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# **Catching the Next Wave: The Use of the Internet by Justice and Development Voluntary Organisations and People Organisations.**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Philosophy in Development Studies at  
Massey University.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the extent to which third world organisations have participated in the shaping, control and benefits of development theory and practice. It concludes that development theory has been a creation of the first world acting upon the third world which is often perceived as powerless to help itself. Modernisation theory, development theory, alternative theories and neo-liberalism are all theories that developed out of the first world experience of development. Development theory has not been shaped by the third world rather it has been manipulated and controlled from within the first world. The very poor of the poorest countries have not benefited from development theory.

Participation, also perceived as empowerment, has been lauded by development practitioners as the new panacea for development ills. Even though such participation is not so evident in reality, third world organisations are becoming more participatory, especially where first world organisations have changed their role from funder and provider to solidarity partners and advocates (within their own country).

This thesis examined the potential of the Internet to increase the participation of third world organisations in voicing their justice and development issues to the first world. The Internet is only a participatory tool when used in a participatory environment. Its use will not necessarily ensure greater participation, of the third world, in development issues. As yet the Internet's potential is largely unrealised.

This thesis conducted descriptive research into the extent that third world organisations use the Internet to further their justice and development objectives. The research found that third world use of the Internet was low compared to first world use of the Internet. This thesis recommends that the use of email subscription lists and World Wide Web sites by grassroots organisations from within third world countries is a unique opportunity to promote the third world perception of development issues to the first world.

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## Abbreviations

AP	Associated Press
ARPA	Advanced Research Projects Agency
AU	Australia
CEPAL	Comision Economica para America Latina
CERN	European Laboratory for Particle Physics
CODEV	Communication for Development
DevNet	Development Information Network
email	Electronic mail
ECLA	Economic Commission for Latin America
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GONGOs	Governmental Non Governmental Organisations
HTTP	Hypertext Transfer Protocol
ILO	International Labor Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INT	International
IP	Internet Protocol
IPS	Inter Press Service
JDPOs	Justice and Development People Organisations
JDVOs	Justice and Development Voluntary Organisations
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NIC	Newly Industrialised Country
NSCA	National Center for Supercomputing Applications
POs	People Organisations
PSCs	Public Service Contractors
TCP	Transmission Control Protocol
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIDO	United Nations International Development Organization
WWW	World Wide Web

# Chapter One

## Introduction

*After three thousand years of explosion, by means of fragmentary and mechanical technologies, the western world is imploding. During the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned ... As electrically contracted, the globe is no more than a village.*

(Marshall McLuhan cited in Curran and Gurevitch, 1996:177).

*Never doubt that a small group of concerned citizens can change the world; indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.*

(Margaret Mead cited in Rowe, 1997:42).

This is the information age. Our ability to send huge quantities of information across vast distances to unlimited audiences has never been greater or more efficient. Through the electronic medium of television we may view and learn about almost anything considered to be of interest to us. Through radio waves we can listen and speak to people over great distances. Through telephone lines we can speak to people who live on other continents with the same verbal clarity as if they were in the same room as us. Through computer technology, combined with communication technology, we are able to access (and leave) written and visual messages, messages which are also available to countless others. As McLuhan first suggested, in terms of our ability to communicate through technology, our world has become 'no more than a global village'.

What is the consequence of living in a 'global community' for a world which is also considered to be divided into the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'? How can global forms of communication be used by the 'have-nots' to improve their situation? This thesis examines the extent to which Justice and Development Voluntary Organisations (JDVOs) and Justice and Development People Organisations (JDPOs)<sup>i</sup> are using one form of global communication technology, the Internet, to further their justice and developmental objectives.

## **Choice of thesis topic.**

The reason for researching this topic came from having an interest in development issues and innovative uses of the Internet. The impetus for combining these two topics, however, was the result of receiving an electronic mail (email) message that had been sent originally by students at the University of Belgrave, in Bosnia.<sup>ii</sup> The message detailed the students' point of view regarding recent political events in Bosnia. The students requested that the recipient forward the email message on to other interested people creating a form of politically motivated, electronic chain letter. This was seen as a novel use of an Internet service by a grassroots organisation and initiated the question to what extent were other JDVOs and JDPOs using the Internet to develop networks with, and communicate their important issues to the rest of the global community.

## **The Internet.**

The Internet is an extremely large, and continuously growing, network of computers linked together by the use of a common communication protocol called TCP/IP. These protocols allow computers to 'talk' to each other. Internet Protocol (IP) creates links that allow data to be transferred between computers. Transmission Control Protocol controls the movement of data from its source to its destination (Perry, 1995:23). Within the Internet are different functions or services available to anyone connected to the Internet, providing they have the software to access these services. The most common of these services are electronic mail (email) and the World Wide Web (WWW). Other services include file transfer, news information, remote computer login, and access to databases (Perry, 1995:7).

Email allows users to send text, graphics, and photographs from one computer to many specified computers. Unlike the WWW, messages sent through email are private. Only the intended recipients (if no mistakes are made when sending the email) will have access to the message. Messages sent through email are usually received by the destination computer almost instantaneously but are stored until the user collects his or her email (Perry, 1995:167-171).



Each user of email has his or her own address. An email address has a user name and a domain name separated by an '@' sign. The user name usually relates to the name of the user while the domain name relates to the server the email is connected to (Perry, 1995:173-174). It is possible to subscribe to email mailing lists. The email list is usually administered by an automatic programme (archive server) which handles requests for connection's and disconnection's to the mailing list. Once connected to a mailing list, a user receives common information that is posted to all recipients on the list (Kehoe, 1994:9&16).

The World Wide Web (WWW) allows users to access Internet services by operating within the Internet, using a communication protocol called HyperText Transfer Protocol (HTTP). HTTP allows pages of information (web pages) to be connected to other web pages through links called hypertext. By clicking on a hypertext link (which can be text or a graphic) the user moves from one web page to another web page and often from one web server (or Web site) to another. Because the WWW is accessed through non-linear and non-hierarchical links, moving through the WWW is like tracing a spider's web - hence the name World Wide Web (Perry, 1995:10).

WWW pages also have their own address expressed as a uniform resource locator (URL). A standard URL is made up of three parts: the transfer format, the host name (of the computer the WWW page is on) and the path to the WWW page. A standard URL looks like this:

format://host.name.com./path/filename.html

For example the address of the home page for Community Aid Aboard (Australia) is:

<http://www.caa.org.au/caa.htm>

When searching on the Internet a user can go directly to the address of a desired web page or use search engines to hunt for pages or interesting topics (Perry, 1995:25).

The Internet has its origins with the United States military and was created as a solution to the problem of ensuring a workable communication system in the event of an enemy attack. Researchers, at the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), tested the feasibility of networking computers over large distances. To ensure the network could always reliably send messages between computers, researchers needed to make sure no single connection was so important that the network could not operate without it. The solution was to organise the transfer of information so that many available routes, between computers, could be used to transport information from its source computer to its destination computer. If one route failed because of a broken connection, the information would simply re-route through another pathway. The ARPA called this network the ARPAnet (Perry, 1995:32-33).

The ARPAnet was very successful and many universities and research organisations eventually connected to the network. A second network, MILnet, was then set up for military use. In the 1980s another network was established by the National Science Foundation, called the NSFnet. In 1991, these three networks and the NASA Science Internet were combined to form the basis of what we now know as the Internet (Perry, 1995:33-34).

However, the Internet (in the form it was then) was not widely accessible to anyone outside the computer scientific community (Perry, 1995:34). In 1989, the European Laboratory for Particle Physics, known as CERN, developed HTTP. Once this specification was developed, it opened the way for people to write software that could browse the Internet in an increasingly easy and popular manner. One early web browser, Mosaic, was developed by students at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NSCA). From these beginnings the WWW and the other Internet services became readily accessible to the non-scientific population (Perry, 1995:20-22).

In 1991, the WWW had 400 home pages. In 1995 330 home pages were being added to the WWW each month (Perry, 1995:20-22) and 40 million people had access to the Internet. Since 1988, the Internet has doubled in size every year, making the Internet the fastest growing communication medium ever (Panos, 1995).

## Information Technology.

While the Internet is expanding and becoming available to more people, this does not mean it is becoming more accessible to all the people of the world. Approximately 90% of the market for information technology is concentrated in the developed world, in particular the United States, Western Europe and Japan (UNCTD, 1995:v). In 1995 five million 'host' computers were connected to the Internet but approximately 70% of these were located in the United States. While most first world countries<sup>iii</sup> are connected to the Internet, only some third world countries have access to the Internet. Latin American, Asian, and a few African countries have limited access to the Internet. Most African countries have no connection to the Internet at all (Panos, 1995).

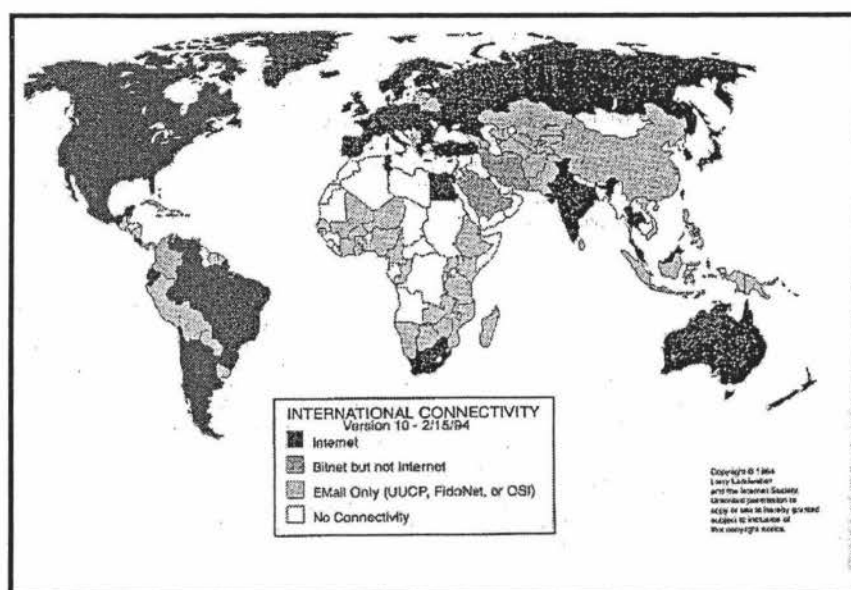
The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development recognises three types of countries, distinguished by their relationship to information technology. Table 1 summarises this UNCTD classification.

Type of Country	Ability	Example
Leaders in Information Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Production</li> <li>• Generation</li> <li>• Application</li> <li>• Diffusion of Information Technology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• United States</li> <li>• Western Europe</li> <li>• Japan</li> </ul>
Some capacity in Information Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Production</li> <li>• Application</li> <li>• Rely on imports</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Several countries in Asia</li> <li>• Several countries in Latin America</li> <li>• Economies in transition</li> </ul>
Embryonic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Depend solely on imports</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Several African countries</li> </ul>

**Table 1.** United Nations Conference on Trade and Development classification of countries distinguished by their relationship to information technology (UNCTD, 1995:v).

Another way to measure the use of information technology is to classify the connectivity of each country. Figure 1 shows the network connections throughout the world. Note the low rate of connectivity in Africa, Asia and parts of South America.

Figure 1. International network connections (Gilster, 1994:22)<sup>iv</sup>.



The UNCTD also recognised that access to information technology differed not just between countries but also between sectors and social groups within each country. In rural areas of underdeveloped countries the impact of information technology has been minimal. Only 10-15% of populations in underdeveloped countries has had contact with a product or service that has come from a computerised process. Less than 1% of these populations have ever seen or touched a computer (Bhatnager and Bjorn-Anderson, 1990:3).

This is an inequality that is becoming increasingly wider. It has been estimated that third world countries will need to invest \$50 billion each year for the next 30 years to reach the current information technology standard of the United States. In the meantime the United States continues to invest in and improve its information technology (Giffard, 1989:36-37). 'The information rich are becoming richer and the information poor are becoming relatively poorer' (Sackman, 1981:48).

Information is power, in the sense that it facilitates economic, political and social ability (Sackman, 1981:48). Without the luxury of information technology, third world countries are at a disadvantage compared to first world and newly developing countries.

Since the information gap is getting larger, what is acting as a barrier to the adoption of information technology in third world countries?

Bhatnager and Bjorn-Anderson (1990:5-6) identified three barriers that explain why third world countries are not expanding into the information technology sector.<sup>v</sup> These barriers are the perceived low need for computers in third world countries, the practical problems associated with computer use and the social problems associated with computer use.

The perceived need for computers is low in third world countries in part due to low levels of computer literacy amongst managers and technocrats in third world countries. This is compounded by a lack of competitiveness, in some sectors of third world countries, which discourages the adoption of innovative technology to improve systems and processes within the industry. Operations are also usually small and do not require much automation (Bhatnager and Bjorn-Anderson, 1990:5).

Even where the introduction of computers is justified, practical problems prevent their adoption. Poor communication infrastructure within third world countries is a major barrier to introducing computers. The Internet currently requires a sophisticated and reliable telecommunication system to operate through. A number of third world countries simply do not have this infrastructure (UNCTD, 1995:vi). Forty-nine countries (35 from the African region) have less than one telephone per hundred people (Panos, 1995). Likewise the unreliability, poor quality and high cost of electricity in third world countries make using computers difficult. Power surges are particularly damaging to computers and often result in the loss of information (Bhatnager and Bjorn-Anderson, 1990:5-6). The cost of computers is prohibitive. For example, to afford a computer in the United Kingdom an unemployed person would need to save his or her total wage for six months. In Indonesia, an underemployed person would be saving his or her total income for several years (Panos, 1995). In addition to these problems, third world countries are ill equipped to provide maintenance and repairs for their computers (Bhatnager and Bjorn-Anderson, 1990:5-6).

Social factors also influence the decision to use computers or not. In third world countries low levels of computer literacy and keyboard skills exist. This creates training problems and resistance from workers, who are unwilling or afraid to learn new skills. Computers are perceived as labour saving machines and so can create a fear amongst workers that a computer will replace their jobs. Workers may also discourage the introduction of computers because computerisation can lead to more formal procedures being implemented and therefore less opportunity for profitable corruption. Countries such as China and India face the additional problem of language. Multiple dialects make administration on a computer almost impossible unless a common language is used. This is a problem also when considering software and training (Bhatnager and Bjorn-Anderson, 1990:6).

The dominance of English on the Internet not only means that speakers of other languages are disadvantaged it also means that the cultural expression of many people are excluded even though they are able to communicate in English. Culture is often so ingrained in the language that it is impossible to translate the values and subtle distinctions into an English translation, hence much of the cultural richness is lost. This can make using computers disconcerting and discouraging for speakers of other languages (Panos, 1995).

Information technology has become concentrated in first world countries but can we lay the blame for this inequality solely at the feet of third world countries? Hardware and software are exported from the first world to 'new markets' in the third world, but not much information sharing and training is given to diffuse computer knowledge to third world countries. Third world countries remain dependent on the first world for future technology, after sales service and maintenance of existing technology. Third world countries find it increasingly difficult to develop their own information technology industry (Finnegan, Salaman and Thompson, 1987:165). African third world countries are particularly affected by this problem as they are seen as a convenient dumping ground for obsolete technology. This practice discourages the development of local computer industries and the adoption of the most advanced information technology available (Panos, 1995). Without full participation in the information industry third world countries will remain dependent on the first world for this technology.



Many third world countries are reliant on foreign aid; for example African Business (1985) estimated that almost half of the African computer market was the result of foreign aid. Businesses and multinational organisations (UNIDO, World Bank) are only now starting to see the value of information technology in third world countries. In many very poor countries, however, basic needs provision takes priority over computer and communication infrastructure (Bhatnager and Bjorn-Anderson, 1990:182-183).

### **Thesis outline.**

Third world countries are not just excluded from the benefits of information technology and the Internet; they have also been excluded from participating in their own development. The flow of information (like the flow of power) has predominantly been from the first world to the third world (Panos, 1995). Development theory and practice has largely flowed from the first world to the third world, and because of this, the third world has largely been a passive recipient of first world theories and policies. What has been missing from the development theory and practice is a voice from the people of the third world. It is their experience and knowledge that has been overlooked in the analysis of and attempts to solve development problems.

The Internet has the potential to give third world people organisations a voice in which to participate in the development debate, to network with and gain support from other third world and first world organisations. The Internet, also, has the potential to increase the participation of the third world in its own development, but to do so the third world must find a way to increase its participation on the Internet.

This chapter described how the Internet works and the origins of the Internet. It then examined the use of information technology<sup>vi</sup>, in developing countries and concluded that while information technology and the use of the Internet is growing; this growth is largely restricted to the first world and especially the United States.

Chapter two will examine how much the third world has shaped, controlled and benefited from development theory. Modernisation theory, neo-Marxist theories,

alternative theories and neo-liberalism are all discussed in this context. This chapter concludes that the third world has been largely been the passive recipient of such ideas and policies.

Chapter three continues this discussion by examining how much the third world has shaped, controlled and benefited from development practice. It concludes that the way participation is understood and practiced in first world JDVOs must change focus to allow third world JDVOs and JDPOs greater self-determination.

Chapter four discusses the issues involved in using communication technology and, in particular, the essential conditions that must be present to ensure the Internet increases the participation of the third world rather than reducing it. Chapter four will then examine the potential of communication technology for promoting justice issues and development, within third world countries. Using the example of pro-democracy demonstrations in China and the case of UNESCO, as examples, it concludes that the use of the Internet has huge potential for promoting human rights and development and giving a voice to the third world.

These four chapters serve to outline the current level of participation of third world countries and NGOs in development theory and practice, as well as to emphasise the importance of third world participation in justice and development issues. They also examine the Internet as a tool that can increase the participation of third world countries and NGOs in justice and development issues. From this discussion (and the subsequent research) the central question of this thesis must be answered. To what extent are JDVOs and JDPOs using the Internet to further their justice and development issues?

Chapter five explains the methodology used in the research. It then discusses the research undertaken and explains how the research progressed, in particular, the successes and problems that were encountered. Chapter six describes and analyses the results from the research under the topics of email and the World Wide Web.

Finally, from the perspective of participation and communication as theories of development, chapter seven develops conclusions from the data obtained in the



research. Chapter seven then makes recommendations for further research on the use of the Internet by JDVOs and JDPOs, and suggests how these organisations can make greater use of the Internet to advance their justice and developmental objectives.

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<sup>i</sup> Justice and Development Voluntary Organisations and People Organisations are organisations that have either a democratic/ human rights objective or developmental objective. Voluntary Organisations and People Organisations are two types of Non Government Organisation (NGO). A fuller description is discussed in chapter three

<sup>ii</sup> Unfortunately this email was subsequently lost and can not be referenced or quoted in this thesis.

<sup>iii</sup> The 'third world' refers to a collection of countries (while being very diverse) have the following attributes. (1) Acute material deprivation, (2) highly unequal income distribution, (3) substantial unemployment, or underemployment; or intense internal conflict (Bessant, 1992:164).

<sup>iv</sup> Copyright © 1994 Larry Landweber and the Internet Society. Unlimited permission to copy or use is hereby granted subject to inclusion of this copyright notice.

<sup>v</sup> These reasons are similar to modernisation theory which also concentrates on attitudes and problems within the underdeveloped country to explain why the country is underdeveloped.

<sup>vi</sup> Governments, businesses, and education (to name just a few sectors of society) can use information technology. This thesis will concentrate only on the communication aspect rather than as a data collection and handling tool.

## Chapter Two

### Development Theory

*People in the rich countries cannot solve the problems of the Third World by themselves. The destiny of the Third World is in the hands of its people, to make of it what they will. It is they who will determine their future, not North Americans or Europeans. To think otherwise is to perpetuate a peculiarly modern form of cultural imperialism, to conceive of the rich as puppet masters, manipulating the strings that make the rest of the world dance.*

(Isbister, 1995:29).

Isbister (1995:29) talks of a 'peculiarly modern form of cultural imperialism', a belief that the third world has no real part to play in determining its own development. He argues that this view of development is wrong. Third world countries must participate in their own development, not just as subjects of development but also as true participants that shape, control, and benefit from their development according to their needs as they perceive them. Their destiny must be in their hands. To do otherwise is to classify the third world in the role of 'puppet' and the first world as their powerful 'master'. This chapter analyses the extent to which the third world has determined (shaped, controlled, and benefited from) development theory.

### **The Eurocentric perspective of modernisation theory.**

Modernisation theory has its origins in the theories of social evolution that compared the transformation of Europe and North America, from agricultural-based societies to industrial-based societies, with the biological evolution of species. Charles Darwin's '*On the Origin of Species*' (1859) introduced the idea that all organisms evolved from simpler forms and that this process of evolution resulted in a unilinear progression towards a more complex and superior form. In the process of evolution only the 'fittest' biological organisms survived while other organisms not totally suitable to new and changing environments failed and were lost to the evolutionary gene pool. Darwin never intended that his theory of evolution be used for any other purpose than to explain the

biological diversity of life and how different species evolved. However, the momentous social and economic change which occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century caused some social scientists (such as Morgan, Comte, Spencer, Kidd and Ward) to compare biological evolution with social evolution. In this way, societies would also be seen as evolving 'organisms'. Each society moved from a simpler state to a more evolved state in unilinear, set, irreversible stages. The major proponents of Social Darwinism were Herbert Spencer and William Sumner. Spencer also argued that western countries were more advanced, superior 'organisms' as they had 'evolved' first and were better adapted to the new changing environment. In the 1950's and 1960's the basic assumptions behind Social Darwinism were applied to the third world. If social evolution could explain the transformation of Europe and North America, then it could also explain the transformation of the third world into more advanced societies (Melkote, 1991:39).

One assumption adopted from social evolution theory was the concept of tradition versus modernity. Social evolution theory constructed bipolar ideal typical points that essentially described the start and end of the western progression from traditional society to modern society. Little historical data, used to create these ideal typical points, were taken from outside this small epoch of time. Talcott Parsons' concept of pattern variables was a natural extension of the social evolution dichotomy of traditional and modern characteristics. Hoselitz (1960) built on the work of Talcott Parsons by using the concept of pattern variables to typify the sociological characteristics of economic growth. To explain the process of modernisation, Hoselitz extrapolated from the western experience of modernisation and loosely adapted this historical experience to the third world as a description of how the third world modernisation process would occur. Hoselitz could do this because social evolution theory considered the process of modernisation to be unilinear and unalterable. It was assumed all countries would naturally follow the same path. If some countries did not follow this modernisation route then there were factors which once removed or modified would lead to modernisation. The idea that the third world could find another way to its own developmental objectives was unthinkable (Melkote, 1991:40-41).

A classic example of unilinear developmental theory is Walt Rostow's '*Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*' (1960). Once obstacles to

modernisation were removed modernisation would occur in the same way that western society had experienced it. These changes would be irreversible. Like Hoselitz, Rostow leaned heavily on the historical experience of Europe and North America when developing his theory of modernisation. Rostow argued that all societies would experience his five stages of economic growth. His analysis, however, only included the last 200 years of western history and apart from Japan, the countries he chose to study were similar to each other. By using such a narrow scope of analysis he missed the negative effect that colonialism had on the process of modernisation. Colonialism had, in fact, assisted in the development of Europe and North America and simultaneously constrained the opportunities for autonomous development in the third world (Melkote, 1991:97-98).

Not all modernisation theory can be linked back to social evolution theory. Some modernisation theory had its beginnings in the work of Weber and his concept of the Protestant work ethic. Like social evolution theory, however, Weber's theory was taken and used outside its proper historical context. McClelland, Inkeles, Hagan, and Lerner were among theorists who drew on Weber's (1958) notion of the Protestant ethic. They emphasised values and attitudes as being the most important aspects of the modernisation of a society. Eastern values and religions, traditional attitudes and relationships all prevented the third world from modernising (Melkote, 1991:45). In the words of the United Nations in 1951:

*There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress'.*

(United Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs, 1951 cited in Escobar, 1995:3).

Modernisation theory has difficulty shaking off its Eurocentric bias because it is so deeply rooted in social theory which explained one instance of social change, in one small slice of time, namely the western experience of industrialisation. It is the first

world explanation of how to modernise the third world, based on conditions that do not exist for the third world. The third world has little participation in the shaping of modernisation theory.

### **The political control of modernisation theory.**

While modernisation theory was shaped by its origins in social evolutionary theory and the theory of Weber, its development in the 1950's and 1960's was largely a United States phenomena. As such it was controlled by the political and economic forces inherent in the United States at that time.

The main concern of the United States, after World War II, was to consolidate its power in a determined attempt to retain its new status as a world superpower (So, 1990:36). Preston (1996:) summarised the United States' concerns as attempting to resist communism, protect the interests of the United States, protect functioning liberal market economies, and finally to promote the future prosperity of the world.

The major perceived threat to the United States was communism. The United States believed that the USSR was attempting to spread communism throughout the world by influencing newly independent and vulnerable third world countries. The 'conversion' of China to communism in 1949 and then later the 'conversion' of Cuba to communism were seen as direct threats to the United States and capitalism. In the mind of many Western politicians the capitalist development of third world countries was an important prerequisite for the continued security of the United States' own interests (Lewellen, 1995:54). United States' aid, therefore, was allocated on the basis of political expediency and the United States' own short-term security goals. Countries were more likely to receive United States' aid if they strategically provided a buffer to communism than if they desperately needed humanitarian aid or economic development (Torres, 1993:14-15).

United States' economic concerns also dominated in the delivery of development aid to the third world. Big business exerted immense pressure on the United States government to make aid conditional. Loans and grants provided to the third world came

with 'ties'. Capital equipment and technology could only be purchased through United State firms. This often meant equipment was purchased at higher prices than if brought elsewhere and the technology used was not always the most appropriate to the third world situation (Torres, 1993:14-15).

Modernisation theory provided the academic rationale for United States efforts to preserve its own national and economic interests. So (1990:36) identified three 'modernisation' arguments which supported United States intervention in the affairs of third world countries. First, modernisation theory justified the unequal balance of power that existed at the time. The United States was an advanced, modern society and therefore it was natural it should be more powerful than its backward traditional neighbours. It was natural also that backward countries would look to the United States for help and guidance.

Second, communism was seen by modernisation theory as a false development path. To become modern, countries had to follow the same developmental transformation as the European - North American societies had. This justified cold war ideology that communism should be combated and the third world should be encouraged to follow the capitalist route to development (So, 1990:36).

Thirdly, modernisation theory provided the justification for the unofficial expansion of the United States into third world countries. McClelland's studies of achievement motivation, which he considered to be an essential psychological trait of people in modern societies, stated that the more exposure third world people had to this psychological trait the more third world people would tend to exhibit this trait themselves. This justified the insurgence of United States advisers and companies into third world countries. Along with providing loans and other forms of aid, the United States could obtain a large amount of unofficial control in third world countries (So, 1990:36&41).

In the two decades that modernisation theory dominated development theory and practice, much of what was theorised and put into practice arose from a spirit of optimism and good will that was generated from the people of the first world towards



the people of the third world. In the final analysis, however, modernisation theory was controlled by the first world, in particular the United States, for its own purposes. The third world has little participation in the control of modernisation theory.

### **The ineffectual nature of modernisation theory.**

Modernisation theory assumed that development would rid a country of poverty. With the benefit of hindsight, this premise is no longer considered to be necessarily true. While some countries and some individuals within countries have benefited from development, the majority of third world countries and the majority of people within these countries have remained trapped in continued poverty. National wealth is increasingly contained in the hands of a small third world elite, unemployment is increasing and the poor find it harder to meet their basic needs (Melkote, 1991:178&182). Brohman (1996:23) states: 'It was apparent that the traditional-modern transformation had failed to take place in the prescribed manner and, instead, had manifested itself in stagnant economies, widening inequalities, and political repression over much of the South'. Modernisation theory proved ineffectual in preventing a widening inequality gap within third world countries. It also failed to prevent the growing inequality between the first world and the third world. The majority of the third world has had little participation in the benefits of modernisation theory.

By the 1960s modernisation theory came under heavy criticism from neo-Marxist development theorists. It is to these theories that this thesis now turns. The next three sections examine how much the third world shaped, controlled and benefited from dependency theory, modes of production theory and world systems theory.

### **The Eurocentric and Latin American perspective of neo-Marxist theory.**

Neo-Marxist theories have their origins in the Eurocentric theories of Karl Marx developed in the late nineteenth century and the Latin American structuralist discussions in the 1950s<sup>vii</sup> (Hettne, 1990:82). This next section discusses how these two intellectual

traditions shaped dependency theory, modes of production theory and world system theory.

Karl Marx's theory of capitalism and capitalist development was not intended to explain the development or underdevelopment of the third world. It was primarily an analysis of industrial capitalism, concentrating on the particular experience of nineteenth century Europe. In his theories Marx emphasised the unilinear progression from a state of feudalism (backwardness) to a capitalist (modern) state, followed by a suggested final transition to a supposed superior state of socialism. Like modernisation theory, it was the European/western experience of capitalist development that inspired the thesis that all societies would evolve to a higher state (Schuurman, 1993:2).

Marx was not unaware of third world countries when he was developing his theories. However his study of imperialism (extended by Lenin) was also essentially Eurocentric. It was the European view of imperialism that examined how central capitalist countries needed to search for new markets, cheap raw materials and labour to continue to develop rather than analysing the 'third world' perspective of colonialism (Schuurman, 1993:2).

Marxism shaped neo-Marxist theories but these theories became distinctly different from classical Marxism, even to the point that classical Marxists became the greatest critics of neo-Marxist theory. Neo-Marxism differs from Marxism in the following ways: Classical Marxism uses the historical experience of the first world to analyse classes and the industrial proletariat; Neo-Marxists recognise that other groups in society, not just the industrial proletariat, may have the potential for starting a revolution; Classical Marxism analyses imperialism from the view point of the first world; and Neo-Marxism analyses imperialism from the view point of the third world (Hettne, 1990:82-83).

For Marxism to be used as a theory of development it had to change perspective, from particular to universal and from Eurocentric to indigenous (Hettne, 1990:83). However, neo-Marxist development theory was unable to escape its Eurocentric legacy. Neo-Marxism never developed past the assumption that societies progressed from a



traditional state to superior states. The basis of its theory was derived from the European/western experience of development and the theorists and intellectuals that developed neo-Marxist development theory were socialised from within the European/western tradition (Harrison, 1993:151-152).

Neo-Marxists theories were also Eurocentric in that they continued using Marxist terms that did not necessarily apply to the third world experience. At the same time Neo-Marxist theorists excluded new concepts which did apply to the third world situation. The use of the term 'the working class' was not relevant but still used, while 'ethnicity' was not used even though it was relevant to the Latin American experience (Leys, 1996:16).

The other theoretical influence on neo-Marxist theories originated in the Latin American structuralist discussions of the 1950s. The economic depression of the 1930's highlighted, for some Latin American countries, just how economically dependent they were on the economics of other countries. This experience generated research into the exact nature and dimension of Latin American dependence on other countries (Hettne, 1990:85).

In the 1950s the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA or CEPAL) incorporated this research into a developmental strategy called the Latin American Strategy (Hettne, 1990:85). The ECLA advocated industrialisation based on import substitution, where imports were replaced with domestically made items. For a limited time this strategy appeared to be working. However, over time the policy proved to be inadequate (So, 1990:91). Industrialisation required technological and financial inputs that could only be obtained from overseas. Growth was dependent on the consumption of goods from a small number of elites who could afford them. Once their demand for items had been satisfied the manufacturing industry ceased growing (Hettne, 1990:87). By the 1960s Latin American countries were suffering from high unemployment, inflation, currency devaluation and other economic problems. Popular governments faltered and were overthrown by military repressive authoritarian regimes (So, 1990:91).

Neo-Marxist theories developed in the 1960s from the apparent failure of modernisation theory, classical Marxism and the ECLA to explain why third world countries were experiencing extreme economic problems and failing to develop (So, 1990:91). These theories were shaped by their Eurocentric origins in classical Marxism and the perspective of Latin Americans, in particular Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Teotonio dos Santos and Osvaldo Sunkel<sup>viii</sup> (Knippers-Black, 1991:28).

Dependency theory shifted the perspective of development theory towards the third world view. But according to Hettne (1990:99), not far enough. Latin America has a strong western cultural bias as a result of its interlinked history with western countries. Any theories developed from the Latin American perspective could not be applied to the rest of the third world without taking this fact into account. In addition, Latin American academia has a high degree of institutionalisation in which western values are not as widely disputed, as in African and Asian countries. Many neo-Marxist writers were from the third world but had received their academic training in the first world (Hettne, 1990:99).

The development community marginalised many neo-Marxist theorists because of the radical nature of their theories. Geoffrey Kay, Giovanni Arrighi, Arghiri Emmanuel, Michael Cowen and Bill Warren are neo-Marxist writers who were excluded from mainstream academic discussions in the first world. They tended to also become alienated from third world issues, as they were not usually employed as consultants (Hettne, 1990:99).

Third world participation in the shaping of neo-Marxist theories was limited by its origins in Eurocentric Marxist theory and the narrow (Western biased) perspective of Latin America dependency, modes of production and world system theorists.

## **The political control of neo-Marxist theory.**

Dependency theory, like modernisation theory, was controlled by the political context in which it was developed. Schuurman (1993:4) identified three political events which dependency theory attempted to explain and justify.

First, the Cuban Revolution in 1959 demonstrated to Latin America that socialist revolution was possible in their region. Classical Marxism, however, was unable to explain the Cuban Revolution. Dependency theory was developed partly, as an attempt to explain what Marxist theory could not (Schuurman, 1993:4).

Second, the 1964 military coup in Brazil resulted in an influx of foreign capital into Brazil, which in turn marginalised large sections of the working population. Academics that criticised the coup were exiled abroad where they began to examine and criticise the policies of the Brazilian Government. Many of these academics became dependency theorists and used dependency theory to legitimise their criticism of foreign capital injection into Latin American countries (Schuurman, 1993:4).

Third, the United States invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 created an anti-imperialist feeling within Latin America. This led to a closer examination of United States interventions in Latin American countries. Dependency theory, in particular, was very critical the United States influence in Latin America (Schuurman, 1993:4).

Many dependency theorists had explicit political motivations for developing their neo-Marxist theories. Some neo-Marxist theorists believed that direct political action and activism could improve the situation in the third world. Usually this meant guerrilla warfare, as was the case in Cuba (Hettne, 1991:90). Dependency theory postulated that the third world was underdeveloped because of unequal, exploitative, first world links with the third world. The answer was, therefore, to break these links through revolutionary political change and development would then occur naturally. Neo-Marxist theory justified political revolution within Latin American countries (Hettne, 1990:91).

Because these Neo-Marxist theories were developed within Latin America, rather than the first world, they were received by the third world intellectual community with enthusiasm. In the first world, young intellectuals also embraced the neo-Marxist theories evolving out of Latin America. Dependency theory, in particular, was popular with young radical university students (So, 1990:92).

The politicians of the first world were slower to embrace the neo-Marxist theories, however (Hettne, 1990:92). The United States was politically threatened by any attempt, from Latin American countries, to establish their own economic independence or theoretical thought. The United States, which was originally supportive of the ECLA, reacted negatively and with political hostility when the ECLA began to question their dependence on first world countries (Hettne, 1990:86).

Neo-Marxist theory was controlled by the political events of the 1960s. It was used by Latin American intellectuals to justify political revolutions, increased independence from the United States and the implementation of economic policy such as nationalisation of industry and trade protection's. As such third world academics and radicals as well as first world young student radicals supported it.

### **The ineffectual nature of neo-Marxist theory.**

By the 1970s neo-Marxist theories were coming under severe criticism. Some third world countries (the newly industrialised countries or NICs) were industrialising at a rate that could not be explained by dependency theory (Hettne, 1990:94). In addition, the NICs, which implemented policies of export-oriented industrialisation were proving successful at promoting rapid economic growth. Again this could not be explained by dependency theory (Lim Chong-Yah, 1991:106).

Neo-Marxist development theories have largely been ineffectual in bringing about development for third world countries. In policy dependency theory, in particular, had little to offer in terms of solutions. Dependency theory advocated revolution and the overthrow of capitalism as the only means that third world countries could rid

themselves of the unequal relationships between the first world and the third world. The extremeness of these policies has meant that they have not been applied often, if at all. Therefore, (even if these policies had proved successful) the majority of the third world would have had little participation in the benefits of neo-Marxist development theory.

The failure of modernisation theory and neo-Marxist theories to 'develop' third world countries lead to a theoretical impasse for development theory. Disillusioned with grand meta-theory, theorists started to look at other approaches to development that emphasised localised solutions for individual countries. Neo-populism, eco-development, appropriate technology, basic needs, and participation/empowerment approaches were all developed as alternative approaches to development.

### **The Eurocentric perspective of alternative theories.**

Neo-populism has its origins in Russian populism but was also influenced to a small extent by the eastern philosophies of Gandhi and Buddha (Hettne, 1990:154). Populism was developed in the early twentieth century. For nearly a decade earlier intellectuals had been criticising the negative impacts of large-scale industrialisation. They were shocked by the squalor, widespread poverty, mass demonstrations against low wages, and violent curtailing of any opposition to industrialisation. They argued that the social and human cost was too high (Webster, 1990:174). After World War One this criticism changed focus, to questioning the need for large-scale industry at all. Instead, populists offered an alternative model based on small-scale industry, peasant agriculture and non-agricultural petty commodity production (Hulme and Turner, 1990:58).

Populism was largely an anti-urbanisation and anti-industrialisation theory. Populists romanticised country living, preferring the green, rural, artisan and farming villages ideal to the anarchic, bureaucratic, capitalistic cities. Not only was this an idealistic view of rural life, it was also an Eurocentric and urban view of rural/peasant life. Much of the third world, however, experiences agrarian society first hand. Far from being idyllic, many third world people find agricultural life harsh, poverty stricken and often unsustainable (Webster, 1990:175-176).

Neo-populists have a far more realistic view of agricultural society. Many neo-populists have experienced third world poverty and are well aware of the grinding harsh poverty that can exist in rural society. Therefore, the focus of neo-populism has shifted, to cover issues of inequality and distribution of wealth as well as industrialisation (Hulme and Turner, 1990:58-59).

Neo-populism was also influenced by eastern philosophy. For Hettne (1990:154) neo-populism was the merger of first world theorising with third world theorising. Some neo-populists, he states, were 'inspired by Gandhian philosophy and Buddhist economics'.

However, the origins of neo-populism are mainly Eurocentric in that it critiqued the Industrial Revolution, in nineteenth century Europe, and did not represent the reality of third world agrarian life. The third world had little participation in the shaping of populism.

Eco-development is a section of neo-populism theory that emphasises the importance of the environment in development issues. Eco-development originated from the environmental awareness of the 1960s and the concern (of the white middle class in the first world) that an environmental disaster was looming. Mishan, a British economist, was particularly vocal in the environment debate. He believed that unfettered economic growth would put too much strain on the environment. He advocated a steady moderate rate of growth that took into account how the growth was achieved and who benefited from it. Eco-development developed out of first world industrialised pollution concerns but was quickly applied to the third world situation (Hulme and Turner, 1990:61-63).

Concepts of basic needs, participation and empowerment developed in the early 1980s as a number of first world theorists, development workers (first world NGOs) and international aid agencies (ILO, World Bank and UN) determined that the pursuit of growth and material goods was the wrong approach to development. Instead, quality of life should be the underlying goal of development practitioners. The focus of development became the 'empowerment' of communities to help themselves using local knowledge and people. The role of development workers became more of a catalyst than



an information giver. Sustainability and appropriate technology were all part of these bottom-up approaches (Knippers-Black, 1991:21; Brohman, 1996:208-209). Even though empowerment of third world people was the objective of these concepts first world organisations and development workers largely determined the development of these theories. The third world had little participation in the shaping of these alternative theories.

### **The political control of alternative theories.**

Hettne (1990:158) identified four political contexts in which neo-populism exists. First, in the third world where populism can be seen as a reaction 'of a self-reliant agrarian society against capitalist penetration'. Second, in Latin America, in the alliance that developed between the 'national bourgeoisie' and the labour unions. Third, in the North American conflict between small-scale farmers and urban interests. Fourth, what Hettne called the anti-bureaucratic petty bourgeois movements in stagnant welfare states.

Neo-populism in the third world was adopted as an ideology of the modern elite. Both United States and Soviet politicians rejected neo-populism because of its particular brand of socialism. The socialism that neo-populism outlined was derived from the Arab and African experience rather than Marxist theory. Like modernisation theory and neo-Marxist theories, neo-populism was never a theory for the mass consciousness. Neo-populism was popular, however, amongst leaders (Nasser, Nehru, Sukarno, etc) of newly independent countries in the 1970s (Hettne, 1990:155).

It is paradoxical that neo-populism proved more popular in rich countries and with the rich elite than with the third world poor since neo-populism emphasises popular participation. Hettne (1990:155) explains this paradox as a relationship to power and economic consumption. Neo-populism may put emphasis on small is good, community and popular participation, but it did not give the poor access to power and wealth. Most third world people will never reach the standard of living and consumption that most people in the first world enjoy. Some urban, middle class sections of the third world are, however, capable of coming close to enjoying first world standards of living. For them 'small is beautiful' is a step backwards economically and politically.

Neo-populism is popular in the first world because it is conceived as a reaction to the failures of modernisation theory and neo-Marxist theories to abolish poverty. It is also the remains of the Eurocentric and urbanistic first world perception of the idyllic rural peasant lifestyle (Hettne, 1990:155) The third world has had little participation in the control of populism even though it aims were to promote the empowerment of the poor.

Third world countries did not adopt eco-development with ease. Many third world countries were distrustful and hostile to the idea of appropriate technology and sustainable development. Third world countries believed that industrial waste and pollution problems were generated by first world countries who should take the responsibility for solving them. Third world countries also believed that the anti-growth and anti-industrial aspects of eco-development were designed to keep third world countries poor and at a disadvantage compared to first world countries. The notion of appropriate technology was also treated with suspicion by some third world countries. They saw it as an attempt by the first world to dump obsolete technology on to third world markets while protecting first world rights to superior technology (Hulme and Turner, 1990:63-64). Third world countries did not participate in the control of eco-development, rather they were distrustful of its intent.

Basic needs participation and empowerment theories were still controlled by first world organisations and development workers. Concepts of empowerment and participation were given much vocal support but often not practiced in reality. In some cases alternative theory concepts were administered in such a top-down manner that state or the local elite were able to dominate the development process and exclude the intended beneficiaries from control of the process (Brohman, 1996:223). The intended beneficiaries of development projects have little participation in the control of these alternative theories.

### **The ineffectual nature of alternative theories.**

The case of Tanzania demonstrates the ineffectual nature of neo-populism. In the mid 1960s Julius Nyerere attempted to reform Tanzania, along neo-populist lines, using the pre-existing form of African socialism - ujamaa. Ujamaa was a system of values



including mutual respect, sharing of property, income and hard work. There were existing problems with using ujamaa which included the subordinate position of women in society and the negative effect that colonialism had, had on these values. These problems aside Nyerere's policies based on ujamaa still failed to bring about the desired results. Policies forcing people into villages were often resented. Economic growth did not occur and food production was low, as communal agriculture was often neglected (Hulme and Turner, 1990:60-61).

A major problem with neo-populism, highlighted by the case of Tanzania, is the conflict between the interests of rural dwellers and urban dwellers. There is a political and economic bias in favour of urban areas. Since poverty and deprivation is mostly located in the rural areas, developmental aid and policies tend to do little to alleviate suffering and create development in these areas (Hulme and Turner, 1990:60-61). Third world countries and, in particular, rural areas have had little participation in the benefits of neo-populism.

Eco-development is becoming more popular in third world countries, especially through the pressure of environmental groups. In particular, the issues of resource use and waste disposal (relocated from first to third world countries) are paramount concerns. International agencies and first world NGOs continue to lobby for solutions to development environmental problems. Progress, however, is slow (Hulme and Turner, 1990:60-61). The world's poorest people are also the people living in the most fragile environments. Analysing the 20% of the poorest people in third world countries, 57% of the rural poor and 76% of the urban poor, live in areas that suffer from extreme environmental hazards (Elliott, 1994:21). This is compounded by the fact that for these people their immediate survival depends on plundering an environment that is not able to sustain such use. Third world countries have not benefited, to any large extent from eco-development theory.

Support for basic needs, empowerment and participation concepts has dropped since the 1980's because of the failure of these theories to generate the expected positive results. Alternative projects in rural areas can be expensive, hard to monitor and poorly designed. However, the major problem with these theories was that their

implementation was ad hoc and limited in scale and scope. Underlying causes of poverty were rarely addressed. Small successes were often swamped by the larger, often hostile, political environment in which projects were developed. As a result third world countries have had little participation in the benefits of these alternative theories (Brohman, 1996:224).

### **The Eurocentric perspective of neo-liberalism.**

Neo-liberalism has its origins in the economic theory of Adam Smith and David Ricardo who were interested in the rapid growth of the British economy in the late eighteenth-century. Liberal economics asserts that the 'free market' should be allowed to function unhindered by artificial control such as government regulation and welfare.

Peter Bauer, who embraced Liberal economics in the 1980s, advocated that neo-liberalism was the means to develop and create growth in the third world and first world. Bauer's arguments had a strong Eurocentric bias. First, he argues that third world countries do not require foreign aid as seventeenth century Europe did not require aid to develop. Second, he dismisses merchant capitalism and colonialism as factors which could have advantaged Europe in its development stage, while disadvantaging the third world in its developing stage. Third, Bauer uses the historical experience of Britain and Europe and assumes that all other societies are subject to the same developmental features that these societies were subject to. Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and the Soviet Union, are examples that this thesis is not true as these countries industrialised through state intervention, unlike Britain. Fourth, like modernisation theory, Bauer emphasises the psychological qualities that are lacking in third world society, which in pre industrial Europe were developed as a prerequisite for industrialisation (Webster, 1990:162).

Neo-liberalism, in echoing modernisation theory, was shaped by its Eurocentric bias. The third world had little participation in the shaping of neo-liberalism.

## **The political control of neo-liberalism.**

The IMF and the World Bank have adopted neo-liberalism as a strategy for third world development. Before providing aid to a third world country the IMF and World Bank insist on structural adjustment programmes being implemented within that country (Mittelman and Pasha, 1997:78). In addition to this, many other multilateral financial institutions, private banks and international development agencies require a 'seal of approval' from the IMF and World Bank before they will lend money to a country. This has effectively dried up any foreign funds that the third world can access, unless they restructure along neo-liberalist lines (Mittelman and Pasha, 1997:78). Very few third world countries are in a position to resist such incentives (Brohman, 1996:134).

The structural adjustment programmes are the implementation of neo-liberal theory. The rationale behind encouraging structural adjustment is that third world countries urgently need to end budget deficits. Structural adjustment programmes advocate privatisation of the economy, selling and reducing of the public sector, devaluation of currencies in order to promote exports, and trade and investment incentives. The consequences of these policies can be devastating on countries where poverty and deprivation are widespread because any social security net for the poor is stripped away (Mittelman and Pasha, 1997:78).

Neo-liberalism was influenced by the economic politics of its time. The early eighties saw a backlash against Keynesian economics. In 1979 and 1980 the United States, United Kingdom and West Germany elected anti-Keynesian governments to power. Neo-liberalist theorists were given predominance, recognition and financial reward over theorists who espoused a different view from the standard neo-liberal thinking. The unresolved economic problems (economic stagnation, rising debt, fiscal insolvency and declining per capita incomes) of the third world and the theoretical impasse that development theory has embedded itself in, only strengthened the neo-liberal position (Brohman, 1996:131). Structural adjustment is espoused as the only solution to third world problems and in particular the third world debt crisis (Corbridge, 1993:130).

Neo-liberalism was first implemented in the third world in the 1970s as experimental programmes. Chile under the Pinochet regime, Bolivia, Mexico, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Gambia, Turkey and Indonesia were among the first such countries. Currently there are very few third world countries that have not used neo-liberalism strategies, especially in areas which deal with their external relations with the rest of the world (for example, through currency devaluation, and removal of trade barriers). Internal changes include deregulation of internal markets, unionism and removal of price subsidies for basic food commodities. The importance of reducing private consumption and increasing private investment is stressed, as is the reduction of Government spending (Brohman, 1996:133).

The IMF and World Bank are organisations that are heavily influenced by their main donors, the United States, Japan and western European countries. In particular the United States uses the IMF and World Bank to further its own interests. Knippers-Black (1991) identified the removal of colonial (in particular British) and nationalistic (in particular Latin American) barriers to United States trade and investment. To this end the United States made sure that voting rights were according to the contribution that countries made to the institution, rather than equal votes. Although the IMF states it makes its decisions based on economic grounds and need, rather than political necessity, the fact remains that many decisions appear to be the reverse of this statement. In 1980 socialist Jamaica was effectively boycotted by the IMF while the IMF extended loans to El Salvador and Bolivia (both had economically unstable economies) (Knippers Black, 1991:71-72).

Neo-liberalism and structural adjustment programmes have been pushed upon third world countries by the first world through the IMF and World Bank. The third world had little participation in the control of neo-liberalism.

### **The ineffectual nature of neo-liberalism.**

After a decade of structural adjustment policies some theorists (in particular Payer and Singer), are questioning whether structural adjustment policies might be the cause of

third world economic problems rather than the solution. The reduction of state welfare has added to the poverty and suffering of low income groups within the third world (and within the first world too). Liberalisation of the economy has led to a dual economy, where one sector produces solely for export (Schuurman, 1993:11-12). It has been suggested that neo-liberal policies actually undermine the fiscal basis of third world countries. Massive debt repayments often mean that more money flows back to the first world than is injected into the third world from the first world.<sup>ix</sup> Since 1982 third world countries have been paying back \$30 billion more, each year, than they have received as new lendings (Payer, 1991:ix). UNCTAD and GATT meetings have not helped the third world. Many third world countries, instead of becoming more economically independent from the first world, now shoulder immense debt repayments (Hulme and Turner, 1990:217). Most third world countries have not experienced increased economic growth as the result of structural adjustment programmes (Woodward, 1992:4).

Environmentalists and third world activists suggest that the IMF and World Bank have outlived their usefulness. They assert that these institutions have misallocated funds, encouraged socially irresponsible development policies and paid scant attention to poverty reduction and that the original goals of these two institutions have radically changed (Mittelman and Pasha, 1997:78). The huge debt repayments (that the third world currently is required to pay back), the removal of welfare provisions and protectionism have meant that third world countries have had little participation in the benefits of neo-liberalism.

## **Summary.**

This chapter has highlighted the lack of participation that the third world has in the shaping, control and benefits of development theory. Most development theory has its origins in Europe or North America and was shaped by Eurocentric assumptions about the evolution of economies. The majority of control over the development process resided in the United States either directly or through international organisations such as the IMF and World Bank. Japan is another country with considerable control over the development process, especially in the area of third world debt. Development theory has

failed to alleviate world poverty and underdevelopment. It has at least proved just how complex and controversial development problems are.

Development theory covers a huge body of, often conflicting, thought regarding many diverse countries. The third world has contributed to this body of knowledge, however, this contribution has not been enough. It is essential that the third world participates actively in the development debate, that it participates actively in the political influences that control development theory and that it participates in the benefits of development. To not do so is to manipulate the third world into the role of a puppet, a situation of inequality, poverty and lack of control, from which they can never expect to emerge.

The next chapter continues this argument by examining the extent to which the third world has participated in the shaping, control and benefits of development practice. Chapter four then investigates the potential of the Internet to increase the participation of third world JDVOs and JDPOs in development and justice issues and, in particular, the communication of those issues to the first world.

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<sup>vii</sup> The modes of production theory was influenced, also, by French structuralism (Sklair, 1991:40).

<sup>viii</sup> Dependency theory was popularised outside of Latin America by German-American Andre Gunder Frank (while living in Chile).

<sup>ix</sup> Massive debt accumulation in third world countries can not be blamed solely on the policies of the IMF or World Bank. Debt also arose from over borrowing in the 1970s, however the terms under which this debt is repaid is influenced by the IMF.

## Chapter Three

### Development Practice

*Participation used to be the rallying cry of the radicals; its presence is now effectively obligatory in all policy documents and project proposals from the international donors and implementing agencies. Community participation may have won the war of words but, beyond the rhetoric, its success is less evident.*

(Chaufan cited in Dudley, 1993:7).

Robert Chambers (1995:30) defined participation 'as an 'empowering process which enables local people to do their own analysis, to take command, to gain confidence, and to make their own decisions. In theory, this means that 'we' participate in 'their' project, not 'they' in 'ours'. However, the above quote is pessimistic about the extent of 'participation' in development practice. It recognises that participation, while lauded, is rarely practiced in reality.

The previous chapter looked at how much third world academics and people participated in the shaping, control and benefits of development theory. This chapter looks at how much JDVOs and JDPOs have participated<sup>x</sup> in the shaping, control and benefits of development practice and concurs with the above quote from Chaufan - that participation is more evident in development rhetoric than in development practice.

### What are NGOs?

To begin with, the term Non Government Organisation needs to be clarified, as it has become a blanket cover for many different types of organisations, which in reality have little in common with each other. Korten (1990:3) distinguishes four possible types of organisations that are incorporated under the NGO term. These organisations are:



- Governmental Non Governmental Organisations (GONGOs)
- Public Service Contractors (PSCs)
- Voluntary Organisations (VOs)
- People Organisations (POs)

Governments create GONGOs to perform specific tasks. These organisations are considered to be less responsive to market forces (because of their privileged governmental position) and are, therefore, less efficient than PSCs. GONGOs are less independent from government influences than VOs and PSCs, and as a consequence, their social objectives are vulnerable to political interests (Korten, 1990:97).

PSCs are non-profit businesses that exist to give a public service. PSCs are market oriented and make resource decisions based on being responsive to market forces. PSCs measure the achievement of their goals in financial terms and often contract to private contributors or government agencies with the aim of fulfilling the contractors requirements (Korten, 1990:97).

VOs are organisations that are formed to provide a social service. The members of a VO are motivated by shared values. Members of VOs give of their time, energy and resources because they believe in the service they are giving. They often have a vision of a better world and are dedicated to achieving this vision. In PSCs the service is performed for the donor, in VOs the service is performed for the recipient (Korten, 1990:97).

POs are organisations that are created by their members to provide a social service for their members. The PO has to have a democratic structure and be self reliant in terms of initiative and funding to meet the definition of a PO. POs are grassroots organisations. Unlike the previous three groupings, the PO exists to serve its members rather than a third party (Korten, 1990:100-101).

Many NGOs are actually a blend of the above four groupings or are in the process of being changed from one type to another. Government funding of VOs can make VOs



act more like PSCs. VOs may evolve into POs by bringing members, whom they exist to serve, into their organisation (Korten, 1990:104-105).

VOs are increasingly seen as the most appropriate mechanism for dispersal of aid and implementation of development projects. A report published in 1984 showed that 2200 first world VOs were spending \$4 billion dollars to support projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This amounted to three times the amount contributed less than a decade before (Knipers-Black, 1991:74).

Compared to government agencies VOs are assumed to be closer to the people and to understand them better. VOs are often part of networks at a grassroots level. VOs can supervise and control projects far easier than government agencies because they are often closer to the project (Mathur, 1995:158).

VOs size can also make them more flexible and innovative (Mathur, 1995:158). VOs tend to be less bureaucratic than government agencies. Because they consist of highly motivated, often voluntary, staff they can often act in unconventional but innovative ways to solve complex problems. VOs are one step removed from political pressure that can be asserted on government agencies and this gives them a greater degree of autonomy. However, as government funding increases to VOs this premise may not remain true (Lane, 1995:182).

Lane (1995:181) has identified two other reasons why VOs are becoming increasingly popular in development practice. First, the failure of official aid policies has meant people have been looking around for more effective ways of distributing aid. Second, as the importance of participation of intended beneficiaries has grown, VOs have been seen as the most appropriate agencies to encourage this process.

## **Justice and development.**

The United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report, (1991) concluded that there was a high correlation between human freedom and development (Dussel, 1992:116). The right to live free from war, oppression and torture is as

important as the right to freedom from poverty and mal-nourishment. The right to shelter and clean water is as important as indigenous rights. Without justice, development can never fully be achieved. Without development you can never be rid of injustice. To achieve development, which is just, a values of equity and social justice become as important as economic growth (Clark, 1991:26). Justice and development NGOs are organisations that recognise this and, therefore, stress human rights protection and development as their major aims.

### **Growth of participation.**

Participation and empowerment have become popular words in development since the 1980's. Rahnema (1992:117) has identified six reasons why participation has been lauded as a new approach to development issues. First, the concept of participation is no longer seen as a threat to governments. Foreign aid has increased the power of governments in the third world and increased the perceived need for material goods by the general population. Participation is likely to be focused on gaining these goods rather than opposing the government.

Second, participation rhetoric is a useful tool to make it appear that every one is part of the development process and that the project looks better than it actually is. It is a label which sounds good but in reality is no different from the usual top down approach to development (Rahnema, 1992:117-119) (Chambers, 1995:30).

Third, participation is a way of passing the costs of development on to the beneficiaries. Local labour is used as a cost saving device only. Communities contribute resources and time to the project but are otherwise not involved (Rahnema, 1992:117-119) (Chambers, 1995:30).

Fourth, participation is considered to be more efficient (Rahnema, 1992:119). Participation of intended beneficiaries, in development projects, is recognised as being more efficient, equitable and sustainable than the non-participation of beneficiaries. In a climate in which more is expected from less resources, participation calls for a change

in methods which may be expensive in terms of time and care but may not necessarily mean an injection of more money into the project (Rahnema, 1992:119-120) (Schneider and Libercier, 1995:32-33).

Fifth, participation is used as a device to ensure more funds. NGOs are increasingly receiving more development funding because of their perceived participatory orientation (Rahnema, 1992:119-120).

Sixth, participation can be used by the private sector to lobby for more privatisation of development by stating that participatory organisations and private organisations are more efficient than public organisations. In these ways participation has been adopted by governments and organisations but in many cases it is really only lip service to the concept of participation rather than the implementation of empowerment and active participation (Rahnema, 1992:119-120).

### **Benefits of participation.**

Participation that is active rather than rhetorical has numerous benefits to development. Participation is capable of overcoming development problems that 'outsiders' will never be able to comprehend. Participation ensures that intended beneficiaries are represented in the decision making. Development is more likely to seek humane, socially and culturally appropriate solutions to problems. Conscientisation and empowerment allows participants to become organised so that the project continues (or new projects develop) long after outside intervention has gone (Rahnema, 1992:119-120).

Another area where active participation is beneficial but is often overlooked is the ability of intended beneficiaries to bring their own cultural strengths to the development process. Culture is a fundamental part of every human being, to be forced to operate outside one's culture is very stressful. When culture is given up too fast, people experience disorientation and despair. This is why development practice based on cultural traditions is more likely to succeed. Just as important as the success of a project is the recognition that development is more about dignity than about economics.

Development workers, for example, do not usually take folklore, seriously. It is considered to be interesting but not of value to the development process. Kleymeyer (1994:1) argues against this perception. He states 'A people's expressive culture, which is at the heart of its folklore, has a profound significance. It is a powerful statement of what is most deeply felt and what gives meaning to people's lives'<sup>xi</sup>.

Because poverty is often the result of powerlessness, VOs will sometimes take up the role of conscientisation, advocacy and empowerment. Redistribution of resources and power implies participation, as power and control is transferred to the intended beneficiaries (Hulme, 1994: 253).

### **Levels of participation.**

The concept of 'participation' is problematic in that it can mean many different things to different people. Dudley (1993:7) sees this problem of definition as a division between those who see participation as a means to an end and those who see participation as the end in itself (Dudley, 1993:7). Participation, however, is more likely to be viewed as a continuum between those who allow intended beneficiaries to participate in their project and whose role is simply to give help in the intended beneficiaries project. At one end organisations are non participatory VOs and at the other end of the continuum organisations are participatory POs.

Lane (1995:183) identified four levels of participation. Each level is indicative of the relationship between the intended beneficiaries and the NGO concerned. The first three levels use participation as a means to an end, to increase the viability of the project and the implementation of its aims. The fourth level implies that participation is an end in itself. These levels are:

1. information sharing
2. consultation
3. decision making
4. initiating action

At the information sharing level the intended beneficiaries are kept informed of the processes and events that occur during the lifetime of the project. This is a very paternalistic top-down approach to development. Information and control of the project resides outside the intended beneficiaries' realm (Lane, 1995:183).

At the level of consultation, information is divested downwards to the intended beneficiaries but also backwards from the intended beneficiaries to the VO. Control is retained by the VO (Lane, 1995:183).

At the decision making level the intended beneficiaries are 'allowed' some control over the development process or project. But the VO predominantly controls the project (Lane, 1995:183).

Finally at the initiating action level, the control and information sharing of the project is initiated by the intended beneficiaries and is predominantly upward than downward controlled. But even at this level the VO may still retain some control of the information and processes (Lane, 1995:183).

The success of a project is often attributed to the level of participation inherent in the processes and the purpose of that participation. If the purpose of having intended beneficiaries participating in the project is to increase efficiency, access labour and resources and utilise local knowledge then levels of information sharing and consultation are probably enough to met these aims. However, if the purpose of participation is to increase the sustainability of the project, to promote confidence and skills amongst the intended beneficiaries and finally to be participatory out of the belief that it recognises the strengths and dignity of all intended beneficiaries, then the level of initiation is certainly the best level to operate at (Lane, 1995:183).

### **Voluntary Organisations as creators, controllers and providers.**

The role of VOs has changed over the last five decades. They have evolved from being the creators of projects, controllers of resources and providers of the benefits to a more participatory role in facilitating development through POs.

Lane (1995:184) has identified the gradual progression of aid agencies from relief and welfare agencies, which responded to emergency situations, to modernisation, community development and institution building VOs each with increasing levels of participation in them. The latter three agencies differ from the relief and welfare agencies because their purpose is to effect long-term change and increase the ability of the intended beneficiaries to be self-sufficient.

Modernisation agencies developed during the 1960s when modernisation theory dominated development theory. Their aim was to transfer technology, resources and skills that would catalyse economic growth. The intended beneficiaries were seen to be backward and ignorant. VOs had a paternalistic view of third world people. The intended beneficiaries were not valued for their knowledge and opinion, nor afforded the basic respect of their culture and customs. Participation in projects tended to be at a very low participation level. Calls to increase participation came as a drive to save resources and increase efficiency (Lane, 1995:184).

Community development groups were the next level of VOs on the participatory scale. Community development groups focus on increasing the self-reliance of the intended beneficiaries. While modernisation VOs developed out of modernisation theory, community development VOs developed out of a basic needs approach to development. Participation became an integral part of the basic needs approach. It required that the intended beneficiaries participate in the benefits of the project. Participation was seen as an effective and efficient means of using local resources. Participation was also considered important because it increased the ability of the community to plan and implement change later on in the project cycle. In reality, community development VOs usually experienced a mixture of levels of participation. Participation was encouraged in the areas of community health care, community involvement and training but was usually absent in the areas of project design and decision making especially in the beginning of the project cycle (Lane, 1995:186).

The third generation of VO identified by Lane was the institution building type. This type of organisation has a distinct social structure, which is created with the long-term aim of releasing control and decision making to the intended beneficiaries at some point

in the future. In reality, without proper training and commitment to releasing the project, the intended beneficiaries can remain dependent on the VO long past when they should have been self-sufficient (Lane, 1995:187).

By definition VOs tend toward the first three of Lane's (1995) levels of participation. Once their intended beneficiaries become completely involved in the shaping, control and distribution of benefits, then the organisation has evolved into a PO.

Korten (1990) has a similar view of the different generations of NGOs. The following table clarifies Korten's view of the different generations of NGOs.

<i>GENERATION</i>				
	<i>FIRST</i>	<i>SECOND</i>	<i>THIRD</i>	<i>FOURTH</i>
Problem definition	Shortage	Local inertia	Institutional and policy constraints	Inadequate Mobilizing Vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project Life	Ten to twenty years	Indefinite Future
Scope	Individual or family	Neighbourhood or village	Region or nation	National or Global
Chief Actors	NGO	NGO plus community	All relevant Public and Private institutions	Loosely defined networks of people and Organisations
NGO Role	Doer	Mobilizer	Catalyst	Activist/ Educator
Management Orientation	Logistics Management	Project Management	Strategic Management	Coalescing and energizing Self-Managing Networks
Development Education	Starving children	Community self-help	Constraining Policies and Institutions	Spaceship Earth <sup>xii</sup>

**Table 2.** Strategies of Development-Oriented NGOs: Four Generations. (Korten, 1990:117).

The first generation is aid given in response to an emergency or natural disaster, such as war, drought or flooding. It is often described as humanitarian assistance rather than development assistance as it is targeted on elevating the short-term effects of some calamity (Korten, 1990:115-116).



The second generation of development strategy concentrated on community development. Often the NGOs involved in community development emerged from first generation relief organisations when they began to realise that relief was never going to meet the needs of the poor or encourage beneficiaries to become independent from charity. In this generation the NGO acts as a mobiliser rather than a doer. Project development, education and new technologies are the major focuses of this strategy. Despite the rhetoric of participation many of these NGOs create more dependence on themselves than empowerment for the intended beneficiaries (Korten, 1990:118-119).

The third generation again focuses on the community but also looks beyond to the local, national and global restraints that prevent local communities from developing. These NGOs work to change policies that allow communities to control the resources they need to develop. Advocacy and political lobbying are important parts of this strategy (Korten, 1990:120-121).

The fourth generation recognises that for VOs to be truly participatory then they must remove themselves from the roles of creator, controller and provider and become partners to POs. Yet, it can be asked to what extent have VOs become more participatory and moved towards Korten's fourth generation of participation?

While enthusiasm grows for the use of VOs to increase participation of intended beneficiaries in development, to effectively distribute aid and to partner projects with POs, the empirical evidence demonstrating this enthusiasm, in practice, is not so obvious. Much evidence has simply not been collected. A 1988 survey of the rates of participation in VOs and found that:

- 22% had no participation
  - 24% had low rates of participation
  - 36% had moderate rates of participation
  - 18% had high rates of participation<sup>xiii</sup>
- (Lane, 1995:189)

Some VOs such as Oxfam UK and Christian Aid invest in participation and empowerment as the heart of their work, in particular in the areas of decision making

and allocation of power. Other organisations such as CORSO New Zealand have taken on a funding / solidarity partnership with POs within third world countries. Most VOs fall short of the stated aim of participation of intended beneficiaries in development practice (Lane, 1995:189).

Since participation has such wide unquestioned appeal, in rhetoric at least, what prevents its wide use in practice? Schneider and Libercier (1995:32) suggest several reasons. Participation requires a particular environment in which to flourish at a national, local and voluntary level.

Political regimes that are highly authoritarian tend to discourage participatory organisations because participation (and in particular activism) can lead to a loss of their power (Schneider and Libercier, 1995:32). NGOs are more common in countries where governments are open to different forms of organisations. Repressive governments are likely to actively discourage the emergence of POs in particular (Clark, 1991:79).

Centralised governments are structured in such a way that decision making at the periphery is virtually impossible. In some cases the reverse is true, however. Where centralised control is weak, in the periphery, local organisations may flourish in the absence of any interference from bureaucracy and government. In general, however, decentralisation of authority is more conducive to participation approaches than centralisation (Schneider and Libercier, 1995:32).

Public sector projects at regional and local levels tend not to be actively participatory. VOs may have their say and lobby government but in the end the decision making and control remains in the hands of the public sector officials. In cases where the public sector works in partnership with other groups, individuals, communities and VOs may be asked to contribute to the project but this contribution is within an environment which is not very conducive to active participation (Schneider and Libercier, 1995:32).

At a voluntary level, participation requires an environment in which development workers are willing to let go of the control over the development process. However,

existing behaviour among development workers, where control over events is preferred, remains strong. VOs find it difficult to withdraw from projects when a PO could be formed, from the intended beneficiaries, and continue on their own developing valuable skills in the process. Another concern is that when development workers take up a training role they can also take up the role of the 'all knowing teacher' forcing the trainee into the role of 'ignorant student'. Local initiatives can become stifled by and dependent on VOs thus hampering their ability to develop, grow and contribute to their members now and in the future (Mathur, 1995:159).

Participatory development is not understood well in terms of how it should be implemented and how it works. Development workers can, therefore, be unsure how to convert the rhetoric into development practice. There is no standard template from which VOs can work (Mathur, 1995:166). Because VOs have a tradition of working in projects, this is what they stick to. Projects are easy to raise funds for and to plan for. Discrete projects produce quick quantifiable results but they are not conducive to empowerment and full participatory involvement of the intended beneficiaries. Project work, for example, tends towards bureaucracy with its inherent pull towards centralisation, standardisation and control (Chambers, 1995:33).

From a practical point of view active participation can be difficult to implement. Often it is more appropriate to use a combination of participation levels. The poor, and especially poor women, do not always have the time to invest in the type of participation required (Hulme, 1994:260). Under particular circumstances of dire need, and urgent timeframes participation is inappropriate. The mother of a dying child, for example, is not interested in participation. She requires urgent intervention. She may be interested, however, in participating later in future preventive processes (White, Nair and Ascroft, 1994:18).

Participation in VOs (as in POs) requires some form of democracy and the readiness of participants to share power and resources. In particular, special care must be taken within a group to identify those who have unequal access to resources and decision making, and ensure that these groups of people are not marginalised within the larger group. This applies especially to women where social and cultural values often exclude

them from true participation within a group. It also applies to the very poorest who do not participate fully in projects, for a variety of reasons, and who often do not benefit from the projects (Schneider and Libercier, 33; Lane, 1995:182).

In many cases the intended beneficiaries do not actually benefit from the project or do not benefit as much as the local elite. Evidence tends to suggest that the very poor of the poor still miss out on the benefits of development even though projects are aimed particularly at improving their lives (Mathur, 1995:158). Part of this problem can be attributed to conflicts of interests amongst individuals, communities and local regions.

Most important, as a reason why participation is not widely practiced, is the inability or reluctance of those with power to give it away. This could be local elite who are accustomed to their loci of power or others who do not trust that development objectives of the group will still be met once their control is lost (Chambers, 1995:33). Participation can potentially disrupt existing loci of power and this usually is not tolerated at either the international level or local level. This can result in external constraints being imposed on the participatory process within the development projects. This problem can be compounded where large amounts of official aid are involved in the project (Lane, 1995:190). Justice agencies face this problem at an even higher degree as their work can often be more confronting.

Participation requires an environment in which participation is respected for its own sake. More often than not, however, participation has less to do with intended beneficiaries shaping, controlling and distributing the benefits as it has to do with Governments, local authorities and VOs controlling and manipulating the development process. 'Participation' can be used by governments and other loci of power to disengage their own responsibility for a justice or development problem, by transferring the problem to the community or to VOs, while not necessarily divulging any power to effect change (Dudley, 1993:7).

Other issues that must be dealt with include poor education, lack of appropriate skills such as management skills. For example, POs may lack understanding of contexts, time pressure, administration problems and extra costs when tackling a development project.

Important also is the confidence of participants to communicate and be responsive with administrative resources and procedures. At times it is the passivity of the intended beneficiaries, which is the problem preventing participation. In these cases a catalyst from outside the population or from within it must raise the awareness of the group (Schneider and Libercier, 1995:12).

Most of the successes that have occurred in development have been the result of ad hoc local action. For widespread development to occur a systematic programme would most likely need to be implemented. Such a programme may work against the very active participatory process that helps make projects a success (Mathur, 1995:166).

Part of the acceptance of participation is believing that intended beneficiaries are equal partners whose knowledge and beliefs have value (and value to the project) and that these values should not be swamped or replaced by the 'western' cultural values of outside partners or VOs. This implies a lot of patience on the part of outside groups who, for a time, may actually serve the intended beneficiaries better by doing nothing. The project needs to be driven by internal concerns and time constraints rather than the concerns and constraints of the outsider group (Schneider and Libercier, 1995:32). It also implies another mindshift, from thinking of development as about things, to development being about people. The importance has shifted to putting poor people first and in particular the very poor first. This mindshift like participation is far more evident in the rhetoric than in practice (Chambers, 1995:32-33).

### **Peoples Organisations as creators, controllers and providers.**

Participation is empowering when VOs recognise that development must be carried out from within POs. This requires that the intended beneficiaries shape, control and benefit from every aspect of the factors that impact on their lives. The role of outside VOs is therefore to promote meaningful participation of all intended beneficiaries in development process from initiation to evaluation (Lane, 1995:189).

Lane (1995:189) suggests three ways in which VOs can promote participation. First, VOs must recognise that third world POs are capable of directing their own

development and give them support to do this. They can do this by transferring resources and helping to create the right political and institutional climate for the PO to operate in. Second, is the realisation that development is more than one or two projects designed and controlled by first world VOs. Rather development is a process. Third, VOs need to release their traditional role of shaping, control and distribution of benefits into the hands of the intended beneficiaries. Instead, they need to focus on advocacy and education in their own countries. In short, allow the third world through its POs to determine its own future, without abandoning or turning a blind eye to the justice and development issues within the third world.

Networking between like minded VOs and POs is increasing. VOs can use their resources in the first world to bring third world issues into public forums where political pressure can be used to change unjust structures (Clark, 1991:3&6). At the same time advocacy groups have emerged in the third world. Networking between the two has helped to increase the power of both groups (Clark, 1991:37).

POs are also seeking networks with non-traditional first world funding partners. For example indigenous tribal people in India and Brazil are networking with organisations like Survival International and the Environment Defence Fund based in Washington. This highlights the shift from the perceived importance of funding to the importance of political pressure from VOs (Clark, 1991:141).

Increasingly, POs are emerging from under the dominance of first world VOs. This is happening, in particular, where POs are restricting their membership to third world participants only. For example, the Penang Based Third World Network was set up as a forum for third world countries to discuss common problems (Clark, 1991:7). Numbers of POs are increasing as local people form together to develop solutions to local problems (Clark, 1991:102).

Networking between VOs and POs and the use of local organisations in practice, however, is limited. Generally it is more likely that VOs will set up in competition to POs and sometimes force the PO out. When local organisations are used in conjunction



with VOs problems still exist. Local organisations may not be fully participatory and can be influenced by traditional structures such as the local elite (Lane, 1995:187).

VOs are increasingly used to channel aid funds to POs. In Africa, 90% of POs are funded through foreign aid (Hulme, 1994:265). POs in this situation can become dependent on the VOs, as there is less incentive to mobilise their own local resources. The acceptance of aid changes the accountability structure of the organisation. Previously an organisation may have only been accountable to its members. But once aid is accepted the PO may also need to be accountable to the funding body. This new relationship can alter the structure of a PO considerably, for example, making it more management orientated. Protection of employment and increased costs of higher staff levels and administration costs can also result. As the organisation changes the intended beneficiaries may also change as members feel the organisation has become more responsive to the funding body than its members. Intended beneficiaries become increasingly alienated from the original objectives of the organisation which becomes seen as a transferring mechanism for resources rather than as an organisation which they own and participate in (Hulme, 1994:266-267). Even networking with larger VOs can cause a PO to lose its own identity and aims (Clark, 1991:8).

Chambers (1995:iv-v) not only recognises that it is a 'basic human right for poor people to conduct their own analysis' but also suggests that if third world people were to do their own analysis, they may be less concerned with issues of poverty, as they are with issues of greed and exploitation. And they may be less willing to view the first world as a friendly benefactor that holds the solution to their problems. First world analysis of the problems of poverty is rarely focused inward on itself. It is far easier to view 'development' as a distant problem belonging to 'someone else'. The third world view is not necessarily blinded by the convenience of this perception (Chambers, 1995:5-6).

Participation is not a cure all for development problems and the greater use of POs in development will not end human rights abuses or poverty. Even as problematic as the issues are, the participation of POs in development and the changing relationship between POs and VOs is a step in the right direction. It is perhaps contradictory that participation can positively influence development practice and the success of projects



but that for participation to occur VOs must remove themselves from this process and allow the intended beneficiaries to shape, control and disperse the benefits of their development. Development practice has always been a process of intervening in third world development. Participation will always remain rhetoric until VOs realise their role may have fundamentally changed (Lane, 1995:191).

## Summary.

This chapter and the previous chapter have discussed the participation of the third world and third world JDNGOs in development theory and practice. The conclusion has been that levels of participation have not been very high. The third world has had little participation in the shaping, control and benefits of development theory. Participation in development practice is widespread in the literature but not widely spread in reality. For the third world to participate fully in justice and development issues the first world and first world NGOs may need to change the role they take from provider to facilitator, empowerer and advocator.

The next chapter discusses the potential of the Internet to increase the participation of third world JDNGOs in justice and development issues. The remaining three chapters will concentrate on the addressing the question how many third world JDNGOs are actually using the Internet to further their justice and developmental objectives, compared to first world JDNGOs.

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<sup>x</sup> Participation is defined as the process in which the intended beneficiaries are involved in the project from the design, monitoring and evaluation of the project. Their involvement is not simply as a passive consultative role nor as participants in an orchestrated project but as active participants in a project they shaped, controlled and benefited from. This terminology of participation implies the intended beneficiaries are also stakeholders, partners and actors in the development project. (Schneider and Libercier, 1995:10).

<sup>xi</sup> In stating this Kleymeyer, (1994) does not attempt to romanticise cultural ways or imply that these ways are unchanging. Rather Kleymeyer, (1994) is saying that culture should form the foundation of development practice as it supports them through changes which they control and implement.

<sup>xii</sup> Spaceship Earth is a concept developed by Korten to highlight that our planet has limited resources, which once used up may be, gone for ever.

<sup>xiii</sup> These figures do not differentiate between different types of developmental agencies.

## Chapter Four

### Communication Technology

*No many how hard we study ourselves, and write it up in simple English for the white people, they will not understand us, for they are not given the true view of us by your universities. That true view only exists within the people, not in books, lectures and films<sup>xiv</sup>.*

(American Indian Women Elder cited in J. Stubbean 1997 email 10 July).

The above quote highlights another ‘peculiarly modern form of cultural imperialism’. That is the belief that the first world can know the experience of the people of the third world<sup>xv</sup> through information. The above quote is attempting to explain that understanding comes not from information but (if at all) it comes from communication. The first world can not experience the ‘true view’ of the third world, for that view resides within the people. The above quote suggests that it is only by communicating with third world people that the first world will ever come close to perceiving the experience of third world.

T.S. Elliot once said ‘Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?’ (Tehrani, 1990:54). This is the age of information and often it seems we have lost much communication but gained much information. Communication is much more than the transfer of information and data, communication implies understanding, meaning and learning. Al Gore, Jr. at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in 1995, defined communication along these lines:

*‘Communication is the beginning of community. Whether it is through language, art, custom or political philosophy, people and nations identify themselves through communication of experience and values ... Global communication is not about conformity. ... But communication is about bridging the differences between nations and people, not erasing them.*  
(Gore, 1995:6).

This chapter discusses the potential of communication technology<sup>xvi</sup> to assist third and fourth world POs to communicate their 'true view' to the first world. First, it looks at the nature of communication technology. Second, it examines the use of communication technology in human rights advocacy and development practice.

### **Communication - good, bad, indifferent or fickle?**

Tehrani (1990:4-6) has identified four ways that communication technology can be perceived. They are:

- Technophilic
- Technophobic
- Technoneutral
- Technostructuralist

Summarised quickly these perspectives can be described as those who think communication technology is a good thing, those who think it is a bad thing, those who think communication technology is neutral (neither good nor bad) and those who think communication technology can be any of the above depending on the situation and environment in which it is used (Tehrani, 1990:4-6).

Technophiles believe that communication technology is a force which, while presently concentrated in the first world, will eventually be used by third world people to great effect, as many third world NGOs and people see the advantages of being 'on-line' (Tehrani, 1990:4-5).

Technophobes have a more pessimistic view of communication technology. They don't see the concentration of communication technology in the first world 'trickling down' to the third world. They are afraid that communication technology will become a powerful tool for loci of power in the first and third world and for powerful groups that seek to oppress other groups. They worry that communication technology will swamp indigenous culture with 'western' mass culture (Tehrani, 1990:4-5).

The technoneutralist take's a neutral position. They maintain that communication technology is neither inherently good nor bad. Technoneutralists tend to be consultants

who are dependent on not offending their clients and therefore are often reluctant to assert a position (Tehrani, 1990:5).

The Technostructuralist believes communication technology is neither good, bad or neutral by itself. Communication technology is the product of the environment in which it was developed and used in. Communication technologies are developed to meet predefined and (not value free) needs, for example, military or business concerns. Likewise, the impact of communication technology is a product of the institutional environment in which it operates. Any discussion of communication technology must include a thorough analysis of the reasons for the use of communication technology and the manner in which it is used (Tehrani, 1990:5-6).

This thesis takes a Technostructuralist view of communication technology. When the right motives are present and the right institutional environment exists the use of the Internet can be a powerful tool used by JDPOs to represent the 'true view' of themselves and their cause in meaningful communication with the first world.

If the motive of JDPOs is to communicate with (not just inform) the first world about current and pressing third world issues and to do so with their own voice, then what potential does the Internet have for such communication?

For meaningful dialogue to occur, certain institutional and attitudinal preconditions would be essential. Without these conditions the use of the Internet would have little impact. First, it would be essential that (at least certain groups within) the first world were willing to listen and value what the third world people have to say. Second, it would be important for the first world to recognise that the third world has a distinct view which can not be 'translated' through first world organisations. Third, third world people have a fundamental right to freedom of speech and viewpoint even when this view conflicts with the first world view. Fourth, the first world must encourage cultural diversity. One of the greatest threats to third world countries is their loss of identity because of the infiltration of western media and the bombardment of images of glorified western life (Tehrani, 1990:11). Fifth, the first world may need to recognise that for

the third world to be given a chance to have its say, it may be necessary for the first world to 'shut up', at least initially.

Given that the right institutional and attitudinal conditions are present, the Internet has the potential to increase communication as long as the following technological conditions also exist.

First, the Internet must be interactive. Unlike traditional media forms such as television and newsprint, the Internet is an interactive technology. Television and print media provide information in one direction only. This direction is nearly always top down. The Internet can provide information both ways between two or many sources. The direction of the communication is horizontal rather than top down (Tehrani, 1990:6-7). Email is particularly useful for establishing networks because of its interactive qualities (Anderson, Bikson, Law and Mitchell, 1995:127).

Second, the Internet must be universal and accessible. Three things prevent the Internet from being genuinely universal. They are diversity of languages, literacy and cost (Tehrani, 1990:7). As discussed in chapter one, the issue of language makes it harder for some people to use the Internet. In some cases, however, the dominance of English on the Internet is a benefit rather than a hindrance. In Singapore, hostile ethnic groups communicate with each other over the Internet using English because it is a neutral language (Poster, 1995:28).

As technology improves, the cost is likely to reduce and problems of language will improve. As the audio and video quality on the Internet improves, problems of literacy will be reduced. The Internet, however, is likely to remain out of the immediate reach of the very poor and is likely to remain a predominantly written form of interaction (Tehrani, 1990:7).

In favour of Internet technology is its ability to transcend geographical barriers. Once connected to the Internet communication is possible over great distances allowing networking to occur amongst people that traditionally would never meet or communicate with each other (Kahin and Keller, 1996:41).

Communication technology in the control of POs will challenge existing loci of power. Access to communication technology will not. It is the organisations and individuals that control access to the Internet, and those who own the tools required to access the Internet, who have the real control over this form of communication technology. They are the ones who decide what and how information will be presented on the Internet (Bery, 1995:43).

Censorship on the Internet is not presently an issue. China, Vietnam and Singapore have all indicated they will control the information coming into their countries on the Internet. Currently, however, there is no mechanism for controlling what is put onto the Internet (Panos, 1995).

Third, the Internet must exhibit quality information. Like television, the quality of information on the Internet is not always of a high standard. In the United States the prevalence of television would suggest a higher cultural and educational standard than actually exists. Part of the problem is attributed to poor television programming standards. The same problem is true of the Internet. The Internet is possibly even more extreme as posting of information onto the Internet is not formally regulated. The amount of pornography on the Internet is an example of this problem (Tehrani, 1990:8).

Fourth, the Internet must be capable of transferring information at high speeds. The Internet is capable of transferring information across the world within seconds. Further technological advances promise to make communication even more of a 'real time' experience (Tehrani, 1990:8-9).

If the essential conditions are present then the Internet has the potential to increase and enhance the communication between the third and first world. But its success or failure will always be a product of the conditions in which it exists. This does not mean that the use of the Internet, in an environment in which the participation of the third world is valued, won't make that environment more participatory. The opposite is probably true. What it does mean is that if the use of the Internet by JDPOs to increase the participation of third world countries is attempted in an environment where

participation is not practiced, then the use of the Internet is likely to involve a lack of genuine participation from third world people (Tehrani, 1990:17).

In summary, communication technology has the potential to aid JDVOs and JDPOs in their justice and developmental objectives if the following conditions occur:

1. if the use of the Internet is used in a social environment in which participation of the third world is valued and encouraged,
2. if the Internet is used to communicate in an interactive, horizontal manner and
3. if the Internet is made more universal and accessible to third world people and third world POs (Tehrani, 1990:6-7).

### **Communication Technology in action.**

How have JDVOs and JDPOs used communication technology to further their developmental and human rights issues? The case of Tiananman Square is an interesting illustration of the potential of the Internet.

In June 1989, at Tiananman Square, Chinese University students were conducting a seven week long pro-democratic demonstration. Unwisely, the government of the People's Republic of China attempted to forcefully end the non violent demonstration while more than a thousand members of the foreign media looked on. In an attempt to avoid further international and national outrage the Chinese Government tried to contain media coverage of the demonstrations by limiting the ability of the demonstrators, and their supporters, to communicate. Foreign mass media were restricted from covering Tiananman Square, Western satellite transmissions were cut. Foreign mail and newspapers entering China were confiscated. Communication equipment was impounded or confiscated. Mass misinformation was fed to the Chinese people. For all intents and purposes the demonstrators' voice should have been silenced and their networks broken. However, the demonstrators were able to remain in communication with the world, feeding first hand information over telephones, facsimile machines, personal computers, and through smuggled audio and



videocassettes. They used as much communication technology as was available and they used it very successfully (Ganley, 1992:149).

China's communication infrastructure is basic by developed world standards. China had less than 4% of the world's personal computers. With the exception of some government offices, research programmes at universities and in the travel and tourism industry, very few of these computers are linked together. Despite this, the Chinese students were able to gain access to the U.S. BITNET, a large computer network<sup>xvii</sup>. This network was used by the demonstrators, their supporters and Chinese expatriates to 'compile casualty lists, coordinate strategies, arrange phone, fax, and letter-writing bridges, swap Chinese fax and phone numbers, raise funds, and mount lobbying and public relations efforts' (Ganley, 1992:152).

The demonstrators managed to open a channel of communication to the world but more importantly they were able to disperse information within China to counter the government's communication black out and campaign of misinformation. A Chinese student studying in the USA set up a 'Boston-Beijing Hotline' using the phone to tape conversations with demonstration leaders, which were then rebroadcast back into China. These conversions where also used to update computer bulletin boards. Despite the communication networks set up, the Chinese Government finally squashed the demonstrators movement. (Ganley, 1992:152).

The above case involved POs communicating with each other and the first world, despite the attempts of their own government to prevent such communication. The next case looks at the situation where the third world attempted to communicate with the first world but was actively discouraged by loci of power from within the first world.

The Inter Press Service (IPS) is an international news agency set up to increase the flow of news between third world countries. It also distributes third world news to the first world. The IPS is a combination of VO/PO. It is registered in Rome but has its headquarters in Panama<sup>xviii</sup>. Most of its staff and correspondents are third world nationals. Its own staff produces 80% of its news but the IPS will also distribute news from third world news agencies unaltered giving credit to the contributing agency. IPS

also produces features that focus on third world issues including the role of women. Daily developmental issues are covered to complement the often negative 'big stories' covered by first world agencies. IPS has been accused by first world news agencies of being biased. It covers news from a perspective of "progressive movements" in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, while criticising right-wing governments. The IPS counters this claim pointing out that first world agencies are not as bias free as they claim to be and that the IPS is not necessarily biased against the first world (Giffard, 1989:38-40).

In 1980, the Interlink Press Service was set up to expand IPS's distribution network into the United States. First, it attempted to distribute news through mail, then through the AP satellite channel directly to national media. Both attempts failed as editors were unwilling to use the new news source until it was proven. Interlink then attempted to distribute its news on a nationwide computer network. Interested organisations could access the information on-line. Unfortunately, national media was still reluctant to use this means of receiving information. In 1989, Interlink shut down (Giffard, 1989:40-41).

IPS through Interlink was a source of third world news and perspective. It offered a balance to the predominantly first world view of third world affairs. And yet it failed to enter the United States news market. The problem was both ideological and commercial.

Part of the problem were the strong links that IPS had with UNESCO, news agencies in authoritarian countries and with liberation movements in the third world. Third world journalists were also perceived as biased toward their own governments. It was commonly thought that any journalists not biased towards their own government would 'be in jail'. First world media agencies were also concerned that the IPS would become a major competitor against them or result in a restriction of their access to third world stories (Giffard, 1989:41).

Another example of the use of the Internet technology to give a voice to the third world is the case of DevNet. In this example, DevNet attempted to set a network between third world countries but it encountered strong resistance from first world interests.

Development Information Network (DevNet) was set up by the UN Development Programme to assist communication between third world countries. IPS was commissioned to assess the feasibility of such a project. The IPS concluded that a 'south to south' network would be desirable and the project was set to go ahead using a organisation closely related to IPS called Communication for Development (CODEV). Before the deal could be finalised the United States Government (pressured also by American media interests) threatened economic sanctions against the project if it were to proceed. Again the ideological and commercial implications factored heavily in this decision. The United States was concerned about the close involvement of the IPS in the project and first world news agencies (including the Associated Press) were concerned about the protection of their own commercial interests (Giffard, 1989:42-44).

These examples illustrate the potential of the Internet to increase the voice of the third world. It also illustrates, by their failure, that the environment in which the POs and VOs operates is a powerful constraint on participation in communication. All of these examples are cases where the use of the communication technology has been on a large scale. Examples abound of smaller uses of the Internet to further justice and development causes. But most of them emphasise a predominantly first world to third world or first world to first world communication. An example of third world to first world communication involves a group in Mexico City called *Mujer a Mujer* (Women to Women) who request research and information from supporters in California via email. In Ghana and Tanzania third world NGOs are responsible for the majority of email accounts that have been set up. Third world journalists are beginning to use the Internet to research news and network with other third world journalists (Panos, 1995).

In theory, the Internet has huge potential to increase the voice that third world POs have to communicate with the first world. In practice, this potential is unrealised and constrained by the institutional and political environment in which POs and VOs operate in.

## Summary.

The use of communication to break down the institutional barriers that prevent the participation of third world people and POs, in development, is an essential part of development. This chapter has looked at the use of communication technology and practice, to ascertain the potential of the Internet to increase the participation of POs in development.

The conclusion of this chapter is that communication technology (including the Internet) is shaped and controlled by the environment and forces in which it operates. Only under conditions where participation, interactivity, universality, accessibility are valued and a willingness of the first world to listen to the third world will the Internet realise its full potential to break down institutional barriers. And there lies the paradox. The extent to which third world JDNGOs use the Internet is likely to be influenced by the physical and social environment in which that interaction occurs. If the first world proves unwilling to understand the 'true view' of third world life and issues, then the Internet is not likely to change the institutional and attitudinal barriers that prevent its effective use.

The next three chapters will investigate the use of the Internet by JDNGOs to ascertain to what extent third world JDNGOs are using the Internet to communicate with the first world.

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<sup>xiv</sup> Quoted exactly as written in email.

<sup>xv</sup> This chapter includes the fourth world in its discussion. The principles of communication apply equally well to the third world as the fourth world. Chapter three discussed third world POs only as the principles of participation do not apply in the same way to the fourth world.

<sup>xvi</sup> Communication technology is any technology through which people communicate. For example television, radio, film, and telephone. This thesis concentrates of the technology of the Internet and therefore how the Internet increases peoples ability to communicate. This thesis does not discuss the theories of mass communication, mass media or the press as these topics are outside the scope of the thesis.

<sup>xvii</sup> BITNET is an academic computer network that links universities in U.S., Canada and Mexico. (Ganley, 1992:157)

<sup>xviii</sup> Affiliates of IPS Third World are located within first world countries for distribution reason. The telecommunication network is centred in Rome because it is cheaper than installing such technology in third world countries.

## Chapter Five

### Methodology

The previous four chapters have explored the issues of participation in development theory and practice and the potential for communication technology, in particular the use of the Internet, to increase the 'voice' of third world NGOs when dealing with complex problems of justice and development. This chapter will explain the journey of investigation that was undertaken in order to quantify the amount of third world organisations that used the Internet compared to the amount of first world organisations.

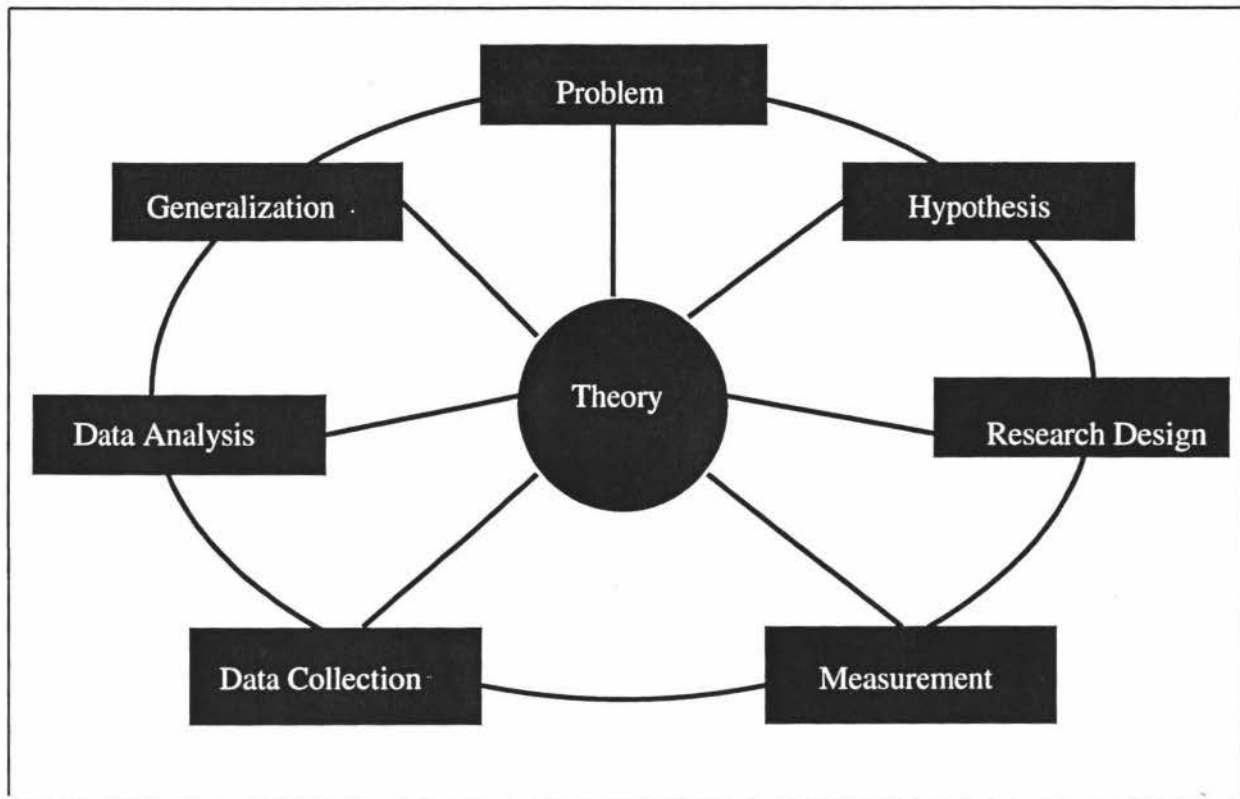
The first section of this chapter gives a brief discussion of methodology and scientific research in general. The second section of this chapter outlines the philosophical considerations of the research. The third section shows how the research was actually conducted and the pitfalls and successes that were experienced along the way.

#### **Research methodology.**

Scientific research is the systematic act of discovery. Within scientific research there are two distinctive forms of reasoning. These are inductive reasoning and deductive reasoning. Blaikie (1993:132) notes that both forms of reasoning consist of a singular statement and a general statement. What distinguishes the two forms is the order in which these statements occur. Inductive reasoning begins with a singular statement. It identifies a specific event and from this reasons that this event occurs in a more generalised manner. Deductive reasoning is the reverse of this type of thinking. Deductive reasoning starts with a general statement and makes conclusions about a specific event.

In reality, the division between these two contrasting forms of reasoning is not so clear cut. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992:48) see the two forms of reasoning as a continuous process rather than as discrete methods for research. Figure 2 demonstrates their view of inductive and deductive processes interacting during research.

**Figure 2.** The main stages of the Research Process (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992:22).



The process is cyclical in nature. Inductive and deductive reasoning apply depending upon what stage of the research process the researcher is at.

## **Research philosophy.**

### **Problem.**

This research process started with a specific event, in the form of a email message sent on behalf of Bosnian students. From this one instance, preliminary assumptions were made that the third world was using the Internet in innovative ways. The research, however, quickly moved from inductive research to deductive research when a review of the current literature was conducted. Looking for examples of third world using the Internet in literature proved hard to find. In addition, the information on third world

access to Internet technology contradicted the assumption that third world countries were using the Internet to any large degree.

The problem was initially identified as 'to what extent are Justice and Development Voluntary Organisations (JDVOs) and Justice and Development Peoples' Organisations (JDPOs) using the Internet to further their human rights and developmental objectives'. This was later modified to 'what extent do third world justice and development organisations use the Internet compared to first world justice and development organisations'.

The units of analysis were therefore determined to be third world organisations and first world organisations. The choice of unit of analysis is an important part of the research process because it determines what is actually studied. It also determines what the researcher can finally make generalisations about. It was decided that the group/organisational level was the appropriate unit of study given that the problem to be addressed involved organisations (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992:52-53).

To reduce the scope of the data collection to manageable proportions it was decided to collect data from seven countries only. These countries were chosen to represent Asia, Europe, Latin America, Pacific, South Asia, Africa and the Middle East. This was the first sort of the information available. The second sort identified from within each country the organisations that had objectives relating to human rights, indigenous people rights, local peace issues, or development issues. A third sort would then be conducted to identify the organisations as either a voluntary organisation or as a people organisation. These organisations were to be the units of analysis for the research.

Once the unit of analysis was decided, the next important task was to assign variables to the important concepts. The important concepts identified within the problem were the concepts of first world, third world and 'use of the Internet'. The independent variable assigned to these concepts consisted of 'inside third world/inside country' or 'outside third world/outside country'. The dependent variable consisted of the percentage of email messages and the percentage of World Wide Web sites (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992:54-55).



## **Hypothesis.**

A hypothesis is a suggested answer to the research question. The objective of the research is to test the hypothesis to either verify or reject it. It is easier to reject than to verify a hypothesis. The hypothesis is expressed as a relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992:61). The research question for this research is 'to what extent do third world justice and development organisations use the Internet compared to first world justice and development organisations'. The hypothesis for this question is therefore, 'the use of the Internet by third world justice and development organisations is low compared to first world justice and development organisations'.

## **Research design.**

The research design was limited by the ability of the researcher to manipulate the independent variable. In classic experimental research the independent variable is manipulated in some manner to determine its relationship to the dependent variable. In this research such a pure experimental research design was not possible since it was impossible to manipulate an organisation's status as third world or first world. The usual components of research, comparison, manipulation and control could not be applied to the proposed research.

The nature of the research undertaken was necessarily a quasi-experimental design. The most appropriate form of research was decided to be a contrasted group design. In this design the units of analysis can not be assigned to an experimental or control group. Instead the units of analysis were assigned into categories, in this case, third world based or first world based. The number of uses of the Internet was then calculated for each category and compared statistically. The major problem with this approach is the uncertainty when assigning causation to the results. It is difficult to ascertain if the results are due to the independent variable or to some other variable(s) that originally existed between the two groups. The internal validity is therefore compromised (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992:128-129).

## **Measurement.**

Measurement was determined to be a straightforward count of the incidents of email and World Wide Web sites on the Internet that met predefined criteria. In the research, the numbers of email messages from the third world were counted and the numbers of email messages from the first world were counted and then these totals were compared as a percentage. Likewise, the number of World Wide Web sites that were from the third world were counted and the number of World Wide Web sites from the first world were counted and then the totals were compared as a percentage.

The issue of reliability is an important part of measurement. Reliability is the degree to which you can be sure that your classifications actually do measure the variables in question. In this research the question of reliability related to the assumption that an email address measured the variable 'inside third world/inside country' or 'outside third world/outside country'. For example, the treatment of third world nationals in exile was an obvious concern.

## **Data Collection.**

The research undertaken was essentially Quantitative Content Data Analysis from a primary source. Krippendorff (1980:21) defines content analysis as:

*...a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.*

Usually content analysis involves the analysis of symbolic meanings derived from the text (Krippendorff, 1980:22). In this research the content is not so important as the source and type of information.

Because the data collection process was comparatively easy it was difficult to determine if the data was primary data or secondary data. Unlike surveys or experimental collection of data there was very little that needed to be done to collect the information required: simply connect to an email list or search the World Wide Web and the

information comes rolling in. However, despite the simplicity of the collection process, the research was not determined to be secondary data. Secondary data is mainly obtained from literature and previous research. This was not the case with this research.

Data was collected from four areas. These were email subscription lists, World Wide Web sites, *The Dominion Newspaper*, and television news (TV 3 6 O'Clock Network News).

To further reduce the amount of information collected, from email subscription lists, it was decided to cover a limited period of time only. To reduce the number of World Wide Web sites, it was decided to limit the searches to 100 sites per country: a total of 700 sites.

Each email message was categorised by its sender, source of information and the type of information the message contained (see to appendix 1). The first two categories were intended to determine the source of the message as either first world or third world. The third category was taken to indicate the participatory nature of the information. The sender and source of these messages were then classified into three variables: first world in origin, third world in origin or unknown origin. These were then used to determine the use of the Internet by first and third world organisations.

Each World Wide Web site was categorised by its sender, the type of information it contained and the number and type of links to other sites that it contained (see appendix 2). The first category was intended to determine the source of the site as either first world or second world. The second category was to indicate the participatory nature of the information. The third category was to determine the availability of other information and possible networks with other organisations. The contents of these World Wide Web sites were then classified into three variables. First world in origin, third world in origin or unknown in origin. These were then used to determine the use of the Internet by first and third world organisations.

An important consideration when collecting data is the issue of ethics. Content analysis is one of the less intrusive methods of research. However ethical considerations must be

given to the collection of data from email subscription lists. By subscribing to a list the researcher becomes part of a community. This is true even if the researcher doesn't post anything to the list. The purpose for joining the list, to conduct research, was not made explicit as this could bias the research results. In effect this meant eavesdropping on the conversation conducted within the list. While posters to the list know that their conversations are conducted in a public forum ethical issues still apply as posters do not necessarily know how their information will be used. The major ethical considerations are informed consent, confidentiality, minimising of harm, truthfulness and social sensitivity (Massey University, 1994:2). Informed consent was not obtained because of the nature of the research. However, confidentiality and minimising of harm were considered to be very important concerns. In the end it was decided that the research would not be harmful to the list participants (who would not be named in the research) and was therefore ethically acceptable.

### **Data Analysis.**

The data preparation involved coding each organisation by its country of origin and then totaling the number of instances for each organisation. The data was then tabled and checked. The data was analysed by sorting the data by country and then comparing the number of third world country instances (country specific) with the number of first world instances. Coding used the methodology already adopted by Uniform Resource Locator (URL) standards. Therefore the code for Australia was AU as the URL identifier for Australian email addresses is au (Gilster, 1994:33).

### **Generalisation.**

The ability to generalise from the results obtained is constricted by the philosophical decisions made at the start of the research process. Yet it is important to be able to generalise from research. Therefore it is important that issues of external validity are carefully planned into the research. The two main areas of concern are the representativeness of the sample and the reactive arrangements in the research procedure. Representativeness is normally controlled by randomisation but in the case of this study it was deemed more appropriate to use matching due to the relatively small

sample sizes used. Reactive arrangements concern the degree to which the experimentation is artificial and removed from the real world. The form of research chosen is mainly descriptive of what is occurring in the 'real' world and therefore reactivity is high (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992:111-112).

In addition to concerns of external validity, the issue of ecological fallacy must be dealt with. Because the unit of analysis was decided to be at the organisational level it would not be scientifically valid to generalise results to the level of blocks of countries, countries or individuals (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992:53). If the results showed that 50% of organisations using the Internet were from the third world and 50% were from the first world, this would not mean that the third world used the Internet the same amount as the first world. Nor would it mean that 50% of individuals within the third world used the Internet.

## **Research Method.**

Data were collected from four sources: email subscription lists, World Wide Web sites, television news and newspapers. This section explains the research process conducted in each of these areas.

### **Email Subscription Lists.**

Email subscription lists are usually automated computer software programs that allow email messages to be sent to multiple email addresses. To receive messages from a list it is first necessary to subscribe to the list. This can be done by following the instructions given from the list host. Usually it involves sending an email message to the computer software program managing the email list. For example, 'listserv' or 'majordomo'. The message will normally look like 'subscribe "list name"'. Because this initial message is sent to a computer, no other messages are required. Depending on the type of email list requested, a confirmation email may need to be sent, within a certain time period, confirming the subscribers do want to subscribe to the list. Likewise, subscribers may need to wait for confirmation from the moderator of the list, a human being this time, who manually confirms them to the list.

Once connected to an email list, subscribers will receive a welcome notice detailing how to post messages to the rest of the group and very importantly how to unsubscribe from the list when they choose to retire from the forum. It is very important to keep this email. To post, email subscribers must send their messages to another specified email address. All incoming email are automatically sent to all the subscribers on the list.

There are different types of email lists characterised by who is allowed to post information to the list. Some lists are open to everyone who has subscribed to the list (and some times to those who have not). In this list no moderation or censorship occurs. At the other extreme the moderator is the only person able to post information to the list. In between these two extremes are email lists where the moderator(s) screen incoming email and post only the messages they approve of (or that meet their criteria) to the list.

The first step in connecting to an email discussion group is to search the Internet or other sources for information regarding connecting to the list. In this research the decision had already been made to narrow the research to one country from each seven areas of the world. The areas were not chosen at random. Rather they were picked to represent third world countries. The areas chosen were Asia, Europe, Latin America, Pacific, South Asia, Africa and the Middle East. This was done to ensure that the diversity of the third world was represented in the research without compromising the practical consideration of having a small sample size.

Choosing each country from these areas proved to be more difficult then anticipated. Again randomness was sacrificed. Because the nature of the research concerned a comparison between third world and first world use of the Internet, the countries chosen had to have email lists and World Wide Web sites in place. In addition, these lists and sites needed to have a human rights or development objective. Countries were picked for these characteristics. After searching the Internet to determine what information was available the following countries were picked - China, Bosnia, East Timor, El Salvador, Papua New Guinea, and Rwanda.

China, El Salvador and Papua New Guinea proved to be the most problematic in terms of finding email subscription lists. For China one email list was found. However despite



repeated attempts to connect to the list, the moderator never confirmed the requests for subscription. No email lists were found for any Latin American countries that were specific to one country rather than the region. The issue of language compounded this problem. Much of the information posted on the Internet was in Spanish. Several email lists were tried but most of them failed to be connected. The assumption was made that these lists no longer functioned. Papua New Guinea is an example of this problem. An email list was found for Papua New Guinea almost immediately in the search of the Internet. It was not an automated list. Several postings were received before the research data was to be collected. Unfortunately these were all that were received. Despite requests sent to the email moderator no more messages were received. The assumption was made that this list had also been discontinued.

Reduced down to four out of seven countries, for which email lists could be located, the decision was made to connect to other email lists based on the topic of discussion rather than the country of location. Three email discussion groups were eventually located and successfully connected to. These were Devmedia (Development and media issues), Hrights (Human Rights) and NativeL (Indigenous Peoples Rights). These three topics were chosen because they seemed to represent the issues justice and development NGOs were dealing with.

This phase of the research was both exciting and disappointing. Twenty-nine email lists were found and attempted to be subscribed to. Of these 11 were successfully subscribed to. One of these was the Papua New Guinea list, which never posted any messages during the data collection period. Another three email lists were discarded as they were outside the scope of the study. These were a list on Zaire and two lists on race relations. Connecting to the lists proved to be discouraging when they failed but exciting when they succeeded and the first postings started to come in from around the world.

The second step in the research, once connected to the email lists, was to develop the criteria by which the email would be analysed. Two weeks before the data collection was planned to start, the contents of email messages already coming in were analysed to determine what information should be captured and the types of information present. It was decided to capture who had sent the email, to whom the information could be



attributed to and what type the information was. It was quickly determined that it would be impossible to categorise what the actual topic of the messages was. In addition, this information did not seem necessary to the research. What was important was that information on where the message originated, where the source of the message originated and that the participatory nature of that message was captured. By excluding the topic of the message the research avoided the problem of making judgments about the information based on personal biases.

Matrix pages were developed to capture the data required (see appendix 1). Three pages collected information on who sent the email, the source of the email and the information type for 35 email messages at a time. Each email discussion group was analysed separately. Twenty-one information types were developed. They covered the following types of information:

1. Announcement/event: Information or invitation was given for some upcoming event.
2. Article or news: Any information originating from a TV broadcast or newspaper.
3. Bill/legal: Bills or laws that have introduced or will be introduced.
4. Call for action: Requests for action to be taken such as letter writing.
5. Call for contribution: Requests for money or goods to be donated to organisation.
6. Email problem: Notification of email problems or attempts to leave list.
7. Interview: Interview between two or more people.
8. Letter to editor: Letters that have been published in Newspapers.
9. Masters/reports: Information obtained from official reports or research.
10. Newsletter/information: Information from organisations that would normally be published in a newsletter.
11. Opinion: The opinion of the poster.
12. Personal account: Information provided from someone actually involved in an issue rather than viewing events from the sideline or giving information secondhand.
13. Petition: Requests for a petition to be signed.
14. Press release: Article of news about to be released to the press.
15. Publication/reference: The notification of some publication or reference that may be useful.
16. Quotes: Any quotes.
17. Reply to previous posting: Any replies to information already posted to the list whether in agreement or disagreement.
18. Request for information: Any requests for information.
19. Speech: Any information that was given in a speech.
20. Statement of solidarity: Any expression of support to people involved in events.
21. World Wide Web site: Notification of an interesting or useful World Wide Web site.

The third step was to collect the data. The data were collected over a 12-week period from the 4 July 1997 to the 25 September 1997. Each night it was important to categorise the email messages that had come in from the previous day. The volumes of messages coming in meant that it was very unwise to let these build up for more than two to three days. Unfortunately this was not always possible. Due to sickness and an unwisely planned holiday the email messages could not be cleared for two weeks during the end of July and the start of August. This resulted in a backlog of over 350 email messages.

As it turned out, the email discussion groups that were subscribed to were fairly representative of the different types of email lists<sup>xix</sup>. They ranged from highly moderated to not moderated at all. Rwanda was an example of a highly moderated list. It was moderated by one organisation, which was the only poster to the list. Information posted was from one source only and the same type of information. Like Rwanda, Israel was also a highly moderated list. It was moderated by one organisation, which was also the only poster to the list. In the case of Israel, however, information was of several types. Bosnia was an example of a fairly moderated list. It had less moderation than Rwanda and Israel as several individuals were allowed to post to the list. Devmedia, NativeL and Hrights were all examples of barely moderated lists. They allowed anyone to post to the list with minimal censorship. Finally, East Timor was an example of a list that was not moderated at all. In this example, the moderator allowed anyone and any type of information to be posted to the list. The types of email lists are summarised in Table 3. These results will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

<i>Email list</i>	<i>Contributors</i>	<i>Email sent</i>
Bosnia	8	292
Development Media	29	61
East Timor	85	1008
Human Rights	14	27
Israel	1	6
Native Rights	6	59
Rwanda	1	46

**Table 3.** Comparison of number of contributors and the number of email sent for each email list.

The variety of email list types proved to be interesting in the data collection phase of the research. Highly moderated lists were easy to categorise and tended not to have as many postings as unmoderated lists. For example, over the 12 weeks period that data were collected, Israel posted six email messages. In the same time period East Timor posted 1008 messages. The type of information proved also to be interesting from a data collection point of view. While highly moderated lists had many formal sources of information, the less moderated lists allowed the interchange of ideas. So although the East Timor list proved to be the most time consuming and complicated data to collect the richness of the conversation made it the most engaging.

The research was developed as content analysis. One of the most interesting phenomena when dealing with the Internet is the ability of the Internet to make written material appear real. So while the categorising of written material was part of the content analysis, it felt like limited participant-observation. By subscribing to an unmoderated list subscribers are effectively joining a small community. The near real time response capability and the rich interaction amongst the participants gives subscribers the impression that they are part of a conversation. This is why the Internet is often referred to as virtual reality or cyberspace. However, the main part of the research is to analyse the written information left behind from these cyberspace conversations and so it is content analysis rather than participant-observation.

It was decided that during the data collection period no email messages would be posted to the lists, as this would bias the results. This rule was strictly adhered to. However, the opportunity did arise to contribute some information to a woman in Mexico. She was inquiring (through the human rights email list) about a human rights abuse incident that had occurred in the United States toward deaf Mexican immigrants. As part of this research relevant TV news topics were being taped and transcribed. This included an ABC broadcast on the topic of the human rights abuse of hearing impaired Mexicans in New York. Because the woman had supplied an individual email address, sending this information directly to her did not compromise the research. As it turned out she did not have access to cable television, in Mexico, and was pleased to get a copy of the transcript.

The fourth step was to order the data received. It was quickly realised that before the data could be ordered it would first need to be checked for errors and internal consistency. One of the major problems with content analysis is the susceptibility of a single researcher (as in this case) for making errors of judgment, carelessness and internal validity. It was important to ensure that the first email message was classified using the same standard criteria as the last email message. This is especially important given the large numbers involved (1499 messages in total) and the time span that they were classified over. After some consideration it was decided that all email messages would be checked rather than a sample. The extra time that this took was justified by ensuring that the data were indeed correct and consistent. However, it must be noted that a single researcher developed the rules of classification, applied those rules and checked that those rules had been followed correctly. The research was conducted in this way because of lack of time and resources. This is not an ideal method for conducting content analysis because it meant no independent check of reliability is made (Krippendorff, 1980:74).

Once the data had been checked each email sender and source had to be classified by the country of origin. This was primarily done using the sender's email address and by researching the home address of sources. This was a very time consuming process and care had to be taken not to assume from where an email sender or source originated. Because email addresses are structured in an orderly manner that includes an identification of the country the email is from, it was possible to determine where most of the information originated from<sup>xx</sup>. For example, this email address is from Australia:

----@ozemail.com.au

The 'au' at the end of the address informs recipient that the email is from Australia. The only exception to this structure is the United States where the system was developed. United States email does not have this extra code on their addresses. They are more likely to end in com, edu, gov, mil, net or org (Gilster, 1994:33). For example:

----@hotmail.com

A fault of the research method was to assume that all email addresses followed the same structure as outlined above. The majority of countries do have a country identification at the end of the address. Unfortunately, this rule is not 100 % correct. For example: ...@bigpond.com is not an United States Internet Service Provider (ISP) but an Australian ISP.

The following rule base was used to determine the origin of an email message or source: if an email address was provided with a country identifier then it was assigned to that country with careful consideration of any other evidence. If an email address was provided with no country identifier then any other evidence would be carefully examined to enable a country of origin to be determined. In some cases addresses were provided, in other cases the country of origin was determined from phone numbers. If it was still impossible to determine the location of a source then a search of the Internet was undertaken to provide more information. Finally, if no contradictory evidence was found the email address was assigned to the USA as per the general rule of email address structures.

In a limited number of cases where no email addresses or other evidence were provided it was simply not possible to accurately assign a country of origin. These cases were left in the unknown category. In some instances a country of origin could not be assigned as the source was an international organisation. When this happened the organisation was classified as INT for international.

It is important to note that this part of the research was vulnerable to error. All care was taken to minimise this problem. If an error of assigning country of origin did occur during the research then it is likely to have occurred between two first world countries rather than between a first world country and a third world country.

Each country was listed by email sender, source and information type. Each email sender and source was assigned to either a column labelled 'inside country', 'outside country' or 'unknown'. The numbers in each column were totaled. In some instances email sources could not reasonably be assigned to inside the country or outside the country. This applied in the cases where third world nationals were living in exile.

When this occurred the number of times this source appeared was divided by two and assigned to each country.

The email lists, not specific to a country, were listed by email sender, source and information type. Each email sender and source was assigned to either a column labelled 'inside third world', 'outside third world' or 'unknown'. The numbers in each column were totaled. At the end of this process the email sender, source and information type categories were recounted to ensure no errors had occurred.

The intent of this research was originally to analyse only Justice and Development Voluntary Organisations and Peoples Organisations. This proved to be impossible in practice. In the end it was decided not to classify and cull any email senders or sources from the research because they do not met the criteria of a JDNGO. Therefore the unit of analysis became organisations rather than NGOs and included many interested individuals who did not necessarily belong to a organisation. This decision was made because there was not enough consistent evidence available to safely include or exclude any email message from the study.

## World Wide Web sites.

The World Wide Web is so large that searching it for information can be difficult. However, the use of search engines makes the job considerably easier. Search engines are software programs that continuously search the web for new web pages, which they then catalogue. When a request is entered for a topic the search engine selects the most appropriate sites and presents them, usually in lots of 10 to 20. There are many search engines all of that specialise in the type and quality of information that they claim to search for.

This research used the *Excite* search engine because it was easy to use, classified its results by the percentage that the sites meet the search criteria and because of its advanced search methods.

When searching on the Internet there are certain rules that make searches more precise. These rules differ from one search engine to another but can usually be found in the 'help' or 'tip' section of any search engine.<sup>xxi</sup> *Excite* is a particularly advanced search engine as it is able to search for ideas and concepts as well as keywords. In addition, *Excite* will order the sites with the most relevant sites at the top. Should Internet users require a more precise search then they are given the option of picking a site that is exactly what they want and requesting 'More like this'. This command will yield more sites based on the template of the chosen site. It is important to remember when searching the World Wide Web to make the searches as precise as possible. For example, 'Non-government organisation' is more precise than 'organisation'.

To search for terms "" must be inserted around the words to indicate they are connected. For example, to search for human rights it is important to type "human rights" to indicate this is one term. Another way to ensure the search is as precise as possible, is to indicate what words must be contained in the World Wide Web site and which words must not be contained in the site. This is done by placing a + or - directly in front of the desired or unwanted word.



Another way to achieve the same results is to use Boolean operators. Boolean operators are words which work like + and - signs. They are usually AND, NOT and OR. More advanced Boolean operators include NEAR, ADJ as well as "" and () symbols. Boolean operator words are always in capitals and separated from other search words by a space. For example it is possible to search for:

“non government organisations” AND (“justice organisations” OR “development organisations”) NOT “government organisations”.

This search should yield sites containing NGOs and either Justice organisations or development organisations but not government organisations.

*Excite* offers a function called ‘power search’ which questions the searcher as to what they want or do not want in the search. The use of Boolean operators is not required as the power search automatically inserts them. This makes searching more user friendly. The other helpful trait of the power search is that it will bring up to 50 sites at a time, which is useful, when the objective is to print off a long list of World Wide Web sites.

The same countries were used in the World Wide Web searches as were used in the email part of the research. The same criteria for classifying the sites by source and information type were also used with slight modifications. This meant that the same matrix tables used in the email section of the research could also be used in the World Wide Web section of the research. In addition to collecting information on the source of the information and the type of information, the research also collected the number and type of links that World Wide Web sites contained.

The first step in analysing World Wide Web sites was to conduct a World Wide Web search. Initially this was done, by performing a basic search for each country and recording each site that was listed and the sites that were linked to that site. Very quickly, however, this approach proved to be misguided. The first site from the search on East Timor yielded 302 separate web pages without returning to the initial list to try another site. At this point it was decided to try a new approach.

The new approach consisted of a power search for each country. In the power search the following information was provided (note that American spelling was used).

I want to search the **web**.

My search results can contain **the words** NON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION.

My search results **MUST** contain **the words** BOSNIA (or other country inserted here) HUMAN RIGHTS (or Development inserted here).

Each country therefore had two searches one for 'human rights' and one for 'development' a total of 14 searches in all. Each search yielded between 1262 to 10810 sites. Only 50 of the top sites per search were collected, a total of 700 sites in all. This method was considered to be more representative of the target unit of analysis than a random selection of World Wide Web sites. One of the problems with dealing with the World Wide Web is its immense size: 14 searches yielded 62,647 sites and these were determined by restrictive search criteria. The actual number of sites that could match criteria of this research is possibly much higher. Since the sample of sites was limited to 700 this meant that only 1.1 % of the total sites from the 14 searches was actually analysed. However, because of the way *Excite* works these results were the top 50 most relevant sites according to the search criteria.

These results were printed out between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of September 1997. The next step was to access the Internet and save each site on the computer's hard-drive. While these pages are not as detailed as the 'on-line' pages, as the graphics are lost, it is cheaper to analyse these pages 'off-line'. In addition, the dynamic nature of World Wide Web sites means that from day to day the information they contain can change. Saving these pages to the hard-drive and accessing them 'off-line' prevents a completely different page from appearing each time that Internet site is brought-up. It meant, however, that the sites needed to be saved as soon as possible after the site lists had been printed out.

Another problem with the collection of sites was problems with access. Some sites had changed Uniform Resource Locators (or web addresses) and so could not be accessed and saved. These sites were discarded from the research.

Each site was then classified according to the source of the information, the types of information and the number and types of links to other sites. The same matrix tables used for the email section of this research were used to capture the data required (see appendix two). Three pages collected information on the source of the information contained in the site, the information type and the links to other pages for 35 sites at a time. Each country was analysed separately. The source of the World Wide Web site was not captured, as it was impossible to determine who had created the web page as opposed to who was responsible for the information contained in the pages. The information types differed slightly. Seventeen information types were used. They covered the following types of information.

1. About us: Information provided from the organisation about the organisation.
2. Announcement/event: Information or invitation was given for some upcoming event.
3. Article or news: Any information originating from a TV broadcast or newspaper.
4. Call for action: Requests for action to be taken such as letter writing.
5. Call for contribution: Requests for money or goods to be donated to organisation.
6. Cultural expression/Photos: Cultural information and or photographs.
7. Index: World Wide Web site contains mainly links to other sites.
8. Interview: Interview between two or more people.
9. Miscellaneous: Types of information that can not be classified elsewhere.
10. Newsletter/information: Information from organisations that would normally be published in a newsletter.
11. Personal account: Information provided from someone actually involved in an issue rather than viewing events from the sideline or giving information secondhand.
12. Petition: Requests for a petition to be signed.
13. Publication/reference: The notification of some publication or reference that may be useful.
14. Quotes: Any quotes.
15. Speech: Any information that was given in a speech.
16. Statement of solidarity: Any expression of support to people involved in events.

Because of the size of the task it was decided to record the number links and type of information the links went to, rather than classify the pages linked to the original sites. The following 20 categories were developed.

1. Link to information 'about us'.
2. Link to information about an announcement/event.
3. Link to article or news.
4. Link to information requesting action.
5. Link to information requesting a contribution.
6. Link to Cultural expression/photos.

7. Link to Index.
8. Link to Interview.
9. Link to miscellaneous information.
10. Link to more information.
11. Link to non-related information.
12. Link to official report.
13. Link to on-line capability. i.e. search or email facility.
14. Link to other groups with human rights or development objectives for this country.
15. Link to a Personal account.
16. Link to a Petition.
17. Link to a Publication/reference.
18. Link to Quotes.
19. Link to a Speech.
20. Link to a Statement of solidarity.

The classification of World Wide Web sites was straightforward except for the issue of irrelevant sites. Because search engine select sites are based on keywords rather than the context these words are presented in, some World Wide Web sites had nothing to do with the required subject, for example, Ben **Israel's** home page about the **development** of his computer system. These sites were discarded from the study. The word 'development' proved to be more problematic than the term 'human rights' as the number of contexts development can have meaning in is much higher. This meant that more sites were discarded from the 'development' searches than the 'human rights' searches. Development also had a highly business-oriented context to it. These sites were not discarded, as it was determined that the encouragement of business growth in a third world country was a 'development' issue. However, sites that covered the development of, for example, a new ceramic were discarded.

The third step was to order the data received. Like the email research it was quickly realised that before the data could be ordered it would first need to be checked for errors and internal consistency. Again all World Wide Web sites were checked rather than a sample.

Once the data had been checked, each World Wide Web site source had to be classified by the country of origin. The same method was used as for the email section of this research. Finally each country was listed by source, information type and link type. Each source was assigned to either a column labelled 'inside country', 'outside country' or

'unknown'. The numbers in each column were totaled. Each source, information type and link categories were recounted to ensure no errors had occurred.

For the same reasons as in the email section of this research it proved to be impossible to cull any World Wide Web sites because they did not meet the criteria of a JDNGO. Therefore the unit of analysis became organisations rather than NGOs.

### **Newspapers and television news.**

It was decided that over the same period of time that the email data were being collected a collection of newspaper clippings and TV news broadcasts would also be collected. The reason for this additional information was to supplement the email and World Wide Web information. Because the literature and deductive reasoning tended to suggest that the use of the Internet by third world countries was not high, it became important to examine what other ways the first world was alerted to problems within the third world.

*The Dominion*, a Wellington newspaper was chosen as a source of newspaper articles. TV3 National 6 O'Clock News was chosen as the source of television news. Both were chosen as they were easily accessible and because in a small trial test they seemed to have more international news than the other alternatives.

The collection process was simple. *The Dominion* and TV3 News were searched for articles relating to human rights and development from the targeted countries. In addition, articles on development, human rights, media and the Internet and native rights from any country other than New Zealand were collected. Television news was taped and relevant articles transcribed. From the 4<sup>th</sup> of July to the 25<sup>th</sup> of September only one TV news broadcast was missed. This was on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September. The data were collected on a matrix table similar to the ones used in the previous two sections of the research (see appendix three). All transcripts and clippings were checked for consistency and possible errors. Results were tabled and checked for additional errors.

## Summary.

The overall process of content analysis research was both stimulating and exhausting. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1996) warn against the tendency to become so involved in the data collection to the point of obsessiveness especially when doing research on your own. Content analysis more than other types of research can be lonely and life consuming. On the whole, however, it was a very enjoyable experience.

This chapter has outlined the process undertaken to research the question to what extent are third world JDNGOs using the Internet to further their justice and development objectives. Research was conducted by collecting information from email subscription lists and World Wide Web sites. This information was categorised and checked. Chapter six will continue this investigation by analysing the information collected and determining if any conclusions can be made.

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<sup>xix</sup> These are the email addresses for the email subscription lists.

bosnet@applicom.com

DEVMEDIA@LISTSERV.UOGUELPH.CA

east-timor@igc.org

hright@lists.best.com

btselem-l@netgate.net

NATIVE-L@postal.tamu.edu

incident@lan.vita.org

<sup>xx</sup> Refer to Gilster, P. (1994) pages 48 to 52 for a list of countries email abbreviations or at ftp.cs.wisc.edu in the connectivity\_table directory. © 1993 Lawrence H. Landweber and the Internet Society.

<sup>xxi</sup> Information about *Excite* functions can be found at <http://www.excite.com/Info/searching.html>

## Chapter Six

### Results

The central question contained in this thesis is 'to what extent are third world NGOs using the Internet to further their justice and development objectives'. This chapter pursues this question further by analysing the results from the collection of data explained in the previous chapter. The following questions are addressed.

1. What percentage of third world organisations<sup>xxii</sup> use the Internet compared to first world organisations?
2. What percentage of information is third world in origin?
3. What types of information are used by third world organisations/first world organisations?
4. What other countries use the Internet?
5. What is the character of the email lists and World Wide Web sites?
6. How do television news and newspapers compare to the Internet as an alternative source of third world news.

#### **What percentage of third world organisations use the Internet?**

The prime objective of this research is to describe the extent to which third world NGOs are using the Internet compared with first world NGOs. The percentage of third world organisations that are using the Internet is, therefore, the most important question to be addressed. This research demonstrates that the percentage of third world organisations using the Internet is low compared to first world organisations.

This result was measured by collecting data on the number of contributors from the third world that sent email to the various lists. The total percentage of email messages the third world contributors were responsible for was also collected. Table 4 demonstrates the percentage of email messages that originated from organisations inside the country<sup>xxiii</sup> and the percentage of messages sent that they were responsible for.



<i>Email list</i>	<i>Percentage of email</i>			
	<i>inside country</i>		<i>outside country</i>	
	<i>senders</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>senders</i>	<i>total</i>
Bosnia	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Development media	17.2	41.0	82.8	59.0
East Timor	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Human Rights	7.1	7.4	92.9	92.6
Israel	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Native Rights	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Rwanda	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>17.8</b>	<b>21.2</b>	<b>82.2</b>	<b>78.8</b>

**Table 4.** Percentage of email senders for inside country/outside country origin and percentage of messages sent.

Table 4 shows that Bosnia, East Timor, Rwanda and the Native Rights email lists all had no email messages sent from within the country studied. In the Development Media email list, five out of the 29 email senders were from the third world, however, one of these contributors sent 21 messages or 84% of the messages that originated from within the third world. The Human Rights email list had 14 contributors to its list of which only one was from the third world. This contributor was responsible for two of the 27 messages sent. The Israel list was the only one to reverse this trend. Only one moderator posted to this list and since the moderator was in an Israeli organisation all six messages originated from Israel.

It is interesting to note that the results obtained were highly dependent on the type of email list analysed. The Rwanda email list and the Israeli email list polarised the results because they were moderated to the extent that only one organisation sent information to each of the respective lists. As it happens one group was from the third world and the other group was from the first world.

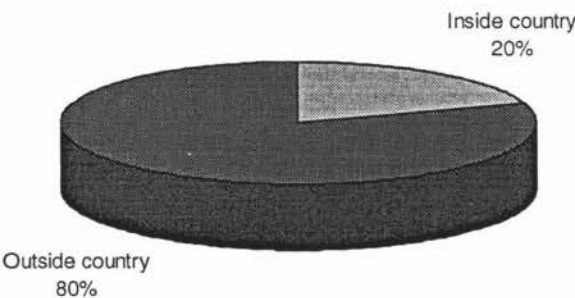
It would be logical to assume that the less moderated lists would tend to have less extreme result than exhibited by the Israel and Rwanda email lists, that is about half of the contributors from the third world and about half from the first world. This, however, was not the case. The Development Media email list and the Human Rights email lists both only slightly moderated lists had low numbers of third world contributors. The

Native Rights email list, the Bosnia email list and the East Timor email list (which was completely unmoderated) had no contributors from inside the country studied.

Note also, that the Development Media email list, Human Rights email list and the Native Rights list are slightly biased towards third world participation, as contributors can be from any third world country. The other lists qualify as ‘inside the country’ only if they come from within the country the email list was formed to discuss. Clearly the amount of third world organisations and individuals actually sending email to the lists is very low.

Summarised, the data shows that less than 18% of email senders and approximately 21% of email messages originated from within the country. Combining these two measures and comparing them to the figures for outside the country, 20% of organisations who sent email were from inside the country compared to 80% of organisations from outside the country (see Figure 3).

**Figure 3.** % of Organisations that sent email.



## What percentage of information is third world in origin?

### Email.

Since the number of third world contributors to email lists is low, the next important question to investigate is how much of the information, sent to the lists, is third world in origin. Given the poor telecommunication structures in many third world countries, it is not unusual that third world contributors may not have direct access to the technology required to send email. They may still be able to communicate to the first world through the medium of the Internet if first world organisations are forwarding information to the lists for them or using their information on the email lists.

The results from the research indicate that the percentage of information posted to the email lists from within the country studied was also low when compared to information posted by countries outside the country studied. This result was measured by collecting data on the source of information in email messages. Table 5 demonstrates (in percentages) how many email sources originated from inside the country and how many email messages that these sources were responsible for sending to the email lists.

Email sources ranged from individuals, NGOs and newspapers, to Government and International organisations.

<i>Email list</i>	<i>Percentage of email</i>			
	<i>inside country</i>		<i>outside country</i>	
	<i>source</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>total</i>
Bosnia	15.4	9.7	81.5	81.8
Development media	15.6	8.8	84.4	91.2
East Timor	3.5	1.5	92.5	97.5
Human Rights	24.0	18.8	76.0	81.2
Israel	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Native Rights	12.7	12.2	86.1	86.7
Rwanda	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>24.5</b>	<b>21.6</b>	<b>74.4</b>	<b>76.9</b>

**Table 5.** Percentage of email sources for inside country/outside country origin and percentage of messages sent.<sup>xxiv</sup>

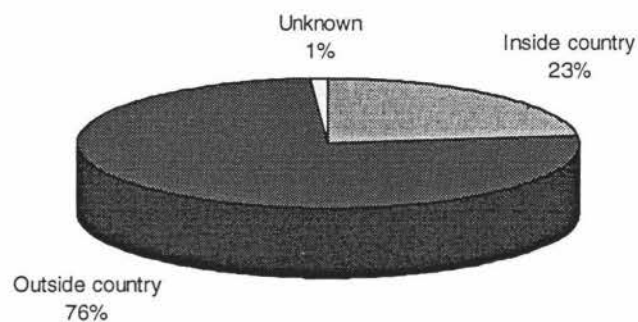
Table 5 shows that the information sent to the email lists (that could be contributed to a source inside the country) ranged from 100% to 0%. The wide range is the result of Israel and Rwanda having only one moderator and one source of information. The other email lists showed low rates of information coming from inside country sources. East Timor, in particular, was low at 3.5% of information coming from within East Timor and these email messages were only 1.5% of the total email sent. In addition to this, many of the East Timor sources of information were from East Timorese who were in exile. The amount of information coming directly from within East Timor is lower than these figures indicate.

The lists, which discussed issues not specific to one country, showed a greater tendency to provide information from third world sources. In the investigation process this tendency was also noticed. Often these lists were used to forward information, from third world sources, to the respective lists. Networking and discussion were seen as important functions of these lists.

The Bosnian email list also showed a greater tendency to provide information from within Bosnia when compared to the East Timorese list. This result is surprising, as it would be logical to assume that the one totally unmoderated list would have the majority of inside country material in it. This result may be explained by the climate that these two countries exist in. Bosnia is characterised by internal conflict where as the East Timor situation is characterised by one country absorbing another. In reality this distinction is not so clear or uncontroversial. The research investigation of these two lists seemed to suggest that East Timor is a country in which its inhabitants have far less access to information technology and far less control over distributing information than is the case in Bosnia.

Summarising Table 5, 24.5% of information sent to the email lists was from sources from within the country. These sources were responsible for approximately 22% of email messages that were sent to the list. Combining these two measures and comparing them to the figures for outside the country, 23% of information came from inside the country compared to 76% of information that come from outside the country (see Figure 4).

**Figure 4.** Percentage of information - email.



### **World Wide Web.**

To answer the question 'what percentage of information is third world in origin' the research also analysed the percentage of World Wide Web material that came from a inside country/third world source. The results indicates that the percentage of information posted from World Wide Web sites that originated from within the country studied was low compared to information posted by countries outside the country studied. Table 6 demonstrates (in percentages) how many World Wide Web sources originated from inside the country and the number of messages that these sources were responsible for posting to the World Wide Web.

<i>Email list</i>	<i>Percentage of World Wide Web.</i>			
	<i>inside country</i>		<i>outside country</i>	
	<i>source</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>total</i>
Bosnia	4.5	3.2	92.5	87.1
China	16.4	20.5	80.0	73.9
East Timor	4.8	3.9	91.9	93.2
El Salvador	8.1	9.9	87.1	87.1
Israel	35.0	35.6	61.7	58.6
Papua New Guinea	22.4	17.5	77.6	82.5
Rwanda	0.0	0.0	96.1	92.9
<b><i>Total</i></b>	<b><i>13.0</i></b>	<b><i>12.9</i></b>	<b><i>83.8</i></b>	<b><i>82.2</i></b>

**Table 6.** Percentage of WWW sources for inside country/outside country of origin and percentage of messages sent.

Table 6 shows that the information posted to World Wide Web pages (that could be contributed to a source inside the country) ranged from 35% to 0%. Israel again had the highest rate of information coming from inside the country and Rwanda again had the lowest. Each source of information provided approximately the same percentage of information.

As all the World Wide Web sites analysed in the research were specific to one country there is not the same bias as in the email lists. In addition the World Wide Web sites were not categorised by the number of contributors to them. In fact, it was assumed that only one organisation or individual developed each World Wide Web site respectively. Because of this the World Wide Web sites were much more homogenous to study than the email lists.

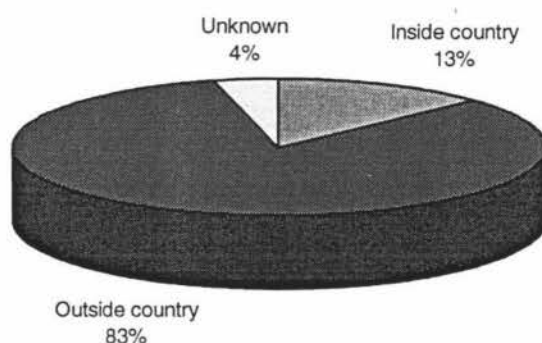
It is interesting to note that when comparing Bosnia with East Timor the same trend is not apparent as when comparing these countries email lists. Sources of information (from inside the country) sent to the Bosnian email list was over four times higher than sources sent to the East Timor email list. The World Wide Web sites, however, showed similar amounts of information (4.5% for Bosnia and 4.8% for East Timor) came from inside country sources. This tends to suggest that the use of email on Bosnia issues is more common than the use of World Wide Web sites. This may be a preference for

networking with other groups rather than presenting information to undetermined audiences.

That Israel has the highest amount of inside country information on its World Wide Web sites is not a surprise. However, Papua New Guinea having the second highest amount of inside country information is surprising considering, for example, it is nearly three times more likely to have inside country information than El Salvador.

Table 6 summarises the data and shows that 13% of information posted to the World Wide Web was from an inside country source. These sources were responsible for approximately 13% of the information posted to the World Wide Web (see Figure 5).

**Figure 5.** Percentage of information -World Wide Web.



**What types of information are used by third world organisations/first world organisations?**

**Email.**

The question 'to what extent do third world organisations use the Internet?' also implies that the type of information sent to email lists is important. Whether the information is participatory or not participatory is interesting to the research, especially as the participatory qualities of the Internet are important when discussing the use of the Internet to increase third world participation in their own development. How much of



the inside country information sent to the email lists is participatory is, therefore, an important aspect of the research to be examined.

The results indicated that the types of information used by third world organisations and first world organisations tended not to be participatory in nature. This was measured by collecting data on the types of information sent to the email lists. Each information type was categorised by its direction and/or its relationship to the sender. For example, articles of news (usually from newspapers) are non-participatory forms of information because they do not directly invite a response (although senders may choose to comment on them) and they do not come directly from the sender. Calls for action, on the other hand, are participatory forms of information. They invite a flow of information back to the sender and they come directly from the sender (see Appendix 4). Table 7 demonstrates what percentage of information was participatory for information types inside the country and then for outside the country.

<i>Email list</i>	<i>Percentage of information</i>			
	<i>inside country</i>		<i>outside country</i>	
	<i>participatory</i>	<i>non participatory</i>	<i>participatory</i>	<i>non participatory</i>
Bosnia	8.6	91.4	21.0	79.0
Development media	86.2	13.8	74.0	26.0
East Timor	52.0	48.0	39.7	60.3
Human Rights	93.3	6.7	66.7	33.3
Israel	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Native Rights	72.7	27.3	71.1	28.9
Rwanda	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>68.8</b>	<b>31.2</b>	<b>45.4</b>	<b>54.6</b>

**Table 7.** Percentage of information types for email lists that are participatory for inside country/outside country.

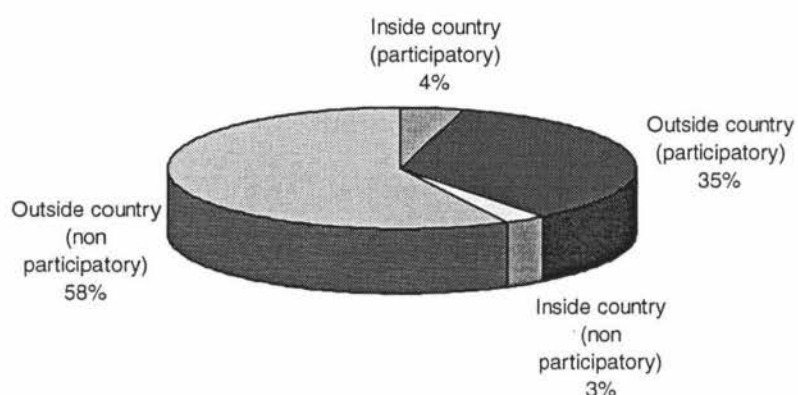
Table 7 shows that the amount of participatory information provided to an email list depends upon the individual list. Only 8.6% of information provided (from inside the country) to the Bosnia list was participatory, while by contrast, 93.3% of information provided (from inside the third world) to the Human Rights list was participatory. Five of the six countries, that had information from inside the country, provided more participatory information than non-participatory information.

Outside country data showed far less variance (excluding Israel and Rwanda). Only 21% of information that was provided to the Bosnia list was participatory while 74% of information that was provided to the Human Rights list was participatory. Three out of the five countries, that had information from outside the country, had more participatory information than non-participatory information.

In total, 68% of inside country information was participatory while only 45% of outside country was participatory. However, these figures distort the reality of the situation because relatively smaller numbers of information come from inside the country. The overall total percentage of participatory information sent to the lists was 39.8%. The total percentage of participatory information sent to the lists from inside countries was 4.4%<sup>xxv</sup> (see Figure 6). The total percentage of inside country participatory information compared to outside country participatory information was 11%.

These results indicate that third world sources of information (for email lists) tend to be more participatory than first world sources of information. Third world organisations /individuals are more likely to request information, make calls for action, circulate petitions or give personal accounts than they are to send newspaper articles or information. First world organisations/individuals send more participatory information to the email lists than third world countries because they send more email to the lists than the third world countries do. Because of this the actual number of participatory information posted to the email lists is quite low.

**Figure 6.** Percentage of information that was participatory/non participatory - email.



### **World Wide Web information.**

To determine if the Internet is used in a participatory manner this research also analysed the type of information posted to World Wide Web sites. The results indicated that the types of information posted to World Wide Web sites by third world organisations and first world organisations tended not to be participatory in nature. This was measured by collecting data on the types of information posted to the World Wide Web sites. Each information type was categorised by its direction and/or its relationship to the sender in the same way as the information types for the email lists were (see Appendix 5). Table 8 demonstrates what percentage of information was participatory for information types inside the country and then for outside the country.

<i>World Wide Web sites</i>	<i>Percentage of information</i>			
	<i>inside country</i>		<i>outside country</i>	
	<i>participatory</i>	<i>non participatory</i>	<i>participatory</i>	<i>non participatory</i>
Bosnia	50.0	50.0	40.3	59.7
China	68.8	31.2	58.1	41.9
East Timor	60.0	40.0	52.2	47.8
El Salvador	100.0	0.0	76.7	23.3
Israel	89.3	10.7	50.0	50.0
Papua New Guinea	56.3	43.7	51.8	48.2
Rwanda	0.0	0.0	70.6	29.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>70.7</b>	<b>29.3</b>	<b>57.1</b>	<b>42.9</b>

**Table 8.** Percentage of information types for World Wide Web sites that are participatory for inside country/outside country.

Table 8 shows that the amount of participatory information provided to World Wide Web sites from sources inside the country varied from 100% to 50%. Rwanda had no information from inside the country. The Rwanda email list gave the same result. The Bosnian World Wide Web sites had the next lowest rate of participation. This low result (in comparison with the other countries) is consistent with the email list for Bosnia. However, the World Wide Web sites participation rates were still higher than the email list, 50% compared to 8.6%. In all of the countries more participatory information was provided then non-participatory information.

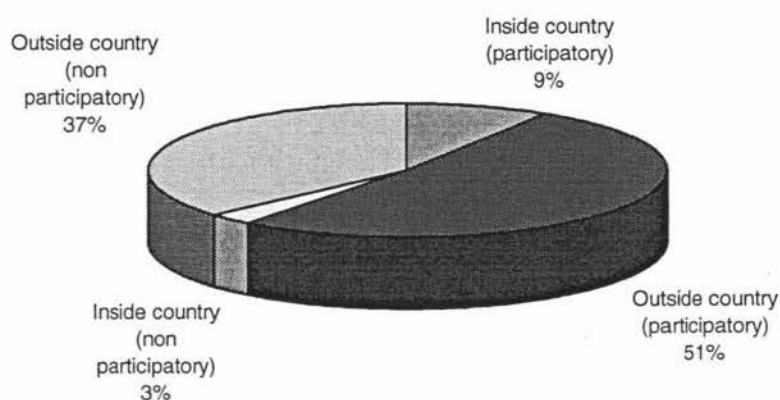
In the case of information provided from outside of the country, more information was participatory than not, with the exception of Bosnia. Only 40.3% of information for Bosnia was participatory. The other countries ranged from 76.6% to 50.0%.

In total, 70.7% of inside country information was participatory while only 57.1% of outside country information was participatory. In general, this result shows that the World Wide Web sites had slightly more participatory information posted to them than the email lists had sent to them.

Just as for the email results, in the previous section, these results must be examined carefully. The overall total percentage of participatory information sent to the lists was 60.5%. The total percentage of participatory information sent to the lists from inside the

countries was 8.9% (see Figure 7). The total percentage of inside country participatory information compared to outside country participatory information was 14.6%.

**Figure 7.** Percentage of information that was participatory /non participatory -World Wide Web.



### World Wide Web information links.

Another measure that can be used to determine if the Internet is used in a participatory manner is to analyse the World Wide Web links as to what type of information they lead to. The results indicated that the types of information used by third world organisations and first world organisations tended not to be participatory in nature. This was measured by collecting data on the types of information linked to the World Wide Web sites. Each information type was categorised by its direction and/or its relationship to the sender in the same way as the information types for the World Wide Web sites were (see Appendix 6). Table 9 demonstrates what percentages of information links<sup>xxvi</sup> were participatory for information types inside the country and then for outside the country.

<i>World Wide Web sites links</i>	<i>Percentage of information</i>			
	<i>inside country</i>	<i>Non</i>	<i>outside country</i>	<i>non</i>
	<i>participatory</i>	<i>participatory</i>	<i>participatory</i>	<i>participatory</i>
Bosnia	0.0	0.0	7.6	92.4
China	39.5	60.5	27.3	72.7
East Timor	0.0	0.0	28.6	71.4
El Salvador	0.0	100.0	26.0	74.0
Israel	17.9	82.1	45.4	54.6
Papua New Guinea	0.0	100.0	17.6	82.4
Rwanda	0.0	0.0	47.3	52.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>14.4</b>	<b>85.6</b>	<b>28.5</b>	<b>71.5</b>

**Table 9.** Percentage of information link types for World Wide Web sites that are participatory for inside country/outside country.

Table 9 shows that the amount of participatory information linked to World Wide Web sites from sources inside the country varied from 39.5% to 0.0%. Four out of the seven countries had no links from sources inside the country. All the links from El Salvador and Papua New Guinea World Wide Web sites went to non-participatory sites.

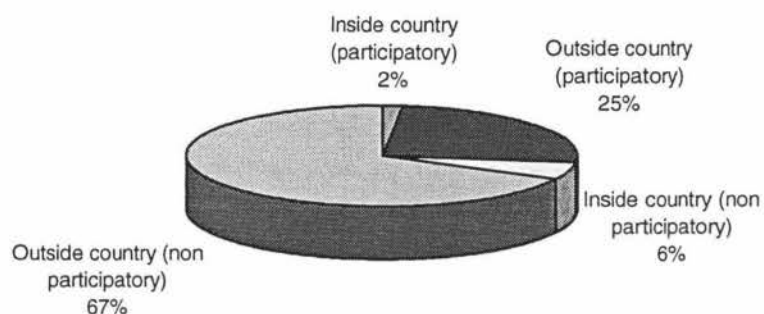
For the sources outside the country the percentage of links to participatory information varied from 7.6% at Bosnia World Wide Web sites to 47.3% at Rwanda World Wide Web sites. The Bosnian World Wide Web links again showed the general trend of having low participation rates. In general the outside country links were more participatory but also tended to have more links to other sites. All outside country World Wide Web sites had at least some links, either participatory or not, in contrast only two inside country World Wide Web sites had links to other sites.

In total, 14.4% of inside country information was participatory while 28.5% of outside country was participatory. This rate is much lower than the World Wide Web site information, nearly one fifth of the rates for inside country data and half the amount for outside country data.

The overall total percentage of participatory information sent to the lists was 26.9%. The total percentage of participatory information sent to the lists from inside the

countries was 1.6% (see Figure 8). The total percentage of inside country participatory information compared to outside country participatory information was 6%.

**Figure 8.** Percentage of information that was participatory /non participatory -World Wide Web links.



## What other countries use the Internet?

### Email.

While the central question contained in this research concerns how much third world organisations are using the Internet compared to the first world organisations, it is useful to examine what individual countries are using the Internet. This information could then be used to establish if any one country or groups of countries dominate the Internet.

Table 10 shows the countries that sent information to the email lists and the countries that sources of information came from.



	Bosnia	Dev. Media	East Timor	Human Rights	Israel	Native Rights	Rwanda	Total
Australia	0	2	61	0	0	2	0	65
Austria	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Belgium	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	6
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Boliva	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Bosnia	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Botswana	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Canada	1	18	17	3	0	5	0	44
Chile	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Costa Rica	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Denmark	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
East Timor	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6
Ecuador	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	6
Egypt	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
El Salvador	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
France	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	6
Germany	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	5
Guatemala	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	4
Honduras	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hong Kong	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
Hungary	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Indonesia	0	2	22	0	0	0	0	24
Ireland	0	2	15	0	0	0	0	17
Israel	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
International	2	1	8	0	0	1	1	13
Japan	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mauritius	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mexico	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	5
Namibia	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Nepal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netherlands	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
New Zealand	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	7
Philippines	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Portugal	0	0	26	0	0	0	0	26
Russia	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Senegal	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Singapore	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Solomon Islands	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
South Africa	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	5
Spain	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
Sweden	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Switzerland	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	4
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Thailand	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
United Kingdom	9	5	22	4	0	1	0	41
Uruguay	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Unknown	0	0	9	0	0	1	0	10
United States	39	27	103	18	0	65	2	254

**Table 10.** Number of countries that contributed to the email list by sending email or being a source of information.

Table 10 shows that 47 countries either sent information to the email lists or were the source of information sent to the email lists. Of these countries the United States was responsible for 42.3% of the information sent. The next highest contributor was Australia with 10.8%, followed by Canada with 7.3% and the United Kingdom with 6.8%.

The United States was the only country that contributed to all the lists (with the exception of Israel, which had only one contributor). This result is not at all surprising as the Internet developed in the United States and the United States has dominated the Internet ever since. At the other extreme Australia sent 61 out of the 65 email messages, it was responsible for to only one list, East Timor.

In general, countries tended to send email to lists related to countries in their region or that had a shared history. For example, Australia, Indonesia and Portugal have a regional or historical (East Timor is an ex colony of Portugal) interest in East Timor. This trend is not a solid one, however, as Ireland was responsible for 15 email messages sent to East Timor but has no obvious regional or historical interest in East Timor.

### **World Wide Web.**

What countries are dominating the World Wide Web sites on the Internet is also an important measure to be analysed. Table 11 shows the countries that posted information to the World Wide Web sites.

	Bosnia	China	East Timor	El Salvador	Israel	PNG	Rwanda	Total
Australia	0	2	7	0	1	22	0	32
Austria	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bosnia	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Canada	2	3	6	5	1	1	4	22
China	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Denmark	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	3
East Timor	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
El Salvador	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
Fiji	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Finland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
France	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	5
Germany	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	5
Guatemala	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hong Kong	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Indonesia	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
International	13	6	4	4	5	2	7	41
Iran	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Israel	0	0	0	0	21	0	0	21
Italy	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Japan	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	6
Malaysia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Netherlands	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
New Zealand	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3
Norway	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
PNG	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	12
Philippines	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Portugal	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6
Sweden	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Switzerland	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	4
Taiwan	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Thailand	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Turkey	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
United Kingdom	2	0	0	1	1	0	4	8
Unknown	2	1	2	3	2	0	2	12
USA	31	33	21	40	26	14	30	195

**Table 11.** Number of countries that contributed to the World Wide Web sites by being a source of information.

Table 11 shows that 35 countries posted information to the World Wide Web sites. Of these the United States was responsible for 46.3% of the information sent. International organisations were responsible for of 9.7% the information sent. The next highest contributor was Australia with 7.6%, followed by Canada with 5.2% and Israel with 5%.

The United States and the international organisations were the only contributors that posted information to all the lists. Again the dominance of the United States on the Internet is without dispute.

## **What is the character of the email lists and World Wide Web sites?**

### **Email.**

Each email list had a different 'feel' to it depending on how highly moderated it was. This section describes the email lists to show how each email list had its own individual character.

The Bosnia email list had eight moderators/contributors who sent out 292 email messages between them over the data collection period. This made the Bosnia list the second most active list in the research. The bulk of the information sent was from newspaper articles and formal news sources such as the US Department of State. The moderators forwarded announcements of upcoming events to the list and there were always petitions being circulated. The main concern of the Bosnia list was the arrest of war criminals and the investigation of human rights abuses. Even though the Bosnia list was one of the more formal types of lists, email was extremely interesting and often gave a glimpse into the problems facing Bosnia on a very personal level. The following quote sent by the Physicians for Humans Rights to the Bosnia list, is an example of such email.

*"On the second anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre, as we announce the truth about the fate of specific victims, it is essential that those responsible for these atrocities are brought to justice--for the sake of the families of the deceased and for the sake of the future of Bosnia. Physicians for Human Rights joins the call of dozens of organizations for the immediate apprehension of indicted war criminals, such as Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic," said Leonard Rubenstein, PHR's executive director.*

*But even if justice remains elusive, PHR firmly believes that families have the right to learn the true fate of their missing relatives. "We need the truth, so that if they are all dead, we don't have to hope [that they are alive] anymore," one*

*Bosnian woman searching for answers on the fate of her missing husband recently told PHR staff. According to Dr. Vollen, the value of the truth in alleviating their trauma, is immeasurable.*

(S. Albert 1997, email 18 July)

The Development Media list had 29 contributors who sent out 61 messages between them over the data collection period. Twenty-one of those messages were from the moderator. The bulk of the information provided was either calls for action or requests for information. Because this list was only lightly moderated the list operated like a miniature community, with people giving and receiving information about topics that concerned them all.

An interesting incident sparked a flurry of email towards the end of the data collection period. An email had been received from one contributor to the list warning the list recipients that a computer virus was circulating around email users and that to avoid infection, users should not open this email. The email also requested that the warning be sent on to other email users. In fact, the email was a hoax as there was no email virus and computer viruses can only infect computers (from email) if they are contained in email attachments and that attachment is opened. This incident was interesting because it is an issue that subscription lists must at some time deal with. The risk of computer viruses is a fear that many computer users have. In this case the issue was dealt with as many experienced users quickly moved to assure less experienced users that they were not at risk. It also highlights how easy email can be used for annoying purposes as well as constructive purposes.

The East Timor email list had 85 contributors who were responsible for an astounding 1008 email messages over the data collection period. The bulk of the information was from newspaper articles but, also, a large portion of the email was replies to other messages. Because this email list was nearly completely unmoderated it proved to be a very interesting email list. Contributors were often very passionate about their beliefs and the issues affecting East Timor as they saw them.

One person, an Indonesian businessman, held an extremely pro-Indonesian position on the issue of East Timor independence. Since nearly everyone else who contributed to the list had strongly held views that East Timor should have independence, a large amount of conflict occurred in the course of the conversations unfolding on the list. These interchanges often became heated and sometimes abusive. To the credit of the moderator of the East Timor list, this contributor was never removed from the list, despite many requests that that this should happen. One interesting intrigue occurred when a contributor to the list suggested that this Indonesian was actually part of the Indonesian Intelligence Service whose mission was to distribute misinformation on to the Internet. In support of this suggestion the contributor pointed out that the huge amount of information sent to the list could not be the result of just one dedicated man. Over the data collection period of three months this contributor sent 321 messages. In addition, he sometimes sent the same newspaper articles with different headings and often seemed to write with different tones, sometimes official - sometimes abusive.

The fact that this contributor was never removed from the list meant two very different opinions were being aired in the same forum. This meant that the issue of East Timor independence was perceived as far more complex and controversial than if no dissenting voice was heard.

One issue that was raised many times was the issue of who could speak for the East Timorese. The East Timorese who did send information to the list were in exile. The Indonesian businessman accused them of being radicals who did not speak for their people but, because he was Indonesian, he could not speak for the East Timorese without bias either. Most of the rest of the contributors were from first world countries and organisations and so received information about East Timor second hand. The fact that East Timorese could not freely or easily use the Internet to promote independence was a big concern to the East Timor email list. It was a concern that was still largely unresolved. The following quote<sup>xxvii</sup> from a contributor in Australia was an example of this concern.

*Dear Manuel,*

*When your country is occupied by a foreign army, and it becomes a serious crime to provide moral or physical support to any of your family or friends who resist integration, then you would be a fool to would walk up to your local military commander and confess to this crime!*

*Manuel, our heart goes out to you. You are a brave man, and very wise. Although your uncle is despised and ridiculed by those who now control your country, he is much admired and respected by countless thousands of people around the world - people who have been shocked by the brutality of the 1975 invasion of your country, people who have been amazed by the sheer courage of those who dare to resist ... It is tragic that such a man could not be buried in a respectful manner. It is sad that he cannot be honoured in his own country as a great East Timorese patriot, and not even members of his own grieving family could pay their last respects ... Manuel, you and your family may never find out the exact circumstances of your uncle's death: the truth is out there, but the authorities will ensure that it remains hidden and replaced with lies. Remember that when he was captured by his enemy, his body was theirs, but not his soul. His soul belongs to his beloved Maubere people. When he was captured by his enemy, he was powerless and was destroyed. But he was not defeated. The power that destroyed your uncle is the power of the Sword, not the power of Ideas of the power of Justice ... In Australia we are free to eulogise your uncle, but in East Timor you are not ... We can speak our thoughts, ideas and wishes without fear of persecution: you cannot ...*  
(Gamkee 1997 email 6 July)

The Human Rights email list had 14 contributors who sent out 27 email messages between them over the data collection period. The majority of information related to interesting World Wide Web sites, calls for action, requests for information or giving of information. Like the Development Media list the Human Rights list emphasised networking and sharing of information rather than debating the issues.

Israel was a highly moderated list. One organisation from inside Israel contributed six messages during the data collection period. Most of these messages related to calls for action or information giving.



The Native Rights list had six contributors who were responsible for 59 email messages. The majority of email messages related to interesting World Wide Web sites, announcements and calls for action. On the 13 August 1997, the moderator sent email stating that repair work was being undertaken on the email list and that this would take about a week. This was the last email received from this email list. It highlights the vulnerability of email lists to technical problems associated with the moderator/list keeper.

The Rwanda email list had one moderator/contributor who sent out 46 email messages. The source of information for all of these messages was from the United Nations and an organisation in the United States. All the email messages contained reports about Rwanda and the Great Lakes Region. Like the Israel email list, Rwanda had no discussion or networking ability.

### **World Wide Web sites.**

The World Wide Web sites from the data collection process were obviously not as interactive as the email lists could be. The use of graphics made the sites more interesting visually than the email but because the direction of information was one way only, the World Wide Web sites did not seem as dynamic as the email lists. One way to measure the interactiveness of the World Wide Web sites, however, was to count the number of links to other groups, sites and information. Using this measure Bosnia had the most links (3757), followed closely by Israel (3648). The next highest number of links was for Rwanda (1622), China (1475) and El Salvador (1214). The lowest numbers of links were East Timor (905) and Papua New Guinea (391).

### **How do television news and newspapers compare to the Internet as an alternative sources of third world news?**

As the literature on, and rates of connectivity in, third world countries seemed to suggest that the use of the Internet by third world countries would not be high, it became important to compare the information received through the Internet with traditional forms of third world news sources. Even if the Internet was not being used by third

world organisations to present information and network work with the first world, the Internet may still be a important source of information about third world countries.

At the same time as the email data were being collected, data on TV and newspaper articles were also being collected. Table 12 and Figure 9 display the number of TV and newspaper articles regarding the countries (and categories) under study for the data collection period.

	<i>TV</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bosnia	13	40	53
China	2	21	23
Development Media	9	34	43
East Timor	0	4	4
El Salvador	0	1	1
Human Rights	3	33	36
Israel	8	52	60
Media/Internet	1	0	1
Native Rights	1	8	9
Papua New Guinea	10	30	40
Rwanda	0	5	5
<i>Total</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>228</i>	

**Table 12.** Number of TV3 6 O Clock National News articles and number of Dominion Newspaper articles 4 July - 25 September 1997.

**Figure 9.** Number of TV3 6 O Clock National News articles and number of Dominion Newspaper articles 4 July - 25 September 1997.

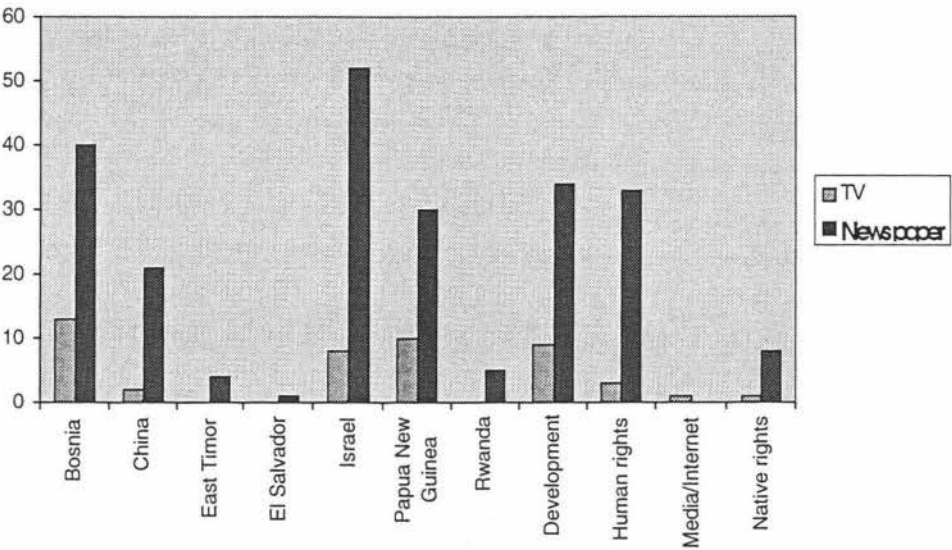


Table 12 shows that in all cases (with the exception of Development Media issues) newspapers provided more articles than television news. In some cases considerably more. This is not an unusual result as the written medium is capable of providing more information than a visual and spoken medium over the span of 1 hour or half an hour. Human rights and Native rights issues were covered more extensively in newspapers than in television news.

Israel provided the most news articles overall. This is the direct result of the current events that occurred over the data collection period. During this time Israel had two suicide bombings and numerous conflicts which threatened the continuing peace dialogue between Israel and Palestine. Lebanon fired rockets into Galilee and United States Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, visited the Middle East in efforts to set stalled peace talks back on course.

The second highest news topic was Bosnia. Again this was the direct result of the current events occurring in Bosnia over the data collection period. During this time a Bosnian Serb, Dusan Tadic, was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for war crimes. NATO forces arrested one indicted war criminal and killed another during an attempted

arrest. Princess Diana visited Bosnia to highlight the plight of victims of landmines and an United Nations helicopter crashed killing 12 people.

Papua New Guinea was the next highest country to feature in the news during the data collection period. This was the direct result of the on going peace talks that New Zealand Minister of Foreign Affairs, Don McKinnon, was conducting both in New Zealand and in Papua New Guinea with Bougainville Rebels and Papua New Guinean officials.

China, East Timor, El Salvador and Rwanda did not feature in the news to any large extent during the period of time the data was collected. During this time the only current events that occurred were that China announced plans to privatise state owned industries and President Nelson Mandela offered to help in talks regarding East Timor independence.

It is notable that if the data collection period had been conducted one month earlier, China would have featured much more strongly in these results because the Hong Kong hand-over to China governance occurred during this time. In general, the amount of news available through television and newspapers was the result of current events and the relevance of the topic to New Zealand. This does not explain, however, why East Timor news did not feature more strongly, as New Zealand has a regional interest in East Timor.

The type of information provided by television and newspapers mostly reporting on events. The type of information provided on the Internet also had a large component of reporting news. This is because a large amount of information sent to email lists, in particular, were from television and newspaper sources. However, the Internet also provided other types of information, such as interviews, opinions, information about organisations and it also provided a forum for networking and debate. Issues were not always related to immediate current events.

In some cases, most notably East Timor, Rwanda and El Salvador the Internet proved to be a more consistent source of information than the alternatives. In East Timor, for

example, during the data collection period no mention was made of the on going events that occurred after the arrest and death of David Alex Daitula, in late June, on either the television news or the newspaper analysed.

## **Summary.**

This chapter has discussed the results from the data collection looking at the questions such as what percentage of organisations from within the countries studied used the Internet; how much of the information on the Internet was from inside the countries studied; how participatory was the information on the Internet? What other countries are using the Internet; how do the different email lists and World Wide Web sites compare; and what alternatives are there to information from the Internet? The initial results showed that:

1. Most senders/posters to the Internet are not from the countries studied.
2. Most information sent to the Internet is not from the countries studied.
3. Information from inside the countries studied is more likely to be participatory in nature, than information from outside the countries studied.
4. Information sent to the lists and World Wide Web sites are nearly 50% likely to be participatory (between 39% and 60.5%).
5. World Wide Web sites contain more participatory information than email lists but the links from World Wide Web sites contain the least amount of participatory information.
6. The amount of participatory information from inside country sources is constrained by the low percentage of inside country information sent or posted to the Internet.
7. The United States is the highest contributor (by far) to the Internet.
8. The Internet compliments more traditional forms of information providers and in some cases is a more consistent and diverse source of information.

What conclusions can be drawn from these results will be discussed in the next chapter as part of the discussion on participation of the third world in its own development and the ability of the Internet to increase this participation. Finally the next chapter will address the question 'to what extent are third world organisations using the Internet to

further their justice and development objectives' and 'what can be done to ensure this process continues?'

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<sup>xxii</sup> Third World organisations also include third world individuals, as the research was unable to exclude these from the data collection. The research chose not to amalgamate all third world countries for email list that were specific to one country. In these cases another third world country can not speak for the country under study so they were included in the category 'outside country'.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Four of the email list related directly to a single country. Three of the email lists related to global topics. For brevity this thesis will refer to the dichotomy inside country/outside country when referring to email lists in general.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Where percentages do not add up to 100, the remaining percentage is where data has been categorised as unknown.

<sup>xxv</sup> The difference in figures quoted here and in the following figure are due to rounding up to 1 decimal place compared to no decimal places.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Non related information has been excluded from this table.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Manual Mira Freitas was the nephew of David Alex Daitula who died in Indonesian custody. Manual Freitas was reported in the Indonesian newspapers saying that "We have our own thoughts, ideas and wishes which are not the same as Alex's". Gamkee replies.

## Chapter Seven

### Conclusion

*Think globally, act locally.*

The information age has brought us a new world, a world in which communication is no longer hindered by distance. As Marshall McLuhan announced, 'the world is no more than a global village' (Marshall McLuhan cited in Curran and Gurevitch, 1996:177). This thesis began with this premise. But has the world changed for us all? Half of the world's population has never made a phone call and 80% of the world's population does not even have the most basic telecommunications (Panos, 1995). How much has the world changed for these people? What is the ability of the Internet to influence their lives?

The answer to these questions lies in the ability of the Internet to increase the participation of third world countries, governments, NGOs, in particular POs, and individuals (from all classes and situations) in their own justice and development issues. This chapter reviews and discusses the participation of the third world in development theory and practice and the ability of the Internet to increase this participation. The results from the previous chapter are then elaborated on to determine how much the third world currently uses the Internet. Finally, what can be done to ensure the increased participation of the third world in justice and development issues through the use of the Internet is discussed.



## Participation and development.

*Grand theorization and discipline-centrism are frequently also associated with Eurocentrism. Research tends to examine only those phenomena and events that can be conceptually compartmentalized and take on theoretical significance within the accepted version of the West's development experience. Other subjects are typically ignored, and scant attention is afforded to the views, wishes, and values of Third World people themselves.*  
(Brohman, 1996:325).

The above quote encapsulates the essence of chapter two and three as well as highlighting the need to increase the participation of the third world in justice and development issues. Much of the optimism associated with modernisation, neo-Marxist theory, neo-liberalism and even the alternative theories has largely dissipated under the realisation that world poverty, underdevelopment, sessional and internal conflict continue to inflict suffering on the majority of the worlds population. Fundamental to the failure of these theories is the Eurocentric bias inherent in the way the theories were formed and the overwhelming dominance of first world (or first world socialised) theorists in development theory (Brohman, 1996:324).

Most development theorists have not been able to break away from the comparison of western history and the current third world situation. Theory must be founded in sound historical context. For a majority of theorists this historical perspective tends to be bias towards their own history. This is an important reason why third world theorists need to be encouraged to analyse their own histories and develop theory out of their own experiences rather than the experiences of the first world (Brohman, 1996:325).

Furthermore, by structuring their theories on the assumption that all societies will evolve in a similar manner first world theorists have reduced the richness of all countries historical experiences and the uniqueness, complexity and diverseness of the third world to simple models and principles. This is a necessary part of creating grand theories. However, grand theories can not be applied to the third world situation in a universal fashion. What applies for one country is by no means appropriate for another.

Any attempts to make grand assumptions will either be made at such a global level that it is unworkable in practice or at other levels it would contain so many contradictions that would make the theory a nonsense. This has prompted the call for movement away from grand theory to alternative theories or small scale localised theory (Brohman, 1996:324). Analysis of individual countries is an important part of this trend. Third world theorists need to be encouraged to analyse their own countries particular situation without attempting to fit it into a larger artificially contrived scenario.

The consequences of first world theorists and theory dominating third world development is that opportunities are lost to find more appropriate ways for third world countries to develop. Indigenous development is constrained by first world theory and viable alternatives to the first world idea of development are not explored. In addition, the third world misses out on opportunities to become more self reliant as well as develop pride in recognising they have the ability to find their own solutions. Third world values, particular to each society, can not be universalised and they can not be fully understood by outside theorists (Brohman, 1996:324). It is important that theorists from within these societies contribute to development theory.

The dominance of academics in theory is also a problem in ensuring development theory is appropriate and relevant to third world people. It is the very poor who have been excluded the most from development theory as well as from the benefits of development. Women, children and certain ethnic groups are also marginalised from the development process. Not only do third world academics need to provide more input into development theory but also the experiences of these excluded groups must somehow be incorporated in development theory.

The failure of development theory to recognise the essential input of third world actors in theory goes a long way to explain the failure of development practice. By limiting development practice to Eurocentric forms of thinking, and by limiting the access to this information to western development practitioners and local elite, while discouraging local thought, the majority of third world people are excluded from the development process, especially at decision making levels (Brohman, 1996:328).

The consequences of excluding third world people from development practice is to undermine the self-confidence of local grassroots organisations as well as to prevent their empowerment and self reliance. Theory becomes even more removed from local reality as theorists are unable to include local experience into their discourse. Indigenous knowledge and experience becomes seen as second rate to first world theory (Brohman, 1996:328).

Just as important as the participation of third world people in the development of theory and the practice of development theory is the control of that theory. Chapter two showed that powerful forces, mainly from within the first world, controlled theory to the advantage of individual first world countries. Given the political and economic disadvantage that third world countries are often in, compared to first world countries, it may prove impossible for third world countries to take back even some of this control.

The indigenisation of development is an important step in increasing the participation of all third world people in their own development. Central to indigenous development is the recognition that third world concepts and practices are valuable and essential to the development process. It involves the questioning of first world theory and assumptions and where appropriate the rejection of these principles. Third world people are given more perceived authority over outsiders. Incorporated into this approach is an awareness of the importance of being flexible and learning from experiences (Brohman, 1996:337).

The indigenous approach is still fairly new but already some third world countries are experimenting with different indigenous concepts and intellectual traditions. In many cases rediscovering or reconciling with the past has been an essential part of reclaiming the future, for example a women's group in El Salvador found an important part of development for them was finding a way to grieve for the losses they had experienced in the past. Folklore and local history are other examples of mechanisms which are used to further the participation of local people in development by reuniting them with their past. This process reaffirms the legitimacy of their own experience and expunges the first world influence where it is no longer appropriate (Brohman, 1996:338).

Indigenisation is not, however, about returning to the past rather it seeks to use traditional institutions, social relations and values in new innovative ways to ensure participation and empowerment of third world people. In some rural areas traditional forms of savings institutions are being used to finance local development. Nor is indigenisation attempting to romanticise traditional forms of life or social structures. Rather it is the acceptance that third world people have a lot to contribute to the theory and practice of development and that they should be encouraged to do so in ways that are most appropriate for them (Brohman, 1996:338-339). The danger with the concept of indigenisation is that it will become like the concepts participation and empowerment which are often used without meaning or manipulated by first world organisations or local elite.

Part of the indigenous approach is evident in the changing relationship between first world NGOs and third world NGOs. As the third world perspective is increasingly respected, first world NGOs are realising that they can be more helpful by providing advocacy for third world issues (in their own countries) and by providing solidarity and support to third world NGOs.

Indigenisation is part of the process that recognises that third world countries and people need to discover appropriate ways in which to communicate their view of the world and to participate in the shaping, control and benefits of development theory and practice. The next section looks at the use of the Internet to achieve these goals.

## **Participation and the Internet.**

Chapter four looked at the potential of the Internet to increase the participation of third world countries and NGOs in their own development. Chapter one outlined the technological and social barriers that currently keep connectivity low in third world countries. Third world countries will only be able to use the Internet if it is actually available. Therefore, the first step in ensuring third world countries use the Internet is to invest in the communication infrastructure of third world countries. This is particularly important in African third world countries, as their infrastructure is less extensive than

other third world countries. This step would also mean that the first world would need to be willing to diffuse information technology to the third world while also encouraging the development of an indigenous computer industry (UNCTD, 1995:v).

Currently the level of investment in information technology is insufficient to keep up with the technology in the first world let alone narrow the information gap. The consequences of this are that third world countries will continue to suffer from lack of information and become further marginalised from the rest of the world (UNCTD, 1995:vi). On the more positive perspective third world countries are capable of adopting and developing new and fresh technology and using this technology with enthusiasm. Says P.J Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica:

*Small and poor developing countries will have little initial influence on the direction, rate and quality of the information speeding over the information highway. This, however, should not deter them from seeking ways to ensure that the concerns of these countries are included in the design, delivery, regulation and content of the world's information expansion. Clearly, a partnership between the rich and poor is necessary in such an endeavour.*  
(Patterson, 1995:14).

Even with the right communication infrastructure the use of the Internet by third world countries, NGOs and people would depend on the right technological conditions also being present. The second step would be to ensure the Internet was interactive, accessible, relevant and efficient. The research data showed that third world use of the Internet was interactive. Even though the use of the Internet was low when it was used by third world organisations it was more likely to be used in a participatory manner. This suggests that the interactiveness of the Internet is recognised by third world countries and used to further their justice and developmental objectives.

The Internet is not currently an easily accessible technology. The cost of the technology limits the ability of organisations to go on-line. In addition, charges for use of the Internet can be considerably higher than for first world users as telephone charges are often higher and old technology takes longer to down-load information. Third world women are excluded from this technology even more so than their male counterparts.

Women are under represented in the computer industry and are further disadvantaged by having less income and education than men have (Panos, 1995). Additionally the accessibility of the Internet may serve to increase the power of local elite and the growing gap between the rich and poor in third world countries. To counter these problems, first world NGOs may see the need to provide Internet access and training, to their third world solidarity partners, in order to establish greater links with and get first hand information from these groups.

Censorship is another issue of accessibility for users of the Internet. China, Vietnam and Singapore plan to control information coming into their countries from the Internet. The Internet, however, was designed with the objective of ensuring (military) information always reached its destination. Censorship of Internet information would be virtually impossible (Panos, 1995).

Literacy and the dominance of the English language is another problem for users of the Internet. Again these factors can exclude valuable contributions from different classes or sections of society. An increase in literacy and general training is a priority if these people are going to participate in justice and development issues using the Internet.

The relevance of the information sent or posted to the Internet is an important factor in making the Internet a truly participatory tool. Anyone with the right equipment and knowledge can contribute to the information on the Internet. This does not always ensure the quality of the information or its reliability. One important concern third world activists, journalists and commentators have about the Internet is the issue of cultural domination. Much of the information currently on the Internet is from the United States and other first world countries. Along with the information they provide they also swamp the Internet with their values and ideology, not all of which is appropriate for the third world. The Internet is, however, nowhere as damaging as satellite television has been in introducing massive amounts of another culture into third world life (Panos, 1995). The only answer to this problem is to ensure that the third world also gets to voice its culture and concerns over the Internet medium.



The Internet is capable of transferring information at very high speeds. In addition, it does not matter if the intended recipient is in a different time zone as email messages are stored until collected and World Wide Web sites are accessible 24 hours per day (Panos, 1995). This makes it a very efficient communication tool, especially over huge distances.

Finally, for the Internet to truly become a participatory tool for third world countries, NGOs and people the right institutional and attitudinal conditions must be present. In short, the Internet must be used in an environment that encourages the third world to express its views and cultural distinctness. Chapters two and three have showed that such an environment does not currently exist in development theory and practice.

### **Research, participation and the Internet.**

As Chapter Six showed, the percentage of third world organisations using the Internet was low compared to first world organisations. Only 20% of email sent came from inside the countries studied. This is surprising considering the country (in most cases) was part of the topic of discussion. The majority of senders to these email lists were not from the country concerned. When looking at the source of information most the information came from outside the countries studied. Israel, which was a highly moderated list, was the only country to reverse this trend. Under a quarter of information came from within the countries studied. Information posted to World Wide Web sites was also mainly from first world (or other country) sources. Even less information (13%) was from inside the countries studied.

The types of information sent to email lists showed that information from an inside country source tended to be more participatory than sources from outside the countries studied. However, because these sources accounted for a small fraction of the total amount of messages sent, participatory information from within the country was quite low (4.4%).



Information from inside country sources posted to World Wide Web sites was also more participatory than the information posted to outside country sites. Over 70% of information from inside country sources was participatory. World Wide Web sites tended to have more participatory information than the email lists. Less information was posted from other sources and more information invited responses. However, because of the number of inside country sources posting to the World Wide Web sites, only 8.9% of the total information was inside country and participatory.

Information linked to the World Wide Web sites was less participatory than the actual World Wide Web sites. This could be the result of the research method used to collect the data. Where it was impossible to tell what type of information the link went to, the information link was normally assigned to the 'more information category'. In addition, some countries had no links from sources within the countries studied. The data showed that 14.4% of inside country World Wide Web links went to participatory information. Because of the low number of World Wide Web sources from inside the countries studied the true rate of inside country, participatory links were only 1.6%.

It is interesting that inside country sources are using the Internet in a more participatory way, namely to network and discuss information rather than to present official information such as newspaper articles. This may be because they do not have the same resources to access official sources of information. However, it is encouraging to see third world individuals and organisations communicating over the Internet rather than forwarding on material already written.

The overall rate of participatory email information for either inside or outside the countries studied was 39% which is still on the low side but indicates that participation is possible on the Internet because of its ability to be multidirectional in information giving. On the other hand 60.5% of information posted to the World Wide Web sites was participatory information. The overall rate of participatory linked information was 27%.

Forty-seven countries either sent information to the email lists or were responsible for information that was sent to the lists. Of this information 42.3% could be attributed to

the United States. This result is not unusual considering the dominance of the United States on the Internet. The next highest contributor was Australia, however this result was largely due to Australia's regional interest in East Timor and the high level of email messages sent to the East Timor list. Canada and the United Kingdom were the other countries to dominate the email lists. Thirty-five countries posted information to the World Wide Web sites. Again the United States dominated with 46.3% of the information coming from the United States.

The email list ranged from highly moderated to not moderated at all. Each had a distinctive flavour. Highly moderated lists were more inclined to provide formal information such as newspaper articles. Less moderated lists tended to also network between the individual contributors. The least moderated list, East Timor, also was characterised by considerable debate. World Wide Web sites had wide ranging amounts of links leading off from them. This suggests that some countries are networked to other organisations or have more information to provide than other countries. The methodology used however, to collect link information would necessitate that this information be treated with caution.

Over the course of the data collection period 47 television articles and 228 newspaper articles were collected. These tended to be related to the current events at the time. Israel is high because of the continuing unrest that was occurring over this time. China would have been higher if the data collection time had been earlier, when Hong Kong reverted back to China's governance. Papua New Guinea rated high because of the peace talks that were being organised in New Zealand. Absent from this collection was East Timor, El Salvador and Rwanda. Very little information was obtained through these new sources for these countries.

Television news and newspapers provide limited forms of information. Information is in one direction only. The Internet (when information can be found) can be more participatory, less censored and provide a unique perspective to the issues under discussion. In general the information from the Internet compliments rather than replaces traditional forms of information providers.

That third world organisations are not using the Internet to any great extent to further their justice and development objectives, is not a great surprise. Fairly quickly, in the literature review and data collection phase of the research it became apparent that the amount of use of the Internet by third world organisations was going to be low. So what was the value of doing research into this area? First, the Internet is a fast growing developing technology, which is infiltrating many aspects of life (in the first world in particular). The assumption that it has had no effect on the third world is not necessarily valid.

Second, the third world covers many diverse countries, some of which are capable of adopting Internet technology. Third world countries also have diverse technological divisions within individual countries. So while significant parts of the population may not own a computer there may be community organisations, universities, or businesses that do. Some countries, such as Israel and Bosnia, are not so much third world countries as countries suffering from internal division and conflict. These countries could well have access to Internet technology.

Third, even if the use of the Internet by third world organisations is not high there is value in collecting empirical data to confirm this assumption. Later study may use this descriptive research to compare the extent of use of the Internet by third world countries in some future time.

### **Participation, the Internet and Indigenisation.**

The results showed that the first world, in particular the United States, dominates the Internet. It is not surprising then that the Internet is not used by third world organisations to any great extent when compared to the first world use of the Internet. Encouraging, however, is that third world organisations have a presence on the Internet at all, especially given the low rates of connectivity in most third world countries.

What limits the effective use of the Internet even more than the barriers to adopting new technology is the participatory environment in which it is used. This is the greatest barrier that third world organisations face. Development theory, development practice

and Internet technology have all been shaped, controlled and of benefit to the first world. Traditionally, the development process has been mono-directional from first world to third world. This is not a very participatory environment.

Furthermore the Internet, even though it appears to have a life of its own, is in reality only a tool. It is neither biased to be a positive innovation or a negative innovation. Its ability to bring people closer together, to encourage communication between the third and first world can just as easily suppress communication and marginalise third world people from the development debate. It is the participatory environment in which the Internet works that will make the difference.

The results of this research have shown that third world organisations are using the Internet to further their justice and development objectives. The email lists in particular, showed that people in the first world were willing and even eager to communicate and help people in the third world. The World Wide Web sites showed a tendency to provide participatory information, that is information that encouraged multi-directional communication.

Development theory and practice is beginning to recognise the importance of indigenisation in third world development. Active participation remains the goal of most development practitioners. Development theory continues to search for new ideas and to research the problems of development. The third world perspective is slowly becoming more vocal in this search.

The Internet is a comparatively new technology which even people in the first world can find daunting, at first. Third world use of the Internet is likely to increase as organisations in both the third and first world realise the networking and informational value of the Internet and as the technology becomes a familiar part of development.

Even though the third world has not participated in the shaping, control and benefits of development theory, practice and Internet technology, the research shows that they are starting to have a (small) presence on the Internet. This start, in conjunction with the process of indigenisation, could mean that the more the Internet is used by third world

countries the more participatory the development environment will become. This in turn will increase the participation of these organisations on the Internet creating a spiral effect of increasing third world participation in their own justice and development issues. This is a process that should be nurtured by both first world and third world JDNGOs.

### **Increasing third world participation.**

What can be done to ensure that the Internet is used to increase the participation of the third world in its own justice and development issues? First, a partnership between first and third world JDNGOs would need to be established. First world JDNGOs would need to recognise that their role, as controller and provider, must change to that of solidarity partner and advocator. Second, as part of such a partnership, first world JDNGOs would need to recognise the value of the Internet for keeping in communication with, networking with, debating with and distributing information to and from third world JDNGOs. Third, first world JDNGOs must encourage the diffusion of Internet technology and even the development of local computer industry. Fourth, JDPOs should closely monitor the issues of accessibility to all sections of society within the third world. Fifth, the cultural diversity of the third world must be respected and encouraged. Sixth, more research from both the first world and third world must be conducted into the barriers that are preventing third world JDNGOs from using the Internet and further research into the extent to which third world organisations are using the Internet must be conducted. Careful monitoring should occur to ensure that the Internet is used in a participatory manner and to the benefit of all third world people. Finally, both the third world and the first world must recognise that it is essential that third world people, particularly previous marginalised groups, have a greater voice in their own justice and development issues.

## **Conclusion.**

The Internet is the fastest growing communication technology ever. In less than a decade it has revolutionised the way we are able to communicate with others and access information. The implications of this new technology will be with us for generations to come.

The Internet is an opportunity for third world NGOs to voice their issues to a global world. Used carefully in an environment that encourages participation, the Internet has the power to increase third world participation in development. While the use of the Internet by third world NGOs is still in its infancy, that need not always be the case. If third world NGOs are going to surf the Internet then now is the time to catch the next wave.

## Appendices

## Appendix one

Example of an email information matrix.

DATE	
4 Jul 92 1.	✓
4 Jul 92 2.	✓
4 Jul 92 3.	✓
4 Jul 92 4.	✓
4 Jul 92 5.	✓
4 Jul 92 6.	✓
4 Jul 92 7.	✓
4 Jul 92 8.	✓
4 Jul 92 9.	✓
4 Jul 92 10.	✓
4 Jul 92 11.	✓
4 Jul 92 12.	✓
4 Jul 92 13.	✓
4 Jul 92 14.	✓
4 Jul 92 15.	✓
4 Jul 92 16.	✓
4 Jul 92 17.	✓
4 Jul 92 18.	✓
4 Jul 92 19.	✓
4 Jul 92 20.	✓
4 Jul 92 21.	✓
4 Jul 92 22.	✓
4 Jul 92 23.	✓
4 Jul 92 24.	✓
4 Jul 92 25.	✓
4 Jul 92 26.	✓
4 Jul 92 27.	✓
4 Jul 92 28.	✓
4 Jul 92 29.	✓
4 Jul 92 30.	✓
4 Jul 92 31.	✓
4 Jul 92 32.	✓
4 Jul 92 33.	✓
4 Jul 92 34.	✓
4 Jul 92 35.	✓

Email sent by.



## Appendix Two

Example of a World Wide Web information matrix.

Number

Number	Information Category
1	Announcement / Board
2	Articles / News
3	Interviews
4	Miscellaneous
5	Personal account
6	Photos
7	Search
8	Website / links to
9	Quotas
10	Statement of Solidarity
11	Relativism / etc.
12	Call for action
13	Call for contribution
14	Cultural Expression
15	About us.
16	Information
17	Index
18	Links to web info
19	Links to e-groups
20	Links to sites
21	Links to us lines
22	Links non-related info
23	Announcement
24	Articles / News
25	Interviews
26	Miscellaneous
27	Personal account
28	Photos
29	Search
30	Website / links to
31	Quotas
32	Statement of Solid.
33	Relativism / etc.
34	Call for action
35	Call for contribution
36	Cultural Expression
37	About us.
38	Information
39	Index
40	Links to web info
41	Links to e-groups
42	Links to sites
43	Links to us lines
44	Links non-related info
45	Announcement
46	Articles / News
47	Interviews
48	Miscellaneous
49	Personal account
50	Photos
51	Search
52	Website / links to
53	Quotas
54	Statement of Solid.
55	Relativism / etc.
56	Call for action
57	Call for contribution
58	Cultural Expression
59	About us.
60	Information
61	Index
62	Links to web info
63	Links to e-groups
64	Links to sites
65	Links to us lines
66	Links non-related info
67	Announcement
68	Articles / News
69	Interviews
70	Miscellaneous
71	Personal account
72	Photos
73	Search
74	Website / links to
75	Quotas
76	Statement of Solid.
77	Relativism / etc.
78	Call for action
79	Call for contribution
80	Cultural Expression
81	About us.
82	Information
83	Index
84	Links to web info
85	Links to e-groups
86	Links to sites
87	Links to us lines
88	Links non-related info
89	Announcement
90	Articles / News
91	Interviews
92	Miscellaneous
93	Personal account
94	Photos
95	Search
96	Website / links to
97	Quotas
98	Statement of Solid.
99	Relativism / etc.
100	Call for action



Appendix Four

Participatory nature of information types for email lists.

<b>Participatory</b>
Announcement/event
Call for action
Call for contribution
Email problem
Newsletter/information
Opinion
Personal account
Petition
Press Release
Reply to previous posting
Request for information
Statement of solidarity
<b>Non participatory</b>
Article/news
Bill/legal
Interview
Letter to Editor
Masters/reports
Publication/reference
Quotes
Speech
World Wide Web sites

## Appendix Five

Participatory nature of information types for World Wide Web sites.

<b>Participatory</b>
About us
Announcement/event
Call for action
Call for contribution
Newsletter/information
Opinion
Personal account
Petition
Request for information
Statement of solidarity
<b>Non participatory</b>
Article/news
Index
Interview
Publication/reference
Quotes
Speech

## Appendix Six

Participatory nature of information link types for World Wide Web sites.

<b>Participatory</b>
About us
Announcement/event
Call for action
Call for contribution
Online connection
Other groups
Personal account
Petition
Statement of solidarity
<b>Non participatory</b>
Article/news
Index
Interview
More information
Non related information
Photos/pictures
Publication/reference
Quotes
Reports
Speech

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