society.

Illustration 1: Voluntary Health Association Of India (VHAI), India

The Voluntary Health Association of India (VHAI) is a non-profit, registered society formed in 1970. It is a federation of 27 State Voluntary Health Associations (SVHAs), linking together more than 4500 health care institutions and grass-roots level community health programmes spread across India.

It is one of the world's largest voluntary organisation networks. It was founded to make ‘health a reality for all the people of India’. Its mission is to assist initiatives in the voluntary sector, with community participation, and to promote social justice and human rights while ensuring the distribution of health services in India. The organisation works at both the macro and micro levels. It liaises with health planners, policy-makers, parliamentarians and activists to bring about required changes.

Major programme initiatives have included:

- Strengthening voluntary initiatives in the country through the formation and support of state-level organisations
- Capacity-building of voluntary agencies through formal and non-formal training, awareness-building and orientation programmes
- Producing communication materials to advocate and campaign for people-friendly healthcare systems and services through the mass media, folk theatre, and regular publications
- Policy research along with experts to evolve policies and programmes and suggest viable alternatives to improve people's health

The main focus areas are poverty alleviation, policy advocacy, awareness, health, credit, income-generation, water and sanitation, education and women's empowerment. The target groups comprise Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, backward classes, women, destitute children, landless workers and mine workers. Emphasis has been laid on identifying neglected areas and reaching out to communities in collaboration with other NGOs and state level voluntary health associations. This is called 'KHOJ'. Of the 21 projects initiated in 1993, 9 were phased out by August 2006. Currently 5 projects are being implemented in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Jammu & Kashmir and Sikkim. These projects have been initiated in the remotest parts of India that have no access to health services and basic necessities.

VHAI tries to achieve its goals through campaigns, policy research, advocacy, need-based training, media and parliament interventions, publications and audio visuals, dissemination of information and running of health and development projects in difficult areas. VHAI works for people-centred policies and their effective implementation.

(VHAI, 2014)

Illustration 2: Society for Participatory Research In Asia (PRIA), India

As noted earlier and in Unit 1, the late 1970s saw serious critiques being made of existing development ideology and approach, both nationally and internationally. Grass-roots realities across much of the developing world, including India, revealed that governments were unable to deliver relevant or sustainable development programmes. Yet local level initiatives were becoming successful in raising awareness and mobilising communities to participate in their own development. It was into this milieu, in 1982, that PRIA began its existence. Its founders believed in two principles of development:

- ***Participatory Research*****:** Using the intrinsic value of people's knowledge as the basis for their own empowerment
- ***Participatory Development*****:** Empowering people for designing and implementing their own development plans

These two principles of participation were applied by PRIA to programmes in a variety of settings and contexts: women's education and their livelihoods; forests and the rights of tribals; workers' education and occupational health; and literacy and continuing education. PRIA pioneered a range of methodologies and tools for the empowerment of the marginalised, including participatory training, participatory monitoring and evaluation, and multi-stakeholder dialogue.

After 10 years of development experience at the grass-roots, PRIA concluded that mal-governance was at the core of many ills facing many democratic societies, including that of India. This led the organisation to begin to focus on promoting greater citizen participation in the processes of governance. With this experience and understanding, PRIA described its activities as being focused on Governance Where People Matter. The focus of all PRIA programmes and initiatives is on the poor and the marginalised including women, Dalits, tribals and minorities. The main thrust is on reforming and energising local governance institutions – Panchayati Raj Institutions in rural India and municipalities in urban areas. Capacity-building, knowledge building, and policy advocacy are the three main strategies of PRIA's work within the broad framework of participatory research.

PRIA has also influenced policies relating to participatory development, local self-governance, environmental health, institutional development and other civil society issues. It played an active role in influencing the policies of the World Bank on issues of participation through the NGO Working Group of the World Bank. Together with other organisations, PRIA initiated the establishment of the International Forum of Capacity Building (IFCB). Through membership of a number of committees formed by the Planning Commission of India and Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of India, PRIA has influenced policies concerning Panchayati Raj Institutions, rural development, and the role of CSOs in development and democracy.

(PRIA, 2003)

Illustration 3: *Nai Roshni* - A Self-Help Group In India

Bijora village is located about 7 kms west of the block and district headquarters of Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh state in India. *Nai Roshni*, a self-help group comprised of women from Scheduled Caste families, was formed in late 2000 and was facilitated by Samarthan (an intermediary support CSO based in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh). The group started with 16 members belonging to the same economic class and there have been no dropouts since then. The average age of members is 32 years. Four members in the group do not have any land. Of the remaining 12 members, the smallest landholding is 1 acre and the largest 2.5 acres. The group started by saving Rs.10 per month. The group has received a cash credit limit of Rs.15,000 from the bank. As a result, the group has been able to move in unison and members have been able to successfully increase their savings from Rs.10 to Rs. 25 per

member per month over a period of three years.

Samarthan has assisted *Nai Roshni* to strengthen their capacities to undertake collective action and participate in political process. As a result, *Nai Roshni* has:

Attended and spoken out in the Gram Sabha: Prior to the formation of the group none of the women members had attended the gram sabha. At present all the members of the group have attended the gram sabha at least once. Whenever there is a gram sabha in the village, some members of the group are always present.

Made claims on their rights and entitlements: Bijora faced drought conditions during 2000-03. In 2002 the *Nai Roshni* group placed a demand for a hand pump before the gram sabha. The proposal was passed. The group members discussed this issue with Samarthan, which linked the group to the Public Health and Engineering Department (PHED) under the sector reform programme. The programme required a 10 per cent contribution from the community. The members discussed this proposal and agreed to make the contribution from their group fund, which was deposited with the PHED in June 2002. Yet the pump was subsequently not installed so the group rigorously pursued the issue with the PHED. As a result, by March 2003 the pump was installed. In addition the group has been able to ensure starting the mid-day meal programme in the local school and construction of the boundary wall of the school.

Interfaced with political institutions (the 'sarpanch'): The members of *Nai Roshni* and *Naya Prakash* (the other self-help group) observed that the sarpanch (village head) did not always attend the gram sabha. They confronted her about her absence, but did not get a satisfactory reply. The women of *Nai Roshni* referred this problem to their group facilitator. They wanted to know whether the sarpanch could be removed by the gram sabha. The group was informed about the provisions of the Act related to recall of the sarpanch. This information was used by the women to spread the message in the village that they aspire to use the recall provision. The sarpanch was pressurised and the net result was that she has started attending the gram sabha meetings regularly.

As well as being able to make changes, the self-help groups have increased their self-confidence and group solidarity; secured economic benefits for their members; and emerged as mutual support groups. Within the wider community, they have acted as pressure groups; taken up leadership roles; increased community awareness; mobilised the community about development issues; and contributed to the building of social capital.

(Khanna & Khanna, 2004)

3.2.4 Care And Welfare-Service Delivery, Education And Advocacy Roles Of CSOs

As noted earlier, intermediary CSOs undertake a variety of functions in facilitating development. In the following table, we give examples of how these functions fit with the outline classification outlined earlier in Section 3.4. We encourage you to read further on these organisational initiatives by going to their respective websites.

NOTE BANK **Examples Of Intermediary CSOs In India**	
Care And Welfare	
Disability	• Spastic Society – works with the children with cerebral palsy (CP) • National Association of the Blind – works with people with visual impairment • Help Age India - works for welfare of the elderly
Rehabilitation	• Amar Jyoti Charitable Trust – works to rehabilitate differently abled people • Indian Red Cross Society – works to support victims of natural disasters, refugees, victims of health emergencies, poor
Service Delivery	
Livelihood	• Pradan – works to promote rural initiatives, with special focus on poor people's livelihood
Education	• Pratham – provides primary education
Health	• Child in Need Institute (CINI) – focuses on health and nutrition of women and children
Integrated development	• Gram Vikas – addresses educational needs, food security, preventive and curative health services, community infrastructure, natural resource management of rural poor • Butterfly – provides educational and healthcare support to street children

Education And Advocacy	
Conscientisation and mobilisation	• Ekta Parishad – working to achieve social, political, and economic change through nonviolent and democratic means • Pipal Tree – working on communal harmony and peace • Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS) – working to generate awareness on consumer rights
Networking	• Voluntary Action Network India (VANI) – works for national advocacy on issues and policies to promote voluntary action in the civil society sector • Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) – promotes cooperation and understanding among voluntary agencies working for rural communities
Policy Advocacy	• National Centre for Advocacy Studies (NCAS) – strengthens capacity of voluntary groups to advocate on issues of public concern • Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) – works towards promotion of human rights education and advocacy • People for Ethical Treatment of Animal (PETA), India –works towards establishing and defending rights of all animals • Multiple Action Research Group (MARG) – is engaged in social-legal research to facilitate advocacy on issues concerning the poor and disadvantaged
Support	• Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) – works towards promoting environmentally sound and equitable development strategies through policy research, advocacy, education, training, and documentation

THINK TANK

List up to five features of any of the illustrations that impress you most:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Now list up to five features of any of the illustrations that give you cause for concern:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

3.3 Emerging Issues And Challenges

3.3.1 The Impact

The illustrations and tables in the previous section illustrate just a few of the important contributions made by civil society in development.

Against that backdrop, let us now go back to the UNRISD study referred to earlier (Fowler, 2000). It set out a daunting list of expectations that donor and other agencies have of what NGDOs (intermediary CSOs) might contribute to development. Having set out the expectations, the study went on to try to determine the extent to which NGDOs, through their actual practice, had met them.

The key findings are shown in the following table:

Table II: Key findings

Expectations Of NGDOS Compared To Achievements	
Expectation	**Achievements**
Tangible impact on reducing poverty	• Some, but by no means the majority, of NGDO projects have a positive, enduring influence on narrow aspects of human well-being. Holistic change is the exception, not the rule • The scale of direct NGDO outreach, mainly in service provision, is probably stable, reaching about 15–20% of the world's poor. However, this does not necessarily mean the poorest and most vulnerable – targeting remains a problem • NGDO substitution for reduction in state services is on the increase, but most cannot be maintained without aid • Gender sensitivity of NGDOs is over-estimated • Overall there is scant firm evidence to support high expectations about NGDO impact on sustained poverty reduction, as opposed to evidence about their efforts and project outputs
Civic impact	• Available sources suggest this is not yet an area of substantial achievement. Specifically, NGDO-supported groups tend to

	remain isolated from each other and from other civic formations. Mobilisation or aggregations of local organisations into substantive civic actors has been poor • It is difficult to find examples of substantial NGDO influence on social integration or on political inclusiveness at national level • There is growing success in fostering inclusion and civic influence on local government
Sustainability	• NGDO development interventions too seldom lead to sustained change after completion • Ongoing provision of development services is aid-dependent, with little sign of economic 'rooting'. However, NGDOs in a few countries in Latin America and South and East Asia are showing signs of local economic embedding • A consistent estimate is that 90-95 per cent of Southern NGDOs would disappear without international aid • Levels of Northern NGOs dependency on official aid are uneven, but the average is edging above 50 per cent • Significant efforts to diversify and localise the resource base, especially in the South, are showing modest incremental success • A substantial fee-for-service income is not yet a viable option • There is a trend for NGDOs to initiate credit programmes as a strategy for their own sustainability
Policy leverage	• Primarily because of more inclusive policies and growth in NGDO capacity – as opposed to widespread civic mobilisation – they are increasingly recognised as policy actors in many areas of social development, nationally and internationally • Concern is being raised about NGDO legitimacy and accountability as policy actors – creating a 'backlash' from governments in the South • There is also disquiet about NGDOs using multilateral bodies to gain leverage on their own governments. This can undermine local political processes, erode sovereignty and weaken (local) government ownership of initiatives
Acting as watchdogs	• Success in policy influence is tempered by cautionary experience of NGDO ability to exact national compliance with

	international agreements and conventions • NGDOs with a human rights agenda are becoming numerous
Influence on the official aid system	• Though uneven across governments, donor agencies and topics, there are signs of positive learning from NGDO experience • NGDOs demonstrate significant and increasing influence in policy reform of aid agencies • Improving government and donor effectiveness in social development has shifted from learning about what is best practice to actually implementing the organisational changes needed to put such knowledge into practice. Here there is some (decentralised) progress
Integrity and values	• Endemic corruption attributed to governments is not a common feature of NGDOs, but instances of malfeasance do occur • NGDO growth is supply-led and entrepreneurial, the more so where civil servants are being made redundant • Voluntary values are giving way to a contract culture, incentives and organisational behaviour • The purpose and morality of many newly established NGDOs in the South is raising concern
Public support for aid	• There is no correlation between aid levels (as percentage of GDP) and public support for development assistance in donor countries • National aid allocations fluctuate irrespective of levels of development education and public understanding and motivation
(Fowler, 2000)	

The study's overall conclusion was:

*"*Overall, the NGDO contribution to social change, in its many aspects, is certainly there to be seen. However it is not as substantial as some might imagine. Nor is it as good qualitatively as NGDOs themselves would like... However NGDOs alone may not be able to do very much to increase their effectiveness... substantial improvement will require complementary action by others…" (Fowler, 2000, p. 19).

Another, earlier review of literature on non-state provision of state services revealed that there is incomplete coverage, amateurism, high-turnover, duplication, issues of sustainability, and problems of equitable distribution (Robinson & White, 1997).

3.3.2 Constraints

According to the UNRISD study, the 'complementary action' needed to address the external constraints acting upon NGDOs, would include the following:

- Macro-environmental constraints, including government suspicion, economic mis-management and poor governance (see Unit 2);
- The growing dominance of donor funding that works, by nature, against employing best or appropriate practices (see Unit 2);
- Too rapid NGDO expansion due to accelerated availability of official aid; and
- Under and poor investment in NGDO capacity-building (which we will examine in more detail in Unit 5)

3.3.3 Strategies And Questions For The Future

The Role Of Intermediary CSOs

At the same time, development-focused intermediary-CSOs need to take their own actions to deal with the weaknesses and issues described above. Key strategies that have been suggested would need to include the following (Edwards & Hulme, 2000):

*Cooperation with and influence upon government***:** Working with and within government structures to influence policy and systems. This would include making government bureaucracies more responsive to grassroots needs and participatory development strategies. Those who feel that CSOs should never 'tarnish' themselves by working with government in any way need to face up to this issue (see Units 4 and 5).

Operational expansion: This approach will be evident in a number of the case studies in Section 2, and is most evident in the diversification of activities seen in SEWA and the Grameen Bank, and the growth of Pratham and VHAI. Those who feel that expansion would adversely affect such strengths and comparative advantages of civil society as strong relationship with the community, capacity to experiment, and flexibility in operations need to face up to this issue.

National and international networking and advocacy: Such is the scale of poverty there is a clear need for CSOs to network and advocate at a global level in order to share experience with others, learn from them, and create global forces among northern and southern NGOs that can have an impact on and influence development policy among donors and other governments. Those who see 'globalisation' as something to be resisted at all costs need to engage with it and shape it (see Unit 6).

Strengthening through building networks and movements: While many CSOs cherish their independence, they must beware of this translating into isolationism and seeing others as 'competitors' (see Unit 5).

The Role Of Other CSOs

As has been noted, there is need for better recognition and documentation of the development work of other types of CSOs, such as membership, religious and traditional associations. Though a start has been made, much more needs to be done. In addition it also becomes the responsibility of these CSOs to more proactively engage in facilitating just and equitable development.

The Role Of Civil Society As A Sector

Two central questions concerning civil society's current and future role in development are as follows:

1. To what extent should civil society actors, and the sector as a whole, replace the state in promoting development? In this respect consider the case of Pratham. Is education a state function or not? Why should it need the impetus

clearly being given by Pratham, and the human and financial resources it is clearly mobilising?

2. Is enough thought being given by civil society actors on the extent to which they can replace the market and the private sector? In this respect, consider the banks that have been established and are run by SEWA and Grameen and are 'owned' through them, by the people themselves. And consider the other companies they have established. Is civil society, in other words, being entrepreneurial enough?

So, in conclusion, the challenge is not just to respond to this view...

"NGOs, as one set of associations within an empirical 'civil society', need to develop their own theoretical, normative, and political critique of the global order and the discourses of 'development'" () in order to improve practice and promote debate (Pearce, 2000, p. 37).

…….but go beyond the critique of what 'exists' to that of developing new models of the ways things 'should be'.

THINK TANK

You are one of the civil society members of a committee established by the government to develop 'key underlying principles for development work among marginalised people'.

What principles would you put forward?

Summary

Unit 3 provided an orientation to the concept of development and its historical linkages with civil society. CSOs have involved themselves with the process of development and have contributed to it. But, in the process, CSOs also face many issues and challenges.

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