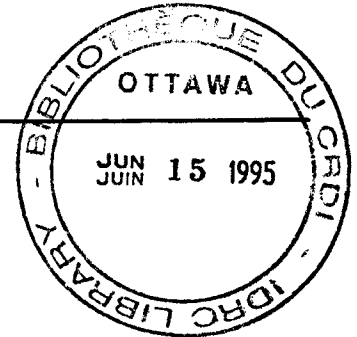


# What relationship do you see between "economic development" and cultural and religious values and belief systems?

*William F. Ryan S.J.<sup>1</sup>*

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## Section 1. Introduction

### *Background*

In the spring of 1993, Pierre Beemans, Director General of the Corporate Affairs and Initiatives Division of Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC), engaged my services as a special advisor for a project entitled "The Feasibility of Better Integrating Human Values and Belief Systems into the Modern Economic Development Paradigm." What began initially as a critical review of the dominant development paradigm was soon sharply changed in focus by the 11-member advisory group, made up of professionals from inside and outside of IDRC. At our first meeting, in May 1993, there was a loose consensus that the immediate focus of the project should be IDRC itself, and the methodology should be primarily the initiation of a process rather than "objective" research into the history, practice and future of the development paradigm. Early interviews with members of the advisory group confirmed and strengthened this approach. They showed little interest in discussing the present and future of the development paradigm theoretically, apart from their personal lived experience and its usage at IDRC.

### *Phase I*

In Phase I of the project, I interviewed 30 employees of IDRC, including the President,

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Directors General, several Program Directors, and other IDRC staff. Theoretic discussion on the paradigm itself was usually brief. All saw the urgent need for a modified or new approach to development work. However, most observations about the paradigm were made in the context of current realities, trends, and challenges at IDRC, especially those that have come with the recent high priority given to Agenda 21 and the outcomes of the restructuring process inside IDRC. Much of the interviews inevitably reflected how these new challenges appear to facilitate or impede an honest enquiry into a new development research paradigm, or paradigms, within IDRC.

These interviews uncovered six general assumptions underlying the critique of the dominant development paradigm:

1. The current paradigm is not working.
2. The implicit assumption held by many in the Western scientific and technological culture that this culture is universal is blatantly false, and the search for the "perfect package" and the right "technological fix" for every human development problem is proving futile.
3. There is an increasing acceptance of a pluralism of cultures and for a pluralism of development paradigms in the future.
4. There is an urgent need to listen to and trust more diligently the indigenous knowledge, culture, and experience of people in developing countries. IDRC's future may lie in critically evaluating the riches of local people's own knowledge and experience in poor countries and in honest participatory-research partnerships with them.
5. Because the vast majority of people still believe in the "sacred," then the values, experience, and influence of local religious and ethical paradigms must be considered an integral element in designing development-research projects.
6. The search for a global ethic for human development is a worthwhile, even necessary, venture, provided it emerges from the lived personal and community beliefs, convictions, traditions, and experience of peoples rather than from a process of Western deductive and abstract reasoning.

## ***Phase II***

Because the personal-interview approach had proven fruitful, it was decided to extend its application beyond IDRC staff to a much broader group of persons in the developing world, where IDRC's research finds its application. And so, between February and July of 1994, on behalf of IDRC and the Jesuits, I visited cities in South and Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin

America and interviewed some 188 persons. Interviewees were preselected by the central and regional staff of IDRC and Jesuit colleagues in the regions to include as wide a range of experienced persons as was feasible within the tight time and travel constraints of the project. IDRC provided for my travel and the Jesuits provided for hospitality and accommodations. Interviews were informal and, with a few exceptions, one-on-one, lasting an average of 2 hours. Included among those interviewed were 24 IDRC regional staff and 65 Jesuits.

The Jesuits were keen to be involved in this project because, like IDRC researchers, they are committed to working for a higher quality of human life for the poorest and most marginalized peoples of the world. In fact, in recent years they have struggled to have all their work marked with "a preferential option for the poor" — a struggle that has cost the lives of some 40 Jesuits in developing countries. Because the Jesuits were my hosts in 28 countries and because individual Jesuits or teams of Jesuits and lay people are now working in such a wide variety of religious, educational, and human-development projects, interviewing them put me in touch with strata of society that I could not otherwise have reached. Hence the large number of Jesuits interviewed.

There is an inevitable gender bias in the process of interviewing. Because Jesuits are men and IDRC has traditionally worked mostly with men, the majority of those proposed by regional and local IDRC staff and Jesuits were men, despite diligent efforts to increase the number of women interviewed. This is a weakness in the process that will have to be corrected in any future phases, since the central role of women in human development is uncontested, as was evident in several of the interviews.

Interest in the project among those interviewed was universally enthusiastic and supportive. Nevertheless, previous travel plans, incorrect addresses and phone numbers, important engagements, congested city traffic, multiple unexpected public holidays and long weekends, and, finally, in Latin America, football mania, bedeviled my tight schedule. However, I was able to interview about 85 percent of those preselected.

I make no claim that those interviewed constitute a representative sample in either their background or their views. Inevitably, the selection process was heavily biased in favour of persons known and appreciated by IDRC staff and Jesuits involved regionally in the development process. Interviews covered the person's background, formation, experience, and beliefs or convictions, as well as his or her views on the relationship between economic development and cultural and religious values and belief systems. All appreciated that I was, indeed, asking for their personal, not their official or professional, views. Finally, all were asked what a research

agency like IDRC could do better in researching the process of human development. IDRC regional staff were consistently drawn out on this question.

Although there was universal interest and enthusiasm for this project among those interviewed, some initially had difficulty understanding that I was more interested in their personal convictions, experience, and views than in their published works or in doing an objective, in-depth study of the inadequacies of the development process in their particular context. I had again and again to remind them that my purpose was to get a snapshot or impression of how knowledgeable and experienced persons saw the current issues with a view to helping IDRC shape possible in-depth research on these issues in the future.

Within these limitations, the data base for this report, its analysis, and its pointers for IDRC are my personal recollections, reinforced by notes taken during most interviews, of the responses and input of those interviewed. In some cases, this was supplemented with their published views, which they brought to my attention or shared with me. Of course, I reserve the privilege not to name specific sources for certain expressed views, where I judge that these were given in confidence and could, if published, compromise the owner's public position.

This report is presented in four sections and two appendices. Section 1, the **Introduction**, has provided some background on the project itself. Section 2, **What I Heard**, summarizes the more central views, suggestions, and recommendations shared with me. Section 3, **What I Make of What I Heard**, which is inevitably somewhat repetitive, studies and analyzes this data more closely and draws tentative general conclusions. Section 4, **For Consideration by IDRC**, outlines opportunities that may apply specifically to IDRC. Appendix I lists the persons interviewed.

## **Section 2. What I Heard**

Here I will identify the more striking trends and convergences among the views expressed but without forcing the data or making any attempt to be all-inclusive. As is to be expected in a survey of this kind, few wholly new ideas emerge. For my purposes, the *source* of the ideas or views is at least as important as the ideas or views themselves. What was unexpected, even allowing for the limitations of the sampling process, was the remarkable convergence of views and convictions on many of the central issues raised, whether with Asians, Africans, or Latin Americans. It should be noted that the views of some of those interviewed were probably

coloured to some extent by their acquaintance with IDRC or with the Jesuits and, of course, by what influence they wanted to have on the future work of these two groups in the area of development research.

All those interviewed were supportive of IDRC's concern to better integrate local cultural and religious (spiritual, ethical) values into its research for sustainable and equitable development. Most also included belief systems and world religions as matters of urgent research, but several were more reticent about how to deal with the ambiguous role of organized or institutional religion.

Because of the diversity of backgrounds among those interviewed, I did not ask them for personal definitions in the area of religious belief; however, I did observe that, for most of them, spiritual values, religious values, particular religious values, ethical values, particular religious belief systems, particular religions, and, finally, particular religious institutions, organizations, and places of worship seem to form a continuum that goes from the purely spiritual to the particular material embodiment of certain spiritual values and beliefs. Some would look to religion only for spiritual enlightenment and encouragement; others would look to religious systems and institutions for personal guidance and social teaching; and, finally, many see religious institutions as playing a specific role in fostering social responsibility and values in society. For some, religion is primarily individual; for others, it is primarily social. Most seem to believe that religion and religious values can be either a positive, negative, or neutral influence in modern development. However, all see them as a significant influence that must be taken into account when researching the process of development in their societies.

I was constantly reminded that "secular" society is a construct of convenience in Western society and is still largely unknown in much of Asian and African society, where a sense of the "sacred" — of "God" and of "spirits" — still dominates the daily life of most people. In Africa, for example, even well-educated and professional persons consume much energy, time, and resources placating the "the living dead" — that world of both good and evil spirits associated with the dead members of their extended families. It appears that neither Islam nor Christianity, and certainly not the neoliberalism ideology of the World Bank for that matter, have succeeded in exorcizing, rechanneling, or sounding the depth of the multiple energies Africans now devote daily to dealing with this spirit world, which seems to continue to be an integral part of the African identity.

For example, Rene Roy S.J., Director of the Institut africain pour le développement

économique et social (INADES) in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, introduced me to the case of Charles Valy Tuho, Ivoirien Ambassador to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Brussels and former Rector of the Université nationale de Côte d'Ivoire. In a recent pamphlet entitled *J'ai vu son Visage*, the ambassador recounts his personal struggle with the spirit world, which led him to the point where, out of fear, he was ready to murder to placate the spirits. Several of those interviewed recounted cases where Africans go into debt or even steal to provide elaborate funerals to please the spirit of the dead or at least escape the possibility that someone may put a curse of them for lack of love of their family. In many regions, no important meeting can take place on Fridays, as that is the day for funerals.

Most of those interviewed attribute to religious roots the very strong bonds of extended family that still characterize Asia and Africa and, to a lesser extent, Latin America. In Asia and Africa, one still finds a stronger sense of community and social responsibility than is experienced in Western societies, where individual freedom and individual rights have priority of place. Here, self-reliance and self-interest tend to take a back seat to family, ethnic, and group loyalties. Some would even say that, on these continents, one still finds family-based morality more often than individual- or society-based morality.

Most also believe that we will need stronger bonds of solidarity and a stronger sense of community if we are to make serious progress in protecting the global environment. Many refer to Buddhism and Hinduism as having proved more friendly to all forms of life than some recent forms of Christianity and Islam in modern times. Indeed, it was pointed out that nature and animals, at times, are more treasured in some areas of India than are poor people. Persistent researchers, such as Dr Pei Shengei in Nepal through his prolonged and enduring dialogue with Buddhist villagers in southwest China, continue to establish how ethics and religious beliefs have conserved biodiversity over the centuries, especially in forests, plant life, medicinal herbs, etc. Shengei told me that his thesis has now been generalized to include several major religions, including Christianity, through case studies undertaken by the Program on Environment at the East-West Centre in Hawaii (Hamilton, Lawrence S., ed., *Ethics, Religion and Biodiversity — Relations Between Conservation and Cultural Values*. The White Horse Press, Cambridge, MA, USA. 1993).

Anthropologist Marshall Murphree of the University of Zimbabwe would credit religion with the key insight in ecology: that environmental health depends on the quality of social relations in human society — a quality, unfortunately, that the current dominant economic ideology is rapidly weakening if not destroying. Most interviewed seemed convinced that

religious belief in the transcendent and in the dignity of every human being offers a solid guarantee that even the poorest person will be respected and cared for, as all world religions see "the divinity" as the protector or avenger of the poor.

In Asia today, one finds within Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, and, of course, the minority Christianity, enthusiastic groups championing the cause of compassion, social justice, and ecological concern. The preferred models for study and action seem to be those already being used by the Christians. Habib Churzin, Editor-in-Chief of *Mizan*, the Islamic Forum of Indonesia for World Culture and Civilization, described for me in great detail the emerging social structure being put in place in Indonesia, from village communities to national councils. Similarly, Buddhist nun Leau-Yia Thih, Director of the Ling-Jiou San Prajna Cultural and Educational Foundation in Taipei, described the concrete plans of her monastery to structure Buddhist outreach to help the poor and marginalized as well to promote inter-religious dialogue. Both groups are friendly with Christians. Indeed, it was pointed out that in Asia, as in Africa and Latin America, religious inspiration, leadership, and funding were, until quite recently, at the roots of most nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

Some of those interviewed considered it unfair to look to Asians or to Eastern religions to suggest a more viable future development paradigm if Westerners cannot themselves find one, after having caused so many of today's global problems through greed and wasteful consumption. In Asia, at least, it is not easy to detect any significant moderating influence of religion in the current maelstrom of rapid economic growth. Such influences can usually be detected only over longer periods of time. Nevertheless, some — including economists such as Dr S. Parasuram, Professor of the Tata Institute of Social Studies in Bombay, India — believe that Hinduism has proven itself flexible enough in the past to be able to survive the current onslaught of materialism, and possibly make India, because of its system of many checks and balances, the least likely victim of the destructive fallout from rapid and uncontrolled economic change.

In confronting socioeconomic problems, most Asians seem to take a pragmatic approach. Almost instinctively, they tend to consider such problems not primarily as theoretic in nature but rather as practical matters to be solved through better management and more skilled social organization. Basically, Asians reject the "conflict-model" approach to human progress that is so common in the West. Out of their religious backgrounds, perhaps more particularly out of their neo-Confucian and Buddhist background, they see harmony and consensus as the ideal way forward for human society. Although some of their methods seem harsh to us, it is

clear that they are aiming at a blend of competition and solidarity wherein solidarity has priority over competition. Generally speaking, "social responsibility" takes priority over "individual rights" in Asian cultures and religions. And when one raises the question of "personal freedom" and "human rights," one is promptly asked: Whose concept of "personal freedom" and "human rights" are we talking about? Most of those interviewed in Asia and Africa stated that there certainly are universal cultural values and human rights, but that even these must be allowed to develop their own unique cultural and historical nuances. A few, including Dr Ch-vi Chen of Caracas, Venezuela, believe that they see a gradual movement toward a melding of Eastern and Western values into "co-operative capitalism" or "co-operative economics."

Some Latin American countries, perhaps especially Chile, envy Asia's consensus approach and are already in contact with some of the Asian "tigers" to see what they can learn from their recent experience of rapid economic growth. For example, the former Minister of Labour in Chile, Rene Cortazar, told me that he plans to visit Malaysia, Singapore, and perhaps Thailand in an upcoming visit. On the other hand, many Asians — especially Filipinos and Indians — told me that they did not consider Singapore, with its draconian measures, in any way a model to be imitated by their own countries.

Because political division has, in the past, often bedeviled human development in Latin countries, now "harmony in human relations" has become for many the primary goal in future people-centred development. For others, especially in Brazil and Venezuela, such consensus or harmony in human relations must be the centrepiece in building or rebuilding a civil society that looks to government only for those things it cannot itself do. Yet others, such as Sergio Molina, Chile's recently retired Minister of Planning and Finance, see no possibility for a small country like Chile to change the global competitive free-market game. All Chileans can really do differently is to work at changing the way they relate to one another and, through political consensus, prove that a small country can have "growth with equity." A few of those interviewed suggested that we can all learn lessons from biology, which demonstrates convincingly how, in nature, forces of competition and solidarity endlessly fuse purposely into coordinated and united living bodies.

The Western economic-growth model, now rejuvenated by an enthusiastic revival of neoliberal market ideology, has few defenders among those interviewed. Many NGO grassroots community organizers try simply to ignore it and get on with their work of fighting poverty and building community among the poor. In Asia, many seem to accept it fatalistically and deplore what it is doing to their cultural, family, and community values, as well as to their environment



and resource base — not to mention the poor, who are excluded from any positive benefits. Most African intellectuals see it as yet another form of neocolonialism and reject it, especially as currently incarnated in structural adjustment policies, which they see as destroying rather than attempting to build on African traditional cultural and religious values. Many Latin Americans — after enduring painful failure of experimentation with left- and right-wing alternatives — now, under the powerful influence of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), are stoically accepting the inevitability of being part of the global competitive free-market structure, simply because they see themselves as powerless to do anything else. They will try to work inside the given growth-free-market paradigm but strive for "growth with equity" in their own economy. Many are optimistic that, with a continuing political consensus, they can succeed; others are biding their time, waiting for the emergence of an alternative global paradigm of sustainable development — some of whose characteristics are already discernible for them in the human development index of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and in the preparatory studies for the UN Summit on Social Development. Many are simply working at building up civil society through more pragmatic education, attempting to improve the "quality" of economic production and especially the "quality" of human relations in their countries.

Strong reaction to the human and ecological fallout from rapid economic change is most evident in the explosive growth of NGOs in South and Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America. (For me, NGO, in this context, is equivalent to "nonprofit organization.") New energy and sophistication comes to the NGOs from the thousands of intellectuals recently fired, imprisoned, exiled, or sent abroad to do graduate studies by various dictatorial regimes. In fact, with growing global networks, NGOs, often headed by competent but poorly paid women, are rapidly coming to rival university faculties and even government bureaucracies in competence on socioeconomic and political matters and in skills in practical and pragmatic education of the masses. Most persons interviewed rejoiced in this NGO explosion, but many worry about how these coalitions of NGOs will interrelate with governments that are not ready for this blatant invasion of their political space.

The following recent examples of NGO successes were brought to my attention:

- The major role played by NGOs and NGO coalitions in helping to oust President Collor in Brazil;
- The current impasse reached in proceeding with the huge, controversial Narmada dam in

- the state of Gujarat, India, which would displace 50 to 60 thousand peasant families; and
- The successful struggle of Egyptian NGOs in organizing an effective voice for the NGO forum at the recent UN Population Conference in Cairo, under the energetic leadership of Dr Aziza Hussein, President of the local NGO steering committee.

Many "socialists," including the two founders of liberation theology in Latin America, Gustavo Gutierrez in Lima, Peru, and Juan Luis Segundo S.J. in Montevideo, Uruguay, and even a few Catholic bishops are relieved with the collapse of communist governments, of so-called "real socialism." They now feel freer to criticize the evident faults and failings of capitalist models and ideology without being branded "communists" and without having to defend a flawed but "real" socialism.

With the fall of communist governments and the subsequent end of the cold war, many smaller countries, especially in Africa, find their relative importance in the eyes of the major powers greatly diminished. With the Arab countries, they now feel that they have little or no influence in shaping any new or emerging global development paradigms, to which their future is inevitably tied. This was the primary concern of such distinguished persons as Dr El Sayed Yassin, Director of the Centre for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo, and of historian Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Director and Founder of the Centre for African Development Studies in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

Ecological concerns were muted among those interviewed, except for those more directly involved in ecological issues. Most do not deny their importance but tend to consider them primarily as the new proactive agenda of Westerners, including IDRC. Many see the narrow, competitive, free-market growth paradigm as contradictory to genuine ecological concerns, because it cannot realistically be reproduced in poor countries and is currently destroying the community solidarity base that is absolutely required for future sustainable development. Hence, some question the selective seriousness with which Westerners are taking up ecological concerns.

Few would agree, I believe, with Mabub ul Haq's surprising claim — made in his 1994 Barbara Ward Lecture in Mexico City entitled "New Imperatives for Human Society" — that the battle for a new people-centred development paradigm is already won, and that fear for personal and human survival will motivate people to make the difficult but necessary changes in the years ahead. Many of those interviewed cannot take such claims seriously as long as the only solution offered for their overwhelming debt and trade problems are flawed, unworkable, and inhuman structural adjustment policies. Like their Western neighbours, they do experience

fear for personal security but do not yet see it as the basis for a new ethical commitment to global solidarity with the poor. Rather, many of them continue to experience daily new forms of exclusion from the "good-life" society, both domestically and globally.

Many, such as Senator Leila Sharaf of Jordan, remarked, with evident frustration, on how the spirit of individualism associated with global free-market ideology and its faithful messengers — the transnational corporations and the Western media — are devastating family, community, and societal values that have been the foundation of a centuries-old social security net for the poor and the needy. In return, only phantom monetary alternatives are offered.

In Africa, those who spoke of the (then) upcoming UN Conference on Population (in Cairo) tended to see it as just one more organized, neocolonial pressure to force poor Africans into the narrow American mind-set that considers poor people more as problems crying out for more socially engineered solutions than as subjects on whose informed free choice may depend the future of our planet.

Especially in Asia and Africa, Western-trained national, foreign experts and professionals are often held in suspicion by the poor people and by the less powerful NGOs, because they tend to be faithful servants and guardians of the narrow growth-free-market paradigm and mind-set. Their bibles of reference remain the textbooks of the temples of wisdom of America and Europe: the universities where they did their graduate studies and that anointed them as a privileged professional elite in their own countries. Dr S. Parasuraman of the Tata Institute of Social Studies, who has served as an intermediary between local people and NGOs, on the one hand, and government representatives and experts, on the other, shared with me how difficult it is for Asian experts and professionals to accept that they could learn something or be taught by ordinary people, with no university qualifications.

With few exceptions, such as Axelle Kebou at UNDP's Abidjan office, African intellectuals see Africans as being treated by the West as "objects" to be socially engineered and manipulated, not as subjects of their own development. They see themselves as not valued for *who* they really are as humans but rather as *what* they have to become to fit into the plans and expectations of donor and UN agencies. They point to their experience of structural adjustment policies as confirmation of this conviction. Despite its recent change in rhetoric, the World Bank, even in its most recent report on Africa in March 1994, appears unwilling to consider changing its basic narrow approach. Rhetoric aside, its only solution continues to be a lengthier and more faithful application of those very policies that have thus far achieved little, and at horrendous social cost to poor people, especially in poorer countries such as Zambia. Only their

experts, it seems, know what is really good for Africans. Poor people and their cultural and religious values be damned!

Some more reflective interviewees, such as Sayed Yassin, see the creed of the Enlightenment — that very foundation of classical and neoclassical economics — now crumbling, along with its brave belief in steady progress toward total secularity, its absolute dependence on reason and rationality, and its concept of linear progress, abetted by social engineering based on new discoveries in science and technology. For them, the rhetoric of "people-centred" and "participatory" development of many donor and UN declarations remain just that, rhetoric. They see the operational measures of development still implicitly based on an assumption of linear, almost deterministic progress into the future. Documents talk of the ideal of a diversity of cultures; but, in practice, even well-intentioned economists still see the ideal as trying to integrate cultural values into their own growth paradigm or to put such values at the service of technology, instead of putting both technology and economics at the service of the cultural values and goals of local people.

One such important study — brought to my attention by Dr Terry Ryan, Economic Secretary to the Kenyan Ministry of Finance — was initiated by Mamadou Dia, the Senegalese Chief of the Institutional Development Division of the World Bank in Africa. It is entitled "Development and Cultural Values in Sub-Sahara Africa" (reported in *Finance and Development*, December 1991, pp. 10–13). Here, Mamadou Dia simply rejects the "accepted" logical conclusion of most experts "that Africa's development must be stimulated from outside, requiring a transfer of culture, method, and techniques," stating rather that "the evidence to date strongly suggests that none of these assumptions are valid." Persons like Terry Ryan wonder aloud why we still do not see more evidence that the World Bank and other agencies have heard this message (especially when it comes from insiders).

Many of those interviewed, including some UN officials, pointed out the sharp limitations of all UN agencies, in that they are overbureaucratized and remain beholden to national governments, even in their research. For example, officials at Unesco (the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) did not hide the fact that their research on the role of religious and cultural values and belief systems in development had been censored by certain governments. Officials in these huge agencies look to smaller, freer, and more flexible agencies, such as IDRC, to do particular research in these more sensitive areas. Significantly, few among those interviewed look to the universities in the developing world to do creative research in the field of human development. Professors who have abandoned university life and

now work with NGOs are academics' severest critics, mostly because they are still seen as foreign transplants who faithfully teach foreign textbooks and do not grapple with current local cultural and economic realities.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) found few friends among those interviewed, including former employees of the Bank itself. They see these powerful agencies as exceeding their historical mandates and often simply carrying out the economic mandates of the major powers, in particular, that of the United States. With the end of the cold war, they are often seen as enforcing the free-market ideology worldwide. For example, in Africa, these agencies are seen by critics — such as West African historian Ki-Zerbo — as fostering, if not forcing, on African states the competitive free-market structures that assume as already present among Africans values and attitudes that are simply not there — such as a spirit of individual entrepreneurship, a readiness to save and invest in development projects, and especially an ethic and morality that is business friendly. Indeed, on all three continents, several local researchers claim that there is a growing shortage of funds available for basic research that is regionally focused and will keep open the possibility of local researchers creating an indigenous social science and technology. For example, sociologist Carlos Filgueira, Director of the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios del Uruguay (CIESU) in Montevideo, sees the World Bank as increasingly controlling the research agenda of poorer and less powerful nations by preferring local applied research-action projects. The message, never stated aloud, seems to many: "We do the thinking, you do its local application."

Many pointed out the stark contradiction between the actual patterns of current trade and debt policies of Western countries, which cost poor countries billions of dollars, and their tightly "conditioned" aid policies, which seldom exceed millions. Particularly in Africa, a few thoughtful persons raised the question of whether the only way Africans will be able to take control of their own destiny and remain true to their roots is, dramatically, to refuse most foreign aid. Today, aid is invariably "conditioned," and Africans are not considered genuine partners in aid arrangements, even by most private agencies and religious organizations, but rather as passive recipients of "gifts" — a process that is gradually eroding any sense of identity or social responsibility in Africa.

Many pointed out the great creativity of ordinary people in organizing, out of necessity, elaborate informal markets in overcrowded cities, which often serve to diffuse potential social explosions. For example, Maurice Martin S.J. showed me how well multiple smaller shops were integrated into the daily life and habits of slum dwellers in Cairo. This genius for urban

grassroots organization is often abetted by local NGOs. For example, in Bogota, the Jesuit centre CINEPS is currently training people in poor barrios how to organize their buying power to force chain stores and enterprises to leave a greater share of their profits in the local community. In Lima, to prevent violent chaos, the government has recently allowed newcomers to replicate the solidarity patterns of their village way of life in densely populated urban areas. In Abidjan, the World Bank has supported a project, initiated by Jesuit anthropologist Michel Guery, to rehabilitate street kids who have been abandoned by their families because of lack of food. So far, this project has been 80 percent successful in training and finding jobs for street kids, but only in cases where a boy has been first provided with a renewed family structure within which he is appreciated and loved. Many interviewed challenged IDRC to prioritize research on urban poverty and community in the coming years.

Many in Latin America are anxious to promote more pragmatic education and training directly related to promoting employment and in enhancing quality production. I found this preoccupation for example, in the Catholic universities of Caracas, Lima, Montevideo, and Santiago. Others count on a renewal of social ethics to build social responsibility and commitment. The latter thinkers are challenged, however, by those who question the usefulness of rational ethics and claim that social responsibility and commitment is an affair not of the head but of the heart and must be based on experiences of solidarity, belonging, and direct involvement with people. Quite unexpectedly, I learned that many see the Latin American church as regaining considerable prestige and influence in some regions — perhaps especially in Brazil, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela — because of its stubborn commitment to the poor.

Finally, a catch-all, several attribute the failure of the modern economic paradigm to its excessive use of abstract "frozen" concepts to observe, analyze, and prescribe for ever-changing realities, including people. Moreover, they see most economists consistently limiting themselves to short-term analysis on the implicit assumption that repeated short-runs eventually mesh with a real historical long-run, conveniently forgetting that by deliberate choice they are dealing with abstract symbols not with the full complexity of changing realities. Again, others berate economists for seeking alternatives within the narrow confines of their economic paradigm and mind-set, even as it becomes clearer, for example, that ecological and cultural "externalities" cannot be taken care of by simply attempting to integrate them into the economic-growth model by including them in the marketplace.

I cannot conclude this survey of what I heard without reporting that several of those

interviewed expressed great frustration and impatience with the slowness with which Westerners, including development agencies, are coming to understand that their basic development model has failed and is continuing to fail hundreds of millions of poor people in the developing world. As Gustavo Gutierrez exclaimed in frustration as he thought about the extreme poverty of many of his parishioners in a barrio in Lima: "How much longer do people have to suffer?"

### **Section 3. What I Make of What I Heard**

I begin by summarizing the major findings of Section 2:

- Most reject the current messianic status being given to the global free-market paradigm, but they are hard put to come up with alternatives.
- Those interviewed were strongly supportive of IDRC's interest to try to achieve a better integration of local cultural and religious (spiritual, ethical) values into its research on human development.
- There was an almost universal conviction that religions and religious values have and play a significant if often ambiguous role in the process of human development in developing countries. An unanswered question is: Why does the same religion — the same religious values — seem to have a different economic consequence in different settings?
- Similarly, most interviewed claim that culture and cultural values can no longer be seen as anything other than a determining variable in any serious analysis of human development.
- Harmony in human relationships is coming to be seen as perhaps the single most important condition for human development in developing countries.
- One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the explosion of NGOs in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to counteract the excesses of free-market economic growth — in social injustice to the poor and in ecological damage to nature.
- Ecological concerns, however important, were still generally seen as a Western agenda.
- Most do not look to the universities as crucial agents to support creative development. In fact, Western-trained and foreign experts are often considered with suspicion by the poor or those who work with the poor.
- Many see the UN agencies as too bureaucratic and beholden to individual governments to deal with sensitive areas of research such as the relationship of local cultural and religious values to development.

- Several pointed out or demonstrated the actual or potential initiative and creativity of ordinary people in discovering feasible solutions, even in urban areas, to their own problems, when not overwhelmed by outside forces.
- Many see their future development as more dependent on a local strengthening of individual and group sense of responsibility, of political consensus, of social management skills, of practical education and a building up civil society, than on some new still-unknown development model.
- Finally, the criticisms of the modern economic paradigm are trenchant. Some see that any new paradigm(s) must be basically environmental, in the broadest sense, with the economic as one function of it. Others suggest new approaches to economic analysis that take complexity and human experience more into account.

Clearly, most of those interviewed believe that the current dominant paradigm of the global, competitive, free market is neither viable ecologically in a longer term nor adequate to meet the basic needs of people for human development in a shorter term. The basic weakness of this "scientific model," which simplifies and explains reality by separating knowledge from experience, is that it fails to provide an analysis of complex global phenomena that is adequate for human action or government policy.

Since the fall of "real" socialism, the "correct thinking" of our day, featured daily in more serious publications such as *The Economist*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and, in recent years, *The Globe and Mail*, is that there is now only one acceptable ideology: that markets will solve most of our socioeconomic problems if only they are allowed to do so. A complementary extreme view is that technology will solve most of our development problems, if only it is given its full scope. Underlying these positions is the unstated belief, now shattered for many, that progress and development are ultimately rational, linear, and deterministic processes.

At the other extreme is the position that holds that people — their culture and their beliefs — are the central players in, and unique subjects of, their own human development. In this view, development can be truly human only when the people themselves are full partners in the creation of their own development, not merely passive receivers or survivors of packaged Western development. Needless to say, those whom I interviewed leaned in the direction of this second position, but in differing degrees and without denying a very significant role to technology and markets.

But, as we saw, while rejecting the dominant economic paradigm, those interviewed see



no readily available alternative. They only glimpse on the horizon desirable elements that may one day come together into what Robert Heilbrunner calls "participatory economics" and others, such as Dr Chi-vi Chen, call "co-operative capitalism." Most seem to be searching for alternative models, not *the* alternative model. And because they accept cultural diversity just as they accept biodiversity, they also reject the global homogenized culture that is implicit in the linear concept of progress and development. Pluralism has become the most popular rallying cry.

Most would, I believe, agree with Mabub ul Haq's statement in his 1994 Barbara Ward Lecture: that the first revolution required for sustainable development is a revolution in the concept of development. "There must be a search for models of development which enhance human life, not marginalize it; which treat GNP [gross national product] as a means, not an end; which replenish natural resources for future generations, not destroy them; which encourages grass root participation of people in the events and processes that shape their lives." He continues: "For people, the purpose of development must be to increase their options, to equalize their opportunities, to enable them to enter the market competition on an equal footing. This is the real essence of sustainable development strategies."

I am not sure that many of those interviewed would accept ul Haq's surprising statement a few paragraphs later: "It is my personal belief that the battle for this new paradigm of development is already won. I detect some white smoke coming out of the chimneys of the very citadels of economic growth." ul Haq goes on to say that the real challenge now is an operational one: to translate this new paradigm of development into policy and international institutions. I believe, however, a cautionary note is in order, such as that voiced by IDRC President Keith Bezanson in his presentation before the Special Joint Committee Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy. He stated: "To position ourselves in a way that will make a maximum difference for us as a country and for the world as a whole...will not be easy, for it will require rising above the many platitudes and shibboleths that are heard daily in the name of development." As Einstein observed many years ago: "We cannot solve the problems that we have created with the same thinking that created them." Or as Keynes put it: "The difficulty lies not in new ideas, but in escaping the old."

Old ideas do die hard. I cite only one small but significant example. ul Haq seems to consider entry into the market on "an equal footing" as "the real essence of sustainable development strategies." The phrase "equal footing" here would have to carry enormous weight and meaning if many of those interviewed were to accept ul Haq's new paradigm. Many, as we saw in Latin America, are ready to play the global free-market game, not because they believe

in it but because they simply see no current, viable alternative. The pressures put on them by the G-7 powers, reinforced by those of the World Bank and the IMF — not to mention the transnational corporations and a docile, privately owned global media — have proven irresistible. The danger, of course, of accepting that there is no alternative is to risk the slavery of an arrested social imagination!

But most of the suggestions and insights shared with me focus not on a market-centred but on a people-centred development that would move us toward "participatory economics." Some of the elements of such an economics are found in the vision of development that emerged from the recent Center of Concern's "Rethinking Bretton Woods Conference." Held in Washington in June 1994, this conference brought together participants from 26 countries. Their vision of development is "multi-dimensional and people-centred, that is, characterized by participatory, transparent and accountable decision-making processes, and puts control over people's lives into their own hands as much as possible."

Since most of the people interviewed see development as "people-centred" rather than "market-centred," they naturally reject a homogenized world culture and put increased importance on local cultural and religious (spiritual, ethical) values and systems. They no longer want these seen as "given" or "externalities" but rather included as determining variables among others in any development model. Most of those interviewed believe from their own experience or study that Animism, Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, etc., have had and still have influence on development. They are dissatisfied that development research in the last few decades has all but ignored this experience or has considered such values as either neutral or negative influences. The failure of the mechanical, linear development model to touch the needs of an ever-growing number of poor people in the world has shifted the focus back to the central, more important role of people themselves in development, without denying an important role to technology, capital, and markets in the process.

One significant example, as mentioned earlier, is the study done for the World Bank on "Development and Cultural Values in Sub-Saharan Africa," reported by Mamadou Dia in *Finance and Development* (December 1991). It indicates quite clearly that the vibrancy of African informal microenterprises, even in difficult times, depends primarily on the fact that their efficiency, productivity, and management are "largely a family affair." It is not correlated with the spirit of enterprise, material security, and self-interest that are still thought by the economists of the World Bank to be indispensable here for development, as they are in the developed world. Significantly, Mamadou Dia foresees the value of integrating religious rituals

into business to reinforce personal and group commitments needed for sustained development, given the African peoples' deep involvement in the spirit world.

The growing conviction that harmonious relations between individuals, groups, and peoples, as well as between people and nature, are an absolute requirement for sound ecology as well as global social justice is also pushing researchers to explore the inspirational resources and historical experiences of all religions. And it is becoming clear that there is an abundance of such resources in all major religions. As mentioned earlier, all world religions envision a close and harmonious relationship between humans and nature. The Judeo-Christian tradition, for example, provides very rich covenantal and sacramental spiritualities and theologies that can help to bond peoples among themselves and to the planet. It is also a felicitous development that these approaches can also facilitate cooperation between advocates of social justice and sound ecology.

Many of the NGOs that are now part of the current explosion of NGOs in Asia, Africa, and Latin America were initially or still are related to religion or religious institutions for their inspiration, and some of them for their personnel and finances. But, in its own right, the recent explosion of NGOs is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, even allowing for the many charlatans among them as well as much incompetence and inexperience, not to mention the fact that some of them are being cloned by free-market international institutions to carry their message into forums where these institutions are not themselves credible. Today, NGOs (as mentioned earlier, in this context NGOs are "nonprofit organizations") seem to be filling a vacuum left by government and other large institutions, including universities, churches, labour unions, etc. Many are already very sophisticated in their analysis, their strategies, and their national and international communication systems. For example, it came as a surprise to me to discover that the development office managed by the Buddhist nun Leau-Yia Thih was ultramodern in its computer and communications capacities, as was the office of the Third World Network based in Penang, Malaysia.

The chief role being adopted instinctively by many NGOs is the building up of civil society to challenge government. In this, the principle of subsidiarity, recently rediscovered by the European Community, is much in evidence: that is, that public decisions should be taken at the lowest level of society at which they can be taken effectively. This principle can, of course, be abused by people who use it simply to justify downsizing government quite independently of the availability of local competence and resources. NGOs also adapt easily to the principle that "small is beautiful," multiplying small experimental projects rather than risking leaving behind

still more "white elephant" skeletons of huge, failed foreign-financed projects.

I find my own views on the significance of this explosion of NGOs strongly confirmed by Lester M. Salamon of Johns Hopkins University in an article entitled *The Rise of the Non-Profit Sector* (*Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1994, p. 109), where he prophesies about this "global associated revolution that may prove to be as significant to the latter twentieth century as the rise of the nation state was to the nineteenth."

The apparent lack of enthusiasm among those interviewed for prioritizing ecological concerns was not really surprising. Their approach tends to be pragmatic. Concerns for the poor and some degree of social justice is understandably central to their preoccupations, and they still do not see richer countries being willing to help them meet these immediate needs. Clearly, development-aid funds are not correlated with the neediest countries. Debt service and closed markets work disproportionately in the opposite sense. And now it is becoming evident — if we are to believe a recent extensive report of *The Economist* (October 1, 1994) — that several richer countries are already panicking at the realization that some developing countries are beginning to challenge their own dominant economic ranking in the world. Most interviewed are not denying the crucial importance of ecological concerns; they are simply dealing with them on a pragmatic basis and waiting for more evident seriousness on the part of richer nations in confronting them.

It was striking to find again and again on all three continents many who were critical of universities and university-trained (especially foreign) experts for not being a more creative force in their countries' development process. Many faulted experts for their blind loyalty to the economic dogmas of their graduate training, and the majority look to a different, more practical kind of education that will stress individual and social responsibility and social management skills. Skills that will help to build up their currently underdeveloped civil societies and so make people less dependent on government for their every need.

Finally, to comment again on the trenchant criticism made by many of those interviewed on the dominant economic paradigm, there are those who would seem to be satisfied if cultural and ecological factors were made endogenous in economic development analysis. Others would find close affinity with Kenneth Arrow, Samuel Bowles, and Amartya Sen, who, in a recent memo addressed to the MacArthur Foundation (December 23, 1993), informed the directors that "given the intellectual inertia of the peer review process at the major academic journals and funding sources, innovation can best be fostered by supporting people, networks, and institutions committed to promising new ideas rather than attempting to use the promise of support to

convert those currently pursuing conventional approaches." They also suggest that "the long-term impact of their funding is likely to be greater if given to projects that give adequate attention to the theoretical lacunae underlying the current state of economics and does not overlook the development of a more adequate basic theory." And they mention several of the lacunae already mentioned here by those interviewed.

A few, more involved with ecological concerns, would turn the economic paradigm on its head, along the lines suggested by Canadian economist Gail Stewart. She points out that we have embedded in our culture and our mind-set the fundamental error of subsuming the environment to our human society and not our human society to the environment. We are trying to bring the environment into economics with new pricing schemes rather than situating the entire economy in the environment, where it really belongs. In other words, the environment is not an important tilt on the economics playing field, it is the playing field on which all economics and politics are played! Not many seem to grasp easily or intuitively the profound Copernican revolution Gail Stewart is wishing on economists. But I believe that Gail, like Galileo, will be proven right.

Finally, professional thinkers, such as Karl Knutssen of UNICEF (the UN Children's Fund), whom I chatted with in Florence, want to radically challenge the scientific methodology by searching for substitutes to complement its use of abstract "frozen" concepts that excessively separate knowledge from complex, changing experience and so make it inadequate for analyzing many modern, complex, global realities. Knutssen is suggesting the use of "social gravity fields" to help focus the growing importance of interest groups. Others, such as the Santa Fe group of cross-discipline researchers in Texas, focus on "patterns of complexity" as a way to bring their analysis closer to modern, very complex realities that current methods of analysis cannot reach.

Personally, I find all these approaches promising. What is striking is that none of these approaches are primarily ideological; all appear to be honest searches for a new paradigm or paradigms that can provide a more adequate analytic basis for policy decisions on global development.

## **Section 4. For Consideration by IDRC**

I make the following points without immediate reference to IDRC policy, programs, or actions that may already be in place or have already been rejected. I accept that IDRC's official philosophy commits it to development that is not in any way imposed on people from outside, but is itself people-centred — a process of empowering people through increased knowledge and enhanced research capacity and on the basis of a full intellectual partnership that is not founded on prefabricated Western ideologies, ideas, theories, or models of development.

### ***Point 1***

It would appear, from what I have heard and what I have made of what I heard, that IDRC should set up a working group to rethink and broaden its own definition of what it understands by "research." In this way, it can be, and be seen to be, open to "nonconventional research" that is not fully rational and linear and takes more account of a people's cultural and religious values and beliefs. Such an initiative would put IDRC visibly in the current exciting process of searching for a new development paradigm or paradigms, a search to which its President, Keith Bezanson, is already committed. This work can probably best be done in informal workshops that bring together experienced persons representing different cultures and intellectual disciplines to work together creatively without much fanfare. Several of those interviewed expressed a desire to participate in such a project. In such a bold venture, IDRC should strive to demonstrate a high quality of genuine intellectual partnership so that it is seen to be less aloof and more open to listening and learning from people throughout the world.

### ***Point 2***

There is an increasing body of evidence and experience that development projects, perhaps especially in Africa, fail because agencies and researchers are unwilling to engage patiently the deep religious beliefs of people that are rooted in the extended family and the spirit world. Most of those interviewed expressed a strong hope and recommendation that IDRC would pioneer research in the general area of the role of religious (spiritual, ethical) values and systems in human development, especially since UN agencies seem unable to handle it adequately.

Here, I propose a very specific project. IDRC should bring together an informal, experienced group made up of some of the persons I interviewed to articulate a congenial framework within which future research in this area could be undertaken. I suggest that they

should begin by focusing their research on the African experience, where the problems already mentioned appear more visible and urgent, if the poorest and most excluded peoples in African society are to participate in their own development.

### ***Point 3***

I point IDRC to working directly with local people — along the lines being attempted in many developing countries, but also in Canada by NGOs working directly with native people — discovering and reinforcing those values in their cultural and belief systems that have given them identity and can support the economic and technological education and formation required for taking responsibility for shaping their future destiny.

Because working directly with local peoples, especially in foreign countries, is difficult (some regional IDRC program directors would say impossible for a foreign agency like IDRC), IDRC should work closely with NGOs, which really can and do work closely with local people. Smaller NGOs and indigenous religious groups and centres with good international connections seem to have the best record here and are often best equipped to do this. Besides, by establishing a successful leadership role in the burgeoning NGO world, IDRC could assure itself of an important role on the global development scene at a time when national governments are faltering in many of their traditional roles. By putting priority on helping to strengthen the research capacity of local NGOs, IDRC could also help them to learn how to work creatively with government at all levels rather than simply playing an adversarial role, often demanding of government what it cannot do. In this, IDRC should follow the principle of subsidiarity: helping to build up a responsible civil society that does not look to government for its every need. In this work, "small is beautiful" and multiple smaller experimental projects are more likely to be successful than bigger more unwieldy ones.

6 January 1995

## Appendix I: Persons Interviewed.

### ASIA:

#### Taipei: Feb 20-24.

- At Fu-Jen University:
  - Professor Wu Bing-Eng, Phd. Dean, College of Management.
  - Professor Shang-Chi Gong, Phd., Director of Graduate School of Finance.
  - Assoc. Professor, Jen-Lung Kao, Phd, Head, Department of Business Administration.
  - Professor Shirley Shiu-Fang Yu, Phd, Monetary Theory.
  - Professor Yu-Chao, Phd, Engineering Management, Dept of Business Administration.
- Yves Raguin, S.J. and Yves Camus, S.J., Ricci Institute for Chinese Studies
- Beda Liu, S.J., Phd, Anthropologist, Director, China Research Center, Fu-Jen University.
- Leau-Yia Thih, Buddhist nun, and five other monks and nuns. Director, Ling-Jiou San Prajna Cultural and Educational Foundation.
- Luis Gutheinz, S.J., Convenor of Two Ecumenical Research Teams on The Quality of Life in the Bioregion of Taiwan, 1980-1991. Final Report, Quality of Life in the Bioregion of Taiwan, Jan., 1994.

#### Manila: Feb. 25-March 2.

- Terisita Del Rosario, Phd, Social Anthropology, Professor at Asian Institute of Management.
- Mary Racelis, Phd, Sociology/Anthropology, Ford Foundation Representative.
- Romana de los Reyes, Phd, Socio-cultural Anthropology. Director, Institute of Philippine Culture.
- Cristi Marie C. Nozawa, Executive Director, The Haribon Foundation for the Conservation of Natural Resources.
- Antonio J. Ledesma S.J., Director, South East Asia Rural Social Leadership Institute, Cagayan de Ore City.
- Bienvenido Nebres, S.J., Phd, Mathematics, President, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Joaquin G. Bernas, S.J., DL, Former President of Ateneo University, and personal advisor to former President d'Aquino.
- Noel D. Vasquez, S.J., Phd, (Sussex U on Labour Organizations), National Superior of Philippine Jesuits.
- Ismael Zuloaga, S.J., President of the Jesuit Conference of East Asia. Former representative of the Jesuit General for China.
- Orara O. Salvador, S.J., Director, Social Order Institute.
- Jack Carrol, S.J., Phd, Sociology, Director, Institute on Church and Social Issues; popular publication, Intersect: The Intersectorial Communicator,
- Bishop Cisco Claver, S.J., Phd, Anthropology. Influential retired Jesuit bishop. President Philippine Bishops' Commission on Social Justice.



Jakarta: March 2 - 4.

- Habib Churzin, Editor in Chief, Mizan, Islamic Forum of Indonesia for World Culture and Civilization. Director, (Ecumenical) Forum on Peace and Development Ethics Studies.
- Alan Feinstein and Chip Fay, Program Officers on Environment, Ford Foundation.
- Tony Kennedy, (Cdn) Program Officer, UNICEF.
- John Dijkstra, S.J., Life-long inspiration of BINA SWADAXA, a community self-reliance development agency; successor to Pancasila Farmers' Association.
- Franz Magnis-Suseno, S.J., Professor of Ethics, Catholic University; specialist in Islamic studies and dialogue.
- F.X. Danuwinata, S.J., Specialist in Buddhist and Islamic studies and dialogue.

Yogyakarta: March 4 - 6.

- Dr. Frederick Bunnell, Specialist in international relations, Dept of Political Science, Vassar College, NY. On sabbatical studying the emergence of NGOs in Indonesia.
- Rev. Romeo Mangunwidjojo, Japanese priest, architect, novelist. His thinking and writing is focussed on inter-cultural relations in Indonesia.
- Michael Sastrapradja, S.J., Rector, Catholic University. General Secretary Indonesian Philosophical Society; Member of Council of Research on Values and Philosophy, Washington D.C.
- Jim Spillane, S.J., Phd, Economics, Director, Sanata Dharma Research Centre.
- Theo Gieles, S.J., Phd, Head, Dept of Economics and Development, Catholic University. Author of most teachers' manuals in this field in Indonesia.
- Bride Susanto, S.J., Phd, Anthropology, Researcher, Sanata Dharma Research Centre.

Singapore: March 6 - 8.

- Randy Spence, Economist, Regional Director IDRC, Southeast and East Asia.
- Stephen Tyler, Phd, City Planning, Senior Regional Program Officer, Environmental Policy.
- Annette J. Stark Phd, Principal Regional Program Officer, Health Sciences.
- John D. Graham, Phd, Regional Program Officer, Environmental and Natural Resource Management.
- Arun Abraham, Senior Regional Program Officer, Science, Technology and Innovation Management; Corporate Affairs and Initiatives.
- David Glover, Phd, Economist.

Penang: March 8 - 9.

- Chin Saik Yoon, Publisher, Southbound.
- Third World Network Staff. Editors of Third World Resurgence. J. Rajamoorthy, legal specialist on human rights sat in for the Director, Martin Khor Kok Peng, who

was out of the country.

Bangkok: March 10 - 12.

- Dr. Gothom Arya, Buddhist, Faculty of Engineering, Chulalongkorn University.
- Dr. Jacques Amyot, Cdn, Anthropolgy. Retired founder of the Social Research Institute at Chulalongkorn University. First IDRC Regional Director in Singapore office.
- Dr. Jingjai Hanchanlash, Former IDRC Regional Director. Limited to an enthusiastic phone call, because of conflicting shedules and commitments.
- Dr. Prawase Wasi, Siriraj Hospital. Buddhist. Very respected, knowledgeable and active in all that touches on public health in South East Asia.
- Chaiwat Thirapantu, Director of Project and Program Development for the Human and Natural Resources Development Association.
- Sheldon Shaeffer, UNICEF, just recently arrived.
- Dr. Uthai Dulyakasem, Buddhist, anthropolgy/sociology. Director, Research and Development Institute, Silpakorn University.
- Daune Hallow Hom Bear, Chief of North American Dakota Indians, in Thailand to compare experiences with aboriginal tribes.
- Jean Barry, S.J., Phd, Psychology/Counselling. Presently responsible for training regional coordinators of Thailand's AIDS program.

Colombo: March 13 - 15.

- Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, Buddhist. President, Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.
- Centre for Society and Religion. In absence of the Director, Tissa Balasyria, OMI, I met with his assistant, Mrs. Bernadeen Silva, and the Executive Secretary, Newton Fernando.
- Dr. Godfrey Goonetilleke, Social Welfare. Buddhist/Baptist. Director, Sri Lanka Centre for Development Studies, also known as Marga Institute.
- Hewage Jayasena, Buddhist. Director, Buddhist Socio-Economic Development Institute. Longtime member of SID, Society for International Development.
- Aloysius Pieris, S.J. Phd, [Doctorate in Buddhist Studies granted by Sri Lankan Buddhist scholars, under supervision of University of London]. Director, Centre of Research and Encounter (primarily with Buddhists). Author of An Asian Theology of Liberation.

Madras: March 15 - 16.

- Lakshmi Krishnamurti, Executive Trustee, Satyamurti Centre for Democratic Studies.
- Ignatius Hirudayan, S.J., Director, Inter-Faith Dialogue Centre (with Hindus), Aikiya Alayam.

Bombay: March 17 - 18.

- Dr. M.J. Manohar Rao, Hindu, Professor of Economics, University of Bombay.
- Professor Avadhoot Nadkarni, Dept. of Economics, St. Xavier College.
- Dr Jiban K. Mukhopadhyay, Senior Economist, Dept. of Economics and Statistics, DES, Tata Services Ltd.
- Ernest Fernandes, Asst. Director, Xavier Institute of Management.
- Dr. S. Parasuraman, Professor, Unit for Rural Studies, Tata Institute of Social Studies. Present intermediary between local peoples and government officials on controversial Narmada dam project.
- Debi Goenka, Director, Bombay Environmental Action Group.
- Paul Vaz, S.J., Professor of Development Management at National University; also consultant to UNDP for evaluating grassroots projects. Director, Seva Niketan, a welfare and self-help agency in central Bombay.
- M.V. Kamata, Conservative longtime Senior Hindu columnist for the Times of India, based for several years in New York.

New Delhi: March 19 - 22.

- Vijay Pande, Regional IDRC Director for South Asia.
- Dr. Cherla B. Sastry, Principal Program officer, Forestry Asia; Environment and Natural Resources Management.
- Brian M. Belcher, Principal Economist, International Network for Bamboo and Rattan, INBAR.
- Auny Gyi, Phd, Principal Programme officer, (Water and Resources), Environment and Natural Resources Management.
- Michael Loevinsohn, Phd, Principal Program Officer, Environmental Policy and its Implications.
- V. Ramalingaswami, Professor Emeritus, All Indian Institute of Medical Sciences; IDRC Board Member; consultant to UNICEF.
- Anil Agarwal, Director, Centre for Science and Environment. India's equivalent to Lester Brown and World Watch.
- Ashok Khosla, Co-Director, Development Alternatives. A rebel experienced internationalist searching for alternatives to the accepted development model.
- Dr. Kamla Chowdhry, Phd (Harvard School of Business), Hindu. Retired from an extensive career in the world of unions and business management. Her interest is now focussed on ecology.
- Dr. Shiv Vishwanathan, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.
- Varkey Perekatt, S.J., President of South Asian Jesuit Assistancy.
- John Chathanatt S.J., Theologian and Ethician. Author of Liberation Theology: A Dialogue between Gandhi and Gutierrez. Manager of Vidyajoti Journal of Theological Reflection.
- Soosa Arockasamy, S.J., Biologist/Theologian. Chief Editor, Vidyajoti Journal of Theological Reflection.

- Paul de la Guerivierre, S.J., Economist. Director, Indian Social Institute.
- Walter Fernandez, S.J., Phd. Sociology. Specialist at the Indian Social Institute on Tribals and their way of life.
- Rudolphe Heredia, S.J., Phd, Sociology, Research Director at Indian Social Institute, Specialist in ecology.

Kathmandu: March 23 - 24.

- Dr. Kanak Mani Dixit, Editor, Himal. Also Chairman, Editorial and Publishing Committee. Box 42, Dhoka, Lalitpur, Nepal. tel: 523845; fax: 977-1-521013.
- Professor Pei Shengji, Ethnobotany. Chinese citizen. Specialist on relationship between ethics/religion/culture and biodiversity. ICIMOD, International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development.
- Ludwig Stiller, S.J., Phd, Economist. Human Resources Development Centre. Specialist on Planning for People - the experience of Nepal.
- John Locke, S.J. Phd, (Buddhism in Nepal). Human Resources Development Centre. Ongoing research on Buddhism in Nepal's history and present development.

## AFRICA:

Paris: April 26-29.

-At UNESCO:

- Jeanne Damlamian, Program Specialist, Bureau for Coordination of Environmental Programmes.
- Mate Kovacs, Chef de la Section des Politiques Culturelles, General Director of UNESCO's recent study, Demension Culturelle du Development; Vers Une Approche Pratique, April '94.
- Claude Fabrizio, Editor of the above study.
- Christine von Furstenberg, Specialist in epistemology and multidisciplinary approaches to research.
- Jean Yves Calvez, S.J. Phd, Political Science, Editor, Revue Etudes, Paris. Professor at L'Institut d'Etudes Economiques et Sociales, Paris.
- Henri Madellin, S.J. Phd, Economist, Aumonier national du Mouvement des cadres et Dirigeants Chretiens, Paris.
- Frank Chaigneau, S.J., Directeur, La Table de Cana. A large rehabilitation and training centre to find employment in the food industry for ex prisoners, refugees, and handicapped persons.
- Michel Fedou, S.J., Phd, Professor of World Religions; also participant in Christian-Muslim dialogue in Paris area.
- Alain Heilbrum, General Delegate for Central Europe, Total [Oil], Paris.
- Jan Kerkoffs, S.J., Phd. Professor Emeritus of sociology and religion, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

Amman, Jordan: April 30-May 3.

- Mgr. Antoine Audo, Chaldean Bishop of Aleppo, Souleymanie, Aleppo, Syria
- Dr Leila Sharaf, Former Minister of Culture; Member of the Arab Thought Forum; active outspoken Muslim; wife of the former prime minister, and cousin of the King Hussein of Jordan.
- Dr Ali Oumil, Secretary General, Arab Thought Forum.
- Clarence Burby, S.J., Psychologist, Citizen of Iraq; worked most of his life in Iraq and Syria. Very knowledgeable about Islam.

Cairo, Egypt: May 4-11.

- Eglal F. Rached, Phd., Senior Program Specialist, Environment and Natural Resources Division, IDRC.
- Gilles Cliche, Phd, Senior Program Officer, Information Sciences and Systems, IDRC.
- Magdy M. Garas, Senior Officer, Caritas-Egypt.
- Feddia Haddad, Teacher of literacy program for young girls, Caritas-Egypt.
- Dr Aziza Hussein, President of National Steering Committee of NGO's for Cairo International Conference on Population; also Director, Family Planning Society, Cairo.
- Dr El Sayed Yassin, Director, Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Al-Ahram Foundation; Former Secretary General, Arab Thought Forum.
- Gerald R. Skinner, Minister-Counsellor, Canadian Embassy. Married to an Egyptian Muslim. Longtime counsellor to Canadian Embassy in Moscow.
- Dr Ahmed Kamal Abou El Magd, Faculty of Law, Cairo University. Muslim intellectual; advisor to World Bank.
- Christian Van Nispin, S.J., theologian; expert in Islamic tradition and teaching, and participant in Christian-Islamic dialogue.
- Maurice Martin, S.J., Librarian, College de la Sainte-Famille; specialist in Islamic history and politics - especially for Egypt and Lebanon.
- George Agaiba, Director of Justice and Peace, Egypt. Organized ecumenically across churches and religions of Egypt.
- Steve Ronian, S.J., Citizen of Iraq. Staff of Caritas-Egypt.
- William Siddam, S.J., a native of an upper Nile village, where his family still lives. Now works with Egyptian youth.
- Samir Marios, Director, Copt Orthodox Center for Social Thought and Communication.

Nairobi, Kenya: May 11-16.

- Dr Eva Rathgeber, Regional Director, IDRC.
- Titus Adeboye, Anglican priest. Coordinator of ATPS [African Technical Policy Studies Network]. Former Minister of Agriculture, Nigeria.
- Dr Hartmut H. Krugmann, Physicist, Principal Program Officer, Environment and National Resources Division, IDRC.

- Dr Osita M. Ogbu, Economist. Senior Regional Program Officer, Economic and Technology Policy Program. Former staff person with World Bank.
- Dr Terry Ryan. Economist. Economic Secretary to the Ministry of Finance. Professor of Economics, University of Nairobi.
- Peter Henriot, S.J., Phd, Political Science. Director, Jesuit Center for Theological Reflection, Lusaka, Zambia. Former Director of the Center of Concern, Wash. D.C. Advisor to Zambian Bishops on issues of social justice at recent African Synod.
- Cecil McGarry, S.J., Theologian. Professor at Hekima Theological College. Peritus to African Bishops at recent African synod.

Harare, Zimbabwe: May 16-18.

- Cosmas Wakatoma, National Director, Catholic Development Commission, Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference.
- Dr Marshall Murphee, Anthropologist. Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe.
- Dr M.F.C. Bourdillon, Professor of Anthropology, University of Zimbabwe.
- Roland von Niddon, S.J., Director, Silveira House. A major network of facilities for training rural people in living, manual, organizational and political skills.
- Michael Hanly, Irish volunteer. English Teacher. Editor of popular publications for Silveira House.
- Francis Ckhirwonga, Director of Training Program at Silveira House.

Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire: May 19-21.

- Rene Roy, S.J., Social Management. Director, INADES [Institut Africain pour le Developpement Economique et Social].
- Michel Lambott, S.J., Agriculturalist. INADES-FORMATION, a network of rural formation facilities organized in ten African countries.
- Michel Guery, S.J., Anthropologist. Director of a program to rehabilitate street kids, provide them with apprenticeship training and jobs in small, local artisanal enterprises.

Ouagadougou, Burkina-Faso: May 21-13.

- Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo. Well-known African historian. Director and Founder of Centre for African Development Studies.
- Evening carrefour with the following:
  - Joseph Parcouda. Economist. President of the Cathedral Parish Council.
  - Songre Ambroise, Coordinator of Archdiocesan activities.
  - Alidou Ouedgraoud, Muslim. Judge. President of the InterAfrican Union on Human Rights.
- Paul Ismael Ouedruago, President of Fondation Jean Paul II pour le Sahel.

-Joseph Compaore, S.J., social psychologist.

-Luc Antoine Boumard S.J., and Joel Roumeas, S.J. - both longtime workers in rural development programs in Chad.

-Cardinal Paul Zoungana, Archbishop of Ouagadougou - just returned from the African Synod in Rome.

Dakar, Senegal: May 23-25.

-Youssou Ndiaye, Director, Institut Supérieur de Management, Université de Senegal.

-Mamadou Diouf, Program Officer [Research], Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa [CODESRIA].

-Marie-Angelique Savane, Phd., Sociology. Team Leader, Country Support Team, UNFPA. Member of Board of Governors, IDRC.

-Professor Mallick Ndiaye, Phd. Sociology. Dept of Philosophy, Université de Senegal.

-Gerald Bourrier, Regional Director, IDRC.

-Real Lavergne, Phd. Economist. Senior Program Director, IDRC.

Rome, Italy: May 26-29.

-Evening Carrefour with the following:

-Gerry O'Connell, Executive Member, Amnesty International.

-Michael Czerny, S.J., Director, Secretariat for Social Justice, Jesuit Curia.

-Mark Raper, S.J., Director, International Refugee Services, Jesuit Curia.

-Tom Michel, S.J., Specialist in Islamic Studies for the Vatican. Director, Secretariat for Ecumenism, Jesuit Curia.

Florence, Italy: May 30.

-Dr Karl Eric Knutsson, International Child Development Centre, UNICEF.

LATIN AMERICA:

Caracas: June 13-17.

-Anthony Aguirre, S.J., Economist. Director of Interdisciplinary Research, Universidad Católica Andre Bello. President Elect of National Academy Social Science. Former research director at Ministry of Finance.

-Luis Ugalde, S.J., Social Historian. Rector, Universidad Católica Andres Bello Former Director, Instituto de Investigaciones económicas y sociales.

-Professor Eduardo Ortiz, Economist. Director, Instituto de Investigaciones económicas y sociales, Universidad Católica Andres Bello.

-Ligia Bolívar, Sociologist. Director, PROVEA [Programa Venezolano de Educación -

**Accion en Drechos Humanos].**

- Arturo Sosa, S.J., Sociologist. Director, Centro Gumilla et Ephrem SIC [Jesuit Centre for socio-economic research and action, working primarily with the poor in city barrios]. Member of Episcopal Commission on Relations between Bishops and Government.
- Carmen Garcia Guadilla, Psychologist. CENDES [Centro Estudios del Desarrollo], Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Dr Heinz Sonnetag, Sociologist. Director CENDES. President ATLAS [Asociacion Latinoamericana de sociologia].
- Dr Ch-vi Chen, Economist. Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, Economics and Business, Universidad Catolica Andres Bello. Significant experience of business and academic life in Asia, Europe and Latin America.

**Rio de Janeiro: June 17-21.**

- Frank Ivern, S.J., Sociologist. Jesuit Provincial. Former Director of the Jesuit Secretariat for Social Justice, Rome; and former Director of IBRADES, the Brazilian Jesuit centre for socio- economic research and action.
- Paulo Anotonio Abreux, S.J., Economist, IBRADES.
- Marcello Azevedo, S.J., Anthropologist/Philosopher. Director, IBRADES.
- Thais Corral, Director REDEH [Rede de Defensa da Especie Humana].

**Santiago: June 21-24.**

- Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., Economist. Former advisor to President Allende and active member of the group, Priests for Socialism. Vice Director of ILADES [Jesuit Centre for socio-economic research] and of the Review, Mensaje.
- Professor Pilar Cereceda Troncoso, Geographer. Director, Institute of Geography, Catholic University of Chile. Associate with IDRC on 'fog' project.
- Dr Jose J. Brunner, Sociologist. President, Consejo Nacional de Television. Formerly with FLASCO [Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences].
- Sergio Molina, Economist. Director, Banco Del Desarrollo. Former Minister of Planning and of Finance.
- Marcela Gajardo, Interdisciplinary Education. AGCI, Government agency for International Cooperation. Formerly associated with FLASCO.
- Carlos Massad, Economist. Presently Minister of Health. Formerly with the IMF [International Monetary Fund].
- Dr Eugenio Tironi, Sociologist. Chairman of the Board of SUR Profesionales [Centre of management training for public employees - especially at the municipal level].
- Martin Hopenhayn, Philosopher. Senior staff person at CEPAL [Comision Economica Para America Latina y el Caribe].
- Joseph Ramos, Engineer/Economist. Senior staff person in charge of articulating



CEPAL's 'Growth with Equity' approach to development.

- Rene Cortazar, Economist with CIEPLAN [Public Planning Centre]. Until the recent election, Minister of Labour.
- Mario Zanartu, S.J., Economist. Economics and Ethics. Professor at IBRADES.
- Dr Jaime Ruiz-Tagle, Sociologist. Executive Director of the union-related Program de Economia del Trabajo.
- Patricio Cariola, S.J. Education. Director of CIDE [Centro de Investigacion y Desarrollo de la Education].

Montevideo: June 24-28.

-IDRC Regional Office:

- Tony Tillet, Economist. IDRC Regional Director. Former Executive Director, Lester Pearson Institute for International Development. Dalhousie University, Halifax.
- Fay Durrant, Communications. Program Officer, Information Services and Science Division.
- Mario Torres, Sociologist. Program Officer, Social Science Division.
- Silvio Gomez, Medical Doctor, Program Officer, Health Sciences Division.
- Carlos O. Sere, Agricultural Economics Consultant - soon to join the IDRC regional staff.
- Dr Carlos Filgueira, Sociologist. Director, CIESU [Centro de Informaciones y Estudios Sociales del Uruguay].
- Dr Jose Arocena, Sociologist. Dean of Social Sciences, Universidad Catolica del Uruguay.
- Dr. Nea Filgueira, Sociologist. Director GRECMU [Grupo de Estudios sobre la condicion de la Mujer en el Uruguay].
- Dr. Alma Espino, Economist. Executive Secretary, CIEDUR [Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Uruguayo].
- Juan Luis Segundo, S.J., Theologian. Co-founder of Liberation Theology in Latin America.

Lima: June 28-30.

- Vincente Santuc, S.J., Philosopher, Dean of Philosophy Faculty ESPEL, 'Antonio Ruiz de Montoya.' Coordinator of Jesuit Intellectual Apostolate in Peru.
- Juan J. Wicht, S.J., Economist. Director, Research Center, Universidad del Pacifico.
- Rev. Gustavo Gutierrez, Theologian/Pastor. Co-founder of Liberation Theology in Latin America.
- Francisco Sagasti, Industrial Technology and Development. Principal Researcher at GRADE [Grupo de Analisis para el Desarrollo]. Consultant to President of IDRC.
- Dr Denis Sulmont, Sociologist. Dean of Social Sciences, Catholic Pontifical University of Peru.

-Eduard Grillo Fernandez, Agronomist. Director PRATE [Programa Andinodé Tecnologías Campesinas].

-Felipe MacGregor, S.J. Educator. Director, Instituto de la Paz at Universidad del Pacífico. It researches the incidence of violence in Latin America. Member of the Council of the United Nations University.

Bogotá: July 1-6.

-Humberto Rojas, Rural Sociologist. Recently retired from the regional office of UNICEF. Formerly under contract with IDRC.

-Francesco de Roux, S.J. Economist. Researcher. Advisor to the Episcopal Conference on peace and violence. Former Director of CINEP [Centre for socio-economic research and action.]

-Gabriel Izquierdo, S.J. Anthropologist. Director of CINEP. Longtime researcher and organizer of integral development among a group of 25,000 peasants on the north coast of Colombia.

-Dr Mario Calderon, Sociologist. Researcher with CINEP on culture and environment in relation to peasant communities; also researcher on the Catholic Church and culture in Colombia.