

Chapter Two

Transnational Advocacy Networks: Strengths and Crises

2.0 Introduction

This chapter entails an analysis of the scope and significance of TNANs with a special emphasis on the aspects of their advocacy and legitimation crises affecting them. I begin by situating the topic in the context of economic globalisation and its discriminatory effects on marginalised sections of the society, especially in the South. I then trace parallels between the processes of economic globalisation and the continuing process of colonialism in the form of the dominant economic narrative and praxis of globalisation. The challenges to identities and cultures of people due to the controlling effects of globalisation are highlighted. Focussing upon S-N inequalities and differences around various related issues among grassroots movements in the South and TNANs in the North prepares the way to arrive at the main crises affecting the legitimacy of the activities of TNANs: their *lack of contact with the grass roots* and the correlated crisis of *the remnants and remains of colonial thinking and action*. The overall aim in this chapter is to establish the importance of tackling these, and similar, legitimation crises affecting advocacy work.

2.0.1 Transnational Advocacy Networks

TNANs in the field of human rights, environment and women's rights that emerged in the early 1970s, have been rapidly gaining in importance since the early 1990s. Although the sociology of these emergent social forms; movements; networks; organizations, is still in the earlier phases, there is progressive consensus that these forms are the channels of most serious efforts to globalise from below. Under the rubric of TNANs I include north American and central European governmental and non-governmental initiatives as well as initiative of persons and communities „advocating” the cause of justice on behalf of the marginalised and dominated populations in the Southern hemisphere (See Table Four on p. 55, below, for a sampling of TNANs). They are called advocacy networks because “they plead the causes of others or defend a cause or proposition”(Keck & Sikkink, 1988:8). They have been mostly active around “value-laden” debates regarding human rights, the environment, women, infant health and indigenous peoples. A decisive representation of groups or persons from the South, until today, in such western networks has been at a minimum. Keck and Sikkink (*ibid.*) describe such movements as a conglomeration of

international and domestic nongovernmental research and advocacy organisations, and local social movements like the one by peasants in Latin America (Naples & Desai, 2002). The problem is that studies such as of Keck and Sikkink give minimum attention to the cultural imperialism exercised by northern movement organisers over the South. What they have insufficiently examined is the colonial remains in the thinking and action of the networks that are dominated by the West. They do mention the possibility of such criticism and raise such criticism against their own research: “where we see links among activists from different nationalities and cultures, others may see cultural imperialism-attempts to impose Western values and culture upon societies that neither desire nor benefit from them. Are ‘moral’ campaigns just thinly disguised efforts by one group to gain its interest and impose its will on another?”(Keck & Sikkink, *ibid*: 40). I count myself among those who investigate the remains of imperialist thinking and action in such networks.

The work of Keck and Sikkink and others has been groundbreaking in understanding the origins and the current situation of TNANs.³⁶ I am indebted to them for understanding the origins and the historical background for the emergence of TNANs. At no point do I say that such studies are not effective. My argument is that we need to inquire deeper into the motives and advocacy methods employed by some components of the TNANs when they act on behalf of Southern, marginalised communities. Keck and Sikkink attempt to explain this problem from a historical perspective. It remains an exclusively western, European or American perspective. This perspective, however, is not enough while examining the linkages to Southern grass roots and the problem of ‘cultural imperialism’. The Southern perspective, and constructive critique regarding advocacy of TNANs in the North is missing. It is my attempt here to contribute to such missing dimensions. There is much to be reflected upon the philosophical and cultural issues playing a role in advocacy work on behalf of the South.

³⁶ See, Politische Partizipation und Protest Mobilisierung im Zeitalter der Globalisierung. Papers presented at an International Conference, Berlin: WZB, 30 June-July 1, 2000. Organised jointly by the Wissenschaftlichenzentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, AK Soziale Bewegungen der DPWV, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung and the Otto-Brenner-Stiftung.

Also, see, Dominanz des Nordens? Akteure und Praxisfelder internationaler Zivilgesellschaft. Papers presented at an International Conference, Berlin: WZB, 2-3 July 2004. Organised jointly by the Wissenschaftlichenzentrum, für Sozialforschung, Berlin; AK Soziale Bewegungen der DPWV, *et al*.

The papers presented at these two Conferences deal with the latest stand on the issues that I am referring to-however from a largely European perspective.

Name (Originating Land)	Aims
Amnesty International (United States)	Eradication of Torture-Worldwide
Green Peace (Canada)	Environmental Protection-Worldwide
Human Rights Watch (United states)	Protection of Human rights-Worldwide
Adveniat (Catholic Bishops- Germany)	Human Rights in Latin America
Bread for the World (Evangelical Church-Germany)	Justice in the South

Table Four. A Sample of Transnational Advocacy Networks³⁷

A closer look at the countries of origins and aims of a sample of TNANs in table Four will help one see the worldwide dimensions of their self-defined tasks. The stated aims of such organisations advocate for human rights and justice in its various dimensions. Humanitarian or religious issues motivate them. In a continuously declining role of the nation-state in conducting the affairs of its subjects, there is increasing importance of TNANs as players in any new architecture of global governance (Keohane, 1995; Rosenau, 1997; Ruggie, 1993). In recent years, interesting literature on the rise of TNANs has been emerging. It traces the origins of these movements and explains the current situation (Khagram et al, 2002; Naples&Desai, 2002; Smith: 2001; Keck&Sikkink: 1998). Therefore, I do not repeat the history of these networks. I would rather explore the challenges TNANs face in being effective and responsible for the nature of advocacy on behalf of the poor. What is insufficiently dealt with in studies until now is the link between economic globalisation and its divorce from the identity and cultural aspects of marginalised individuals and populations. There is an emerging analysis in this regard both from Northern and Southern authors, political and social analysts, especially from the post-colonial point of view (Jameson & Miyoshi, 1999. In this, see esp. Sklair: 291-311; Martinez-Alier: 312-26). It is important to critique these existing views and develop a perspective highlighting the needs and challenges for improving advocacy on a transnational level. This would offer improved opportunities for marginalised individuals and communities in the South to make their voices heard more clearly on the international arena: In order to arrive at the role played by TNANs and to crystallise the crises affecting their legitimation we need to put these movements in context, namely, globalisation. Globalisation needs to be looked at from the perspective of the challenges it poses to identity formation and related mechanisms of marginalisation.

³⁷ Detailed aims, origins and constitutions of the above mentioned organisations could be found in their respective websites. These websites have been the source of constructing this table.

2.1 Globalisation

Although cross-frontier trade is as old as humanity itself, globalisation as a synonym for trade and business without borders came into currency only in early 1990s. The dialogue and co-ordination between nations, international organs like the WB, IMF, GATT, WTO (the successor to GATT) and the multi-national corporations (henceforth MNCs) in the background contributed to globalisation becoming a force to be reckoned with (Fonseca, 1997). There has been increasing amount of literature about the crises created by globalisation on many levels and issues ranging from ecology to poverty (Greider, 1997; Garten, 1997; Soros, 1998).³⁸ My specific interest and contribution to this debate is to continue deepening the discriminatory effects of globalisation being forced upon by capital and bureaucracy on individuals and identities of marginalised people: Are the benefits of open market mechanism shared equally? What about the identity of growing numbers of economically disadvantaged and people rendered “invisible” by this process? These are the questions that have been neglected and pushed aside by international bodies like the IMF and the WB. Although, being instituted to be protectors and propagators of a just and equitable distribution of wealth among the nations, they are playing into the hands of multinational forces. The protests in recent years at Seattle, Davos and Washington and other places against such multinational economic powers, devising purportedly economic solutions to the problems in the South, show this shady side of the nicely packaged product called globalisation (Klein, 2001; 2002).³⁹ Naomi Klein, the renowned critique of multinationals, an able reporter of such protests and a succinct analyst of the negative effects of economic globalisation, describes these protests in the following manner:

By focusing on global corporations and their impact around the world this activist network is fast becoming the most internationally minded, globally linked movement ever seen. There are no more faceless Mexicans or Chinese workers stealing “our” jobs, in part because those workers’ representatives are now on the same e-mail lists and at the same conference as Western activists, and many even travelled to Seattle to join demonstrations...When protestors shout about the evils of globalisation, most are not calling for a return to narrow nationalism but for the borders of globalisation to be expanded, for trade to be linked to labour rights, environmental protection and democracy (Klein: 2002:4-5).⁴⁰

The above citation from Klein is noteworthy for describing the transnationality of protests and the call for connecting economic globalisation to human rights. However, Klein, in her work, fails to examine tensions between activists from the South and the North. The

³⁹ Two issues of *The Economist*, from the 11th September and 11 December 1999 give a good exposure to the critics of NGOs and other grass roots groups to globalisation.

⁴⁰ Further information on such anti-globalisation protests and counter summits can be found in the following websites: www.tao.ca ; www.indymedia.org.

Western activists are not free from the remains of colonial impacts on their thinking and action when they relate to Southern individuals and institutions. These tensions will be examined further in this chapter and throughout this dissertation. Here I continue with the effects of the dominant economic narrative of globalisation.

Some argue that there is no such thing as globalisation. They see it as a process that has been happening since centuries.⁴¹ A further position affirms the relationship between globalisation and the world market, the ultimate horizon of capitalism, with the current international networks being only different in degree and not in kind. Some others recognise a new or third multinational stage of capitalism, of which globalisation is an intrinsic feature being associated by some with “postmodernity”(ibidem.). This complex and intriguing process of globalisation is on the one hand deplored and on the other hand celebrated for the “new freedoms” of the post-modern era and the post-modern outlook: new technological revolutions vis-à-vis the passing of the splendours of the modern glories and possibilities in the arts, disappearance of history as the fundamental element in which humans exist and signalling the end of a “modernist field of political struggle in which great ideologies still had the force and authority of the great religions in earlier times”(ibid., 59). However, exclusive economic globalisation has only made the divide between North and South, the privileged and the underprivileged, even clearer and wider than before. The UN Conference on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002 focused on the “global apartheid” in the sense of a rich-poor divide which needs to be urgently tackled.⁴²

2.1.1 Globalisation and Development Work

In the field of developmental work there are two kinds of reactions to the process: an uncritical acceptance and a total rejection, which highlight the ambiguity of this process

When it was introduced in 1991 openly in India the statement that was made, “Oh, East India Company is coming back”. Because we are relating globalisation with the past and the East

⁴¹ Wolf, Eric. Europe and the People without History. Berkeley: no pub details, 1982 gives a glimpse into the second argument in the sense of showing “that neolithic trade routes have been global in their scope, with Polynesian artefacts deposited in Africa and Asian potsherds as far afield as the New World”. This quote is from Jameson, Frederic. “Notes on Globalisation as a Philosophical issue” in Jameson & Miyoshi (eds.). The Cultures of Globalisation, *ibid.*

⁴² See, Le Monde diplomatique(Ed.). Atlas der Globalisierung. Berlin: Le Monde diplomatique/taz Verlags- und Vertriebs GmbH, 2003. Originally published as: Radvanyi et al (eds.) L’Atlas du Monde diplomatique. Paris : Le Monde diplomatique, 2003. In the chapter, „Bruttosozialprodukt und globales Wohlstandgefälle“ (pp. 46ff), one can find the growing rift between the richer and poorer nations.

India Company that came to colonize. And that is how it was looked at for sometime, before new information started coming in, and then we find that, of course, it may be bad, but there is something good also. And that is how the openness starts (SV6: 51-515).⁴³

While the above citation refers to the opinions of an elite international NGO in India, the following citation comes from a grassroots oriented NGO activist:

An American foundation was saying that there are bad things of globalization, but also globalization can at the same time be used effectively for the advancement of people. So once globalization is a reality there may be a possibility to use it in a better way so that people's benefit comes out of it instead of the detrimental effect, which the corporate sector is making. The foundation proposed that they will give 20 lakh rupees for this project. . This Foundation's formula is very clear: So 20 lakh rupees means they don't want you. They want, you know, academics, institutions to take up this project...they want to know through the Foundation, the corporate sector of the world, they want to know, the WTO or G7 or any other institution, they want to know what are the positive things that the academics or research institutions think in the Southern countries about globalization, so that tomorrow, in the advertisements, if you see, they are highlighted... Okay so that the whole Globalization process gets rationality... So the British presence in India might have benefited also, okay, that doesn't rationalize the British presence in India. Now Globalization may have some advantages, but that doesn't mean that Globalization should be an accepted reality...Okay, but it doesn't mean that many of the academicians and institutions and academics gave up this one...They will not mention the negative positions because they are in a project. Okay, 20 lakh Rupees will give them lot of computers, lot of cars, you know, freedom from financial liabilities and therefore they cannot give it up. So, this is detrimental. You are losing a good chunk of your academics and research institutions that maybe a potential force in your dissenting voices. So these are the detrimental kinds of reality, I am giving you the examples (SV4: 496ff)

The opinion of SV6 is a typical example of those who, perhaps, naively or even with the view of upholding their economic and dominant status quo openly support economic globalisation and liberalisation. SV4 on the other hand, owing to his grassroots orientation and a critical stand against economic globalisation, is even ready to forego financial benefits from international funding agencies trying to strategically spread economic globalisation in the South. This critical stand provides a good atmosphere and a starting point for the critic I raise in the whole chapter as to the colonisation of the lives of marginalised people through economic globalisation. Such critical voices were often raised in other interviews with theorists and activists in India and Germany alike (See SV1: 19-35 ; SV2: 181-203; SV8: 277ff; NV9: 407ff).

⁴³ From this section on there are occasional, relevant citations from the interviews I conducted with theorists and activists in India and Germany. The complete texts of the transcribed texts are available with me, serving as an archive and can be made available to interested researchers on demand. However, see the Appendix Two at the end of this text to understanding the citations and characteristics of the persons cited.

2.1.1.1 Economic Globalisation and Continuing Colonialism

Globalisation is also seen as a communicational concept, which alternately masks and transmits cultural or economic meanings. However, the novelty of this communicational breakthrough is the acquisition of a whole new cultural dimension: “the communicational signifier has been endowed with a more properly cultural signified or signification”. This is apparent in the novelty of the present communicational concept being in technology and not information. It is seen in the “slip” into ads and publicity, export of TV programs rather than startling reports from remote places. Another “slippage” takes the “economic” dimension: “the ostensibly communicational concept has secretly been transformed into a vision of the world market and its newfound interdependence, a global division of labour on an extraordinary scale, new electronic trade routes tirelessly plied by commerce and finance alike”(Jameson & Miyoshi, *ibid.*56). Miyoshi (in Jameson & Miyoshi, *ibid.*: 247ff) makes three significant points in this regard: firstly, the conditions of the so-called globalised economy as an outgrowth of colonialism; secondly, its effects on local culture and thirdly, the position the University occupies in today’s world economy. What interests me at this point of our discussion is to affirm Miyoshi’s view that the globalised economy is another form of classical colonialism. The point about the effects of globalisation on identity and the effects on educational structures would be taken up in the discussion in later sections of this chapter. At this point I explain the complexities involved in economic globalisation and their relation to TNANs. Although most social movements have emerged in the context of the nation-state this has now changed giving way to TNANs as a concrete result of such processes of globalisation.⁴⁴ It is necessary, therefore, to understand globalisation in such a form that it helps us improve the workings of TNANs and in turn assists us in resisting it through efforts on the local level. One conception of globalisation, in terms of the Global Systems Theory, would help us in this direction. I explain it briefly highlighting points which bring out the importance of resisting globalisation locally.

2.1.2 Global Systems Theory

The central idea in globalisation is that contemporary problems need to be studied, not from a nation-state point of view in terms of international relations, but on a global, transnational level. In the last few decades, two new phenomena have become important.

⁴⁴ Refer to Tilly, Charles. “Models and Realities of Popular Collective Action” in: *Social Research*, 52(4): 717-47. Also see. Touraine, Allen. “An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements” in: *Social Research*, 52(4): 749-88.

Firstly, there have been qualitative and quantitative changes in transnational corporations (henceforth TNCs) through the processes of globalisation of capitalism and production. Secondly, there has been a huge growth in technological base and the accompanying global scope of the mass media. This makes it important to study global economy and society globally and nationally. There are several models of globalisation theory and research, but I confine myself to describing one such model, namely the global system theory,⁴⁵ in brief, to allow us to proceed with our study of advocacy in the context of globalisation. I choose this method because it offers us an opportunity to get beyond the dominance of the economic narrative in the debate about global capitalism and grassroots advocacy. It further helps us deal with the cultural and political aspects in global processes and the corresponding efforts, or non-efforts, of TNANs in this field.

2.1.2.1 The Three Spheres of the Global System

Global Systems Theory works on the assumption that there exist transnational practices, which cross state boundaries, but do not necessarily originate from state agencies or actors. They operate on three different spheres: economic, political and cultural-ideological. A brief look at these processes prepares the way for a closer look at the building blocks of global system theory.

In the global capitalist system the *economic* sphere for the workers is limited. Although workers produce goods and services directly, their occupational choices are so organised that they are generally free within the range offered by the class structures in national capitalism. Correspondingly, they have very little access to the *political* sphere or, in other words, their inclusion in political life is unimportant for the system. In most countries, for instance, it is not necessary by law that they vote, although in democracies, the politicians need to mobilise them to cast their votes. However, interestingly, in the *culture-ideology sphere* the global capitalists seek total inclusion, especially of the subordinate working classes. This is with the aim of inducing people to consume above their biological needs to serve the aims of private profit making. The philosophy propagated through this is that the possession of things gives meaning to life. The culture ideology of consumerism thrives by

⁴⁵ The main sources of the Global Systems Theory approach are summarised and discussed in Mc Graw, Tony. "A Global Society", in *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: No. Pub., 1992. Also see Sklair, Leslie. "Globalisation: New Approaches to Social Change" in: Taylor, Steve (Ed.). *Contemporary Sociology* (Ed.). London: No. Pub., 1998. Also see, Sklair, Leslie. "Social Movements and Global Capitalism" in: Jameson & Miyoshi (Eds.), *ibid*: 291-311.

making people believe that consumption makes people fully alive and therefore continuous consumption means continuous life at its fullest. The economic and political nature of individuals is undermined in this way of making people primarily “consumers” while in reality humans are a complex of material and spiritual aspects, and primarily non-consumerist.⁴⁶ So, the economic sphere of the global capitalist system makes sure that there are resources for consumption while the political sphere ensures maintenance of the conditions for consumption.

This is where the importance of re-linking culture and economy comes to the fore. TNCs, serving the interests of the transnational capitalist class, undermine the cultural and political “beingness” of the underprivileged and promote the culture-ideology of consumerism. The task of TNANs would therefore be to integrate the political and cultural spheres back into the lives and identities of people, currently dominated by the sphere of economy. Unfortunately, most TNANs stress so much of the anti-capitalist in their campaigns that they fail to see the needs and possibilities of resistance in the cultural and political spheres of the marginalised.⁴⁷ Naomi Klein comes close to defining such linkages:

In the name of meeting the demands of multinational investors, Governments the world over were failing to meet the needs of the people who elected them. Some of these unmet needs were basic and urgent-for medicines, housing, land water; some of these needs were less tangible-*for non-commercial cultural spaces to communicate, gather and share*, whether on the Internet, the public airwaves or the streets. Underpinning it all was the betrayal of the fundamental need for democracies that are responsive and participatory, not bought and paid for by Environ or the International Monetary Fund (Klein, *ibid*: xiv).

2.1.3 Globalisation as an Ideology: Cultural or Economic?

Historically, ideology was attributed with many meanings. Often, however, it “refers to the ways in which signs, meanings and values help to reproduce a dominant social power; but it can also denote any significant conjuncture between discourse and political interests”

⁴⁶ There are alternative approaches, which propagate views that counter this reduction of humans to being mere consumers. These approaches affirm two interacting aspects of human nature: the product of the processes of *material* evolution with survival as its basic objective and *spiritual* nature, with infinite potentialities for qualities such as love, justice and generosity. This principle is followed by the foundation FUNDAEC (*Fundación para la Aplicación y Enseñanza de las Ciencias*), promoting alternative educational methods in rural areas since 1972. See their website: www.fundaec.org. I thank Ilka Blumenauer, one of the participants in my Course (SoSe2004) at the Free University, Berlin, “Social Suffering, Socialisation and Critical Learning” for this source.

⁴⁷ For a compilation of powerful and pithy texts to show up the potential for resistance and change in the culture sphere of the oppressed, see Duncombe, Stephen. *Cultural Resistance Reader*. New York: Verso, 2002.

(Eagleton, 1991: 1-61).⁴⁸ Therefore, it can be a simple attempt to convey a particular idea. It could also mean an attempt at reproducing dominant social powers. The latter of the two concepts of ideology is definitely true in the case of globalisation, as I will demonstrate further in the chapter. It is, therefore, necessary to examine globalisation and its components closely. The media, politicians and multinationals often present it as the panacea for all the world's problems. Ideologically, in the sense of imposing the ideas and interests of dominant powers, globalisation contains many propositions, which are flagrantly false. It is imperative to become aware of the dangers of globalisation, especially its dominance in the economic aspects, to arrive at a better understanding of the scope of TNANs (Stiglitz, 2002).

The proponents of the ideology of economic globalisation, regardless of the cultural and political oppression it causes, use its ideology to colonise and control reality by universalising and homogenising its values. This is achieved through rationalisation and legitimisation processes enforced through their rhetoric, coupled with state politics and media coverage. Joseph Stiglitz, one of the astute critics of Globalisation, speaking of how international economic institutions rejected all other learning other than their economic ideology, put it this way:

The IMF felt it had little need to take these *lessons* on board because it knew the answers; if economic science did not provide them, ideology-*the simple belief in free markets*-did. Ideology provides a lens through which one sees the world; a set of beliefs that are held so firmly that one hardly needs empirical confirmation. Evidence that contradicts those beliefs is summarily dismissed. For the believers in free and unfettered markets, capital market liberalisation was obviously desirable; one didn't need evidence that it promoted growth. Evidence that it caused instability would be dismissed as merely one of the adjustment costs, part of the pain that had to be accepted in the transition to a market economy”(Stiglitz, *ibid*: 222, *italics mine*).

Certain instruments of such an ideology of globalisation will be clarified in the course of this work. For the moment, I continue discussing the cultural and economic components of globalisation.

The differentiation in the cultural and economic aspects in the process of globalisation would help one “debate and dialogue” its ideology. Insisting on the cultural contents, one

⁴⁸ Eagleton presents a comprehensive critique of different interpretations of *ideology*. He specifies six different functions of ideology: *unifying, action-oriented, rationalizing, legitimating, universalising and naturalising*.

Also see the forthcoming book of Freire, *Ideology Matters* (Publication details can be eventually obtained over the website, www.amazon.de)

enters the post-modern celebration of difference and differentiation, cultural pluralism resulting from the worldwide contact of cultures. However, beyond this cultural difference “is a celebration of the emergence of a whole immense range of groups, races, genders, ethnicities, into the speech of the public sphere; a falling away of those Eurocentric structures that condemned whole segments of the population to silence and to *subalternity* (Aschroft et al, 1998: 79,215-19).⁴⁹ It is a sort of popular democratisation having to do with the evolution of the media, but also immediately expressed in the richness and variety of cultures in the new world space.

On the contrary, when we see globalisation only from an economic point of view as is unfortunately done also in analysing S-N justice issues today, the picture is a gloomy, homogenising identity, rather than the joyous difference and heterogeneity evident in the cultural view. It produces a forced integration into a world-system from which “de-linking” is henceforth impossible, unthinkable and inconceivable (Amin, 1990). However, these cultural and economic points of view are not logically incompatible and seem to be dialectically related-at least, negatively. When we closely examine identity on the cultural realm, “what will be affirmed...is the worldwide Americanisation, Europeanisation or standardisation of cultures, the destruction of local differences, and the massification of all the peoples on the planet”(Jameson in Jameson & Miyoshi, *ibid.* 57). Through projecting the difference on the cultural realm on to the economic, rhetoricians of the market “reassure us as to the richness of the new free market all over the world: the increase in sheer productivity that open markets will lead to, the transcendental satisfaction that human beings have finally begun to grasp exchange, the market, and capitalism as their most fundamental human possibilities and the surest sources of freedom.” (*ibidem.*). These delicate and intricate manipulations of identities and cultures of the marginalised involved in economic globalisation need to be kept in mind while challenging the negative homogenising tendencies in globalisation.

⁴⁹ In the context of the dissertation, I use the term *subalternity* to refer to the marginalised populations in the South who are now attempting to organise their own identities as a follow-up to rejecting the negative identities imposed upon them by dominant European ideologies. The original meaning of subalternity is “of inferior rank”, a term adopted by Gramsci referring to groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling class. Subaltern is otherwise; also used in current literature to refer to include peasants, workers and other marginalised groups denied access to hegemonic power. Also see, Spivak, Gayatri Chakraborty. “Can the Subaltern speak? Speculations on Widow Sacrifice” in: *Wedge* (7) 8 (Winter/Spring).

2.1.3.1 Neo-colonialism Through Transcorporatism

One of the obvious effects of economic globalisation is neo-colonialism. 85 percent of the earth's land was under colonial subjugation and domination until 1945, when after the war the hegemony shifted from Britain to the United States. Although the war ended in a complete triumph of the United States, it did not guarantee lasting economic prosperity, and a second depression loomed large before the United States policy makers, who replaced human rights concerns with outright power tactics.⁵⁰ This made possible United States interventions in different parts of the world that resulted in large-scale wars. It also strategically inaugurated the "cold war" (Chomsky, 1993). Concurrent with the launching of the cold war was the liberation of many colonies. However, the cold war was a mechanism of a larger Anglo-American policy of "third-world, or global containment". This cold war strategy proved a great success in the 50s and the 60s with the national security system, in the form of the Defence Department playing the role of the industrial planning agency. In the 60s and 70s, huge corporations transferred their productions abroad beginning the era of transnational corporatism. In the 80s, transnational corporatism took its stronghold under Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Presidents Reagan and Bush in the United States. This was even more relentless after the fall of the Soviet Union. Capitalism meant transnationalism; privatisation was the key, downsizing big government at the cost of responsibility for the public became the trend resulting in reduction of public expenditures except for defence. Profit and production are currently the universal goals. Nothing is ignored which would maximise personal and private gains

In a bid to cut labour costs, corporations downsized their operations resulting in layoffs, greater dividends and executive pay and a drastic disparity in wages. The outfall of this downsizing and disparity in pay had another unjust side to it. It replaced unionised American labourers with "cheap overseas workers unprotected by civil rights, human rights, environmental concerns and feminist consciousness" (Miyoshi, *ibid.* 257).

⁵⁰ The following, now, often quoted statement of George Kennan in an internal top-secret paper shows the priorities of the US post-war policy: "we have about 50 percent of the world's wealth, but only 6.3 percent of its population... In this situation, we... (must) devise a pattern of relationship which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity without positive detriment to our national security. To do so, we will have to dispense with all sentimentality and day-dreaming... We should cease to talk about vague and - for the Far East - unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards and democratisation. The day is not far off when we are going to deal in straight power concepts". This is a citation from the U.S. Department of State, *State Department Policy Planning Study 23*, 24 February 1948 quoted in: Miyoshi, *ibid.* 253-54.

Outsourcing was combined with an even more dangerous source of loss of labour-“automation”. Even racial motives encouraged this trend of automation: Japan, for instance, fearing the pollution of its mythical pure blood by imported aliens undertook huge steps to develop cybernetic engineering. Chomsky’s analysis of economic globalisation shows further as to how economic ties between nations are a continuation of the conquest of the North over the South.

The leftovers and patterns of such colonial thinking and action are also ingrained in the affluent classes in the colonised world - a sort of internalised form of domination: a classic example is the caste-system in India. While in India it is the caste-system (which I will elaborate in later sections), in countries of the Latin America and the Caribbean it is manifested in the colonising, slave holding, enslaving, demanding and delegating mentalities of the elites. Such forms of relationships in the society “never promote persons, communities or peoples to the role of subjects of their own development. On the contrary it perpetuates dependency and subservience of some and the domination and arrogance of others”. We need to examine therefore, as to how, economic control of individual lives and populations leads to marginalisation (Arruda, 1996:29).

Further exploration and description of how this continued colonialism takes place is described in subsequent, relevant sections of this dissertation. At this point, however, I switch over to the effects of such neo-colonial practices, concretely, as to how it leads to marginalisation of specific underprivileged groups.

2.2 Mechanism for Marginalisation –Feminist Critique of the Economic Narrative

De-coupling the narrative on globalisation from a merely economic point of view has parallels in the progressive, feminist critique of following a “capitalist” view of economy. They call for the recognition of a complex and differentiated economy and criticise the exclusion of economic actors whose hidden practices of production are undervalued or obscured. In the process of differentiating economy and its varied effects, Saskia Sassen describes the basic transformation that took place in the organisation of urban economy in the last twenty years:

In the last twenty years we have seen the expulsion and continuing exclusion from the centre of significant components of the economy and a sharp increase in earnings inequality. Yet many of these components are actually servicing the centre. Exclusion from the centre makes economic survival precarious both for firms and workers. It also tends to make them either invisible

or appear as backward, unnecessary, and anachronistic. These devalorized components/subjects need to be recovered, and the centre therewith transformed, brought down. This eviction and devaluing are embedded in a sharp demographic transformation as well; the growing presence of women, immigrants and people of colour generally in the urban economy...How do we valorise the evicted components of the economy in a system that values the centre? How do we construct a narrative, which includes rather than evict? (Sassen in Torres *et al*, 1999:358).

How does this eviction take place? This happens because the economic narrative is increasingly observed today as the correct perspective. In economic analysis, adopted by governments, neo-liberals and multinationals, there is an inherent form of narrative, which places one form of knowledge over all others. This one form of knowledge is considered to be a full rendering of the crucial elements in the economy. There exists, therefore, what we could think of as a ‘positioned viewer’ behind the dominant narrative in economics. Defining everything from this positioned viewers’ perspective, the women, migrant and black workers, though articulated with sectors considered central, are articulated in ways that present them as marginal, backward, unnecessary and peripheral objects. It is the form of this articulation, which produces their representation as marginal. The task for critics of globalisation is then to reveal the facts of this articulation and the multiplicity of forms it assumes (Bourdieu *et al*, 1999).⁵¹ This would then begin the process of valorising these various types of sectors, firms and workers that constitute the devalorised and marginalised part of the urban economy.

To explain this process of marginalisation, it is important to understand three important aspects of the dominant narrative:

2.2.1 The Notion of Continuous Flow or the Trickle Down Effect

This notion propagates the false idea that there are no structural barriers to the circulation of economic growth or no discontinuities to be negotiated in this circulation and installation of economic growth, an idea that has been dominating the dependency theory and development-aid policies of the WB and the IMF, and the financial aid-packages from North to the South in the past and present. These aid packages have caused a great deal of “pain” to the southern countries and also increased poverty and degradation. Joseph

⁵¹ First published in French as *La Misere du monde* by Edition du Seuil, 1993 this work of Bourdieu and his colleagues contains, perhaps, the most illuminating, intimate and yet revealing stories of hundreds of people “marginalised” by the ill-effects of globalization and its dominative economic narrative. It is not just a collection of stories. Rather, the stories are accompanied by a very human but systematic theory and analysis by Bourdieu and his team.

Stiglitz, the former chief economist of the World Bank, whom I referred to above, in his critical appraisal of globalisation, describes this pain in the following manner:

Rarely did I see forecasts about what the policies would do to poverty. Rarely did I see thoughtful discussions and analysis of alternative policies. Alternative options were not sought...Ideology guided policy prescription and countries were expected to follow the IMF guidelines without debate...It was not just that they often produced poor results: they were antidemocratic...inside the IMF it was simply assumed that whatever suffering occurred was a necessary part of the pain countries had to experience on the way of becoming a successful market economy, and that their measures would, in fact, reduce the pain the countries would have to face in the long run. Today, few - apart from those with vested interests who benefit from keeping out the goods produced by the poor countries - defend the hypocrisy of pretending to help developing countries by forcing them to open up their markets to the goods of the advanced industrial countries while keeping their own markets protected, policies that make the rich richer and the poor more impoverished-and increasingly angry. (Stiglitz, *ibid*:xiv-xv)

In this sense, the leading technological sector, at the cost of the unimportant, large numbers of low paid workers/firms, is privileged because that will rescue the economy. This “shrinking of the centre” also excluded the women and blacks, privileging men and whites. Women have been excluded because of the structural impossibility of women to reach positions of power due to lack of access to education and patriarchal decision - making structures. Same holds to the non-whites, targets of subtle and modern forms of racism fed by the historical facts of centuries of colonial system of denying access to essential education and training to the colonised.

2.2.1.1 Economic Internationalisation

The account about the internationalisation of economy privileges the reconstitution of capital as an internationalised presence. It emphasises the vanguard of this reconstitution. Yet, it remains absolutely silent about internationalisation of labour. This neglect leads to the use of the language of immigration (always from a poorer, disadvantaged country to a richer country) to describe the process-“it contains an implicit valorisation of the receiving country and a devalorisation of the sending country”(Sassen, *ibidem*.; Harris, 1995).⁵² The questions here are: why do we not include the internationalisation of labour as a logical part of economic rationality, technological advance and so include it in the mainstream narrative about the economy? Why do we privilege wealth over property, wealthy countries over poor countries? What would happen if we saw immigrants as using bridges built by the internationalisation of the military activities of dominant countries? Can we

⁵² Harris explains in detail the dramatic and destructive rhetoric, stereotypes and biases propagated by the politicians and the media against immigrants in the North. See esp. Chapter Seven: “Arguments and Evidence”, pp. 186ff.

not see immigrants as moving within an internationalised labour market? In reality, therefore, for the advocates of the economic definitions of life there are no borders when it has to do with money, but there are strict criteria to the movement of labourers across borders. The debate in the German Parliament surrounding information technologists and other qualified professionals from countries like India to come and work in Germany is a clear example of the unjust side of the internationalisation of economy. Many of the parliamentarians are willing to use the intellectual riches (“Kluge Köpfe”) of a poorer country while at the same time unwilling to provide them with clear signs of welcome in Germany. In a similar vein, they exclude less privileged minorities in these poorer countries. The logic applied is: expertise is welcome but people must eventually ‘go back’ to where they came from.⁵³ Economic dominance, therefore, undermines and crushes cultural and political needs of minorities while at the same time profiting from their contribution to the economy of richer countries and dominant classes.

2.2.1.2 Concentration of Power, Control and Appropriation of Profits

The above tendency of economic internationalisation, produced and reproduced through different historical periods of colonialism, the MNCs and now globalisation- under specific forms and contents, clearly feeds the valorisation of the centre of the economy. Global cities are a good example of the manifestation of corporate power (“centre”) and the lowly paid manual labour of women and migrants (“the other”). The presence of the corporate towers in the centre of cities and the existence of slums and shantytowns of the poor outside of the cities manifest this dominance and exclusion. On the other hand, however, they invite us to see that globalisation is not only constituted in terms of capital (international finance, telecommunications, information flows) but also in terms of people and cultures.

The debate then would be, how to conduct just trade and establish just relationships between nations that also take into account the cultural and everyday aspects of the people involved therein? If continuing to trade, who has the say? If the aim of trade and

⁵³ Umpteen discussions about the Green Card in the German parliament could be cited here. I take only a sample of them: Wallraff, Lukas. “Lauter fröhliche Schlichter”, TAZ, 18 June, 2004. In the same edition, see Oberndörfer, Dieter. “Erst beriechen, dann abschieben”. Interviewed by Ulrike Winkelmann. Mr. Oberndörfer, referring to the negative discussions around Greencards and the controversial Immigration law (Zuwanderungsgesetz) implies that the policy of the German government of, “Erst beriechen, dann abschieben” would continue. It is evident from available statistics that the Green Card initiative has been a failure due to the unwelcome and extremely hindering bureaucratic structures in Germany.

liberalisation is to provide equal opportunities for all, some argue that trade should be about greater, fairer competition, which does not weaken the poor and strengthen vested interests. The aim should be to define and attain a balanced quality of life. It is a matter of just opportunities to education, health, food, accommodation and respect of every kind of human right for all.

Neo-liberalist opinions claim that justice is reached through wealth and wealth can be acquired and multiplied through liberalisation of trade. Disproving the rosy promises of governments and multi-nationals, however, there are any number of sources proving and analysing the widening gap between the developed and the underdeveloped group of countries.⁵⁴ This disparity is seen with regards to per capita incomes, the level of access to basic necessities like education, the disparity in incomes between men and women, health and so on. It is also an open fact that the numbers of underprivileged people and economic migrants are also increasing in the industrialised countries (Hauchler *et al*, 1997:47-48).

2.3 Economic Globalisation and People

Having examined the positions on globalisation highlighting the dominance of the economic narrative, at the cost of the cultural and political aspects, in the free market economy, I move on to the threats that it concretely poses to peoples. Opportunities and threats, strengths and weaknesses is a better approach than talking about the positive and negative sides of globalisation. One of the opportunity is that globalisation induces creativity among workers, reducing repetitive tasks in the organisation of production. When used with wisdom and non-consumerist ways, technical innovations reduce the spending of time and human energy in tasks of production for mere survival. To a certain extent it democratises the modes of communication between persons and nations increasing solidarity and a sense of community. When these opportunities are implemented wisely, it could unite the workers of the world to work towards solidarity and responsibility.

⁵⁴ The worst figures are for sub-Saharan Africa where it is estimated that the number of children and young people without access to schooling will increase from what was about 180M in 1990 to about 280M in the year 2000. See these and other global trends and comparisons in Hauchler, Messner and Nuscheler (eds.), *Global Trends 1998: Fakten, Analysen, Prognosen*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997:58-80.

However, in a world that is increasingly becoming porous and transparent, it is not impossible to see the threats that accompany this controversial phenomenon of globalisation (Touraine, 2001). Owing to the successful domination of the economic narrative and praxis, in the heated discussions about globalisation, it is mainly the economic aspects that come into picture. Unfortunately numerous critical anti-globalisation movements are somehow stuck in “struggling” restrictedly within this economic perspective. Yet, besides the economic, there are other aspects of globalisation that need to be reflected upon. In the context of this dissertation, my particular interest is to examine the challenges it poses to the identities of people, especially people marginalised due to characteristics such as colour, caste, profession or gender.

In the on-going discussion here, however, I wish to point out the destructive role of the North, the countries and policy makers in it being the originators of this process of free market economy. They have used the threats in globalisation to their benefit, often at the cost of the South. That is why I take the position that economic globalisation, practised in the sense that I discussed above is a “*modern form of colonisation*”, a modern form of racism. One may wish to call it economic racism or classism. Such modern forms of racism operating through economic oppression are methods used by dominant, privileged groups and nations to undermine and oppress the weaker sections. They use non-racist or non-economic reasons to continue racist and economic oppression. Northern nations often invest in the poorer nations in the name of “aid,” “stability of the region,” “international relations,” “democratisation,” etc. These altruistic motives of industrialised countries (Stiglitz, *ibid*: 7) actually hide their covert interest in controlling underprivileged nations. It is a kind of dysfunctional helping, a kind of help that only continues oppression and dependency of the poorer nations on the richer nations. This dysfunctional helping and modern form of colonisation has its clearest impact on the identities of peoples.

The discourse and praxis of the economy-driven narrative of globalisation has managed to colonise reality, in the sense of undermining and destroying local cultural constructions, forcing them to homogenise themselves and adjust to the demands of globalisation in the name of capitalism. The homogenising tendencies of globalisation have in it the extreme dangers of compartmentalisation and the forced options of people to fit into one of pre-defined slots for survival (Touraine, 1997). Controlled by market powers on the one hand

and on loss of identity, and therefore, of the dangers of fundamental communitarianism (Anderson, 1991), subjects need ways and means to become “themselves”, free of these controls. “Freeing the Subject from the power of markets and empires, on the one hand, and the confinement of communities, on the other, is the necessary pre-condition for the establishment of Subject-to-Subject communications”. This sense of community and heterogeneous identity paves the way for principles of “justice, solidarity and mutual responsibility into modes of communication which either break the colonisation of the life world or restrict the powers of bureaucracy and economy. “Individual courage (to denounce powers)” and the “power of collective action” are the pre-requisites for Subjects to regain their powers to be free and liberated and to affirm that...”the Subject is an individual’s quest for the conditions that will allow him (or her) to become the actor of his (or her) own history”(Touraine, 1997: 56-58, words in *parenthesis* mine).

Arjun Appadurai and his colleagues bring in a southern perspective to the discussion (Appadurai, 2001). Their critique insists that marginalised Subjects possess the capacity to act and mobilise themselves. This implies that the marginalised actors in different regions of the world are capable of producing their own images of the future. This capacity needs to be safeguarded against the homogenising and compartmentalising tendencies of globalisation. This capability of the marginalised in constructing “world pictures” and their interaction affects global processes. However, the freedom for different individuals to create their own pictures is only possible when subjectivity and ideology are seen as “something more than ephemera in the saga of capital and empire”. This implies that the marginalised themselves have acquired “international, transnational, or global dimensions” with implications on all deliberations, theories and education regarding this process (*ibid.* 14-15).

2.3.1 Challenges to Identity Formation

It is heartening to assert that the marginalised possess the capacity to organise themselves and define their own identity. However, the discussion on the effects of globalisation leads us to delineate the challenges posed to such identity-formation in the context of globalisation. To say the least, it is a painful process of stress, adaptation and growth on the part of individuals who are marginalised, being continuously forced to adapt to the dominant modes of economic homogenisation. In comparison, it is not so drastic a struggle

for survival and adaptation for the privileged classes, races and sexes because people in privileged positions do not see or feel the need for them to adapt and give up their positions of power. Therefore, the roles played by the affected peoples' capacity to communicate, their predisposition to change and the environment in which they find themselves, offer us hints to the challenges posed by globalisation on identity formation. This capacity of the marginalised and the oppressed gives them the role of liberating themselves and their oppressors, affirmed by Freire: "This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only the power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both"(Freire, 2002:44). I will deal in more detail about this liberating task of the oppressed in subsequent parts of the dissertation. Here, I continue with further challenges that economic globalisation poses to identity formation.

2.3.1.1 Globalisation obliterates Identities

Attempts to come to grips with the effects of globalisation, namely opening up of borders and access to other cultures, have been recurrent themes down the generations. This is evident in such terms as "international man" (Lutzker, 1960), "universal man" (Tagore, 1961), "multicultural man" (Adler, 1982) and "species identity" (Boulding, 1990) as well as meta-identity and transcultural identity. It makes evident that globalisation and related attempts at identity formation have been the themes of a century and it is far from being completed. In present times, the domination of identity formation by economic factors of globalisation is being contested. In February/March 2001, the House of World Cultures (*Haus der Kulturen der Welt*) organised photography, music and film exhibits related to post-colonial Africa. The films revolved especially around the theme of *Globalisation and African Identity*.⁵⁵ The comments made by an African Film presenter on the challenges posed by globalisation to local cultures of Africa make for a good start of our discussion here:

Es wirft eine ganze Reihe sehr wichtiger Fragen auf, denen Afrika und Afrikaner heute gegenüberstehen und diese Herausforderungen müssen konsequent, mit Phantasie und Überzeugung angegangen werden. Ich selbst würde es gerne sehen, dass dem Begriff "Globalisierung" zumindest ein langer Urlaub gegönnt wird, am liebsten aber ein feierliches Begräbnis. Ich habe keine Schwierigkeiten mit einem echten egalitären Internationalismus, auf der Grundlage von Respekt für

⁵⁵ TAZ, Saturday, Feb 5, 2000, enclosure *Cinema Africa*

und Akzeptanz von Unterschiedlichkeit und Vielfalt. Aber eine räuberische Globalisierung, wie sie insbesondere im dominierenden Diskurs von Wirtschaft und Unternehmen verstanden und propagiert wird, in dem der Schwerpunkt auf dem grenzenlosen unbeschränkten Kapitalismus des freien Marktes liegt und in dem die soziokulturellen Auswirkungen einer faden Standardisierung, eines narzisstischen Nationalismus der Großmächte und der Zerstörung von lokalen Kulturen und Praktiken vertuscht werden, eine solche Globalisierung bedeutet Probleme und Herausforderungen, die nach einem rigorosen kritischen Engagement rufen und, wichtiger noch, nach lebensfähigen Alternativen.⁵⁶

The call from many such Southern intellectuals is for an attempt to safeguard local values by a critical appraisal of the global, economic and political forces. It is not a question of rejecting or accepting globalisation, but a matter of “being rooted but also open” to one’s own and others’ values. The idea is to replace domination with equality, dictatorship with democracy, export with negotiated business, homogeneity with difference and competition with partnership in all fields and practices. While attempting to do so, one needs to recognise that the cornerstone of the threats raised by globalisation is competition. The structures of economic exchange and controls are so complex that individuals have no access to decision-making that is just and sustainable. The only control that firms know is of money. The only control that culture knows is communitarianism. They are now being exceedingly set apart from one another. The world formed by market controls, work and business is distant from the wishes, the desires and dreams of the “subject”. It is difficult to physically perceive the controls exerted but its effects are evident in the resultant loss of meaning and increased marginalisation and creation of the “new untouchables”(Harris, 1995).⁵⁷ While competition is worse enough, it is competition among non-equals.

In this context of competition among non-equals, identity is complex and cannot be defined by any single factor like class, race, nation, religion or sex alone. It needs to be seen in the individual, relational and communal levels. Today, reality itself, upon which identities are built, is not something which is docile and easily comprehensible. The earlier dependence upon the irresistibility of the moment of its appearance, upon God or upon reason to come to terms with reality and the world seem inadequate today. Reality today is no longer homogeneous. It appears to be constructed and interpreted and is experienced as something fractal and heterogeneous. We need to offer opportunities to individuals and communities to construct their identities heterogeneously. Plurality of definitions is the

⁵⁶ *ibid*: Mbye, Cham. “Afrika Globalisieren?”

⁵⁷ Harris uses the term “new untouchables” to refer to the increasing number of immigrants as a result of globalisation and the oppressive measures against them by the host countries, namely the rich industrialised nations of the North.

order of the day. No view of the world can claim exclusive validity for itself (Gilroy, Paul, 2002:223). It holds true also for attempts by economic powers to bulldoze all peoples and cultures under an economic universalisation. Identity is complex and is not to be defined just by factors of class, race, nation, religion or sex. Identity is to be seen on the individual, relational and communal levels (Collier in Samovar and Porter, 1991:36-44), not forgetting the affective, cognitive and behavioural components.

The problems posed to identities of individuals and societies are also to be situated within the context of a high mobility of people and information between national borders, with increasing inequality between nations. “Identity is a social construction in any society. What may differ are the dimensions around which belonging and acceptance are centred and the dimensions around which one is marginalised. Thus, our identities are necessarily affected by the meaning of representation that individuals have of one another” (Root in Torres *et al*, *ibid*: 161). Writing in the context of the move from monoracial identity theories to multiracial identity, Root emphasises the move from problematic ones to models suggesting a variant experience. In order to understand the multi-heritage experience and the process and achievement of identities, complex models of identity and belonging must expand beyond a black-white polarised model of pure race. The human mind is able to synthesise and integrate experiences that have been deemed mutually exclusive.

2.3.1.2 Identity formation in the Context of Globalisation

In this complex situation of economic globalisation, marginalisation and migration, individuals are faced with new situations, cultures and host situations. As a result, marginalised individuals and groups find themselves in new and complex situations where they undergo extreme stress, forced adaptation and continuing efforts to protect their identities. It is imperative to begin with such challenging situations in which identity-formation takes place. Continuing the argument of de-centering the economic domination in analysing issues related to exploitation, it is important to see how economic domination and inequality interact with gender, race and other identity positions.

One obvious result, thereby, is that identity formation becomes a cross-cultural adaptation process. It is a joint, interactive venture. Young Yun Kim summarises this challenging

venture as follows: “The strangers and the host environment co-influence the dynamic and fluctuating experiences of stress, adaptation and growth. The adaptation process is essentially a manifestation of the ever-present human capacity to face challenges, learn from them, and arrive at a greater level of self-integration. Few individuals in an alien environment can entirely escape the necessity to adapt. Adaptation occurs naturally and most, if not all, strangers welcome it as long as they are engaged in direct and continual interactions with the host environment.” (Kim in Samovar & Potter, *ibid.* 413). Kim, and similar authors included in the compilation of Samovar and Potter (*ibid.*) emphasise the cultural aspects of identity formation. Kim, for instance, believes that “communication activities” that link strangers and the host environment lie at the heart of the adaptation process. This approach emphasises the readiness of the stranger to adapt to the host culture and at the same time places it in the readiness of the host culture to accept the stranger. Yet, what I find missing in the above, over positive view is a critical look at the hostile and highly dominating host cultures in the context of globalisation. The challenges are much more when it is dealing with the identity problems faced by women, the poor and non-whites. A much more intricate and sharply critical view has emerged in examining the complexities and challenges to identity formation. This politically aware and structurally analytical view, which I briefly describe below, proposes a much better picture of identity formation in the context of globalisation.

2.3.1.3 Three General Processes of Identity Exploration and Integration

The argument here revolves around the structural pressures put upon disadvantaged individuals and groups in the context of S-N “development” work. In this context, it is not enough, and it is even unjust, to expect marginalised “strangers” to adopt to a foreign, oppressive culture. Instead we need to demand and do all that we can to dismantle unjust structures and emerging dominant cultures as a result of purely economic globalisation.

Maria Root’s analysis of identity puts identity questions in a more analytical context than the approaches, such as of Kim described in the earlier section. It includes basically three processes: exposure/absorption, competition/stratification and reflective appraisal. Below, I briefly explain each of them:

Exposure/Absorption: It is a process of orienting and assigning meaning to new material (see Root, 1999:159ff for detailed description of these phases). With input from others, one learns to interpret new information and absorb it into schemes through a schema of

constructive or destructive differentiation. Constructive differentiation uses difference to add breadth and complexity to understanding difference. Destructive differentiation forecloses full exposure to the meaning of difference before a meaning is constructed. In practise, the above process would mean understanding diversity and minimising exclusivity. This does not mean understanding diversity as exclusivity. Rather, it implies allowing for differences and at the same time striving for dynamism that puts all the ‘different’ partners on an equal, bargaining position. *Competition / Stratification*: This allows us to categorise information and reformulate material. In an individualist society, this process often has an orientation to positioning one’s self in the most favourable light. This leads to competition and judgement around superior and inferior for the sake of self-definition often without sensitivity to the collective’s or group’s goals / hierarchialises one’s existence and leaves space for only one perspective, taken to its extremes. One can use this process to destroy those who do not affirm one’s existence or challenge one’s privileged position. With the escalation and domination of the economic narrative, it competes with and negatively stratifies other definitions of society. It remains blind to the historical and present oppression it causes to women, migrants and other such marginalised classes. *Reflective Appraisal*: This is something that many people return to or engage in more as one acknowledges one’s mortality or attempts to respond from a code of ethics. It fosters connection back to humanity and the needs of the whole. It uses hindsight for learning and questions what is important. There occurs a rearranging of priorities in which the good of the collective can stand before the priorities of the individual.

If one adopts the above process of identity formation to our times, it calls for a complex view of identity and not one that is based on a single category, be it color, race, class, sex, nation or religion. In my view, there is an urgent need for individuals, societies and nations to broaden their viewpoints on identity formation. When this does not take place, there will be no other alternative to individuals and communities to look at themselves, except placing themselves in the moulds, increasingly divided on class and racial lines, carved out to them by forces propagating the economic perspective.

However, we need to move beyond not only rich-poor or black-white issues and cover any definition of identity that includes exclusion of some kinds of people.⁵⁸ What the dominant

⁵⁸ “Black-white” in this context refers to issues of and South-North relationships.

economic narrative is successfully doing is evacuating the marginalised from the centre, and almost making them disappear from the definitions of society. It has, and is creating barriers on the way to free, fair and necessary communication between marginalised peoples and obstructing their life-worlds. In the eighties and nineties, as vividly described by Jürgen Habermas in his numerous works, the life world of individuals was colonised by bureaucratic and economic forces. This has led, and continues to lead, to crises in legitimisation of state policies and also numerous pathologies among peoples' identities. In the end, systemic mechanisms suppress forms of social integration even in those areas where a consensus-dependent coordination cannot be replaced, that is, where the symbolic reproduction of the life-world is at stake. In these areas, the mediatisation of the "life world" assumes the form of "colonisation" (Habermas, 1995: 196).

Before I proceed to see the scope and significance of TNANs in the context of this multiple view of identity, we need to critically reflect further on two aspects: culture in the transnational corporate world and the concept of S-N "development" work. These two issues are closely connected in my view to the issue of identity and transnational advocacy. It is important for me to clarify the cultural issues involved in S-N developmental work if I have to further take up the issue of the domination exerted by the North over the South in issues of advocacy.

2.4 Culture in the Transnational Corporate World

To begin with a functional definition of mine, Culture is a space where individuals, groups and communities find their place, understand themselves, their neighbours and grow to be what they are. Like in the discussion on identity above, culture is a continuous process and not a given, static fact. It is a person's lifelong project to define who she/he is and wants to become. It is not prescribed *a priori* on the basis of one's birth, nationality or religion in the way certain racist, nationalist and fundamentalist rhetoric portrays. One's birth-circumstances, family, region and religion may have influences on her/his culture. But it is not pre-determined by any such factors. It is ultimately a process that the subject wishes to control.

Matthew Arnold constructed the idea of "culture" which was meant to serve as an agency for law and order: "the very framework and exterior order of the State, whoever may

administer the State, is sacred; and culture is the most resolute enemy of anarchy” (Arnold, no pub. details: 204 cited in Miyoshi, *ibid.* 259-60; Morrow & Torres, 1995; Young, 1995:55-69). However, the concept of culture in his view was static, and even nationalist, as Benedict Anderson wrote of in the *Imagined Community*. Transnational corporatism, seen in this sense, is a process of decomposing the state, fostering of *economisation of culture*. With all the urgency and energy to maximise corporate and private gains, it converts social and political activities into economy, and culture into a commercial program. All cultural productions are susceptible to TNC appropriation as profitable commodities. Universal consumerism and homogenisation are the result of this economisation of culture in its various forms with a constant possibility of regional cultures being obliterated. It is interesting, in this context, to see how geography and history of the third world are presented in schools and certain NGOs in the North from a very exotic, ‘touristic’ point of view. Such views focus upon the music, cuisine and “beauty” of these lands without serious emphasis on the critical aspects of politics and creativity of these “peripheral, marginalised” lands. This kind of exotisation of culture weakens political awareness of students and the peoples whom TNANs are supposed to mobilise to be activists for change. It also produces theory that leads to inequalities and biases. Theory, that blocks positive action and spreads exclusion of societies exotised by this kind of touristic research, needs to be abandoned. We need to replace such a theory with a concept of culture that aids the construction of social organisation.

2.4.1 Cultural Difference

In discussing transnational cultural issues, it is better to speak of “cultural difference” rather than of “cultural diversity”. Although in common parlance, these terms are used interchangeably, it is essential to put them in opposition to distinguish between two ways of representing culture. Signifying the existence of different ways of living as “cultural diversity” runs the danger, or even affirms differences, as being merely aberrant or exotic. One of the prominent post-cultural theorists Homi Bhabha sees such pre-given depictions of cultural contents and customs as source of “anodyne liberal notions of multiculturalism, cultural exchange or the culture of humanity” (Bhabha, 1994: Chapter I cited in Ashcroft, *et al*, 1998: 60). On the other hand, cultural difference searches for culture in the process of getting to know diverse objects and how they come into being. It does not start from a pre-given set of fixed and determined objects. This process of “coming to be known” brings

into being and discriminates between the “various statements of culture or on culture”(Ashcroft, *et al*, 1998:61), bestowing authority to the fields of references by which we order them. “Cultural difference” stresses the process by which we know and can know cultures as totalities, thereby emphasising our awareness of the “homogenising effects of cultural symbols and icons”. It also stresses a critical, questioning attitude towards “the authority of cultural synthesis in general”(Bhabha, 1994: 20).

The difference here is connected with the radical “ambivalence” that is implicit in all colonial discourse. This ambivalence is also implicit in the act of cultural interpretation since, as Bhabha puts it, the production of meaning in the relations of two systems requires a ‘Third Space’. When expanded for its meaning, this third space comes close to the meaning acquisition process described by Saussure and the *deference* of difference as Derrida suggested. Saussure suggested that signs acquire meaning through their difference from other signs. Juxtaposing this to culture we may say that culture may be identified by its difference from other cultures. Derrida suggested that the difference is also deferred, a duality that he defined in a new term “*différance*.”⁵⁹ Comparing the third space to this space of deferral and possibility, culture’s difference may be concluded as being never simple and static but ambivalent, changing, and always open to further possible interpretation. “In short, this is the space of hybridity itself, the space in which cultural meanings and identities always contain the traces of other meanings and identities. Therefore...claims to inherent originality or purity of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity” (Ashcroft, *et al: ibidem*).

2.4.2 Re-linking Economic Globalisation and Culture

TNCs become the vehicles for the continuation of exploitation, colonialism on domestic and international levels. This happens when the complete domination of the economic narrative takes away the cultural uniqueness and belongingness of individuals. It is important to re-link economy with culture because it is the neglect of cultural aspects that has given prominence to the rhetoric of economic domination over more inclusive narratives and praxis of anti-discrimination and grassroots movements. We need to couple

⁵⁹ Derrida, J. “Racism’s Last Word” Tr: Peggy Kamuf cited in: Gates, H. Louis (ed.). ‘Race, Writing and Difference’ Chicago: Chicago Universtiy Press, 1986. Originally in French, “Le Dernier mot du Racisme”.

the disintegration or divorce of market force from the personal cultural aspects of human subjects. Economic globalisation does not necessarily mean the taking shape of a “new integrated model”. Rather the opposite of this integration is taking place: “a growing divorce between the financial economic system and the social whole to which it should belong. The social, cultural and political reaction to this is increasingly identity-based, or based upon interests that are no longer economic but sustained by a self-consciousness, which can be ethnic, national or religious. The world is not becoming unified; it is fragmenting”(Touraine, 2001:18). It is the task of grassroots and TNANS alike to provide spaces and ideologies for subjects to develop their unique identities and cultures free from the domination of the economic narratives and its mechanisms.

2.4.2.1 Towards a Discursive Understanding of Culture

The above considerations on culture and identity allow me to state that marginalised people themselves are the active negotiators of their identity, culture and cultural difference. This necessitates the ordering of life in a manner that makes cross-cultural comparison possible without undermining each person’s attempts at carving out her/his own identity and offer us a new understanding of culture. This idea at trying to understand culture in a cross-cultural perspective is not new. Nietzsche, writing three centuries ago, in the context of the urbanising west and influx of people into urban areas from the rural countryside reflected:

The age of comparison. The less that people are tied by custom, the greater grows the inner movement of their motivations, the greater, accordingly, the outward unrest, the intermingling of people, the polyphony of intentions. Who, nowadays, is still subject to any strict compulsion to tie himself or his offspring to one particular place? Who, indeed, is subject to any strict compulsions at all? Just as all the styles of art are used side by side, so with all levels and kinds of moralities, customs, and cultures...Such an era receives its importance from the fact that all different world-views, customs, cultures can be compared and lived out side by side...This is the age of comparison! Let us understand the task of our age in as positive a way as we can: The future generations will thank us—future generations who will have gone both beyond the naturally separate original folk cultures and beyond the cultures of comparison.”⁶⁰

While grappling with the question of understanding cultures, a good method would be to comprehend culture not as something one has, but as process one shapes. Discussion around culture, however, is taking place around the *essentialist* and *processual* approaches to culture. The essentialist approach assumes cultures as finished objects, their features

⁶⁰ Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*. Ein Buch für freie Geister. Ed. Hans Heinz Holz. Frankfurt: Fischer, 1968. Cited in Baumann, 1999: 81. The translation of the original version of this text is by Baumann.

being worked out through long historical processes whose features now influence to shape the actions and thoughts of people. This approach sees culture as something that one has, rather than “something one makes and reshapes through renewing activity”(Baumann, *ibid.* 84). This approach maybe helpful in understanding persons when working with monocultural stereotypes like an American, Indian or a German. However, what use it is in this globalising world when we are confronted with subjects with multiple identities? In contrast, a *processual* approach to culture maintains that we all practice more than one culture. We belong to a nation, a religion, a region, a city, and a language. We maybe at one time a student, a teacher, a learner and all this affects the way we understand ourselves and constantly shape our identities and build up our culture. Culture is, therefore, *processual*, one which persons constantly invent, re-shape and adjust to their daily living.

We need to understand culture in a more liberating and comprehensive way by focussing on its praxis. We may reach this “liberating-cultural tool” by seeing the essentialist and processual theories of culture as discourses which, when seen together may develop a dynamic vision of culture: “Culture is thus not the tied and tagged baggage that belongs with one national, ethnic, or religious group, nor is it some spur-of-the-moment improvisation without roots or rules. Culture is two things at once, that is, a dual discursive construction. It is the conservative re-construction of a reified essence at one moment, and the path to finding new construction of a *processual* agency at the next moment. It vacillates between these two poles, and therein lies the sophistication and dialectical beauty of the concept”(*ibidem*).

When one interprets cultures in ways described above, there is hope that countercultures other than the ones imposed by transnational corporations upon individuals and populations are conceivable. These countercultures, when seen as the one’s carved out by individuals themselves in a *processual* manner, will then be people’s way of life free from the domination of transnational corporatism. In this manner of the emergence and re-emergence of unofficial cultures, people live and survive, produce texts and objects and ways of life that interpret the meaning of social relations. This offers hope and courage replacing the control mechanisms of consumerism.

We have now arrived at a point of seeing the effects of globalisation on identity and culture. I now examine how development work on a S-N basis is affected by the understanding of aspects of identity and culture as outlined above. I begin the discussion with highlighting the problematic aspects of development praxis as it is currently implemented with its overemphasis on economic discourse of globalisation.

2.5 Concepts and Praxis of Development Work

In the context of S-N relations, the concept and practise of “development co-operation” has taken a back seat or is held hostage by market forces. “Development” is defined more and more on economic terms, giving rise to increasing number of “third-world countries” adjusting their structures to fit the whims and fancies of financiers, former colonialist forces operating through MNCs and international financial bodies like the IMF and the World Bank. This, in turn, has consequences on most TNANs gathering around economic aspects of (anti-) globalisation without sufficient networking with grassroots movements organised by individuals and groups targeted by racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination besides economic discrimination. This exclusive emphasis on economic aspects of S-N power structures undermines and sidelines the needs, struggles and importance of movements from the perspective victims of other kinds of discrimination.

One of the reasons for such an emphasis is the domination of anti-globalisation movements being mostly from the North, under represented by Southern populations deeply affected by global imbalances. When discussion and action around development is confined to economic factors, and remaining divorced from the life-world of individuals the result is not solidarity, but further marginalisation of the masses.

This misplaced emphasis has its roots in the adaptation of a wobbly, lop-sided view of development only aimed at making people “rich” or adopting slogans like “halving poverty by 2015.”⁶¹ This approach and rhetoric blocks efforts at dealing with the non-economic facets of development. Arturo Escobar succinctly describes the history of the “development project” imposed by the North upon the South as a dream that has turned

⁶¹ This is the aim of the current, major project of the United Nations, pushed by industrialised countries and implemented under the banner of the Millennium Development Goals. See the following websites for the declaration: www.millenniumdevelopment.org; www.un.org/millennium/declaration/552e.pdf

into a nightmare. Referring to the history of failed economic development practices, Escobar writes in his work, *Encountering Development*:

This book tells the story of this dream and how it progressively turned into a nightmare. For instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression. The debt crisis, the Sahelian famine, increasing poverty, malnutrition, and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development. In this way, this book can be read as the history of the loss of an illusion...it is about how the "Third World" has been produced by the discourses and practices of development"(Escobar, 1995:4).

There is a need to include dimensions other than the economic in order to adopt a more comprehensive view of development. Discussions around this issue are not new. A gathering of theorists and practitioners in 1986 at the Marga Institute in Colombo attempted defining such an alternative. They opined that an adequate definition of development must include the following dimensions: *economic*, dealing with the creation of wealth and improvement of conditions of material life, equitably distributed; *political*, including such values as human rights, political freedom, enfranchisement and democracy; *cultural*, a recognition of the fact that cultures confer identity and self-worth to people. To these they also added a dimension naming it the *full-life paradigm* referring to the meaning systems, symbols, and beliefs concerning the ultimate meaning of life and history.⁶²

2.5.1 Tensions between Advocates in the South and the North

In order to further clarify the difficulties with economically oriented development processes forcibly implemented in the South, I list below some of the key issues raised by the interview participants, theorists and activists, from the South and the North. Discrimination involved in such imbalances cannot be so easily seen, but can be crystallised through its effects. The interviews citations, below, from critical and non-critical interview partners, provide both symptoms of the disorder in S-N advocacy and offer actuality and concreteness to my discussion.

2.5.1.1 Development Work Vs Human Rights: Two Conflicting Paradigms

Critiquing the above-mentioned economic dominance in S-N development work, NV9 makes an interesting theoretical intervention. NV9 argues for replacing the paradigm of the completely misguided development with the paradigm of oppression and human rights:

⁶² L.J. Lebrét, *Development Revolution Solidaire*. Paris: Les Editions Quivirieres, 1967. cited in: Goulet, "Tasks and methods in Development Ethics" in *Cross Currents*, 38 (1988):146-164.

Ich habe auch viel im entwicklungspolitischen Bereich gesehen und möchte eigentlich das Wort „Entwicklung“ gar nicht mehr in den Mund nehmen, und auch die entwicklungspolitische Arbeit, und, <hhhh> und da spreche ich nicht mehr in diesem Paradigma: Für mich sind Paradigma „Menschenrechte“ und das Paradigma „Unterdrückung“ sind von Bedeutung. Mit dem Begriff „Entwicklung“ kann ich nichts mehr anfangen. Das hat vielleicht auch damit zu tun, dass wir einfach nicht mehr von dieser Vorstellung „Entwicklung“ als dem Norden als den entwickelten Ländern und dem Süden als den unterentwickelten Ländern sprechen. Da ist das Wort Entwicklung glaube ich nicht mehr zu retten, und dass es eben eine fatale, falsche Vorstellung ist, das habe ich am Anfang schon gesagt im Zusammenhang mit den Grenzen des Wachstums. Ich glaube, dass diese sogenannten entwickelten Länder in dieser Form von Entwicklung keine Zukunft haben. Das anderen aufzuschwatzen aus markttechnischen und Business-Gründen, das ist völlig unverantwortlich. Von daher bin ich gegen dieses Entwicklungs-Paradigma...(NV9:124-136)

The observation of NV9 that „developed“ countries do not have any future with the linear and economically oriented „development“ is further supplemented by examples given by SV6. In the citation below, SV6 explains the misguided emphasis on imitating western forms of development, which even today lay a major emphasis on laying roads and constructing buildings, believing that such projects would help people reach the goal of economic prosperity. It pictures the vicious circle of development, which is always a target of economic intervention by economically powerful countries in the underprivileged countries. The two examples of SV6, citing experiences from Kenya and India, demonstrate failed efforts at imposing developmentalism from the North and also the failed implementation of a northern model of linear development by certain southern actors.

I can tell you that in 1998 in the *Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism Conference*, a Kenyan teacher was speaking and was giving a nice experience: Kenya’s economists thought that Kenyans believed that the whole country needed to undergo a major change. Otherwise this country will remain underdeveloped...they identified that the mobility of people is a very, very important criteria to make people to be more laborious and creative. So they widened the roads, very smooth, they got good support for this project from different countries, including Japan, and they said they would help. But what happened is that when the road was ready, then it was the Japanese companies who came on the roadsides with big hoardings saying that the Japanese cars are the best to drive on these roads...their economists thought that the roads will give mobility but they did not understand that the roads would give a different set of developmental priorities, which their people cannot afford. So when the Japanese cars started coming in, financial corporations were coming up and once financial corporations come, you will have a different kind of occupational associate, otherwise you will not get those financial options. Okay, so people were opting for corporate jobs instead of the traditional occupations. So this simple decision of development was changing that entire economic scenario and the country was entering, unconsciously into neo-liberal economy...sometimes a wrong developmental theory may not necessarily come from a Northern economist but it can come from your very friend who is very much believing in your southern empowerment but he may give a wrong theory. ...many of these theories are experimented very much by people in the South (SV4: 333-364).

As SV6 explains above, the economic model of globalisation sold itself very well and its effects are also felt in various imitations of it in the South. Pieterse, in his contribution, "Dilemmas of Development Discourse: The Crisis of Developmentalism and the Comparative Method" refers to such rhetoric of “developmentalism” which produces and

keeps in place artificial difficulties in dealing with the “constructed” South: “Universalising from western experiences developmentalism created an ahistorical model of change which, on the one hand, created a ‘Third World’ which was but an historical construct, and on the other, ‘the West’, which had no basis in historical reality either.”⁶³

2.5.1.2 Blaming the South: Culturalising Unequal South-North Relationships

Given this background, on the one hand, the North says that it is ready to co-operate with the South but, on the other hand, justifies such “constructed” difficulties, complaining that the South is so “difficult to understand”, and therefore “difficult to deal” with:

PR: Wie könnte man noch eine positivere Rolle für den Süden geben? Bestimmt hast du dazu Erfahrung gemacht?

NV2: Ja, das geht nur, in dem man stärker bereit ist, sich mit dem Süden auszutauschen. Das macht Arbeitsweisen viel komplizierter, lässt Richtlinien plötzlich dahinschmelzen, <weil sie wirklich->: Richtlinien nichts mehr wert sind, weil ganz viele Ausnahmen gemacht werden müssen, das bedeutet, auch für NGOs ein sehr viel höher Verwaltungsaufwand. Man muss sich mit „unmöglichen“ Kulturen auseinandersetzen, ich sage das mal zu zynisch@(2)@ und damit klar kommen und das ist ungeheuer schwierig und kompliziert und lässt sich aus europäischer Sicht für eine moderne bürokratische Einrichtung finanziell eigentlich nicht machen. Deswegen habe ich vorhin kurz dazwischen bemerkt: wollen wir Gerechtigkeit? Also, würde ich für die Allgemeinheit sagen, nein, Sage ich: die anderen wollen das nicht aber ich will es? (NV2: 354-365).

The reasons that NV2 presents above are typical examples of dysfunctional helping and modern forms of discrimination and culturalisation of what actually are more complex S-N tensions in development work. Referring to relations between Southern (Indian) and German developmental aid procedures, NV2 above, terms groups in India as "unmögliche Kulturen".

Paul Mecheril, criticizing such blaming of the South says, mentions the causes of such blaming and justification lie in intercultural problems artificially produced by dominant communities: He calls it “Kulturalisierungskritik”, “Exotisierung und Skandalisierung der Interkulturelle Situation”(2002: 19-20).⁶⁴ In this manner, Northern individuals and

⁶³ See, Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. “Dilemmas of Developmental Discourse: The Crisis of Developmentalism and the Comparative Method” in: *Development and Change*, 22(1):18.

⁶⁴ Although Mecheril and his colleagues criticise the dominant rhetoric in intercultural learning in Germany, what is relevant for us is their analysis of the helper-helped mentality that exists between members of the majority/dominant and minority/marginalised groups in Germany/Europe. “Üblicherweise wird unter interkulturellen Handeln in pädagogische Kontexten die Situation verstanden, dass eine Person, die Repräsentantin der kulturellen Mehrheit ist, es mit Klienten zu tun hat, die kulturelle Minderheiten angehören....Dieses gängige Bild interkulturellen Handelns in pädagogischen Kontexten ist auf die Situation beschränkt, dass nationale oder ethnische Mehrheitsangehörige als Professionelle den nationalen oder ethnischen Minderheitsangehörigen pädagogische Angebote machen.“(Mecheril, 2002:16-17).

institutions conveniently push the responsibility for these problems on to the South. This artificial problematisation of Southern cultures provide unfounded justifications for northern advocacy and aid organisations to put in place various kinds of bureaucratic controls purportedly to “rectify” such problems while attributing responsibility purely to Southern individuals and institutions. A closer reading of the interviews and discussions with grassroots activists and theorists, one could crystallise the following controls exercised by Northern advocates over Southern advocates, summarised under three major headings: controls through bureaucracy and professionalisation, control over financial resources and controls over Knowledge/Intellectual resources.⁶⁵

2.5.1.2.1 Controls Through Bureaucracy and Professionalisation

Added to the above-mentioned culturalisation of S-N tensions, in recent years, increasing amount of bureaucracy and control mechanisms have been imposed mainly by way of financial controls. Elaborate application procedures were introduced by Northern agencies, for projects in the South. The Southern counterparts say that this blocks a democratic and partner-like relationship between the Northern and Southern advocates. These bureaucratic procedures are defended by Northern advocates with the argument of controlling and rectifying the “culturalised” problems that are so situated in the South. Northern agencies and individuals in the name of professionalisation further camouflage these controls. The result is an increasing distance between the grassroots and funding agencies. While such bureaucracy is defended by certain Northern activists (see preceding citation from NV2, p. 85, above), it is challenged by most Southern activists:

PR: I am researching to be more positive, in the sense of, what can we do so that this attitude becomes more positive: not misusing knowledge, not this idea that we give, not that we know everything. What is that...

SV13: [They should set some ground rules while relating to people who have committed their life in working with the poor here. There are are certain goals, socialistic goals. <In your society, you know, when you help somebody else->: Here, like you talk about partnerships. We need to have ground rules: Like partnership means what? Sharing information from both the levels, sharing finances equally with respect. I think sharing of resources is very important. Therefore, ground rules must be worked out...What I am saying is that resource and knowledge sharing should be equally respected. The circumstances under which you work, we need to understand and draw up such rules. Although there can be people who take away money, eat away money <it always happens everywhere->: but that is not the rule that you apply to everywhere. You have a strict monitoring

Also see: Sprung, Annette. “Bildungsmarkt Interkulturalität -eine Erfolgsgeschichte?”. Posted on the website: http://www.die-bonn.de/esprid/dokumente/doc-2003/sprung03_01.pdf (accessed on: 29 June 2004).

⁶⁵ This typification of controls is inspired by and is similar to the critique of participatory action researchers. They argue for a just S-N relationship, not just over financial/material resources of the universe, but also over intellectual/knowledge resources. The controls exercised through bureaucracy and professionalisation could be generally seen as an instrument through which controls over finances and knowledge resources are realised.

system, which will see to that. So what I would say is that the ground rules in various departments, learning those lessons, understanding their history, understanding the movements, taking partnership seriously, respect and trust. Just saying that we do not have money <we trust you->: okay. And when we say we have these difficulties, you need to also trust (SV13: 316-346).

In the citation above, SV13, while challenging the extreme bureaucratic hurdles, also positively suggests, “sharing” on an equal basis, partnerships and direct contact with the grassroots as possible solution to such dominant relationships. She even mentions some ground rules for such a partnership. In part five of the dissertation, I will indicate further such suggestions. Here I continue with the critique contained in the other interviews.

To prove this point raised by SV13 above, candid references have also been made, regarding employment of consultants and consulting agencies in the South by Northern advocacy and funding agencies: They are supposedly meant to “mediate” between the grassroots and funding agencies. Southern activists and theorists say that this hinders real contact between Northern agencies and actors at the Southern grassroots. This results in impersonality and facelessness of the S-N relationship as referred to by SV11:

PR: [Apart from one person being good, was it not so a general view that they are investing something and they need to get returns?

SV11: You see, all this cost benefit thing started in the 90s. Before that there was no cost-benefit. There used to be quite a lot of <I am not talking about welfare->:, lot of empowerment. Now funding agencies have become groups, as families there, and they start bringing in these kinds of approaches...today the attitude of funders is a kind of cutthroat mechanism. They have now gone into small funding. Very many organisations have become like kind of small funding. So I felt that funding means only finance. They look at only finance. <They do not look at exchanges, they do not look at-> <Earlier it was different, that is how, and I went to Holland and benefited a lot from that exposure->: I was able to relate and understand and analyse. In the absence of these kinds of things, you know now there is a racket of exchanging people. There is an organisation in India which resources people through the Internet. We will give you 600 or 700 hundred dollars and I will do some services. So it became a kind of business. Earlier it was not like that. Earlier we had a group of people who want to come and stay here and it was all being done that way. (0.3) I feel one reason is leadership changes in funding agencies, and the other is their own restructuring which changed the whole mind set of people in the organisations and the funding agencies and third is the globalisation and the globalisation process which has taken place in India itself (SV11: 271-290).

These aspects of bureaucratisation of development work were also tackled in interviews with Northern activists. NV3, for instance, refers to this technocratisation of development work and the isolation of Northern advocacy from Southern grassroots.

NV3. Als Hypothese. Ich glaube, also es ist eine Generationsveränderung. Die alten Haudegen, die vielleicht noch sehr benevolent waren, die hatten zum Teil, in ihrer Jugend irgend eine Erfahrung, Abenteuer, Liebe, etwas, was ihnen persönlich sehr nahe gegangen ist, warum sie in diese Entwicklungspolitik gegangen sind und, also, in meiner Generation gab es eine Veränderung. Damals war es erstmal kein etabliertes Berufsfeld, worauf man sich vorbereiten konnte, wo auch noch sicher noch viel Romantik dabei war, wo es sich aber als Berufsfeld abzeichnete und man professioneller rangeht und die neuere, also die nochmals jüngeren als ich (0.2). Also, ich sehe eine

Technokratisierung, sagen wir mal so, na. Die alten Haudegen, @ bestimmt@, ich finde sie bestimmt nicht sympathischer, sondern also die hatten manchmal so (militärisch gezockt...) und irgend etwas durchsetzen. So wie ein „carinõ“. Es ist so eine Liebe, Zuneigung, so eine Empathie, die nicht Mitleid ist, so dass man sich einfach wohl fühlt, das es eine Erfahrung von Wohlfühlen hat, und nicht in seinem Büro im 7. Stock, sondern am Busbahnhof, das mit Essen zu tun hat, mit Geruch, mit Musik. Das meine ich, ein emotionaler Zugang, körperlicher Zugang. Dass man keine Angst hat vor Gerüchen. Manchmal mit der Technokratie und mit der Professionalisierung geht das verloren. ..Aber ich denke, die meisten auch Jüngeren lassen sich schon auf so etwas ein. Und das ist wichtig, na. Das man sich ran lässt und das würde ich schon sagen, dass die meisten das tun. Auch die im Bundesministerium sitzen, haben irgendwo, in einer Ecke haben sie ein „carinõ“, eine Empathie, na. Es wird aber durch immer mehr Verfahren und Technisierung und, wird auch schwieriger..Es ist nicht nur mit Geld und so. Es ist so, wenn man die Empathie nicht hat, nur mit der Benevolenz und nur mit dem Zoff und sonst was, hält man es nicht aus. Dann gibt's auch Leute, die nur für 14 Tage einreisen und nur Consultant machen und sich nicht einlassen. Es gibt auch unterschiedliche Akteure in dem Geschäft, na, und die Distanz wird immer größer durch diese Kurzzeitsachen. Das hat die Gefahr, dass man die Empathie verliert, weil man von einem Hotel zum anderen und von einem Büro, Hochhaus zum anderen zieht und gar nicht mehr weiß, was unten abläuft (NV3: 346-385).

Both SV13 and NV3 suggest how increased technocratisation of development work is undermining personal qualities, like empathy, and the needed closeness to grassroots persons and activities.

2.5.1.2.2 Control Over Material/Financial Resources

One of the conscious and unconscious results of such bureaucratic controls is the control exercised over financial flows for development advocacy from the North to the South. SV 13, for instance, clearly explains the effects of the financial controls, imposed by the North, over grassroots activists and organisations in the South.

Times are becoming difficult. (0.2) In the sense that the support that we got for movements <like how we spend, methodology, the funding agency really kind of (sieves) us, they see our accountability, they see how we spend the money, how we evolve the programme, the monitoring methods have become so strong->: we do not have the flexibility that we had before, they put us now in a tight trap. Despite all that, we need to work systematically and constantly evolve methodology to counter forces that come against the poor < the funding agencies more and more it makes us also as people who deliver, we are looked at as delivery points->: even if we are working for minimum wages, they want us to see that minimum wages are received and we are monitored. That is one side and it is a good system to see that your goal, objectives, indicators, professional methodologies of monitoring is essential < we are not denying that->: But what I think is also when it becomes too professional, too cumbersome, not allowing us to work very freely you have to really (put your head on that...) (SV13:101-114).

This financial inequality and bureaucratic control hampers the activity of grassroots organisations. Because the salaries of most organisers of such movements come from the North, it also de-politicises and makes Southern activists dependent, and therefore weak, in the face of regulations imposed by Northern funding agencies. Often, critique against such controls is muffled and silenced due to a constant fear of losing funding. References made

by Stiglitz, in the context of the funds and aid controls imposed by the IMF and World bank on countries in the South are very relevant here: “They were often questioned by people in the developing countries, but many were so afraid they might lose IMF (Northern) funding, and with it funding from others, that they articulated their doubts most cautiously, if at all, and then only in private”(Stiglitz, 2002: xiv). This fear and silence is hampering the future of many social workers and is a serious impediment for creative social justice work.

2.5.1.2.2.1 Help or Structural Transformation: Motivations behind funding the South

One of the damaging results of such money-centred advocacy and apolitical campaigning for funds is that it automatically bestows on the Northern population a patriarchal, apolitical orientation. This leads them to continue believing in their supremacy over the poorer nations because the North “helps” the South get out of its underdevelopment and incapability to manage its affairs and help itself. A concrete example of such a patriarchal approach to advocacy can be seen in the motivations as to why individuals and institutions in the North “donate” or “work” for the South:

SV13: I think in today’s context, that in the West, people have been talking about partnership, shared governments, and shared responsibility. I think that it is all important that the leaders in the Southern movements <the West should-> really consider them as resource in bringing transformation. If you give some money and we do something here, that will not build any suitable societies. I think the people in the West should understand that the money that is given is not only to create less hunger, less poverty, less domination and all that. I think they must think that democracy should prevail, equality should prevail and justice should prevail. The goals and visions need rearticulating in today’s context. Is it that you are making us to work so efficiently in the context of globalisation or are you making us work against the process of globalisation? In the context of racist ideologies they must see to that they break it or, you know, reach complete non-racist attitude or minimise it. These fundamental questions,..what is the motivation behind it: is it to shift the money and take most of the money to the West or to really share money with the third world? (0.2) They are not offering anything free to us <they are paying back what they have taken from us-> Concretely we should have goals (0.2) I am saying that the resources are not given to us because we are the poorest country, I think the money or development aid is also given in terms of understanding this larger policy of give and take. So, there should be a very higher understanding if macro-level dimensions <seeing casteism as part of racism-> seeing gender domination as part of globalisation paradigm. So, newer understanding needs to develop in order to understand the issues and so lot of attitudinal change has to come. Something, which is giving money, will have more power than something, which is receiving money, no. It is very logical. I am in a donor position, I can say, “I can’t give you so please go away”. So they think we are at the receiving end and so they can do anything and all that, but there too they are also careful, doesn’t make it very obvious...I think monitoring, accountability is necessary, but there is also a principle of human service...Peoples movement is very spontaneous, peoples movement is so much political commitment, establishing dignity all the time. Today, whether a funding agency is really interested in creating movements or small project level kind of work that is also important (0.3) (SV13: 447-522).

SV13 above makes a strong point as to the motivations that exist now and what they

actually should be when individuals and organisations from the South donate funds to constructively “help” the South. The call here is for a move from a helper mentality to a proactive desire and action for structural transformation.

2.5.1.2.2.1.1 Return of the Helper Syndrome

Further references to such misplaced campaigning for funds and donations are made by NV2 calling it a “roll-back” or “backlash” or a return to “paternalistic ways” of helping the third world”:

PR: Die Leute, die spenden, was verstehen die dann?

NV2: Ich habe das Gefühl, dass so ein Roll-Back statt gefunden hat. Dass in den 70ern-80ern Verständnis von Solidarität, die Zivilgesellschaft zu unterstützen, stärker vertreten war als heute. Ich habe ganz massiv dieses Gefühl, dass heute wieder diese - ja wir helfen den Armen dort, und wir geben ein bisschen ab - also diese stark paternalistisch geprägte Einstellung herrscht da vor. Also, selbst meine eigenen Eltern spenden lieber in der Kirche nach Simbabwe, weil da kommen dann die zwei, drei Vertreter direkt und verkaufen ihre geschnitzten Puppen oder so was. Die finden die kreativ, sinnvoller als die Arbeit, die wir hier machen, das ist ihnen zu kompliziert. Sie wollen gerne, dass sie jemandem helfen können, der nichts hat (NV2:170-179)

The aim of co-operation should be a political will to change unjust S-N structures and not a patriarchal mentality of “helping” the helpless. The South is not helpless. It is a target of current and historical unequal relationships. The current discussion leads us to a fundamental questioning of the motivation of advocacy from individuals and institutions from the North to the South. Is it really altruistic or just motivated by guilt feelings of the colonial past, as SV 5 implies, by saying that the North is trying to get rid of the “white man’s burden”? Is it an outright desire to further dominate oppressed sections of the southern hemisphere: “But, you see, I have reservations about this kind of advocacy now-a-days. This whole notion of advocacy (0.5), the logic of advocacy-, this advocacy is from the unconscious premise of “white man’s burden”, (0.4) that this is our responsibility, we are the rich and we have to give or it is a kind of gateway, so we want to give (SV 5:148-150).

SV5 goes on in the interview calling upon northern advocates for commitment in word and deed and an immersion into the community in which one works. These discussion are reserved for Part five of the dissertation.

2.5.1.2.2.1.2 Selective Funding: Northern, Christian and Governmental Overseas Development Aid

This financial inequality also becomes clear from the sort of funding structures, the bureaucracy and the exclusion of non-Christian grassroots practised by Christian agencies in the North. This is important because the Christian funding agencies from the North are major players in development work on a S-N basis. One of the oft-repeated critics against church based NGOs and funding agencies is the use of their financial power to spread their religion in the South, supporting mainly Christian organisations and not challenging their own hierarchical, gender-biases and power relationships.⁶⁶

PR: <You were talking informally about church based NGOs->

SV7: [Yeah, church based NGOs. You see we were very upset. All these organisations now became of *CCD* no? In that they have brought in the name Christian or Christianity or something? And when we put that question: “why did you bring that term Christian or church?” <something, it comes->. Then, earlier, the name had a very secular feeling to it. Now it is like a religious feeling. You know because churches give the funding and they demanded that that name should be there. SO THE FUNDING IS FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OR TO KEEP YOUR IDENTITY, RELIGIOUS IDENTITY?

PR: And are there controls from them when you don't belong to a church?

SV7: If you see the funding pattern, all these church based organisations, if you see their funding it is for church based institutions, major funding, and maybe very minor funding comes to development organisations. Is it just to say that we are also into development programmes?

PR: And to whom does the major funding go?

SV7: It goes to the church institutions here.

PR: Like?

SV7: Like maybe religious institutions, some schools or hospitals. They function in the name of religion, right? I can give you the figures (SV7: 340-360).

As SV 7 mentions in the above citation, even today, the Church based funding agencies invite and encourage conservative Christian activists from India, in the sense of those who do not directly challenge the exclusive tendencies of such funding practices. Most so-called third world activists and experts that are invited by the Church groups here are Christians and they rarely raise the S-N issue when they are here. If ever they raise that issue, they are silent about exclusive and unjust practices of Northern Church groups in the South. The southern, Christian activists in this way “take care” not to lose funds from rich,

⁶⁶ Parallely, in the North, Church based funding agencies and NGOs openly advertise for potential employees with a “Christian” background or a “Christian” conviction, or make membership in a Christian Church as a pre-requisite for employment. This way, they exclude non-Christians and people with alternative views in the North. On the other hand, many migrants, among them Hindus, Buddhists, Jews and Muslims are automatically cut off from the selection processes. So there is a double discrimination exercised by Church based structures operating from the North: excluding particular kind of communities, both in the South and the North. Most Church based agencies in the North, while allotting funds and projects for NGOs in the South, demand a letter of recommendation from regional Church leaders in the South. While this may be acceptable, in certain cases, the local Church “hierarchy” is hardly politically active or is highly patriarchal and elite in its day-to-day operation. These kinds of practices defeat the purposes of democratic, non-discriminatory ends of S-N work.

Christian groups in the North. Similarly, to protect themselves from such critical questioning, the church groups do not invite people from the South who challenge the church's positions on important political issues. The churches can afford to do this only because they have the funds and people in the North blindly continue to donate to the churches, motivated by something sentimental and nostalgic, rather than real interest in confronting S-N inequalities. The questions to the Churches in the North are: are they giving from their excess, or are they challenging the privileged in the North? Are they only playing with their superficial guilt feelings, to relieve the "white man's burden", or are they truly interested in transforming unjust power structures?

It is interesting that networking among decision makers in the "richer" funding agencies and the implementers of state owned governmental aid programmes in Germany is very strong. Their association to grassroots, poorer NGOs is only functionalist. The employees in such state owned aid agencies, however reject this fact. They would rather keep silent and play with the system. In his diplomatic answers, NV6, for instance, defends the status quo.

PR: Sind wir da offen genug, <vor allem die Geldgeber-Organisationen->. Sind wir offen oder bereit genug, reif genug für so einen Ansatz?

NV6: Ich glaube, das Bundesministerium, diejenigen die z.Zt. für entwicklungspolitische Bildungsarbeit verantwortlich sind, ich glaube, die sind dafür bereit. Das sind auch beim Ministerium sehr weitsichtige Leute. Ich schätze sie durchaus und ich denke, auch in der EZ gibt es inzwischen genug Leute, die das eigentlich schätzen (NV6: 339-344).

This harmony between governmental ministries and the richer implementing, semi-governmental NGOs often amounts to guarding the status quo. A citation from NV1, a grassroots, NGO employee, proves the difficulty with such unholy alliances that work against and co-opt smaller, poorer NGOs.

NV1: Ich habe bei der Finanzierung des Projektes schon massive Probleme gehabt. Es fing damit an <dass ich versucht habe-> Entwicklungshilfe-Gelder aus den Ministerien zu kriegen. Die haben ja einen Haushalt im BMZ und da habe ich dann schriftlich die Antwort gekriegt, das geht nicht, das passt nicht in unsere Kriterien, es widerspricht unseren Kriterien, dass jemand eingeladen wird aus dem Süden, nicht um hier zu lernen, sondern um hier zu lehren. Es ist überhaupt nicht möglich, das zu finanzieren. Es ist überhaupt nicht drin (NV1: 293 -299).

Therefore, the relationship between the grassroots, poorer and critical, non-conforming advocates and the richer, conforming and co-opted implementers of governmental and semi-governmental programmes in the North is strained. Such strained relationship turns even more hierarchical as the distance between state run development ministries and beneficiary, Southern NGOs increases.

2.5.1.2.2.2 The Aid Business: Differential Valuing of Southern Services

The kind of discrepancies described above are also deductible from unequal salaries paid to Northern development workers and the salaries earned by Southern activists who are most of the time better qualified than their Northern counterparts. This discrepancy in payments has to do with a kind of differential valuing of similar services. The work of Northern actors is “valued” while the work of Southern actors is “under valued”. Discussing this differential valuing, which unjustly benefits, the North, Drew (2002: 11) lists other “undervalued” issues like local knowledge, local culture, and local perspectives

Criticising the same issue, NV7 argues for a more balanced payment structures for advocates and activists from the South and the North:

NV7: Ich denke die Leute <es ist gar nicht mal-, also->: es ist für mich beides, es ist nicht nur emotional und ethisch, <sondern auch, also->: durchaus wahnsinnig politisch. Also, wenn ich sage, Klassenverhältnisse, so hat das ja eine bestimmte Konnotation, da meine ich dann wirklich auch Klassenverhältnisse. In Südafrika war im Prinzip, eine Doppelstruktur von rassistischer Gesellschaft und Klassengesellschaft. Jetzt ist sozusagen eines aufgehoben, der politische Überbau der Rassismus aber die Klassen sind natürlich noch entlang der Bevölkerungsgruppen positioniert. Darum finde ich beides, <ähm: >, was ich finde, was Leute, die so lange <ich auch jetzt->: in dem Bereich arbeiten, irgendwann mal fehlt, ist irgendwie, ja, die Reflektion der eigenen Rolle. Ich gebe dir mal ein ganz konkretes Beispiel...Weil, wir kriegen da 1300 € als Unterhaltsgeld. Du kannst natürlich sagen, 1300 Euro ist ein Treppenwitz, es ist nicht viel. Aber wenn du überlegst, durch den Wechselkurs und alles, gehörst du mit diesen 1300 € absolut zur Oberschicht. Absolut. Egal, ob du dann 1300 oder 13000 Euro als Daimler-Benz Manager verdienst. Der Sprung ist relativ... Was heißt das? Also, was heißt das <wenn ich automatisch in so eine gesellschaftliche Oberschicht hineinrutsche, was heißt das,>: wenn ich in bestimmten Vierteln wohne, ja, was heißt das-, also z.B., auch wenn klar ist, und das ist in meiner WG in der ich wohne auch so, da kommt zwei Mal in der Woche eine Frau, ob ich will oder nicht, ich kann sie rausschmeißen, aber das ist meiner Meinung nach relativ kurzsichtig. Aber, wie gehen wir mit Hausangestellten um oder ganz oft <es ist nicht bei mir der Fall->: aber es gibt sozusagen Gärtner, Fahrer oder was auch immer. Was macht das mit uns, wenn wir einmal in so einem Machtverhältnis drinstehen? Das sind so Dinge, wo ich denke, na, damit muss man sich auseinandersetzen, dazu eine Position zu beziehen. Da möchte ich-, dass der *Gesellschaft für Frieden und Entwicklung* sich dazu verhält, weil das eben keine individuelle Frage ist. Ich glaube, <bei ganz Vielen ist es so->: die rutschen da so rein. Denen ist es am Anfang auch unangenehm, ja, die rutschen da rein aber die reflektieren das nicht mehr. Und irgendwann wird es ihnen angenehm und irgendwann wird's, wollen sie nicht mehr darauf verzichten. Es ist ja nett, wenn jemand anderes die Wäsche wäscht und jemand anderer das Essen kocht oder was auch immer. Ich finde, für mich geht das nicht. Also, für mein Weltbild und für meine Vorstellung von Gesellschaft geht das nicht...und deswegen meine ich eben, das hat für mich nicht immer etwas mit dem Herzen oder dem Gefühl zu tun, sondern auch sehr viel mit dem Verstand zu tun und mit dem politischen Bewusstsein (NV7: 95-135).

Similar critique is also raised by SV 13 questioning the high amounts of salaries that her Northern counterparts receive and questions the morality and legitimacy behind such practices. She also challenges this practise, arguing that, often, the Southern counterparts are more grassroots oriented and educationally better trained, have much more field experience than their Northern counterparts (SV13: 316ff).

2.5.1.2.2.2.1 Middle Men: Instruments for Implementing Financial Controls

Such financial controls are put in place through employing middlemen, being either individuals or institutions in the South, who purportedly serve to increase participation of the grassroots. In India, the Northern advocacy agencies employ middlemen belonging to dominant castes or similarly privileged individuals.

A quote from SV6, one such middleman, will serve to clarify matters:

SV6: The *Education for Transformation Centre (ETC)*, <the unit where I am the Chief Facilitator->: is basically a seed institution in the sense it gathers information, it gathers resources, and tries to provide those informational sources to the actual functionaries, actual activists in the sense that what you have got in the book (*book* here refers to the dissertation). So it is in between a purely theoretical concept and a purely activist concept, so in between the groups, it collects information, collects experiences from both sides and tries to merge into something of a workable product. Then it moves through its functionaries, to areas, to see that there is some kind of first understanding of the whole policy, understanding of the concept and maybe understanding of the situation within which those policies are to be realized. *ETC* is a small group and we have two focus areas under the overall objective of trying to improve the participation of the local in the development process and, as I said, the reason for taking that one aspect, the participatory aspect, was the background of the experience of some of us where we found that policies were nice, the laws are nice, but at the time of implementation, you find that there is a vast gap between the intention and the actual result (SV6: 20-34).

Although SV6 claims above that his role is to ensure participation and communication between the grassroots and the funding agency, in actual reality he acts as a spokesperson for the funding agency and not the grassroots. In other words, the grassroots are not their own spokespersons. It is the privileged individuals and established, upper class institutions who speak “for” the grassroots, underprivileged masses.

SV6 is again an example as to how far the TNANs are increasingly distancing themselves from the grassroots and, in this case, by employing elitist, status quo supporting higher caste persons in India. Although SV6 understands his role as an intermediary, other activist groups and grassroots agencies see such elite institutions employed by the Northern advocacy groups to run their projects in India as “consultants” and middle men who are incapable of reaching out to the grassroots. SV11 explains it well:

PR: These support agencies like *FIND*, are they the consultants?

SV11: Yes, they are the consultant kind of organisations. We won't know what the consultancies are talking about us to the funding agencies. The information is cut off, the communications is cut-off. It is independent. So intermediary organisations have developed. Funding agencies are there, the intermediary consultant agencies are there and then the grassroots organisations and other organisations. So there is no flow of communication between the two, <there will be intermediary people->: Unless these consultancies also communicate...

PR: [So to whom are the funding agencies listening really?

SV11: They are listening to the intermediary organisations because they are the consultants, they are giving consultancy. The funding agencies are not coming straight to you. They will listen only to the

intermediary and the consultants. They have been fixed by the funding agencies. This, I think, is a very dangerous time (SV11: 617-624).

2.5.1.2.2.1.1 Co-opting the Southern Elite

In this process of bureaucratisation of development work and the employment of middle class elite in the South as middlemen, another subtle control mechanism is evident: the co-optation of dominant groups in the South by the North into its developmental machinery. This co-optation becomes possible because dominant structures do not exist only in the North. Such structures are replicated in the South too. Most *dalit* activists and theorists, for instance, see parallels between S-N domination evident in the way TNANs function in India and the domination of *dalits* by upper caste groups in India. The possibility for dominant structures in the South to play an oppressive and discriminatory role over underprivileged groups in their own communities arises, among other reasons, from them being co-opted by the advocating individuals and organisations from the North.

PR: I have one question pestering me. Gopal Guru also said a similar thing. In his recent article “How egalitarian are the social sciences?” He spoke about knowledge being oppressed and dominated by the upper castes. For both of you a similar question is: why are you not so vocal about South-North issues...because I am talking from learning from the South. That means the North has to stop. at least, the advocates who are coming with the attitude saying, “We have to help the South”?

SV8: It is a very natural tendency. I go with that. You see, they think that they have everything to tell us and we are there to listen, like Brahmins tell the *shudras* (a term that denotes the so-called *untouchables*) and all that. Now we are telling Brahmins that they have nothing to learn from them, <please stop telling us->. In the same manner, we can tell the West we have nothing to learn from them, please stop this. Then they may say, “what about Christianity?” “But Christianity is not yours. They have everything to learn from Jesus who is our own fellow. Mohammed, our own fellow. Buddha, our own fellow. So Socrates, Plato, Aristotle <even if we do not read them we can survive->: We can effectively tell that and then there are many who now realise that. For example, Said (*referring to Edward Said*) tried to develop a thesis but he somehow depended methodologically on received knowledge (SV8: 491-507).

Such dominant structures in the South allow me to speak of the S-N divide in the South itself.

The explanation, below, of NV10 is a very clear confirmation of what some *dalits* said about the identity between oppression of *dalits* and power dynamics involved in S-N discriminatory structures.

NV10: Ich glaube, alles was ich jetzt darstelle mit meinem praktischen Wissen <auch mit meinen Überzeugungen->: ist wesentlich geprägt durch die Erfahrung im Süden. Also, bis jetzt auf diese Ebene so zu sagen. Also, <ich sehe aber auch->: also ich bin kein großer Theoretiker, muss ich sagen. <Ähm:>, ich sehe aber auch im Verlauf der Jahre mit dieser neuen Einstellung, dass es diese Nord-Süd-Teilung auch in Indien gibt, sozusagen. Dominante Eliten, denen sehr schwer beizukommen ist, <ähm:>, die sehr von sich selbst überzeugt und eingenommen sind und die nach wie vor die Politik entscheiden, die Meinungsmacher und auch die Politikplaner sind und (0.3) das

was wir wollen, eben auch, man müsste auch an dieser Front kämpfen. Es ist nicht nur, <also sozusagen->: wirklich kontinental eine Ost-West oder Nord-Süd Debatte, sondern es ist auch eine grundsätzlichere Debatte von herrschender Klasse oder Mehrheitsgesellschaft, dominanter Gesellschaft und marginalisierte Gesellschaft. Eine grundsätzliche Frage <über-, ja->: die Rechte, Existenzrechte und auch im konkreteren die Menschenrechte, <ähm: >, dass alle eine Chance haben, insbesondere diejenigen, die was weiß ich, die keinen Zugang zu Bildung, keinen Zugang zu Ressourcen usw. haben (NV10: 159-173 in: CS:363).

Critique regarding the exclusion of minorities was also brought forward by SV10, and others, referring to the absence of *dalits/migrants* in projects and organisations doing advocacy work. It is a clear indication of the legitimacy crisis of such advocacy work and organisations involved in such work. SV 10 concretely explains this non-representation of marginalised groups in projects devised for them by the dominant groups:

SV10: Take any funding agency in India, there are very, very less number of dalits working in their organisations. Though they are addressing the dalit issues they won't give space to them- they are not recognised. Still they are not recognised that much. Take, for example the organisation, (...) <better don't use the names->: there is no single dalit there, there is only one person working there although they did a study on Untouchability practices. That is the situation, there are very, very few dalits working in funding agencies (SV10:305-310).

The parallels between classical colonialism working with high castes in colonised societies and the manner in which northern TNANs co-opt privileged groups in their development projects are striking. That is how the colonial way of thinking is propagated among the elites in the South. (Young, 1990; 1995; Blaut, 1993; Morrow&Torres, 1995).⁶⁷ The examples of SV10, above, and NV10 (who refers to such practices as “Herrschaftswissen” (NV10:11) about Universities in Germany spreading a clichéd, apolitical image of India and development work, further illustrate this coalition between the privileged across the globe. Critique during the recent world social forum against some foundations in Germany working only with the elite and excluding radical, political groups in India was highlighted.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ This kind of co-optation and competition between Southern advocates and elite groups in the South is not new. It only continues the colonial legacy, well exemplified by the British policies in India, of co-opting and “using” local elites, kings, intellectuals and businessmen as middlemen to execute Northern, colonial desires in the South.

⁶⁸ See, “Globalisierungskritik mit neuem Akzent”. TAZ, 6 January 2004. „Die rund 250 im „Mumbai Resistance 2002“ zusammengeschlossenen Gruppen, hauptsächlich Spaltprodukte der bewaffneten Agraropposition der Naxaliten, werfen den Welt-Sozial-Form vor, die direkte Konfrontation mit den Herrschenden zu scheuen. Das Widerstandsforum will an die globalisierungskritischen Demonstrationen von Seattle, Prag und Genua ankämpfen, wo es um Teil zu heftigen Straßenschlachten kam. Die Militanten grenzen sich von den Sponsoren des WSF ab, zu denen ‚Handlanger des Imperialismus‘ wie die amerikanische Ford Foundation und die deutsche Heinrich Böll Stiftung gehörten“. Also see a related article: „Kriegserklärung der Kämpferin“. TAZ, 19 January 2004.

2.5.1.2.2.3 Alternatives to Financial Relationships

Drawing this discussion on financial controls to a gradual conclusion, SV 11 and SV 12 propose a change in the basis of relationship between advocacy workers in the South and the North. As seen in many citations above, the relationship is based on money, projects and contracts. The alternative lies in changing this basis and place more emphasis on partnership, ideas and values such as empathy, justice and equality. At the moment there are more “contractual”, fund based relationships rather than equal partnerships. Another way of putting it is that relationships between South and North are currently based more on finances than on common issues. SV 12, therefore, makes an interesting differentiation between transnational co-operations based on funding and co-operation based on “content and common goals” aimed at development and human rights. Such a basis for S-N relationship has implications on working on an equal basis. SV 12 explains, elsewhere, the difficulties of equal voice when the relationship is purely "fund" based, She calls it “issue based networking” vis-à-vis “fund based networking”(SV12:319ff). SV11 puts it this way: “Instead of contractual relationships we should have more partnerships”(SV11: 601ff). In contractual and financial relationships, development work falls into a methodology of “project-trap” without long-term commitment to people in the south, therefore lacking sustainability and not aiming at transforming unequal S-N relationships on the material and knowledge levels (Stephen, *n,d*:13). The task for the future is to place equal partnerships in the forefront and not mere formal contracts. My contention is that the northern TNANs are still working on the basis of a warped picture of the South - namely, abnormal, poor, needy subjects in the South. This relationship needs to be defined more positively. If this is not done, the dependency syndrome, which affects development work will continue to negatively impact the advocacy work of TNANs.

2.5.2 Control over Knowledge Resources

Besides financial inequalities between S-N, there lies another control mechanism that is relevant here: control over knowledge resources. Northern control over knowledge resources is managed through the constant surveillance over the South: the projects; publications about the South; textbooks and even United Nations Concepts and documents. Some term this as “scientific racism”(Banton: 1998; 1997; Dubow: 1995).

2.5.2.1 The Politics of Knowing the South

In recent years, development work has become “professional work” including research, intervention and developing the South: “An unprecedented will to know everything around the Third World flourished, growing like a virus...the Third World witnessed a massive landing of experts, each in charge of investigating, measuring, and theorising about this or that little aspect of Third World societies...at stake was a politics of knowledge that allowed experts to classify problems and formulate policies...in short, a regime of truths and norms about them”(Escobar, *ibid.*:46).⁶⁹ Said sees in such extreme interest in researching the South not an altruistic will to know the “other” and expand one’s horizon but a will to exercise power and possess the other, the South (2003: 12). Such a scramble to know the South, coupled with the domination of Northern individuals and institutions over research instruments, marginalizes experts in the South along with the Southern intellectuals, activists and theorists living in the North.

The life-story and experiences of SVN1 is a typical situation faced by Southern theorists and experts in the North as to what it means to be isolated in a field dominated by white researchers in universities and research institutions. It is also a clear example of the legitimization problems of Northern researchers who claim to research about the South and about anti-discrimination/intercultural learning without really taking into account the opinion of migrant experts active in this field. This is also a case of low expectations and a degrading picture of Southerners living in the North:

PR: Wie ist die Sicht von den Menschen aus dem Süden, auf die Arbeit, die die nördliche Advocacy Strukturen im Süden leistet? Wie kann man das dann nachhaltig machen? Ohne diese Sicht aus dem Süden? Mit zu wenig schwarzen Menschen in dem wissenschaftlichen Bereich hier? Da liegt ein Problem.

SVN1: Ich bin überzeugt, dass du Recht hast. Das Problem ist, dass ich hier sein muss, weil du gebraucht wirst. Und dieses Gefühl habe ich nicht. Jetzt bin ich isoliert, ich habe ein Beispiel gegeben, es gibt Ausnahmen aber im Großen und Ganzen, wird gesagt, ach, die können damit nicht umgehen, <ob das Geld ist oder ob es die Wissenschaftlichkeit ist->: wird oft nicht ernst genommen, und will nicht, dass man gewinnt an Einsichten in Prozesse und in die Gesellschaft daraus. Es ist, <ähm:>, ich bin der Meinung und ich antworte, dass es stimmt, ja, aber ich kann die Antwort nicht geben, wie man das ändert. Ich habe nur etwas auf kleiner Ebene zu sagen was möglich ist, <aber auf großer Ebene->: Bewusstseinsänderung oder auch, <ja, das ist ein, wir->: eine inhaltliche

⁶⁹ Also see, Escobar, Arturo. “Power and Visibility: Development and the Intervention and Management of the Third World. In: Cultural Anthropology, 3(4):428-443. This article can be accessed on the following website.

<http://www.unc.edu/~aescobar/arturoes.pdf>

I am grateful to my friend Eric van Grasdorff for the above two citations. See, van Grasdorff, Eric. “African Renaissance and Discourse Ownership in the Information Age: www.africavenir.org - An Experience on the Possible Impact of the Internet on the Ownership of the African Development Discourse”(Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität, Berlin, 2003) p. 26.

Bereicherung, nicht nur sozusagen etwas Gutes zu tun, sondern es gibt eigentlich sogar eine bessere Einsicht in gesellschaftliche Entwicklung, wenn Menschen von anderen Perspektiven, von anderen Ländern mit anderen Erfahrungen, dabei sind, und gleichberechtigt dabei sind. Dass das ein Gewinn ist, sehr wenige Institutionen haben das verinnerlicht, <eingebaut in ihr Programm->: (SVN1:594ff)

This issue has also to be seen in the context of extreme professionalisation of development work in the North discussed in earlier sections. For instance, individuals in the North who might just possess a graduate or post-graduate degrees on, say, Latin American studies or Indian ethnology, are automatically considered for the posts of area managers for Latin America or India in Northern agencies. Other important criteria of emotional and social competence, personal contact to Latin American or Indian migrants are not considered so essential. This is also a problem when seen in connection with qualified personnel in the South and among the migrants living in the North. Although Southern experts and certain migrants living in the North who may be very well in a position to do these jobs, due to various strategic reasons, only whites are posted in leading positions.

In reality, the reasons are the bureaucracy and increased employment of professional, paid workers. While professionalism may be useful, the decision makers and experts are Northern employees. The experts who run the bureaucracy of these TNANs are for the most part Western “experts” who have stringent measures, target group restrictions and control methods to “oversee” and direct projects in the South, for whom they “advocate.”

2.5.2.1.1.1 Middle Class Concepts

The result of such Northern control over knowledge resources leads to significant concepts emerging from the North, which reflect a lack of contact with the grassroots and an almost arrogant formulation of concepts. SV2 describes such concepts as “middle class” and far removed from the realities at the ground. SV2 criticises specific terms like “good governance” and “empowerment” that are extremely popular in development literature originating in the North.

PR: Exactly therefore my question. How can the locals manage to get away from this kind of, <what Habermas would call->: colonisation of life?

SV2: Yes, it is colonisation of life, but <they are colonising, because, that is why, you know, your MORAL RESPONSIBILITY comes you know, whether you should be responding to that, you don't criticise it sufficiently, you just, ah, deploy it without really thinking about the pros and cons of the whole usage of the terms-> Now, for example, this empowerment. Empowerment is picked up by everybody, ah. Civil society is picked up by every body, good governance is picked up by everybody. What is this good governance? Good governance is physical, material governance and it is a typically middle class oriented concept, you know. Good governance means you know, you require some kind of governance that ensures free flow of capital, accumulation and investment and you also, also side-by-side ensure some kind of good, disciplined, coherent civil life to the middle

class people in this country. So, the, <the->: politics of deploying governance as a category is catering only to the limited needs of the people, <and, so, but ->: you are suggesting as if good governance is really good for everybody. It may, but then, governance is good for everybody, governance itself, you know, you require some agency to govern you. Is it not? So already, ah, the need to have good governance <-an agency for good governance-> is wilted. The need to have good governance and the agency therefore is wilted. Is it really a guarantee for good governance? The moment you really construct the agency outside the society you really have an asymmetry developed already (SV2: 220-235).

This is a pointed critique aimed at some of the European/German intellectuals and activists who often use these words purely from a northern perspective. This is also an indication of how certain intellectuals and academics in the West, accept and propagate ideas and concepts developed by IMF, WB and certain think-tanks associated with the US. Such appropriation of the intellectuals and academics by the WB and IMF will be proved correct when one reads through and compares interviews with *dalits* (for instance SV2, SV8) with those of non-dalit, upper caste intellectuals, for instance (SV1, SV5 and SV6) in India. The non-dalit, upper class intellectuals usually take an uncritical stand regarding concepts originating in the North.

However, critique raised by certain Northern interviewees discusses the discrepancies involved in such Northern concepts.

PR: Lauft man jetzt nicht die Gefahr, <durch diese zunehmende Technokratisierung oder Durchfuhrung durch professionellere Organisationen-> dass diese Empathie weiter verloren geht und dieser Abstand zwischen Grassroots und den sogenannte *Advocates* aus dem Norden <die Gleichheit bringen wollen->: wachst? Gibt es eine Moglichkeit?

NV3: Es ist ein bisschen eine Gefahr, die ich noch davor sehe ist, <dass die->: dass die Projekte <also z.B. eine Good-Governance Sache->: die richten sich ja gar nicht an die Grassroots. Die sagen, da kann man sowieso nicht hin. Oder, wie fruher. Die Berufsbildungsprojekte, so banal und so bescheuert sie waren, da wurden Jugendliche ausgebildet. In Lateinamerika geht kein Jugendlicher in ein KfZ Werkstatt, auer der aus der Mittelschicht kommt. Mit dieser Art von Projekten, so bescheuert die waren, haben sie armen Jugendlichen wenigstens gelernt, wie man einen Auspuff anbaut und repariert. Damit konnten sie schon mal essen. Aber die heutigen Projekte finanzieren sich starker, <also die ganze Good-Governance-Sache->: richtet sich an die Institution, an Akteure, die in der Stadt oder in der Privatwirtschaft sitzen. Das ist sehr weit weg und, dass zwischen denen nicht kommuniziert wird, und sie sagen, die Projekte sind alt und sie bringen sowieso nichts. Diese deutschen Experten, diese Berufsschullehrer mussten sich wenigstens noch mit diesen Jugendlichen auseinander setzen. Sie haben sie noch gesehen und mit ihnen geredet, mit den Lehrern. Wenn sie nur noch im Ministerium sitzen, dann ist das doch sehr viel schlechter. Das ist die Gefahr, die ich so sehe (NV3: 387-405).

Such middle class concepts jump over, ignore, or experience a sort of blackout regarding the inherent, deep rooted Northern beliefs or myths around the South. Such beliefs among Northern individuals and populations affect development and advocacy on an international level. In a sense, it is important to de-mythologise the roots of eurocentrism, which has controlled knowledge resources down the centuries:

Like its better-known political cousin, Development, Eurocentrism proposes the western mode of life, economy and culture as a model to be adopted by the rest of the world, as the only solution to the challenges of our times. However, as European and North American scientific paradigms have been conceived in the context of temperate zones and their historical, cultural and material development, they are similarly conditioned by those contexts in the determination of collective thinking and action. These paradigms have spread to the rest of the world creating a breach between their societies and ours in the South. Advanced countries have been able to develop a strong knowledge-building capacity, in part with inputs from resources and riches of our southern nations. Some of those paradigms became dominant in many societies but the resulting imbalance has produced not only a powerful economic base in the North supported by sophisticated technologies but also a one-sided worldwide political and economic system posed to favour the richer countries where southern realities and facts may be unknown, disregarded or unilaterally exploited.⁷⁰

Depending on the above-mentioned discrepancies in financial, material and knowledge inequalities between the South and the North, development work often falls into a methodology of “project-trap”(Stephen, n.d: *ibid*). It lacks sustainability and focussed aims at structural transformation, betraying the need for long-term commitment to people in the South.

2.6 The Post-development Critique

Owing to the above controls, marginalisation of southern individuals and organisations in the now economised and bureaucratised development work, post-development critics search for alternatives to “development”. Such post-development alternatives originate mostly in the South. (Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). “Developmentalist rhetoric” originating from the North is, thereby, criticised as being a creation and dissemination of a capitalist discourse. Global capitalism is a system of power against which local communities and new social movements are struggling. The stress is upon safeguarding, supporting and enriching local and hybrid models of economy to encounter development and modernity. This encounter “reflects cultural contestations that take place as capital attempts to transform the life of communities”(Gibson-Graham & Riccio in Gibson-Graham, *et al*, 2001 citing Escobar, *ibid*:99).

The Post-developmental critique calls into question the idea that development is always the *cure*, never the *cause* of the misery and inequality, authoritarian regimes and civil strife, ecological devastation that are visible in much of the “Third World” today. Development that emerged in the post-war period is basically a western imposition on the

⁷⁰ See Fals-Borda & Mora-Osejo. “Context and Diffusion of Knowledge”. In: Action Research. 1(1): 32

Southern, third world nations. It needs to be recognised as a carefully constructed discourse, historically produced and culturally institutionalised. The problem of underdevelopment and its supposed solution are articulated within these artificially produced structures. Development, as defined in the West, is offered as the only solution. The result is the creation of an array of development institutions, which include universities, national and multinational granting agencies, Christian funding agencies, specialised think tanks and NGOs in the North. The emergence of TNANs must also be seen in this context and criticised to become aware of the legitimisation problems related to the remains of colonial thinking and practice. These institutions defined the symptoms and causes of underdevelopment and devised means to eradicate them. “In this manner power is exercised among and over the peoples of the third world as much through repression as through normalising the need for development”(ibid:61).

2.6.1 Production of Abnormal Subjects: A Negative Picture of the South

Decades of such implementation of destructive developmental view, as practised in the case of countries like India and elsewhere in the South, led to the internalisation in people’s minds, images and practices relating to what it means to be developed and underdeveloped. “It has portrayed and brought into being ‘abnormal’ subjects, such as the illiterate, the malnourished, small farmers, and landless peasants, who need to be ‘reformed’ for development to ‘take off’ (ibidem.) It defined and created clichés and niches for the “villager”, the “third world woman”, members of the “informal sector”, and various populations of the underdeveloped world in whose name development projects are formulated and carried out. SV2 refers to such construction of the South, as a “domination of the realm of ideas”:

SV2: Why should people really differentiate between theory and praxis? <Theoreticians and activists->: why do they differentiate? What is the politics of really doing this? That question we have to keep in mind. I, <.hhhh>: because, the realm of ideas is also the realm of domination, actually. And (0.7) this, ah, differentiation comes in as a part of that mechanism of domination. That you, you are <ähm> superior, just because you can make better argument, you have the capacity and all, that does not help. After all there is, if you take this idea of egalitarianism <there is an epistemological egalitarianism that people talk about meaning that, you know, in the intellectual epistemological ground->: everyone is equally capable of or incapable of doing theory, understanding themselves, handling themselves and that there is no hierarchy involved in that. If that is the egalitarian understanding of epistemology, then that argument, <you know->: that certain amount of hierarchy creeps into epistemology is a construct. It is not automatic. It comes as part of a design of somebody. So the design is to maintain domination in the realm of ideas . <You might have read this Noam Chomsky and James Petras and all that->: Those are the people who are

working on these themes: What is the role of intellectuals from the South and that is what they have been doing all these years ->⁷¹ (SV2:61-78)

Although SV2 is discussing the issue of theorists and activists, the critique clarifies the point under question: the domination of northern advocacy structures in constructing hierarchies and the resulting objectification of Southern individuals and individuals as “epistemologically” inferior and, therefore, in perpetual need of Northern assistance.

The question, therefore, in the context of our discussion on TNANs, is to ask as to how far the “advocates” of human rights and justice populating these networks, originating mostly in the North, free from this biased, constructed view of the South. In this bias and exclusion lies the danger of not giving the deserved place for the “poor” whom they are fighting “for”. Daniel Mato, using Freire’s words, writes: “what is needed is a “with-the-subject, dialogue approach...working with the people, using a dialogical and problem-solving education”(Mato, 2000:492 citing Freire, 2002: 79ff). The option should be to work “with” them and not merely “for” them and thus, the imperative and the possibility to learn from them. In the context of my dissertation, it would be “learning from the South”. The conditions for such dialogical approach are not present in the given situation of inequality between the South and the North as described in earlier sections. I reflect upon such approach of learning from the South in detail in part four of the dissertation. Perhaps the first step in this direction is to recognise and realise that the practise of working with a negative image of the South needs to be stopped.

⁷¹ SV2 is referring to the following works of Chomsky and Petras:

Chomsky, Noam & Hermann, Edward. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

Chomsky, Noam. *Year 501: The Conquest Continues*. Boston: South End Press, 1993.

Chomsky, Noam. *World Orders, Old and New*. Fourth Impression, 2003. First Published in New Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks, 1999.

Petras, James and Veltmeyer, Henry. *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st Century*. Delhi: Madhyam Books, 2001.

2.6.1.1 Negative Campaigning for Donations: Production of the Negative South

A whole component of the production and instrumentalisation of the oppressive situations existing in the South is illustrated in the case of campaigning for donations by Northern funding agencies for their work in the South. Donations are easy to obtain when sought in the name of patriarchal charity and not out of political will. NV2 gives a good analysis of the problems with donations and the false philosophy of “helping the helpless” (see citation NV2:170-179 under section 2.5.1.2.2.1.1 above) behind it. It also is a critique against the negative projection of the South by funding agencies to gather funds in the North.

Such philosophy of patriarchy (“wir helfen den Armen dort”) and a degraded projection of the South are further strengthened by the kind of posters, pamphlets and related literature produced by northern funding NGOs in the process of gathering donations for their involvement in the South. Such campaigns portray mostly malnourished and ill-clad children on the streets, tired women in tattered saris in rural surroundings, mutilated children or men in war-torn regions of the South. It is, therefore, a devastated, poor, injured, pitiful and mutilated picture of the South. One needs to search wide and large to find more energetic, creative and critical pictures of the South in such campaigns. The campaigns hardly focus on supporting action groups or grassroots initiatives in the South. The appeal through such negative campaigning is to the patriarchal psyche, which generated a “do-gooder” feeling in the donors, and ultimately reinstates the “superiority” of men, women and institutions in the North over their counterparts in the South. Such campaigns avoid a direct confrontation of the unearned privileges of the North and the responsibility in confronting unjust S-N imbalances. The subconscious message is: “look at the suffering, helpless, chaotic south. Just do not think what the reasons are for the situations-just help with a few dollars, or euros.”⁷²

PR: Genau. Es gehört zu meinem Kommentar über die Menschen, die armen Menschen helfen wollen. Wenn wir die Werbung, ich formuliere, ja, meine Fragen immer anders, wenn wir die

⁷² One striking campaign poster of one of the large evangelical funding agency in the North, after the Afghan invasion of the US said: “Tausende Fragen, eine Antwort: Helfen”. The latest campaign from a leading Catholic Funding agency, accompanied by pictures of a malnourished African child, goes like this: “Warum werde ich nie Satt? Warum darf ich das Wasser nicht trinken? Warum gehe ich nicht zur Schule? Warum habe ich nur ein altes Hemd? Warum eine Patenschaft doppelt hilft? Wie kann ich Pate werden?” A similar campaign has this as the lead slogan: „Hoffnung kostet einen Euro pro Tag. So spenden Sie Hoffnung... Ein Kind, eine Familie, ein Dorf, ein Land, eine Welt. Wie kann ich Pate(*Godfather*)werden?”. While these questions are somewhat acceptable, the answers lie on a totally patriarchal mode: Become a Patron of these helpless children. That will solve all the problems.

Plakate von Geldgebern sehen, da gibt es immer wieder dieses Thema von Hilfe und es geht nicht um die Hintergründe und darum was sind die Süd-Nord-Verhältnisse. Das wollen die Leute nicht hören oder wollen die Geldgeber nicht fragen, den Menschen nicht bewusst machen?

NV2: Ich denke, beides. Die Geldgeber oder sagen wir mal so, Spendensammler, die bedienen, was die Leute gerne auch hören wollen. Die wollen es gerne einfach und Almosen geben, Helfen, meine arme kleine Schwester unterstützen->: <Kinder, ah, ich habe immer meine Liebblings-Feind-Anträge sind manche, die möchten schwangere Frauen unterstützen, weil das so, man pickt sich halt das heraus, wo man sagt, ja, die sind besonders arm dran und die will ich unterstützen. Das glaube ich schon, das bei vielen Leuten, was sie gerne aufrecht erhalten möchten und das gibt es wieder viel, viel mehr zunehmend, als noch vor etlichen Jahren und ist von den Spendensammlern bedient worden und damit wird auch das Bild völlig schlecht geprägt. Je mehr ich beruflich in dieses Feld einstieg, merkte ich, dieser Grundkonsens über Solidarität und Bildungsarbeit ist nicht vorhanden, sogar er ist völlig verloren gegangen.

PR. Was könnten die Gründe sein für diesen Verlust?

NV2. Also, <hhhh>. Als Wesentliches ist es einmal halt der Kampf um die Spenden. Die finanziellen Zustände sind anders geworden, und da gab es 1994 bis 95 in Deutschland im Spendenmarkt einen Einbruch, das hat etliche aufgerüttelt. <Ähm::>, mir war es völlig unerklärlich, aber ich denke, dass viele von der nachrückenden Generation einfach diesen Gedanken von Solidarität nur noch als theoretisches Konstrukt kennen oder ein völlig anderes Verständnis haben, als ich das habe (NV2: 271-287).

As NV2 describes above the motive of helping the poor, helpless people in the South (“meine arme, kleine Schwester unterstützen”) dominates the more political motive of solidarity and education for change (“Solidarität und Bildungsarbeit”). NV2, in fact, says that political, sustainable values like solidarity and transformatory education have been completely lost. There have been efforts in the past by some critical funding agencies and NGOs in the North to work against some of those campaigns. Few years ago, a couple of concerned NGOs published a paper describing the destructive nature of such patriarchal approach to the South. The paper titled, *Warum wir keine Kinderpatenschaften vermitteln?* examines some of the damaging impacts of such negative campaigning: one specific instance is the critic they raised against advertising for Northern sponsors or “godfathers” (“*Kinderpatenschaften*”) for Children in the South:

Armut als schicksalhaft dagegen darzustellen, das weist dem „reichen“ Spender automatisch die Position des Überlegenen zu und erzeugt eine Gefälle vom Geber zum Nehmenden. Die Gefühle des Spenders werden geschönt und gestreichelt, die des Empfängers weniger. Gefälle sagt er, der oben steht. Für die anderen ist das eine mörderische Steigung. Das oben und das unten, das Gefälle bzw. die Steigung haben Ursachen. Die Unterentwicklung hat sich geschichtlich entwickelt. Wenn diese Geschichte jedoch ausgeklammert wird, muss die Armut der Dritten Welt als ihr Schicksal erscheinen... Viele Bürger hier (in Deutschland/Europa) wollen nicht immer wieder in Debatten über Kolonialismus, Ausbeutung, Unterdrückung und Widerstand verwickelt werden.“⁷³

⁷³ Aktionsgemeinschaft Solidarische Welt e.V. “Warum wir keine Kinderpatenschaften vermitteln“. An Occasional Publication in collaboration with Arbeitsgruppe Kinder in der Dritten Welt and *terre des homes* Berlin: n.d.

Also see the following literature: *terre des homes* “Beihilfe zum Hunger”. Occasional Pamphlet, 1986.

Famung, Angelika(Ed.). Die verkauften Kinder. Patenschaften -eine Hilfe für die Dritten Welt? Wuppertal: No Pub., 1982.

Gern, Wolfgang. “Was du den Armen gibst, ist nicht dein Gut: Zur Problematik von Einzelpatenschaften für die Armen in der “Dritten Welt”. No Pub., 1986.

Lisch, Ralf. „Den Spendengeldern auf der Spur“ In test: 12/85.

Such hegemonic, dysfunctional helping and campaigning for funds and help for the South avoids all discussion about the history of underdevelopment, colonialism and oppression. It fails to question the motives behind the readiness of Northerners to help the South. It has become a systematic colonisation of prosperity (“Kolonialismus der Wohltätigkeit”):

Wenn aber einer Organisation... jedes Mittel der Werbung recht ist, so muß sie sich schon nach den Motiven ihre Hilfe für die Menschen in der Dritte Welt fragen lassen. Im allgemein wird die Situation der Dritten Welt wird beispielsweise in der Werbung der Empfänger erniedrigt, entblößt, verunglimpft, so entlarvt die Hilfe sich selbst als "Kolonialismus der Wohltätigkeit."⁷⁴

2.6.1.2 Negative Images of the South in Literature, Media and Text Books

These attitudes are not restricted to the campaigns for donations of development agencies in the North. This negative picture of the South is extended to scientific and non-scientific literature, textbooks in schools, rhetoric of politicians systematically embedded in the hearts and minds of Northern populations. What crystallises, in the end, through all these media, is a catastrophic picture of the South:

Im allgemein wird die Situation der Dritten Welt symptomatisch beschrieben -Erklärungen für die Ursachen von Armut, Ungerechtigkeit, Abhängigkeit usw. kommen kaum vor. Die Dritte Welt erscheint als das Zentrum von Naturkatastrophen, Unruhen und Kriegen und bestärkt die in der Öffentlichkeit weit verbreiteten entsprechenden Stereotype und Vorurteile. Ein solches Bild der Dritten Welt zeichnet eine Zweiteilung, in der die Menschen... der Entwicklungsländer die Rolle der zu Errettenden, die reichen Geber in den Industrieländern die Rolle der Retter annehmen. Eigenständige Überlebensstrategien der Menschen in den Ländern der Dritte Welt bleiben unberücksichtigt, da diese den Hilfeansatz... stören würden. Grundlegende Forderungen der Dritten Welt, zum Beispiel nach einer neuen Weltwirtschaftsordnung, bleiben gleichfalls ein Randthema. Damit erscheint die Dritte Welt grundsätzlich als notleidend und daher hilfebedürftig - ihre Lage kann nur von außen geändert werden. Sie kann sich nicht selbst befreien.⁷⁵

The proposed alternative to such a one-sided, negative view of the South must be efforts at projecting a positive and differentiated picture of the South.

It is not only Christian funding agencies or other NGOs that work with these negative images of the South. This mentality is also reflected in governmental aid campaigns from the North. These campaigns which move between negativism and exotism, never really project a differentiated, positive picture of the South.⁷⁶ Further aspects of such

Müller-Werthmann, Gerhard. Markt der offenen Herzen. Spenden-ein kritischer Ratgeber. Hamburg: No Pub., 1985.

⁷⁴ “Kolonialismus der Wohltätigkeit” In: sozial extra, September 1988. In the same issue, see: Liebel, Manfred, *et al.* “Kinder und Spenderwerbung”.

⁷⁵ See, Horlemann, Jürgen. „Zur Öffentlichkeitsarbeit von Patenschaftsorganisationen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den Jahren 1984 und 1985. Unpublished Manuscript. 1987:116. Cited in:

Aktionsgemeinschaft Solidarische Welt e.V. “Warum wir keine Kinderpatenschaften vermitteln?“ :5.

⁷⁶ Some other similar exotic campaigns about the South are mentioned in the Bibliography under Discography, Pamphlets, and Manuscripts sections.

victimisation of the South will be taken up in part Four, “Learning from the South”. Here, I conclude this discussion on images of the South in the context of S-N advocacy.

In sum, when culture or values are defined in the context of development work and advocacy of TNANs, they are often those defined by affluent countries leading to alienation or suppression of local, grassroots’ values and cultures. “The more wealth and power are concentrated (in the North), the more there is inequality and the greater the potential for disorder and social chaos”(Arruda, 1996:206). It is clear from the above arguments that in the current S-N development work, wealth and power are being concentrated in the North. The North, consciously and unconsciously, implements these power mechanisms to produce and define identities and cultures of individuals and groups in the South thus making them objects of its development desires. The resulting practices only continue to dehumanise the South and keep it “dependent” on Northern definitions and strategies for change. It fails, in this manner, to recognise their objective and creative potential in defining the terms of development.

Considering the above symptoms in the operation of TNANs that illustrate their being co-opted and infused by the value systems of economic globalisation, one observes a deficit in legitimacy of their operations. This deficit needs to be acknowledged, and steps taken to search for positive alternatives to aid effective operation. I am not arguing that there is no need for transnational advocacy. Rather, I am arguing that they need to tackle this deficiency of legitimation to become more effective in the future. In order to legitimately talk about S-N advocacy work and not just jargonise the “global-world”, the colonial skeletons of the past need to be dismantled. There needs to be an open and honest dialogue between advocates from the North and “beneficiaries” in the South. Therefore, here, it is important to touch briefly upon some of the crucial elements and historical reasons that led to the domination of the North over the South. This is a pre-condition for the North to start a new learning process “with” the South and not to continue to help, oppressing and objectify the South.

2.7 Continuation of Colonialism-Ideology of White Superiority

Ideology is not negative in the first place. It is rather a neutral holding of certain beliefs. However, there are pejorative beliefs in certain kinds of persons, groups and communities.

This is carefully orchestrated by dominant discourses in an economically dominated society (Eagleton, 1991:44ff).⁷⁷ One should not think that ideologies as some simple, clearly defined, easily undoable rational constructs. The expression of ideologies in terms of racist or fundamentalist outbursts is only the tip of the iceberg. One must remember the deep-seated, “affective, unconscious, mythical or symbolic dimensions of ideology”(ibidem). The creation, cultivation and re-enforcements of ideology and discourse of superiority through political practices and the media need to be tackled.

Ideology of Development as a way to impose Western standards and market-controls result in extreme violence and deaths (Schrijvers, 1993; Stiglitz, *ibid*:xiv-xv). It is a choice for intellectuals and practitioners in the North, therefore, to tone their theoretical activities with the discourse of grassroots organisations of disadvantaged groups (Schrijvers, 1996). The members of the South, the “receivers”, are not consulted adequately when unilateral decisions are taken to determine their future. The result is a continuous influx of refugees and migrants into industrialised countries that, in turn, are increasingly becoming xenophobic with their anti-immigration politics and security systems. They fail, consistently enough, to ask questions of justice and equality in world relations before they thematise the “victims”, their criminality and illegality before they ever criticise their own unjust international politics and actions. The classic example of the support of IMF, WB and some European countries, including Germany, to the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam in spite of the decade long protest by the *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (Save Narmada Movement) and other community based groups in India shows the reluctance of the western governments to stop their unilateral imposition of structural violence to protect their own interests There are similar examples also from Sri Lanka and other countries (Schrijvers, 1993).

Terry Eagleton analyses how such processes of domination can be rationalised and *legitimised* both by the dominated and the dominant groups: “an important device by which an ideology achieves legitimacy is by universalising and ‘eternalising’ itself. Values

⁷⁷ The term ideology has a wide range of historical meanings, all the way from the unworkably broad sense of the determination of thought to the suspiciously narrow idea of the deployment of false idea in the direct interests of a ruling class. Very often, it refers to the ways in which signs, meanings and values help to reproduce a dominant social power; but it can also denote any significant conjuncture between discourse and political interests. From a radical standpoint, the former is pejorative, while the latter is more neutral.

and interests, in fact specific to a certain time and place, are projected as the values and interests of all humanity. The assumption is that if this were not so, the sectoral, self-interested nature of the ideology would be too embarrassingly large, and so would impede its general acceptance”(ibid:54). The ideology affecting S-N advocacy is in the widespread belief that there is a “weak” and “needy” South and an enlightened, developed North acting as the “helper” and “problem-solver”. This ideology of the “helper-helped” and the “developed-underdeveloped” relationships need to be transformed and replaced with advocacy work based on equality and justice.

When such Eurocentric and neo-Colonialist ideologies are strongly influencing S-N advocacy work in the field of development, the continuing unearned privileges for advocates from the North lead to disadvantages for advocates from the South. This Eurocentric dimension is also obvious in the current priorities adopted by major documents and tasks the UN set for itself. The magic phrase currently used even by the United Nations is “halving poverty by the year 2015” enshrined in its Millennium Declaration (see footnote 62 above). This is a pristine example of the domination of economic narrative in S-N development work. In this declaration, the UN sets 2015 as a target and task to reduce world poverty to half of its current levels. Although the millennium development goals refer to economic, justice, structural adjustment, hunger and role of the poor, in actual practise, it is the economic aspects and wrangling around them that play a dominant role. What makes it further Eurocentric is a drastic neglect of challenging and self-reflecting the role of Northern governments and policies in the increasing poverty of this world. Six of the eight goals focus on the “problems” in the South and specify the role of developing governments and their responsibilities in the name of good governance.⁷⁸ The other two goals refer to a vague international responsibility, which is supposed to involve the wealthier countries too. There is very little challenge and questioning of the dominant role of Northern nations. Such documents and recommendations, being dominated by Northern countries, conveniently turn a blind eye to the centuries of business and power politics between the South and the North that are actually responsible for the dilapidated state of

⁷⁸ In summary, the following are the eight major goals of the Millennium Declaration: 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger: reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day; reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger. 2. Achieve Universal Primary Education;. 3. Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women. 4. Reduce Child Mortality. 5. Improve Maternal Health. 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. 7. Ensure environmental sustainability. 8. Develop a global partnership for development.

the South.⁷⁹ Instead of talking about the giving up of the unearned or unjustly earned privileges of the North, they talk about helping the South to become like the North. The focus is mostly on the responsibilities of the South accompanied by reluctance to call into question the domination exercised by the North.

The inadequacy and slow progress of such lop-sided plans by international organisations dominated by the North is reported in the Social Watch Report, 2004.⁸⁰ This is where TNANs need to act and stress aspects of justice and retribution on the part of the North and not on the paternalistic rhetoric about “forgiveness of debts” and demands for “good governance” in the South. Fanon (1990), in the past, criticised similar practices of the colonisers as having been strategically implemented to make the colonised believe that they cannot take care of themselves. Current initiatives by the United Nations, which are increasingly being also dominated by the G8, conveniently ignore historical facts of racism and unjust international power structures, and instead, demand that the poorer countries “improve” their own situations. If the richer countries in the North are not ready to acknowledge their dominating role-accredited to it through historical practices, what good is it to construct this rhetoric of the poorer, Southern countries learning “good governance”? If the rich do not share their wealth how can the poor reduce their poverty? (Rahnema in Sachs, 1997:211-35). In this way, the responsibility of transforming unequal structures is pushed on to the so-called developing countries-the traditional losers in this S-N struggle. This is a fundamental contradiction that actually calls into question the intentions of the North: how can one reduce poverty when major, material and intellectual resources are under the control of the rich, industrialised individuals and nations? How can one “halve poverty”, the main aim of the UN Millennium Development Goals (see footnotes 62 and 79 above), when the rich and the industrialised are not called into question and are not ready to forego their privileges? The talk should be more of “halving

⁷⁹ Papers presented at the Conference titled *Dominanz des Nordens? Akteure und Praxisfelder internationaler Zivilgesellschaft*, 2-3 July, 2004 held at the Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin deal in-depth with the theme of the domination of Northern advocacy in the South.

⁸⁰ See “Armut schafft erst Unsicherheit”. TAZ, July 2, 2004. „Die Autoren des Berichts analysieren die soziale Lage in 49 Ländern und kommen zu dem Schluss, dass die Bekämpfung von Armut und die Verwirklichung der Menschenrechte Vorrang haben müsse vor dem Kampf gegen Terrorismus. *Die Fortschritte bei der angestrebten Halbierung der weltweiten Armut seien zu gering*, so Heidelberg“ (Sprecher des Forum Weltsozialgipfel). See “Armut schafft erst Unsicherheit”. TAZ, July 2, 2004 (*Italics* and text in brackets mine).

the riches of the industrialised countries” rather than on “halving the poverty of poorer countries”.

Such economic rhetoric, moreover, excludes humans on the basis of their class, color, religion, nationality and sex. One may call it “economic colonisation” of the South, which leads to modern forms of racism in S-N relations. A citation from NV4 shows up the contradiction or the legitimation crisis that I am tackling here, namely, the remains of colonial thinking among northern advocates and institutions:

Ich habe dann Entwicklungspolitik gemacht als Schwerpunkt, war in Kenia, habe eine Diplomarbeit geschrieben über ein Projekt vom Deutschen Entwicklungsdienst, das ich kritisch beleuchtet habe, <ähm:> wo ich sagen würde, das war dann die erste Lektion „vom Süden lernen“, also auch die Befassung mit der Frage, welche Rolle spiele ich in einem anderen Land, also wie weit komme ich in diesem Kontext von Entwicklungstheorie und Entwicklungspolitik und hatte eigentlich die Idee, zunächst mal anderen zu sagen, etwas zu vermitteln merkte dann aber ganz schnell, dass die lernende Person ich selbst bin und nicht die anderen. Also, das ist eigentlich sehr stark, wenn es um die eigenen Erfahrungen geht. Ich bin dann dabei geblieben, Entwicklungspolitik zu machen und habe dann immer versucht, <ähm:>, das weiter zu machen, also, Entwicklungspolitik mit so einem selbstreflektierten Anspruch, bin ich auch nicht in die Entwicklungspolitik gegangen, sondern...wobei ich das sehr problematisch fand, die Rolle, die Leute spielen, wenn sie im Süden arbeiten, äh, und im Grunde wenig das System des kolonialen Erbes in dieser Entwicklungspolitik hinterfragen. Also, Ich habe auch schwierige Erlebnisse gehabt, wo ich fand, eben Leute, die sich als Deutsche in Kenia bewegen, rassistisch sind (NV4: 16- 31).

What NV4 refers to her experiences in Kenya as “racism”, is a strong comment. I refer to it, rather, as a continuing lack of legitimation resulting from an internalised domination among people in the North who wishes to work for or “help” the South. I summarise below the spheres, agencies of the above-mentioned continuing colonisation, and its impacts on individuals and groups in the South.

2.7.1 Continuing Colonisation on Various Levels

When economic concerns dominate the pro-and anti-colonisation struggles, people struggling against other forms of discrimination are excluded resulting in colonisation of different aspects. For a clearer understanding of the colonisation on different levels, I list below the different forms of continued colonisation operating, consciously and unconsciously, in transnational relations. *Agency* here refers to the mechanisms used to colonise the respective sphere.

Sphere of Colonisation	Agency	Impact on the South
Economy	Market Controls	Extreme Poverty
Culture	Anthropological Research	Homogenisation of cultures
Identity Formation	Media and Political Rhetoric	Production of Abnormal subjects
Education	Research, Publications and Text Books	Instrumentalisation and co-optation of Local Knowledge and Critique
Mobilisation	Control over Funds to NGOs	Hindering collective consciousness and revolutionary potential of grassroots organisations

Table Five. An Overview of the Spheres of Colonisation, its Agencies and Impacts on the South

As listed in the table above, various agencies are systematically put in place to produce the required impacts on the South through the colonisation of the various spheres.⁸¹ Foregoing discussions on economic globalisation, culture and identity offer sufficient explanation to the first two spheres of colonisation. In further parts of the dissertation, deeper reflection and analysis of the colonisation of identity formation (Chapter Three), education (Chapter Four) and Mobilisation (Conclusions) will be taken up. To put it in a nutshell here, however, the North has Colonised Reality, the life-world of the South. One of the clearest impacts of such colonisation on S-N development work is the tendency of *Southernism* in the North. I devote the concluding parts of this chapter to describe this phenomenon.

2.8 Southernism: Beyond Orientalism

This critique stems from reflections upon Said's *Orientalism* and Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Said, 1978),⁸² which was later contextualised by Escobar (*ibid*) and Spivak

⁸¹ This table is inspired by the concepts of crisis tendencies in modern societies, the colonisation of life world and its mechanisms referred to by Jürgen Habermas.

Habermas, Jürgen. *Legitimation Crisis*. Trans. Thomas McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975: 2ff.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Vol. 2: Life-world and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason. Tr: Thomas McCarthy. Reprint Ed. Cambridge Polity Press, 1995.

Also see, Reddy, Prasad. *Participatory Communicative Action: An Indian reading into the Philosophical-Political-Social Analysis of Contemporary Society in the Writings of Jürgen Habermas*. Master's Thesis. Dharmaram Vidyakshetram, Bangalore, 2000:17ff ; 45ff.

⁸² Said writes: "I have found it useful here to employ Michel Foucault's notion of a discourse, as directed by him in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and in *Discipline and Punish*."

I interpret Said's discussion of the construction of the Orient and its subsequent domination as also referring to all the former colonies of the West. It is the mechanism and the method of "knowing" and "dominating" the colonies that is of interest for our consideration in this context. Therefore, while referring to the "Orient", we may logically also read it as the "South." Similarly, "Occident" can be read as "North." Prominent post-

(1990).⁸³ One of the most revealing works regarding the domination of the West over the East in the form of mythologizing and mystifying the peoples, cultures and ways of life in the East is by Said's *Orientalism*: "Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient-dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views about it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over it" (Said, *ibid*:3). By a form of knowing to control, through discourse over *Orientalism*, "...European culture was able to manage-and even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period"(*ibidem*.). Said repeats it in his subsequent reflections on *Orientalism*: "Doch es gibt ein Unterschied zwischen dem Wunsch, im Interesse des eigene Horizonts eine fremde Kultur zu verstehen, und dem Versuch, sich Wissen zu verschaffen, um *ein Land unter seine Kontrolle zu bringen*"(Said, 2003:12. *italics mine*; Said, 2004).

Since the address of William Jones to the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1786 about the complicated origins and relationships between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, the fascination with distant cultures was initiated in the West⁸⁴. This resulted in the intellectual hunt for the "Orient" and the expansion of philology in the western world, producing Orientalism, which was considered to offer an explanation of European civilisation itself. The underlining point of this fascination was the revolutionising of the belief in the origins of languages. Until Jones's pronouncement, Hebrew was considered the source language. Since his pronouncement, a new conception of linguistic history was put into place. The tragic undertones of this new turn of events were that "the authentic and useful science of linguistics became absorbed in the crazy doctrine of racial anthropology."⁸⁵ This was a

developmentalist critics also use such argumentation, juxtapositng Said's critique on to the critique of S-N relationships of power.

⁸⁴ „The Sanskrit Language, whatever its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine all three, without believing them to have sprung from common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists”, p. 53. See. Asiatic Researches 1788. Cited in Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*. Tr: Edmund Howard. London: Chatto & Windus, 1974.

⁸⁵ Poliakov. *ibid*: 193. Cited in Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, *ibid*:58.

result of the fact of language being deeply connected with national and cultural identities. Moreover, the link between the diversity of languages and the diversity of racial identity gave rise to ethnology, the precursor of modern anthropology. The work of Said, is therefore important, because it describes the “various disciplines, institutions, processes of investigation and styles of thought by which Europeans came to ‘know’ the ‘Orient’ over several centuries, and which reached their height during the rise and consolidation of nineteenth century imperialism”. The crucial point here is to “demonstrate the link between knowledge and power, for it ‘constructs’ and dominates Orientals (Southerners) in the process of knowing them”(ibidem. Words in parenthesis mine). It is a process by which the industrialised nations name, identify and homogenise developing nations.

The analysis of developmental discourse has been compared to Said’s study of the discourses on the Orient. Said, for instance, interprets *Orientalism* as a carefully crafted discourse, which

...can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient-dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views about it, describe it by teaching about it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient...My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse we cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage-and even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (Said, 1979:3 cited in Escobar, *ibid*:6).

Although there have been numerous studies from different perspectives about the significance of the representation of the Third World as a result of Said’s critique, there have been very few that connect such representation with the theme of development work and Northern advocacy. The praxis of knowing, interpreting and controlling the colonies is parallel to the praxis of northern developmentalism defining and describing the South as the “underdeveloped, Third World”. It is naïve to restrict this practise of representation of the South by the North to the post-second world war period. This post-second world war developmental discourse was a mere continuation of the colonial discourse of domination and power politics and the representation of the colonised as lazy, savage and infidels in need of civilisation. This representation was modelled on the culture of the colonisers. ”Representations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America as the

Third World and underdeveloped are the heirs of an illustrious genealogy of Western conceptions about those parts of the World.⁸⁶

Applying Said's critique in *Orientalism* to complexities involved in S-N developmental work, I contextualise the discussion around the varied ways of colonisation of the South by the North. It helps us to understand the "discourse" (Ashcroft, *et al*, *ibid*:70-71; Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 1999)⁸⁷ behind the argumentation of Northern advocates to continuously "advocate" for the South, namely, populations in the South being helpless and chaotic and in "need of help", "need of development". Said and his school of thinkers, however, did not link this Eurocentrism with the phenomenon of S-N development and advocacy work, as much as later authors and analysts like Escobar did. Even Escobar left aspects of concrete S-N advocacy relationships and related issues in his discussions in *Encountering Development*. This process of "developmentalism" reveals the various ways in which the North produces the South—a process, which I refer to as *Southernism*. My wish is to illustrate how Europe, and later by the United States, represent the "others", namely the South as a way of institutionalised form of cultural dominance: „European (Northern) culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient (South) as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (Said., *ibid*:3).⁸⁸

⁸⁶ In the 1960s and 1970s, there have been trends critical of development, but have failed to root out the deeply imbedded discourse around it. Noteworthy among them are Paulo Freire (1970), Liberation Theology at the Latin American Bishops' Conference, Medellin (1964), the critique of "intellectual colonialism" by Fals Borda (1970), and "economic dependency" by Cardoso and Faletto (1979). However, Illich's (1969) cultural critique of development is by far the most perceptive of them all. Illich recognises six stages of metamorphosis of the concept "development" since late antiquity: the perception of the outsider as the one who needs help has taken on the successive forms of the barbarian, the pagan, the infidel, the wild man, the 'native', and the underdeveloped" (Trinh 1989, 54). The term "underdeveloped" can be seen, in part, as a response to more openly racist conceptions of "the primitive" and "the savage". It is important to see therefore, that the discourse on underdevelopment carries with it all the above-mentioned negative qualifiers.

⁸⁷ In postcolonial criticism, the term *discourse* is employed in such terms as colonial discourse. The notion of discourse itself, however, is attributed to the works of Foucault. A discourse is a system of statements within which, and by which, the world can be known. Rather than referring to 'speech' in the traditional sense, the notion of discourse is a firmly bounded area of social knowledge. The world is not simply 'there' to be talked about; rather it is discourse itself within which the world comes into being. It is also in such a discourse that speakers and hearers, writers and readers, come to an understanding about themselves, their relationship to each other and their place in the world—the construction of subjectivity. It is that complex of signs and practices that organise social existence and social reproduction, which determines how experiences and identities are categorised.

2.8.1 Defining Southernism

Southernism can be defined as a careful construction of identities and cultures of individuals and populations in the South by the North. Southernism is not a natural phenomenon but a “social construct” like racism. The image of the South, resulting from *Southernism*, is essentially negative, discriminatory and makes of the South an object of research and a target of excessive, instrumental intervention in the South by the North. Seeing *Southernism* as a “social construct”, in the North, gives way for a bottom up approach to the question of anti-discrimination giving prominence to critical, grassroots actors in the South and migrants living in the North (Kirkpatrick, 2004).⁸⁹ It will thus counter the dominant role played by white European and North American image and knowledge-makers in defining and propagating clichés, ideas and praxis regarding the South and the migrants.

Naturally there are parallels to the process of *Orientalism* described by Edward Said. The similar process of constructing the Orient can also be seen and determined in the process of representing and understanding the South by development advocates from the North. There are also concepts of *Africanism* and *Developmentalism* that are being discussed. However, I refer to the legitimacy problems of a North-driven advocacy in *Southernism*, which includes all the above critique: *Orientalism*, *Africanism* and *Developmentalism*. I am dealing specifically with the kind of advocacy that contributed to these “-isms”.

2.8.1.1 Remembering the South and Forgetting Northern History

While instrumentalising the negative picture of the South to continue and hold on to its dominant position, the North experiences an amnesia regarding its own identity, history and past and present discriminatory practices in the South. This is a strategic way of giving continuous birth to the „memory“ of an ever-degenerating situation in the South. The problems in the South need, of course, to be thematised in the North. The difficulty, thereby, is that these “problems” are defined exclusively as being problems of the “South” which need to be solved in the South. The South is singly blamed for being responsible for

⁸⁹ It is also to be noted in this context that certain UN documents and authors make a differentiation between the “privileged”, the “victims” and “average” migrants. A differentiation of such as above dilutes or, so to say, does not sufficiently indicate the heavy discrimination and stereotyping faced by the overall migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking population. I am referring here to the overall image and the legal, political and social marginalisation and stereotyping of the migrant community. The article of Kirkpatrick, referred to here, gives an overview of various international Conferences that dealt with various aspects of migration.

its problems. The North, in this way, conveniently isolates itself from its unjust past and present role and intervention in the South. It takes minimum responsibility for situations in the South that arise from Northern colonial practices and the current economic controls it exercises in the South.

Southernism has, in a way, to do with the self-understanding of the North itself, which tries to gain supremacy over “others” that it discovers, helps and advocates for through various disciplines, bordering on the issue of national distinctiveness, on racial and linguistic origins. In this fascination and adventurous, intellectual project on the part of Europe, the examination of the South was carried on without ever questioning the supremacy and importance of the North. Myth, opinion, hearsay, and prejudice generated by the ‘discourse’ of eminent scholars assumed the status of received truth.⁹⁰ Assertions about the inferiority of Southerners were strengthened, along with the popularity of writers, had a deeper cause—they are a product of the unquestioned cultural dominance of Europe, maintained economically and militarily over the rest of the world. Through such assertions, the Orientalist knowledge was produced through continual reproduction of various assumptions and beliefs. The hallmarks of such stereotyping were concepts like the superior “order”, “rationality” and “symmetry” of Europe and the inferior “disorder”, “irrationality” and “primitivism” of non-Europe.

This ideological construction of the Orient as being inferior to Europe, South being inferior to and so in need of Northern “intervention” soon gave way to theories about racial origins and development. A poignant citation from Said shows how deep and pervading this view of the “inferior” peoples of the orient is embedded in the west: “The web of racism, cultural stereotypes, political imperialism, dehumanising ideology holding in the Arab or the Muslim is very strong indeed, and it is this web which every Palestinian has come to feel as his uniquely punishing destiny. The nexus of knowledge and power creating the ‘oriental’ and, in a sense, obliterating him as a human being is therefore not for me an exclusively academic matter. Yet it is an intellectual matter of some very obvious

⁹⁰ For instance, the French Philologist and Historian Ernst Renan openly declared that “Every person, however slightly he may be acquainted with the affairs of our times, sees clearly the actual inferiority of Mohammedan countries”...”All those who have been in the East, or in Africa are struck by the way in which the mind of the true believer is fatally limited, by the species of iron circle that surrounds his head, rendering it absolutely closed to knowledge”. See Renan, Ernst. *Poetry of the Celtic Races and their Studies*. Trans: W.G. Hutchinson. London: Walter Scott. p. 85. cited in Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, *ibid*:58.

importance”(Said, *ibid*:27 cited in Aschcroft & Ahluwalia, 1999:61). Therefore, my contention is that *Southernism* has very much to do with knowledge, power, intellect and epistemological relations between the South and the North. This means that encounters between South and North are necessarily epistemological and learning encounters, a point which I reflect upon under *Learning from the South* in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. Here, I continue the discussion about *Southernism* involved in transnational advocacy.

2.8.2 *Southernism* in South-North Advocacy Work

One may argue that this construction of the “Orient”, the “South” is of the past, and in a transnational world it is not a matter to be taken seriously, because we are all on the same plain. But history and the events of today show how deep and fresh are these representations of the “other” are. The so-called Post-September 11, 2001 debate and the politics of the West are an obvious example of the existing divide between East and the West. The dominating tendencies and the corresponding superior tendencies of the West are still secure. The dehumanisation of the orient and the developing world continues to take on new forms through the field of social sciences. This is where the aspect of transnational advocacy comes into play. There is an urgent need to challenge this carry-over of the continuing “maligning” of the third world through discourse generated by international media, the Northern advocacy networks and politics of developmental intervention in the South. The social sciences, particularly, make sure that this “inferior” image of the South continues by ensuring that the region is conceptually emasculated, reduced to attitudes, trends, statistics: in short dehumanised. *Southernism*, one may say a renewed form of *Orientalism*, crept into the development field, carried on by a development discourse originating in the West that constructs “the South”. This Eurocentric developmental discourse and its construction of *Southernism* operates very much on the basis of how the Orient continues to be constructed through “accumulated knowledge of generations of scholars and writers who are secure in power of their superior wisdom”(Ashcroft&Ahluwalia, *ibid*:71). In some ways, one may say that *Southernism* goes beyond *Orientalism* in the sense that the North homogenises the whole South to become its object of intervention and experimentation in the name of development.

Such critique can also be filtered from references to the domination of dalit communities in India by the upper castes, which SV8 very well connects with racist ideologies from the West. It serves as a good argument of how the West and the upper castes relegated the knowledge and wisdom of the lower castes. They define positive and not the productive science as the real science, although benefiting from positive sciences and productivity of the dalits and similar, oppressed classes. In a way the crisis of this relegation of real wisdom necessitates and argues for the de-legitimising task of the North to begin to learn from the South:

SV8: ...So where did your moral code get constructed? It was constructed in the Asian context. So the negative ideas that came, came certainly in the mode of Western invasions, the forces that began to grab from the existing social and economic relations. They went on constructing inequalities. I think that the most modern kind of inequality they constructed was apartheid. For a long time they did not know how the African world was, how black it was. Only after the geographical discoveries they could understand that there is a world called black world. But who said that white is superior and black is inferior? Again they said. (SV8:201-200).

In a similar vein, Melber gives a succinct analysis of the “baggage” carried by the European society, in particular the German society, in dealing with the picture of extra-European societies (Melber in Rätzl, 2000:131-63). The people in the South were negatively stereotyped and fashioned and a new creature, “Negro” was created. The underdeveloped cultures, according to the definitions of the western intellectuals and politicians, needed the wisdom and the help from the North. This actually meant “interference” into the lives, bodies and souls of living human beings in the South. It was and remains a deep-seated belief in the superiority of the European over the extra-European, African or Asian way of thinking and living. Such thinking, behaving, official rhetoric and policies existed systematically even until the late 80s. Racist rhetoric, policies and practices, an integral part and parcel of the colonial methods, is now being transported to the “metropolis” where people of different cultural, national, religious backgrounds make their abode and living. A study in France showed how superficial, biased and devastatingly migrants are projected in television and media in France illustrates the argument here.⁹¹

These modern methods of subtle discrimination against people of “other backgrounds” need to be unlearned if proper transnational advocacy needs to be concretised. There needs

⁹¹ Ait-Hamadouche, Rabah. „Wo sind die Kinder der Immigration?“ und Nasser Negrouche, „Schwarze Bildschirm, weiße Bilder“. Both in: *Le Monde Diplomatique*, 12 July, 2002. Also Movies made by Spike Lee, especially „Bamboozled“, strongly portray the non-existence or “negative-existence” of black artistes in the television and media.

to be an honest and inclusive search for ways out of this colonial mentality, rooted so deeply in the hearts and minds of populations in the North. This inclusive search for alternative, liberating ways of thinking and acting is only possible through just and equal dialogue with intellectuals, activists and common populations in the South: “While modalities have changed, the fundamental themes of the conquest retain their vitality and resilience, and will continue to do so until the reality and causes of the ‘savage injustice’ are honestly addressed (Chomsky, 1993: 5). This is the reason why attempts need to be made to find ways out of this trap of deep-seated superiority imbedded in the minds and hearts of peoples in the North. These are the “scripts” and “archetypes” embedded in the psyche of Northern populations. These need to be uprooted and alternative ways of behaviour and action learned before there is bias free work for justice on a S-N basis (Batts, 1997). This would imply examining the power-relationships and privileges and to develop conscious pedagogical tools towards achieving equality and justice as so well outlined by Epstein in his study on “authoritarian thinking and self-critique in dominant cultures”(Epstein, 2001:491). Powerful Northern states, funding agencies and even NGOs could hold on to their power, consciously or unconsciously. Giving up such power is a painful and long process.

2.9 Intermediate Conclusion: The Two Legitimation Crises of TNANs

In this chapter, I pictured the nature of globalisation from a particular perspective of economic domination and its hindrances to the emergence of multiple identities and discursive nature of cultures. The main steering mechanisms for such domination of culture and identity, I said, are the financial and bureaucratic power structures of TNCs. In this context of economic domination, I also outlined the problems related to south-north development practices. I also explained how such practices also infiltrated S-N development work as illustrated through the numerous citations from the interview partners. The above outline is not and was not meant to be exhaustive. It is a brief reference to the context in which advocacy aspects of transnational advocacy networks find themselves operating.

The analysis until now has revealed the growing necessity for including discriminations based on factors other than the economic. This would entail a need for mega-initiatives of TNANs to pause and give ear to the concerns of the people at grassroots levels. The task of

reaching out to the grassroots requires an amount of practical- orientation of the TNAN members from the North, to work on cultural and identity issues of the supposedly target-groups of transnational advocacy. *The lack of this contact with the grassroots is the first legitimation crisis of transnational advocacy.*

Another aspect that I highlighted above is the continuing colonialism in the form of racist attitudes in advocacy work. In Northern, development instruments like lobbying and publications regarding problems in the South, the “South” is projected as an object to be helped, protected or saved. Development workers in the North still consider developing countries and their populations as „the poor other“ to be helped or a problem to be solved. In this constellation of helper-helped mentality, the North always stands out as observer and helper. It does not question itself as to „its“ own role in contributing to oppression. In this stereotyped vision affecting development co-operation, there is an urgent need to recognize and break down these stereotype of the South and question the power structures and the real status quo behind the problem. It is important to thematise “discrimination” and not so much a paternal “problematization” of the oppressed. *This remnant of colonial and racist bias is the second legitimation crisis of transnational advocacy.*

This analysis clears the way for the next two parts of the dissertation-namely the probable ways out of these two crises. *Chapter three* will deal with the crisis of a lack of grass root involvement and presents the need to develop *educator-activist identities* as a possible way out of this crisis. *Chapter four* will outline the concept of *learning from the South* as a possibility way out of the continued (neo-) colonial bias and action in the advocacy work of TNANs.