

Psychology of International Development and Education

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1 Introduction

This thesis, as an exploratory case study, aims to investigate implications of various development theories in the field of international development and education then examines how they are explored implicitly and explicitly in the accounts of development professionals. Throughout this thesis the term development professionals or practitioners are repeatedly referred to signify several million development personnel working in foreign countries as administrators, advisors, consultants, experts and volunteers.

The term ‘development’ has been referred to in many different contexts and discourses as one of the major features of the contemporary world system. However, what precisely do they mean by this word? Do they mean the same or use it in the same way? As it will be shown in the next chapter, the term ‘development’ can be used in such diverse ways and can signify various different aspects of the changing nature of the world.

The focus of the thesis is mainly on postgraduate students of the G7 countries, the students of the aid-giving side, who already have some working experience in the field of education and international development. They came back to university to pursue a Master’s degree in education and international development after having worked in the field of international development. Thus, they share the practical experience of and encountered the academic debates of international development. Having experienced both sides of development practice, their accounts are worthwhile and enriching.

The thesis consists of three sections. Firstly, it investigates different conceptualizations of the term ‘development’ in relation to the dominant discourse of education and international development. Secondly, the thesis will focus on the practitioner’s reflections on their work experiences to examine their meanings and definitions of development. Finally, concerns in the international development and education are described on the basis of these arguments.

2. Implications of Modernization Theory in the International Development

Modernisation Perspective

One of the major interpretations of the term ‘development’ has a close link to the

positive notion of the change, which has been developed by the influence of the modernization theory. Modernization theory started in the late 1940s and bloomed in the 1950s. It is a product of Post-World War II era. With the rise of the United States as a superpower and the spread of a united world communist movement and the expansion of the influence of the Soviet Union, political and ideological tension between these two sides had been increased. At the same time, the fall of European colonial empires gave birth to many of the newly independent countries in the Third World which resulted in the creation and the rise of the Third World. In such a historical context, the modernization school was initiated in the 1950s and 1960s with encouragements of American political leaders.

The modernization theory, therefore, has a very close link to the international politics. As it has emerged through the ideological conflict of the Cold-War in the Post-World War II era, the modernization theory was supported by the strong political intention of the American leaders who were eager to maintain their influence over the newly independent countries of the Third World. Thus, the voice which lies behind the modernization perspective tend to be limited to that of the First World and the 'advanced'.

The modernization perspective of development, being the most initial and long-standing view and yet occupying the most dominant position in the development discourse, generally values development in a positive light. Although it has encountered many severe criticisms, the basic assumption of the modernization theorists is that development is generally beneficial to the Third World countries. Development is often interpreted as Americanization or Westernization in a broader sense or at least to follow the 'advanced', thus, it gives a sense of progress which leads to this positive understanding of development.

The modernization school was initially based on two social theories, the evolutionary theory and the functionalist theory. As Portes¹ and Rhodes² indicate, the evolutionary theory gave a significant influence in shaping the modernization school. The evolutionary theory assumes that the human society inevitably moves along in one direction from a primitive to an advanced stage. It was born in the early nineteenth century with the rise of the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution which had increased the application of science and technology and created a new political order based on equality, liberty, freedom and parliamentary democracy. Thus, the closer the movement is toward the final stage, the better it becomes because it represents progress, humanity and civilization. Therefore, it somewhat imposes a value judgment to the evolutionary process.

Another justification of Modernization theory is linked to the functionalist theory. The functionalist theory received a vast influence from Parsons' theory. Parsons³ developed the

¹ Portes, A. (1980) 'Convergencies Between Conflicting Theoretical Perspectives in National Development' in H. Blalock (ed.) *Sociological Theory and Research* New York : Free Press

² Rhodes, R. I. (1968) 'The Disguised Conservatism in Evolutionary Development Theory' *Science and Society*

³ Parsons, T. (1951) *The Social System* Glencoe, IL : Free Press

functionalist theory that the human society functions like biological organisms of the human body which are interrelated and interdependent with one another. Many of the prominent members of the modernization school supported the functionalist theory.

Based on these theoretical justifications of the modernization process of the Third World, some of the major researches of the early modernization school are conducted to examine how the modernization processes of the Third World countries occurred and developed. The aim of these early researches of the modernization school was to differentiate and to classify relatively modernized and non-modernized societies. It became the basis of the later work of the modernization school and analysis of the modernization process of the Third World countries.

For example, Smelser⁴ applied the concept of structural differentiation to study Third World countries. According to Smelser, the more a society is modernized, the more one institution of the society becomes specialized in solely one function. Smelser claimed that the traditional family institution is responsible for various collective functions, whereas in a more modern society all the social institutions as a whole function collectively to cover all these needs of the nation. Smelser, however, raises important issues of the modernization process and the modernized society. The new problems and the difficulties are created in a modern society such as the integrated coordination of each social activity and that these various new difficulties create need for the invention of new laws, social institutions, values and various other social functions.

Coleman⁵, in contrast, differentiated the society in terms of the level of the political enhancement. Coleman also states that the greater functional specialization brings more structural complexity and a higher degree of interdependence of political institutions. One of the major differences of the Coleman's approach from that of Smelser is that Coleman stresses more on the significance of the legal and political equality such as citizenship and political participation.

With the basis of such analyses, the classical modernization studies were conducted. The researches shared a common interest, to investigate and to clarify the key factors that have promoted the modernization process. Thus, the early modernization theorists were more concerned with the process of modernization and with the classification of the relatively modernized countries and non-modernized countries.

However, in the 1960s and 1970s the modernization school met a major criticism of the mainstream social scientists. The criticism of the social scientists first challenged the evolutionary assumptions. The major claim of these critiques was that the modernization theorists are rather 'ethnocentric'. Another criticism is related to the 'ideal' model of

⁴ Smelser, N. (1964) 'Toward a Theory of Modernization' pp. 268-284 in A. Etzioni & E. Etzioni (eds.) *Social Change* New York : Basic Books

⁵ Coleman, J. S. (1968) 'Modernization : Political Aspects' in D. L. Sills (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* Vol. 10 New York : Macmillan

progress or development, whether or not there are possibly any alternative models of development. The critiques of the modernization school claimed that the path that Third World countries would follow for nation-building is already imposed by other powerful nations such as the United States, thus, the Third World countries are not able to choose a path for and by themselves.

Also the critics argued that modernization researchers are too optimistic. These researchers assume that since Western countries have followed the modernization process and established its position in the world, Third World countries shall be able to do the same. The reality, however, is not as the modernization theorists have presumed. The critics pointed out that many of the Third World countries are worse-off than they were before, which implies that the modernization process can be reversed, contrary to the claims of the modernization school. In fact, the disparity between the world's poor and rich is widening. According to Trainer⁶, two hundred years ago the financial gap between the poor and the rich countries was 1.5 : 1, in 1960 it was 20 : 1, in 1980 46 : 1 and finally in 1989 the ratio was 60 : 1.

The critics also challenged the functionalist assumption of the tradition and modernity. First of all the concept of tradition is problematized: 'is it really true that the less-developed countries have always had a set of homogeneous and harmonious traditional values?' As Redfield⁷ claims, in the traditional society the value and interest of the people were not always homogeneous or existed in harmony with each other. The value of the elites of the society had a bigger impact on the society than that of the less-powerful people. The functionalists' misleading conception of a peaceful and stable society is challenged.

The criticism further questions the relation between tradition and modernity. It is concerned with the co-existence of traditional values and modern values, if it is truly possible that both of them co-exist simultaneously. The critics assert that in traditional societies, modern values have always been present and co-existed. Another concern is related to the idea that the traditional values are always obstacles to the modernization process. The critiques problematize this concept and ask if it is possible to think that the modernization totally displaces traditional values.

Neo-Marxists also take a critical stance to the modernization school. Frank⁸, for example, argues in his article 'The Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology' that the modernization perspective is after all a product of the cold war ideology that is used to justify the intervention of the US in Third World affairs. Frank claims that the modernization theorists neglected the broader historical context of the Third World, namely the foreign domination and colonialism. Their argument is based on the

⁶ Trainer, F. (1989) 'Reconstructing Radical Development Theory' *Alternatives* XIV

⁷ Redfield, R. (1965) *Peasant Society and Culture* Chicago : University of Chicago Press

⁸ Frank, A. G. (1969) *Latin America :Underdevelopment or Revolution* New York : Monthly Review Press (p. xi)

interpretation that Third World countries are yet politically, economically and culturally dominated by Western countries.

Although the modernization theory itself had once been overshadowed by these criticisms of the classic modernization school introduced above, in the late 1970s there was a revival of modernization research. The new studies also share some commonalities with the classical studies such as the assumption concerning tradition and modernity and that both of them are based on the positive notion of development, that modernization is generally beneficial to Third World countries. However, there were significant differences between this new school and the classic.

The major differences between the classic and the new modernization perspective are summed into four points. Firstly, the co-existence of tradition and modernity is acknowledged. Tradition is no longer an obstacle to development and positive roles of tradition in the process of international development are acknowledged. Secondly, the methodology has changed. Instead of placing their research and discussion at a high level of abstraction, the new modernization school focused more on the concrete experiences and cases of development projects. Thirdly, multiple paths of development are recognized. As a result of putting more focus on the concrete case studies, the Western model of progress is treated simply as a case, not as a definite model. Lastly, the new modernization school valued more on the internal factors such as ideological domination, religious revolution and other various conflicts, although their focus still rests on international relationships.

For example, the research of Wong⁹ revealed positive roles of the traditional family in promoting economic development in the case of China. Wong argues for the positive impact of the traditional family on economic development. Wong also claimed that concentrating solely on the European model of development creates the neglect of other models of development. Davis¹⁰, on the other hand, examined the Japanese modernization process in relation to religion. Davis demonstrates how religion is capable of having positive impacts in promoting economic development in a different context. Davis provides evidences that religion is not necessarily an obstacle to the economic development but continues to co-exist and collaborate with the institutions of modern society. A similar conclusion was drawn out from Banuazizi's analysis of tradition and modernization process. Banuazizi¹¹ argues that the tradition can be reflexive, creative, and responsive to individual and collective needs as its modern counterpart can, and tradition has enormous potential for social mobilization and change. In sum, the new modernization studies have avoided making simplistic statements or presenting single-variable analysis.

⁹ Wong, S. (1988) 'The Applicability of Asian Family Values to Other Sociocultural Settings' in P. L. Berger & H. M. Hsiao (eds.) *In Search of an East Asian Development Model* New Brunswick, NJ : Transaction

¹⁰ Davis, W. (1987) 'Religion and Development : Weber and East Asian Experience' in M. Weiner & S. Huntington (eds.) *Understanding Political Development* Boston : Little, Brown

¹¹ Banuazizi, A. (1987) 'Social Psychological Approach to Political Development' in M. Weiner & S. Huntington (eds.) *Understanding Political Development* Boston : Little, Brown

The modernization school, however, represents the voice from the North and the First World. As the modernization theory is initiated and developed in the development discourse of the North, it is dominated by the perspective from the 'developed' and 'advanced' countries. The voice of the South or the Third World is hardly heard. In response to this, various criticisms are developed.

Criticism to the Modernization Theory; Dependency Perspective

While the modernization perspective is shaped with major influences of the First World, the dependency school mainly represents the voice of the Third World. The dependency theory rises from the critiques of the modernization theory from the writers of the South. It first arose in Latin America as a response to the bankruptcy of the program of the U. N. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) in the early 1960s¹². The dependency theory is also a response to the crisis of orthodox Marxism in Latin America in the early 1960s. Such a trend of the Latin American dependency school quickly gained the supports of the North American scholars who were facing the decline of the modernization school¹³.

In the dependency perspective, 'development' is understood as an 'imposed path' for the future of the Third World. For the classical dependency school, it is generally considered to be harmful for the Third World. Although the new dependency school recognizes some of the positive aspects of dependency and development, on the whole the dependency school regards the Third World countries being marginalized and passive recipients of the flow from the center.

What is interesting to note, however, is that both the modernization and dependency perspective measure 'development' in economic terms and mathematical calculations. Development is seen in terms of economic figures, retaining more industry, more output and raising productivity rather than increasing the living standard or enhancing education. Also both of them tend to represent the voice of men, the masculine world of development, not that of women or the marginalized groups in the society. The subsequent sections of this chapter will introduce the other perspectives of international development and examine the way in which these concerns are treated.

Criticism to the Modernisation Theory; World-System Perspective

The new models of development started to gain international attention, supported by the emergence of new forms of economic success such as the East Asian economic miracle,

¹² Refer to; Dos Santos, T. (1973) 'The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependence in Latin America' in H. Bernstein (ed.) *Underdevelopment and Development* Harmondsworth : Penguin

¹³ Refer to; Chirot, D. (1981) 'Changing Fashions in the Study of the Social Causes of Economic and Political Change' in J. Short (ed.) *The State of Sociology* Beverly Hills, CA : Sage

which has been recognized as the new model of development that cannot be explained in either the modernization or dependency paradigm. Those countries started to challenge the economic superiority of the United States. Also the ideological crisis in both socialist states and capitalist economies has become prominent with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the decline of the American economy in the 1970s and 80s.

One of the crucial aspects of the World-System Perspective is that international development is understood as part of the already-established world system. The world-system theory has its roots in sociology and Immanuel Wallerstein's study¹⁴. Wallerstein claims that all of the collective human actions are interrelated and cannot be separated such as the economic, political and social or socio-cultural. In this sense, Wallerstein challenges the methodological approach that the previous research has employed. Similarly, Wallerstein problematizes the concept of society, capitalism and the notion of human society progressing to the more favorable stage, in other words, the notion of evolution¹⁵. Wallerstein argues for the construction of the new approach to development and social science which are able to admit the complexity and uncertainty of the human society and its future. Furthermore, Wallerstein adds the third positioning in the development discourse and constructs the tri-modal paradigm of development by proposing the semi-peripheral stages that stand in between the cores and peripherals. Although the dependency theorists have focused solely upon the bimodal relationship of dependency between the cores and peripherals, Wallerstein draws attention to the stages between these two statuses and analyses how it is possible for a country to move from the peripheral stage to the semi-peripheral and finally to the core.

On the whole, the World-System perspective aims to claim that the process of development is not pre-determined. It may be upward or downward. However, 'development' is again considered to be part of the capitalist world-economy. The process of development is measured in economic terms and trapped in the economic paradigm. Yet, by adding the third perspective of semi-periphery and by avoiding predetermining the direction of international development, the world system perspective enables researchers to capture the complexity and the changing nature of the world economy and (mainly economic) development.

In sum, until the 1990s, 'development' had been considerably economic. The level of 'development' had been mainly measured in economical terms. The researches of international development concentrated more on the capitalist world-economy. The development discourse before the 1990s had been economic, possibly political, rather than social, socio-cultural or educational. Also, the development discourse has been very limited to the masculine world of political-economy. The role of education in the process of

¹⁴ Wallerstein, I. (1979) 'Dependence in an Interdependent World : The Limited Possibilities of Transformation Within the Capitalist World-Economy' in I. Wallerstein *The Capitalist World-Economy* New York : Cambridge University Press

¹⁵ Wallerstein, I. (1987) 'World-System Analysis' in A. Giddens & J. H. Turner (eds.) *Social Theory Today* Stanford : Stanford University Press

international development as well as the existence of women had rather been neglected.

1990s on wards; Rise of Postmodernism and Gender Perspectives

In 1990s, there have been major changes in development discourse caused by the rise of Postmodernism and feminists' criticism. Postmodernism deconstructs the linear progression model and claims to view an incident in relation to the other incidents, in a more complex view. Postmodernism can be routed in a simple question of "What happens, once modernized?". The question is based on the reality of the society that people wonder, "The modernized world may not be as ideal as once thought it would be?". It reflects the reality of the contemporary life that, even if the country is considered as "modernized", it still confronts various difficulties and dilemmas. Some of their problems may be new, which they did not have to deal with when their society was not very "developed".

Postmodernism, in the development discourse, deconstructs the assumption that there could be a common principle which is applicable for every case. With the emergence of Postmodernism, the discourse of international development encountered enormous difficulties because Postmodernism even denies the existence of the Third or the First World. Postmodernism does not recognize any social paradigm other than individual. 'There is no commonly reality outside of the individual.'¹⁶

Similarly, the development discourse was to be tackled heavily by feminist writers. Feminists argued that both the practice and discourse of development are limited in the world of men. Women tend to be absent in such discourses of development. Their claim led to the emergence of the WID (Women in Development) and GAD (Gender and Development) approaches. These writers seek to free women of the Third World but encounter the criticism of ethnocentrism again because the voice of women in the Third World tends to be represented by the women in the First World and to result in mis- or under-representation of the reality of the Third World women.

Emergence/'Re-discovery' of Education

In such trends and changes of development discourse, the role of education in international development was to be re-discovered in the 1970s. However, as the concept of development being controversial, so is the concept of education in international development. The Oxfam Educational Report acknowledges the importance of education in international development with a link to the human right. 'Education matters because it is a fundamental human right, and because it is intrinsically important in its own right'¹⁷. According to Oxfam, education also contributes to raise quality of life, to achieve higher living standards, to improve public health, and to democratization. World Bank, in

¹⁶ Schuurman, F. J. (1993) *Beyond the Impasse : New Directions in Development Theory* London : Zed Books

¹⁷ Watkins, K. (2000) *The Oxfam Education Report* Oxford : Oxfam GB in association with Oxfam International

contrast, has been taking the position to view education for the sake of the economic growth. For the Bank, investment in education is justified because of its influence on the high returns for economic growth¹⁸.

Another major stance towards the value of education in international development is related to the Capability Approach, which claims education for the sake of education. Sen was the first to propose the intrinsic importance of education rather than its instrumental value in the society. In the early 1990s Sen¹⁹ introduced his concept of 'capabilities' and shifted the mainstream discourse of development from the mathematical calculation of economics to the deeper analysis of the 'capabilities', which signifies the people's potential ability to influence their own life, welfare and, above all, the social institutions affecting their own life. Sen defined the poverty in terms of capabilities rather than simplistic measurement of material wealth. He emphasised the importance of education and that it plays a major role in realising the human potential in a broader sense.

In conclusion, as it is examined in the previous sections, the trend in development discourse is highly influenced by the economic approach to international development. Furthermore, the review of the relevant literature revealed that the classification of the 'advanced' and less 'advanced' societies in the modernization paradigm still work to give a major influence on the overall discourse of education and international development.

3 Psychology of Educational Practitioners in the Field of International Development

3.1 Methodology - A Form of Case Studies Based on Reflection

The interviews were conducted in order to examine how the discourse of development is reflected on the practitioners' experience and how the education of development practitioners influences such dilemmas. The nature of the research is an explorative study and its major aim is to raise various dilemmas and questions of the discourse and practice of education and international development. It employed the qualitative, interpretive method and attempts to investigate on personal narratives of five development practitioners. 'Narratives are not record of facts, of how things actually were, but of a meaning-making system that makes sense out of the chaotic mass of perceptions and experiences of a life'²⁰. Narrative approach brings the researcher his/herself closer to the interviewee as engaged in interpreting their own experiences than quantitative and statistical methods.

¹⁸ See, for example, Schultz, T. (1993) 'Returns to Women's Education' in E. King, and A. Hill, (eds.) (1993) *Women's Education in Developing Countries : Barriers, Benefits and Policies* Baltimore : John Hopkins University Press

¹⁹ Sen, A. (1993) 'Capability and Well-Being' in Nussbaum, M. & A. Sen, (eds.) (1993) *The Quality of Life* Oxford : Clarendon Press

²⁰ Josselson, R. (1995) 'Imagining the Real : Empathy, Narrative and the Dialogic Self' in R. Josselson and (Initial). Lieblich (eds.) (1995) *Interpreting Experience : The Narrative Study of Lives*, Vol.3 Thousand Oaks : Sage Publications

I contacted the research respondents who were taking master's courses from the department of the Institute of Education, University of London through my personal connections. Then using semi-structured interview questions, the interviews were conducted, each of which took approximately thirty to forty-five minutes. Interview questions were designed in order to examine respondents' conceptualizations of 'development'. Firstly, their previous educational experiences were asked in relation to the international development, how their previous education described the concept of 'development' or simply the Third World countries. Secondly, the images of the Third World countries are asked in relation to their working experiences, what their experiences in those countries were and how the reality of education and international development differed or reinforced their images that have been shaped by their previous educational experiences. Thirdly, their educational experience in the Master's course were asked in relation to the questions above, what motivated the interviewees to return to the university once again and how educational experiences in the master's course were different or similar to the previous ones.

In the research, interviews were conducted with two male and three female students from the Department of Education and International Development, Institute of Education, University of London. All of them are from G7 countries. Although their master's courses differ, all the interviewees were from the Department of Education and International Development. The interview respondents had a minimum one year of working experience in the field of international development previously. All the interviewees, thus, had lived in Third World countries.

To my surprise, many of the accounts given by the interviews largely shared similar concerns. All of the respondents encountered more or less the similar dilemmas as development practitioners such as standing in between the fund raisers and the projects implementations. As it will be discussed in the subsequent section, most of the respondents mentioned the dilemmas between aid 'givers' and the 'recipients'.

3.2 Psychological Analysis of the Development Professionals and Local People

First of all, it is difficult to deny that people in low-income countries are often described by the mass media as desperate, starving, and helpless. Although such views of low-income countries are not all false, it is somewhat overstated. Yet, it is often difficult to realize the exaggeration because such images are too common. Many of the development professionals admit this stereotype and its exaggeration.

'I had always been interested in other parts of the world ... I always thought that I would want to travel when I become older. That was a strong motivation. Also ... I did have the sympathy with the Third World... I took a year out between the school and university... to go to a poor country...'

'Talking about development directly, ... I am sure if I went back and look at, say

geography for example, ... there would be lots of messages behind them but to be honest ideas of world ... would have come from media than schools ...the images that came from media would be dominated by disasters.'

In such descriptions of the low-income countries, we can note the influence of the modernization paradigm to describe them as being lower stage of development, in an inferior position that needs aid. This is the first and the major image of low-income countries that many people in higher-income countries acquire. In reality, however, such images of desperate people in low-income countries sometimes contradict with the real life of the local community, as one of the research respondents describes;

'when you, ... work or volunteer for something, you are really excited about all this help you are going to give to people. And when you get this place you realize that they are not interested in it. I mean certainly, that's my personal experience in quite a few occasions. And I think it's a learning process that anyone working in development goes through and I think it's an excellent thing. It leads to personal development because you realize that actually people who are poor, they are not just desperate who need your help, they are human beings and in fact they have their own lives. Perhaps they want some kind of help but they are not just desperate, starving idiot.'

However, as some of the research respondents admit, once they started to work in development agencies, they had to make the most of this image in order to raise funds more effectively, which is one of the major responsibilities of the development professionals in the development industry.

'So you create a picture to donors. It's not completely false but you are certainly bending the truth. You are presenting all the good things and hiding the bad. So I felt very uncomfortable because I have seen what the reality is. I knew that some things were not working and yet we were saying that they work. But at the same time, I knew that overall, it was worthwhile. So, I still find it difficult. Also ... in a sense you are competing against other charities. They are doing good work as well. You know, it's very unpleasant business...'

In this account, the respondent also points out that the fund-raising activities are uncomfortable. Although their intentions are good in its nature and aimed at helping others, it still requires to somewhat distorts the reality and asks to "hide" unfavorable facts. This can cause an enormous psychological difficulty for development professionals because what they imagined is largely different from what they would be actually involved in. Although they came to a Third World country with intentions to be of help, in reality they are often asked to utilize this reality for the sake of fund-raising, which can be far different from what they would have imagined as their job. This gap can be contradictory and cause huge psychological dilemmas for being involved in the development industry.

In contrast, there was another interview respondent who described her motivation to be involved in the development industry with a link to justice;

‘... ultimately people are trying to get to what they think is good, positive, justice for people. There is a disparity among the poor and the rich. I think some people do it out of feeling guilty. Others do it because the poor sometimes needs resources. ... Then there are others who do it for purely justice reasons, that we should all have basic education. I think I probably fit into that category. There isn’t enough justification that people cannot get just for education.’

Here, she is describing her notion of justice and claiming that some others do not receive what she thinks they should, which she considers unfair and injustice. However, her sense of value is deeply embedded in her notion of justice. She may suggest what people in higher-income countries enjoy is somewhat better and more worthwhile, thus, has to be even-handedly distributed to all people in the world. In her comments, it is possible to note the notion of the linear progression model of the development discourse, as well as the value judgment that development professionals can bring together to the local communities.

What is more interesting is that there is another research respondent who also mentions the concept of justice, children’s rights, and education, then even deconstructs these perceptions;

‘I was looking to explore more like, for example, about the child labor, is it necessary to insist that children should study? How can they study? Is it OK if they just study half a day and work half a day? Does it give them a good enough education? Is there a good enough education? So, those are the kind of questions I was trying to answer. What I am probably learning is that, there is not an easy answer.’

She questions the fundamental education system and need of basic education itself. The education system, which has always been in her own personal life, is now problematized and its conception deconstructed. Her experiences in low-income countries made her realize the complexity and locality of education.

Moreover, development programs give a significant influence on the life of the local people as well as their view of themselves. Receiving aid from foreign countries may also lead to their own views of self as “underdeveloped” or “inferior”. On the whole, anyone is generally aware of and attempts to understand a more accurate picture of self, how they are perceived from others. The local community, in the same way, develops this self-portrait with the influence of development programs and the self-portrait can sometimes be deformed. In the interview, one development professional discussed about it;

‘A tribe was one of the richest there before the European came. ... they were rich

and they had always considered themselves rich. ... Europeans came and suddenly they were told they were poor, that they needed a development program because they were poor. This made a very big impression on them ... someone can tell you you are poor and you start to believe it. ... the influence of the Western world and agencies create expectation. ... create a great psychological lack.'

This view of the self-portrait influences the pride, especially those of men, as one of the research respondents points out.

'I think that can be very difficult for the men in Third World countries because they built very a fragile identity. It's such a generalization. But I think they build an identity on a very fragile base of themselves as, you know, the man in control. And when that is undermined, that can be very difficult. And of course, it is quite humiliating in being the recipients of aid as well. You are part of the poor community and you are receiving help from outside. That's kind of evidence of your vulnerability and your powerlessness.'

Sense of superiority or inferiority can influence their pride and motivations in taking positive actions for their future. As it is well illustrated in this account, Europeans' arrival and their value had negative impacts on the local people's views and self-portraits. Moreover, it has to be highlighted that the self-worth also plays an important role in taking positive actions for themselves. Those who do not consider oneself as someone valuable and important tend to give up easily and hesitate to take positive actions for their future.

As it is evident from the development professionals' accounts, the models or arguments of development in low-income countries are often directed by the foreign outsiders. This reality can be problematized in relation to the Foucault's arguments. Foucault²¹ deconstructed the notion of sanity and madness and revealed how they were constructed with the need of the society. Similarly, it can be said that the notion of what is "developed" or "underdeveloped" are also determined by the higher-income countries' concept of "development". Also, development professionals' views of "how the local people should be" or "how the justice should be realized" also receive enormous influence of "sanity" or moral judgments of higher-income countries, where most of the development professionals are from originally. Although the research respondent may not clearly recognize, when she mentions her notion of justice, it is an already-established concept and rigid with her personal experiences and her sense of morality. She has her own definition of "what justice is" and "how it should be realized". This notion can be changed with her further involvement in development programs. Yet at this point she applies her value-judgment and claims that her notion of justice is what everybody in the world should equally share.

²¹ Foucault, M. (1965) *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* New York : Random House.

Moreover, as another research respondent points out, even the concept of education can be deconstructed; ‘Is it OK if they just study half a day and work half a day? Does it give them a good enough education? Is there a good enough education?’ The contemporary educational systems or the concept of education is developed based on the needs of the modern society, thus, it is almost impossible for anyone to truly comprehend the intrinsic value of education, how education should be, or what should be taught in the course of education. As this respondent points out, the concept of education itself can be deconstructed and reconsidered to be most suitable for each of the local settings. Thus, the concept of international development as well as education can be highly influenced by the rationality, what Foucault called sanity, of high-income countries.

4, Conclusion

In conclusion, it is crucial to reconsider what should be taught in the education of low or high income countries. In my view, the development discourse becomes more problematic when it takes place in the educational sphere because education is the heart of the culture. It is where the next generation grows and shapes their basic attitude of life. If we deconstruct the fundamental concept of education, stereotype of how it should be, or what should be taught, education of any high-income countries is yet far from perfection. We can even say that there cannot be any form of perfection in education. Because of this intrinsic value of education, the thesis is deeply concerned with value-construction in education and its transmission to low-income countries in the course of international development.

Lastly and most importantly, it is necessary to state that this paper does not completely deny the value of international development in the field of education. Having considered some of the possible difficulties in the field of international development and education, one still cannot neglect the fact that the international aid is by and large good and necessary. Although the method and evaluation criteria have to be carefully considered, it is unrealistic to claim that the international aid should not be continued. It is a reality and a necessity in some low-income countries. Thus, it has to be clearly pointed out that the necessity of international development is not the major issue in this thesis. On the contrary, the thesis is more concerned with cultural, social, psychological, and personal difficulties that those who are involved in the development industry may face.

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