NGOs and Poverty Reduction in Tamil Nadu: Exploring a Knowledge-Sharing for Development Framework.

Langmann, Sten

Curtin Business School

School of Management

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Exploring a Knowledge-Sharing for Development Framework.

Sten Langmann

This thesis is presented for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

of

Curtin University

March 2014

Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

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Abstract

Poverty remains a concern in both the global and the Indian context, with poverty reduction being a major objective of current development planning processes. Existing Knowledge Management and development literatures characterise knowledge as a driver for both economic and social growth. Current theoretical frameworks of Knowledge-Based Development (KBD) and Knowledge for Poverty Alleviation, (KPA) while illuminating economic dimensions of knowledge management, tend to underplay the importance of social and community needs. Consequently, there is a need for a new conceptualisation of a knowledge-sharing approach that addresses social and community needs and contributes to poverty reduction.

The aim of this thesis is to explore an alternative post-colonial approach to the application of knowledge management to development, focussed on the problem of poverty reduction in the context of NGOs operating in Tamil Nadu. In pursuing this aim, a substantive theory is generated that captures new conceptual and practical insights about the application of knowledge-sharing as a means of poverty reduction and of enhancing capabilities.

To this end, a qualitative research design was adopted because it is a methodology that examines a social problem, providing opportunities for representing it in its wholeness and complexity. In doing so, emphasis is placed on insights gained from the ideas and perspectives of participants. The analysis draws on multiple sources of data, ranging from face-to-face interviews, photographs, and observations, to print media collected over a one-year period spent in Tamil Nadu. The data are analysed using phenomenological techniques that are exploratory and explanatory in nature.

From the analysis a Knowledge Sharing for Development (KS4D) framework emerged as a way of capturing a knowledge-sharing alternative. It conceptualises how NGOs can more effectively share knowledge in ways that do not compromise or challenge their organisational autonomy and independence. The analysis begins with a description of an emergent Basic Social Problem (BSP) in which the dimension of poverty in Tamil Nadu are explored. Then, a Basic Institutional Problem (BIP) is identified that provides a conceptual understanding of the problems associated with knowledge- sharing, faced by NGOs in Tamil Nadu. The analysis concludes with a description and explanation of the KS4D framework including its potential benefits to NGOs.

This thesis contributes to theory in that the KS4D framework expands on current knowledge-sharing approaches to development, by exploring the concept from a post-colonial perspective. The BIP expands on current understanding of barriers to

knowledge-sharing in the literature, outlining a fundamental problem faced by NGOs in Tamil Nadu. The BSP contributes to theory in that it expands on current poverty understanding and their interrelationships.

This thesis contributes to practice in that the KS4D framework presents an approach for NGOs to come together and share knowledge towards achieving common aims, addressing the BIP. The KS4D framework further contributes to practice in that it increases the impact of NGOs on their poverty reduction work, affecting the BSP. The BSP in practice is useful, as it presents an updated concept of poverty, with both overarching and specific elements, forming the practical environment in which NGOs operate.

Future research in assessing the KS4D framework and BIP and BSP concepts in their applications include testing and assessing them across other states in India and in other national contexts. Further research could also address the need to refine and delineate the factors and dimensions of KS4D.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents,

for their endless love, support, and encouragement.

Acknowledgements

I want to acknowlege the many people who have inspired and supported me, and most of all understood what completing this thesis means to me. The thesis took three years to complete.

I want to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. David Pick and Assoc. Prof. Fay Rola-Rubzen for their supervision and mentoring that made this thesis possible. I want to especially acknowledge David Pick for his patience and his indefatigable support when I was writing this thesis, and for his mentorship and guidance. His striving for ethics and excellence made him a role model and it was a great privilege for me to have been working with him. Most imporantly, he constantly inspired me throughout these wonderful and challenging times, keeping my dreams alive and shaping them.

A very special acknowledgement at this point is to Dr. Naomi Segal, whom I would like to call 'the Voice on my Shoulder'. I wish to thank Naomi for her support in this thesis, by reading and critiquing my work, by asking the right questions, by demanding excellence. It has helped me become a better writer. Naomi selflessly invested countless hours reviewing my work.

My appreciation goes to the School of Management of Curtin University, especially to Prof. Tony Travaglione for giving me a fee waiver, which enabled me to produce this thesis. This thesis would never have been written without the support of both the school and Tony.

At this point, I want to thank Sumitra M P Haridas for her unwavering friendship, her inexhaustible patience, her guidance, and her moral support, making this experience a very happy and enjoyable one. I am fortunate to have such a friend and words cannot express my thanks to her for all the great help and moral support she has given, which helped me grow as a person.

I wish to specifically thank Kevin Tay, Neeti Jaychander, Jyotsna John, Athiya Chinnaiyan, Jade Wagner and Endah Ibrahim for their feedback and input which have contributed to this thesis. My warmest thanks to the people of India, who made my stay and experience an unforgetable one, and for their support and participation in the study, for all the things they have taught me.

**Aller Anfang ist leicht,
und die letzen Stufen
werden am schwersten und seltensten erstiegen.**

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

*All beginnings are easy, it is the last steps that are
the most difficult and also those most rarely trodden.*

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Table of Abbreviations

BIP: Basic Institutional Problem

BSP: Basic Social

ICT: Information Communication Technology

K4D: Knowledge for Development

KAM: Knowledge Assessment Methodologies

KBD: Knowledge-Based Development

KBE: Knowledge-Based Economies

KM: Knowledge Management

KPA: Knowledge for Poverty Alleviation

KS4D: Knoweldge-Sharing for Development

MGNREGA: Mahathma Gandhi National Empoyment Guarantee Act

NGO: Non-Government Organisation

NRE   National Rural Employment Programme

PDS   Public Distribution System

RLEGP   Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme

TPDS   Targeted Public Distribution System

1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 - Setting the Stage

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1.1. Introduction (Luxor – Egypt, 1996)::

Poverty awareness and approaches have been taught to me since an early age. While travelling in Egypt and staying in Luxor (I was 11 years old at the time), my parents handed me and my brother chewing gum to distribute to poor children, if we met them. It was then, while distributing chewing gums and within minutes being overwhelmed by a crowd of poor children wanting chewing gum, that poverty, (for my 11 year old mind) 'children living on the street and not having enough food', became a concern.

The concern for poverty which started at that tender age, continued during my teenage years while living in Taiwan and travelling to many different countries in South East Asia and is still presnt in me and stays with me even now. After completing my high school degree, I volunteered for a teaching position at a school for the deaf in Jamasi, Ghana. A decade has since passed in my life and poverty has remained a concern for me till today. These earliest memories have greatly motivated the writing on this thesis.

1.2. Research aims and objectives::

The present work differs from traditional and broader institutional approaches to poverty in the last few decades, in that it is a specific inquiry into a post-colonial poverty reduction approach, negotiated, using knowledge as a means. Development theories cannot operate outside a *cultural geographic* (Watts, 2003, p. 435) and are sensitive to different starting points, transitions, and outcomes (McEwan, 2008). Current approaches which use knowledge as a poverty reduction tool, appear unsatisfactory due to a lack on focus of a deep understanding of the social aspects. Therefore, current approaches are unable to provide coherent insights from which ideas about improving the capabilities of the poor can germinate, to enable the poor to compete with others (Sen, 1985). Poverty reduction approaches remain presented in clear-cut ways that define 'what works' and 'what does not work' without addressing contextual circumstances (Torres, 2001).

Being aware of and including surrounding context into a development approach is especially important in the case of India, as its modernity is less of a linear progression from a traditional to a modern society, but instead a complex entangled one of both tradition and modernity (McEwan, 2008). A proposed new approach consequently must be informed by the problems of life and practices of institutions fighting poverty on the ground level in India and in Tamil Nadu, and a good understanding of poverty indicators.

In this thesis, I attempt to explore the possibility of a post-colonial KS4D approach as an alternative to current development practices and approaches. The central question this research is addressing is whether such an approach can be conceptualised and applied. An additional question is: Does this approach address problems of integration and cooperation among institutions involved with poverty?

The second aim of this thesis is to generate substantive theory on the impact of knowledge sharing on the lives of poor people and on generating various capabilities for the poor, using Tamil Nadu, India, as a field of inquiry. How will knowledge-sharing have an impact on the ability of institutions to improve the lives of the poor? Subsequent questions are concerned with possible benefits and capabilities being created for the poor with this alternative KS4D approach. To achieve these aims, this research has to answer the following more specific research questions:

- How useful are current theorisations of poverty and current development issues?

- What systems and strategies do NGOs currently use in their work to reduce poverty in Tamil Nadu, and what are the NGOs' strengths and shortcomings?

- Is there a need for a new conceptualisation of a knowledge sharing approach to improve the work of NGOs involved in poverty reduction in Tamil Nadu and what would it look like?

- If there is a need to reconceptualise knowledge sharing, what would be its impact on NGO's poverty reduction work and what benefits would NGOs gain from engaging with this knowledge sharing approach to reduce poverty, both immediate and long term?

1.3. Background to the research::

Poverty remains a central concern within development discourses with its emphases and aspects having changed over time (Misturelli & Heffernan, 2010). Anand and Sen (1997, p. 4) described poverty as "the worst forms of human deprivation." Being a *portmanteau*, a multi-use concept, poverty and the understanding of being poor has evolved into different conceptual meanings (Baulch, 2006). White (1999) argues that a common understanding of 'poverty' revolves only around the lack of economic income. Within that quantification of poverty, the two main poverty concepts which are derived are the Basic-Needs Approach and the Neo-Liberal Approach.

The basic-needs approach to poverty employs a pre-determined poverty line,

which diagnoses people who fall below it as being 'poor' (Fukuda-Parr, 2012; Laderchi, Saith, & Steward, 2012). This approach, however, was found unsuitable due to an absence of a strong philosophical foundation, strategies and policies that desire to only meet people's material needs (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Sen & Wiliams, 1982), essentially an approach based on "count, cost, and deliver" (Fukuda-Parr, 2003, p. 304). A second economically driven approach to poverty is a neo-liberal perspective that assesses poverty in terms of economic income and access to basic social services (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). The neo-liberal approach shifted its ideological and paradigmatic thinking from a state-centred to a market-centred perspective, assessing poverty on peoples' ability to maximise goods and 'utilities' (Haque, 1999; Meier & Stiglitz, 2002).

Assessing India against economic poverty and the poverty line, India's poverty rate is 29.8 per cent (World Bank, 2011). The Government of India (2005) measured a 22.8 percent poverty rate in rural areas, and a 22.2 percent poverty rate in urban areas in Tamil Nadu. Overall, India's Gross Net Income (GNI) per capita was $1420 in 2011 (World Bank, 2012), with the same GNI per capita being calculated on a PPP ratio to $3,620 in 2011 (World Bank, 2012).

::Problems with income-based measures

Economic indicators alone were found inefficient for a comprehensive understanding of poverty and of the fact that income alone cannot account for the multidimensionality of human well-being (Brandolini, Magri, & Smeeding, 2010). Income alone does not address rights, freedoms, and human agency (Fukuda-Parr, 2012). Quantifiable measurements provide a good macro assessment of poverty; however, the last decade has revealed an emphasis of development theorists' attention towards alternative social indicators, based on Sen's (1999) idea of capacity.

::Sen's capacity approach

Sen's capacity approach broadened the definition of poverty beyond average incomes and consumption levels (Desai, 1991), focusing on peoples' ability on *doing* and *being* (Hick, 2012). Sen's concept of poverty deemed deprivations of peoples' *freedoms* important, multidimensional in nature, surpassing monetary deprivation (Alkire, 2007; Hick, 2012; Sen ,1999, 2000). However, the use and assessment of social indicators for a better understanding of the multi dimensionality of poverty have been critiqued for simply being another exercise in the quantification of poverty. Poverty indicators found themselves critiqued of being proxy factors for the same quantitative philosophy applied with previous economic indicators. Bringing the debate of poverty

into the context of India and Tamil Nadu, it is imperative to understand the complexities and social factors involved, based on local literature.

::Complexity of poverty in India

The analysis of poverty in India and Tamil Nadu in this thesis revolves around relevant social indicators like caste, gender, cultural ideological factors, education, and living conditions.

Caste is an identity given to Indians at birth (Shaka 2012), artificially dividing a population into fixed and well-defined units, unable to connect or link with one another. Disparities from caste differences are deeply ingrained into income disparities, community differences, and social relations (Alex 2009; Gupta 2005). Although caste influences social relationships in Tamil Nadu and to a large extent India, it is not sufficient to explain social relations purely on that basis (Alex 2009).

Gender discrimination in modern India remains an issue on a multitude of levels (Alex, 2009; Chowdhury 2010; Jackson, 2012; Mehta & Shah, 2003; Parkar, Dawani, & Weiss, 2008; Prasad 2011; Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012; Sen, 2001; Varma et al. 2007). Women's perceived low social status creates inequalities in household, resources, decision-making, unfair and unequal distribution of work, and even basic nutrition (Mehta & Shah, 2003; Krishna, 2011). Partner violence, partner alcoholism, and psychological trauma are further causes of depression among women in India (Krishna, 2011; Nayak et al., 2010; Parkar, Dawani, & Weiss, 2008; Pereira et al., 2007; Tao, Horton, & Rauram, 2012; Varma et al., 2007).

Perhaps the most ambiguous contributor of poverty lies in the *abuse* of cultural ideologies, cunningly manipulated by people that stifle capacity building. An ideological manipulation inhibiting capacity building remains the dowry system, payment from the wife to the husband in marriage (Rathod & Gundappa, 2012). A good education of women increases her chances of hypergamy. Marriage and hypergamy promote both the dowry system and education-for-marriage, places the onus of dependency and devotedness on women (Prasad, 2001), and inhibit her freedoms and abilities to make choices (Ahmad, 2011).

Education, or its lack of, remains a contributor to perpetuating poverty preoccupying India (Ansari & Akhtar, 2012). India is home to 22 per cent of the world's population with an overall illiteracy rate of 46 per cent, and a high rate of out-of school children and youth (Kingdon, 2007). Education has been acknowledged as an important instrument in development and achieving freedoms; however, it has also been found as an instrument of social exclusion (Varma, 2011). Although theory on education

appears to provide avenues to escape generational and other poverty cycles towards a more fulfilling life, current social factors within the Indian education system prevent a large number of people from achieving these freedoms.

In the literature, living conditions were found to be another contributor affecting people's freedoms and capacities. In Tamil Nadu, around 25 percent of a population, which is just over 2.5 million people, live in slums (Chandramouli, 2003). The burden of slum life is best explained with the idea of liminality, a condition of in-between slum-dwellers' formal recognised homes and their current unrecognized status of make-shift housing in the slums (McKean, 2007). Slum-dwellers are innovative with their own established cultural and economic sub-systems that function outside the state; however, the social and economic hardships of people having to live in slums directly affect their poverty and capacities (McKean, 2007).

::India's own approaches to poverty reduction

India with regards to poverty reduction undertook its own efforts via instituted reforms in the design of its Anti-Poverty Programs (APPs), for example, increasing economic growth, land and tenancy reforms, provision of basic services, and empowerment-based methods (Kochar, 2008; Mehta & Shah, 2003). Their programs appear to target critical areas of poverty persistence; but, were overall found to have little substantive effect on poverty (Kochar, 2008). Problems arise with the formulation and implementation of most of the poverty-alleviation programs, for example, projects being unviable, a lack of technological capabilities, illiterate and unskilled beneficiaries, and complex procedures (Saxena, 2000).

It was found in the literature that NGOs perform a vital role in poverty reduction in India. Robinson and Riddell (1995, pg. 138) argue that NGOs are an important component in India's poverty reduction "both in terms of providing additional resources and in making government programs more effective". Knowledge-sharing is a crucial process for NGOs to satisfy vital stakeholders in their activities, namely the donors, the NGOs themselves, and the people they intent to help (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012). Reciprocal knowledge exchanges among NGOs were found beneficial, as it produced effective and worthwhile relationships, positively influencing the participating parties involved (Tsasis, 2009). This promotes this research to expand its understanding towards current development theories and the role of knowledge management within them.

::A postcolonial approach to development

The multi-dimensionality and complexity of poverty in India and in Tamil Nadu fit well within a post-colonial alternative as a development foundation for a knowledge sharing approach. Post-colonialism focuses on differences and complex interactions at local levels shaping human activities, including multiple perceptions and alternative ways of knowing (McClintock, 1992; McEwan, 2008; Sidaway, 2000). For development research, post-colonialism is about "developing new positions through interactions between researchers and people in different locations" (McEwan, 2008, 203). Bhabha (1996) calls this the *third space of in-between*. It is a space where "hybrid cultures are constructed that belong to neither of them but are instead a fusion of the two" (Frenkel, 2008, p. 928). A post-colonial foundation to knowledge management is sensible, given the current attention of KM to the transfer of knowledge and practices across national and regional boundaries (Adler, 2002; Bartlett, Ghoshal, & Birkinshaw, 2004).

::Knowledge management

With organisations having recognised knowledge as the key contributor to economic growth (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002; Wiig, 1997), Knowledge Management in its contemporary setting describes an integrated approach to "identifying, capturing, evaluating, retrieving, and sharing all of an enterprise's information assets" (Srikantaiah & Koenig, 2000, p. 2).

KM in its first generation was about knowledge accumulation and 'best practices' to enhance day-to-day business performance, whereas second-generation used knowledge for education and innovation (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002; McElroy, 2000) Third-generation KM transcended business applications with knowledge focusing on ethical social innovation and development (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). This system-perspective, focusing on shaping economic strategies, social visions, and other projects, became known as the Knowledge Based Economy (KBE) (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006; Karahan, 2012; Kefela, 2010; Sabau, 2010; Sum & Jessop, 2013). KBE essentially describes a learning economy (Lundvall, 2004) and the World Bank and expanded the KBE approach to a 'Knowledge for Development' (K4D) paradigm in many postcolonial contexts (Radhakrishnan, 2007). National economies, no matter at what stage of economic development, are using knowledge to a lesser or greater extent as a development engine (Asian Development Bank, 2007; Aubert, 2008; Chen & Dahlman, 2005; Kefela, 2010). These approaches include social factors mentioned earlier by Sen (2000). The basis and foundation of these approaches are influenced by the meaning that development has acquired over time (Pieterse, 2010).

::Development theories

The idea of development has been described as *the* idea of the twentieth century (Brown, 1996) and since its origin in the 1960s and 1970s, evolved into different realities to date. Originally associated with a *modernisation paradigm*, development was strongly associated with growth and progress of a social-political nature (Servaes, 1986), and 'Underdevelopment' described the difference between rich and poor nations, in which development was sought to bridge a rich-poor gap with developing countries imitating 'the West' (Hettne, 1995; Servaes, 1986). Modernisation was challenged by a Latin American *Dependencia School* movement from the 1960s onwards, emphasising the weak position of poor nations in a world system (Hettne, 1995). Dependency theorists believed the primary cause for inequalities within a nation was between-nation inequality. With both paradigms competing for acceptance and legitimacy, development studies found themselves at an impasse of paradigms (Hove, 2004; Nabudere, 1997; Schuurman, 1993). Failure of Third World development, the rise of post-modernism, and Globalisation brought a halt to development studies and a theoretical impasse of paradigms.

New development foci emerged from the perceived impasse in development (Binns & Nel, 1999; Schuurman, 1993). Sustainability, which includes the optimisation of socio-economic benefits, the inclusion of environmental and societal elements beyond material needs, was included (Haque, 1999). The social and material needs of a society became accepted concerns for contemporary development studies, formalized as the Millennium Development Goals in the struggle against poverty (Elliot, 2012).

Subsequently, the World Bank conceptualized a knowledge for development (K4D) approach to transform countries into knowledge-based economies (KBEs), driven by policies and 'best practices', with knowledge representing a contributor to a "nation's competences and capabilities that are deemed essential for economic growth, competitive advantage, human development, and quality of life" (Malhotra, 2003, p. 1). The KBE model of the World Bank was expanded on by the Asian Development Bank by foci of knowledge beyond economic development, extending its scope to social capital and natural capital to knowledge based development (KBD) and knowledge for poverty alleviation (KPA) (Asian Development Bank, 2007; United Nations, 2010). KPA especially recognizes that 'poor' communities' alternative sources of wealth that can be utilized to create tangible and intangible results (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008).

1.4. Research strategy::

The overall research design, analysed in depth in Chapter 4, places strong emphasis on the voice of participants. The design will be grounded in an interpretive ontology and as such does not separate reality from individuals (Ireland et al., 2004; Weber, 2004), and a social constructivist epistemology that draws attention to peoples' interpretations of their environmental surroundings (Willig, 1998).

This research is placed within a qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research describes a methodology that examines a social human problem by capturing its whole and complex representation, and insights of the informants' words, and views (Andrade 2009; Miles and Huberman 1994; Morgan and Smircich 1980; Klein and Myers 1999). This is expanded on in Chapter 4. The suitability of this methodology to explore an alternative KS4D model to reduce poverty is justified by the complex nature of the poverty phenomena at hand. Specifically, this research is of an exploratory, an explanatory, and a predictive nature. The core of this inquiry will be based on the exploratory component to uncover themes, patterns and structures, in line with the post-colonial stance of this research. Exploratory research is a methodological approach, emphasising on discovery and description of new ideas and insights (Holliday, 1964; Jupp, 2006). Explanatory research on the other hand focuses on explaining the causes of the phenomenon studied, "identifying plausible causal networks shaping the phenomenon" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 41).

In examining the KS4D concept, the role of the researcher is one of both observer and participant to increase the probabilities of collecting meaningful data. By engaging the people who are being studied, a researcher gains valuable insights and suggestions through interaction, refining or changing the initial research foci and study plan (Murray Thomas, 2003), making this research design phenomenological in nature.

The geographical focus of this study is the state of Tamil Nadu within the vast sub-continent of India. The units of analysis are NGOs of different natures, operations, and make-ups within it, which includes formal and informal NGOs, inquiry into their different functional coverage like education, gender issues, and corruption, and the understanding of the macro and/or micro orientation to their projects. This removes the abstract level of this research into a concrete realisation design that will produce clear explicit data, serving strong ground for generating a KS4D framework. The validity, reliability, and generalizability of this research are discussed in depth in Chapter 4. This study is perhaps set apart from other inquiries by the use of a pilot study and by using the active component of dignity in the research.

::Pilot study

A pilot study is a feasibility study, a 'trial-run' of a larger study, able pre-test and trial individual research instruments (Kezar, 2000; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). The pilot study in Chennai, Tamil Nadu, supported phenomenology as a research strategy, with insights emphasising on processes and meaning, rather than scientific conclusions.

The initial pilot study in this research also discovered photography to be a method in this research beyond a 'visual diary', but with form and content, and "phenomena as objects in their own right" (Emmison & Smith, 2000, p. 3). Dignity, especially in the visual aspect of this study, was discovered to be an important issue. The pilot study however created further awareness of the vulnerability and disempowerment of *both* the researcher and participants in this study, to manage painful encounters and, cope with resulting anxieties (Davison, 2004). In the initial pilot study, this created awareness of a contextual understanding and sensitivity to research participants. It is best described using the German term *Verstaendnis*, explained in detail in Chapter 4.

::Data collection

The research site or individuals comprise of people or a location which is able to reveal information on a phenomenon being explored (Creswell, 2007). Tamil Nadu, translated to 'country of the Tamils', is located in the south-east of India. Its capital is Chennai (formerly Madras), with a population of 66,000,000 in 2008 (Alex, 2009). The overall sampling strategy in this research is purposeful sampling and opportunistic sampling, taking advantage of the unexpected (Creswell, 2007). Due to the complexity and nature of the study, this research employs a variety of data collection methods.

The primary data collection method for this research is qualitative, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews, as this method is able to generate empirical data on social phenomena by capturing people's description about their lives (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Photographs are used as a supporting collection method in this thesis as a means of collecting visual data about context, situation, and surrounding circumstances. Qualitative studies are often restricted in its sole use of language and photographs are able to transcend the limitations of language and inform about phenomena without the trap of language (Walker, 1999). Another supporting data collection method is observation, understood as a systematical recording of observable phenomena in their natural setting (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011; Gorman & Clayton, 2005). Finally, documentary research will collect data from newspaper articles and other print media available, for example periodicals and reports and publications from NGOs.

Newspapers and periodicals are readily available and information collected from these sources can be of both qualitative and quantitative nature. The information itself could prove useful in triangulation with other data collected, and repetition of an issue in articles indicate a high relevance of it. Chapter 4 provides a detailed discussion of the suitability and limitations of each method, making a combination sensible.

1.5. Research findings::

The research found that a KS4D approach can be conceptualised into Input, Process, Outcome, and Impact. *Input* can be conceptualised as awareness among NGOs and the formation of knowledge clusters and sub-clusters to facilitate knowledge sharing. *Process* describes the actual knowledge-sharing process, broken down into socialisation, dissemination, and internalisation, enabling NGOs to acquire information. *Outcome* conceptualises that NGOs will benefit from knowledge-sharing by acquiring new shared institutional logics. They comprise extending organisational boundaries, awareness of strategies, processes, and routines. It enables an overall conglomeration of information, signalling competence to the people, other NGOs, and beneficiaries. *Impact* formulates the cascade of impact on poverty relief and poverty prevention. The KS4D framework is a conceptual framework, using illustrative examples from the data; however, it is founded upon a discovered Basic Institutional Problem (BIP).

The BIP, emergent from the data, theorises an absence of a knowledge sharing concept among NGOs, due to structural and institutional logics differences among them. Structural differences among NGOs encompass both its structures and compositions, whereas Institutional Logics Differences were found within both NGO approaches and differences in their government relations. These differences substantiated the need for a new conceptualisation of a knowledge sharing approach, intending to bridge the BIP.

This research also expanded on current theoretisations of poverty and development issues emergent from the data, composing a framework called the Basic Social Problem (BSP). The BSP expands on current poverty understandings, conceptualising four major contributors of peoples' lived experiences which inhibit capacities. The main dimensions of how the people experience poverty are Educational Inequalities, Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities, Gender-Based Social Inequalities, and Citizenship Inequalities. These dimensions are not mutually exclusive and were found to interlink at various points, emergent from the data and illustrated visually in a photo narrative in Chapter 5.7. The accuracy of poverty and its current issues is helpful to NGOs as it provides a renewed insight into poverty, a concept subject to change as its accompanying development approaches.

1.6. Research limitations::

The main limitation of this research is its confinement to both a qualitative paradigm and a geographically limited field of inquiry, in this case, Tamil Nadu.

The qualitative nature of this research raises interesting questions in how the concepts and theories from the data can be underlined with numerical data and break downs. Additional research and testing of the KS4D model would provide new insights into refining its specific steps. Research into quantifiable factors within the BSP and BIP would provide additional support for the viability of the KS4D framework.

This research is also limited in its field of inquiry to Tamil Nadu, India. Although the theories emergent in this study are derived from the data, it poses further questions into the generalisability of the KS4D framework to other Indian states. Testing the KS4D framework against NGO relationships in other Indian states would provide clarity about the conceptual validity of KS4D, possibly expanding and refining it. Furthermore, interesting questions arise to about whether he BIP and the BSP are similar across the states in India, in practical understanding of both concepts across the states. This in turn would fine-tune KS4D for NGOs in those environments.

The second main limitation of this study is a stronger emphasis on the BSP than the BIP. This poses interesting new questions with regard to other factors contributing to differences in structural and institutional logics. Additional interviews which place more focus on the operation and cooperation among NGOs would provide useful insights to expand on the BIP and remove obstacles to knowledge-sharing.

1.7. Ethical concerns::

This study responded to numerous ethical challenges during the data collection process. This study required to collect interview data from key decision makers or actors within NGOs and people knowledgeable on the topic of poverty. Information on research objectives were clearly outlined and the research intention stated, and anonymity, privacy, and confidentiality was assured both verbally and in writing.

When collecting photographs, an observation of a mentally ill homeless man in the streets of Chennai determined that adhering to recommended ethical guidelines may not be enough. This research expanded the inclusion of dignity as an ethical guideline when taking photographs. Participants photographed were shown their pictures on the LCD screen on the back of the camera, and when that was not possible, *Verstaendnis*, an understanding how other people in similar situations see themselves, was applied when taking photographs.

Observations were conducted overtly and full disclosure was provided to the research subjects. To preserve the dignity of the research subjeccts, these observations were conducted by me in an open, friendly manner so that they would realise that no deception was involved. The pilot study done in Chennai, previous to the research, proved successful in that an honest approach and full disclosure had been met predominantly positively and relations and dialogues were easily maintained and continued.

The Curtin University Human Research and Ethics Committee overall approved this research and its approach. The information collected in this study is treated with strict confidence, accessible only to myself and my supervisors. The data collected has been coded and stored in password protected folders in a portable storage device. Copies and backups of the original data, used in the analysis, have been deleted. Paper records of transcripts have been destroyed. Consistent with university policy, the data will remain on the locked portable storage device for seven (7) years and will then be deleted. When research results are published in academic journals, or elsewhere, individual participants cannot be identified by the readers.

1.8. Thesis outline::

This particular inquiry begins in Chapter 2 with a review of the relevant literature on poverty approaches, its evolution, and application to India and Tamil Nadu. As such, it incorporates an analysis of poverty from not only an economic and social perspective, but distinguishes between a broader 'world' literature and an accumulated local, less distributed, literature from India and Tamil Nadu.

In Chapter 3, theoretical perspectives on post-colonialism and KM are established. It outlines the usefulness of a post-colonial approach in this research as a foundation of a knowledge-sharing approach and analyses KM and knowledge as a development tool. The aims and objectives of this thesis are included in this chapter to link the literature review to the purpose of this thesis.

Chapter 4 outlines the research design and process. It begins by outlining the general theoretical perspective of this research, along with a detailed methodology and research design. Subsequently, the data collection methods and their use for this research are explained. The chapter also theoretically and practically outlines the data analysis process which prepares the data for analysis.

Chapter 5 presents the research findings, an analysis of all data sources, and the emergent theories from the data. The chapter explains three broad theories. The first section presents an analysis of the BSP and its contributing factors, which emerge from

the data. The second section attempts to describe the BIP which concerns NGOs and the barriers to developing a knowledge-sharing framework. The last section outlines the conceptual KS4D framework which is contructed upon the understanding of both the BIP and BSP; however, it is supported with illustrative examples from the data.

Chapter 6 places the research findings in context with the original aims and objectives of the thesis, and discusses it in relation to relevant literature. Furthermore, the limitations of this thesis are assessed and interesting questions for further inquiries raised.

Chapter 7, the final chapter, presents a conclusion to this thesis and its contributions to both theory and practice of development and poverty reduction. A final reference is made to the overall global momentum of poverty reduction in both literature and practice, finishing on a personal note.

1.9. Chapter conclusion::

This chapter laid out the foundations for this thesis. It started off on a personal note, describing one of my earlier experiences with poverty and proceeds to outlining the research aims and objectives for this thesis. The research then was justified with a short description of current drawbacks in the literature and an overview of literatures covered in this research. The methodology was briefly described and its design justified, and a fundamental overview of findings in this thesis was presented. A summary of chapters in this thesis was outlined and its broad content revealed. The chapter closes with the limitations of this thesis and the outlining of ethical concerns.

Based on these foundations, this thesis will start with a detailed description of perspectives of theoretical perspectives of poverty and the practical circumstances in India and Tamil Nadu.

2

LITERATURE REVIEW I

Chapter 2 - Perspectives on Poverty
in India and in Tamil Nadu

2.1. Introduction::

This Chapter presents an analysis of poverty both as a broader concept and as one specifically in relation to India and Tamil Nadu. The chapter will start with a pragmatic analysis of poverty, based on income, translating this concept to India and Tamil Nadu. In contemporary literature, India's poverty is caused by a number of factors such as lack of infrastructure and human resources and high illiteracy rates (Datt & Ravallion, 2002), which will be examined and analysed. Social indicators, such as gender, caste, and education inequalities are also introduced as key contributors to India's persistent poverty (World Bank, 2005). An overarching critique to this analysis of poverty is that the social indicators are proxies for a quantitative philosophy applied with previous economic indicators. Furthermore, Weaver (2009) critiques the perceived ideology/ action hypocrisy by international development institution, as well as mainstreaming of development issues by development institutions for political reasons.

This requires the complexities and social factors contributing to poverty in India to be examined on a qualitative basis, using predominantly localised literature, yet supporting with a broader literature outlook when needed. Furthermore, this chapter presents a summary of anti-poverty approaches in India and their effect on poverty. The vital role of NGOs in reducing poverty in India is highlighted due to the failure or limited success of government-implemented anti-poverty programmes. However, current literatures revealed barriers to knowledge sharing among NGOs which are addressed subsequently. The evolution from extent to *depth* of poverty in India and Tamil Nadu, and NGOs' role within poverty reduction and barriers to knowledge sharing, will form the ground upon which a knowledge sharing approach can build upon.

2.2. Income approaches to poverty::

Poverty remains a central concern within development discourse and practice; however, the relevance placed on particular poverty aspects, changed over time (Misturelli & Heffernan, 2010). In many ways, poverty is one of "the worst forms of human deprivation" (Anand & Sen, 1997, p. 4). Being a *portmanteau*, a multi-use term, poverty and being poor in contemporary literature has evolved into different conceptual meanings (Baulch, 2006). The debate on poverty ranges from narrow economic approaches to paradigms of deprivation of capacities. With understanding its complexities and providing a solid theoretical foundation, this part forms an economic analysis of what it means to be poor, upon which this thesis will operate. White (1999) argues that a common understanding of 'poverty' revolves around the lack of economic income. Within the quantification of poverty, the two main poverty concepts which

have been derived are the Basic-Needs Approach and the Neo-Liberal Approach.

::The Basic-Needs approach to poverty

The basic-needs approach to poverty employs a pre-determined poverty line, which diagnoses people who fall below it as being 'poor' (Fukuda-Parr, 2012; Laderchi, Saith, & Steward, 2003). This measurement of poverty, as most other quantifications, requires an initial appropriate conceptualisation (May, 2010). One of the most prominent institutions committed to the eradication of poverty and promoting economic growth in less developed countries is the *World Bank* (Stiglitz, 1999). The World Bank (1990) and Lipton (1997) conceptualised poverty as an inability to achieve a minimum standard of living against an appropriate, constant measure; a view since supported by many other authors. Income inequality measures the fraction of people that live below an established poverty line, derived from an average income, and the inequality around this average (Kanbur & Sumner, 2012; May, 2010). The World Bank determined the international poverty line, defining "extreme poverty", as US$1.25 per day (Kanbur & Sumner, 2012; Ravallion, 2012; World Bank, 2010). Previous calculations by the World Bank determined $2 per day purchasing power parity (PPP) as the median poverty line (Chen & Ravallion, 2008), and earlier a $1 bottom floor (Besley & Burgess, 2003). A poverty 'ratio' then is determined by the number of people below that poverty line in proportion to the total population. This delivers a percentage of people living in poverty (Sen, 1999). The strength of this approach lies in its simplicity in understanding poverty and deprivation, which is the reason it is employed on a large scale both in practice and in empirical literature (Sen, 1999). This poverty measurement technique is argued to be a very uniform monetary metrics that "can take into account all the relevant heterogeneity across individuals and their situations" (Laderchi, Saith, & Steward 2003, p. 247). Its compatibility lies in economists' utility maximizing behaviour assumption, as in the objective of people maximising utility and their spending on it indicating a marginal value on those commodities (Laderchi, Saith, & Steward, 2003). This approach therefore is overall able to reflect a shortfall below a certain level of resources within a society, supported by expenditure or income data, its minimum level being the poverty line.

However, key assumptions in regards to such absolutism are regarded as somewhat 'heroic' (Laderchi, Saith, & Steward, 2003). A point to consider is that the basic-needs approach, which assumes a monetary indicator of poverty can substitute other aspects of welfare and poverty (Laderchi, Saith, & Steward, 2003). Despite this approach placing people in the centre of development, the emphasis remains strongly on 'basic needs' that determines well-being on a basis of peoples' commodities rather than their capabilities (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). The unsuitability of this approach for this thesis lies

in the argument of Sen and Wiliams (1982) and Fukuda-parr (2003) of an absence of a strong philosophical foundation which makes this approach open to interpretation and translation into strategies and policies that desire to only meet people's material needs. Fukuda-Parr (2003, p. 304) summarises this as "count, cost, and deliver".

::The Neo-Liberal approach to poverty

A second, also predominantly economically driven approach to poverty is the neo-liberal perspective that assesses poverty not only in terms of economic income, but also in terms of access to basic social services (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). The neo-liberal approach is an approach to development that focussed on an economically powerful state. The neo-liberal approach shifted its ideological and paradigmatic thinking from a state-centred to a market-centred perspective (Haque, 1999; Meier & Stiglitz, 2002). With regards to development, the neo-liberal approach sought helping the poor by inducting and including them into market capitalism (Meier & Stiglitz, 2002) and as such, neo-liberal policies claims are closely linked to industrialisation (Haque, 1999). The well-being of people is therefore defined and measured by their abilities of maximisation of goods and 'utilities' (Meier & Stiglitz, 2002). Its broad developmental evaluative aspect focusses on economic well-being, economic growth, and efficiency with its primary development strategy being economic growth (Fukuda-Parr, 2003).

The neo-liberal approach to poverty is limited in its application with its weak link between development, human rights, and freedoms (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). The limitations of this approach are further set out by Sen and Williams (1982) that both the basic needs and the neo-liberal approach towards development neglect rights and freedoms, as well as human agency. Meier and Stiglitz (2002) present a criticism of the neo-liberal approach by arguing that it disregards institutions, history, distribution, and ecological factors.

As such, the approach fails to "identify the 'low level equilibrium traps' (self-perpetuating poverty) into which developing countries are susceptible to fall, the coordination failures that pitch them in, or the policies and institutions needed to propel them out" (Meier & Stigliz, 2002, p. 661). Haque (1999) further argues that this approach threatens a country's long-term development objectives and points out the dangers of overexploiting natural resources, causing environmental degradation and an increase in the number of the rural and urban poor. This forces the creation of new slums and the clearing of more forest.

::Income approaches as applied to India and Tamil Nadu

People in India are confronted by contrasting realities on a daily basis. Millions of young Indians chase their ambitions in a rapidly growing economy, whereas an even larger number struggle daily against nutrition requirements, illiteracy and ill health. Datt and Ravallion (2002) emphasise the importance of India in the overall poverty situation, stating that "more of the world's income-poor live in India than in any other country…and what happens to poverty in India is quantitatively important to the world's overall progress in fighting absolute poverty".

Both within the previous global context and a specific Indian context, Ansari and Akhtar (2012, p. 443) argue that the high level of poverty is a concern in perspective with "poverty eradication [being] one of the major objectives of the development planning process". According to the current estimation of the poverty rate, the headcount ratio of people living below the international poverty line in India is 29.8 percent (World Bank, 2011). This number differs slightly from the statistics presented by the Government of India and other authors, estimating around 27% of the Indian population living in poverty (Government of India 2001a; Mehta & Shah 2003; Narayanamoorthy & Hanjra, 2010). The state poverty ratio in Tamil Nadu is only slightly below that of India (World Bank, 2006); however, Singh (2012) reveals a steep difference with an estimate around 20 percent poverty using data from the Planning Commission of India, making a credible estimation difficult. Measuring India's poverty rate in general is difficult due to differences of coverage and comparability of survey data (Datt & Ravallion, 2002).

India's Gross Net Income (GNI) per capita has increased from $500 in 2003 to $1420 in 2011 (World Bank, 2012), placing it slightly above a South Asian development average. The same GNI per capita calculated on a PPP ratio reveals an increase from $1,510 in 2000 to $3,620 in 2011 (World Bank, 2012). India further notes a GDP growth of around seven percent points annually since 2003, slightly above a developing world average of six percent (Ravallion, 2012; Singh, 2012). Tamil Nadu specifically accounts for an average growth of 9 per cent (Srivastava, Shanmugam, & Bhujanga Rao, 2008), placing it well above an all-India average. While the incidence of poverty has decreased in the different states in India, current surveys and available data suggest a huge disparity between the states' rural and urban poverty ratio (Narayanamoorthy & Hanjra, 2010). To date, poverty is largely perceived to be a rural issue. According to Datt and Ravallion (2002), most developing countries, including India, have historically had higher poverty rates in rural rather than urban areas. Whereas the urban poverty ratio in India is 20.9 percent, the rural poverty is measured at 33.8 percent (World Bank 2012). In Tamil Nadu, the ratio is almost the same. The Government of India (2005) measured a 22.8 percent poverty rate in rural areas, and a 22.2 percent poverty ratio in urban areas in Tamil Nadu. Despite the quantifiable data on the rural/urban poverty being

sample checks, there appears to be a movement present in the concentration of poverty. Narayanamoorthy and Hanjra (2010), as well as Mehta and Shah (2003) argue that urban poverty is on the rise due to poor employment opportunities and the subsequent migration of the poor to urban areas. Mitra (1992) termed this development a "rural spill-over of poverty".

2.3. Problems with income-based measures::

To date, economic income has been perceived as a good indicator to evaluate a standard of living, and measuring poverty against inadequacy in income has been effective to guide both policy actions and the drawing of attention to global poverty (Brandolini, Magri, & Smeeding, 2010). However, economic income alone fails to consider wider, more relative aspects beyond economics that cause people to be poor. Summarising poverty under a single indicator presents difficulties. Per capita income does not indicate a country's overall well-being (Abdul Kalam & Rajan, 2011). Gupta (1995, p. 1295) argues that "no specific definition or measurement [of poverty] is fool-proof". Notwithstanding inconsistencies in measurement of poverty by income, the concern remains that millions of people still live in poverty with no capabilities to improve their current situation. This raises questions about the poverty threshold being of practical use as it merely formalises division between poor and non-poor (May, 2010). Economic indicators alone are inefficient in a broad poverty analysis and cannot be used on their own. A strong critique of income adequacy is on the basis that income should be a *means* of poverty reduction instead as an *end*, and that income alone cannot account for the multidimensionality of human well-being (Brandolini, Magri, & Smeeding, 2010). Income based poverty does not address the rights, freedoms and human agency (Fukuda-Parr, 2012), which are all contributors to a person's overall poverty.

The continuous monitoring of poverty against these income measures also present serious challenges. Despite global monitoring by the World Bank and other institutions via household surveys, uneven coverage and gaps within the surveys make monitoring and assessment difficult (Ravallion, 2012; White, 1999). Selective compliance and under-reporting are additional challenges, comparability issues between countries, and a weak 'micro' and 'macro' integration of data is observed (Ravallion, 2012). Rajan, Kennedy, and King (2013) argue for example, that by income alone, no positive correlation between increasing income and improving public health in India has been observed. Therefore, alleviating poverty might mean much more than the increase of physical capital alone and consider 'Human Capital', different from income, as a source of economic growth. First introduced by Schultz (1963, p. 1), human capital outlines schooling, job training, medical care, and internal migration to improve

income opportunities. This consideration is sensible as for example, an argument is that income measurement is statistically unimportant when it comes to addressing literacy in relation to poverty (Rajan, Kennedy, & King, 2013). Literacy alone could contribute to the increase of public health through acquired awareness (Rajan, Kennedy, & King, 2013) Despite great economic growth in countries, including India, literacy has remained low much across the developing world (Besley & Burgess, 2003). It appears what separates developed from developing countries is more than a scarcity of physical capital, which requires an analysis of poverty beyond economic factors and the inclusion of other poverty indicators that will illustrate an overall, more accurate assessment of the issue. The concepts of "being poor" and "being deprived", have found growing consensus among authors moving beyond a simple lack of economic income, including other, more socially grounded factors (Anand & Sen, 1997; Hick, 2012; Mackie, 2012; Sen, 1999, 2000). Quantifiable measurements cannot be ignored or dismissed as they provide a good macro assessment of poverty. Nevertheless, the last decade has revealed an increasing attention to alternative social indicators to poverty, based on Sen's (1999) idea of capacity, centralising human factors as measurements of poverty.

2.4. Sen's capacity approach and social indicators::

Sen's capacity approach fundamentally addressed the limited scope and failings of previously applied income approaches and economic interpretations to poverty by broadening the definition of what it means to be poor beyond simple average income and consumption levels (Desai, 1991). This approach broadened existing understandings of both poverty and development as a deprivation of "one or more rudimentary capabilities" (Sen, 1999, p. 87). Although previously discussed approaches are concerned with human well-being, the underlying philosophy of the basic-needs approach and the neo-liberal approaches differ from Sen's capacity approach (Fukuda-Parr, 2003).

Sen (1999) describes poverty as a social injustice and deprivation of well-being, presenting the idea of social indicators as viable poverty measures. In his book *Development as Freedom,* Sen's fundamental argument does not dismiss previous discussed economic income as deprivation; however, he argues with support from other authors that it is not the only one (Anand & Sen, 1997; Hick, 2012; Mackie, 2012; Naveed & Ul-Islam, 2010). Sen (2000) describes social indicators as *freedoms*, real or substantive, that people are able to enjoy and value, irrespective of whether they choose to make use of those freedoms or not. Wealth is useful in the things it allows people to do, acknowledging its *substantive* freedoms it allows people to achieve (Sen,

2000); however, it is only *one* variable which concentrates exclusively on income (Anand and Sen, 1997). White (1999) and Sen (2000) extended the poverty concept as a collection of social indicators, such as deprivations of health, education, social life, environmental quality, spiritual and political freedom. Both authors argue that these elements are social indicators of the multi-dimensionality of an individual's and nation's poverty (Sen, 2000; White, 1999). Other *unfreedoms* include inequalities between men and women, severely restricting freedoms women could enjoy (Sen 2000). This relation between wealth and freedom is argued to be neither exclusive (as factors other than wealth have an influence on peoples' lives), nor are they uniform, as in the impact of wealth varies, based on other factors within peoples' lives (Hick 2012; Sen 2000, 2009). An income-based approach presents a limited poverty measure, as it is no indicator to social vulnerabilities, such as lack of access to healthcare, clean water, and illiteracy (Anand & Sen, 1997). For example, Jodha's (1988) research in India revealed that the welfare of the poor had risen by the improvement of social factors, such as wearing shoes and having separate accommodation for the livestock they kept.

Poverty perceptions in the last decade have both changed and evolved within both the World Bank and the development community as a whole (Stiglitz, 1999). Changes in inequality factors have been of interest to both economists and policy makers alike (Prasad 2011). The resultant broadening of poverty criteria from economic indicators to social indicators lead to a multi-dimensional understanding of the issue, the development of new approaches, and the re-examination of old ones (Stiglitz, 1999).

2.5. Current critiques of social indicators approaches::

The inclusion of social indicators to better understand the multidimensionality of poverty is critiqued to be simply another exercise in quantifying poverty. Poverty indicators are accused of being proxies for the same quantitative philosophy applied with previous economic indicators. For example, wife abuse in Tamil Nadu is measured on a percentage rating, education success determined by an out-of-school percentage and return of investment in education, and health care benchmarked against mortality rates, nutritional indicators, and access to facilities (Agrawal, 2011; Chokkanathan, 2012; Kingdon, 2007). Since independence, India and Tamil Nadu made remarkable progress in both economic and social development, yet despite advances and benefits, new numbers reveal that the actual extent of deprivations are greater than previously anticipated (Singh, 2012). Poverty has persisted and income disparities have increased (Singh, 2012). Statistics place Tamil Nadu as one of the more developed states within

India, yet problems persist and there remain districts within Tamil Nadu that face extreme poverty (Ayres & Simon, 2003). Accumulating human capital yields higher wages, and increased physical capital will lead to economic growth (Besley & Burgess, 2003). People's well-being and overcoming qualitative social deprivations appear to remain instrumental for the quantitative terminal goal of economic growth.

The last decade of poverty research also observed an increasing literature of criticism towards international development institutions like the World Bank, arguing both for hypocrisies and mainstreaming of development gaps (Weaver 2008). Hypocrisy of an organization is deemed by Brunsson (2003) as a gap between organisation's words and deeds, between talk, decisions, and actions. Weaver (2008) claims that the World Bank's commitments to, for example, sustainable development, gender inequality and good governance are not met with human and financial resources to meet those goals and to integrate them into organizational practices. Furthermore, Weaver (2008) brought up what she calls 'mainstreaming gaps' done by major development institutions. Weaver (2008) describes this not just as a matter of resource allocation or rewriting official policies, but as changing mindsets, shifting expectations, and changing alliances. May (2010) brings forward the notion that poverty measures assist political choices on support provided by their policies, a determination of minimum wages, and assessing eligibility for funds. Blatantly, poverty analysis becomes a technical exercise, and is critiqued by policy makers and society alike which causes researchers to become defensive about the measure of choice (du Toit, 2005).

Bringing the debate of poverty into context of India and Tamil Nadu, it is imperative to understand the complexities and social factors involved. Sen's conceptual writing has introduced the multidimensionality of poverty, capturing the attention of researchers and policymakers alike (Alkire & Foster, 2011a). Multidimensionality in context of poverty presents a lens through which researchers and practitioners alike can view and understood poverty (Alkire & Foster, 2011b). Poverty in India has often been measures on an income-based level, yet income does not adequately proxy other indicators of poverty (Alkire & Seth, 2013). Studies by Laderchi, Saith, and Steward (2003) and Alkire and Kumar (2012) have uncovered that a significant percentage of people who are multidimensional deprived, were not found to be income-poor, and vice versa. Multidimensionality of poverty relates to capabilities in that they 'provide information by virtue of which peoples' capability deprivations can be reduced more accurately' (Alkire, 2008, p.3). Therefore, there needs to be a reassessment of India's income-based poverty measurement, towards multidimensional poverty measures (Alkire & Seth, 2013). However, without knowing the basis of the researcher's choice, the reader is 'unable to probe the chosen dimensions and either trust them or question them' (Alkire, 2008, p. 1). If poverty is considered a deprivation of capabilities, and the

task is to identify the multidimensionality of poverty, the problem lies in determining the important dimensions of poverty (Alkire, 2008).

This thesis thefore moves the debate of poverty and contributing poverty dimensions of India and Tamil Nadu into a context, which was predominantly drawn from local literature. Understanding these factors is important to aid in formulating an effective knowledge-sharing approach that is sensible and practical, and holds potential to generate "alternative ideas about the nature of human rights and citizenship [which] may, in fact, emerge from places like India" (McEwan, 2008, p. 107).

2.6. The multi-dimensionality of poverty in India and in Tamil Nadu::

This section presents an analysis of poverty in India and in Tamil Nadu, based on Sen's ideas of poverty as social indicators. Social indicators are a better measurement of poverty for this thesis, as they centralise human factors as measurements of poverty Sen's (1999). Contemporary poverty in India and Tamil Nadu will be analysed by examining relevant social indicators like caste, gender, cultural ideological factors, education, and living conditions, emergent as important factors from the literature. The literature employed for this review will be predominantly from local authors; however, supported or placed in contrast with other literature when appropriate.

The analysis of social poverty indicators will focus on both India and Tamil Nadu, as a lack of specific information on Tamil Nadu promotes this research to fall back on an existing body of literature on India overall, as explained in Chapter 1.3. Each section will therefore be addressed with a broader understanding of the issue and explained in relation to poverty in India and if possible, in Tamil Nadu. Complexities arise in the relationship of the issue to poverty; however, it is not given that certain elements or factors add to people's absolute poverty or even make people poor. Instead, it could create cycles of *dependencies* and *unfreedoms* leading to poverties.

2.7. Caste and class::

The caste system remains a strong foundation to the unceasing poverty situation in both India and Tamil Nadu; an identity given at birth (Shaka, 2012). "For over 1,500 years, anyone born a Hindu was right at the centre of the caste system" (Shaka, 2012, p. 3). Ambedkar (2004) describes the caste system a vast problem both theoretical and practical in nature. An example described by Varghese (2011) is appropriate here. In 1995, the *Daily Telegraph* in London published the story of Mr. Jagjivan Ram, defense minister of India, who went to Varanasi to unveil a temple statue, for which shoes

were thrown at him by an angry crowd. After he left, the temple priests cleaned the statue with water from the Ganges to make it pure once more (Varghese, 2011). "Such was the powerlessness of a Union Cabinet Minister in the face of casteist practices despite having the Military, Air Force, and Navy under his control" (Varghese, 2011, p. 32). Casteism has become a modern phenomenon, born out of the colonisation of India by the British (Ambedkar, 2004; Gupta, 2005; Srinivas, 1957; Varghese, 2011). The history of caste in its growth, spread, and multidimensionality has been discussed extensively in both past and contemporary literature by many authors (Alex, 2009). Yet, to understand caste in direct relation to poverty in both India and Tamil Nadu, this thesis needs to narrow its focus on an overall understanding of *what* Caste is, its role in *modern* India, and in what way these manifestations affect contemporary poverty in India and Tamil Nadu.

Caste in India and Tamil Nadu essentially artificially divides a population into fixed and well-defined units, unable to connect or link with other units. Also known as *Jati*, caste is an autochthonous term, differing in its definition among authors, from close corporations, to community classes and divisions which disown other class connections, or a collection of groups and families having common names, professions or confined to a certain 'membership' at birth (Alex, 2009; Ambedkar, 2004; Deshpande, 2000; Gupta, 2005; Pick & Dayaram, 2006). Manu, the semi-legendary Hindu giver of social and religious law in ancient India has explained the principle of caste as one of the universal laws of life (Narasimhachary, 2002). As such, the *only* characteristic that is unique to this 'structure of human variety' (Varghese, 2011) and rarely discussed by other authors is *endogamy*; the key to the caste system mystery (Ambedkar, 2004; Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004). It is important to establish here that to date, Indian law of matrimony remains centred on the principle of exogamy, which prohibits *Sapindas* (blood-kinds) and *Sagotras* (within the same class) from marrying one another (Ambedkar, 2004). Yet with India's caste system, endogamy has found itself in a superposition of exogamy (Varghese, 2011). As such, Ambedkar (2004) argues that in order for a caste to function and maintaining its endogamy, it is vital to maintain a numerical equality between marriageable men and women within the group. Ultimately the problem of maintaining caste resolves "into one of repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two sexes within it" (Ambedkar 2004, p. 137). As such, people born into the caste system find themselves confined within its social borders and influences for the majority of their lives. In Tamil Nadu, those structures remain reinforced and Gorringe and Rafanell (2007) provide examples of members of the lower caste being punished for marrying a woman of an upper caste.

One could argue that sub-divisions within a society are quite natural, in the Western worlds, South East Asia and other continents and sub-continents alike. India however

undeniably differs in its distinctions of its society with its maintaining prevalence of the caste order (Gupta, 2005) with no open-door policy and self-enclosed v*arnas* (castes). The earliest and most fundamental of the around 150.000 sub-castes are the (a) Brahmins or priest class, the (b) Kshatriya, or military class, the Vaishya, or merchant class, and the (d) Shudra, the worker and menial class (Alex, 2009; Ambedkar, 2004; Deshpande, 2000; Pick & Dayaram, 2006). These caste disparities are deeply engrained into income disparities, community differences, and social relations (Alex, 2009; Gupta, 2005). In the last decade, the Indian government in its attempt to create a casteless society and compensate for past oppression of the lower castes by the higher castes, created *new castes* (Narasimhachary, 2002). These new castes are classified as the Backward Castes (BC), Schedule Castes (SC), and Schedule Tribes (ST). The higher castes are simply referred to as Forward Castes (FC) (Narasimhachary, 2002). Tamil Nadu specifically in this aspect has created one more caste community called the Most Backward Class (MBC), which in the south Indian state includes 246 groups considered as backward caste groups (Warrier, 2006). Approximately 67% of Tamil Nadu is part of BCs/SCs/MBCs. Its recognition aids in the implementation of social welfare schemes and educational uplifting (Government of Tamil Nadu, 2012). Caste distribution in Tamil Nadu is diverse with great social differences between 'the valleys', 'the plains', and 'the hills' (Alex, 2009). The northern areas of Tamil Nadu have a greater diversity of SCs and STs than the south, where other low-caste sub groups like the Pallar, Valaiyar, and Paraiyar predominate (Alex, 2009). However in a Tamil context, one can overall observe three broad categories; Brahmins, non-Brahmins, and 'untouchables' (Alex, 2009). This acknowledgement involuntarily creates a paradox. Varghese (2011) describes a casteless society strived for by politicians as one with no casteism or sub-divisions. Yet these new 'identities' and 'untouchability' are created by politicians to signify social and administrative categories for classes in an attempt to dispose of old beliefs, and imply that such a caste-based society does not exist in India. Casteism, in actual fact, was officially abolished at the time of independence.

The overall concept and multifaceted concept of caste is only the tip of the iceberg. An understanding of caste in a contemporary setting supports caste being a major contributor to current poverty in India and Tamil Nadu alike.

::Contemporary caste issues and poverty

One can argue that "caste has been politicised, ethnicised, and racialised" (Alex, 2009, p. 12). The new Caste system in modern India is not necessarily derived of old classes anymore, but more defined by the 'haves' and 'have-nots' (Shaka, 2012). Instead of caste being seen as a class struggle and official rankings (Gupta, 2005), the

identities of caste have evolved to a new level which is about "self over others, and not self in relation to others" (Gupta, 2005, p. 414). This is expressed in claims to jobs, educational opportunities, and governmental positions of power in the name of caste, making caste tensions a daily grind in modern India (Gupta, 2005). During the last century, the issue of caste has found new fields of activity (Gupta, 2005; Pick & Dayaram, 2006; Srinivas, 1957; Varghese, 2011).

New contemporary trends can be observed in political movements to create a 'Dalit', an 'untouchable' identity (Alex, 2009; Pick & Dayaram, 2006), and many years after India's independence in 1947, caste based discrimination continues (Shaka, 2012). Somewhere, somehow, the old mindset still produces hesitations (Shaka, 2012). This however is not in line with Indian caste-free politics. On 20th March 2009, *The Hindu* carried the title 'Communalism, casteism, nation's foes', in which Prime Minister Manmohan Singh denounced communalism and casteism as enemies of the country and called for action against the twin evils (Prasad, 2011). Yet it was precisely politicians who politicised the new Caste system and terms like SC, TC, and MBC. This Varghese (2011, p. 54) argues is a practice by politicians "out of naked self-interest, keen on self-promoting their careers in spite of the lack of substance in their casteist beliefs." Gupta (2005) argues that caste has always been involved in politics, yet their links nowadays have become more transparent. With politics being a competitive operation, the caste structure provides a basic operational cluster in which people live, and it becomes a code for articulation of cultural and political differences which politicians can take action upon (Alex, 2009; Kothari, 2004). Caste in modern India hence will remain an issue with its reinvention as a political tool. The suspected casteism in politics Kothari (2004, p. 185) argues is "no more and no less the *politicalisation of caste*".

Taking up the cause of the masses in India was not just a way of securing votes (Alex, 2009). Positive discrimination, such as the quota system, is an effort undertaken by post-independent India as a remedial measure (Alex, 2009). The quota system provides a 22.5 per cent reservation to members of the STs, SCs, and MBCs to seats in legislature, public sector jobs and government funded educational institutions (Deshpande, 2000). Members of the FC who live below the poverty line have no legal right of any benefits reserved for the SC and ST. This quota has been proposed to be increased to 27 percent (IBN, 2007), inviting protests from higher caste members. In 2006 anti-reservation protests occurred in the national capital and other cities for the rollback of the 27 percent proposal. One of the contradictions in modern India and Tamil Nadu remains that while one a policy level, the society is trying to abolish caste, on a pragmatic level the importance of caste appears to be increasing (Alex, 2009).

Alex (2009) argues that caste labels and resulting discrimination policies deepened

the concept of caste divisions and fostered hostile feelings between high and low caste, instead of rendering them meaningless. In 2005, the *Daily Telegraph* reported that thousands of Indian *Dalit* tsunami survivors south of Madras (Tamil Nadu) were denied food, water and shelter by members of higher castes (Daily Telegraph, 2005). Dalit refugees were evicted from the relief camps and resultantly were too scared to approach government relief camps (Gorringe, 2008). Fishermen from a higher *Meenavar* caste also turned against the Dalits denying them shelter, only giving leftovers to eat. They were not even allowed to use the toilets. When they asked for food packages and clothes, they were harshly pushed away and forced to sleep on the road as upper caste women did not feel safe in their presence (Daily Telegraph, 2005). An aid worker said that separate kitchens and camps had to be set up to support them (Daily Telegraph, 2005; Varghese, 2011). To date, the direct link between caste and poverty is unproven, yet strong evidence exists that, differences in social standing can result in important differences in people's chances in life and healthcare (Varghese 2011). Nevertheless, Tamil Nadu has also exhibited a caste resistance from the Dalits towards the higher castes (Gorringe & Rafanell, 2007). The authors argue that 'Dalits are not in consensus with caste values and that many refuse to perform, or challenge, the roles assigned to them' (Gorringe & Rafanell, 2007, p. 110). However, caste-based frictions remain observed in Tamil Nadu in that identities, skills, and crafts of lowe castes have been 'systematically destroyed by the Brahminanical hegemony to maintain the caste system' (Gorringe, 2008, p. 130). Politics in Tamil Nadu not upper caste/class dominated, however the ruling party at the time failed on its anti-Brahmin and pro-poor goals (Harriss, 1999).

For the first time in 2011, India launched a nation-wide survey of its people that included information about their caste and religion in an effort to provide "hard data to support or undermine the widely held perception that for many Indians, social background limits economic opportunities" (Overdorf, 2011, p. 1). The difficulty in linking poverty and caste is that they both do not coexist in a vacuum, but as part of a social, political, and economic system. Previously political factors maintained and exploited the notion of caste for self-gain. Shaka (2012) argues that the caste system is generally one of complex nature, but links caste as a phenomenon to poverty in the helplessness and lack of support from the government to the poor people. Many authors explain this link in the blend of low entitlements and social limitations and dependencies of the lower castes that prevent realisation of their capabilities, undoubtedly creating a 'market discrimination' that results in the lower caste being concentrated on the low-wage end of the market (Lanjouw & Stern, 1991; Kozel & Parker, 1998; Mehta & Shah, 2001, 2003).

Although caste is an important factor that explains social relationships in Tamil

Nadu and to an extent in overall India, it is not sufficient to explain social relations purely on that basis (Alex, 2009). An important social indicator adding to unfreedoms in Tamil Nadu and India is gender inequality.

2.8. Gender inequality::

Gender inequality in modern India remains an issue on a multitude of levels (Alex, 2009; Chowdhury, 2010; Jackson, 2012; Mehta & Shah, 2003; Parkar, Dawani, & Weiss, 2008; Prasad, 2011; Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012; Sen, 2001; Varma et al., 2007). India's gender equality ratio (1 being lowest, 6 being highest) has been consistently around 3 from 2005 to 2011 (World Bank, 2011).Women attribute to 48 percent of the Indian population (Government of India, 2001). Sen (2001) has described this inequality not as a homogenous one, but as a compilation of interlinked problems like mortality and natality inequalities, facility inequalities, and overall opportunities in general.

A Tamil proverb emphasises gender inequality and says: *'akathi peruvatu penpillai atuvum vellil poruttam',* which means 'The destitute of woman bears a female child and this happens under an evil star' (Alex, 2009, p. 127). A woman's inequality starts at birth. *'Penna paiyana?'* – 'girl or boy?' A female child in Tamil Nadu and Indian society is undesirable so long as no son has been produced (Alex, 2009; Prasad, 2011). Indian society, like many of the 'classic' societies, is patriarchal and with its patriarchal values regulating sexuality, reproduction, and social production (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004; Jackson, 2012; Prasad, 2011; Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012). Tangible inequalities manifest in the denial of rights or prohibition of activities (Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012). Intangible inequalities in patriarchal societies is often achieved via symbolising messages of inferiority of women though emphasizing the "self-sacrificing, self-effacing, pure image of women and through the ritual practices which day in and day out emphasise the dominant role of a woman as a faithful wife and devout mother" (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004, p. 299).

The ancient Hindu Laws of Manu demand women to worship her husband and be kept in dependency due to her passionate nature and disloyalty (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004; Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012; Wadley, 1977). This suggests that the man is the master, owner, and provider, with a wife or daughter being both commodity and possession (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004). Prescriptions and prohibitions for women are similar to those for the lower caste Shudras on many occasions, supporting the low position women hold in Indian society (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004; Prasad, 2011). The following section relates gender inequality to poverty.

::Gender inequality and poverty

Suffered by women, gender inequality adds to poverty and has direct linkages to both explicit statistics and implicit social factors. Explicit gender inequalities exist in relation to gender ratio, child infanticide, literacy rates, health and nutritional data, wages, and rights to ownership (Mehta & Shah, 2003). Higher gender inequality is a contributor to low economic growth and income (Arora, 2012). Discrimination against women from birth, low social standing and dependency throughout youth and adulthood, leads to poor economic and social outcomes (Arora, 2012).

It is important to acknowledge the intangible and tangible aspects of gender inequality; however, emphasis here is placed on the intangible, socially grounded inequalities for two reasons. Firstly, despite the tangible factors contributing to gender inequality, its manifestations are often driven and caused by underlying intangible factors (Mehta & Shah, 2003). Women's perceived low social status in society often manifests in household inequalities with unequal distribution of resources, of decision-making, unfair and unequal distribution of work, and even basic nutrition (Krishna, 2011; Mehta & Shah, 2003). Second, understanding the dynamics, the interaction between qualitative elements of gender inequalities in both advanced and developing societies, can be achieved much better by comparing and emphasizing intangible deprivations (Sen, 1998). Intangible inequalities suffered by women therefore provide a better understanding of their vulnerability to poverty traps and capability deprivation.

This perceived lower status of women in society and within their own households makes them much more vulnerable targets to physical and psychological violence, which have "serious repercussions on women's self-perceptions and on their evaluation of roles and statuses" (Krishna, 2011, p. 59). In a qualitative study done by Rao, Horton, and Raguram (2012) in Bangalore, women shared their life stories of physical and psychological abuse. Leela (a pseudonym), a poor villager from outside Bangalore, described how criticism of her for not finishing school had turned into beatings from her husband and other family members, resulting in the suicide of her daughter (Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012). Rupa (pseudonym), who came from a middle class background, lived in urban Bangalore and despite a happy marriage, both sets of parents separated her and her husband. She had to raise her small child alone. She fell into depression, and was often contemplating suicide. Despite her higher social and economic status, Rupa claimed she "understood the need to conform to a social role and acutely felt pressures of structural violence" (Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012, p. 7), leading to her depression. These cases, combined with other recent research, support the notion of depression among women in India being related to partner

violence, partner alcoholism, and psychological trauma (Krishna 2011; Nayak et al. 2010; Parkar, Dawani, & Weiss, 2008; Pereira et al., 2007; Rao, Horton, & Rauram, 2012; Varma et al., 2007).

The low social status of women in the household makes women more vulnerable to living in poverty, as it creates a *dependency* for women that combines with low entitlements, social limitations (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004; Mehta & Shah, 2003), and physical and psychological vulnerability (Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012). Previously in Leela's case, when asked if avenues existed for her to escape her husband's abuse, she explained that poverty and lack of support left her no choice but to stay (Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012). In Rupa's case, Rao, Horton, and Raguram (2012) reveal that her depressive symptoms related to a growing financial desperation, as well as her lack of choices to find solutions to her situation, as well as lapses of the physical and psychological hardships she experienced. This *structural violence* that Indian women experience both physically and emotionally has also played a role in the stark impacts on both their capabilities and their will to exercise freedoms. The previously discussed 'market discrimination' in relation to caste is also evident in gender, with women finding themselves on the low-paid end of the market and often having to work longer hours to achieve the same level of income as their male counterparts. This is in addition to their home and family duties (Mehta & Shah, 2003). This results in less leisure time and fewer opportunities for women and exposure to both physical and emotional vulnerabilities. In Kabeer's (1996, p. 20) words, "not all women are poor, not all poor people are women, but all women suffer from discrimination". This concludes gender inequality, an issue of disparate freedoms (Sen, 1995). Life for women in India is often more about household survival and risk minimisation, rather than improvement of their situation (Mehta and Shah 2003; Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012). These inabilities and marginalisation, stemming from patriarchal ideologies leading to physical violence and psychological hardships, characterise women's lives and relations making it much more difficult to escape poverty.

2.9. Cultural ideological manipulation::

Perhaps the most ambiguous element in adding to the multi-dimensionality of poverty is cultural ideological manipulations and their link to poverty. It is very important to first clarify that India's cultural ideologies are not a cause of poverty; it is the life essence that makes India. Instead, the *evolvement* and *abuse* of these factors cunningly manipulated by people will be examined here and used to explain the debate on other social forces that stifle capacity building, with these social forces having remained a part of everyday Indian life. One of the greatest ideological bumpers in

capacity building remains the dowry system, a traditional payment from the wife to the husband in marriage (Rathodd & Gundappa, 2012). There is a traditional perceived superiority of bride-taker over bride-giver in Tamil Nadu and India alike (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004). India is also home to a very hypergamous marriage market and the goal to attain a good match is education (Jackson, 2012). Hypergamy is defined as marrying a person of higher social status (Veen, 1972). The difficulty and ambiguity of these ideologies lie within 'unlinking' them as separate entities due to their strong ties to both caste and gender inequalities. These forces have arguably evolved from both caste and gender inequalities, and must be explained separately to understand how they independently add further complexities to poverty and its resulting approaches.

::Of marriage, dowry, and making a good match

The practice of dowry is explained as a payment made by a bride's parents to the family of the groom at the time of marriage (Self & Grabowski, 2009). In Southern India in earlier times, gifts from the bride's to the groom's family were seen as symbolic exchanges (Srinivasan, 2005). However, nowadays modern dowry "comprises demands that far exceed what families can afford, exploiting its symbolic obligatory nature (Srinivasan, 2005, p. 599). Dowry practices are considered illegal in India, and The Dowry Prohibition Act [1961] is in place to provide relief for women irrespective of caste and religion (Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004). Nevertheless, the dowry system prevails in many sections of Indian society (Rathod & Gundappa, 2012; Self & Grabowski, 2009). Because of dowry, a major concern when a daughter (the 'lesser preferred' gender) is born, is saving up for an adequate dowry to get her well settled. In a study done by the Centre of Women's Studies and Development, by Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi, a respondent said (taken from Prasad, 2011, p. 12):

> *'You don't have to worry for dowry if you have a son... And even dowry is not the only problem. The problem of finding a suitable and good match for a daughter is even more difficult... If you are not able to do that, you will make her life miserable.'*

Marriage plays a vital role in Indian society, serving as a way to raise one's status within it (Mohanadoss, 1995). Within same castes also, there are groups perceived superior (Alex, 2009) and in order to advance in the status ladder, the bride-giver has to pay an adequate dowry (Das, 1981; Desai & Krishnaraj, 2004). Dowry however is by no means restricted to the rural or poorer people or the more traditional communities. Varma (2007, p. xxxiii) explains that "a great many educated men denounce dowry in public and acquiesce with their parents in perpetuating it in private". Dowry payments

go beyond the single purpose of satisfying socio-cultural expectations (Prasad, 2011; Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012). Unlike men, women have the opportunity to move into higher castes (Self & Grabowski, 2009). Dowry enables women to marry men of higher socio-economic status (Jackson, 2012).

The principle of hypergamy is a widespread conformity in India (Mohanados, 1995). The ancient Laws of Manu refer to hypergamy in a way that "let him who would raise his race from connections ever with the most excellent men and shun them that are low (*The Laws of Manu,* IV: 244). Hypergamy is therefore closely related to an assumption of men's superiority over women (Mohanadoss, 1995). This is irrespective of economic or social status and it is argued that women are vulnerable to these exploitations, oppressions and even violence, where ideological and traditional manipulations subordinate women to men (Rathodd & Gundappa, 2012).

This manipulation is further expressed with the inclusion of a good education of the bride to increase her chances of hypergamy. This is grounded in what one could call a push-pull situation. The pull-factor stems from modernisation in India affecting marriage preference and men of higher socio-economic status increasingly favouring literate women (Jackson, 2012). The push-factor therefore is that education of girls "is not necessarily motivated by progressive gender ideas, such as a parental desire to equip girls for employment, but by a desire to improve their chances of making a good match" (Jackson, 2012, p. 2). Tradition and change happily coexist within India (Varma 2007).

::Ideological manipulation and poverty

The link between ideological manipulations and poverty is not explicit. A country's cultural ideals are in part responsible for its people's well-being. However, it is not so much about how cultural ideologies force people into absolute poverty, but how the evolution and manipulation of these ideals impact an individual's relative poverty and the freedoms they can enjoy. The discussed ideals of marriage and hypergamy promote both the dowry system and education-for-marriage concept that in any outcome, places the onus of dependency on women (Prasad, 2011), and inhibit her freedoms and abilities to make her own choices (Ahmad, 2011). Ahmad (2011) and Prasad (2011) argue that real power in a society does not only depend on political and economic structures, but also on cultural ideals. As such, women's work is often undervalued, resulting in additional stress and responsibilities placed on her. Ideological discriminations, the labelling of woman as woman (Krishna, 2011) as such cause deprivations "that is due to socio-culture structure of the society that decides women's all round development"

(Ahmad, 2011, p. 347).

2.10. Education::

The lack of access to education is one aspect perpetuating poverty that currently preoccupies India (Ansari & Akhtar, 2012). Education with regards to social and economic development is essential (Ahmad, 2011; Awan et al., 2011; Jandhyala, 2007; Pieters, 2011). With education being key to a country's competitiveness, the World Bank (2011) emphasises that education is vital for India's social and economic development and therefore access to quality education, distributed equally, must be ensured. The education-development correlation gained momentum in the 1990s due to the economic progress of East Asian countries like Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea in the 1970s and 1980s due to their specific investment in education and human capital (Awan et al., 2011). There have been studies conducted by Easterly (2001), Wolf (2003), and Pritchett (2001) that have questioned the impact of education on development overall, yet overwhelming support remains in favour of this positive correlation. India's educational achievements in that regard show mixed success (Kingdon, 2007).

India is home to 22 per cent of the world's population with an overall illiteracy rate of 46 per cent, and a high rate of out-of school children and youth (Abdul Kalam & Rajan, 2005; Kingdon, 2007). Yet, India has made remarkable progress with education attendance as the number of children not attending school from 25 million in 2003 decreased to around 8.1 million in 2009 (World Bank 2011). Nevertheless, India itself experienced rapid growth in the last two decades due to economic reforms in the 1990s (Kijima, 2006; Pieters, 2011), with education believed having had a significant impact from as high as 34.4% (Psacharopoulos & Hinchliffe, 1973) to 27% (Loh, 1995). India's current literacy ratio is 74.04 per cent and Tamil Nadu's is 80.33 per cent (only third behind Kerala and Maharashtra) (Simhan, 2012). Yet, India remains home to the largest number of out-of-school children in the world (Varma, 2007, p. 58).

A country's literacy rate reveals a macro international standing, yet does little to reveal the micro aspect of literacy, for example literate people within households. In an attempt to understand the frictions and inequalities in education and people's lack of chance to attain it, mainstream educational markers and benchmarks are insufficient and a relocation of the problem into social and contemporary circumstances has to occur.

::Education and poverty

An overarching statement is made by (Sainath, 1996, p. 50), saying that literacy is a "vital social tool…it is not an education". India is an interesting place to study about education as it has one of the most unequal education *distributions* in the world (Pieters, 2011). Education has argued to become the instrument for development and achieving freedoms previously, but (Varma, 2011) claims it has also become an instrument of social exclusion. Since education in India is an investment of economic and hypergamous nature, educated elites enjoy a high scarcity value for both their education and their profession (Varma, 2011). If the poor become educated, the rich will lose their metaphorical palanquin bearers (Sainath, 1996). The educated elite protects that scarcity by "[directing] educational investment away from the masses" Varma (2011, p. 59). In ancient India, learning was prohibited on the basis of birth and caste, however in a modern political setting where base-born people have votes, the elite "must act differently…say all the right things…but deny access" (Sainath, 1996, p. 49). These bureaucratic shackles inhibit educational opportunities for all.

At the higher education levels, both gender stereotypes and caste friction also remain an issue. Though middle class women attend college and take up jobs, traditional gender stereotypes prevail, even among the ones claiming to be above it (Alex, 2009; Varma, 2011). Overall, Alex (2009) argues that education has reduced social and gender inequalities. Other instruments for social exclusion within higher education and outside became English, in its right accent and fluency a touchstone to the charmed circle of a ruling elite and social acceptance (Varma, 2011). This segregation is made up of 'people like us', or the 'rest of India', made up of aspirants and victims (Varma, 2011).

Previous explanation of education in modern India and the elite's manipulation of the education system would not suffice to explain its link to poverty or unfreedoms. An education system does not only comprise of higher education, but earlier primary school and high school. The link between education and poverty has to start on a more fundamental level. The relationship between poverty and education is inverse. The higher the education levels of a given population, the lower the ration of poor people to the overall population (Awan et al., 2011). Education directly affects poverty reduction because education allows for the acquiring of skills and knowledge which provides opportunities for employment of higher wage-related jobs (Awan et al., 2011). However, this relationship does not necessarily translate into a positive educational distribution correlation and the idea of unequal education distribution in relation to poverty in India remains unaddressed.

The World Bank assesses the key instrument to poverty alleviation with education happening at the primary education level (Tilak, 2007). The majority of drop-outs or

illiteracy in India happens and starts at the primary school level, mostly from poor households, low castes, and in the rural areas (Alex, 2009; Rajan, 2010; Sainath, 1996; Varma, 2011). Drop-outs are higher from SCs, STs, and MBCs (Sainath, 1996). The urgency of school education has not taken priority in India (Rajan, 2010). Recent drives for acknowledgement of education have given passage to Right to Education Act [2009] providing free and compulsory education for children up to the age of 14 (Bhagwati & Panagariya, 2012). Despite the newly found right to education and an increase in upper-primary schools paving way for further schooling, a decrease of enrolments from 3.2:1 in 1999-2000 to 2.8:1 in 2004-05 was visible and is attributed to a tendency among poor families to consider that schooling until Class V is enough for their children (Rajan, 2010). Data from the Planning Commission working groups (2004) reveals that in 2004-05 around 0.77 million children dropped out of primary schools and   million from higher-secondary schools. More girls drop out than boys (Sainath, 1996). These figures are inconclusive of overall dropout trends. But it is confirmed that "most Indian students are left behind at various levels of school education…fall off the education ladder" (Rajan, 2010, p. 26), stunting most basic capabilities (Sainath, 1996).

A general issue with primary school education is, though it provides the three R's (Reading, Reckoning, wRiting), there is a lack of an educational profile for either employment, self-employment or otherwise to ensure future wages and a good life (Tilak, 2007). Teaching methods and education programmes that might be founded upon creating literacy are questioned in their sustainability to ensure children not relapsing into illiteracy (Tilak, 2007), which Das (2002) labels 'silo-like curriculums'. Das (2002) argues that education should not be merely memorising facts, and literacy is not a substitute for education (Sainath, 1996), but it is for "allowing us to rise above the confines of our immediate environment" (Das, 2002, p. 113).

The suggestion by the World Bank of primary education as a key instrument of poverty reduction is debated, argued that while primary education is able to lift people up from below an established poverty line, it would not do much else (Tilak, 2007). An argument is that education which forms human capacities and human freedoms isnot only elementary education, but also secondary and higher education (Tilak, 2007). This proposes a problem that India's higher education sector has increasingly become one of social exclusion with educated elites creating and maintaining their scarcity, and also caste and gender frictions (Pieters, 2011; Sainath, 1996; Varadarajan, 2006; Varma, 2011).

Despite India's high number of universities (India currently being the country with the most universities), they are not able keep up with the demand of an emergent

middle class who sought to avail themselves of the benefits of an education (Varma, 2011). Varma (2011, p. 59) writes that in the situation of over-demand to a very limited supply, "obtaining a degree soon became a substitute for the quality of education". As such, distortions of educational priorities fell flat. One was that due to huge demands in the higher education areas, basic education became neglected, and the other being the prioritised higher education becoming equally devastated due to indifference in teaching, which is becoming substandard (Varma, 2011). Although the theory on education appears to provide avenues to escape generational and other poverty cycles towards a more fulfilling life, current social factors within the Indian education system prevent a large number of people to from achieving these freedoms.

2.11. Living Conditions::

In Tamil Nadu, a study by Chanramouli (2003) on 63 Municipal Towns, revealed that around 20 percent of the population lives in slums. In Chennai, this ratio is around 25% with a reported 1,079,414 slum population (Chandramouli, 2003). With the state's rapid urbanisation, more than a third of the Indian population currently live in cities (Viswanathan & Tharkar, 2010). Reasons for the large exodus from rural into urban areas have been the opening of multinational retailers and the IT industry, providing lots of opportunities and causing urban migration of villagers who seek daily work, skilled or unskilled, either in labour or domestic help (Viswanathan & Tharkar, 2010). The 'Indian Dream' however forces a large proportion of these migrants to end up living in subhuman conditions, in slums (Viswanathan & Tharkar, 2010). The definition of 'slum' in India and Tamil Nadu is defined by the Census of India (2006). It includes (i) all areas defined as slums by state or local governments, and (ii) a compact area of a population of at least 300 people or around 60 to 70 poorly built households in an unhygienic environment with inadequate infrastructure and lacking basic sanitation (Chandramouli, 2003). This concept can vary dependent on people's socio-economic situation. The largest slum population in Tamil Nadu is found in Chennai (10.7 lakh/25.6%), Madurai (1.76 lakh/19%), Tiruchirappalli (1.62 lakh/22%), and Salem (1.39 lakh/20%) (Chandramouli, 2003). Literacy estimates, housing types, and electricity availability have all been established by the census in 2001, yet Chandramouli (2003) argues that statistics are provisional and subject to changes, given the unmonitored conditions in the slums, including migration in pursuit of opportunities, wherever that might be. Therefore it is more important to understand 'slum' life from a qualitative perspective, emphasising the hardships endured by people, which though do not necessarily force people into poverty, yet present capability traps.

::Issues in living conditions and poverty

The existing statistical data provides an insight into the magnitude of homelessness or make-shift housing in India, but gives little *depth* into the problem. The social order in slums is best described by the idea of liminality which in the case of most slum-dwellers, is a state in between their former secure home and their formal recognised homes in the city, placing them in unrecognised make-shift housing in the slums (McKean, 2007). This transition between these two understood states of being casts a shadow of 'isolation' on those individuals, lacking a connection to any understood life or position and this in turn prevents the transitional being from achieving social acceptance (McKean, 2007, p. 11). Katherine Boo's *Behind the Beautiful Forevers* (a 2012 Pulitzer Winner) tries to make meaning of the internal informal structure of

slum life which provides insightful information to deduce its link to poverty. Boo (2012) describes the story of Asha, a woman who had risen to the position of slum lord in Annawadi, a slum next to Mumbai airport. A slum boss is an unofficial position, however well known by the residents, and is a person chosen by local police and politicians. They run the slums according to the authorities' interest (Boo, 2012). Other slum dwellers would wait for her to reach home to ask for favours, knowing she was the one with connections to both jobs and authorities, for which she would get a cut, either monetary or a favour in return (Boo, 2012).

Mckean (2007) describes slum-dwellers as innovative with their own established cultural and economic subsystems that function outside the state. However, the social and economic hardships of people having to live in slums directly affect their poverty and capabilities. Slum poverty itself is an aspect of environmental poverty, and the foundation for slum dweller's environmental poverty is often economic (Ballesteros, 2010). In Tamil Nadu, a sample survey of 900 people from the slum areas revealed that poverty in slums is very common (Viswanathan & Tharkar, 2010). A monthly income from around Rs.2000 to Rs.8000, high illiteracy rates (males 48.2%; females 73.9%), high unemployment (male 46.4%; female 65.6%), and with over half the surveyed population (53.1%) living in makeshift shelters or on railway platforms (Viswanathan & Tharkar, 2010), are common occurences. The real capability trap for slum dwellers is dependency on something or someone. The main asset of the poor remains physical labour with a large proportion of workers belonging to an 'unorganised' or 'informal' sector of the economy (Ballesteros, 2010). Their work is irregular, often in harsh conditions, with no security or any chance of self-progress (Deb, 2011). People in slums are therefore vulnerable to poor health and mental stress (Ballesteros, 2010). This mental impact leaves both physical and mental scars on the people enduring these, adding to "fragile family relations due to irrigation and frustration, poor school performance of children, and higher vulnerability to commit crimes and violence" (Ballesteros, 2010, p. 16). Very often life in the slums leaves people vulnerable to work around the clock, and are denied ration cards for subsidised foods (Deb, 2011). This causes lifestyle-related disorders like hypertension and glucose intolerance (Viswanathan & Tharkar, 2010). The migration workers in the slums are also often trapped in debt due to advances taken to fund their initial migration to other cities (Deb, 2011), or because of favours owed to the local slumlords (Boo, 2012). It is not uncommon to find that children are also drafted for work and that women often face sexual abuse (Deb, 2011). The national game of make-belief of poverty, disease, illiteracy is also aggressively addressed and the corruption and exploitation of the weak by the less weak continues with minimal interference (Boo, 2012). Paradoxically, "for the poor of a country where corruption thieved a great deal of opportunity, corruption

was one of the genuine opportunities that remained" (Boo, 2012, p. 28).

Their large numbers visible everywhere, from living in tents erected on road sides, to train stations, or filled in the 'unreserved' overcrowded compartments of trains. The slum dwellers are in a capability deprivation cycle of dependency to exploitation back to dependency, which does not often allow them to live a decent life, feed their family, acquire education, or fulfill their creative potential (Deb, 2011; Tharoor, 2007). That Tharoor (2007, p. 49) claims "is the real threat to India's future".

2.12. Approaches to poverty reduction in India and in Tamil Nadu::

India in particular has undertaken their own efforts on a national state-basis to decrease poverty via instituted reforms in the design of its Anti-Poverty Programs (APPs), such as increasing economic growth, land and tenancy reforms, provision of basic services, as well as empowerment-based methods (Kochar, 2008, Mehta and Shah, 2003). India's APPs are much targeted towards the rural population and are primarily constituted of wage-employment, self-employment such as Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Program (RLEGP), National Rural Employment Program (NREP), and nutritional support programs via the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) (Kochar, 2008; Saxena, 2000). These reforms strongly relate to the fact that agriculture is a key contributor to India's GDP (26%, up to 40% in the poorer states) and employs 60% of the Indian labor force (Radhakrishna, 2002). Further agricultural policy reforms have been put in place to secure production increases through subsidiary inputs like power, fertilizers and water, but also by increasing the minimum price for goods (Saxena, 2000). Available estimates by Mehta and Shah (2001) credited agricultural growth in the states of West Bengal, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh as a significant contributor to the reduction of poverty. Tamil Nadu's focus on the reduction of poverty has added an additional element of education to their policies. Their strategies include the expansion of social service coverage, improving the quality of current services provided, and ensuring targeted groups' participation (World Bank, 2005). The RLEGP in Tamil Nadu has been proven successful, and in addition to 80% of the labour force under this programme being women, wages are usually paid on time and in full (Dreze & Sen, 2011). Under the new Mahathma Gandhi National Empoyment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), wages per day are Rs. 174 (Prabhu, 2013). Tamil Nadu is claimed to be the fastest growing state in India (Mohan & Muliyil, 2009) and together with Kajisa and Palanichamy (2006) and Narayanamoorthy and Hanjra (2010), attribute the state's efforts on reducing poverty to their targeted programmes. Those programmes focus on education improvement investments and their development of human capital and underlying conditions of life in combination

with the mentioned agricultural development programs. According to Dreze and Sen (2011), Tamil Nadu was one of the pioneering states to introduce midday meals in primary schools to promote education. The state also made significant efforts towards the provision of child care centres and health care centres, with the health care centres being available to people from all social backgrounds, free of cost (Dreze & Sen, 2011). Furthermore, Tamil Nadu's Public Distribution System (PDS) is further reported to be effective, delivering food to beneficiaries regular and with minimal leakage (Dreze & Sen, 2011). In the *State of Urban Food Security Report* prepared by Athreya et al. (2010) also praise Tamil Nadu's PDS as a much better implemented system than that in most other Indian states.

Focussing on India's own approaches to poverty, their programs appear to target critical areas; however, overall so far have had little substantive positive effects on poverty (Kochar, 2008). Serious problems arise in the formulation and implementation with most of the poverty-alleviation programmes, such as projects being unviable, lack of technological capabilities, illiterate and unskilled beneficiaries, and complex procedures (Saxena, 2000). Problems such as government level corruption further pose a continuous threat to these allocated funds in India, as well as Boo's (2012) insight into exploitation of such schemes by intended beneficiaries. A significant amount of APP funds are simply wrongly invested and underutilised due to red-tapeism and administrative delays (Yesudian, 2007). Allocated health funds for example, only got to the poorest 20% of the population (Malhotra, 2003; Yesudian, 2007). The identification or rather misidentification of program beneficiaries, which is rarely in the hands of individual village bodies, but rather with centralised authorities, has been identified as a further barrier (Kochar, 2008). Funds are misallocated and do not benefit intended households or individuals; it fails to reach the most deprived. Watershed development programs by several departments of the Indian Government have been often implemented with different and conflicting values (Saxena, 2000). Housing support, popular due to its 100 per cent subsidy, led to an overall dependence of the poor on the elite, dividing the poor amongst themselves, dis-empowering them collectively with only a few individually provided with a valuable asset (Saxena, 2000). Peoples' poverty and welfare overall seem to remain largely dependent on social services and development programs (Gupta, 1995). Though Tamil Nadu in particular has made substantial progress in their struggle against poverty, surveys suggest that Tamil Nadu's poverty rate to have remained high at 22% in both rural and urban areas in 2004-05 (Narayanamoorthy & Hanjra, 2010). Programmes for nutrition security have had very little impact on a state level caused by an extremely weak public distribution system (Mehta & Shah, 2003). Saxena (2000) confirms this phenomenon of a lacking PDS on a state-level, emphasising on a lack of infrastructure and shortage of funds by

governments. However, Dreze and Sen (2011, p.9) and Athreya et al. (2010) argued earlier that Tamil Nadu's PDS in both urban and rural areas is one of the stronger food distribution systems in India, supplying 'not only foodgrains but also oil, pulses and other food commodities, with astonishing regularity and minimal leakages'. Tamil Nadu's high agricultural labour as an income source adds to the problem as labourers are employed and paid on a daily basis, creating job insecurities, causing psychological hardships (Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012).

While the Indian Government has placed considerable efforts in the reduction of poverty, their efforts alone may not be enough. Critical areas are targeted by APPs; however, a main barrier to their effectiveness appears to be the failure of translating nation level projects down to individual beneficiaries. Government plans are further not evident on creating empowerment and appear overall, predominantly, economically driven. This promoted the involvement of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) in poverty reduction, occupying a significant role in the direct delivery of goods and services in India which a government fails to provide (Suharko, 2007).

2.13. NGOs and poverty reduction in India and Tamil Nadu::

The emergence of NGOs in development can be attributed to failures of state-led development approaches post World War II and throughout the 1970s (Banks & Hulme, 2012; Suharko, 2007). 'NGO', especially development NGOs, have important roles in relief, emergency-response, or longer term development work (Suharko, 2007). Defining NGOs can be difficult, as it encompasses a diverse set of organisations, categorised by legal status, functional areas, features, and economic factors (Vakil, 1997). They are not institutions attributed so by membership; but, by their engagement in social developmental work (Suharko, 2007). A definition by Banks and Hulme (2012, p. 3) describe development NGOs as organisations "ranging from small, informal, community-based organisations to large, high-profile, international NGOs working through local partners across the developing world". NGOs provide various services to the poor, both on a micro and macro level (Fowler, 1997).

In India, NGOs have existed and assisted development since colonial times (Suharko, 2007). This was largely influenced by a series of changes to India's economic system, which had impacts for the lives of people living in that country. During the post-colonial Nehru era, high priority was placed on on India's democracy via a strong political centre and incorporating powerful group of societies, as well as promising equal development for the poor (Kohli & Mullen, 2003). During the Indira Gandhi era, India's democracy became more deinstitutionalised and widened the gap between developmental capacities and economic goals, labelling the old elite as enemies of

the poor and focusing on poverty alleviation (Kohli & Mullen, 2003). In more recent decades, the emergernce of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), economic policied moved more towards a pro-business, liberal direction, and dismantling rhetoric distribution. Overall, neither state-led economic growth, nor previous political efforts to poverty alleviation have proven successful to India (Corbridge & Harriss, 2006; Kohli & Mullen, 2003). The overall 'liberalisation' of India's economy and 'market-oriented' solutions to development de-emphasises poverty alleviation (Kohli & Mullen, 2003) and NGOs stepped in as development agents for the poor. On 7th of July, 2010, the *Indian Express* published an article entitled 'First official estimate: An NGO for every 400 people in India', which argues that India possibly possesses the highest number of NGOs in the world (Shukla, 2010). A study commissioned by the government of India estimates India having 3.3 million NGOs, which is one NGO for less than 400 Indians. The unofficial number might be higher, as the study only took the registered NGOs into account (Shukla, 2010). Tamil Nadu is estimated to have 1.4 lakh NGOs. The biggest supporter for NGOs in India remains the government and foreign contributors (Shukla 2010). With regards to activities, NGOs in India are engaged in education and campaigning activities, income generation for low-income groups, agriculture, micro-credit, health, and education (Sato 2002). Given the numbers of NGOs and the previously discussed struggle of the government's APPs, Robinson and Riddell (1995, p. 138) argue that NGOs form a vital component in India's poverty reduction "both in terms of providing additional resources and in making government programs more effective". A very recent event supports this notion.

On 11th October 2013, the *Times of India* published an article entitled 'Cyclone Phailin: Paradip Ports shuts operations, forces deployed in Orissa, stating that the state government has "tied up with local NGOs for any emergency plans and are working in close coordination with the state administration" (Times of India, 2013). An article on 11th October 2013 by *The Deccan Chronicle*, titled 'Orissa Government sets zero casualty target as Phailin approaches' reinforces the importance of NGOs in India's overall response (Deccan Chronicle, 2013). The article said that state government met with NGOs and delegated responsibilities to them. Revenue and Disaster Management Minister S. N. Patro said, "NGOs are told to mobilise people for evacuation and to assist in the process of providing them necessary services at safe shelters" (Deccan Chronicle, 2013, p. 1).

Despite visible poverty reduction efforts by NGOs, measuring their contribution to poverty reduction in India and Tamil Nadu is difficult. Suharko (2007) argue about the growing evidence that NGOs are not performing as effectively as originally assumed by development organisations. A study done by Robinson and Riddell (1995) reveals that while NGOs might reach poor people with their projects; they often, similar to the

government, fail to reach the very poorest. They are also often small in nature and only in rare cases self-sufficient (Suharko, 2007). Nevertheless, NGOs have noted both an increase in the impact of their work and accomplishments of their strategic goals when sharing their knowledge with other NGOs, often acting in the same field (Tsasis, 2009). Knowledge-sharing is a crucial process for NGOs to satisfy vital stakeholders in their activities, namely the donors, the NGOs themselves, and the people they intend to help (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012). However, barriers to success have been discussed by many authors. These barriers are assessed in the next section.

2.14. Barriers to knowledge-sharing among NGOs::

NGOs are facing significant challenges in their operations, mainly the decreasing volume of concessional aid (Fowler, 2000), as well as concerns of accountability and legitimacy of NGOs in the past two decades (Atack, 1999; Ebrahim, 2003). Whereas the issues of declining aid, accountability, and legitimacy have been covered extensively in the literature (Atack, 1999; Ebrahim, 2003, Fowler, 2000; Najam, 1996; Bebbington, Hikcey, & Martin, 2008), knowledge-sharing barriers are currently undertheorised and need to be addressed here to form a supporting argument, as reciprocal knowledge exchanges among NGOs is beneficial, producing an effective and worthwhile relationship with positive gains for the participating parties involved (Tsasis, 2009). It is important in this study to understand the barriers to knowledge sharing among NGOs and other parties, as this analysis influences the composition of a KS4D framework which intends to bridge these barriers.

Trust has been an important factor in knowledge-sharing identified in Hasnain and Jasimuddin's (2012) study. Trust is an important factor to knowledge transfer, and a lack of it can be an inhibitor to knowledge transfer, especially when it is a one-way relationship or when NGOs abuse their operations to maximize profit (Hasnain & Jasimuddin's, 2012; Renzl, 2008). Another knowledge-sharing barrier is a lack of absorbing capacity by NGOs, describing an inability of NGOs to absorb knowledge and integrating it into their daily activities (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012). Managing and storing knowledge and information is critical, and weak information management of NGOs inhibits NGOs from effectively absorbing knowledge (Maiers, Reynolds, & Haselkorn, 2005). Other barriers identified by Hasnain & Jasimuddin (2012) are knowledge ambiguities, stubbornness of NGOs, language barriers, religious reasons, lack of training, and duplication in knowledge.

Barriers to knowledge sharing can occur when setting the stage for knowledge sharing among NGOs. Tsasis (2009) notes domain consensus being a problem, when NGOS set expectations of another organization's doing and acting. The argument is

that when no domain consensus existed, NGOs started to compete (Tsasis, 2009). In the author's case studies, NGOs accused each other of lacking directions or being predominantly money driven (Tsasis, 2009). These notions of possible self-esteem, pride, and stubbornness of an NGO have been identified as barriers to NGOs disclosing any knowledge (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012).

To compose and propose a knowledge-sharing framework for NGOs to share their insights and bridge identified knowledge-sharing barriers, this study requires an analysis of knowledge management, its contemporary practices, and current knowledge for development approaches. Understanding these approaches and pitfalls will be valuable in the formulation of a knowledge-sharing approach for NGOs in Tamil Nadu.

2.15. Chapter conclusion::

Poverty is no longer perceived as a simple economic matter of people not having an income or enough to eat (Tripathi, 2007). Sen (1999) expanded on the previous economy outlook of poverty and argues that poverty is strongly related to human values of freedoms and capacities, promoting a shift in focus towards more social indicators in the assessment and measurement of poverty. The inclusion of social indicators has provided a more in-depth understanding of the multi-dimensionality of poverty, yet are criticised to be proxies for the same quantitative approach to poverty. Both the persistent quantitative approach to poverty and criticism towards major development institutions promoted this chapter to expand its literature realm, considering the analysis of a more localised literature.

Poverty in India and Tamil Nadu is caused by a number of factors such as lack of infrastructure and human resources, high illiteracy rates and high infant mortality rates (Datt & Ravallion, 2002). Localised literature emphasises social indicators, such as caste, gender, education, and housing as key contributors to India's continuous poverty (Ahmad, 2011; Alex, 2009; Awan et al., 2011; Mehta & Shah, 2003; Prasad, 2011; Shaka, 2012; World Bank, 2005; Varma et al., 2007; Viswanathan & Tharkar, 2010).

India specifically has come up with their own approaches to reduce poverty, targeted APPs to increase economic growth, introduced reforms of land and tenancy, and provided basic services, and empowerment-based methods (Kochar, 2008; Mehta & Shah, 2003). However, their programmes overall had little effect on the country's poverty situation (Kochar, 2008), due to either poor planning, poor implementation, misidentification of beneficiaries, or weak distribution systems (Malhotra, 2003; Mehta & Shah, 2003; Saxena, 2000; Yesudian, 2007). NGOs as a result played a major part in

India's and Tamil Nadu's efforts in poverty reduction, specifically on the direct delivery of goods and services (Suharko, 2007). However, due to their often small nature and lack of self-sufficiency, their effect on poverty reduction remains limited (Robinson & Riddell, 1995; Suharko, 2007). With regards to knowledge-sharing, authors have noticed the positive impact of knowledge-sharing among NGOs in the impact of their work (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012; Tsasis, 2009); however, barriers to effective knowledge-sharing among NGOs, such as lack of trust, lack of capacity to absorb and manage knowledge, and weak information management were barriers identified in the local literature (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012; Maiers, Reynolds, & Haselkorn, 2005; Tsasis, 2009). As such, it is imperative to review KM and its contemporary practices and applications which will provide valuable insights into its current uses and aid the formulation of a knowledge-sharing approach for NGOs in Tamil Nadu.

3

LITERATURE REVIEW II

Chapter 3 - Knowledge
Management and Development

3.1. Introduction::

In this chapter the case for adopting a post-colonial approach of knowledge-sharing for development (KS4D) will be presented. In Chapter 2, the multi-dimensionality and the interdependency of poverty factors in India and Tamil Nadu was outlined. Furthermore, it was found that NGOs are a large contributor to poverty reduction in India, yet problems in their current knowledge-sharing approaches, specifically regarding trust and knowledge domination, exist. In Chapter 3 it will be argued that a knowledge- sharing approach to poverty reduction based on a post-colonial conceptualisation of development, provides a promising alternative foundation. Post-colonialism focusses attention on the need to understand differences and complex interactions at local levels that shape human activities, including its many perceptions and different alternative ways of knowing (McEwan, 2008). Emphasis is placed on the conceptual reorientation of knowledge perspectives and needs that have a non-Western origin (Young, 2003). Instead of arguing about oppositional polarities between Western ideas and the 'Other', a post-colonial approach allows the creation of new positions "through interactions between researchers and people in different locations" (McEwan, 2008, p. 203). Bhabha (1996) calls this the *third space of in-between*. This 'space' allows for a hybridity in which realities are constructed to form a fusion of philosophies (Frenkel, 2008, p. 928), which challenge the conventional view of binary oppositions, and has potential to reinterpret and reorganise dominant discourses (Bhabha, 1994). An understanding of the past and contemporary domains and ideals of knowledge management (KM) is necessary to understand a post-colonial KS4D approach.

This chapter is divided into four main sections. In the first section post-colonial theory is critically examined and presented as the theoretical foundation for a discussion about KM. In the second section, the evolution of KM is briefly outlined from its origins in the early 20th Century, to its development over the last two decades. In the third section, the idea of development is discussed, the connections to KM explored, and a number of unaddressed research questions identified. Finally, the idea of Knowledge-Sharing for Development (KS4D) is presented as an alternative theoretical and practical development framework that is the focus of this thesis.

3.2. A post-colonial approach towards development thinking::

The multi-dimensionality and complexity of poverty in India and Tamil Nadu discussed in Chapter 2 fits well within a post-colonial alternative as a development foundation for a knowledge sharing approach in Tamil Nadu. Post-colonialism focusses attention on the need to understand differences and complex interactions

at local levels that shape human activities, which include multiple perceptions and alternative ways of knowing (McClintock, 1992; McEwan, 2008; Sidaway, 2000). Post-colonial perspectives originated at the strands of post-development that have sought to go beyond simple critique of established development approaches, and reflect and reassess the perception of the *Global South* (Escobar, 1995; Simon, 2006). Post-development, similar to post-colonialism, rejects existing institutions and procedures, arguing that 'mainstream multilateral poverty eradication strategies become diluted and ineffective' (Simon, 2006, p. 12). This movement presented a strong reaction to development dilemmas, denouncing modernist ways of development, presenting both an 'anti-development', and 'beyond development' perspective (Pieterse, 2000).

Post-colonialism is oftne misconceived as the study of previously colonised societies (Ziai, 2011). No current consensus among authors exists on the precise meaning of post-colonialism beyond the colonisation phenomenon (Ziai, 2011); however, one definition of the term describes practices that characterise societies of the post-colonial world since the moment of colonisation (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995). This places the central emphasis of post-colonialism as a resistance to colonial dominations and its legacies (Loomba, 2005), and as a conceptual reorientation towards knowledge perspectives and needs that have a non-Western origin (Young, 2003). This is similar to post-development theory, rejecting development as the 'new religion of the West' (Pieterse, 2000, p. 175). A key defining characteristic of this paradigm is its emphasis on knowledge production, introducing an 'oppositional criticism' (Omar, 2012, p. 45) with attention to "illegitimate, disqualified or subjugated knowledge" (Foucault, 1980, p. 82) of the decolonised. Post-colonialism represents the 'other' in cultures, societies, and people (McEwan, 2008). It puts forth an anti-development movement (Pieterse, 2010), foregrounds a critique of global capitalist political economy, and illuminates its cultural and ideological underpinnings (McEwan, 2008). Nonetheless, the paradigm has drawbacks on both a theoretical and practical level (Lehman, 1997; Pieterse, 2000).

::Critiques of post-colonialism

Current debates and critiques on the post-colonial approach primarily focus on its 'theoretical abstraction' and difficulties of composing actionable suggestions (Jacobs, 1996). Post-colonialism is accused by realists of ignoring human rights issues and freedoms of people who are marginalised (McEwan, 2008). The 'theoretical abstractions' (Jacobs, 1996) often do not explicitly connect to concrete or local conditions of daily life and are very challenging to translate into direct action politics. Post-colonial representation in text or imagery is claimed to be too farfetched and do not adequately represent demands and constraints of an impoverished majority

(Jackson, 1997; Jacobs, 1996). It appears to offer an overly complex theory that, contrary to previous claims, ignores the actual daily problems in the Global South (Sharp and Briggs 2006). As such, there appears to be no cross-referencing possible between post-colonialism and development (Sharp & Briggs, 2006).

Post-colonialism's dismissal of universalist assumptions of political economies also fail to recognise the material ways in which colonial power relations are maintained. The relationship between post-colonialism and a global capitalist system is critiqued to be absent in post-colonial writing (Ahmad, 1994; Dirlik, 1994). Hall (1996) claims that even scholars, who are sympathetic to post-colonial development ideals, have pointed out the absence of a post-colonial-globalisation link, and a resulted polarisation of both, to their mutual disadvantage. This ignorance of power relationships manifests also at the local level post-colonialism which does not acknowledge power relations working at local levels that can restrict capabilities and freedoms of people at that level (Hall, 1996; McEwan, 2008). The absence of a post-colonial-globalisation link and the polarisation of both phenomena (McEwan, 2008) question the suitability of this approach at a local level as both material dependencies and power inequalities restrict people's capabilities. Post-colonial development praxis would reinforce colonialist and western-centred ideals (Sharp & Briggs, 2006), ignorant to communities and indigenous responses. This outside-claimed expertise and problem analysis with intervention plans are argued to be not different from colonial power relationships (Li, 2007).

In opposition to this critical assessment, Bhabha (1994) refers to the 'post' in post-colonialism not to a time after colonisation, but to assumptions behind colonial *idealisms* (Frenkel, 2008). McEwan (2008, p. 111) argues that "development studies and post-colonial approaches [should] be mutually informative". For a development researcher, a post-colonial approach of reassessing perspectives and realities is not about speaking for an individual or group, but about "developing new positions through interactions between researchers and people in different locations" (McEwan, 2008, p. 203). Bhabha (1996) calls this the *third space of in-between*. It is here that this thesis takes as a point of departure.

::The Third Space

This Bhabhian Third Space is characterised as a rejection of colonial authority and a resistance to marginality that does not allow for established oppositional polarities (Bhabha, 1990; Frenkel, 2008; Moles, 2008). This 'space' in which those interactions take place are not exclusively governed by laws or assumed as a ruler/ruled role interaction, but instead is a space where "hybrid cultures are constructed

that belong to neither of them but are instead a fusion of the two" (Frenkel, 2008, p. 928). This *hybridity* challenges a colonial view of binary oppositions, and has the potential to intervene and disrupt dominance by reinterpreting and reorganising dominant discourses (Bhabha, 1994). Translation and negotiation, where differences between knowledges meet, is found within the Third Space (Bhabha, 1994). It is that place of expression in which researcher and researched can forge identities and where marginalised voices are able to be heard, erasing the coloniser/colonised categories (Moles, 2008). Within the Third Space, post-colonialism becomes 'a fighting term, a theoretical weapon' (Lazarus, 2004, p. 4), which resists political and philosophical constructions and intervenes in existing debates, simultaneously being creatively open to expansion and reinterpretation into new directions (Soja, 1996). One is able to construct a position where theory and methods blur, theory being method and method being theory (Moles, 2008). This allows for the formulation of an inclusive, co-research approach in which researcher and researched are mutually dependent on each other in an equal power relationship.

The critical point that makes the Bhabhaian perspective relevant for this thesis is the postmodern relation between power and knowledge and the assumption that power relations between coloniser and colonised cannot be adequately understood by looking at resources and structural forces, but from an argued relational aspect. The relational aspect, being associated with systems of classifications, institutionalised practices, techniques, and procedures, makes the Third Space (Bhabha, 1994; Frenkel, 2008; Townley, 1993).

::Post-colonialism within a knowledge-sharing approach

Applying post-colonialism to KM is logical in the light of the overall prevalent attention currently given to the transfer of management knowledge, technologies, and practices across national and regional boundaries (Adler, 2002; Bartlett, Ghoshal, & Birkinshaw, 2004). Post-colonial theory in general and the Bhabhian Third Space in particular provide groundwork for KM as management studies have strived to uncover societal structures, ideologies, and power-relations within management discourses (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Frenkel, 2008; Peltonen, 2006).

Post-colonial critiques focus on approaches "in which the unequal and uneven relations between the first and third worlds mould management discourses and practices" (Frenkel, 2008, p. 925). Critiques have pointed in the direction of exclusion and silencing of 'strange' organisation knowledge of non-Western 'Others' (Frenkel, 2008; Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006). Bhabha (1994) sees this transfer of metropole's knowledge into the colonial peripheral as *the discourse of mimicry*. This mimicry is not

only aimed at changing the conduct of the colonised, but also reshaping its very identity (Bhabha, 1994). It highlights power differences between coloniser and colonised, the former holding preferred knowledge and the latter lacking such and forced to import it (Frenkel, 2008). A post-colonial approach of knowledge sharing is applicable, as it does not represent knowledge from the coloniser as the only knowledge worth transferring, but considers other non-Western rationalities which may legitimately aspire to some universality (Omar, 2012). The Third Space as a liminal space in particular is suitable for a knowledge-sharing approach as it allows for an exchange of experiences and means between Western thought and that of the 'Other'.

For Bhabha (1994), knowledge transfer and its instruments are not neutral instruments, and as such, 'best' and 'most rational' knowledge, technologies, and strategies do not apply. Instead, they "should all be understood as systems of classifications that both represent and reproduce social hierarchies (Frenkel, 2008, p. 926). A successful knowledge transfer process would then leave both management practices and technologies implemented in a social context that differ significantly from the ones in which they were developed (Frenkel, 2008). This may instigate meaningful changes in technological, economic, political or cultural characteristics of the receiving or adopting societies, potentially improving them (Meyer, 2002). Within the context of this approach, current KM and past development approaches must be reviewed and examined to justify and legitimise a post-colonial ground for an alternative knowledge sharing approach.

3.3. The philosophy of knowledge management::

The concept of knowledge is a complicated one and difficult to measure (Karahan, 2012; Ribeiro, 2012). Knowledge does not exist in separate, elements or *locutions* (knowing how, knowing who), but more in the interplay of such (Abdul Kalam, 2002; Davis, 1958; Feyerabend, 1999; Hassell, 2007; McGinn, 1984), and is inherently a social activity. The distinction between *tacit* and *explicit* knowledge has further been established by authors (Kärreman, 2010; Ribeiro, 2012; Robinson, 1971; Srikantaiah & Koenig, 2000). Knowledge being tacit in nature has been with researchers and philosophers for decades (Ribeiro, 2012). It refers to a knowledge developed through experience which cannot be passed on via explicit information (Polanyi, 1966a). Tacit knowledge therefore becomes "the experience of a human being" (Hassell, 2007, p. 187) and cannot be separated from the knowing individual (Davis, 1958; Hassell, 2007). Explicit knowledge on the other hand can be formalised and documented (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Ribeiro, 2012). In Western philosophy, Kant (1787) has argued that knowledge cannot exist outside the prospect of experience. While the

nature of experience is a debated one (Hassell, 2007), in the context of knowledge, it cannot happen without social activity or *Lebenswelt* (Life World) (Husserl, 1970). There appears to be distinct separations between tacit and explicit knowledge on the grounds of a formalising barrier, bringing some order to the overall ambiguous concept of knowledge (Kärreman, 2010). A more useful way to think of the relationship between tacit and explicit knowledge than two opposite ends, is the interpretation as two sides of one coin, or one illuminating the other (Kärreman, 2010; Tsoukas, 2005). This reflection is supported by Polanyi (1966b, p. 7) in that "explicit knowledge must rely on being tacitly understood and applied". Even the purest form of knowledge, mathematics, remains dependent on the mind (Lakoff & Nunez, 2000). Knowledge therefore cannot be understood as any single act or any kind of event, or as a process of knowing, but instead describes an interaction of *getting to know* (Robinson, 1971).

A fundamental element in human motivation is its desire to *know* (Davis, 1958). The concept of knowledge is not identical to power, which means that just because one knows, it does not mean that one can apply (Robinson, 1971). Nevertheless, knowledge "involves and gives various powers to its possessor" (Robinson, 1971, p. 17), creating *capability* to apply knowledge to transform conditions to achieve a better quality of life (Abdul Kalam, 2002; Hjorth, 2003). From this standpoint, knowledge is seen as a catalyst to capabilities, in Sen's (2000) context and to *freedoms* in context of poverty. This power can be seen as a productive force, a resource, rather than a restriction. It enables social agents to act in certain ways (Kärreman, 2010), to exercise freedoms. In this view, the concept of knowledge becomes a 'power to', rather than 'power over' (Chan, 2000).

This capability and 'power to' concept in relation to knowledge is a helpful approach to knowledge-sharing for development, as it promotes interactions and relations, empowering people by providing means to be in a 'state of mind of knowing' (Robinson, 1971), and independently acting on knowing. The last quarter of the century has witnessed a rapid increase in knowledge creation and dissemination, and a phenomenon was observed about the global economy of the increased contribution of intangible assets over tangible ones, becoming the major creator of corporate value (Karahan, 2012; Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). The rising awareness of the commercial value of knowledge in combination with globalisation and progress in information technology gave rise to knowledge application in a managerial context (Prusak, 2001).

3.4. From philosophical to managerial knowledge::

Organisations have started to recognise the role of knowledge as the key source of potential for economic growth (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002; Wiig, 1997), and KM has since become a much debated topic (Quintas, Lefrere, & Jones, 1997). Based on the 'economics of ideas' by Romer (1993), this model differs sharply from the traditional economics-based perspective observed, that places the emphasis of economic growth on scarcity of resources, labour, and capital (Wiig, 1997). Due to the social complexity and difficulty of imitation, the knowledge-based view became a synonym for long-term sustainable organisational advantage (Alavi & Leidner, 2001). Over the past twenty years, KM evolved from an informational management approach to a strategic-based one, and has found application outside of business, in society at large, in education, urban development, governance, healthcare, and others (Metaxiotis, Carrillo, & Yigitcanlar, 2010). To consider future roles and importance of KM, a revision of historic and cultural foundations upon which the phenomenon is founded on is necessary, as well as KM's evolving generational developments, perspectives, and purposes (Day, 2001a; Wiig 1997).

::History of knowledge management

KM originated as part of European documentation that reached from the founding of the International Institute of Bibliography in 1895 to its highpoint of information science after World War II (Day, 2001b). The term 'documentation' was understood as the interplay between social systems and information technology (Buckland, 1997; Day, 2001a), a predecessor to KM. It was within an observed 'scientific' culture of modernity, similar to development efforts after World War II, that documentation was not simply a bibliographical technique, or a collection or preservation of books, but a *cultural* technique (Day 1997, 2001b). Documentation became a symptom and producer of a modernist culture and influenced later culture and developments that shifted information technology and information science to an information culture, and ultimately to an information age (Day, 2001a).

::Paul Otlet – The first wave of European documentation

One of the pioneers of European documentation considered is Paul Otlet in the 1920s and 1930s who saw books and documents as "central figures in human communication and the conveyance of knowledge" (Tourney, 2003, p. 296). In Otlet's view, this would not only allow for technical innovations, but also for global information and technologies, essentially forming an 'information society' (Day,

2001b). His greatest work came from envisioning a global bibliographic inventory, *repertiore bibliographique universel,* which at the time of its closure accumulated 18 million items (Day, 2001a). His understanding of documentation was expressed through a metaphor he called 'the book' (Buckland, 1997).

Otlet's understanding of *the book* was essentially organic in nature, not as a representation of nature, but a form of mental and bibliographical energy (Buckland, 1997; Day, 1997). As an agent to contain mental energy and an one of transformation, Otlet's metaphor of the book developed into the book as a "machine" (Day, 1997). The "book-machine" for Otlet, became an assemblage of parts that were connected to other forces and mechanisms that it could embody and act upon. It was connected to other machines to form larger entities that would allow the movement of energy (Day, 1997). The book would not only state theories, and translate them, but also form them. The book-machine gains power and meaning through interaction of the world 'within' it (Day, 1997). It is not simply an opinion or face of a single author, but would "*always already* contain many forces, bodies, and senses" (Day, 1997, p. 313). Otlet foresaw many technical aspects linked to a modern day 'information age', but also pushed for what in the twentieth century became known as 'internationalism' (Day, 1997, 2001a). Otlet understood the importance of knowledge and mediums of transmission for people to access (Day, 2001a). Suzanne Briet, writing a generation, expanded documentation not only as a methodology, but expanded the nature of "documents" themselves (Tourney, 2003).

::Suzanne Briet - The second wave of European documentation

Suzanne Briet (otherwise known as 'Madame Documentation') led the second wave of European documentation and emphasised that accumulated knowledge should be organised within 'dynamic', 'rapid', and 'precise' systems (Day, 2001a). For Briet, knowledge organisation in any types of production system required social organisation and is designed within the context of the cultural values of industrial modernity overall (Day, 2001a). Briet emphasised the inseparability of knowledge not only from a society, but also from its culture. She defined documentation as a 'cultural technique', despite its proclamation as a science, expanding documentation from "documents" to "culture demands…and cultural habitus within the instrumentalisation of science" (Day, 2001a, p. 728).

In 1951, Briet published a manifesto 'What is documentation' and argues that documents are support for facts (Buckland, 1997). In her famous example of the Antelope (Briet, 1951; Buckland, 1997; Day, 1997, 2001a; Maack, 2004), Briet cited the Antelope as a document, placing emphasis on other media such as paintings, films,

and statues having documentary value as well, rather than a book or paper text (What is a document?) (Buckland, 1997; Day, 2001b; Tourney, 2003). Documents for Briet would have an *evidentiary* nature and any item able to record and hold information would classify as such (Tourney, 2003). This evidence would derive from a positivist nature, for example an object or event of proof of some factual question, but appealing to a more philosophical and linguistic approach, almost semiotic in nature (Day, 2001b). Both Otlet's and Briet's ideas of storing knowledge or 'facts' in books and other documents is debated by Martin Heidegger and Walter Benjamin, critisising a modernist approach to knowledge and documentation on the basis of a different and alternative knowledge dimension other than the explicit.

::Martin Heidegger and Walter Benjamin

Heidegger and Benjamin expanded the concept of knowledge management in the 1960s, introducing contextual knowledge, a vast range of human experience which is inherently informalisable (Benjamin, 1968; Caygill, 1997; Clark, 2011; Heidegger, 1953). The inseparability of knowledge from its originator arguably led to the origin of a tacit knowledge, a close connection to Heidegger's idea of *Dasein* (lit. translated 'being', but in a larger multidimensional sense) and Benjamin's idea of *Erfahrung* (lit. translated 'experience'). In Heidegger's opinion, knowledge cannot be separated from speakers and their historical and social context, becoming inseparable from space and time (Day, 2001a). He consequently criticises the 'objective' and the 'factual', questioning the possibility of an apparatus of objective knowledge transmission, arguing that knowledge or communication in general, for that matter, cannot be objective (Day, 2001a). Knowledge to Heidegger therefore cannot be "divorced from the meeting of heterogeneous horizons for understanding, and if it cannot be separated from site and time specificities, it therefore cannot be said to be embodied in any singular mind or even a group of minds" (Day, 2001a, p. 729).

For Walter Benjamin, opposite to the public or factual knowledge experience lays *Erfahrung*, describing knowledge made up of entities that are inexpressible or not able to be captured otherwise (Day, 2001a). Similar to *Erfahrung*, an *Erlebnis* for Benjamin is a form of reality in a very public context that is combined with a certain ideological perception (Day, 2001a). Benjamin critiqued the accepted ideas of knowledge on the basis of this ideological production of information and communication. Though new technologies develop that help to include knowledge and experience in a "mass manner" of journalism (Day, 2001a), Benjamin (1968) argues that this experience could turn back on peoples' own ideologies, possibly 'converting' them to different kinds of experiences and ideals. He perceived this 'informationalisation' of modernity

on a political basis as a threat to the freedom of people, as knowledge in the form of representation and its instrumentalisation would formalise and control language (Day 2001a). Technology then would turn "against representation by means of a rapid and broad increase in the mode of technical reproduction" (Day, 2001a, p. 731). Benjamin (1968) called the capitalist modernity's type of explicit knowledge *Abfall* (lit. translated waste, leftover), emphasising on the recognition and use of experiences that by the logic of capitalist production are not valid. Knowledge 'lives' inside its owner unacknowledged. The 'knowledge turn' in organisations came as an event of the discussed macro socio-historical nature sparked by European Documentation, with organisations moving into an information age where knowledge has become their most valued asset (Spender & Scherer, 2007).

Knowledge and the process to create and manage it has since become a key factor for organisation's competitive advantages (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). Knowledge Management has become an important term in a contemporary business context and its current approaches need to be discussed, as its application in business forms groundwork for a more recent social development, Knowledge for Development (K4D), paradigm.

3.5. Knowledge Management in a Contemporary Business Context::

"Knowledge is the only meaningful economic resource." - Peter Drucker (1995)

Knowledge Management in contemporary business describes a discipline that promotes an integrated approach to "identifying, capturing, evaluating, retrieving, and sharing all of an enterprise's information assets" (Srikantaiah & Koenig, 2000, p. 2). The last decade witnessed a shift in company strategy from a capital intensive approach to a more knowledge intensive one, recognising intellectual over physical labour (Spender & Scherer, 2007). Two main perspectives or *generations* of KM have been witnessed in contemporary business (McElroy, 2000). The first generation of KM is about imitation with its focus being on standards and benchmarks, enhancing day-to-day business performance, whereas the second generation of KM is about education and innovation (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002; McElroy, 2000).

The first generation of KM heavily focussed on capturing, coding, and the transfer of existing knowledge (du Plessis, 2007; Firestone, 2003; Horton et al., 2011; McElroy, 2000, 2003; Rasheed et al., 2011). This strategy relies mostly on technical solutions and "getting the right information to the right people at the right time" (Horton et al., 2011, p. 66). Knowledge management systems of this generation relied predominantly on textual data bases (Hassell, 2007), and the majority of KM consultants see that

information technology (IT) is KM's principal support tool (Spender & Scherer, 2007). Granted, the IT aspect of KM is important. However the technological aspect is a mere tool or enabler to manage knowledge on a 'best practices' and 'lessons learnt' basis (Firestone 2003; ILO Joint Inspection Unit, 2004). As such, they have little to do with knowledge in its conventional definition, and the proclaimed KM solutions are little more than outdated technology-centric information retrieval systems (McElroy, 2000; Spender & Scherer, 2007). The focus is on knowledge operation and use (McElroy, 2000) and it is never certain when a company uses a KM or knowledge processing (Firestone, 2003). This makes the effectiveness of this system difficult (Firestone, 2003). A new, second generation KM system was required that would place greater emphasis on learning and knowledge creation (McElroy, 2003).

The second generation of KM gained conceptual traction by transcending knowledge storage and transfer, focusing on 'enhancing capacities' of groups and individuals to create new knowledge to achieve goals (Horton et al., 2011). The second generation KM is distinguished from the first generation KM in the assumption that knowledge does not simply exist, but is created by humans to meet the adaptive needs of organisations (Firestone, 2003). This is not limited to explicit knowledge in the form of documents and electronic data, but includes tacit knowledge in the process of human communication (Spender & Scherer, 2007). This includes un-codified expertise and experience within individual workers (Srikantaiah & Koenig, 2000). The focus and emphasis on both learning and human connection generates new knowledge, forming a knowledge production concept (Firestone, 2003; Rasheed et al., 2011). This satisfies the organisational 'demand' side of knowledge to create optimal conditions for new knowledge production (McElroy, 2000). This new knowledge gets distributed effectively throughout the organisation via information communication technology (ICT) systems (McElroy, 2000). This generation of KM presents organisational and technical challenges, as in an organisational sense it requires its employees to work with a wide range of communication technologies (Lloyd, 1996). The knowledge created in organisation is also characterised by knowledge that works – *commercial* knowledge (Demarest, 1997). Commercial knowledge differs from both philosophical and scientific knowledge as discussed previously. Commercial knowledge is rejected as being scientific on the basis that scientific knowledge, as a very paradigmatic form of knowledge, is conventional, and therefore "all principles aspire to be physics" (Demarest, 1997, p. 375), which is not adequate for commercial knowledge. The philosophical knowledge aspect falls under criticism from post-structuralist thought that truth, being embedded in language, is simply inaccessible (Demarest, 1997). The goal of commercial knowledge is not truth, but its effective performance, its *truth value* being directly linked to its ability to generate desirable commercial performance

in both a competitive and financial context (Demarest, 1997; Lloyd, 1996; Quintas, Lefrere, & Jones, 1997). This performance is achieved by successful construction, dissemination, use, and embodiment of knowledge (Demarest, 1997). This approach however is limited to its business application and does not respond to the need for knowledge for ethical social innovation and for development (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). The new third generation of KM evolved as a prescriptive development driver to empower individuals in co-creation of sustainable development (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002).

::Knowledge Management for Development

The third generation of KM goes beyond business applications with primary focus on ethical-social innovation and development (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). Whereas the first generation KM focussed on 'what is', the second generation on 'what could be' (McElroy, 2000), the third generation of KM presents and explores 'what should be' (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). This type of knowledge generated differs from commercial knowledge as it is not as much about know-how, but rather, know-why (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). KM has previously shifted from meeting benchmarks to pioneering innovation, with the third generation KM being about knowledge democratisation, and the expansion of educational boundaries to create an authentic learning society, that "empowers individuals and groups to participate in the co-creation of sustainable and evolutionary futures" (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002, p. 408). This emerging *policy paradigm*, essentially a system-perspective, focussed on shaping economic strategies, social visions, and other projects, became known as the Knowledge Based Economy (KBE) (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006; Karahan, 2012; Kefela, 2010; Sabau, 2010; Sum & Jessop, 2013). The frameworks of measures and methods of a KBE composed by international organisations is crucial in understanding its dynamics and the creation of a more focussed poverty-reducing Knowledge for Development (K4D) paradigm.

3.6. Knowledge Based Economies and Knowledge for Development::

The 'Knowledge Based Economy' (KBE), the term coined by the OECD and built on Peter Drucker's 'knowledge society', describes an economy that is no longer based on labour and capital alone, but on distribution and use of information and knowledge (OECD, 1996). In the last decade, the World Bank and other international institutions built on this KBE approach and have started promoting a 'Knowledge for Development' (K4D) paradigm in many post-colonial contexts (Radhakrishnan, 2007). National economies, no matter at what stage of economic development, are using knowledge to a lesser or greater extent as a development engine (Asian Development Bank, 2007; Chen & Dahlman, 2005; Kefela, 2010). For countries at the forefront of economic

development, knowledge has become a more significant wealth and innovation factor than resources. For developing countries, the need to increase their knowledge base has become a priority, to educate its people, and acquire technologies to distribute knowledge, improving development prospects (World Bank, 1998).

The notion of KBE and its knowledge management to create economic returns has been used extensively in the literature in recent years (Schiliro, 2012). KBE holds its origin as a theoretical and scientific paradigm in the 1960s, but gradually evolved into a policy driven paradigm in the 1980s and more explicitly in the 1990s (Sum & Jessop, 2013). The OECD predominantly promoted this paradigm as an alternative for advanced capital economies caught in the cycle of mass production and mass consumption (Sum & Jessop, 2013). In 1998, the World Bank (1998) also released a report outlining the importance of knowledge in a country's development, arguing that knowledge is critical to transform resources into things the countries need. The key component to a knowledge economy focusses on intellectual capabilities with the aim of improving processes in every stage of production, from R&D, to factory floors, to liaison with customers (Schiliro, 2012). The production of new ideas would ultimately lead to improved goods and services (Kefela, 2010; Schiliro, 2012). The KBE is different from previous approaches, as its focus is not only on human capital, but also on sectorial characteristics, like government regimes, innovation systems, and technology (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006). Within a KBE, KM essentially becomes a "vehicle for enabling evolutionary learning processes that empower individuals and groups to participate in the co-creation of sustainable and evolutionary futures" (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002, p. 408). Many authors are in agreement of the economic returns a KBE holds (Foray, 2004; Karahan, 2012; Kefela, 2010; Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002; OECD, 1996; World Bank, 1998) and successful competition depends on that knowledge base and human capital (Sum & Jessop, 2013) Knowledge-sharing is the hallmark of such a knowledge economy (Sharma, Chandrasekar, & Vaitheeswaran, 2010), underpinned by a flexible learning system (Kefela, 2010).

KBE is characterised in that it is essentially a learning economy (Lundvall, 2004). A knowledge-driven economy demands a larger number of educated workers with tertiary education in both developed and developing countries (Schiliro, 2012; TLRP, 2008). It begins with basic education to provide a foundation for learning and evolves into secondary and tertiary education to develop skills and critical thinking for problem solving and innovation (Kefela, 2010). KBEs are therefore strongly dependent on investment in human capital. Human capital theory argues that education and training are investments, yielding social and private returns from increased knowledge and skills, resulting in economic development and social progress (Schultz, 1963). Perhaps the biggest drawback to the KBE concept lies within its difficulty of measurement and

classification of indicators (Karahan, 2012; Schiliro, 2012). The concept of knowledge however proves difficult to quantify (Karahan, 2012) due to the different objectives it can pursue (Schiliro, 2012). The understanding of what encapsulates a KBE is constrained by the quality and extent of knowledge-related indicators (Karahan, 2012). It cannot be assumed that the vast amount of information available on KBE yields precise information and effective measurement indicators (Karahan, 2012). Without these, policy recommendations are difficult or impossible to formulate (Karahan, 2012).

Despite these difficulties, major development institutions which have pioneered the KBE framework, constructed data bases, ranked countries against indicators, and proposed an overarching K4D approach as policies and 'best routes' for developing countries to achieve economic growth (Sum & Jessop, 2013). K4D strategies are recommended by large-scale multinationals like the World Bank, smaller private NGOs, and both governmental and privately funded knowledge conferences (Radhakrishnan, 2007). Three main Knowledge Assessment Methodologies (KAMs) have emerged on analysing and measuring a KBE, namely the World Bank's K4D approach, the OECD Knowledge Economy Indicators, and the European Union Knowledge Development Indicators (Karahan, 2012; Sabau, 2010; Sum & Jessop, 2013). These approaches, apart from economic factors, also include social factors in their analysis, proposed earlier by Sen (2000). To understand the basis and foundation of these approaches, it is important to first survey the meaning that development has acquired over time (Pieterse, 2010).

3.7. Review of Development Theories::

The idea of development has been described as *the* idea of the twentieth century (Brown, 1996). Much of the published literature and institutional actions on development since the 1990s and the early twenty-first century have moved from very quantified-based economic-driven development theories towards focus on the idea of human development, especially with the aim of poverty reduction (White, 1999). With international organisations previously outlining KAMs for KBEs, the World Bank proposes a four-pillar K4D framework for developing countries, that outlines four elements upon which knowledge and its supporting innovation-related policies should be built (Chen & Dahlman, 2005; World Bank, 2007). Coined as the *Pillars of the Knowledge Economy*, they constitute: Economic Incentives, Institutional Regimes, Education and Human Resources, and ICT (Chen and Dahlman 2005; Karahan 2012). These four pillars are necessary in the "sustained creation, adoption, adaptation and use of knowledge in domestic economic production" which leads to the

creation of higher value-adding goods and services (Karahan, 2012, p. 23). The Asian Development Bank contributed to the implementation of the World Bank's larger knowledge based development framework by promoting a knowledge for poverty alleviation (KPA) approach which uses intellectual capital concepts eradicating poverty (Asian Development Bank, 2007). The KPA framework recognises various forms of intangible assets that a community can either possesses or have access to (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). New insights can be used and managed to leverage a community's current tangible assets and allowed to sustainably protect those tangible and intangible assets (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008; United Nations 2010). The assessment and subsequent criticism of these development frameworks using knowledge, requires an understanding of the meaning that development has derived , maintained and evolved to, over time.

::Development history – paradigms and Third World

As a sub-discipline, development studies have its origin in the late 1960s and 1970s. It reflected a different reality to what it has become today. As a product of the Second World War, it is rooted in the practical application in policy and was strongly associated with modernisation and the intention of governments to improve the material condition of their population and the transformation of society into a modern industrialised state (Brown, 1996; Servaes, 1986). This *modernisation paradigm* grew out of Western culture and was strongly associated with growth and progress of a social-political nature (Servaes, 1986). 'Underdevelopment' was defined as the difference between rich and poor nations, in which development assumed to bridge this rich-poor gap and make developed countries imitate 'the West' (Hettne, 1995; Servaes, 1986). Modernisation was underlined by *structuralist* ideals, grounded in the belief that a degree of intervention in the development of *developing* countries was necessary as institutional conditions were deemed less automatic than in developed ones (Hettne, 1995). The Cold War formalised differences between development stages of the industrialised Western nations and of nations that became known as the *Third World* (Hettne, 1995; Wolf-Phillips, 1987). Development in tandem with 'modernity' within the social sciences built a profound contrast to the 'savage' and 'uncivilised' non-Western world, making it the 'nonconformity of the Third World' and an alter ego to the developed 'West' (Power, 2008). Social structures and political systems of less developed countries were not understood in terms of primarily domestic considerations relevant to the country, but in terms of their insertion into the international capitalist system (Booth, 1985). After the decrease of tensions from the Cold War, the term 'Third World' remained a synonym for neglect, exploitation, and revolutionary potential (Wolf-Phillips, 1987), and drifted away from an intervention-

for-development term by modernisation theorists. The failure of actual progress and development that was predicted by the modernisation paradigm brought criticism to the modernisation approach (Sevaes, 1986). Mexican sociologist Rodolfo Stavenhagen argued that formal divisions (agrarian – modern; urban – rural) by modernisation has resulted in greater inequality and underdevelopment. The modernisation paradigm was empirically impossible to maintain, backed by an inadequate philosophical foundation, and was practically incapable of generating growth in the Third World (Frank, 1969). Consequences of this paradigm on a local, political, and cultural level were also ignored, making the ethnocentric nature of this development approach a question of ethics (Sevaes, 1986). A school of thought that challenged this modernisation approach from the 1960s onwards was the Latin American *Dependencia School* that emphasised the weak position of poor nations in the world system (Hettne, 1995). Another critique to modernisation was post-development, which sets itself apart from other development theories in that it rejects development (Pieterse , 2000) and suggests that 'human development is not the real goal of development; human control and domination is' (Rapley, 2006, p. 352). This thesis therefore continues this analysis of development from a dependency perspective and not post-development, as capacity building and human improvement is central to this thesis.

Dependency theory did not view the shortages of capital or management as obstacles to development, but as an obstacle to the at the time present international system (Servaes, 1986). Dependency theorists argued that the primary cause for within-nation inequality was the between-nation inequality. Development in the *centre*, developed countries, determined and maintained underdevelopment of a *periphery*, the Third World, with 'dependentistas' set out to counter the harmful effects of this dependency relationship (Servaes, 1986; Uche, 1994). The 'dependentistas' development paradigm did not differ too much from the modernisation and structuralist schools in respect to development *content*, however its means of radical political transformation and de-linking underdeveloped economies from the world market differed (Blomström & Hettne, 1984). Although the dependency theory was more a collection of criticisms to the modernisation paradigm, it deals primarily with causes of underdevelopment, rather than the means to improve and establish new development approaches (Mowlana & Wilson, 1990). The paradigms further fail to understand a complex post-colonial reality (Servaes, 1986). The lack of concern of internal class and state analyses within the periphery, very static and monolithic economic-based approaches, and an overstress on external influences as the causes of underdevelopment questions this approach as a suitable development strategy (Booth, 1985; Servaes, 1986). With dependency theorists in the 1970s denouncing modernisation as secretive and an authoritative paradigm and modernisation theorists accusing dependency theorists as being populist

and a pseudo-science, development studies has found itself at an impasse of paradigms (Hove, 2004; Nabudere, 1997; Schuurman, 1993). The understanding of this impasse is important as it laid the foundation for new development thinking and the inclusion of knowledge into the development paradigm.

::Development impasse and beyond

The theoretical impasse of paradigms has its origin in three factors that have shaken up the perceived realities of social scientists. Those realities, namely the failure of Third World development, the rise of post-modernism, and Globalisation, caused development studies to come to an abrupt halt. The criticism of established theories caused a 'crisis of paradigms' (Hove, 2004; Schuurman, 1993).

The failure of Third World development is attributed to a drop in a number of development indicators in the 1980s, and given the growth rates at that time, "it would take another 150 years for Third World countries to achieve even half the per capita income of Western countries" (Schuurman, 1993, p. 1). The gap between development 'frontrunners' and 'stragglers' increased to the point that closing the gap is becoming unimaginable and its closure doubtful (Sachs, 1997). Problems like unemployment, poor housing, and human rights offenses increased. Income differences between First and Third World countries rose from 20:1 in 1980 to an estimated 60:1 in 1989 (Schuurman, 1993). Modernisation theorists could not account for any of these. Trying to replicate the experience of already industrialised countries as an efficient means of development and following the patterns of the 'new nations' evidently proved ineffective, more aptly, counter-productive. The model was applied with the intention of self-sustained growth in the Third World, but became a formula for dependency due to the massive debt acquired by those nations (Schuurman, 1993).

The impasse is further explained by with the rise of postmodernity, emerging in the 1980s, that formed fundamental critique on the 'grand narratives' and normative characteristics of specifically development studies (Schuurman, 1993; Servaes, 1986). With postmodernists denying a common reality or a 'truth', it effectively undermined modernisation and dependency theories which were dependent on a common perception or an established accepted truth. The failure of the grand development narratives of the post-World War II era resulted in the notion of 'diversity', specifically socio-economic diversity, which gradually began to substitute universalist or reductionist dimensions (Schuurman, 1993). This resulted in the focussed attention of development practitioners to build upon local knowledge and focus on unique objectives, rather than on an inflexible, almost alien set of ideologies (Binns & Nel, 1999).

A final challenge to both development paradigms was globalisation. Globalisation challenged post-Second World War developmental paradigms of a government-driven economic industrialisation. The shift of theory moved towards an association with an internationalisation phase "to which development was an inherently universal and increasingly global economics process" (Hettne, 2002, p. 8). With the "nation-state" losing perception as the dominant institution for development analysis and action, new branches of social development emerged, trying to connect with the various aspects of development trajectories and diversity (Schuurman, 1993).

A new consensus emerged that development is about poverty-reduction and has become a major priority for international development communities (Hjorth, 2003). As such, the 'accepted reality' of development solely identifying with industrialising nations and intervention became increasingly scrutinised and has not been accepted by all social scientists. Previous 'conglomerate perspectives' (Anand & Sen, 1997) have been challenged on the development of people being a more complex than simple economic measure (Hove, 2004). This caused a shift by most prominent development institutions (United Nations, World Bank, individual national governments) towards more alternative approaches to development (Hove 2004).

3.8. Development and K4D::

A change in development focus emerged from the perceived impasse in development theory (Binns & Nel, 1999; Schuurman, 1993) and sustainable development was promoted as the new direction (Hove, 2004). According to the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), sustainable development is classified as a type of development that is able to address the needs of the present without compromising on future generations being able to meet their own needs (Brundtland, 1987). This development includes the optimisation of socio-economic benefits and the inclusion of environmental and societal elements that move beyond material needs without endangering the same opportunities for future generations (Haque, 1999). An important aspect among the various considerations and inclusions to sustainable development is its acknowledgement of its multidimensionality (Haque, 1999). The strength of sustainability included in a poverty concept lies within its acknowledgement of wider development indicators, that do not only view poverty with regards to disposable income, but also in regards to previously discussed poverty factors inhibiting capacities and freedoms.

Both the social and material needs of human society have since become an accepted concern for contemporary development studies, and the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals is arguably a significant contribution to the struggle

against poverty (Elliot, 2012). In the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, 147 countries composed the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) to address extreme poverty in the dimensions of income poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter, and social exclusion while promoting gender inequality, education, and environmental sustainability, with quantifiable targets set for 2015 (Besley & Burgess, 2003; Sachs & McArthur, 2005). The UN Millennium Project's approach is centred on interventions, financial assistance, and creating effective governing structures (Sachs & McArthur, 2005). Poor governance, poverty traps, persistent pockets of poverty, and policy neglect are causes for some regions failing to meet MDGs (Sachs & McArthur, 2005). Rees (1992) argues that a sustainable development approach therefore is primarily dependent on an appropriate philosophy than appropriate technology.

Subsequently, the World Bank composed a K4D approach as policies and 'best practices', given that knowledge represents the source of a "nation's competences and capabilities that are deemed essential for economic growth, competitive advantage, human development, and quality of life" (Malhotra, 2003, p. 1). This approach intends to break the cycle of poverty for millions of people by leveraging unrealised intangible assets to create capabilities among the poor that allows the poor to help themselves. It is necessary to understand these approaches in-depth and address its shortcoming that provides grounds for argument supporting a new approach for poverty reduction.

::The Knowledge for Development (K4D) framework by the World Bank

The World Bank's definition of a knowledge economy lies predominantly within the creation of wealth being the generation and exploitation of knowledge on a national level (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008; United Nations, 2010; World Bank, 2007). The World Bank study 'Voices of the Poor', based on interviews with 60 000 people, concluded that people prioritise access to knowledge and opportunities over charity to fight poverty (Nath, 2000). It is generally understood that knowledge assessment of a country can analyse their capabilities, with the intention to improve conceptualisation, measurements, and evaluation of knowledge assets to assist national and institutional policy making (Malhotra, 2003). Countries wealthy in knowledge and intellectual capital have proven to perform much better in terms of growth and development (Malhotra, 2003). A four-pillar framework, coined as the *Pillars of the Knowledge Economy*, is proposed by the World Bank that outlines the elements upon which knowledge and its supporting innovation-related policies should be built (Chen & Dahlman, 2005; United Nations, 2010; World Bank, 2007). Together, they constitute the Knowledge Economy framework.

::Pillar one: An educated and skilled labour force

The World Bank hypothesises an effective knowledge economy to be composed of educated and skilled workers who are able to "continuously upgrade and adapt their skills to create and use knowledge efficiently" (Chen & Dahlman, 2005, p. 4; United Nations, 2010, p. 7; World Bank, 2007, p. 23). Education is regarded as the fundamental knowledge enabler of a knowledge economy (Britz, Lor, Coetzee, & Bester, 2006; Dahlman & Utz, 2005). Basic education like primary and secondary education is necessary to give people capabilities to learn and use information, whereas higher education and vocational training are important for technical innovation (Chen & Dahlman, 2005). The emphasis on education segments would differ according to a country's level of development (World Bank, 2007). Any education level attained and used by a country's labour force however adds to the overall goal of creating, disseminating and utilising knowledge, and regardless of the underlying model, cross country studies by Cohen and Soto (2007) have found a country's main ingredient for achieving positive economic growth being its education quality. Various threshold points estimated by the World Bank (2003) suggest that sustainable economic growth cannot occur below a minimum literacy rate of 40 per cent and a telephone density of 30%. While the need for education has been supported and widely accepted by empirical research, "such investments need to be accompanied by congruent technology policies to ensure that increasing returns to scale are achieved" (Asian Development Bank, 2007, p. 11).

::Pillar two: A modern and adequate information infrastructure

An effective ICT infrastructure is important to facilitate effective communication, dissemination, and processing of information and knowledge (World Bank, 2007). Key elements for this system are telecommunications, television, radio networks and internet (World Bank, 2003, 2007). An effective ICT infrastructure resembles the backbone of any knowledge economy that promotes economic growth and sustainable development (Chen & Dahlman, 2005). Being able to operate at a very low cost, it facilitates effective communication and processing of knowledge provided by, as previously stated, an educated workforce. Numerous studies in the past decade provide evidence of ICT production and usage being contributors to economic growth (Jorgenson & Stiroh, 2000; Pilat & Lee, 2001; Schreyer, 2000; Whelan, 2000). The World Bank (2007) suggests that low income countries should focus first on securing a basic ICT infrastructure before moving towards advanced technologies and applications.

::Pillar three: An effective innovation system

An effective innovation system stimulates technological advancement, which is a major driver of a country's productivity growth (Chen & Dahlman, 2005). It is composed of universities, public and private research centres, and policy think-tanks (Chen & Dahlman, 2005; World Bank, 2007). Studies by Rogers (1995) found that highly educated people are more adaptable to new innovations. The institutions and their human capital tap into an accumulated and continuously growing stock of knowledge, assimilate it and simultaneously adapt it to individual local needs (Dahlman & Utz, 2005; United Nations, 2010). In general, research and development, in the industrial sector has proven itself as one of the most important factors bringing about social and economic changes (Britz, Lor, Coetzee, & Bester, 2006). In developing countries, innovation does not only constitute domestic development of advanced knowledge, but also the adaptation and use of existing knowledge in their specific local context (Dahlman & Utz, 2005). In an Indian-specific context which has a very small formal sector, an important part of their innovation lies in developing practices that are able to allow easy accessibility to the greatest number of users (Dahlman & Utz, 2005).

::Pillar four: A conductive economic and institutional regime

A country's institutional regime comprises of a set of economic activities that allows "effective mobilisation and allocation of resources" (World Bank, 2007). The regime needs to be such that agents of the economy (various institutions, and people) have the incentive to efficiently use and create knowledge, achieved by well-grounded and transparent macroeconomic policies as well as competition and regularity policies (Lederman & Maloney, 2003; World Bank, 2007). It should further be open to international trade and have as little as possible protectionist policies in place to foster competition and encourage various entrepreneurships (Chen & Dahlman, 2005). It is the government's responsibility to support and enforce rules of commerce and property rights, as well as curb corruption and enforce a legal system (Chen & Dahlman 2005; World Bank, 2007).

While providing some useful insights, the four-pillars framework has some weaknesses. Most importantly, it does not take into consideration the social and natural domain proposed by the Asian Development Bank. Economic development for the World Bank in general appears of utmost importance whereas the Asian Development Bank stresses the three value domains, as *Figure 3.1.* illustrates. Knowledge therefore transcends previously established positive effects of growth and productivity and moves on to being a facilitator of welfare and environmental stewardship (Asian Development Bank, 2007). The Knowledge Based Development (KBD) and Knowledge for Poverty Alleviation (KPA) frameworks expand considerations including social capital and

natural capital to create knowledge-based society and knowledge-assisted caring for the environment (Asian Development Bank, 2007).

::The KBD and KPA frameworks

The KBD and KPA models produced by the Asian Development Bank complement the KBE model of the World Bank by widening its focus on knowledge use moves beyond simple economic capital, extending its scope to social capital and natural capital (Asian Development Bank, 2007; United Nations, 2010). It combines sustainable development and knowledge management, two paradigms that many Asian governments are currently already pursuing (Asian Development Bank, 2007). Central to the KBD approach is the Asian Development Bank's proposal to design knowledge approaches that support growth economically, socially, and naturally, being considered the three 'value domains' of sustainable development (Asian Development Bank, 2007). These value domains are proposed and summarised in a matrix, to develop human capital, structural capital, and stakeholder capital (Asian Development Bank, 2007). *Table 3.1.* summarises the KBD model.

	Economic (KBE)	Social	Natural
Education (development of **human capital**)	*Education for a skilled workforce*	Education for total human development	Education for sustainable development
Innovation (development of **structural capital**)	Systems, processes and *technological innovations*	New institutions and protocols for peace, equity and human rights	Environmental technologies, e.g. renewable energy technologies
Building Networks (development of **stakeholder capital**)	Financial and physical networks, e.g. *IT infrastructure*	Social networks, social trust, cultural integrity	Agreements to protect and sustain planetary life support systems

Table 3.1.: The KPA Framework. Source: Talisayon and Suministrado (2008, p.6)

Arguable whether they are important contributions towards the creation of knowledge economies, both the KBE and KBD models are built on knowledge-based management and sustainable development. Nevertheless, they do not fully cater to the perspectives of low-income economies (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). The KPA framework has observed that similar to a global economy within which knowledge and intangible assets create value for companies, the same phenomenon can be true for wealth creation at a community level (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008).

3.9. The Knowledge for Poverty Alleviation (KPA) Framework::

There is the notion that the superiority of a new paradigm is founded upon its increase in depth of the problem and upon its addressing it successfully (Firestone,

2003). The KPA framework is built on a broader concept of capital than that assumed in the KBE and KBD frameworks. It arises from the recognition that 'poor' communities have access to alternative sources of wealth that can be used to create tangible and intangible results (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). The KPA framework extends the knowledge capital discourse to a community level anti-poverty approach that re-evaluates the concept of assets, capital and poverty itself (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008).

The basic thesis of the KPA approach is that intangible assets can generate tangible returns (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). A knowledge 'asset' for example can enable its holder to have a regular income, and tangible assets such as development grants can be used to train people in skills they require to then generate an income. This is in line with Lundvall's (2004) idea of knowledge as an 'asset', describing anything capable of generating a regular income. Within the KPA framework, the reverse is also possible, creating intangible assets from tangible ones, for example from development-funding and micro-financing loans (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). The process of poverty alleviation becomes a process of "using external and internal assets to sustainably generate both tangible and intangible assets to the community…and using intangible assets to generate more tangible assets and vice versa" (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008, p. 11). Either way, the beneficiary to this approach remains the community and its individual members (Talisayon, 2009).

3.10. Development Critique::

The previous discussion has illuminated theoretical and practical dilemmas associated with knowledge and development. Current approaches to knowledge-sharing in the literature appear unsatisfactory, because they tend not to focus on achieving a deep understanding of the social aspects. Therefore, current knowledge-sharing approaches are unable to provide coherent understandings from which ideas about improving the capabilities of the poor to enable them to compete with others (Sen, 1985). This thesis proposes a post-colonial knowledge-sharing for development approach (KS4D) to address these dilemmas.

Despite recent failures in development efforts, assumptions about development processes underpinned by particular narratives prevail even when they are criticised in the literature (Hjorth, 2003; Rudqvist, Christoplos, & Liljelund, 2000). Development approaches are often presented in clear-cut ways that define 'what works' and 'what does not work' without addressing contextual circumstances (Torres, 2001). The current literature on knowledge-creating dynamics of the development endeavour is saturated with 'lessons' and 'learning from experience', but it appears that 'not

learning from experience' characterises development approaches (Bond & Hulme, 1999). The new sustainable development paradigm has become a recasting of older modernisation discourses (Hove, 2004). In current knowledge-based approaches, a certain expert culture is apparent, reinforcing elitist, ethnocentric, anthropocentric, and techno-centric policy design and action (Hjorth, 2003; Hove, 2004). This is referred to as a 'knowledge trap' where knowledge is taken over without the understanding of the unknowns it depends on (Menkhoff et al., 2011). Failure to learn due to poorly implemented KM leads to knowledge loss and possible further underdevelopment (Chen, Sun, & McQueen, 2010; Madsen & Desai, 2010; Menkhoff et al., 2011). Being aware of and including surrounding context into a development approach is especially important in the case of India, as its modernity is less of a linear progression from a traditional to a modern society, but instead a complex entangled one of both tradition and modernity (McEwan, 2008). A proposed new approach consequently must be informed by the problems of life and practices of institutions fighting poverty on the ground level in India and Tamil Nadu, and a good understanding of poverty indicators.

A post-colonial approach to development represents a broader and more concerned effort to the development process, and its impact on people and societies (McEwan, 2008; Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006; Schech & Haggis, 2000). Development theories cannot operate outside their *cultural geographic* (Watts, 2003, p. 435), and are as such sensitive to different starting points, transitions, and outcomes (McEwan, 2008). KM has proven itself successful in many private and business sectors. However, in the development sector, contexts that are culturally and administratively complex must be considered (Talisayon, 2009). Strategies that are flexible, focussed on the *process* of knowledge-sharing, and assessing the needs and capacity of included communities, are most likely to succeed (Hjorth, 2003). A new proposed KS4D approach in this thesis extends current understandings and theorisations beyond 'bodies of knowledge', and instead focusses on systems and interactions upon which knowing and understanding are achieved (Blackler, 1995). This addresses the functional complexity of poverty and would combine different ways of knowing and learning to "work in concert even in the face of much uncertainty and limited information" (Hjorth, 2003, p. 386). The KS4D framework describes a process that enables NGOs to effectively share knowledge, without being imposing and without compromising or challenging each other's autonomy or independence. The framework promotes active participation in vital activities to foster lasting transformation, because "active involvement brings commitment to the lessons being learned and ownership of the results" (Stiglitz, 1999, p. 7). These unaddressed factors form the aim of this thesis which is to explore the possibility of a KS4D approach for poverty reduction.

3.11. Research Aim and Objectives::

Taking the previous discussion of the relevant literature into account, the aim of this thesis is to explore the possibility of a post-colonial KS4D approach as an alternative to current development practices and approaches. The second aim of this thesis is to generate substantive theory about the impact of knowledge sharing as a means of poverty reduction and generating various capabilities for the poor, in the context of NGOs in Tamil Nadu, India. The central question this research is addressing is whether such an approach can be conceptualised and applied. Does this approach address problems of integration and co-operation among institutions involved with poverty? How will it impact on the ability of institutions to reduce poverty? Subsequent questions are concerned with possible benefits and capabilities being created for the poor with this alternative KS4D approach. To achieve the aims of this research, the questions this research sets out to answer are:

- How useful are the current theorisations of poverty and the current development issues?

- What systems and strategies do NGOs currently use in their work to reduce poverty in Tamil Nadu, and what are their strengths and shortcomings?

- What does knowledge sharing have to offer NGOs engaged in poverty reduction?

- To what extent is there a need for a new conceptualisation of a knowledge -sharing approach to improve the work of NGOs involved in poverty-reduction in Tamil Nadu and what would it look like?

- If there is a need to reconceptualise knowledge sharing, what would its impact be on NGO's poverty reduction work and what benefits would NGOs gain from engaging with this knowledge sharing approach to reduce poverty, both immediate and long term?

3.12. Chapter conclusion::

In this chapter is has been argued that the KS4D approach for development addresses the multi-dimensionality and complexity of poverty previously established in Chapter 2. This is because it is grounded in post-colonial theory and as such acknowledges the value of different perspectives and alternative knowledges (McEwan, 2008) and turns attention to knowledge perspectives and needs that are essentially of non-Western origin (Young, 2003). It further allows for new development theories and approaches to be constructed from interactions between researcher and researched in the Third

Space of "in-between" (Bhabha, 1996).

With its origin in European Documentation, KM evolved from an information management approach. In the past two decades the value of knowledge as a key factor for competitive advantage emerged and formed the basis of approaches to leveraging it for competitive advantage (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). The first and second generation KM developed into a third generation paradigm focussing on shaping economic strategies, social visions, and other projects that became known as the KBE (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006; Karahan, 2012; Kefela, 2010; Sabau, 2010; Sum & Jessop, 2013). The KBE describes a turning point in a nation's economy focussing on the distribution and use of information and knowledge, instead of labour and capital alone (OECD, 1996). From here the K4D approach developed, introducing knowledge as a means for poverty reduction.

As a part of social sciences, originating in the late 1960s and 1970s, development is a product of modernisation to improve the material conditions of a population and the transformation of society into a modern industrialised state (Brown 1996; Servaes 1986). Development ideas have heavily remained a Western invention, underlined by structuralist ideals of intervention in developing countries, formalising differences between advanced Western nations and the Third World (Hettne, 1995; Wolf-Phillips, 1987). More recent ideas of post-modernism, globalisation, and overall failure to develop Third World nations, shifted prominent development institutions (United Nations, World Bank, individual governments) towards more sustainable approaches to development (Hove, 2004), specifically towards poverty reduction and a K4D approach.

The K4D approach proposed by the World Bank intended to break the cycle of poverty by leveraging unrealised intangible assets to create capabilities among the poor that allow the poor to help themselves. The framework however does not address, and cater to, the perspectives of low-income economies (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). The KBD and KPA extended the overall knowledge capital discourse to a more community-level anti-poverty approach that re-evaluates the concept of asset, capital and even poverty (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). These development ideas however remained extensions of Western development ideas and reaffirmed past colonial relationships (Hove, 2004). The persistence of 'grand narratives' towards poverty reduction remain in contemporary approaches despite their effectiveness being disputed (Hjorth, 2003).

In the light of wide-ranging criticism of current conceptualisations of K4D, in this thesis a new KS4D approach is proposed that extends current understandings about systems and interactions upon which knowing and understanding are achieved. The

complexity of poverty and poverty stressors are considered when combining different ways of knowing and leaning to adapt and "work in concert even in the face of much uncertainty and limited information" (Hjorth, 2003, p. 386). A KS4D approach integrates KM, its agents, and poverty reduction into a single conceptual framework that can be used for developing new research and practice in poverty reduction. This KS4D framework promotes active participation to foster lasting transformation, to build commitment to the lessons being learnt and to creature ownership of the results (Stiglitz, 1999). KS4D is not only a research approach, it also has the potential to generate "alternative ideas about the nature of human rights and citizenship [which] may, in fact, emerge from places like India" (McEwan, 2008, p. 107).

4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction::

In this chapter the research design of this study was presented and the research strategy employed, explained. Chapter 3 placed emphasis on an alternative post-colonial foundation. Chapter 4 consists of a description of the research design that placed strong emphasis on the voice of the participants. The research was a qualitative research design and as such had a unique perspective as its customised design enabled one to inquire about certain aspects of reality and produce outcomes more suited to the research questions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

The design was be grounded in an interpretive ontology and as such did not separate reality from individuals (Ireland et al., 2004; Weber, 2004), and a social constructivist epistemology that drew attention to peoples' interpretations of their environmental surroundings (Willig, 1998). Within those boundaries, a qualitative methodology was used to place emphasis on the social human problem discussed in Chapter 2, allowing insights to be gained into the informants' views and experiences (Andrade, 2009; Klein & Myers, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Reliability, validity, and generalisability were be also discussed. This research included a pilot study that provided insight into dignity and *Versteandnis* as a consideration in the research process, and an awareness of a shared vulnerability between researcher and participant. Interviews, documents, photographs, and observations were good sources of data to reveal a broad authentic exposure of poverty and NGOs' efforts within. Coding methods in the data analysis section were then carefully chosen to interpret the data and generate theory from them.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first lays out the ontologically interpretative and epistemological positions adopted as the grounding philosophies of this research. In the second section, a qualitative methodology is outlined, addressing its exploratory phenomenological approach and the researcher's role within it. Furthermore, it includes a preliminary pilot study in which the inclusion of dignity, *Verstaendnis*, and the awareness of a linked experience of vulnerability between researcher and researched were discovered. The third section explains the different forms of data collected for this research with the inclusion of associated ethical considerations. Finally, the data analysis section outlines how progression from 'real' data to increasingly abstract concepts and the emerging theories were achieved.

4.2. Interpretivist ontology and social constructivist epistemology::

A research design is grounded upon its underlying philosophical assumptions (Creswell, 2007). They are core philosophical assumptions and researchers need to

clarify their philosophical world views, both ontologically and epistemologically, before undertaking any form of research project (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). These philosophies reveal an insight into a researcher's chosen theoretical perspective, their own personal beliefs, and their views of the world (Andrade, 2009). A first step in approaching a research problem is laying down an ontological viewpoint (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

::Interpretivist ontology

Ontology deals with the understanding of reality, translated into the social sciences of inquiring about social reality and how it can be studied (Ireland et al. 2009). Positivist ontology claims objective reality to natural occurrences from which universal truths can be established through inquiry (Ireland et al., 2009; Lee, 1991). An interpretive ontology on the other hand does not separate reality from the observing individual (Weber, 2004) and presents reality as an 'interpretive device' (Ireland et al., 2009, p. 4). Interpretive research understands reality as a social construct that is able to be expressed in different ways (Klein & Myers, 1999). Reality in the interpretivist's mind therefore is socially constructed and the researcher becomes the means of the perceived reality (Andrade 2009; Walsham, 1995a, 1995b; Wellington, 2000). The approach enables observation and participation instead of taking and interpreting opinions from a survey instrument (Walsham, 2006). An interpretivist approach allows for a good understanding and in-depth access to people, and their issues, from which data and impressions are collected. It is an enabler for a valid contribution to the field of study itself, instead of collecting data, writing, and analysing it for the sole purpose of literature (Walsham, 2006). An interpretive ontology for this research was most appropriate, as it allows for the in-depth access to, and the addressing of, previously discussed key concepts of poverty, development, and KM without reinforcing stereotypes or presenting an expert and elitist colonial point of view.

Having adopted an interpretive paradigm to research, a KS4D approach enabled the researcher to address complex poverty interactions and allowed insight into the "social context of the phenomenon and the process, whereby the phenomenon influences and is influenced by social context" (Walsham, 1995a, quoted in Rowlands, 2005, p. 82). Social context was an important aspect of this research as its aim included identification and assessment of social elements (caste, gender, education, etc.) that inhibit a large proportion of people from making informed choices in Tamil Nadu, India. Those relationships affected the shape of the KS4D framework, where human experience was the key driver, and demanded the researcher's interpretation to bring "such subjectivity to the fore, backed with quality arguments rather than statistical

exactness" (Garcia & Quek, 1997, p. 459). Interpretations derived from the research contributed to the existing body of literature on development approaches in Tamil Nadu and also provided new perspectives from which existing approaches can be modified or new ones created, to empower and inform poor people. It is important for any researcher to acknowledge their ontological position to determine the scope of the project and the contributions it makes.

The researcher's close involvement with participants in an interpretive study can become problematic, as viewpoints shared by people in the field can increasingly become the researcher's own, and may hinder a fresh and critical perception on the situation (Walsham, 2006). The researcher would lose critical distance and acquire biases resulting in either an increased positive or negative perception. Careful choices of data collection and research design addressed in this chapter minimised that risk. Research projects of larger scales, like this study, must be aware of their extensive time and opportunity cost demands, and two less-involved studies, case studies for example, can be completed in the same time (Walsham, 2006). This is a valid point for most research approaches and is entirely dependent on the researcher's aims and objectives.

The ontological perspective adopted in this research had a close connection with an epistemological standpoint, grounding the relationship between the researcher (the would-be knower) and the subject (the knower), in consistence with its ontological view (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). An interpretive ontology informs an epistemological standpoint of a deep insight into the world of lived experience and the perceptions and points of views of those who live it (Andrade, 2009; Glesne, 2006; Ireland et al., 2009; Schwandt, 1994). Stated differently, the same physical objects, the same social phenomena or human interactions can have different meanings for the people who observe them, including the researcher (Lee, 1991).

::Social constructivist epistemology

Epistemology is linked to the philosophy of knowledge-theory and is concerned with how a researcher understands reality and the different possibilities of knowing (Rawnsley, 1998; Solem, 2003; Willig, 1998). The interpretive ontology adopted for this research is followed by a constructivist, especially, a socially constructivist epistemology. This specification is necessary, as there are an equal amount of constructivist varieties, as there are researchers (Ernest, 1995). Constructivist theory is difficult to compartmentalise as the various epistemological 'camps' are not 'theoretical comrades' (Derry, 1996) and depending on the literature, constructivist interpretations may differ (Murphy, 1997). Constructivism, as an opposite end to objectivism of the

epistemological continuum challenges the concept of truth and replaces 'truth' with 'reality' (Murphy, 1997; Peters, 2000). The focus of constructivism is placed on an individual's unique experience and is concerned with how "the individual makes meaning in relation to pre-existing social and natural systems" (Ireland et al., 2009, p. 5). Constructionism forms pragmatic views in which knowledge is intertwined with social action (Ireland et al., 2004; Wellington, 2000). In other words, people react to actions from the environment and create meaning from them (Wellington, 2000). Distinguishing constructivism and social constructivism is important, as they are often used inconsistently at times (Young & Collin, 2004).

Social constructivism draws attention to human perception and experience, which however is not a direct reflection of the environmental surroundings of that experience, rather an *interpretation* of these conditions (Willig, 1998). Instead of focusing on individual minds and cognitive processes in a constructivist approach, social constructivism turns its attention outward to "the world of inter-subjectively shared, social constructions of meaning and knowledge" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 127). Individuals seek understanding of the environment they live in and develop subjective meanings via social exchange and their experiences (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Knowledge and social processes the point of view of this perspective go hand in hand (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Young & Collin, 2004), influenced by cultural factors, historical factors, and discourse communities, and a negotiation between the three (Creswell, 2003; Peters, 2000; Tobin, Tippins, & Gallard, 1994). Research of a social constructivist nature intends to uncover complexities and different meanings of a field of inquiry, rather than narrow down on a few interpretations (Creswell, 2003). The goal of the research is to place as much possible emphasis on the participants' views on the study at hand (Creswell, 2003, 2013). The views expressed by participants are formed "through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives" (Creswell, 2007, p. 21). Inquirers thus interpret what they find and are thus able to generate a theory or develop a meaning derived from the other's interpretation of the world (Creswell 2013). For the purpose of this research, the social constructivist perspective is adopted.

A social constructivist epistemology to propose a KS4D development approach to reduce poverty in Tamil Nadu was valuable, as the *pre-existing* social and natural systems that inhibited capabilities for people are key in understanding their behaviour and reaction within that environment. Participants' viewpoints determined the extent to which each social element inhibits or forces people's behaviours and actions. It was only with understanding of those already established systems and habits that one can analyse them, making meaning of it, and providing sensible suggestions to individuals and institutions alike. This research was on the *relation* between the individuals (be

it groups or a group of individuals) and the phenomenon via a description of their views and experiences within that social situation or phenomenon (Marton, 1988). These philosophical assumptions established from understanding of both poverty and development literature required a qualitative research methodology as a viable inquiring methodology.

4.3. Qualitative research, exploration, and the researcher's role::

This research was placed within a qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research is a broad term which defines an interpretive, naturalistic approach to subject matter, intending to interpret and make meaning of phenomena by deploying a wide range of interconnected methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). A compelling argument to examine a KS4D approach in a qualitative context is the paradigm's exploratory and descriptive abilities, its emphasis on setting and context, and the aspiration for a deeper understanding of lived experiences of the participants (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

Qualitative research describes a methodology that examines a social human problem by capturing its whole and complex representation, and insights of the informants' words, and views (Andrade, 2009; Klein & Myers, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan & Smircich, 1980). It is unique in its applicability to the research of complex nature, when the aim of the research is to empower individuals and draw attention to their points of view, and minimise power relationships between the researcher and the study participants (Creswell, 2007). This research paradigm aids studies with focus on groups or populations, variables that are difficult to measure, or which intend to bring attention to silenced voices (Creswell, 2007). A qualitative approach is further useful when existing theories on the subject do not adequately capture the complexity of the explored problem, or when inadequate previous theories exist for the target populations or samples (Creswell, 2007).

The suitability of this methodology to explore an alternative KS4D development model to reduce poverty was justified by the complex nature of the poverty phenomena at hand. Complexities in poverty approaches were not solely linked to project foci, like agricultural projects, housing projects, re-designing living space or empowerment, but further in the mixture of institutions and their particular strategies and operations. An approach to engage the complexities in poverty, the interrelationship between its elements, and the different literatures on it discussed in Chapter 2 required meaningful characterisation and interpretation, rather than precise measurement or quantification. A qualitative paradigm provides greater understanding and focus on these complexities to clarify qualities and characteristics associated with the phenomenon and to discover precise problems (Zikmund, 2003). Those inquiries can be of exploratory, explanatory,

descriptive, and predictive nature (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

::Exploratory, explanatory, and predictive research

This research was of exploratory, explanatory and predictive nature. The core of this inquiry was based on the exploratory component to uncover themes, patterns and structures, in line with the post-colonial stance of this research. However, the thesis attempted to conceptualise the findings in a theoretical framework that help to explain and predict outcomes and how that affects people living within in poverty. This requires a short review of exploratory, explanatory, and predictive research.

Exploratory research is a methodological approach emphasising discovery and description of new ideas and insights (Holliday, 1964; Jupp, 2006). It is a useful approach to investigate phenomena that are little or insufficiently understood so far, to discover and identify its contributing variables, to develop ideas and theories, and form groundwork for subsequent inquiries either by the researcher or others (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Stebbins, 2001; Zikmund, 2003). Exploratory research uncovers new ideas and observations by attempting to 'see what is there' (Holliday, 1964, p. 39), with flexibility in data collection and an open mind about where to find them (Stebbins, 2001). Through inductive reasoning, the main aim of exploring a phenomenon, social or otherwise, is to "derive generalisations about the group, process, activity, or situation under study" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 1), instead of predicting relationships between variables, or testing hypotheses.

Explanatory research on the other hand focuses on explaining the causes of the phenomenon studied, "identifying plausible causal networks shaping the phenomenon" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 41). It assesses beliefs attitudes, events, and policies that shape the phenomenon and how these factors interact with, or cause, the phenomenon (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). In practice, explanatory research is also claimed to produce clear unambiguous outcomes that will produce consistent patterns of relationships in human social life (Babbie, 2013). Predictive research attempts to predict outcomes of a researched phenomenon and forecast behaviours as a result of the phenomenon (Marshall & Rosman, 1995).

A major driver for an exploratory research approach to this study was the assessment of previous development approaches and poverty reduction methods. Knowledge approaches discussed in Chapter 3 remain extensions of Western development ideas and reaffirm past criticised and discarded policies. Post-colonial interactions between researcher and people in different locations were not revealed, suggesting that current knowledge approaches expose inherently Western biases. Instead of testing hypotheses

of 'what works' and 'what does not work' (Torres, 2001), a post-colonial exploratory research approach allowed hybridity and reinterpretation of development alternatives into new directions. Research findings were created and discovered as the investigation proceeds. An exploratory approach to this research was able to examine contextual societal variables affecting peoples' capacities and review current development strategies by NGOs in India, influencing the KS4D framework and building a shared knowledge platform. Explanatory research here was bundled with the previously discussed exploratory component to explain the often present complexities uncovered in the research. In the context of looking into a KS4D approach, an exploratory study was seen as a perspective towards approaching and implementing a social inquiry, a state of mind, or a specific personal orientation of the researcher (Jupp, 2006; Stebbins, 2001). The explanatory component subsequently summarised and explained the relationships uncovered, for example, linkages between factors that force people to live in poverty, or specific organisational differences that prohibit current KS4D approaches. The predictive component of this design then attempted to forecast in what way a KS4D approach could benefit participating NGOs, possibly with the use of a putative case study. This required the consideration of the role of the researcher in both the qualitative and exploratory context of this research, as all data collection and research findings by the researcher were essentially mediated and constructed.

::Researcher's role

In qualitative research, the researcher becomes the 'instrument' of inquiry, with his or her presence in the lives of participants being fundamental (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Irrespective of whether the researcher's presence in the study is sustained or intensive, brief or very personal in nature, the researcher always "enters into the lives of the participants" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 59). This participant methodology offers an insider's view and forms an instrument (the researcher himself/herself) that is capable of comprehending and learning about human existence (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). With regards to 'deploying the self' in an exploratory study, the role of the researcher should specifically include gaining access to people, events, and perspectives on the phenomena intended for study (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The closer the researcher's relationship with participants, the more likely he/she is able to fathom inconspicuous features and details of phenomena and events, and acquire a good knowledge background to derive insightful interpretations (Murray-Thomas, 2003). Too much intimacy between researcher and the study however can cause an emotional identification with the participants or study at hand, jeopardising the overarching objectivity needed in scientific investigations (Murray-Thomas 2003), and failing to make a valuable contribution. It is important to be aware and constantly

reflect on research observations to ensure they reflect what the reality is like and not what the researcher wishes it would be (Murray-Thomas, 2003). The researcher in this thesis therefore became both an observer and a participant. Observations collected in this research were tested by discussing it with local people who are from, and live in Tamil Nadu, either knowledgeable or currently active in development work.

In examining the KS4D concept, the role of the researcher was one of both observer and participant to increase the probabilities of collecting meaningful data. By having engaged the people who are being studied, a researcher gained valuable insights and suggestions through interaction, refining or changing the initial research foci and study plan (Murray-Thomas 2003). The research design and implementation, true to the post-colonial nature of this research, became a "product of negotiation between the researcher and the researched" (Murray-Thomas, 2003, p. 4). The mix between an observer and an active engaged participant further fluidises the presence of the researcher in this research, and he or she is able to identify and present personal aspects and involvement when appropriate (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). A suitable research strategy to complement the overall methodological approach was a phenomenological study, aimed at capturing individual experiences in relation to a phenomenon, and in a non-reductionist attempt, to uncover the essence of the phenomenon itself (Creswell, 2013; Schipper, 1999). The understanding of the origins and techniques of phenomenology is important, to distinguish it from other qualitative inquiry methods (Goulding, 2005), and to effectively integrate it into this research.

4.4. Research design - phenomenology::

A phenomenological research design was appropriate, as the basic purpose of this strategy was to engage with peoples' lived experience in the context of the phenomenon and uncover common meaning (Creswell, 2013). To this end, qualitative researchers identify a phenomenon, for example material objects, artefacts, people, oneself, social institutions, or perceptions, and develop a composite description of the essence of the phenomenon via people who have experienced the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Goulding, 2005; Moustakas, 1994; Schipper, 1999).

Phenomenology attempts to enlarge and deepen understanding of a range of human experiences, and critically reflect on those experiences in relation to a phenomenon (Spiegelberg, 1982). In other words, it attains to get a "grasp of the very nature of the thing" (van Manen, 1990, p. 177). A phenomenological approach has a long controversial and often confusing history in social science (Rehorick & Taylor, 1995). Phenomenology can follow either Husserl's (1970) idea of a philosophy, or Schutz's (1967) position of methodology. Husserl's (1970) intention was to create a

'life world', an accumulative term that describes and classifies subjective experiences (Goulding, 2005). This philosophy was advanced by Schutz (1967) into a method that includes the ordinary experiences in the day-to-day lives of people. The 'life world' then is defined as a world in which people "experience culture and society, take a stand with regard to their objects, are influenced by them, and act on them" (Goulding, 2005, p. 302). A following distinction between the 'life world' and the social world was introduced by Gregova (1996), on the foundation that the 'life-world' relates to formal structures of which people are less explicitly aware, and the 'social world' which relates to people's actions and experiences within it. This research focused more on the social world, yet the overall aim in a phenomenologist method remained to present a non-reductionist attempt to reveal the essence of the phenomenon. There are two types of phenomenological approaches, namely hermeneutic phenomenology and psychological phenomenology (Creswell, 2013), understanding which is important when arguing to support an approach.

Hermeneutic phenomenology is based on van Manen's (1990) work and describes research focussed on lived experiences (the phenomenology) and making meaning of the 'texts' of life (hermeneutics). This is not approached with a set of rules or methods, but a dynamic interplay of research methods (van Manen, 1990). Studying the phenomenon is not confined to a description, but to an interpretive process with the researcher 'mediating' between different meanings and lived experiences (Creswell, 2013; van Manen, 1990). Psychological or transcendental phenomenology on the other hand places the interpretations of the researcher second to the actual descriptions of experiences by participants (Moustakas, 1994). In addition, this approach to the phenomenon under examination places the researcher's own experience aside (Creswell, 2013) and adapts an almost *transcendental* perspective "in which everything is perceived freshly, as if for the first time" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 34). Nevertheless, there are challenges in phenomenological studies, understanding of which aids the practical application of this strategy to this research.

A phenomenological approach is challenged to first establish an understanding of broader philosophical assumptions that the researcher needs to address (Creswell, 2013). This phenomenological design was grounded in an interpretive ontology and a social constructivist epistemology. Reality and the perceiving individual were not separated, and meaning was created in an inter-subjective world, developed through social exchange. These foundations are not often addressed in phenomenological research (Creswell, 2013). Another challenge of this study was finding participants who have experienced or are engaged with, a target phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Participants must be carefully chosen to enable the researcher to forge a bigger picture, a common understanding (Creswell, 2013). A final challenge relevant especially

in psychological or transcendental phenomenology is the bracketing out of the researcher's own experiences so as to focus solely on the participants, as interpretation of the data is always guided by the philosophical assumptions of the researcher (van Manen, 1990). Therefore the researcher must choose carefully when "his or her personal understandings will be introduced into the study" (Creswell, 2013, p. 83). These understandings and challenges guide the practical design of a phenomenological approach to this study.

::Constructing a phenomenological approach

This research design was grounded in psychological phenomenology, placing as much emphasis as possible on the experiences and insights of the participants. It followed the post-colonial stance of this thesis of bringing attention to opinions from people and organisations directly concerned with poverty reduction, instead of the interpretation of the researcher. Data analysis was still done by the researcher. However, the *essence* of the phenomenon and experiences became a much more negotiated one between researched and researcher, true to Bhabha's (1994) philosophy of a Third Space of In-Between. A strong argument for a psychological phenomenological approach was by Moustakas (1994) *transcendental* quality of this type of inquiry. The phenomenon of interest in this study was poverty, with NGO approaches and experiences within it to ultimately construct a KS4D framework as a support tool. Both poverty and its alleviation efforts have been discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, revealing some differences between a more popular world literature and somewhat niche literature picked up in India. A psychological phenomenology approach in its theory limited any previous biasness the researcher could have developed during the initial literature review. However, practically, it would be naïve to think that isolating oneself from the influence of the literature is fully possible. Nevertheless, being aware of this bias allowed the researcher to adopt an almost child-like outlook onto the phenomena, exploring and considering new perspectives and not be limited to a seeming influence that was previously picked up. Their outlook became informed by people working or living within the phenomena, having shaped the researcher's perspective.

4.5. Unit of analysis::

The geographical focus of this phenomenon was the state of Tamil Nadu within the vast sub-continent of India, and units of analysis are NGOs of different natures, operations, and make-ups within it. This included formal and informal NGOs, inquiry into their different operational foci like education, gender issues, and corruption, and the understanding of the macro and/or micro orientation of their projects. This removed

the abstract level of this research into a concrete realisation design that produced clear explicit data, providing strong ground for generating a KS4D framework. The project level data from the NGOs provided an overall picture of their specific involvements and strategies, but also shed light on poverty views and factors trapping people inside a poverty cycle, addressing a broader research focus of poverty re-assessment outlined in the research objectives. The general nature of inquiry in this research not only aimed to uncover particulars in organisational approaches, but also placed those findings in relation to other NGO data and broader contextual poverty elements found, both *nécessaires* in the construction of a KS4D framework. To defend the value and logic of this qualitative inquiry and underlying phenomenological strategy and design, it was important to address the validity, reliability, and generalisability of this research.

4.6. Reliability, validity, generalisability::

For research to be considered worthwhile, it must have truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). The nature of knowledge in a naturalistic (qualitative) paradigm requires different specific criteria to address its *rigour* or trustworthiness (Morse et al., 2002). Rigour is an overall criterion for trustworthiness in qualitative research, extended to processes of data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Prion & Adamson, 2013). Without rigour, research becomes fiction and loses its contributing value (Morse et al., 2002). In a qualitative research approach, the emphasis is 'ensuring rigour' in the actions of the investigator, and reliability, validity, and generalisability are addressed in relation to the process that the researcher uses with regards to data construction or creation activities (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Morse et al., 2002). Reliability and validity in qualitative research are challenged by Lincoln and Guba (1985), who argue that ensuring trustworthiness can be achieved through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

There has been debate on whether the same quality assessment criteria are applicable to quantitative and qualitative inquiries (Mays & Pope, 2000). Two opposing views emerged, one claiming that each research is unique and entitled to its own validation terms, and one arguing that the specific criteria of research do not allow for clear, unambiguous insights (Mays & Pope, 2000). This thesis maintained reliability and validity as viable terms for qualitative research on grounds of advocacy and relevancy, as introducing parallel terminology and criteria "marginalises qualitative inquiry from mainstream science and scientific legitimacy" (Morse et al., 2002, p. 16). In earlier works, Morse (1999) argues that the alternative assessment criteria of rigor in qualitative research would undermine the issue, instead of clarifying it. It is important for qualitative research to defend its reliability, validity, and generalisability. Research studies must be open to critique and evaluation, "an essential pre-requisite of

findings" (Long & Johnson, 2000, p. 30). Drawing from the literature to establish an understanding of the terms, the reliability, validity, and generalisability of this research was sequentially outlined by practice.

::Reliability

Reliability in qualitative research is concerned with the consistency of the data collection methods of a study and its degree of dependability (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Cho & Trent, 2006; Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010; Long & Johnson, 2000; Morse et al., 2002). In other words, reliability refers to a consistency in "which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions" (Hammersley, 1992, p. 67). It therefore is also referred to as *dependability* (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010). Applicable to both internal and external research design issues, internal reliability addresses the likelihood of other researchers backtracking theoretical frameworks to the data in the same way, and external reliability assessing whether other researchers would come to the same conclusion in a similar setting (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010). There is no method or test that can account for knowledge as certain, but means can be sought for knowledge to be a likely truth (Hammersley, 1992). Methods to increase reliability include alternate forms of questioning respondents about the same topics to exclude socially desirable responses. Other methods include cross-checking data, consistent analytical methods, and staying close to empirical data (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010). Miles and Huberman (1994) also emphasise the presence of clear research questions with a congruent design, an explicit description of the researcher's role, parallels across data sources, coding checks, and data quality checks. This research had taken the following measures to ensure reliability, which will be discussed in more detail in later sections.

A strong reliability factor in this research derived from the previous assessment of poverty and development efforts, from which clear research questions and outcomes were formulated. Complexities and contradictions in current poverty and development understanding justified a qualitative methodology underlined by an interpretative ontology and a social constructivist epistemology. Qualitative research increased reliability and this study is able to capture depth "subtle nuances of life experiences" (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle 2001, p. 524), instead of a wide scope and amassed evidence. For increased reliability this research employed different sources for data collection. Though primary data came from interviews, supporting primary data sources include photographs, adding a visual element, observations by the researcher, and a field diary. Secondary sources included document and local print media on the phenomenon. Despite interviews having been primarily conducted through purposive

sampling, consistency was further established by including random selections within homogenous samples. For example, in the interviews, the majority of interview data was generated from founders, directors, or key personnel of NGOs, however other interviews were conducted with a principal of a university, an author of one of the documents collected, and people in general, knowledgeable on the topic of poverty-reduction and current progress. Interviews were conducted using a constant comparison approach, which is discussed in a later section, to increase data quality, and various forms of the same questions were asked to ensure reliability. Data was being cross-checked with other sources to aid the researcher's interpretation and conclusions in the data analysis section. Whereas the reliability of a research is ensured by its design, instruments, and implementation strategies, its validity of findings is equally important. This centres on the 'truthfulness' of findings and it is the responsibility of the researcher to provide chains of evidence of narratives and interpretations that are plausible and credible (Hammersley, 1992).

Primary Data Sources	Secondary Data Sources
Interviews	Newspaper, Periodicals, other Print media
Photographs	NGO Publications, Newsletters, Campaign Materials
Observations	

Table 4.1.: Data sources summary

::Validity

Validity is generally concerned with the accuracy of the findings of a research (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010; Long & Johnson, 2000). Stated differently, validity is taken as the degree to which research instruments accurately measure what they are intended for (Polit & Hungler, 1995). Hammersley (1992) provides a qualitative perspective on validity, arguing a 'truthfulness', if the researcher's interpretation accurately represents the features of the phenomenon via description, explanation, or theory. In qualitative terms, this is centred around the "degree to which researchers' claims about knowledge correspond to the reality being studied" (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 320). It is therefore alternatively referred to as *credibility* (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). A strong attribute of qualitative research is its sensitivity to human, cultural, and social contexts, and researchers need to make clear statements on its validity beyond purpose and ideology, to defend their views on the inquiry, placing a 'mantle of respectability' on it (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). The credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative research, similar to reliability, must account for internal and external validity in its research design (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010). With internal validity, researchers demonstrate that observations and interpretations are credible, and that study participants are identified and described accurately (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan,

2010; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Long and Johnson (2000) refer to this validity as content and criteria validity. External validity, in qualitative inquiry also known as *transferability*, is the degree of "similarity between one sample and its setting events" (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010, p. 12). This research will address validity in two additional aspects considered by Altheide and Johnson (1994), *Validity as Relevance* (VAR), and *Validity as Standards* (VAS). VAR stresses the utility and empowerment factor of the research done that will benefit the group studied and proposed uplifts of 'powerless' people, including the poor (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). VAR places its emphasis on the previous mentioned 'mantle of respectability' with truth claims being multiple to evade reliance on single authorities (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). Methods for increasing validity include prolonged engagement in the field, purposive sampling, triangulation of findings, reflexivity, and negative case analysis (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010; Mays & Pope, 2000; Morse, 2002). Secondary validity can be ensured via overall thoroughness to the study, creativity, explicitness, congruence, and a healthy sensitivity to the phenomenon (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001).

Validity in this research increased with prolonged engagement with the phenomenon. The researcher spent one year in Tamil Nadu, engaging with people living in poverty, NGOs, and other institutions and people concerned with poverty-reduction. The prolonged exposure not only allowed for the collection of a multitude of data from which meaningful triangulation was possible, but also allowed for reflection on the researcher's own biases and perceptions. Observations, photographs, and field notes were reflected on, and subsequent inquiries from those reflections were made. For example, when visiting the slums, at times one could observe trucks carrying water outside the slums, and families collecting water from them in plastic storage buckets. Though photographed and reflected upon in field notes later, further confirmation was sought on later visits to the slums by the people collecting water. They gave information on the two-day-interval of water delivery, its purpose to prevent thirst in the summer, and the use of the water for cooking and washing. This later was brought up by the researcher in one of the participant interviews who further clarified water supply issues in Chennai, Tamil Nadu in summer. On other occasions, observations and reflection were refined through subsequent visits to areas of Tamil Nadu where the element of time and prolonged exposure broadened the understanding of the researcher on observed phenomena or information given by participants. This reflexivity allows the development of sensitivity to the research process by the researcher shaping credibility of findings (Mays & Pope, 2000).

Another measure to increase validity of this study was purposive sampling of collecting data, "governed by emergent insights about what is important and relevant to the research questions" (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010, p. 14). Interview participants

were in part identified via research and while conducting the pilot study discussed later in this chapter, and successive interview participants were sourced by asking participants about possible candidates who manage or are involved with NGOs or are of interest otherwise. For example, while interviewing an NGO, the researcher was referred to a renowned university for social work, and from there to smaller, informal NGOs. The researcher also asked correspondents to suggest people whose point of view might be different to the researcher's, as per suggestion in the literature (Guba, 1981; Mays & Pope, 2000). A long established data quality improvement technique has been seeking out elements in the data that contradict findings and emerging explanations on the phenomenon (Mays & Pope, 2000). For example, inquiry into gender inequality in Tamil Nadu gave insights from participants about women having no say in matters of inheritance on the grounds of having no legal protection. However, follow-up inquiries with other participants on inheritance matters revealed the Inheritance Act [1999] which gives women equal inheritance rights, placing inheritance frictions strongly on social, rather than on legal grounds. Such analysis helps testing and challenging established viewpoints, ultimately refining them. The multiple data collection methods allow for triangulation of data to allow confirmation of theories and aid in the construction of a KS4D framework, identifying major points of interest. Validity of the data and the research was further tested by presenting the preliminary research findings at the Curtin Business School Doctoral Students' Colloquium 2012. The findings were discussed with experts in both development research and ethical research inquiry and acknowledged by them. Further validity was ensured by a subsequent visit to India to address questions and gaps found in the initial data analysis.

Revisiting the scene enabled the researcher to gather more interviews and observational data, and uncovered a piece of information important to NGO operation in India, which was not as clear with the data previously obtained. Insights and analysis approaches were also discussed with participating NGOs. This satisfies VAS in the inquiry. Furthermore, upon completion of the data analysis, the chapter was sent to numerous participants to assess the outcomes. One participant gave the following feedback of the findings of this research:

> PP11: "It put a few things in perspective. I saw things from another point of view. One knows what things are like of course, but sitting in my ivory tower it's easy for me to judge, given the financial and educational and social privileges I have had."

With regards to VAR, this research established relevance by focussing on practical empowerment and adding value to the effort of poverty-reduction by attempting to map out poverty boundaries, NGOs within those boundaries, and by innovation of

their methods via KS4D. Despite these positive aspects of qualitative inquiry and this study in regards to its reliability and validity, there has been criticism about its lack of generalisability. This briefly needs to be addressed.

Generalisability is defined as the degree to which findings from a study sample can be translated to an entire population (Myers, 2000). Within a qualitative inquiry, generalisability emphasises analytic generalisation which focusses on the transferability of findings from one case to another over probabilistic generalisability (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010.). Instead of forming generalisations that are valid at all times and places, hypotheses are formed with the intent of transferability between contexts, depending on the degree of similarity between them (Guba, 1981). Findings and approaches might not apply to the population as a whole, but could be transferred to another population with minimal effort. In this study, a KS4D framework attempted to engage practical problems of poverty-reduction efforts and approaches in Tamil Nadu. This however did not exclude the possibility of transfering this model to other states in India, and other nations.

Before committing oneself to a large-scale qualitative inquiry both theoretically and practically, it is a good idea to first conduct a pilot study (Janesick, 1994; Leon et al., 2011; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2011). A pilot study allows the researcher to focus on areas of the overall design that need clarification, to establish communication and initiate rapport with participants, identify issues of participants and researcher, and uncover significances in the study that were previously not considered (Janesick, 1994).

4.7. The pilot study::

A pilot study is an important part of any good research design, as it can guide and refine the research and can provide valuable insights (Leon et al., 2011; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). It further serves as an exploratory venture to the field of study that provides opportunity for the researcher to develop consistent data-collection practices to increase its integrity, and also explore considerations for the protection of human subjects (Leon et al., 2011). Pilot studies are often conducted very informally and as such, have not found a great deal of consideration in research designs and remain under-developed and under-reported in qualitative inquiry (Sampson, 2004).

For this research, a three-week pilot study was undertaken in Chennai, Tamil Nadu, prior to the main data-gathering stage. This gave useful insights to refining the previously discussed research design and data collection methods. More importantly however, the pilot study provided invaluable insights into the complexity of ethics in

practical field work. This research has approval from the university Ethics Committee. However, an observation of a mentally ill homeless man in the streets of Chennai made the researcher aware that for this study, adhering to recommended ethical guidelines may not be enough. The notion of dignity and inclusion of participants into the research process, ensuring their dignity became an ingredient and active component in field work thereafter. A linked experience of vulnerability and disempowerment of *both* the researcher and the researched was also learnt. Those will be explained and assessed here, after forming an understanding of the purpose and uses of a pilot study.

::The use of a pilot study

In social science research, the term *pilot study* refers to either a feasibility study, a 'trial-run' of the larger study, or to its ability to pre-test and trial individual research instruments (Kezar, 2000; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). However, pilot studies of qualitative work are scarcely fully reported by both experienced and inexperienced researchers, and its benefits and relevance resultantly tend to be overlooked (Sampson, 2004; van Teijlingen et al., 2000). A pilot study can influence decisions with regards to adjusting data-collection schedules for more effective use of time in the field, adding or subtracting data-collection methods, and refining or adapting a previously developed research approach (Janesick, 1994). Infeasible or unsatisfactory study components can be modified or removed all together from the overall research design (Leon et al., 2011). A preliminary visit to the field can further illuminate areas of the research previously not considered (Janesick, 1994). It is important to understand that pilot studies have limitations on the basis of application on small numbers, a small knowledge foundation, and on the possibility of making inaccurate predictions and assumptions on the basis of it (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). Though a preliminary study gives an indication of success of the larger scale study, it is by no means a guarantee of success (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). Data collected from pilot studies also cannot be included with data from the main study as there could have been problems with the previous research tools applied which were modified after the pilot study (Leon et al., 2011; Peat et al., 2002). It can be a time-consuming and frustrating process, depending on the research difficulties uncovered. However addressing those issues is important before committing a great deal of time, money, and effort into the full study (Mason & Zuercher, 1995). This research undertook a three-week pilot study in Tamil Nadu and was initially designed to help identify methodological gaps in the research design and research outlook, data collection, the interview process, and analysis.

::Design and data collection improvements

The pilot study in Chennai, Tamil Nadu, strengthened the researcher's chosen qualitative approach with emphasis on phenomenology. The first-hand observations of NGO programme activities and a general insight into daily life and routines in Chennai are more akin to an emphasis on processes and meaning, rather than on scientific conclusions. The importance of participation was also supported by those insights. With regards to the data collection methods, documentary research and photography became more significant methods than earlier assumed. Newspapers and periodicals produce copious amounts of records about how the nation-state deals with developments and responds to certain interest groups (McCulloch, 2004). Caste frictions and gender inequalities (gender violence has been a prevalent topic in India in 2012-2013) are regularly reported in newspapers, providing snapshots of divergent opinions, interests, and reflections of the community. The modern state, agencies and institutions have always recorded their doings, and a parallel development was observed in which individuals started, and became accustomed to documenting their experiences (McCullock, 2004). Platt (1999) cautions researchers about instances when documents are not authentic despite their claim to be so. With possible biases in documents found, the data still represents a discussion, frozen in time, and prevailing strata, classes, and business interests.

The initial pilot study also discovered photography to be a method in this research beyond a 'visual diary', but with form and content, and "phenomena as objects in their own right" (Emmison & Smith, 2000, p. 3). Compared to other qualitative data collected, photographs stand unique to other storage media to bear iconic resemblance to a reality it captures (Emmison & Smith, 2000). This will be discussed in more depth in the data collection section of this chapter. Photography and capturing images on a daily basis during the pilot study introduced an ethical guideline of dignity into especially inton the visual data collection process, and inclusion of both active and passive participants into the study. The search of dignity and its meaning, for especially the visual aspect of this study, will be discussed here.

::In search of dignity

The title seemed appropriate, given the circumstance that sparked the debate for the inclusion of dignity into this research process. During the pilot study, a man in rags was observed, lying on a pedestrian refuge used by people crossing the street. The man appeared to be poor and homeless and was surrounded by a noisy tumult of auto-rickshaws, cars, and people passing by. The scene appeared to provide valuable, contextual data about the disparities of wealth in Tamil Nadu. However the photo was

not taken as this person would clearly not be portrayed as dignifying. Even if consent could be obtained for this image, it would not have helped create an awareness of a problem in Tamil Nadu, but sensationalised it. This promoted the inclusion of dignity into this research's data collection process, especially in a visual context. Although the dignity of research participants has been considered in other research studies, the concept itself has not been the subject of close attention and theorisation.

An all-inclusive definition of dignity is difficult to compose (Mehnert, Schroeder, Puhlmann, Muellerliele, & Koch, 2006). Perhaps the most sensible description of dignity is something that is inherent to every individual, a *Wesensmerkmal* (Being), independent of a person's character attributes, intellectual capacity, occupation, traits, skills, etc., as well as their social status. With this in mind, the issue of dignity can be seen to be present in the use of photographic research from early examples through to the present. More recently the protection of dignity has been paid particular attention to, for example, in general medical/social research (Berle, 2008; Clark, Prosser, & Wiles 2010; Creighton, Alderson, Brown, & Minto, 2002; Jones, 1994; Supe, 2003), and in research focussing on people with intellectual disabilities (Boxall & Ralph, 2009) and children (Close, 2007). With regards to dignity in photo research, the concept was pioneered by Susan Sontag (1977) and implemented via other photo techniques.

A camera has been initially described as an object that is predatory in nature, contending that taking a photograph can be an act of aggression because, 'to photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed' (Sontag, 1977, p. 10). Sontag argues that photography is a subjective process with a significant moral dimension in which feelings and emotions are important factors in that the camera is a tool that has potential to be lenient and cruel depending on the motives and techniques of the photographer. The research photographer has to listen "to feelings, to gut reaction in the face of photographs" (Parsons, 2009, p. 290). When collecting photographic research data in Tamil Nadu, ethical considerations relating to the images being captured became of central importance, and questions arose on how to protect and enhance the dignity of participants. For this research specifically, a new approach of dignity-in context was formulated.

For research photography, the question arises about how an investigator is able to determine what images to capture to convey accurate and authentic accounts of complex social relationships encountered in widely diverse field situations, and how a research participant's dignity can be protected. One way is through the application of 'ethics-in-context' in which it is accepted that ethics cannot be exported from one

cultural context to another (Riessman, 2005). This idea formed the groundwork for the concept of dignity-in-context for the research in Tamil Nadu. For example, dignity in one culture could be considered an indignity in another and therefore the researcher must be sensitive to the cultural norms of the communities being researched (Lickiss, 2007). That is not to say though that certain cultural practices in which one group of people are treated with less dignity than another be adopted by a researcher simply because it is a cultural norm. In a practical context, applying dignity-in-context means being sensitive to the relativistic nature of social and cultural norms and entering into dialogue with research participants underpinned by a set of clear research ethical principles that protect their dignity. These principles of dignity-in-context have two dimensions.

The first principle is dignity-in-outcome, referring to the need for those being researched to benefit from the research, to present an authentic view of the situation, and to ensure that the research does not demean or reduce the person it involves. This assists in deciding who/what to photograph. For example, when researching communities afflicted by poverty, making sure researchers do not demean or "reduce" the people they are researching, is important (i.e., do no harm to them). It is, however, also important to achieve something positive, so one of the aims of data collection and analysis should also be to develop new theoretical and practical insights that support and encourage better practice by policy-makers, governments, NGOs, and international organisations that will improve the lives of the communities being researched. The second is dignity-in-process that helps to decide how/when to photograph.

Photographing people in their social environment is taking something from them they cannot defend. This being a valid argument, spending time with people being researched and using the camera as a communication tool as well as a data collection tool, allows the barriers between the researcher and participants to be reduced helping to preserve and enhance dignity in the process. Drawing on field experience from the pilot study, it seemed that people being photographed for research benefit greatly by being shown the photograph taken on the LCD screen at the back of the camera. The person photographed can then see exactly how they are being portrayed in that particular moment, allowing them to raise concerns about a particular image of them or their situation (which might end in the participant asking that the image be deleted). To do this, it was necessary to give as much time as participants wanted to view relevant photographs. This ensures that participants are fully involved in the data collection process. While this might not apply to spontaneous snapshots of fleeting moments, time previously spent on understanding the social and cultural contexts of the scenes being photographed will help in the exercise of discretion when taking ethically sound research images. By adopting these approaches, the authenticity of photographs is

ensured while at the same time safeguarding the dignity of participants. The pilot study so far has revealed that poverty research is ethically complex, and research participants are often in vulnerable, disadvantaged situations (Davison, 2004). The pilot study however created further awareness of the vulnerability and disempowerment of the researcher in this study, to manage painful encounters and cope with resulting anxieties.

::Vulnerability and disempowerment

Within any qualitative research process, "all the players involved carry their own personal vulnerabilities" (Davison, 2004, p. 386). The capacity to harm is ever present in any research and both the researcher and the informants may experience vulnerability and conflicting emotions in the process (Davison, 2004). The pilot study in this research created awareness of shared vulnerabilities and addressing this openly allows for those dilemmas to be experienced and managed. Addressing this issue increases the quality of the research experience for both parties, and ensured the rigour of eventual findings (Davison, 2004).

In the particular case of researching poverty, it is important to be aware of the vulnerability of participants to risks such as exploitation, coercion, and stigmatisation by the unintentional release of sensitive data, and the marginalisation from the research process (Wiles, et al., 2012). The pilot study and encountered scenarios such as the mentally-ill man lying on the road, revealed the danger and the trap to accidentally 'holiday on other people's misery' (McRobbie, 1982, p. 55). Janet Finch's (1984, p. 80) research, in which she interviewed women who revealed private and intimate information, concluded, that "I have emerged from interviews with the feeling that my interviewees need to know how to protect themselves from people like me". Tewksbury and Gagne (1996) emphasise a strong, positive rapport with informants when addressing sensitive topics or working with a stigmatised population. The discussed ingredient of dignity and the inclusion of participants into the research, especially when taking photographs, counters such exploitation. Employing the immediate usage of images in that the LCD display on a camera can be utilised to show the participant the image of them that has just been captured by the researcher. This contemporary form of 'photo elicitation' encourages response and dialogue between researcher and participants (Frith & Harcourt, 2007). The situation captured in a photograph is not only data rich but also has an aesthetic quality in that the researcher and the participant are satisfied that it was a 'good' photograph – a highly subjective but important aspect in protecting or enhancing the self-esteem of the participant. With most literature examining the vulnerabilities of research informants, it is important to also address less widespread debates on personal harm and distress for researchers (Davison, 2004).

With any research involving vulnerable, stigmatised, or emotionally avoided topics and people, a researcher might feel uncomfortable or distressed by their insights into participants' worlds and oppressions (Davison, 2004). The pilot study and the following main study raised ethical dilemmas about the degree of responsibility a researcher has when offering advice or enabling avenues for empowerment. In other words, McRobbie (1982) feels that it is demeaning for researchers to think that respondents expect their "help". Help, in Davison's (2004) view however comes in many forms. Presuming helplessness and 'need for help' in this research would present an aloof and colonial perspective. The researcher was very much aware that participants are bound to a system they cannot escape and are indeed in need of help, which places the primary purpose of this research being to improve their lives through activities and programs of NGOs there. The research was conducted with the consideration of dignity and the inclusiveness of participants, combined with awareness of vulnerabilities to reduce a self-stigma that is possibly experienced by the people. It shaped a research approach that was very much founded on negotiation and understanding between the researcher and the researched. In the initial pilot study, this created an awareness of a contextual understanding of, and sensitivity to research participants. It is best described using the German term *Verstaendnis. Verstaendnis* encapsulates the notion of gaining understanding and empathy. Simply put, *Verstaendnis* means the researcher understands how other people in their situation see themselves. By spending time in the field before collecting photographic data, the researcher started developing *Verstaendnis* ensuring that ambiguities and/or irregularities in images taken are minimised, this concept translating into the other data collection methods employed. Triggered by photographic events, Verstaendnis is explained in depth in the *Forms of Data – Photographs* section of this chapter. This quality of empathy and understanding can be distressing and hurtful, yet without that emotional resonance between researcher and researched, an analysis would be "incomplete and fractured" (Davison, 2004, p. 362). Demonstrating interest in the lives of people being researched and respect for their dignity, minimised the researcher's vulnerability and anxiety towards this research. Emotional reflexivity in the data collection process ensured rigour and quality data- results, while constantly being able to address ethical issues on the way.

The initial pilot study gave insights into the intended research phenomenon and outlined problems, discoveries, and approaches aiding the main data collection process. To be able to empower participants, the data of a research must be collected using carefully thought of and supported data-collection methods. Otherwise "it will be forgotten on a dusty library shelf" (Davison, 2004, p. 382).

4.8. Data collection::

The data collection process and forms of data collected, provided another instance in which researcher validated their research design and their specific approaches of inquiry (Creswell, 2007). This is comprised of a set of interrelated activities, including the site or individual studied, access and rapport, purposive sampling, forms of data, recording, and data storage (Creswell, 2007). Admitted, the 'data collection' process might only encapsulate forms of data collected. However it is important to go beyond common reference points (Creswell, 2007) and present *pre* and *post* context activities of this collection process to validate the overall research design. These activities will be addressed briefly in sequence in this section, followed by an in-depth analysis of primary and secondary data-collection methods. A starting point will be the research site and access and rapport methods chosen for this research.

4.9. Pre-context activities – Site, access and rapport, purposive sampling::

The research site or individuals comprise of people or a location which is able to reveal information on a phenomenon being explored (Creswell, 2007). In a phenomenological study, individuals must have experienced or are knowledgeable on the phenomenon explored and can communicate that experience (Creswell, 2007). They may or may not be all located within a single site (Creswell, 2007). This research chose Tamil Nadu, specifically Chennai but also the surrounding areas, as the site to understand poverty contexts and the efforts of NGOs to reduce poverty.

Tamil Nadu, translated to 'country of the Tamils', is located in the south-east of India, with its capital Chennai (formerly Madras), having a population of 66,000,000 in 2008 (Alex, 2009). The previous discussion of India's own approaches to poverty outlined Tamil Nadu as a suitable point of entry with a poverty rate of 22% and a strong rural spill-over of poverty. Tamil Nadu focusses their policies on education to reduce poverty, on expansion of social service coverage, on improving the quality of current services provided, and on ensuring participation of beneficiaries in these aims (World Bank, 2005). The state is further claimed to be the fastest growing state in India, focusing on human capital and development of life conditions (Kajisa & Palanichamy, 2006; Mohan & Muliyil, 2009; Narayanamoorthy & Hanjra, 2010), making it an ideal ground to inquire on both poverty issues and the programe approaches and effectiveness, by NGOs. Chennai proves a good point for analysis as the pilot study revealed that the major NGOs and their activities are located in Chennai where 22% of the city consists of slums. Regardless of the approach or inquiry, permission always needs to be sought from individuals (Creswell, 2007). The pilot study provided invaluable, first hand exposure to this research process. Informal permission and references were granted by

NGOs for this study before the initial inquiry. Clear information outlining this research, and a perspective with regards to what the information is used for, confidentiality, and sought outcomes and contributions of this study was disclosed to the NGOs. Ethics clearance from the university had been granted before the pilot study. The overall sampling strategy in this research is purposeful sampling.

In qualitative research, purposeful sampling indicates the researcher selecting for a study, individuals, who can "purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). The strength behind purposeful sampling is that the sample is information rich (Morse, 1994). Several approaches towards purposive sampling have been outlined by authors, namely *typical case, deviant case, critical case, sensitive case, convenience sampling, and maximum variation* (Creswell, 2007; Morse, 1994; Patton, 2002; Seidman, 2012). This research will employ maximum variation sampling, as well as one by Creswell (2007) who suggested *opportunistic* sampling. These will be explained here.

Maximum variation can be referred to both people and sites, and is the process of deliberately selecting a heterogeneous sample, and uncovering similarities in peoples' perceived experiences (Creswell, 2007; Morse, 1994; Seidman, 2012). This approach allows the researcher to obtain two types of data (Patton, 2002). Maximum variation allows collecting high quality case descriptions, information that is unique to a single piece of data; it however also allows the researcher to identify shared patterns, and commonalities that exist across participants (Morse, 1994). Though this method is useful when examining abstract concepts such as hope (Morse, 1994), the method is equally useful for examining poverty and the approaches by NGOs against it. People in poverty would experience this phenomenon in a variety of different ways, given the discussed complexity of the phenomenon itself. How people perceive that poverty, would not only be dependent on which factors contribute to their state of being, but also their experience within it and the extent to which it affects them. Similarly, how NGOs choose to reduce poverty would depend on the poverty factors they are aiming to reduce, as well as the size of their operations, the nature, and the state and progress of their work. The diversity of possible experiences by participants justifies the maximum variation approach to this research, but within this exploratory phenomenological approach, one must account for the unexpected. For this reason, this research further pursues *opportunistic* sampling. Opportunistic sampling in essence simply follows new leads, and takes advantage of the unexpected (Creswell, 2007). In this research, those were referrals to participants previously not considered in this research, or any other means or opportunity given to the researcher to understand poverty or their reduction approaches more in-depth. The understanding of *how* one selects people and places to study is followed by *what* type of information is collected. There are new forms of data

continually emerging in the literature. However they are classified into four basic types - interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual materials (Creswell, 2007).

4.10. Forms of data - Interviews::

The primary data collection method for this research was qualitative interviews, as this method was able to generate empirical data on social phenomena by capturing people's description about their lives (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Interviews, a special form of communication, are well-suited to understand peoples' interpretation of a situation (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Interviews gain access to a social reality by a participant, comprising of attitudes, perceptions, and feelings, making interviews a unique tool within an interpretive research paradigm (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The opinions and values about a research phenomenon "will have an impact and should be understood and taken into account when conducting research" (Key, 1997). Interviews remain the most widely applied approach for systematic qualitative inquiry (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994), and researchers from many different disciplines, including social scientists, psychologists, administrators, and politicians rightfully value interviews as their "windows to the world" (Hyman et al., 1975). Whereas the interactional character of interviews is emphasised on in the literature, it is equally important to address the different interview styles, ranging from structured to open interviews, and addressing pitfalls in the process that the researcher wants to avoid.

Interviews can be unstructured (also called 'open') or semi-structured, and rarely are conducted by structured questions (Creswell, 2013; Fontana & Frey, 1994; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Open or semi-structured interviews with their qualitative nature are able to provide a greater span of inquiry (Fontana & Frey, 1994). A traditional interview approach within this interview type is the open-ended, in-depth interview, essentially a search-and-discover mission, which allows the interviewer to explore what knowledge respondents possess on the interview topic (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994).

Creswell (2007) proposes to start by identifying potential interviewees via purposeful sampling, followed by choosing the desired types of interviews to be conducted, recording procedures, as well as designing an interview protocol, and choosing suitable locations, obtaining consent and being generally courteous but sticking to the questions (Creswell, 2007). The interviews for this research took place with key informants of NGOs and private individuals concerned with the issue of poverty in Tamil Nadu. Those parties were likely to have the most knowledge or insight into this area and into the current efforts of poverty alleviation. The interviews

were designed to explore and seek to understand the institutions' perspectives as well as an individuals' perspective and their contribution towards poverty alleviation. The interviews were aimed to learn about each party's current individual efforts on poverty alleviation and their target areas. Specific emphasis was be placed on NGOs as they would be the most knowledgeable on elements and relationships that force people to live in poverty. Further contacts and interviews with other desired people were achieved via a snowball effect, through NGO channels, individual or official reference, or information obtained.

This study employed semi-structured face-to-face interviews with one or more participants that will take place in an environment perceived comfortable by the same, preferably a quiet area free from distractions. This interview approach allowed for spontaneous questions to be asked in a relaxed atmosphere perceived by the interviewee and also allows for *informed* experiences that holds the potential to uncover hidden complexities, achieving a deeper insight into people's lives (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Bryman, 2004; Patton, 2002). The captured contextual descriptions of how people experience an issue provided a 'human side' to a situation and often include contradictory beliefs, opinions, emotions and relationships of individuals. They can be conducted face-to-face or via other means of communication. One has to be cautious in face-to-face interviews as the possibility occurs that interviewees may be hesitant to provide information (Creswell, 2007). Alternative methods of interviews were be offered in those cases, such as telephone interviews or written feedback to questions sent by the researcher to the participant.

This research conducted interviews with key members or decision makers of NGOs of different types, private individuals knowledgeable or active in the phenomenon, and any other meaningful referrals given by participants to the researcher. The interviews with NGO members and private individuals were predominantly around their insights into people in poverty, as well as their problems, which they encountered when working with the poor. The research was mainly conducted in the Chennai area, as it is the most populous area in Tamil Nadu with a population of ten million people and is has also the biggest concentration of NGOs and anti-poverty activity. This research aimed for twenty-five to thirty interviews which was done by a 'snowballing' approach where one participant provides leads to another (Seidman, 2012). However, NGOs were subject to reputational screening by researching their work beforehand and by referrals of people active in the field. The registrar that was given to me by an interview participant [PP4] served as further guidelines to determine which NGOs were acting in bona fide, as this was a criterion for NGOs to be accepted to the registrar beforehand. Calls to the NGOs were subsequently made in which the research project was introduced to them, during which I asked if an interview for the purpose of this

study was possible. The interviewees were the directors of their respective NGOs, or key members working for the NGO on a fulltime basis. The individual participants interviewed were the founders and operators of their NGO, irrespective of whether they were formal or informal NGOs. On some occasion, the interview was between me and more than one person. In these instances, permission to interview was got from the participants separately. Interviews were conducted at a time and place convenient to the participant. *Table 4.2.* summarises the NGO participants with their allocated codes and some general information about them which cannot be tracked back to the individual. I was conscious to have a good balance of male and female interviewees with a wide age group to ensure that views expressed were not confined to a specific gender or age group.

Code	NGO Description	General Participant Information (Gender, Age, Profession, City of Interview)
PD1	Institution 1	Female, Mid 50s, Principal, Chennai
PM1	Formal NGO 1	Female, Early 30s, Team Leader, Chennai
PM2	Formal NGO 2	Female, Mid 40s, Director, Chennai
PM3	Formal NGO 3	Male, Mid 40s, Director, Chennai
PM4	Formal NGO 4	Male, Mid 50s, Director, Chennai
PM5	Formal NGO 5	Male, Early 60s, Director, Chennai
PM6	Formal NGO 6	Male, Late 50s, Director, Chennai
PM7	Formal NGO 7	Male, 30s, Leader in Disaster Relief, Chennai; Female, Early 30s, Counsellor, Chennai
PM8	Formal NGO 8	Male, Mid 50s, Director, Chennai
PM9	Formal NGO 9	Female, early 40s, Director and Celebrity, Chennai
PM10	Formal NGO 10	Female, Mid 30s, Leadership Director, Chennai
PM11	Formal NGO 11	Male, Mid 30s, Director, Chennai
PM12-1	Formal NGO 12; Participant 1	Male, Mid 20s, Director, Chennai
PM12-2	Formal NGO 12; Participant 2	Male, Mid-Late 20s, Director, Chennai
PM12-3	Formal NGO 12; Participant 3	Male, Mid 20s, Director, Chennai
PP1-1	Informal NGO 1; Participant 1	Male, Early 60s, Director, Chennai
PP1-2	Informal NGO 1; Participant 2	Male, Late 50s, Support Role, Chennai
PP1-3	Informal NGO 1; Participant 3	Female, Late 40s, Support Role, Chennai
PP2	Informal NGO 2	Male, Early 50s, Director and Doctor, Salem
PP3	Informal NGO 3	Female, Early 20s, Consultant, Chennai
PP4	Informal NGO 4	Male, Late 30s, Individual Volunteer and Woods trader, Chennai
PP5	Informal NGO 5	Male, 40s, Business Owner and NGO Funder, Chennai
PP6	Informal NGO 6	Female, 30, Journalist, Chennai
PP7	Informal NGO 7	Male, mid 60s, Business Owner, Chennai
PP8	Informal NGO 8	Female, late 20s, Journalist, Chennai
PP9	Informal NGO 9	Male, early 70s, Shop Owner, Chennai
PP10	Informal NGO 10	Male, late 40s, IT Professional, Chennai
PP11	Informal NGO 11	Female, late 20s, Journalist, Chennai

Table 4.2.: Summary of information regarding interview participants

The diversity and number of interviews achieved a saturation of information, and was sufficient to reflect the range of participants for maximum variation. The interviews were semi-structured to allow for flexibility combined with a loose agenda, creating a degree of consistency across different interview sessions (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The interviews predominantly focussed on the interviewees' narration and formed questions based on the narrators' reflections. The interviewees placed focus on their own point of emphasis and what they were comfortable sharing, but it also allowed for a very detailed description of individual efforts useful for comparison. Both exceptions and commonalities were met with interest by me and further inquiry into them. To ensure validity and reliability, the interviews employed constant comparison, a known method, more commonly used for data analysis; however, effectively in this study, bringing it into the data *collection* process.

The constant comparison method (CCM) has been developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and describes within four stages the core of qualitative analysis in a grounded theory approach. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 439) describes these stages as "(1) comparing incidences applicable to each category, (2) integrating categories and their properties, (3) delineating the theory, and (4) writing the theory". CCM goes in tandem with theoretical sampling, and implies that it is the decision of the researcher what data will be gathered next and where to obtain it on the basis of concepts of theoretical ideas (Boeije 2002). This type of *inductive* analysis allows the emergence of patterns, themes, and categories, based on the data, rather than being set before data collection and analysis, allowing it to be cyclical (Boeije, 2002; Patton, 2002). The 'new based on old' cycle stops when new cases do not uncover any new information in categories prescribed by the researcher and the information can be described as saturated (Boeije, 2002; Goetz & LeCompte, 1981). CCM in qualitative data analysis is therefore a method regarded to increase the internal validity of data collected.

The approach in this thesis to collecting interview data employed the general concept of CCM, but implemented this process into the interview data *collection* method. The constant comparison did not only happen once *all* interviews were conducted, but also after *each* interview was conducted. Information from the previous interviews did not rigidly guide the procedure of the next interviews to be conducted, but allowed for opportunities to discuss previous information given by interviewees. This information then was verified or falsified by the following interviewees, allowing for the creating of a high validity of data on one or more issues, or a multitude of opinions that required further attention. For example, after having conducted an interview with an NGO which has revealed issues like caste and gender as factors of poverty, questions with regards to those topics were raised in other interviews with NGOs or other institutions, collecting a multitude of opinions on those issues, enhancing them, adding other factors

to the equation, which were brought up in following interviews. This method was useful to this type of exploratory thesis as the researcher was not aware of some issues or relationships and these insights allowed him or her to capitalise on the new gained knowledge to gain further data and strengthen or refine previous points of view, adding to their validity and authenticity. The use of in-depth interviews, semi-structured or unstructured, is not above the issues of ethics that need to be understood (Allmark et al., 2009).

::Ethical issues in interviews

Ethical issues are present in all forms of research, yet the ethical issues of qualitative data are different and very subtle in comparison to their quantitative counterpart (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2000). An issue brought up by multiple authors in various fields with regards to interviews remains privacy and confidentiality (Haverkamp, 2005; Kidd & Finlayson, 2006; Oberle, 2002; Ramos, 1989; Richards & Schwartz, 2002). A person's privacy is threatened when the interviewer enquires into areas that the interviewee would like to remain private (Allmark et al., 2009). Ethical tensions and awkwardness can arise. The most common threat in terms of interview confidentiality occurs in the write-up through quotes and though it might not be identifiable by the general public, there is a risk of peers or other parties involved being able to identify the individuals (Allmark et al., 2009). Another much discussed interview concern relevant to this thesis remains the informed consent of participants, especially when it comes to providing detailed information about the research to the participants (Davison, 2004; Holloway & Jefferson, 2000). Multiple authors are in agreement that participants' consent is a vital ethical requirement and that the researcher is responsible to provide information about the research to the participants (Boxall & Ralph, 2009; Clark, Prosser, & Wiles, 2010; Creighton, Alderson, Brown, & Minto, 2002; Razvi, 2006; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001; Young & Barret, 2000). A number of authors further raised the issues of unequal power in qualitative research (Cohn & Lyons, 2003; Ebbs, 1996; Richards & Schwartz, 2002). Power by Cohn and Lyon's (2003, p. 40) definition involves "the ability to take one's place in whatever discourse is essential to action and the right to have one's part matter". Despite its appearance being positive in nature, power and authority have potential to oppress, producing inequality or minimizing another's perspective (Cohn & Lyons, 2003). This research applies the following strategies in interviews and write-ups to prevent any dilemmas or discomfort to the participants during and after the data collection process.

The interviewees were reminded at the start of the interview that they did not have to answer the questions asked if so desired, and if they wanted to stop the interview

at any point in time they could have done so. The interview questions were carefully thought of and generally started with a very open-ended question with regards to NGO operations. This allowed interviewees to become comfortable when talking about their experiences and bringing up concerns or points of interest they deem important. Despite one person not being able to directly empower another (Cohn & Lyons, 2003), this approach facilitated an environment or establishes a relationship with the participant that allowed the participants enhance their lives and promote the sharing of their knowledge or experience. The interviews were therefore approached with a general attitude of curiousity by me, and understanding a subject's overall process or involvement in poverty reduction, rather than question or challenge specifics. As per suggestion from Lather (1988) this research tried to transform the interview into a welcoming dialectical and educative conversation that facilitates learning on both sides.

4.11. Forms of data – Photographs::

A supporting data collection method for this thesis was photography. Photographs were used in this thesis as a means of collecting visual data about context, situation, and surrounding circumstances. Photographs have a unique ability of being able to study the *process* of social life naturally unfolding (Harper, 1988). They intend to capture details about particular moments in peoples' lives that reveal information about either social processes or moments that cannot be collected otherwise (Basil, 2011). It is necessary to summarise the use of photo research across disciplines for this research, emphasising its exploratory potential. Photographs in this thesis aimed to capture an actuality and authenticity, which the previously introduced concept of *Verstaendnis* is used and explained.

There is little doubt that photography increasingly influences the viewers' perception of what they believe to be the 'real world' and the discipline has since found wide acceptance in subjective qualitative research (Knoblauch et al., 2008; Stanczak, 2004). Within the realm of photo research, pictures hold the potential of documenting social relationships that exist between the subject of interest and the space they inhabit (Joanou, 2009), as well as documenting changes occurring in nature (Roush, Munroe, & Fagre, 2007). The deployment of photography as a research method initially fluctuated at the start of the 20th Century. With its roots as a research method in ethnographic observation (Close, 2007), it was first applied in Bateson and Mead's (1942) study of Balinese culture between 1936 and 1939, consisting of carefully organised and integrated photographs that feature key aspects of Balinese life. What makes their work exemplary and ground breaking is their "use of photographs as topics of investigation"

(Ball & Smith, 1992, p. 14), whereas they have usually only served illustrative functions or become slide-show travelogues (Emmison & Smith, 1999). Through much of the twentieth century, photographs have never much found their application in significant literature, with authors focussing on abstracts and paintings to ground arguments of visual perception, aesthetics, ethics or politics (Foster, 2008; Harper, 2003). In the last decade though, photographic research observed an increasingly diverse interest in visual-based methods and research (Banks, 2001; Close, 2007; Pink, 2006; Prosser & Loxley, 2007).

Qualitative studies are often restricted in their sole use of language and photographs are able to transcend the limitations of language and inform about phenomena without the trap of language (Walker, 1999). It found its use in medical and clinical research (Berle, 2008; Canning, 2003; Clark, Prosser, & Wiles, 2010; Creighton, Alderson, Brown, & Minto, 2002; Jones, 1994; Supe, 2003), involving people with intellectual disabilities (Boxall & Ralph, 2009) and research involving children in a medical context (Close, 2007). Other applications of visual methods relevant for this thesis have also emerged in the field of sociology, especially in the areas of poverty research, social issues, and empowerment (Fink, 2000; Razvi, 2006). For example, Razvi (2006) used photographs to create awareness of cultural issues, equality and social justice of working women in Ahmadabad, India. The images "signify multiple representations of a culture and enrich the understanding of the phenomena under investigation" (Razvi, 2006, p. 1). A number of specific methods have emerged.

A widespread technique of the use of photographs are photo interviews, or 'photo novella' (Close, 2007), in which people involved describe an event or tell a story based on a photograph taken by the researcher. Another method involves reflexive photography, in which the subject is an active participant in the interpretation of the images (Boxall & Ralph, 2009; Emmison & Smith, 2000; Harper, 1988; Hurworth, 2004; Noland, 2006). With the subject capturing himself or herself in their natural environment, researchers are able to generate more authentic data as they see the subjects' world through the subjects' eyes, sharing that meaning (Harper, 1988; Noland, 2006). Similar to that, PhotoVoice is a photo collection method where participants are provided cameras and control both the "photo" and the "voice" aspect of the research (Wang & Burris, 1994). Their control and frame choice with the camera is independent from the researcher choosing areas or objects of concern. For example, a Brazilian educator named Paulo Freire in his research asked people in Spanish what in their minds are the sources of exploitation and requested the answer in photographs. The street children, mainly shoe cleaners, photographed a nail on the wall. That nail had to be rented from a shop-keeper so that they could hang their shoe boxes on it for the night (Singhal & Devi, 2003). This research approached this aspect of the data

collection process with Verstaendnis, and understanding of *perceived* realities, and power differences.

::Verstaendnis, perceived realities, and power

This thesis employed photographs to capture the *actuality* or *authenticity* via application of an overall contextual understanding to the events and situations, which encapsulated physical and emotional understanding, and an overall sensitivity with which the frames photographed as data were chosen. *Verstaendnis* has been previously introduced in this context. Verstaendnis in collecting photographic data equates to the ambiguities or irregularities the researcher can minimise affecting the images' authenticity and use. Within this data collection method, the photographer's perception of his or her reality in relation to the research phenomenon becomes important. Authentic photo data cannot be obtained without building relations with the subjects of interest. Individual consciousness alone cannot adequately explain the 'actuality' of the world; there also needs to be social relations for it (Hart & McKinnon's, 2010). *Figure 4.1.* on page 115 is an illustration of how this thesis proposes to create those relations. The perception or 'lived' reality of the subject in *Figure 4.1.* is labelled R-S and the perception of that reality by the participant (or 'object') labelled R-O. With the underlying epistemological assumption of reality being an "interpretive device" (Ireland et al., 2009, p. 4), differences in their perceived realities exist. The prolonged exposure and the one-year participation in the intended research environment will create awareness, an *actuality* that has a direct influenced the researcher's observation skills and the choice of photo compositions. This was further influenced and informed by engaging with the subjects being photographed. In *Figure 4.1.*, this presents itself with R-SO, an overlap of the Verstaendnis of reality between the subject and the object. Verbal consent (including the intended purposes of the photograph) will be sought from research subjects, and the particular social and cultural context is to be fully understood so that consent to participate in this study is situated within local customs (Clark, Prosser, & Wiles, 2010). In Tamil Nadu, obtaining written the consent of photo participants was not appropriate given concerns about signing official-looking documents, cultural norms, and possible literacy issues within a slum population.

To gain practical consent from subjects within the field, this research employed the now digital component of the camera and the enthusiasm if the researcher to learn the local language. Participants were generally approached in the Tamil language by me, asked their name and if it would be possible to take a photograph. The willingness to learn bits and pieces of the local language was always received with surprise and acceptance by participants and allowed to build a rapport that would allow images to

be taken naturally. However, it is possible that participants do not fully understand what they are consenting to (Wiles et al., 2012). However the digital component of the camera allowed for an immediate viewing of a photograph, and consent and picture approval was obtained with each shot taken as it allows the people photographed to see their images and the researcher's perception and 'view' of their lives. By presenting the images on the LCD screen on the back of the camera, the power relationship between researcher and researched was balanced. As the viewing of the image is immediate, it allowed the participant to decide whether or not to allow the researcher to keep this image as data, being able to make an informed choice and give consent. This sharing of knowledge that the photographer and the power they have over the image lifted the symbolic possession of the image as an item. This changed the relationship in that, presenting a participant with the captured image provided the subject with greater power over that image.

With regard to accuracy or authenticity of the photographs, we engaged in conversation with the subjects about the pictures taken. It did not only allow for increased quality in photographic data being collected for this thesis, but also bridged the ethical component of research from theoretical outline in a research proposal to real life in-the-field application without compromise. Building relations therefore became a vital part in ensuring that theoretically composed ethical requirements are met in the field. Clark, Prosser, and Wiles (2010, p. 82) did advocate for an *ethics of care* approach, which is based on "care, compassion and a desire to act in ways that benefit the individual or group who are the focus of the research". This research intended to uphold these values and understood that this is "highly dependent on the commitment to social justice by the researcher" (Allen, 2012, p. 10). This practice also encouraged people to respond and enter into a dialogue with the researcher (Frith & Harcourt, 2007) that would allow for further photos or more detailed visual explanation on a topic. Photos therefore generated insights into the lives of people in poverty, independent from NGOs working in the field. With regards to consent of photographs, if the subject's consent could be obtained due to the fast moving nature of the scene, allowing for only a snapshot or the subjects being too far away or the desire to capture an un-staged image, it was the previously acquired Verstaendnis of the photographer that will guide him or her in the choices of which photos to take. Cameras can be used to promote social change (Wang & Burris, 1994). However ethical concerns must be considered when applying this method to collect data.

Interaction and Relationship Building

Researcher

Researched

Verstaendnis

observes, photographs

R-S *R-SO* R-O

lives within
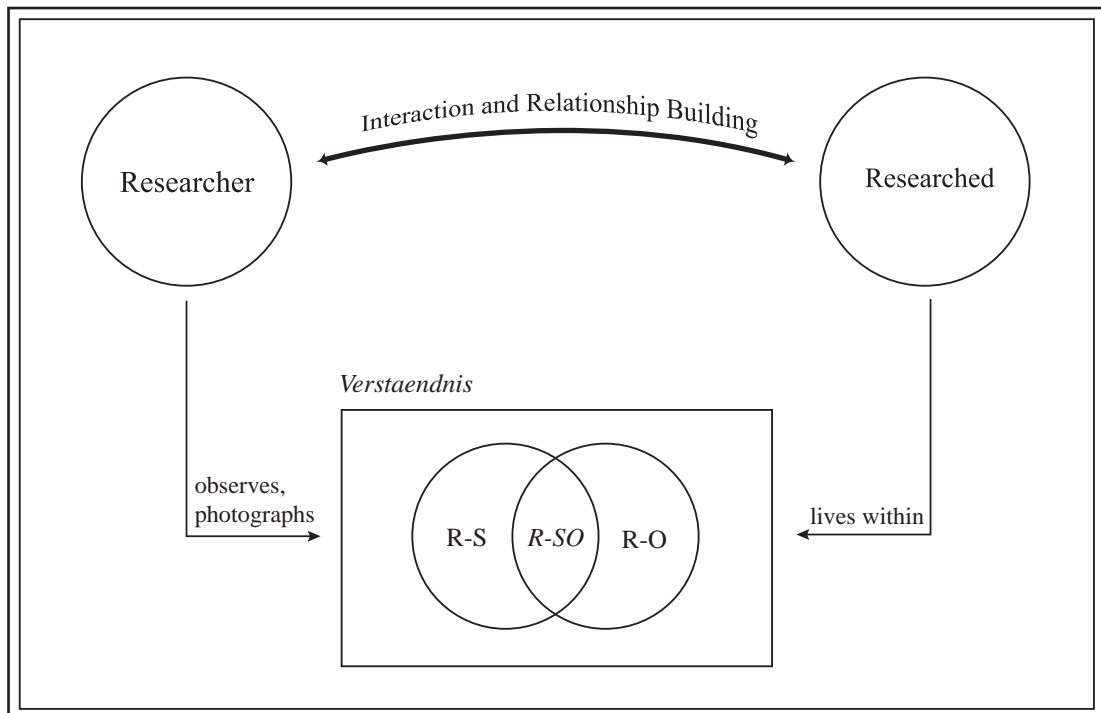
Figure 4.1.: Verstaendnis and perceived realities

::Ethical issues in photography

With a camera's initial description by Sontag (1977) being predatory in nature, and photographing being an act of aggression and symbolic possession, the ethics of photography has become a much debated one. Photographers must practice "listening to feelings, to gut reaction in the face of photographs" (Parson, 2009, p. 290). This brings the *moral* implications of a photograph into the limelight. The argument of photography ethics has found a broad voice from, how the photographers negotiates with those who are being photographed, their motives, and from ensuring informed consent (Barker & Smith, 2012; Rolph et al., 2009).

Spencer (2010) accuses taking photographs without consent as 'outsider arrogance' which distorts the research being undertaken, as there would be an unbalanced power relationship between the researcher and those who are being photographed. Current literature talking about the ethics of using photographs however, seems to be heavily involved with consent. Implementing these variables in the field however can present challenges and one can embark on ethical cross roads (Bhattacharya, 2007). The research itself could have its own contradictions and tensions, such as the researcher-researched relationship, a very unstructured or unplanned mode of inquiry, as well as the shaky meaning of "consent" in the field of research (Bhattacharya, 2007).

With this research focussing on poverty elements, a complex topic, combined with

photography, gaining consent was not as simple as having participants sign a consent form. In the case of researching aspects of poverty in Tamil Nadu, empowerment was achieved by verbal consent obtained by the active inclusion and feedback of participants with regards to the images captured. There was sufficient time given for participants to make a choice whether they are happy with the image or not. The situation captured in the photograph also gained an aesthetic quality in that the researcher and the participant were satisfied that it was a 'good' photograph – a highly subjective but important aspect in protecting or enhancing the self-esteem of the participant.

This was also where building relations and the concept of dignity came into play. Given the cultural diversity of India and Tamil Nadu, it was important for the credibility and *integrity* of this research to capture images that in no way put the subject's dignity in jeopardy. Its compromise could damage the researcher's intentions to promote change through research, with research and self-gain overriding the desire to change circumstances of impoverished people in Tamil Nadu. This approach countered Sontag's (1977) proposed view of a camera as a tool of aggression and Rodriguez's (1998) argument of the relationship between research subjects and the social scientist being one of unequal power.

In summary, the *digital image* that has become possible is the key stone in this research that practically transforms the power relationship between photographer and subject. A one-way subject object relationship became a two-way sender-receiver relationship with both sides being presented with input and output. A photo transformed into an image is as qualitative and as viable as a recorded interview, and avenues appeared to satisfy the *moral* implications of taking a photograph. Close to capturing visual images for this research, another secondary data collection method was observation, the most commonand oldest method in scientific research (Jersild & Meigs, 1939).

4.12. Forms of data – Observations::

Another supporting data collection method was observation, understood as a systematical recording of observable phenomena in their natural setting (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011; Gorman & Clayton, 2005). Different observation techniques can be used to generate quantitative or qualitative data, be it structured or unstructured, and conducted in either a natural or controlled setting with or without active participation (Chamberlain & Broderick, 2007). Observation in this study was used for verification or further elaboration on information collected by other data collection methods to form a more complete picture and triangulate with findings of other sources, from which the theory will be generated. Observation has undergone significant changes

from a purely objective third-person voice, the "omniscient narrator" (Tierney, 1997, p. 27) to a subjective collaborative inquiry with the researcher as "I", addressing diverse, probably even contradictory, audiences (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011).

"Observation" as a research method dates back to Aristotle in his botanical studies of the islands of Lebsos and Auguste Comte and is characterised as "the fundamental base of all research methods" (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 389). Observation as a data collection method is particularly useful to determine subconscious actions or attitudes that are either not verbally revealed or too ingrained into the individuals' core behaviour for it to be consciously noticed. Traditional research has long favoured an objective outsider perspective. However the shift to more collaborative research promoted researchers to change and ultimately build relations with those they observe, generating new, more unique perceptions, subjective to a diverse, even contradictory audience (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). It is important to acknowledge a shift in power when studying communities, as is now so often the case, there is no ethnos in ethnography (Gupta & Ferguson, 1996). It was classically assumed that observation of communities would be a typical representative of a society or culture (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). However, it is important to note that observation of any community should be understood as a collection of interactions, grounded in interstitiality and hybridity (Gupta & Ferguson, 1996). The role of the researcher and the observation methods chosen are important when doing observational research.

The roles a researcher can assume in observation studies are "characteristic postures researchers assume in their relationship" with the people of interest in their research (Chatman, 1984, p. 429). Based on Gold's (1958) initial model, many other authors support four possible roles researchers can assume in observational studies; the complete observer, observer-as-participant, participant-as-observer, and complete participant (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011; Baker, 2006; Creswell, 2007; Johnson, 1992). While these roles are described by Gold (1958) as merely single points on a continuum, researchers often maintain their focus on a single role (Johnson, 1992). Observation techniques also evolve from initially broad descriptive, towards more focussed, to finally very selective, approaches (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011).

A concern with this data-collection method was that a researcher must always remember that the primary role of the researcher remains that, being detached enough in order to collect and analyse data, important to the research topic (Baker, 2006). The limitation method is within its *dependability* (Golafshani, 2003), as the observer is forced to rely exclusively on his or her perceptions (Adler & Adler, 1994). Adler and Adler (1994) argue therefore that a researcher runs danger of being biased to their interpretations of situations. Observations should not be the *sole* data-collection

method and other collection methods that allow for cross-checking of observational data, should be employed.

::Observation as a support tool

Observations in this research covered affected communities and individuals in the slums and other areas in and around Chennai. Directions and specific phenomena of interest were inquired on in interviews or conversations with the people, and observations refined based on information provided by the interview participants and the researcher's own impressions. Observations of NGO activities were conducted only with their explicit permission. Often, the participating interviewees extended invitations to observe their activities or events they hosted. Observations outside the NGOs, for example street observations or observations of general public events, did not need permission. With regards to access to the slums, NGO confirmed and also encouraged me to visit and observe slum areas both during the initial pilot study and the main data collection periods. Observational data is gathered via field notes. Field notes are collected either in a writing entry or a recorded audio entry. Observations in this research encompassed mainly daily activities and environments that people lived and acted in. For example, the daily work of poorer women in Chennai was one aspect observed by the researcher. The phenomena observed ranged from washing, cooking, fetching water, taking care of their children, and their interaction with other women within their community. Other observations were specific occurrences in daily life, for example water distribution in the slums. These were very unique and situated events. These are recorded after each day either in writing or recorded into a recording device, and sorted according to date. Photographs served as illustrative field notes to situations and impressions in Tamil Nadu and later also provided helpful points of reference for recalling and remembering events. It allowed examining the issue of poverty from another very different angle which gave an overall more *saturated* and valid picture of the situation.

The authenticity of this research was established in this thesis via Adler and Adler (1994, p. 381) who suggested *verisi-multitude*, "a style of writing that draws the reader so closely into subjects' worlds that these can be palpably felt". The authors argue that such written accounts produce a higher plausibility and coherence to what the reader might know from his/her own experiences and gives the text a greater sense of authenticity. The role the researcher will assume in this study is the one of participant-as-observer. Also termed as 'active participation' by Adler and Adler (1994), this approach allows for the development of relations with the insiders, both parties even becoming friends (Baker, 2006). By building relations and engaging with research

subjects, the 'insiders', the latter are able to "instruct the investigator in the intricacies of their personal and social worlds" (Pearsall, 1970, p. 343). This approach allows for authentic observation and opportunities to uncover truths and contradictions perceived by the insiders that they would be otherwise unwilling to share. A concern expressed by Gold (1958) when becoming a participant-as-observer, is that, relationships formed can become problematic for the researcher if he/she identifies too much with the insiders and starts to over-identify with the insiders, losing objectivity and endangering their primary role as a researcher. To counter this problem, the researcher spent adequate time with the people in the slums or interest groups in Chennai, and conducted interviews in between to study equally perspectives from an insider's point of view as well as from a more detached point of view, avoiding over-identification, as the interviews and photographs allowed for a 'reality check' once in a while. Gaining access to the slum areas was possible via NGO support, as well as the researcher's own initiative to visit areas of interest and initiate their own relationships and dialogues.

::Observation ethics and concerns

It has been long acknowledged that when studying non-mainstream, sensitive, and stigmatised phenomena, the researcher must adapt his or her methods of collecting data to the sensitivity of the topic, as well as to the psychological and physical vulnerability of research subjects (Hobbs, 2002; Lee, 1991; Li, 2008). Ethical issues arise with ethnographic participation being overt or covert, research purposes being adequately revealed or disguised, as is the identity of the researcher (Li, 2008). Moral issues are raised with regards to the deliberate deception of research subjects, as well as the issue of informed consent from the people of interest (Bulmer, 1980, 1982; Li, 2008). The position taken up by researchers have significant impacts involving potentially vulnerable participants (Li, 2008). Dishonesty about research motives and secrecy would result in mistrust of groups or societies, rendering future research impossible (Johnson, 1992). Loss of trust translated further into loss of utility of the study done, and a loss in confidence of the researcher's or the team's integrity (Johnson, 1992). Adler and Adler (1994) also argue that an observational approach is liable to invade peoples' privacy. This can happen in two ways, either 'venturing' into the perceived private space of others, and misrepresenting oneself as a member of that group or community – being covert (Adler & Adler, 1994). How clear and open researchers should be in their study remains a debated topic (Johnson, 1992).

The researcher adopted the overt method and provide full disclosure to the research subjects. The motive of this research was to understand the people and their circumstances and dignity demanded that the people in this vulnerability was not

deceived in this research, in addition to their natural suspicion. Based on the experience collected during the pilot study in Chennai, the honesty approach has proven successful and full disclosure has predominantly been met positively and relations and dialogues were being established. From the researcher's perspective, this approach furthermore seemed the 'right thing' to do and validated the sincerity and the intentions of the researcher.

4.13. Secondary data – Documents::

The pilot study in India promoted documents, including print media, to be employed as a secondary data-collection method in this research. A key benefit to documentary data, especially print media, is that it very often focusses on the social impacts of a given issue, and also reveals how phenomena evolve over a period of time, possibly describing both the escalation and the attenuation of a given topic. This research collected data from mainly newspapers and other media publications which publish articles in relation to poverty, its causes and effects. The use of documents in social research has been increasingly abandoned (McCulloch, 2004) but the advantages of using documents in this research must be briefly discussed.

Documentary research is neither a definite nor acclaimed sociological research method (Platt, 1999). However, newspapers had long social standing by social scientists and historians as sources of historical data (Franzosi, 1987). Nations and organisations produce a large number of records of their development and their dealings with different interest groups (McCulloch, 1999). Multiple authors have referred to employing newspaper articles for research (Franzosi, 1987; Earl et al., 2004; Koopmans & Rucht, 1999). Earl et al. (2004) supports newspapers as a central research method when analysing social movements. Newspapers as data allow for analysis of more spontaneous forms of collective behaviour (Earl et al., 2004). Another advantage of this collection method is that it is inexpensive, and also continuous measure of collecting data on a phenomenon which holds the potential to reveal very contemporary information related to the issues pursued by the researcher (Earl et al., 2004). Patterns of escalation or attenuation can be discovered. Marwick (2001) notes a hierarchy of document sources, distinguishing between primary and secondary sources. Primary sources were created within the given study period, whereas secondary sources are created *after*, for example by historians (Marwick, 2001). One must apply caution when using documents as research data, with notable issues being establishing authenticity of documents and the availability of documents (Platt, 1999).

There are many instances where the authenticity of documents remains in question (Platt, 1999). Documents can be falsified, and published works attributed to authors

who did not create them (Platt, 1999). Newspapers and print media specifically are subject to a 'selection bias', which means that the validity of the data might suffer as news agencies do not necessarily report on all events that occur (Earl et al., 2004; McCarthy, 1999). Events might not be adequately represented, subject to a newspaper's space, reporting norms, and editorial concerns (Earl et al., 2004). A study by Danzger (1975) revealed that nearly all news reporting is found to be reflections of editorial policies of newspapers, creating differences in reporting practices, coverage, and selective reporting and biases (Breed, 1955; Franzosi, 1987). Nevertheless, Gitlin (n.d.) argues that newspapers and mass media are main agencies for the reproduction of ideologies by interpreting, packaging, and distributing that reality to society. Therefore, news presented reflects the interests of dominant economic groups (Danzer, 1975; Hall, 1997). The "newswortyness" of events in the point of view of the press is another factor of concern and thus might not cover the full spectrum of a situation. A lot of newsworthy stories do not make it into newspapers (Breed, 1958). Earl et al. (2004) outline three dimensions of bias in print media; (a) omission of information, (b) misrepresentation of information, and (c) event framing. This is not necessarily entirely the media's fault as their data is collected from sources (authorities or participants) who could have a stake in the event described and therefore give biased information (Earl et al., 2004), making the data also susceptible to plain error of information. An inauthentic document may nevertheless be of interest, but the document must be understood as such (Platt, 1999). This can be done by examining the documents itself, or through exploration of phenomena or events associated with it (Platt, 1999). The next issue is the availability of documents, as an inadequate amount of data quantity leads to qualitative shortcomings of interpretation, as too much emphasis is placed on a few descriptions, resulting in an over-interpretation of such (Platt, 1999). Despite the issues of validity with regards to newspapers, no data source is without fault, and "there is no a priori reason to believe that data collected from newspapers would be less valid than other commonly used sources" (Franzosi, 1987, p. 7).

::Documents in this research

This research collected data from newspaper articles and other print media available, for example periodicals and reports and publications from NGOs. Newspapers and periodicals were readily available and published on a daily and fortnightly basis. This data was collected throughout the time the researcher spent in India. Though quantification was difficult, depending on the media's attention and emphasis on poverty- related issues, the research aimed to use fifty good articles. The pilot study identified India's national newspaper *The Hindu* as a credible source to collect articles. The Hindu is generally classified as left-leaning, independent paper (Buncombe, 2013;

worldpress.org, 2013). In the past, the newspaper faced issues of bias and loss of focus, with poorly edited articles (Jagannathan, 2003). The Hindu responded to those crises by hiring foreign journalists and increased their emphasis to investigations, while remaining a left-leaning paper (Jagannathan, 2003). The English-speaking nature of the paper presented a limitation in this thesis, nevertheless, being inexpensive, readily available, and collected over a period of one year in Tamil Nadu, made it a viable and relevant source of supporting data.

Another possible source of documentation is publications and reports collected from NGOs and other parties of interest. The data collected in newspapers and periodicals were articles on poverty, caste frictions, education, corruption, and other perceived inequalities. The matrimonial section from *The Hindu*, published every Sunday, was collected separately when possible. NGO publication data collected include annual reports, general publications, campaigning materials, and newsletters. *Table 4.3.* on page 122 provides a summary of document types collected for this study. In this research, collecting documents was an inexpensive and continuous way to collect contemporary and evolving information on poverty and inequalities perceived. NGO publications, when provided, provided a support source for the interviews that further explain their activities, plans, and outcomes.

Information collected from these sources were both qualitative and quantitative nature, as the information itself could prove useful in triangulation with other data collected, and the repetition of an issue in the articles indicate the high relevance of it. This research did not solely rely on articles, given perceived drawbacks of authenticity, but conjoined it with other sources of data collected, allowing triangulation of data towards a holistic interpretation rather than a stand-alone analysis. This had the potential to validate data collected from other methods or uncover contradictions which need to be further examined. Ethical issues in collecting data for this research did not arise, as the data was either a public and published good, or freely given to the participant by organisations or people of interest. This ensured that no breach of privacy can occur. Misrepresentation of data was also very unlikely as despite the documents being primary sources, its overall place in this research remained a secondary source of data and its interpretation subject to findings from other data sources.

Document Type	Data Collected
The Hindu (National Newspaper)- and Sub-Titles (e.g. Metroplus, Education)	Articles relating poverty, inequalities, caste frictions, corruption, education, matrimonials.
Times of India	Articles relating poverty, inequalities, caste frictions, corruption, education
Bloomberg Report	Article on India's malnourishment problem.
NGO Publications	Annual Reports, Campaign Material, Newsletters, General Publications

Table 4.3.: Document sources and associated data

::From data collection to data analysis

The specific features of qualitative data collected for this thesis influenced the methods adapted to analyse the data (Adams et al., 2007). Data collection and analysis are integrated processes as it was an "iterative and reflexive process that begins as data are being collected rather than after data collection has ceased" (Adams et al., 2007, p. 322). To carry out this process successfully, it was important to review a few basic guidelines of the qualitative data analysis process before working on his or her collected data (Adams et al., 2007; Crabtree & Miller, 1999).

4.14. Data analysis::

Analysing multiple forms of data present challenges to qualitative researchers, as in addition of *how* to represent the data, analysis further includes organising the data, preliminary read-throughs, and forming interpretations of them (Creswell, 2013). Data collection and data analysis are not exclusive processes and analysis of data begins in the field, at the time of the interviews, during observation, or during other collection processes (Adams et al., 2007; Creswell, 2013; Saldana, 2009). These are a number of interrelated reflexive steps, a 'spiral of activities' that relate to the analysis and the construction of a larger picture derived from the interpretation of data (Creswell, 2013). The spiral is an appropriate contour, as the analysis process is not linear, with the researcher moving in analytical cycles, moving between data and its meanings in cycles of refinement (Creswell, 2013). For successful data analysis, the review of the individual steps and progressive focus is important, supported by strong examples from the data collected, to construct credible and dependable theory. Each qualitative inquiry is unique in its design, and its analysis therefore demands its own attention

(Patton, 2002). The data analysis in this thesis starts by preparing the data, including reading and writing memos, and provides step-by-step guidance and review of the first and second cycle coding techniques, categorising, theming the data, and ultimately generating theory.

::Preparing the data

In this initial step, the different kinds of data have to be 'defined' (Mayring, 2000). For a qualitative analysis, this means reading or listening multiple times through the collected data and writing down impressions (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Simply transcribing data sources and reading the notes is an important step in the overall analytic process (Adams et al., 2007). When working with a variety of data, it is sensible to organise it (Creswell, 2013), perhaps into categories, themes, sources, and relevance. Converting the data to be accepted by analytical software (Creswell, 2013) (e.g. *NVivo*) is also advised. After joining the data and formatting it, Creswell (2013) suggests to firstly obtain a general understanding of the data. The researcher should identify the overall message of the information across different data collected, and the impression and overall depth of the data and the use of the specific pieces of information (Creswell 2003). Analytical memos in the margins of field notes or transcripts under photographs help this initial exploration of the data (Creswell, 2013). At this point, general thoughts about each data source is examined and noted down, the beginning of the coding process.

The data in this thesis was first categorised according to its source. Four separate data folders labelled interviews, articles and publications, field diary, and photographs were created and the respective raw data placed there. To prepare the data for coding, the interviews were transcribed and converted into *NVivo* documents under the same folder label, sorted according to NGO or the individual's name, and the date of the interview. The articles, publications, and field diary entries collected were also transcribed and converted into *NVivo* documents. *Figure 4.2.* and *Figure 4.3.* are examples of the formatting of data into *In Vivo*. The NGOs here have been coded already to ensure their anonymity. The photographs were initially sorted out for quality, with blurred or non-relevant photographs being removed from the selection.

The initial read-throughs of the data revealed two broad depths of focus and impressions. First, poverty elements, circumstances, and emphasis are a constant in the interviews, articles, and also field diaries. The photographs, in line with the previous inclusion of dignity, support this emphasis, but while revealing more of a dependence on a system, it also shows content and happiness. Initial categories thought of by the researcher in the field, for example categories of Caste, Education, Gender issues, and

Housing issues, were likely to be from the read insights of the data. Another big area that crystallised from the initial read-through of data were the different priorities and approaches of NGOs that warrant further attention in the coding part of the analysis. The overall process of coding involved the process of collecting chunks of data, segments of text, or small categories of information, and assigning a label to each (Adams et al., 2007; Creswell, 2013; Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Saldana, 2009).

Figure 4.2.: Source categorisation and anonymising of interviewees
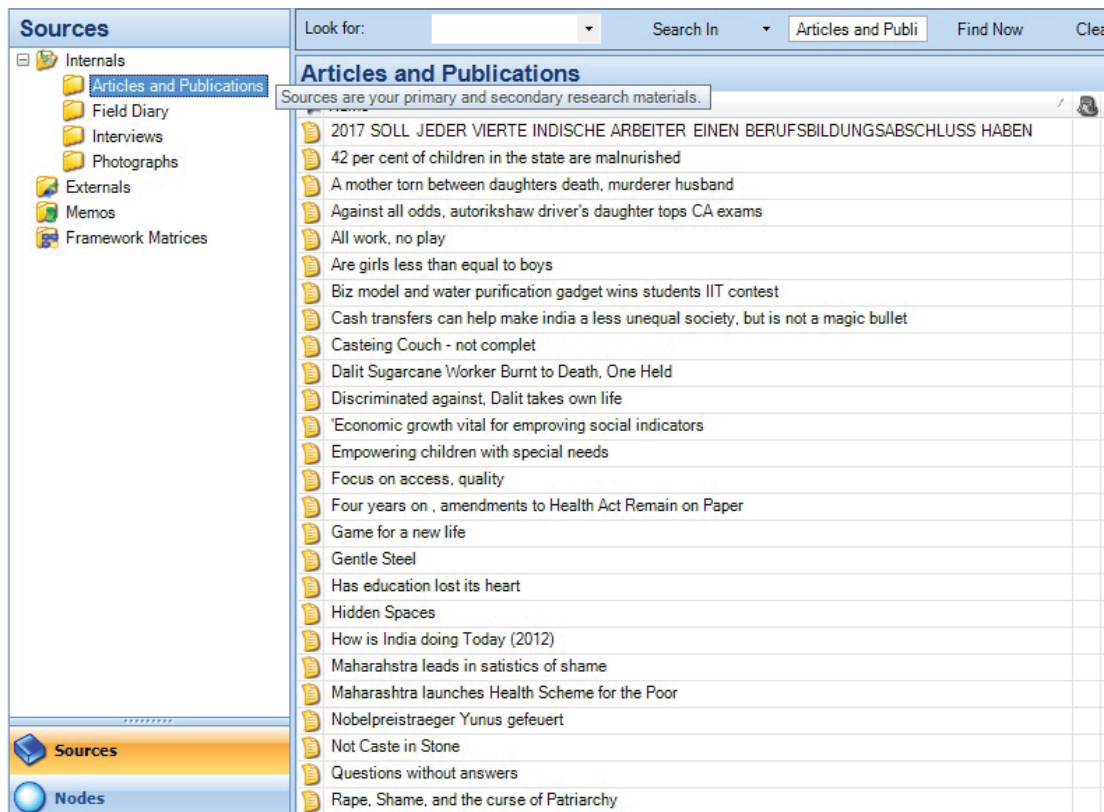
Figure 4.3.: Source categorisation and article transcripts

4.15. First-cycle coding::

Codifying data is an exploratory technique of *discovery* in nature*,* arranging pieces of data in a "systematic order, to make something part of a system or classification, to categorise" (Saldana, 2009, p. 8). Codes are applied and reapplied, labels refined, and data re-categorised (Saldana, 2009). Coding is a cyclical act, and rarely is the first round of coding summarising the data adequately for meaningful interpretation (Saldana, 2009). Richard and Morse (2007) describe it closer to a *linking* process, from data to the idea, from the idea to the data. A practical issue facing qualitative researchers at this early stage is the often copious amounts of data the researcher needs to be coded (Saldana, 2009). Qualitative researchers to date are in disagreement about what amount of the data should be coded (Saldana, 2009). Some researchers argue that every recorded piece of data from the field is worthy of attention, collected to address the research inquiry, potentially holding a key piece of information in its analysis (Lofland et al., 2006; Saldana, 2009). However, Saldana (2009) argues that a larger proportion of methodologists feel that only noticeable or relevant portions, about a half of the data only, should undergo intensive analysis. The danger of this practice is that potentially important sources of data are ignored which might reveal completely new

insights previously not considered by the researcher (Saldana, 2009). This research coded all data collected, using In-Vivo Coding and Initial Coding methods. In-Vivo Coding places priority on the participants' own voices, prioritising and honouring it over the researcher's (Saldana, 2009). Initial coding on the other hand is a good starting point in an exploratory research that allows for the crystallisation of analytic leads and for the researcher to determine in which direction to focus the study (Glaser, 1978). This is expanded on in the next sections.

::In Vivo Coding

'In Vivo' Coding, also known as literal coding, is a coding method that "refers to a short word or phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record" (Strauss, 1987, p. 33). This method is useful when the priority of the researcher is the participants and their 'voice' (Saldana, 2009). Stringer (1999) argues that In-Vivo is suitable for action research, and emphasises words and phrases used by participants, instead of professional or academic terms. The suitability of In Vivo coding as one of the first cycle coding techniques is demonstrated with the following two examples.

::Example 1

This example is an extract from an interview in which the participant was asked if gender discrimination in Chennai is a result of poverty:

> *PD1: "No, you can't really isolate that…we call this a 'double burden', because one thing is, she faces a lot of general issues, because she is a woman, and number two it is because of the gender identity, the poverty situation worsens."*

The following was coded In Vivo:

> *PD1: "one thing is she faced a lot of general issues, because she is a woman, and number two it is because of the gender identity, the poverty situation worsens."*

The participant's answer was very clear and the emphasis in the answer, first on gender as a general issue, then only on poverty in relation to that, indicates gender as a strong factor adding to it.

::Example 2

This example is an extract from a newspaper article addressing the 'Development Divide' based on caste-based discriminations at the ground level:

> *"Despite India's impressive and inspiring constitutional provisions and laws that ban caste discrimination and untouchability, the reality is that 'equality', 'equity' and 'social justice' are still mere words for thousands of Dalits and other members of marginalised communities."*

The following was coded In Vivo, as it is a strong message not interpreted by the researcher and the intention is to preserve the writer's view.

> *"'Equality', 'equity' and 'social justice' are still mere words for thousands of Dalits and other members of marginalised communities."*

In-Vivo codes have the potential to be the sole method of coding for smaller studies, but can be limiting to the researcher's data perspective in a larger-scale study, a perspective imperative to conceptualise and theorise about a process or phenomenon (Saldana, 2009). At times the participant's voice was the clearer one, in other instances however the researcher's interpretation was more accurate. It is sensible to employ a second coding method that allows for the researcher to reflect on the data content to generate theory. This thesis employed Initial Coding as a second coding method.

::Initial Coding

Initial Coding is unique in its application as it allows the research "to remain open to all possible theoretical directions indicated by [the researcher's] readings of the data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46). Also known as 'open-coding', this approach breaks down data into smaller pieces, examining them, enabling the researcher to compare for similarities and differences across data sources (Saldana, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Open-coding is not a formulaic method. It is useful when data has been collected from multiple sources, and for studies of exploratory type, to discover which direction the study takes (Glaser, 1978; Saldana, 2009). This includes alerting the researcher to data gaps possible necessity for more data to generate theory (Saldana, 2009). In this research, the scene was revisited to address data gaps found during the initial analysis. The following examples serve as demonstration on how Initial Coding is applied in this research.

::Example 1

This example presents an extract from an interview in which the participant was asked about an an opinion that the dropout rates of children is claimed to be very much at the primary school level:

> *PM9:"Yes, in government schools they tend to,…the problem is that most of them are First Generation Learners…their parents have not studied…so they have no focus to go home with the children and actually help them with their studies."*

Initial Coding was an appropriate method, as it was able to condense the argument and extract its major meaning. It coded using Initial Coding as follows:

> *PM9:"Dropout rates are high in government primary schools, because the parents do not have the focus to sit down and study with the child."*

::Example 2

In another interview, the researcher was asking the participant how this particular NGO identifies the people who need training, and how they are approached. The following answer was given:

> *PM5:"No, because of our previous history…so many students they have come out from the institute, so they pass this message…from mouth-to-mouth it goes around, so now we have a reputation in the city that this is the best vocational training in the city. We don't do any advertisement."*

A similar scenario to Example 1, Initial Coding enabled the researcher to grasp the fundamental NGO approach and code it into a more condensed label, allowing for later comparison with another NGO approached. It has been coded as follows:

> *PM5:"Word of mouth from former beneficiaries builds reputation and promotion for an NGO program."*

::Theming the Data

The first cycle of coding in this research allowed for the vast amount of data collected to be broken down into boarder themes. In qualitative research, themes refer to units of information that confine a range of codes supporting a common idea

(Creswell, 2013). It identified what a set of codes is *about*, or what it *means* (Saldana, 2009). In essence it describes a category, domain, or phrase, "an abstract or entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent [patterned] experience and its variant manifestations" (DeSantis & Ugarriza, 2000, p. 362). In practice, theming data is a good strategic choice for a research design to start addressing research questions, concepts, or points raised in the literature review.

In this thesis, theming the codes began according to domains that were prevalent in the codes. These are named Caste, Corruption, general Development Issues, Education, Gender Issues, Healthcare Issues, NGO General Approaches, and Slum Life Issues. The theming in regards to poverty issues will provide insight into the contemporary struggles of people in Chennai, and other places in Tamil Nadu, allowing for a re-evaluation and possible refinement of poverty indicators in contemporary literature. A separate NGO General Approaches domain is sensible as it allows the researcher insight in NGO approaches only, artificially delinking it from the poverty issue faced. Links between the themes however can be established and recorded when appropriate. *Figure 4.4.* on page 130 illustrates an example of the theming of this thesis, and within it, recorded codes elaborating on the theme. The themes are arranged into different folders, containing the relevant nodes. With this initial setup, it makes it easier for the researcher to reorganise and reanalyse data in a second-coding cycle, developing concepts and theories.
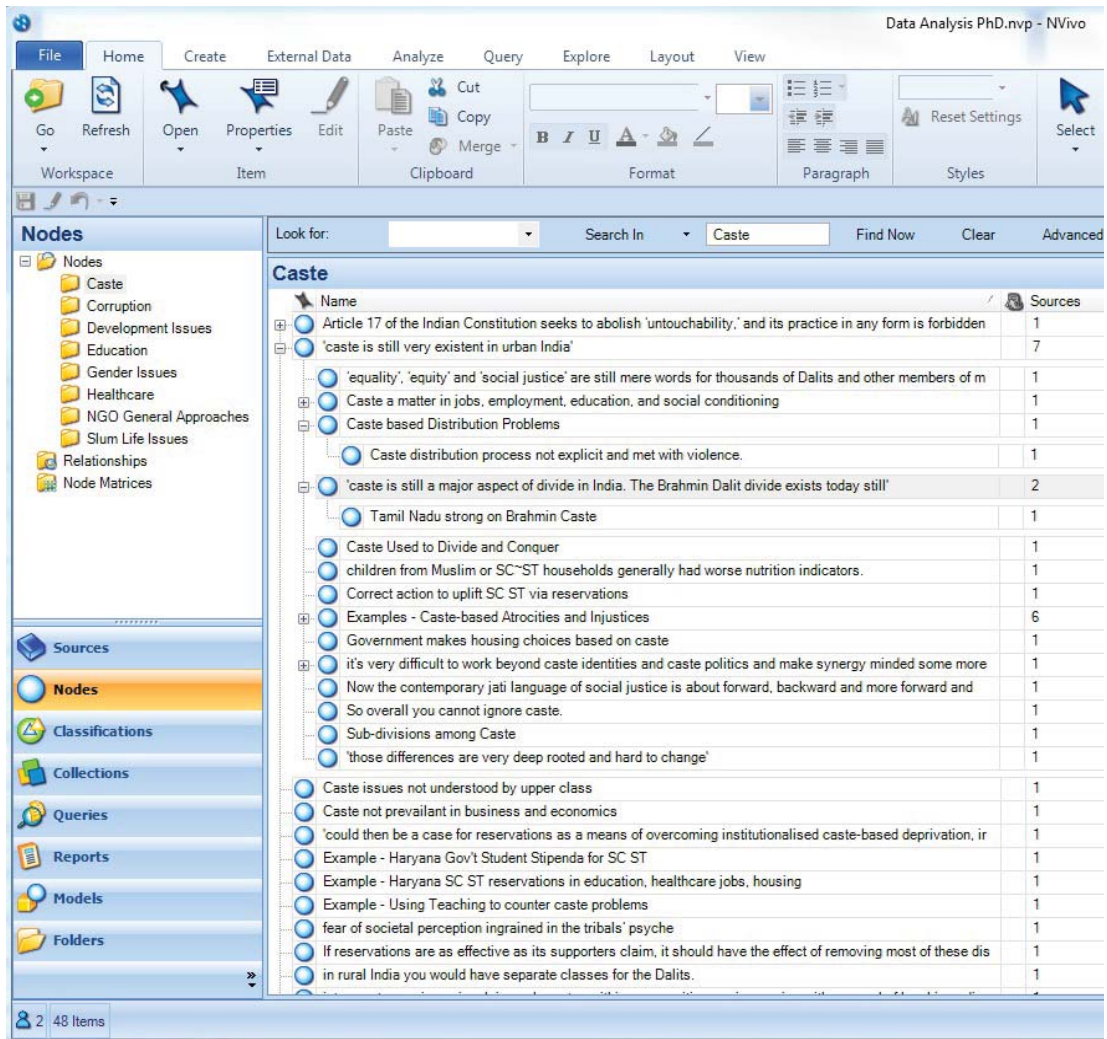
Figure 4.4.: Data theming and individual analytical nodes

4.15. Second-cycle coding::

Second-Cycle coding methods are applied to reorganise and reanalyse data from the first-coding cycle methods (Saldana, 2009). The coding and analysis process in this cycle shifts from a very 'real' perspective to an increasingly 'abstract' one, the researcher beginning to "transcend the reality of [the] data and progress toward the thematic, conceptual, and theoretical" (Saldana, 2009, p. 11). Morse (1994) describes this process as a merging and fitting of categories to develop a fusion of the body of data. This process allows the revision of codes given and themes created, possibly refining them. From these categories which are supported directly by the data, the researcher then has the opportunity to create themes and perhaps already emerging theoretical concepts (Saldana, 2009). These concepts and themes will emerge from the review of all the data sources coded and categorised from which theory can be created. For this research, an exploratory method is required that can pull together a large body of data for a meaningful analysis without preconceived assumption and open to any possible outcome. Pattern codes will be employed to formulate theoretical constructs and processes.

::Pattern Coding

Pattern codes are of explanatory nature to identify emergent themes and its coding method summarises bodies of data into a smaller number of themes, sets, and constructs (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Saldana, 2009). Several pattern codes can emerge from a single body of qualitative data, each able to contain a major theme or direction (Saldana, 2009), revealing dynamics, "a network of interrelationships, or a theoretical construct from the data" (Saldana, 2009, p. 154). An illustrative example will explain this method within this research.

::Illustrative Example

The illustrative example in *Figure 4.5.* on page 132 demonstrates a flow chart from the top being part of an emergent theory down to its individual codes to support it. The oval-shaped boxes with the blue dot represent coded information. The data in this example revealed that Educational Inequalities is a contributor to poverty. Though dependent on and influenced by other broad contributors, Informal Social Conventions represent one of the factors causing this very broad inequality. Within this example, support has been drawn from three categories, namely Caste, Gender Inequalities, and Corruption. These concepts derived purely from the coding led to each concept. 'In Vivo' codes are recorded with quotation marks to distinguish it from other codes that the researcher created via Initial Coding.

In this example, an interesting contradiction can be observed. Despite the data and analysis pointing into the direction of educational inequalities being one of the causes for poverty for separate reasons, the Right to Education Act [2009] presents a contradiction to this theory, providing free and compulsory school attendance from One Standard to Five Standard. The difference could be attributed to one presenting a political reality, the other a social one.
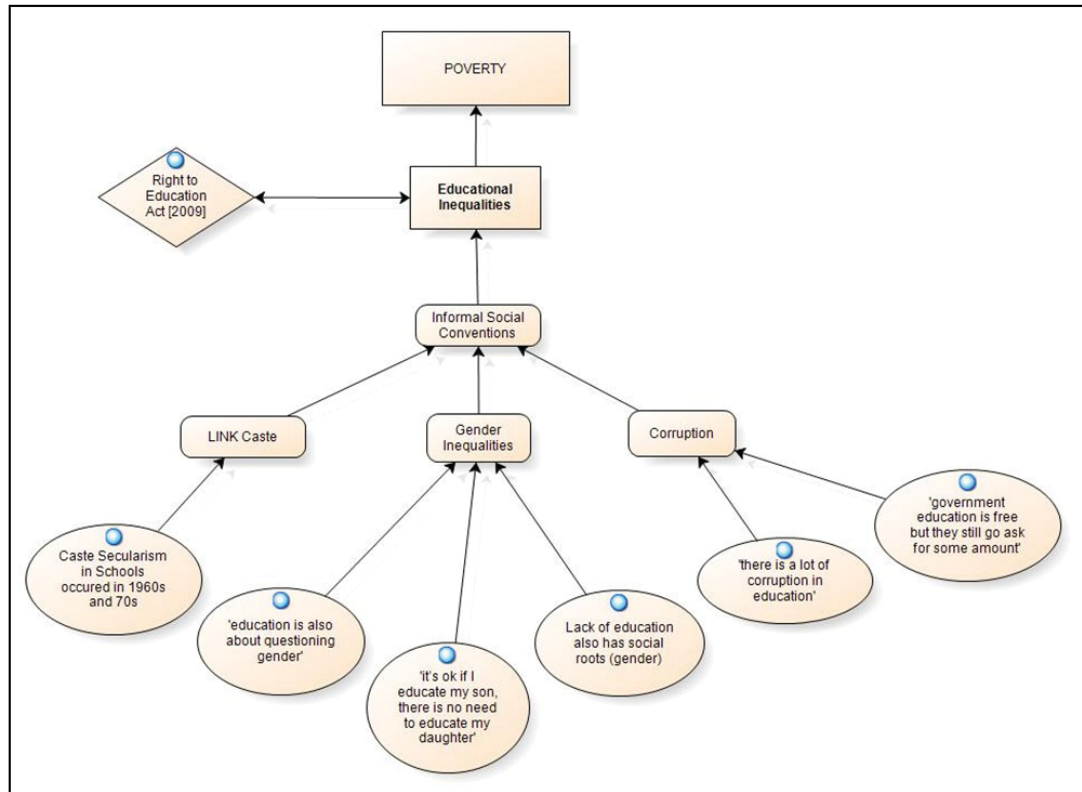
Figure 4.5.: Conceptual framework of educational inequalities

4.16. From coding to writing::

This transitional process describes a stage between the process and cycles of coding and the final write-up of the research inquiry (Saldana, 2009). Creswell (2013) also describes it as a phase in which the researcher emerges into reflexivity of the data and representation of the writing, choosing an appropriate style to convey findings to an audience. A researcher has to decide on an overall writing structure or an embedded one, choosing from a variety of styles (Creswell, 2013) discussed in the next chapter. Before deciding on a writing strategy, Saldana (2009, p. 187) provides some useful points of emphasis in this transitional stage, especifically aiming to focus on rising above the data and the progression from "real to abstract, from particular to general". A post-colonial inquiry into a phenomenon might keep the researcher grounded within the codes, unable to rise above, in fear of losing emphasis on what the participants actually said. An effective method suggested by Saldana (2009) is the "touch test", in which

the developed codes or concepts are tested to see if they can be physically touched. If so, then the researcher should explore how those practical codes and categories can be translated into more abstract concepts (Saldana, 2009). *Figure 4.5.* presents an attempt of a translation from real codes to more abstract concepts. The researcher must ensure that this is applied throughout the analysis and writing. This remains in line with the underlying post-colonial focus of this thesis as this analysis and emerging concepts must be *negotiated with* the participants' information and voices collected as data for this study.

4.17. Chapter conclusion::

This chapter outlined a research design to address the poverty complexities in Chapter 2, and to collect meaningful data for a KS4D approach discussed in Chapter 3. A qualitative methodology with a phenomenological design was chosen for its uniqueness to gain insights into participants' views and experiences (Andrade, 2009; Klein & Myers, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan & Smircich, 1980), especially with regards to poverty and efforts to alleviate it. Accompanied by a variety of data-collection methods, this design was able to obtain useful data to re-examine a current *poverty reality* and gain an understanding of NGO's current strategies and operations within this field. True to its post-colonial nature, the data analysis employed methods to preserve the voice of the participants in the final write-up of this research.

An interpretive ontology and a social constructionist epistemology were the grounding philosophies of this inquiry due to the importance of *pre-existing* social and natural systems which inhibit the capabilities for people. An embedded qualitative research methodology was able to obtain views and insights into a KS4D approach in an exploratory and descriptive way, emphasising setting and context, and aspiring a deeper understanding of lived experiences of the participants (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The exploratory design of this research provided description of new ideas and insights (Holliday, 1964; Jupp, 2006). If a phenomenon was insufficiently or not understood so far, an exploratory approach identified contributing variables, and developed new ideas or generate theory from it (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Stebbins, 2001; Zikmund, 2003). The researcher in essence became the 'instrument' of inquiry (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The role of the researcher became that of a participant-observer, because with the role being very personal in nature, the researcher always "enters into the lives of the participants" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 59).

The research strategy was a phenomenological one, as it aided and informed the construction of a KS4D research to aid NGOs in their agenda of poverty reduction. It engaged with peoples' lived experience in context of the phenomenon to uncover

common meaning (Creswell, 2013). A thorough description of the essence of the phenomenon was established via people who have experienced the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln 2011; Goulding, 2005; Moustakas, 1994; Schipper, 1999). A previous understanding has been established via a pilot study, a feasibility or trial-run, to pre-test research instruments and refine the overall research design (Kezar 2000; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). Triggered by an observation of a homeless man in despair, the research design included dignity and *Verstaendnis* into its philosophies to capture an authentic reality of participants, but by no means portraying them in an ethically compromising situation. Although the dignity of research participants has been considered in other researches (e.g., Steel, 2009), the concept itself has previously not been the subject of close attention and theorisation.

Different data collection methods were employed to capture insights from a variety of sources. Interviews formed the primary data collection method for this research as it generated empirical data on social phenomena by capturing people's description about their lives (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). It gave participants a strong unmistakeable voice that no other collection method could replicate. A secondary collection method was photographs. Photographs were unique in their ability to study the *process* of social life naturally unfolding (Harper, 1988). They transcend language barriers and captured details about particular moments in peoples' lives that reveal information about either social processes or moments that cannot be collected otherwise (Basil, 2011). Observation was another research method complements photographs to verify or further the elaboration of information collected by other data-collection methods. A final secondary method of print media entered a more 'formal' domain, Earl et al. (2004) arguing that documents are invaluable sources in analysing social movements and uncovering collective behaviour. The data analysis employed 'In Vivo' coding to preserve the voices of participants, and Initial coding that allowed the researcher to interpret findings but keep an open mind with regards to its theoretical direction. In the analysis phase, this research remained in line with the underlying post-colonial focus of this thesis as this analysis and emerging concepts were *negotiated with* the participants' information and voices collected before the final write-up.

5

DATA ANALYSIS

Chapter 5 - Findings

Chapter 5:: Findings

5.1. Introduction::

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that emerged from the data analysis for a Knowledge Sharing for Development (KS4D) approach for NGOs working to alleviate poverty. Chapter 4 outlined the research design and data collection methods for this study, and this chapter places emphasis on the findings from the data analysis and the interpretation of its meaning. The post-colonial nature of this research placed strong emphasis on the voice of the participants in this analysis, identifying common themes and patterns.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the Basic Social Problem (BSP), a framework from the data which describes inequalities that inhibit people from escaping poverty. It is classified into Educational Inequalities, Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities, Gender-Based Inequalities, and Citizenship Inequalities. These views were predominantly generated by insights that NGOs have of the problems faced by the poor and this thesis incorporates the perspectives of people working with the poor. The section is accompanied by a photo narrative which visually illustrates problems or circumstances by which or within which people have to live, providing an insight into poverty independent from NGOs, who work in this field. The second section explains an emergent Basic Institutional Problem (BIP), addressing the absence of a knowledge-sharing framework among NGOs in Tamil Nadu, affecting their work on the BSP. The data analysis reveals that the BIP is caused by differences in NGOs' organisational structure and different institutional logics. It leads NGO to work with parallel, yet incompatible, strategies and systems towards the BSP, limiting their overall impact.

Finally, the chapter outlines the KS4D framework. The KS4D framework is a conceptual framework, based on the understanding of the BIP, emergent from the data. Nevertheless, the framework is underlined with illustrative examples from the data for support. The KS4D framework is categorised into Input, Process, Outcome, and Impact. Input describes a place or environment which allows NGOs to create awareness of one another for the purpose of sharing knowledge. Process describes the cyclical knowledge-sharing process, divided into three parts, namely socialisation, integration and dissemination, and internalisation. Outcome summarises new, shared, institutional logics which NGOs benefit from, by sharing knowledge. Lastly, Impact describes the cascade of impact an NGO has when addressing the BSP, on poverty relief and poverty prevention, and when developing a knowledge-sharing mindset among NGOs. *Figure 5.1.* summarises the frameworks and its relationships.

Basic Social Problem:

Educational Inequalities

Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities

Gender-Based Social Inequalities

Citizenship Inequalities

Basic Institutional Problem:

Absence of a knowledge-sharing concept among NGOs

Stuctural Differences

Institutional Logics Differences

Organisational Structure

Organisational Composition

NGO Approaches

Government Relations

KS4D Framework:

Input:

Awareness

Knowledge Cluster

Sub-Clusters *Sub-Clusters*

meeting of the minds

Process:

Knowledge Sharing

Socialisation

Dissemination and Integration

Internalisation

acquire information

Output:

New Shared Institutional Logics

Extending Organisational Boundaries.

Awareness of Strategies, Processes and Routines.

Conglomeration of Information.

signaling competence

Impact:

Cascade of Impact

Poverty Relief

Poverty Prevention

avoid trapdoors into poverty

Figure 5.1.: The relationship between the BSP, BIP, and KS4D

5.2. The Basic Social Problem::

The Basic Social Problem (BSP), derived from the data is the lived experience of poverty. This describes dimensions of poverty that people to live in. In this thesis, people who live in poverty are by no means unemployed, rather they hold jobs as auto-rikshaw drivers, street vendors, or are self-employed in various trades or sales of goods. Examples of self employment are tailors, cobblers, key-makers, fruit sellers, and small road-side food stalls. Observations and engaging with people throughout the time spent in Chennai reveals that people are scattered throughout the various slums in the city. Time was spent with the people living in the slums almost on a daily basis, in which I talked to the men and women (though predominantly the men) in the slums. I talked to the people, using basic Tamil language knowledge and used the camera to engage in conversation. We discussed mostly the work of the people or what they are currently doing when I visited. A lot of contextual information to their lives was provided, which added to the understanding of the BSP. Chennai remains a city where the slum-dwellers have not been expelled and live next to more affluent neighbourhoods. Poverty as a concept has been assessed in Chapter 2 by looking at both a broader international literature body and a more localised one. The review of both literatures reveal discrepancies in their outlook on poverty and warrants a reassessment of factors that relate to poverty. More importantly, an interview participant argued that the nature of studies involving poverty demand an assessment of the poverty environment. The participant reasoned this as follows:

> PD1: "If you look at the social development issue, you will find that generally we talk about poverty as a base. Poverty is one of those issues, if you were to start at a corporate point, you would take poverty as a comfortable vicious circle. Because of the poverty situation and condition, the other consequences of poverty and the manifestation affect it has, as you know, such as low literacy, poor education, sanitation, who are like me, and have related issues to poverty situation. "

It is also important to reassess dimensions leading people to live in poverty, as poverty is as much a changing concept as development approaches. The problems of poverty do not remain the same over time and a reassessment allows for ensuring accuracy of a problem description, to which the KS4D framework is applied.

The data revealed that the lived experience of poverty in Tamil Nadu has four main dimensions: Educational Inequalities, Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities, Gender-Based Inequalities, and Citizenship Inequalities. This is summarised in *Figure 5.2*.
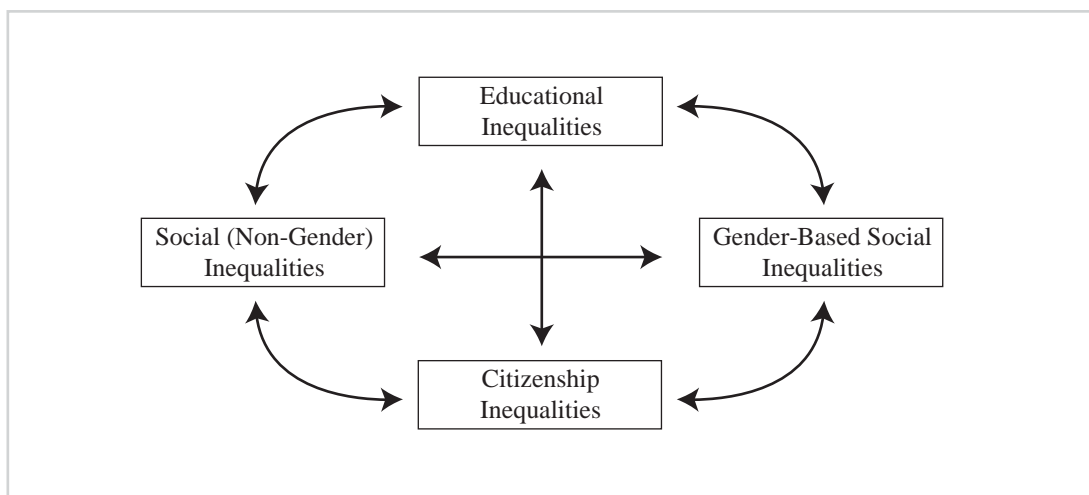
Figure 5.2.: The Basic Social Problem:: Overview

5.3. Educational Inequalities::

Educational inequalities are found to be a central dimension of the BSP. They describe complex and underlining factors inhibiting people from attaining education, in spite of the Right to Education Act [2009], which supposedly enforces free and compulsory schooling for children. On 25th December 2011, *The Hindu* published an article entitled 'Where motive is profit, education takes a back seat', claiming:

> *"Education is a legal, collective, and moral entitlement. Experience, national and international, tells us that private players in elementary education foster neither inclusiveness nor equity."*

The participants experience Educational Inequalities more accurately as a discrepancy in education attainment of the population, caused by systemic inequities, lack of facilities, life script and possible fixation, and informal social conventions. A participant explains the causes as follows:

> *PP11:"It is a lack of awareness, a lack of empowerment, a lack of holistic education."*

It is not new knowledge that education is regarded as important to poverty alleviation and as such has long been acknowledged in the literature. This section, however, does not intend to find support for this claim, but to examine underlined experiences of educational discrepancies in spite of the Right to Education Act [2009] that provides free and compulsory schooling in Tamil Nadu and India overall. The contradictions of compulsory education also needs to be addressed, instead of reiterating common education problems like drop-out rates or financial 'poverty' alone. The experiences contributing to this discrepancy are identified as: systematic inequalities, lack of facilities, life script and possible fixation, and informal conventions. Those are

summarised in *Diagram 5.3*.
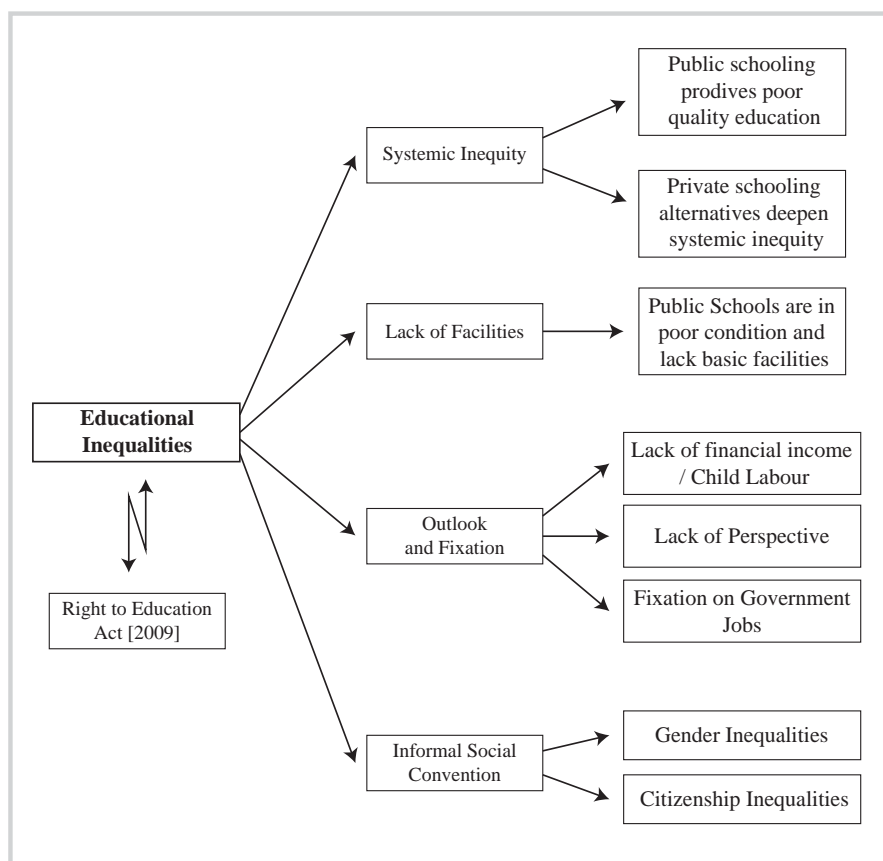
Figure 5.3.: Educational Inequalities:: Overview

Educational Inequalities are discussed first in the BSP as participants overall believed that education has the most ground-breaking effect on peoples' physical and psychological capacities. For example, two participants, one from an organisational perspective and the other from a direct educational perspective, described the importance of education in one of the following ways:

> PP3: *"Good education can help them go two steps up in the current level of poverty."*

> PM5:*"These kids are from very poor backgrounds and they don't have much academic excellence, but they have to survive in the competitive world. Practical vocational training is the better option for them, because they are used to physical labour, so if you train them some skills, basic and professional, then they can stand on their own legs, independently."*

An interesting example illuminates this statement. On 23rd January 2013, *The Hindu* published an article in which it reported that Prema Jayakumar, daughter of an auto-

rickshaw driver from Tamil Nadu, had topped the nationwide Chartered Accountancy examination. The article reported "she is excited by the sudden elevation of her social status, which will soon be followed by financial uplift." Prema herself noted that she and her brother who also passed the exam "can take care of our family very easily. It's a matter of a few months now, till I get a job. I hope I shouldn't face much difficulty in that now." Education therefore is not only about attaining knowledge; but, presents a shift in social status and opportunities at hand, for those that have education. Prema's story is a fresh wind to many in her social group who believed to be an impossibility. The next section will describe the dimensions of ecudcational inequalities, namely: systemic inequity, lack of facilities, outlook and fixation, and informal social convention.

::Systemic inequity

A strong factor in the lived experiences of educational inequalities is systemic inequity. Systemic inequity derives from *government schools providing poor quality education* in Tamil Nadu and the increasing popularity of private school alternatives deepening this inequity. It is not so much private schools replacing public schools. It is better understood as interlinked problems that create inequities in career options, systemic inequality is formed by underperforming public schools and a qualitative private school alternative, promising high marks in a very result-driven system. The data reveaded that public schools in Tamil Nadu provide poor quality education A participant, who works in the education section, both as an organiser and educator, explains that:

> *PM9: "The government education alternative is not working, because there are hardly any facilities. Kids just go there to eat their meals and go home, because there is no focus."*

Better in educational quality, facilities, and company recruitment perspectives, a private school system might create an educated and aware middle class, however marginalises this attainment on the basis of financial status, fostering wealth entitlements and deepening systemic inequity. I observed a core underlying problem to a systemic inequality most of the children being First Generation Learners, which means that they are the first in their families to attend school. Integrating them into a training methodology and discipline is difficult. A strong driver to this systemic inequality originates with the public school system.

Public schools were described by the same participant as often staffed by unmotivated or unqualified teachers who do not encourage the students' learning, and the student-parent-teacher cooperation is missing in government schools. One

participant argued that:

> PM9:"*The parents, the students, and the teachers have to work in tandem. It is always a triangle. If [that cooperation] is not there, then ultimately the growth of the child suffers.*"

Public schools are further not free of costs. In Chennai, Participant [PM2] noted that compulsory school uniforms and [PP6] claiming that stationaries like pens and notebooks are not subsidised by the government:

> PM2:"*Government education is free but they still ask for some amount. They say that the government supplies the uniform. In Chennai, the uniform color is blue and black, but in all the other parts of the state it is khaki and black. So they have to buy it, the parents have to buy it.*"

Government education however provides a free meal to children. A participant notes:

> PP3:"*The good thing about government education is that they get a free meal, with an egg, with the balance, basically providing all the good base of a good meal.*"

From this institutional and personal perspective, whereas a free meal might encourage children to attend school, it does not provide focus to education benefits. Another perspective to this problem of why the children have no focus is why no focus is given to them. A strong contributor to a lack of focus is the overall education system's pressure to deliver exam results.

In April 2008, the *Times of India* published an article 'The Beautiful World of the Backbenchers', explaining the high pressure education system in India and lack of focus beyond exam grades. It describes life for students that comes with scoring 98 per cent in the board exams, becoming an 'Engineer-MBA-Anonymous'. While this might be better than 'Sociologist-Salesman-Anonymous', the pressures to compete for marks does not only take an overall learning focus, but creates an illusionary secure future. On 18th December 2011, *The Hindu* published an article titled 'Has Education Lost its Heart' and supports the notion that the lack of education focus and pure recital is a sad situation for future generation learners:

> "*Education is not stuffing information into the child's head to be vomited during the examination and get ranks and seats in IITs and leading medical and business management schools.*"

The pressure of high exam grades in the face of under-performing government

schools gave rise to the private school sector or 'industry', which is preferred by parents and students alike over government schools in Tamil Nadu. Participants describe private schools as providing better quality teaching, which results in the students' higher scores in board exams. Higher results increase their chances for better colleges and employability of its pupils by companies. One participant told me that companies often only do campus recruiting in the top business and engineering colleges, colleges which are not available to those with poor marks.

Private schools provide the teaching quality for student to attain those high marks and as much as it might enable the increase of an educated and aware middle class, it marginalises education and its attainment based on financial status. The previously noted article 'Has Education Lost its Heart' by *The Hindu* claims that "*the continuation of 'for profit' schooling deepens systemic inequity.*"

Whereas private schooling might be an indictment of failure of the government to respond to the education needs of a larger society, it legitimised an attitude and mindset that allows the wealthier part of society dissociate themselves from a larger poor society. A strong factor contributing to this inequality is found to be the lack of facilities in public schooling.

::Lack of facilities

One element that emerged from the analysis was that participants perceived that *public schools are in poor condition and lack basic facilities*, contributing to an overall educational inequality. Lack of facilities form an educational bottleneck that prevents students from attaining a quality education. The data collected refers to a lack of facilities in context of basic structural facilities like lavatories, blackboards, and notebooks in public schools. Numerous participants, both private and NGO, described the condition of public schools as very badly maintained. Similar to Participant [PM9] explaining on page 144, two other private participants added the following:

> PP7:"*Many government schools are there, but so many facilities are not there. There is no drinking water and no benches. All the children are sitting on the floor, so there is a need for those facilities.*"

> PP6:"*Government schools are just so badly maintained, they are quite run down. Some of them don't even have sanitary lavatories, they also have no facilities, no blackboards, and they can't afford notebooks.*"

The lack of facilities was thought to impact on students' motivation, limiting their capacities to develop skills and attaining exam scores to attend college or gain employment. Furthermore, lack of facilities, badly maintained bathrooms, and lack

of privacy do not cater to menstruation or other hygienic needs required by girls and women. This contributes to an overall higher dropout rate of girls. In terms of government spending, to improve these facilities and enable learning, one participant working in the education sector noted:

> PM9:*"The government spends a lot on schooling, but at the end of the day, no one knows where the money finally goes. Does it reach the school? That is the big question. So I wouldn't want to put my child in a government school."*

Participants overall confirmed a significant difference in facilities between public and private schools, most of their own children attending private schools. Students attending private schools have better access to facilities that aid their comfort and learning process, with access to computer labs and the more effective ways of teaching, using those facilities. School facilities in this aspect actively contribute to the divide between public and private schools, creating a line between the 'have's' and 'have not's'. Educational inequalities, however, are not just caused by clear-cut discrepancies, but by an underlining mindset and environmental factors. The data analysis suggests that there is an outlook and perhaps a fixation on government jobs as a contributor to educational inequalities, promoting early work and child labour, diminishing chances of attainment of education and escaping dependencies and poverty.

::Outlook and fixation

Both *outlook and fixation* have been found important elements in how to educational inequalities are experiences. Outlook describes the viewpoint of poorer people towards a very set and pre-determined life with little chance to any changes, promoting *child labour* to balance a *lack of financial income*, with little other working alternatives. It further fosters an outlook and underlying mindset of low self-esteem and aspirations. This is not new and is acknowledged in the literature. However, the data reveals a fixation by the participants on government jobs contributing to this cycle. It seems that government jobs are sought by poorer people for job security and pension rights, but are limited in numbers.

The data revealed that child labour remains a problem and its link to educational inequality needs to be assessed. The interviews with NGOs revealed that around 12.6 million children in India are working. Child labour in Tamil Nadu is roughly separated by boys above 12 years of age being put to machine work and the girls doing domestic work as maids. A participant revealed that boys and girls below 12 years of age are usually involved in polishing work. Daily wages are often Five Rupees for 12 hours of work and many interview participants revealed that there were no shortages of factories

willing to employ them. A participant, who especially focuses on thr reduction of child labour, described the link between child labour and educational inequality as follows:

> PM8:"Child labour loses all opportunity for creativity and learning...
> As a child you have to experiment, you have to try yourself out at different things and school is exactly for that."

A common argument and perception among many of the participants was that good education can help impoverished people to get ahead in the current level of poverty; however, lack of financial income forces children to earn a supplementary income for the family. For example, an interview participant [PP6] revealed that a maid in their employment needs her daughter to go and earn Rs.1500 a month to "keep the fires going". When NGOs approach parents of child labourers, the common questions asked by the parents are 'will you give me money if I send my child to school?', 'what is the use of study, of education?, and 'why should my child study?'. A reality is that as one participant claims:

> PP6:"Even in urban India, people below a certain poverty line will not send their children to school."

Surrounding those physical circumstances concerning child labour is a complementing *lack of perspective* about by the participants. I was able to observe a career guidance training day for homeless communities hosted by an NGO which gave a workshop for street children to talk about their aspirations and dreams. Many of the children admitted having dropped out from school and see themselves as auto rickshaw drivers, maids, or other manual labourers in the future. Aspirations and focus are lacking and not taught, and in the little time that some of those children attend public schools, they are not taught empowerment, based on their lower socio-economic background. As one participant says:

> PP3:"The minute you ask a child of a certain community, of lower caste, or lower economic status,'if you have this situation, what do you think is right?' Their answer is 'Which one do you think? You tell me now'."

When the host asked the children for what their dreams are, if they could be anything they wish to be, the children revealed aspirations of being doctors, nurses, engineers, and teachers. Often the outlook of their parents shape and influence the outlook of the children, not creating a mindset to escape the educational inequality cycle, leading to an anti-development.

A third factor contributing to educational inequality is a possible underlying

fixation on government jobs by the participants, because it provides job security and a pension after retirement. Government jobs, however, are in limited supply and despite a *caste reservation* for the lower castes of 69% on government jobs, obtaining one is often highly dependent on social capital (contacts, referrals) and bribery. Resultantly, the contrast of fixation on government jobs and its short supply did not seem to promote education aspirations, as the chance to attain a government job is very low, and private school students' grades and their personal contacts would obtain those jobs. A participant describes the mindset to government jobs and education as follows:

> PM8: "*These government jobs are of very limited supply and not everyone will get a government job. So that is the reason why the children and young adults think 'why should I study, because I won't get a government job, therefore I drop out and start earning right now.*"

Even if the children or young adults would get educated, their mindset would remain fixated on government employment and it is unlikely that they get the jobs they aspire for. This creates a possible link between fixation on jobs to education retention. However, reasons other than an outlook for government jobs would add to the dropout of children in schools. For example, in an NGO publiation given to me, Diwakar (2010) argues that forced relocation and dispossession adds to the increased number of children dropping out of schools. The non-availability of schools within the childrens' vecinity and parents not wanting their girl children to travel long distances to access education inhibits them from attaining education (Diwakar, 2010). In summary, there is a notion that the larger society does not perceive gains from education or the attainment of jobs after or is practically unattainable, and therefore they send their children to work earlier and do not create aspiration or empowerment, widening the education gap and inequality. These interactions reveal that emphasis on and addressing the surrounding circumstances causing an educational inequality would benefit this problem, but not promote 'school attendance'.

::Informal social conventions

This section will elaborate specifically on the experience of *Gender Inequalities* in relation to education, and how participants experienced *Citizenship Inequalities* which will be discussed in detail in their respective sections. The data revealed strong preferences among participants for the education of boys to that of girls. An interview with a private participant said the following:

> PP6: "*It's ok if I educate my son; there is no need to educate my daughter. The girl is going to get married, going to get babies. Let her*

become a maid or something else."

Boys are usually sent to school, though girls often receive non-formal education from their parents. The question of educational inequality becomes indirectly a question to social inequality and share a connection. As stated in the beginning that educational inequalities are a lack of empowerment, it is important to observe that the awareness for education for women is there. However the means for implementation is missing. A participant interviewed has spoken, for example, to mothers who married their daughters off at a very young age, despite it being an outdated practice. The parents responded:

> *PP8:"You provide us proper quality education, proper facilities in our own village, then why do we get our daughters married at a young age. We would just send them to school."*

Educational inequalities, in the data analysis, is caused by poor quality government-schooling and the popularity of private-schooling as an alternative, reserved for those who are able to pay their fees. Lack of facilities contribute to this inequality by government schools being in poor conditions and lacking both hygienic and educational facilities. These inequalities are further underwritten by an outlook and fixation by poorer people. The fixation on government jobs creates a lack of perspective towards education for other reasons, and combined with financial constraints, push both children and young adults into a hazardous workforce with low pay. An interesting contradiction emerged from the data, that despite the shortcomings of government education, the Right to Education Act [2009] dictates compulsory, and free schooling to children between the ages of 6 and 14 years.

::The Right to Education Act [2009]

A contradiction in the data was found to be that the Right to Education Act [2009] states that education for children between the ages of 6 and 14, accounting roughly from '1st Standard' to '5th Standard', is free and compulsory. A participant working in the education section says:

> *PM9:"There are lots of laws that are in place, I like to see them in action. I want to see them working. There are many laws floating around in this country. I want to see them applied."*

The law provides an education opportunity in theory, but in practice those options are limited not only because of corruption, but also due to a lack of options to attend

schooling, with schools being many kilometres away from their homes. The lack of access to schools, in spite of a legal access to it, affects educational inequality. One participant states:

> PP8:"They want to study but they don't have an option, so they get into whatever the parents do."

A contradiction emerges here that the government appears to be aware of the importance of education and mandates this avenue to the population. However, the participants in this research do not create the avenues for children and young adults to practically pursue them. The previously discussed argument of government education being not free, with uniforms and stationery not being subsidised in public schools, education became a significant divider of the population. Educational inequality has emerged as a significant contributor to the BSP. A second important dimension of the participant experiences of the BSP emerging from the data is Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities.

5.4. Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities::

Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities describe the experiences of people in the sample which segregates a part of the population, inhibiting their capabilities and freedoms. The data identified experiences of caste, dispossessions, and social conditioning. On 20 January 2013, *The Hindu* published an article entitled 'The Development Divide' in which it describes an instance that supports social non-gender inequality as part of the BSP:

> "'Equality', 'equity' and 'social justice' are still mere words for thousands of Dalits and other members of marginalised communities."

These inequalities are connected to community divisions within a population which the data revealed lies within caste divisions, dispossessions, and social conditioning. It was also found that those factors translate into other inequalities in education and into a gender-based inequality. The categories identified by the researcher are not all new, as stated in the local literature review in Chapter 2, addressing caste as a major inequality criterion. The novelty of this description derives from its refining and adding of insights, however also identifies relationships between them, their practical impact on inequality, and their links to other elements of the basic social problem. *Figure 5.4.* summarises Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities that emerged from the analysis.
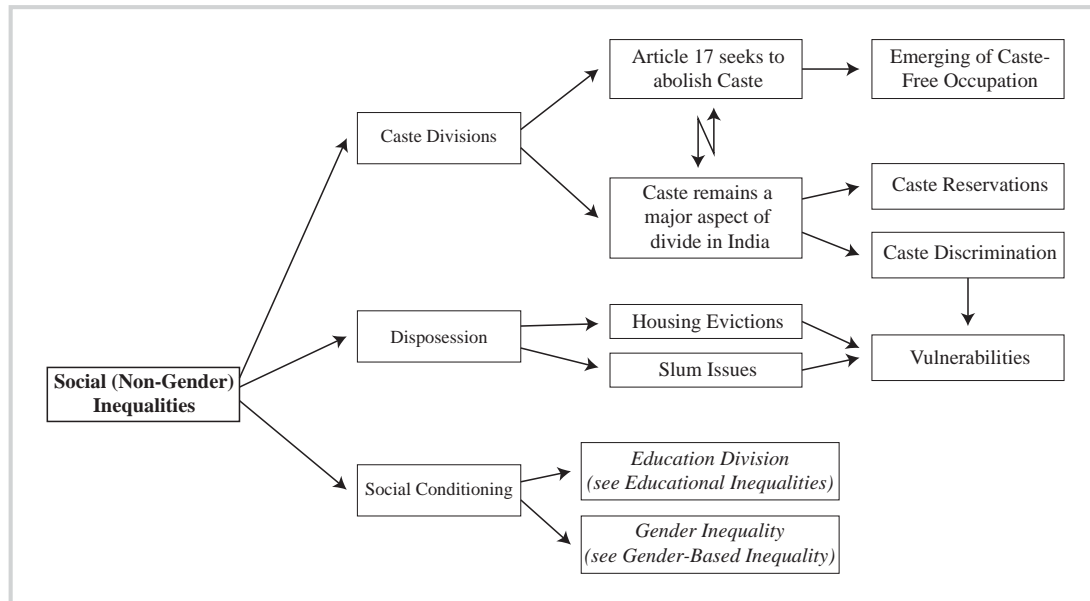
Figure 5.4.: Social (Non-Gender) Inequality:: Overview

::Caste divisions

Experiences of caste divisions on a social basis in Tamil Nadu, derived from the data, are very often centred around caste. Participants, articles, and observations reveal and overall strong emphasis on *caste discrimination*. Caste discrimination remains a matter in employment, education, and social conditioning. Despite countless books and publications on caste, the data gave an insight on how this concept remains passively and actively alive in daily urban life, linked to other injustices.

An interesting contradiction to the discussion of caste is that Article 17 of the Indian Constitution seeks to abolish 'untouchability,' forbidding its practice in any form. On 30th December 2011, *The Hindu* published an article entitled 'Traditional Caste Equations Losing their Grip on Society', describing the increasingly weakening hold of caste divisions in society. Technology and economic growth are giving rise to *emerging of caste-free occupations*, especially in the computer programming and software sectors. However, on the 26th December 2011, *India Today* reported that despite those differences not being "caste in stone" and exploited castes being no longer as deprived as in the past, it does not automatically imply that no discrimination exists. Caste cannot be ignored overall as those differences are deep-rooted and hard to change. One NGO interviewee from a renowned school of social work in Chennai supports the overall notion of caste remaining an active factor in development work in general:

> *PM1:"It's very difficult to work beyond caste identities and caste politics, making synergy a difficult thing to create. But what we do is*

at least create a common link.”

Both interviews and publications by newspapers reveal that caste remains a major aspect of divide in India, in daily language in Tamil-Nadu, often simply referred to as the “Brahmin-Dalit” divide. In daily life, Brahmins are distinguished by display of the *poonal* and the *naamam*. The caste divide, however, is more complicated than a display of cosmetic differences. Caste presents a source of both discrimination and reservation for those affected. Caste-based reservations are policy-grounded reservations for the lower castes in Tamil Nadu, which are the Backward Castes, Most Backward Castes, Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes, and this discrimination is apparent in employment, education, and housing allocation. The purpose of reservation quotas was originally designed to ensure social streamlining and inclusion of all castes, but this greatly negatively affects the Forward Castes in their attainment of education, especially college education, and jobs. An article by the *Times of India* on 30 December 2011, titled ‘Traditional Caste Equations Losing their Grip on Society’, reveals that caste-obsession increased in the cities due to its links to reservations in jobs and education. *The Hindu’s* article ‘Caste in Stone’ on 26th December 2011 argues that “if reservations are as effective as its supporters claim, it should have the effect of removing most of these disadvantages”. Instead, caste-based disadvantages grew and became more obvious. Social justice in the *jati* language therefore remains about the identity of the forward, the backward, and the most backward castes, with identity and caste lobbies in political parties in India. Despite caste-based reservations, to date the lower castes fight for essential services and a life of dignity.

Reports of caste-based atrocities are not uncommon, ranging from social exclusion, distribution inequalities, and murder. Three examples among many more shed light on violation of the Scheduled Caste and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989):

On 5th of December 2011, *The Hindu* published an article, entitled ‘Wall of Untouchability Pulled Down’, in which ‘High Caste’ Hindus in Sanyasipatti in Salem district (Tamil Nadu), erected a wall to prevent Dalits from using the road. The ‘High Caste’ Hindus had constructed a temple near a busy road leading to a colony of 200 Dalit families and did not want them near the temple. Authorities, after a five-day protest from the Dalits, removed the wall.

An article from 20th of January 2013 published in *The Hindu* confirmed a study by ActionAid, reporting Dalits being denied access to amenities like public water sources and health centres. Further caste polarisation was reported by discrimination in schools, by being forced to clean toilets and sweep floors, and by the denial of the mid-day meal provided by the government.

On 12th of December 2012, a 22-year old Dalit working as a priest committed suicide after continuous harassment by High Caste Hindus of his village. He was previously attacked for not staying away from festivals, for which complaint the police gave him a receipt of acknowledgement but never filed the case. It took strong efforts by the priest's family to file a case, as the police refused to register the case at first and the matter was only brought to attention after a hearing at the Madras High Court.

Caste remains an important part of the lived experiences of discrimination in urban India. A participant summarised the central problem of practicing caste based-inequalities and mistreatment of lower caste members as to conforming to a 'social norm'. The participant said:

> PP3:"If the person is from an underprivileged caste, he/she is most likely going to be treated really badly, because it is believed that is the way it should be done."

Those manifestations of caste abuse are often taught as a 'social norm' and creates self-stigma and fears in the psyche of the victims, especially the tribal castes. As a result, thousands of Dalits are not able to break free of marginalisation and remain manual labourers and unskilled workers, despite reservations. It is refreshing to hear a participant stating that traditional caste differences in the urban areas are becoming gradually less with another participant confirming that caste is not as prevalent in business and economics in general, but it remains more in the public sector. A change in mindset about caste, as a participant explains from his insights, that change will come with awareness:

> PP9: "Awareness will form the roots and from there change will come. So overall you [still] cannot ignore caste."

::Dispossession

The experience of dispossession of minorities, discussed in a more administrative context in Citizenship Inequalities, is found in the data to push people further into social vulnerabilities, forcing a large number of the poorer population to live in slums. Slums are defined by the Census of India (2011, 2) as "a compact area of at least 300 population or about 60-70 households of poorly-built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities". A publication by an NGO argues that urban housing has become a challenge for Tamil Nadu due to the rapid rise of the urban population (Diwakar, 201). An interesting insight presented by participants in this research is that slum life itself is indeed a factor of inequality, but *not* a poverty factor. Confirmed by

multiple participants, the resulting 'poverty' experienced by slum dwellers is a lack of access to services and facilities - the most severe effect of slum life. Lack of access to services and facilities is a huge problem. A participant, whose focus is battling dispossession, said:

> PM10: "There are currently quite a few large gaps in access to services, so people are unsure where to go. Even if they do know where to go, their out of pocket expenditure is so high, because an average real poor family gets maybe Rs400 to Rs500 a month. So if you were to spend money on transport, spend money on rent that's like Rs1000, creating huge gaps."

The article 'Re-settled or Living in forced Exile', published by *The Hindu* on 25th December 2011, reveals that water shortage is acute, sewage stagnates, inhabitants hardly sleep due to the mosquito menace, and repeated complaints to officials about poor infrastructure are of little use. The researcher's observation confirms that there is no regular or constant water supply in slum areas, with water trucks delivering water to the slums in a two-day cycle for the population to replenish its water supplies. The medium of storage is plastic buckets and makes water a limited commodity for a slum population. The rapid urbanisation of many Indian cities, including Chennai, had lead to the emergence of tanker markets, supplying water to areas of the city for a fee, cutting into the household spending of people on water (Srinivasan, Gorelick, & Goulder, 2010). Chennai's water availability is one of the lowerst in comparison to other Indian megacities and despite, despite 95% of its population having access to public water supply (Srinivasan, Gorelick, & Goulder, 2010). Nevertheless, despite the statistics, Chennai displays a lot of activity 'in relation to securing water, both by firms as well as by individuals' (Anand, 2001, p. 8). Newspaper articles in 2012 have revealed that Tamil Nadu has allocated Rs.2000 Crores to improve water supply and improve sewage facilities in 32 areas in the Chennai Corporation (a term describing the Chennai Local Government), however practical implementation is lacking. Accessibility further translates into schooling, with children living in slums often being far away from schools, stifling their access to education. Furthermore, an NGO publication by Diwakar (2010) emphasises that relocation sites lack safety and security, as well as access to food and healthcare. Especially with regards to healthcare, the same partipant working on dispossession, describes accessibility as the main problem also, saying:

> PM10: "There are currently quite a few large gaps in access to services, so people are unsure where to go."

Whereas the services might be available to the poor in theory, the implementation

of support schemes by the government still need strong improvement (Diwakar, 2010). Another participant summarises those accessibility problems in urban areas largely to be bureaucratic in nature. The slums in Chennai has been seen by the city as stumbling blocks to the 'urban development process' since 1977 (Diwakar, 2010). The overall statement by one participant of an NGO argues that:

> PM1: "The people who built this city have no place to call their own."

The point was made that slums are not a factor of poverty, but inequality. That inequality often manifests in accessibility issues which can lead to poverty. A participant describes the situation of one of her employees, who lives in the slums, but has sent his sons to schools who now live good lives.

> PM1: "He lives in one room, with an attached bathroom, he's very clean, he's got 2 children, he's bringing them up very well, they are both educated, they are both engineers now, they are getting big jobs. I wouldn't call him poor, because he has education, he has intelligence, he comes from a family which obviously looks further than daily news (has a larger outlook in life)."

::Social conditioning

Experiences of gender-based social inequalities are found to have links to other elements of the basic social problem. The data revealed that strong links exist to both experiences of educational inequality and social (non-gender) inequality. With regards to educational inequality and gender inequality, one participant gave insights into the mindsets of poorer people educating their daughters:

> PP6: "Why do I have to spend time educating her? Let her become a maid somewhere else. It's ok if I educate my son, but there is no need to educate my daughter. That is one of the reasons women are still illiterate in India. There is quite a vast number of difference between the number of men and women who are educated. So that's why girls don't go to school think."

Social inequalities with regards to gender warrant their own specific attention. However, an important point, also linking back to gender-based social inequalities, can be made here. One participant explained that:

> PD1: "Caste, religion, gender, economic situation they all have interlinkages and you can see that the worst affected in any poor

income household is the woman."

Social pressures remain a factor that pushes caste marriages; however marriages between adjacent castes and sub-castes are increasing. The researcher collected the matrimonial section for grooms and brides, published by *The Hindu* every Sunday. The analysis broken down in *Table 5.4.*, on page 157, shows the numbers and percentages of both bridegrooms and brides who explicitly included caste in their search criteria.

The analysis revealed that around 24 per cent of both bridegrooms and brides place emphasis on caste in their marriage-search criteria. Caste therefore remains a strong factor in the social conditioning of both men and women; however, women in the lower castes are being more affected than men, according to participant [PD1].

With regards to dispossession, the psychological effects of displacement affect women the most. Other problems like family abuse, mother-in-law problems, external affairs, and alcoholism are further manifestations of Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities. One interview participant, whose NGO offers counselling for women, describes:

> PM7: *"Definitely the women are psychologically most affected, after that the children, and then the men".*

This is related to an overall 'double burden' suffered by women, derived from social demands and biases. This will be explained in-depth in the next section, with the data revealing gender-based social inequalities as a factor in the Basic Social Problem.

The Hindu Matrimonial Classifieds Summary

Date	Total Numbers of		Bridegrooms' Caste Consideration		Brides' Caste Consideration	
	# Bridegrooms	# Brides	# Caste consideration	% of Caste consideration	# Caste consideration	% of Caste consideration
4-Dec-11	237	122	69	29.11%	26	21.31%
11-Dec-11	337	131	71	21.07%	34	25.95%
25-Dec-11	269	202	72	26.77%	59	29.21%
1-Jan-12	220	224	40	18.18%	67	29.91%
9-Jan-12	243	236	54	22.22%	57	24.15%
15-Apr-12	323	210	65	20.12%	35	16.67%
29-Apr-12	226	310	78	34.51%	124	40.00%
6-May-12	307	225	78	25.41%	35	15.56%
9-Dec-12	320	275	92	28.75%	56	20.36%
16-Dec-12	262	327	52	19.85%	86	26.30%
18-Dec-12	318	206	75	23.58%	50	24.27%
13-Jan-13	206	209	45	21.84%	53	25.36%
20-Jan-13	281	298	62	22.06%	76	25.50%
			Average Bridegroom:	**24.11%**	**Average Bride:**	**24.97%**

Table 5.4.: Matrimonial analysis of caste consideration among bridegrooms and brides

5.5. Gender-Based Social Inequalities::

The data revealed the lived experience of Gender-Based Social Inequalities to be an important element in the BSP. Gender-Based Social Inequalities describe informal social demands, stigma, and an overall low social status of women in society. It is important to examine those manifestations in-depth, as they seemed to inhibit women from realising capacities in life prospects, education, and health. An accurate overarching description of a gender-based social inequality is described by a participant as a 'double burden'. *Figure 5.5.* summarises the factors and relationships contributing to this inequality, which are explained in this section.
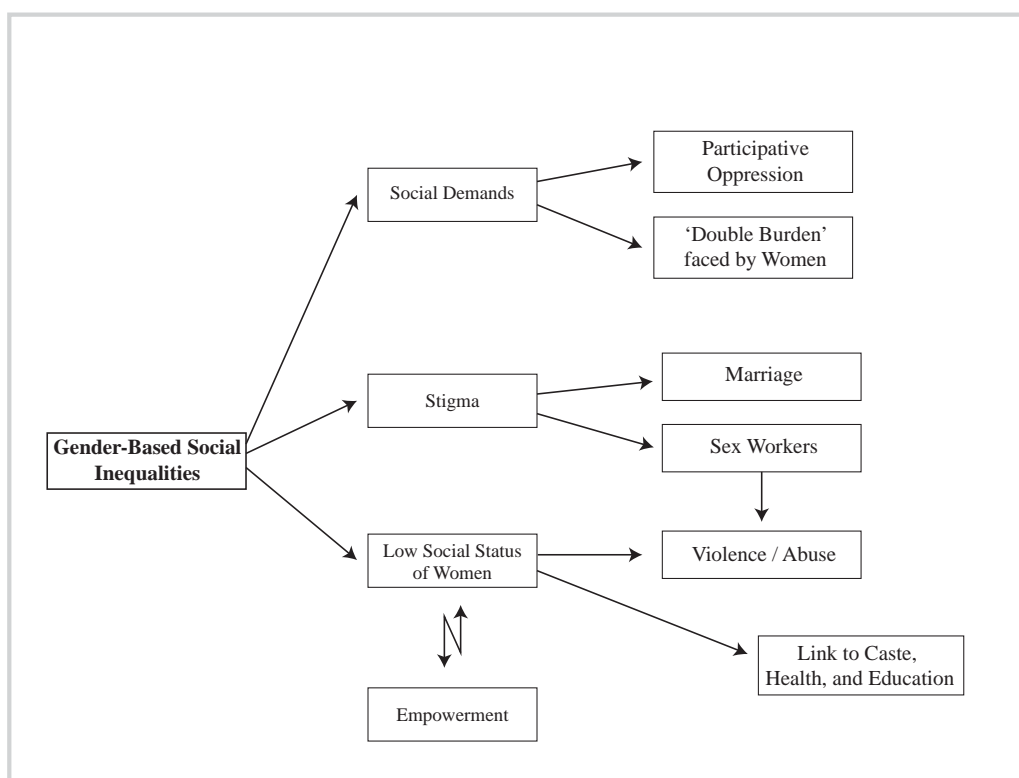
Figure 5.5.: Gender-Based Social Inequalities:: Overview

::Social demands

The data reveals a strong, informal social demand faced by the women in this research, founded on social conventions, based on power. On 19 January 2013, *The Hindu* published an article entitled 'Rape, Shame, and the Curse of Patriarchy' which summarises that the "differentiation of gender also becomes a differentiation of power". Power here becomes an important concept in social demand and its expression, coined in this research as a 'participative conformation'.

The understanding of power will be based on Foucault's (2001) work as he theorised power as a form of social control (Gallagher 2008). Foucault (2001) writes

that power as a form applies itself in daily life, categorising individuals, imposing a rule of law or truth in them, making individuals subjects. *Subjects,* for Foucault (2001), to another person by control or dependence, tied to this identity by conscience or self-knowledge. Foucault (2001, p. 220) says that:

> *"In effect, what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise on the present or the future."*

Power here is not understood as a forced action, but instead it manifests in conscious or subconscious conformation to imposed societal 'norms'. This power relationship in relation to how Gender-Based Social Inequality is experienced is relevant, as the data reveals this power relationship being expressed via a 'participatory conformation' and often not conscious. One participant says that women, especially the poorer ones succumb to this suppression:

> *PP11:"Poor women don't realise that there are options to fight suppression."*

Foucault (2001) describes those power struggles as struggles against either domination, or exploitation. The same interview participant argues, validated by my own observations, that participative conformation as an issue of unawareness:

> *PP11:"More often than not it is also a lack of awareness; they just don't feel like they can break out of the whole thing."*

The social demands and unequal power relationship that form part of a Gender-Based Social Inequality lead to a 'double burden' faced by the women in this research. This double burden can be described as burdens women have, based on gender, as well as having to conform to social norms. One participant summarised these burdens as follows:

> *PD1:" It is because she is a woman there is a better related biasness with it and because of that, the poverty situation is worsened and she faces bias and difficulties, because of gender, and because of poverty situation. The woman faces the burden of providing good livelihood, good career options, low productivity skills, low income, literacy and health. It's a vicious cycle."*

Specifically with regards to women living in poverty, the 'double burden' often manifests itself in the household. The same participant further explained:

>PD1: *"Housing responsibilities in a low income household, the entire burden is on the woman."*

The 'double burden' is a big contributor to Gender-Based Social Inequalities found by the participants. The data revealed that conformation of women is also apparent in marriage, and the societal pressure on girls to get married before the age of 30 years. This creates both dependencies and vulnerabilities for women, as a participant describes the danger of marriage pressure as:

>PP11*"When they fall in love and run away with someone, and get married, they are literally at the mercy of the people they are living with."*

This does not promote independent living and keeps women in a circle of dependency from which they cannot escape. A woman's merit is determined by how quickly she is able to find a partner and how good he is.

::Stigma

The experience of Gender-Based Social Inequality further manifests itself as 'stigma', and 'self-stigma'. The data revealed this stigmatisation to be attached to women with regards to marriage expectations, and to sex workers in Chennai. In South Indian communities, late marriages are considered a scandal. A 'sell-by-date' for a woman has been confirmed and re-confirmed by participants to be 25 to 30 years of age. As explained in the previous section, the social mindset often emphasises women getting married to a husband who is the breadwinner. On 15th of April 2012, *The Hindu* published an article appropriately entitled 'Why hustle us into marriage?', describing women often becoming the object of sympathy for their 'yet unmarried' status. Written by a woman who faces these issues, she describes this attitude as common and not confined to rural areas only:

>*"These are not just our stories, but of thousands of women in the age bracket 25-30, who seek a decent level of financial independence before marriage, and risk their being branded selfish careerists."*

With regards to sex workers, the data revealed that stigma and also self-stigma is a big issue. Most women are in this profession not by choice, but rather having been forced into it or out of despair. As one participant describes it:

>PM3: *"I don't think you will find too many girls who are educated making a choice of getting into prostitution…its basically social economics"*.

Other participants interviewed on this matter agree that sex workers are most often cheated and forced into the profession, which has a large stigma attached to it, forcing self-stigma and social demands upon them in various ways, creating an almost self-learned social inequality. Sex workers for example are often not given protection choices by clients. Sex workers are fully aware of STDs and available care and support, but that choice is not given to them by clients. One organisation, specifically committed to the support of sex workers in Chennai, revealed that sex workers are told abuse is part of their job. The research participant of this NGO, who has worked extensively in the field to rescue women and set up safe houses, describe scenarios:

> PM3: "They put cigarette butts on their arm and treat them very bad. The clients drink and visit them and force them into particular practices they cannot do in a married life."

NGOs are in part successful in providing assistance to these women, with a team of volunteers putting pressure on the local police, reporting incidences, with arrests often occurring the same day. Placing responsibilities on the handlers under threat of prosecution further dampens their abusive freedom against the sex workers.

I had the rare opportunity under promise of non-disclosure to visit one of the safe houses, set up by the participant NGO, and talk to some of the older sex workers now working to support and become a person of approach for women forced into the profession. The women revealed that sex workers primarily do the job to raise their children. The participant interpreted the message of the older sex workers and described their motivation to remain in this work as:

> PM3: "All they see they have is their children and the children are their major concern."

The people I talked to in the safe houses, either the sex workers themselves, or the volunteers working with them, confirmed their sole focus being on their children to improve their lives. Others sex workers argued it as the sole income for their families. Often these experiences leave women in a self-stigma. An interviewee, who has talked to and employed former sex workers in other hazard-free occupations, recalls a situation:

> PP9: "A friend of mine is saying she used to see this girl while walking her dog and this girl liked talking to her; she was clearly from a lower social class. My friend had no clue that this girl was a sex worker. It made no difference to her. She was saying the girl was so relieved that there was somebody who just wanted to be friends without wanting something in return. She was just so grateful to have a friend…they

treat her so badly they just need somebody who is nice to them without expecting anything in return."

The example supports the overall notion of stigma against this very specific group of women, resulting in self-stigma, inhibiting their social functioning within society, and likely succumbing to abuse and becoming vulnerable.

::Low social status of women

An overall consequence is that women in this research suffered from a low social status within their communities. On 29 December 2012, *The Hindu* published an article highlighting the low social status of women, on the basis of "whether the result of sex-selection at birth, female infanticide, or neglect of the girl child, India has become an awful place for girls". A participant in the social work educational sector describes this:

> PD1:*"[Women] face a lot of general issues, because they are women, and number two, it is because of the gender identity that the poverty situation worsens."*

These inequalities carry over towards educational deficits, caste, healthcare deficits, and violence committed against women. One participant provides a good summary, saying "these women fight a real battle here". An article by *The Hindu* elaborated on the issue of violence faced by women on a multitude of levels. The problems are both physical and psychological in nature. Participants interviewed overall placed a larger emphasis on the psychological effects of abuse and social demands placed on women. A participant describes those as:

> PM11:*"Family abuse problems, mother-in-law problems, external affairs problems, and alcohol problems (of their husbands)."*

These responsibilities combined with daily work affects women physically and psychologically. Data, combined with my own observation, reveals that this situation is not bound to only lower socio-economic areas and households. The woman in the household is often the first to rise in the morning, and the last to sleep at night. Any expectation of women not met, for example in the household, is often rewarded with violence, physical or psychological. An article published in *The Hindu* summarises this phenomenon well, arguing that "violence against women surges whenever the patriarchal status quo or the traditional mode is challenged". Women are forced to feel ashamed for the physical, psychological, and sexual atrocities committed on them, which further forces them into a participatory conformation.

Those inequalities are by no means confined to the social, but carry over to educational deficits, healthcare, and caste discriminations. With regards to caste, or a lower socio-economic status, a participant describes the burden of women as follows:

> PM12: *"If you look at the lower caste, lower anything, the woman is taking all the shit."*

A woman coming from a low-income household simultaneously would be of a lower caste, and a low literacy background. The lack of education among women has social roots, with their children being afraid to go to school, as none of her earlier family members was educated, in Foucault's (2001, 212) words "struggling against the privileges of knowledge".

Despite strong shortcomings, the data and my own observations also revealed change and uplift in the status and lives of women in Tamil Nadu. Women are becoming involved in and are successful in politics, and in glamorous fields like business and finance, films and sports. In daily life, women are also increasingly observed in the roles of professional sales personnel in shopping malls, and book stores, as taxi drivers, and petrol pump attendants. Given the opportunities, those social inequalities can be overcome. An interesting final statement with regards to social inequality is provided by a participant, shedding light on an overall public ignorance of the issue:

> PP9: *"Those issues exist, but it is people like us who do not listen to them."*

5.6. Citizenship Inequalities::

The experience of citizenship inequalities presents the fourth dimension of the BSP, describing structural and systematic inequalities conceived by corruption, dispossession, and lack of empowerment. There is no shortage in the literature addressing 'Corruption' and 'Poverty'. However, the experience of citizenship inequalities described in this research transcend corruption and presents other structural inequalities and mechanisms that prevent people from attaining goods and services they are entitled to. The experience of citizenship inequalities in this section are broken down into systematic inequalities, which address different types of corruption, and structural inequalities that address dispossession and other mechanisms inhibiting peoples' capabilities. Further links between citizenship inequalities and social inequalities are drawn. *Figure 5.6.* outlines the factors contributing to a citizenship inequality.
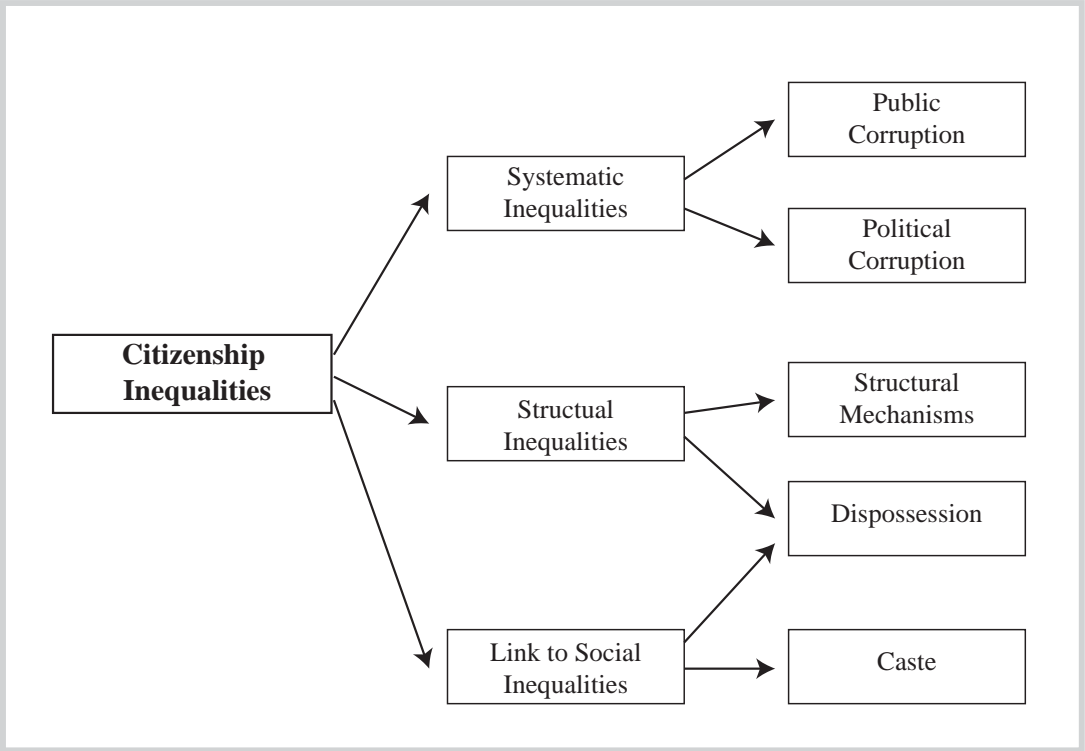
Figure 5.6.: Citizenship Inequalities:: Overview

::Systemic inequalities

The experience of systemic inequalities here addresses the different types of corruption revealed in the data that make it difficult for people to access basic goods and services. India's corruption is more severe and more frequently occurring than that in other countries, a participant ranking it between 58 or 88 on the Corruption Index (it was ranked 98th in December 2012). Addressing corruption is necessary when looking at the BSP, as a participant noticed that people tend to believe it is empowering and

that corruption fuels the economy. Other participants explicitly state:

>*PM11:"It is a fallacy to think that corruption fuels the economy."*

It was found that corruption is present on a public and political level, often hidden within mechanisms that are explained in this section.

::Public corruption

The participants faced consequences of public corruption, describing corruption practices in public services. On 29th December 2012, *The Hindu* published an article entitled 'How is India doing?' and argues that the decline of public services is strongly attributed to corruption. One participant, who is working for the accessibility of good that poor people are entitled to, claims that many poor people cannot even obtain his or her fundamental rights within the system:

>*PM11:"Citizens cannot get a certificate, cannot get a job, cannot get anything that is related to the government, cannot get anything, cannot get the job done in a timely manner, let alone the frustration and the humiliation and the money involved in it."*

Participants further reveal that small corruptions is significant in their lives, and not the big political scandals the researcher observed being covered lively by the Times of India's show host Arnab Goswami. The private participant explains:

>*PP3:"When you want your ration card, you have to pay the guy, if you want to send your kids to a good school you have to pay the guy, if you have to get you know the driver's license, you have to pay the guy. If you, everything, you have to give small sums to people everywhere."*

This creates disempowerment and inhibited the participants from accessing goods and services they are entitled to legally. From my own experience, I was not able to clear his cargo upon arrival in Chennai without going through an 'agent' acting as a go-between to obtain all the correct signatures for a fee. A participant presented an interesting viewpoint of corruption as a vicious cycle, for example it promotes government officials or other people in power to engage in corruption, despite being on a secure wage:

>*PM11:"The official bought the job, so he has to get back the money invested. If he paid 10 Lakh rupees to get the job in the government department, then he is definitely going to think that he's got to take*

back the 10 Lakhs in the first year, the second year, or at the most three years. After he has taken back the 10 lakhs he won't stop. It becomes an addiction, a habit. It's easy money; it enhances his lifestyle so it keeps on going."

It is, however, often more complicated than an official simply collecting a bribe. Invisible layers of corruption often do not allow people to see or follow where the money goes and who receives it. In order to get things done, people remain dependent on that channel, which process they cannot follow:

PM11: "Students for example are entitled to apply and receive a driver's license if they are qualified to drive once they have turned 18. When applying at the Regional Transport Office (RTO) they cannot even get a learner's license application form from the office. The officer will turn them down and tell them to go to a driving school and pay Rs3000 or Rs4000. The driving school takes Rs1000 or Rs1500 and takes the balance, the bribe, to the RTO and they act as a conduit for the citizens to take the bribe there and the RTO does not directly interact with the citizen, but says 'No', or 'Yes' for a license."

Those are invisible layers that have been created in society, the same participant claiming that each department has such a layer, a proportion within each department acting as bridges or gateways between the citizens and the enabling officials. Those invisible layers of corruption place an extra burden on people who are struggling for a daily income, as people need to pay bribes for basic services or entitlements. It creates dependency and leads to income poverty; especially when they do not really know where the money goes. Public corruption however creates more inequalities than a citizen-establishment one, but one between the citizens. One participant explains this as follows:

PP1: "Sometimes people want awareness of some personal problem they face, so they pay money to the politician and get it sorted. This poses some interesting questions. If another person is prepared to pay more than this fellow, will the first person get the problem seen to?"

Corruption in essence drives citizens against each other on the basis of who is able to pay more for their concerns. Instead of merit or qualification and not just paying who, the amount paid to the right person matters, which makes life miserable for the poorer people. Public corruption inevitably links to a greater political corruption with its own system and ways, supporting and almost driving the public corruption.

::Political corruption

The participants were also affected by political corruption describes corruption on a policy and regulation level, but also on more commonly known corruption practices among politicians. The strong literature body on especially political corruption condenses the discussion here towards *how* politicians use corruption to maintain their popularity and how it affects citizens. Political corruption forms part of the BSP, as a Bloomsberg report, entitled 'Why can't India feed its People?', argued:

> *"Political barriers stop people from accessing basic goods."*

In Tamil Nadu for example, rice, dal, and palm oil are subsidised foods, goods that are given freely to people with ration cards. In practice, it is found that the intentions of the broader policy makers are not translated into the same action by the intermediate politicians looking for opportunities to buy and ensure peoples' support. One participant explains the process of how intermediate politicians abuse government subsidiaries to buy votes:

> *PM11:"The government announces the subsidies to the people, and it is given in some part, but in other part the intermediate political personalities steal them, sell it, and distribute it among their population to get votes. Those goods are free, so if you get it and take it to the volunteers, people will think you are doing good things. So you steal someone else's free stuff and give it to somebody, and those people are going to be loyal to you for another five or ten years. So that is how they buy votes. Subsidies that people are entitled to are hoarded, stolen, or shipped off to some other place."*

This practice inhibits the distribution of food and also other goods that people are entitled to, and disempowers the citizen, reflecting a weakening of the rule of law. Government policies and subsidies announced to the people are therefore always received with doubt and decreases peoples' confidence in government actions, because of corruption. A participant, who lobbies for government support for education, says:

> *PP1::In government offices, corruption is true for so many services."*

Inequality is maintained and most dangerous, according to one participant, due to its intertwining of business and politics. The same participant said:

> *PP1:"Politicians are supported by actors, business men, and all the other people, because politicians support their corruption."*

Corruption practices at the higher levels encourages the same behaviour at the

medium and lower levels, creating a cascade effect, affecting different segments of the population. A participant explains how corruption is practised at the higher levels, locally known as '2G Scams':

> PP3:*"2G scams are corruption at a high level which actually doesn't touch the population. It's between companies and anyway they are all making money and the guy on the road doesn't care for 2G. What affects him is when he wants his ration card, he has to pay the guy. If he wants to send his kids to a good school, he has to pay the guy. If he has to get a driver's license, he has to pay the guy."*

The practice of corruption at the highest political level encourages the practice throughout the other, more localised, political segments. Corruption is always dependent and related to peoples' income. For example, when bribing the police, I have observed and learnt through converstation, that auto-riskhaw drivers, for example, will have to pay around Rs. 100 to the issuing officer to avoid a ticket, whereas motor cyclists would have to pay around Rs. 200 and car drivers, in cases of drunk-driving, have to pay around Rs. 500 to the officer.

Political corruption has two distinct linkages to poverty. One is that, as discussed before, people are often unable to access the most basic goods and services without paying a bribes. Corruption discourages people from attaining those goods and services, knowing the expenditure, and their daily actions become a cost/benefit analysis. A second reason political corruption direcly relates to poverty is that the government deliberately keeps the wages of their public servants low. A police officer, cleaner, or railway worker, would earn Rs.5000 to Rs.8000 a month. These salaries are not enough to sustain a reasonable living and forces these employees to take bribes to increase their own income.

::Structural inequalities

Another strong feature of how the participants were affected by citizenship inequalities are related structural inequalities which create a lack of empowerment. A participant explained that government mechanisms and procedures are difficult for beneficiaries to follow. On 26th December 2011, *India Today* published an article 'The Bill of Rights', arguing that "it is widely acknowledged that the Indian bureaucracy is governed by a deeply rule-bound, guideline-driven culture." In that regards, one participant says:

> PM10:*"There are currently quite a few large gaps when accessing services, so people are unsure where to go."*

The participant revealed that poor people often do not know how the processes and procedures to access the products or services they are rightfully entitled to and trying to attain them. However, this does not mean that the poor are without independetnt agency and helpless without the interference of NGOs. Instead, the point being made here is that NGOs support the poor of public problem solving by *brokering* citizen-state relations (Harriss, 2006). On 23rd October 2012, *Bloomberg* published a rather biased report titled 'Why India can't feed its people', but despite very all-encompassing statements, a valid point it makes is that about to citizenship inequality:

> *"Some causes are more subtle: bureaucratic barriers that stop families getting the free rations they are entitled to; shrinking access to land and forests to grow or gather food; the rising unpredictability of agricultural work."*

The data suggests that the people in this study then learn a culture of poverty and succumb into a mindset of exclusion, supported by an institutionalised system that does not allow people to move out of the poverty cycle. A participant describes the following scenario:

> *PP3:"For example, for young people that I work with, it is all about what are my parents, community, government, and you doing for me? It's not about 'what can I do'. And it's not because they are selfish. They think they are too small to be able to do anything anyway. They say: 'It's not like what I do will make a difference, right?'"*

Mechanisms in essence are bureaucratic obstacles not only inhibiting the attainment of goods and services for citizens entitled to them, but also fostering a mindset that without corruption, their concerns and struggles are not heard.

::Dispossession

It is necessary to discuss the experience of dispossession also here as a dimension of citizenship inequalities. An interview participant revealed that forced relocation in the name of development is common, but does not benefit the people being relocated, an inequality in its own. A central question becomes 'development for whom and what'. "We are dispossessed" is the key message from an interview with an NGO focussing on forced resettlement:

> *PM1:"Indigenous communities are being dispossessed of their resources and the urban poor are being dispossessed of the city…This*

kind of development is there, but it does not advantage everybody. The trickle-down never happens."

Housing resettlements are often done based on caste, as previously discussed, a fundamental identifier a citizen carries throughout his/her entire life. The same participant reveals what the government attitude is:

PM1:"When it comes to the housing for the poor, because 80% of them are Dalits, they don't even care."

The article 'Re-settled or Living in Forced Exile', introduced on page 154, describes another scenario of allocation injustices, saying:

"In north Chennai, 2,508 beneficiaries were enlisted by the government for allotment of permanent houses of which 1,392 permanent houses were constructed by Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board in Tondiarpet… residents were not aware of such a list and found that many were left out of the enumeration process. Houses were allotted based on draw of lots."

This represents strong citizenship inequalities as not only dispossession is based on criteria that otherwise segregate a society, but also beneficiaries are not made aware and are purposefully left out because of their lower perceived statuses. NGOs reported that a large part of their agenda is to uncover what 'lies beneath development', but in its schemes, and its deceptions.

::Conclusion

The Basic Social Problem outlined four elements, emergent from the data, which form the dimensions of poverty in Tamil Nadu. Educational inequalities are connected to a systemic inequity, in which poor quality education in public schools is connected to increasing popularity of private alternatives, and a deepening of the education divide. Lack of facilities and perspective, and an outlook and fixation on government jobs, further emerged from the data as manifestations of an overall education discrepancy. A link between educational inequality and other forms in the BSP has been established. Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities were found to be influenced by caste, disposession, and social conditioning, connected to discrimination and pushing people further into vulnerabilities. Gender-Based Social Inequalities were discovered to be closely related to social demands and stigma, connected to an overall low social status of women. A contradiction emerged from the data linking caste, health, and education as contributers to women's low status in society, despite strong movements of empowerment having

been observed and recorded. A final factor within the BSP emerging from the data were Citizenship Inequalities, connected to systematic and structural inequalities, linked to corruption, and mechanisms of dividing people based on their status within society. The next section is a photo narrative that illustrates the dimensions of povertyas which emerged from the data analysis as a Basic Social Problem in Tamil Nadu.

5.7. Photo Narrative - the Basic Social Problem::

The following section is a photo narrative of how the people in this study experienced poverty. The collection of 21 images, taken throughout the data collection process, reinforces the daily struggles of poor people and simultaneously grants the poor agency for themselves. The photos represent first-hand insights into their lives and the context of their lives, allowing the poor agency to present a subsistence, to which they are exposed and have to live by, limiting their choices and freedoms. These photographs are symbolic of a larger problem, built on the concept of punctum and studium. Studium represents a cultural, linguistic, or political interpretation of a photograph. Punctum emphasises a personal or touching detail, estbalishing a direct relationship between the object or person, and the observer.

The photographs were collected both over the period of one year, which I spent in Tamil Nadu, and a susequent revisit of Chennai for two months in the the following year after. Prolonged casual interactions, observations, and photography of people gave me an informed insight of peoples' social standing and characteristics of unequal wealth distribution. For example, in Figure 5.9. on page 181, which shows a group of women washing clothes on the roadside at a public water tap, I have seen and talked to the children of those women on many occasions and discovered that they live in the slums just close by. The photos therefore also became products of pre-established relationships with the people in them, as well as relations with NGOs and participation of their activities in some instances.

To assist the reader in the interpretation of the photographs with regards to their relation to the BSP, this study uses the original BSP model, applying a colour code, depicted in *Figure 5.7.* Each photograph is assessed against this model and determined in which category or categories it falls.

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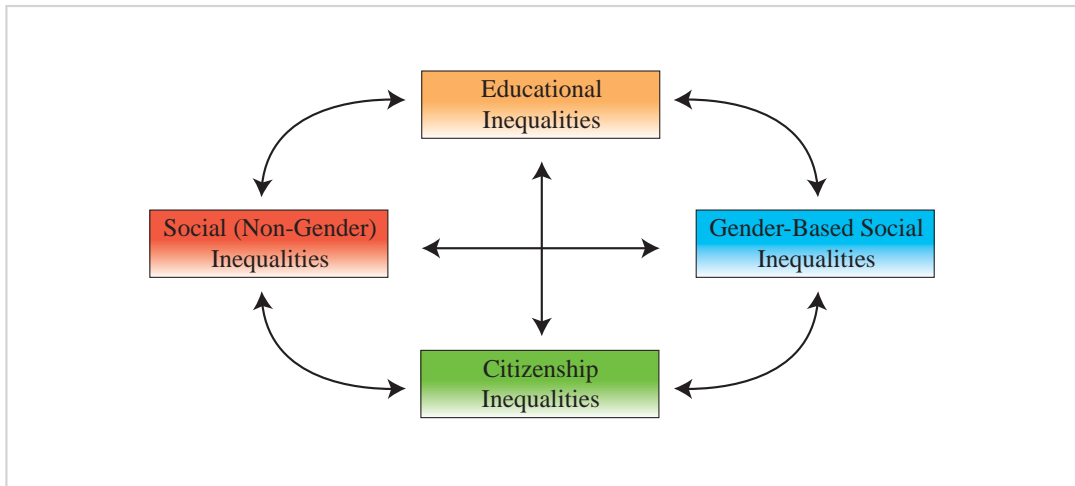
Figure 5.7.: The Basic Social Problem:: Overview colour coded

An image of the experience of educational and gender-based inequalities for example would be highlighted as below in *Figure 5.8.*
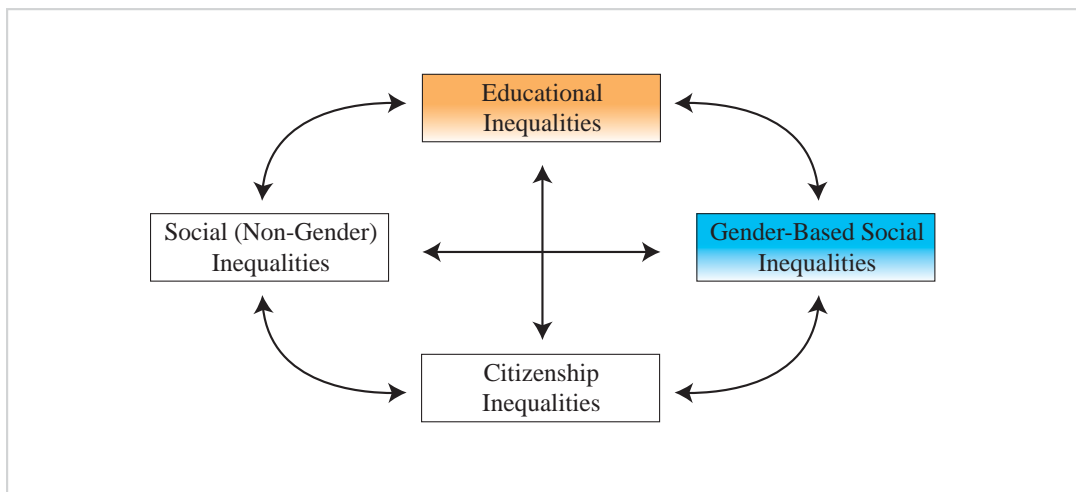
Figure 5.8.: The Basic Social Problem:: Overview colour coded example

Figure 5.9. describes a common scene in Tamil Nadu. Women are gathered around a public water tap, washing clothes. The clothes are washed by hand and reveals the subsistence of these women, in this picture especially emphasised by the pregnant woman. I have observed on numerous occasions women sitting from 8am till midnight and longer, occupied with washing clothes. They are often the first to rise and the last to sleep. Here, the lived experiences of gender inequalities, social (non-gender) inequalities and educational inequalities are all represented.
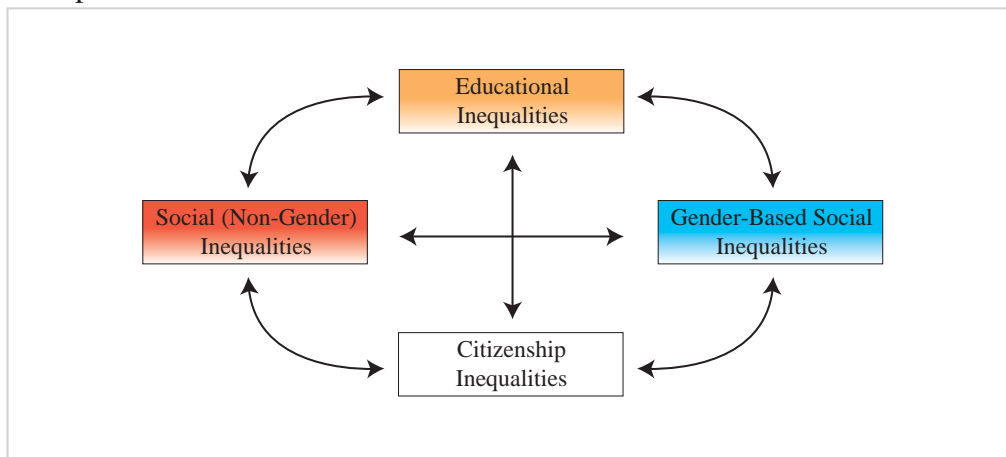
Figure 5.9.: Women washing clothes by the roadside

Figure 5.10. describes the general environment of the slums in Chennai. Spaces between houses are often used to hang up laundry, on clothes lines that span across the spaces and various items, especially cooking items, are kept outside along the walls. The congested space is a problem. There is not much walking and living space. This presents a social (non-gender) and citizenship inequality among its inhabitants.
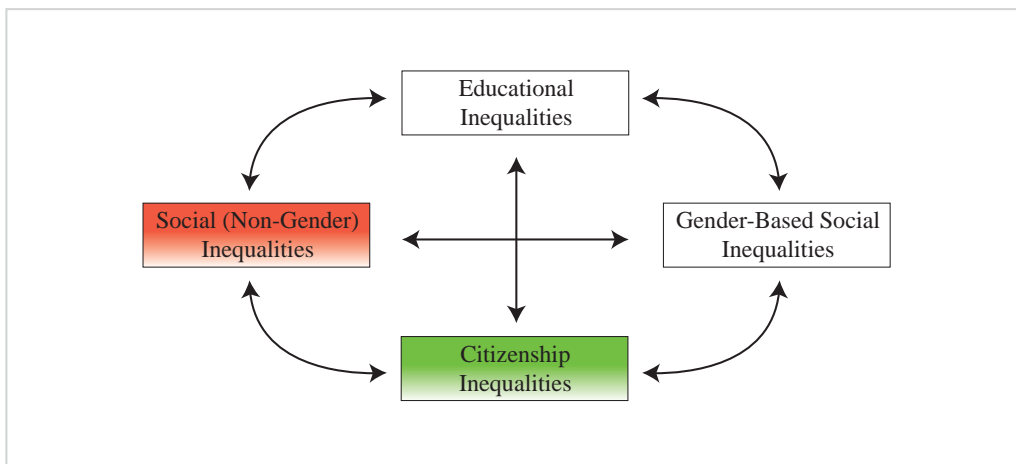
Figure 5.10.: The crowded spaces of the slums

Figure 5.11. is another insight that presents the subsistence level of people living in the slums. Houses are often only makeshift huts on a roadside and most of the peoples' belongings are stored outside. A citizenship inequality is present here.
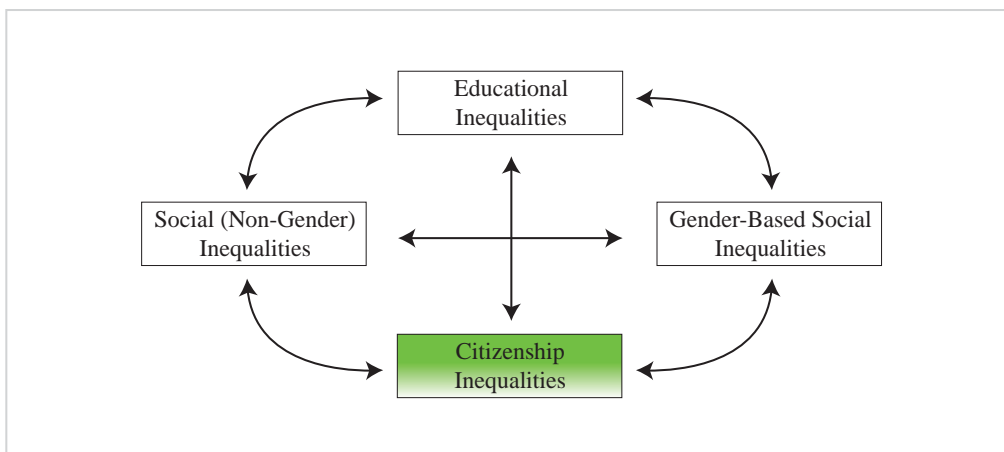
Figure 5.11.: Make-shift huts and living spaces

Figure 5.12. is a portrait of two people who are collecting different materials, for example, plastic and paper, which they sell to recycling companies. This work is often done in hazardous conditions, with the workers not wearing adequate protection. People often resort to hazardous work, when no other employment alternatives are available. It is often their only source of income. This presents social (non-gender) inequalities and educational inequalities.
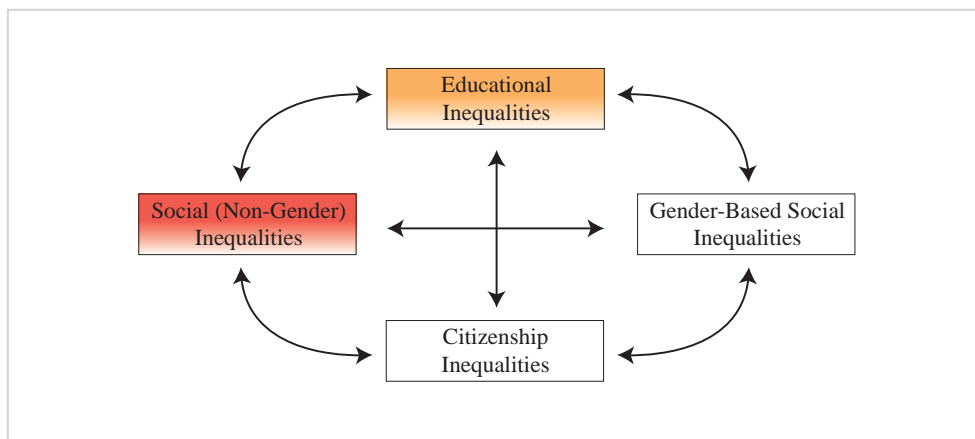
Figure 5.12.: People recycling different materials

Figure 5.13. shows a woman making garlands outside her home, which are then sold to the surrounding temples for the use as decorations and for prayer ceremonies. Whereas this secures her an income for her family, it does not allow for much else and creates a dependency on that job, often due to lack of education and because of social (non-gender) inequalities.
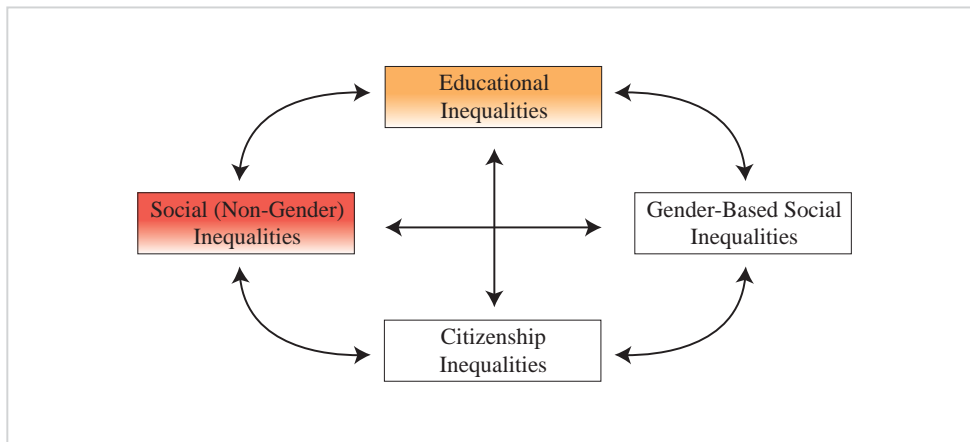
Figure 5.13.: Woman making garlands for the temple

Figure 5.14. describes a daily scene of a woman fetching water, which she collects in a plastic orange pot and carries to her house. These pots are a common storage container for people in the slums and have to be carried from the public tab to the home by the woman. This is often strainous work and women all ages have been observed carrying them, a lived experience of social conditioning and social (non-gender) inequality.
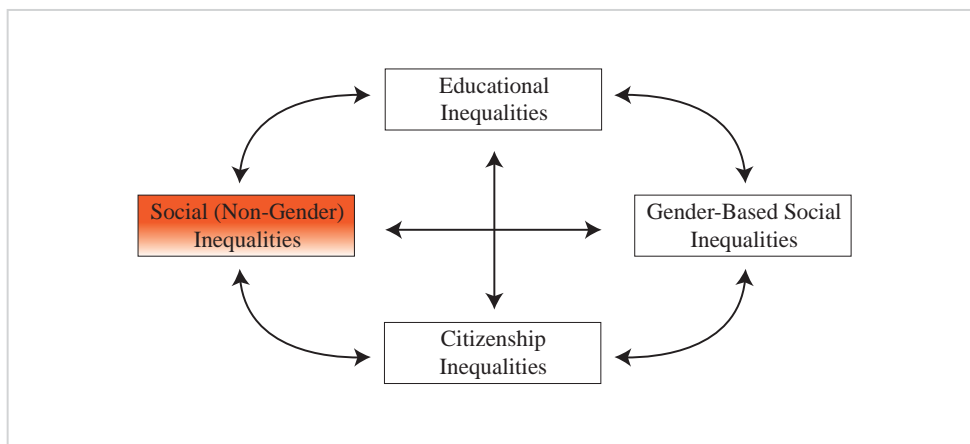
Figure 5.14.: Woman pumping water from a public water tap

Figure 5.15. depicts a typical scene of a makeshift food stall at the side of the road. Whereas this is typical and not part of a BSP, it reveals again the subsistence level of the people who operate the stall and the people who eat there. Regular visitors are the daily labourers. This presents lived experiences of social (non-gender) inequality.
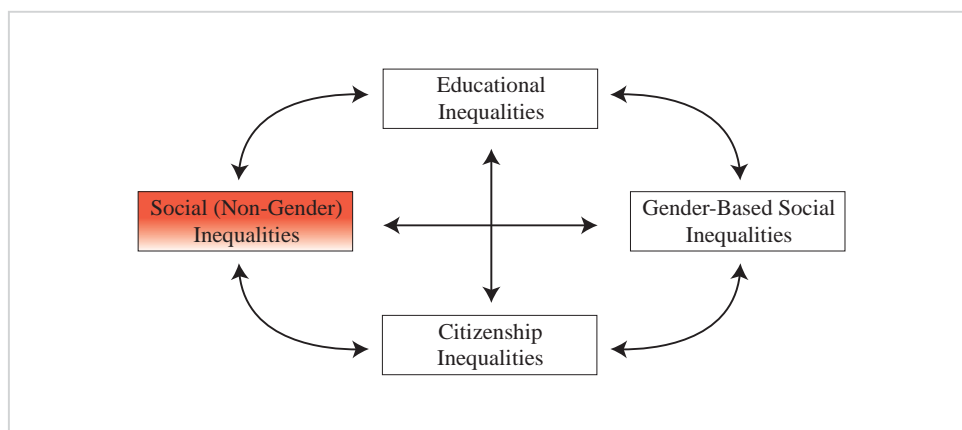
Figure 5.15.: A street stall selling food

Figure 5.16. is a picture of a mover. Moving furniture or goods in Chennai is still often done in this type of tricycle or in bullock carts. It is strenuous work and is often done by older men. This work is done regardless of whether it is dry and hot, or raining. It is physically very demanding. This presents a lived experience of social (non-gender) inequalities.
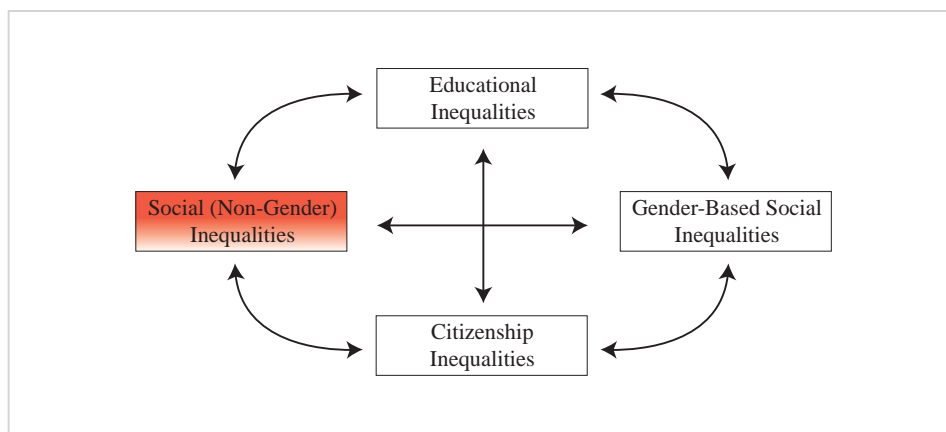
Figure 5.16.: The burden of "luxury"

Figure 5.17. shows a worker who dismantles cars for its spare parts. The working environment is very hazardous and he seems to have been exposed to a lot of industrial chemicals. There are only minimal health and safety regulations or protection for the workers. This is likely to become a problem later in their lives. People in such work environments often have not attended school and experience to some form of social (non-gender) inequality.
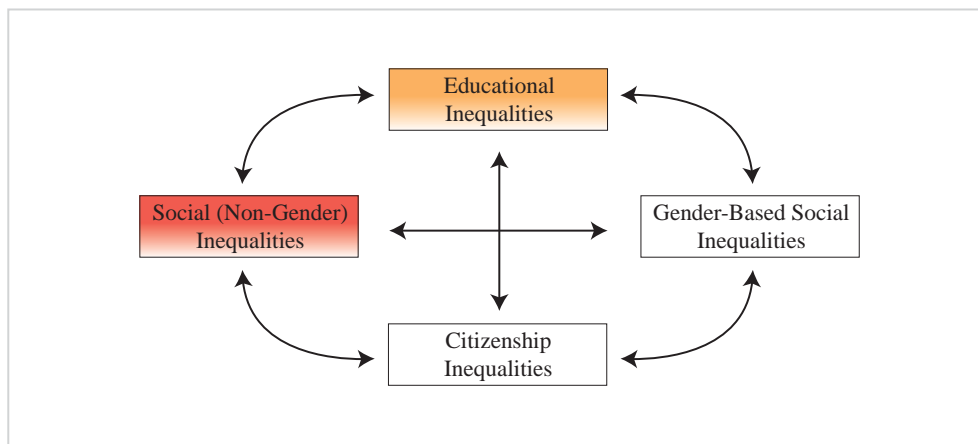
Figure 5.17.: An industry worker and his working environment

Figure 5.18. is a street scene where people have gathered outside in an alley to watch television. Personal belongings are stacked agaist the walls and people are standing, or sitting on the floor or on a crate. Many people do not have a television to call their own, and therefore gather in groups whenever possible, even in alleys, to watch their favourite programmes on a common television. It shows a very make-shift environment and reinforces the subsistence living standards of the slum population. Both the lived experiences of social (non-gender) inequalities and citizenship inequalities are presented here.
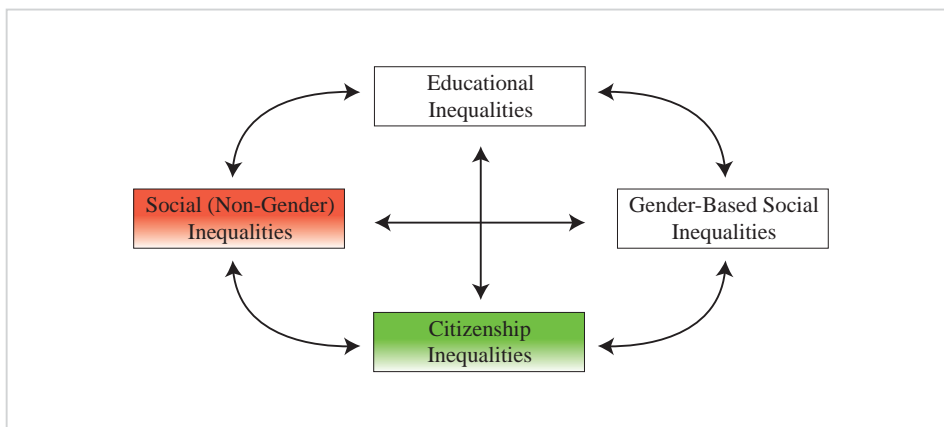
Figure 5.18.: People in an alley and watching television

Figure 5.19. shows a slum area in Chennai near a polluted river. The people live in very make-shift houses, which lack sanitation and other basic amenities. The inhabitants are dependent on their own capabilities to create a living environment with very few tools and little support. The river in the foreground serves mostly as a dump site for the residents an unbearable stench pervades the air, especially in summer. People who live in these slums are often from poor social backgrounds with little education, or are forcibly re-settled in the name of development. The lived experience of educational, social (non-gender) and citizenship inequalities are all evident here.
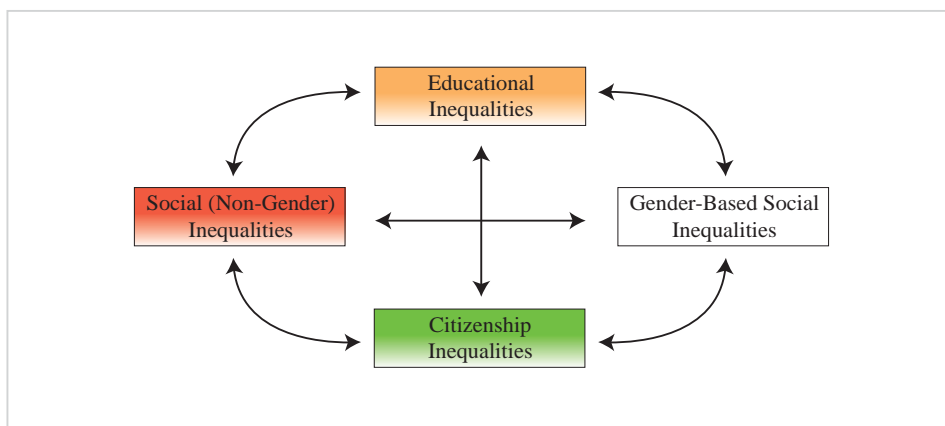
Figure 5.19.: Slums near a polluted river

Figure 5.20. is a picture taken during the night and shows two women preparing food outside their homes using pots and pans. The food is very likely sold to other residents in the area. This again reflects the subsistence level of the slum dwellers and the fact that they are dependent on a certain way of life to secure an income. It does allow choices or much else apart from that.
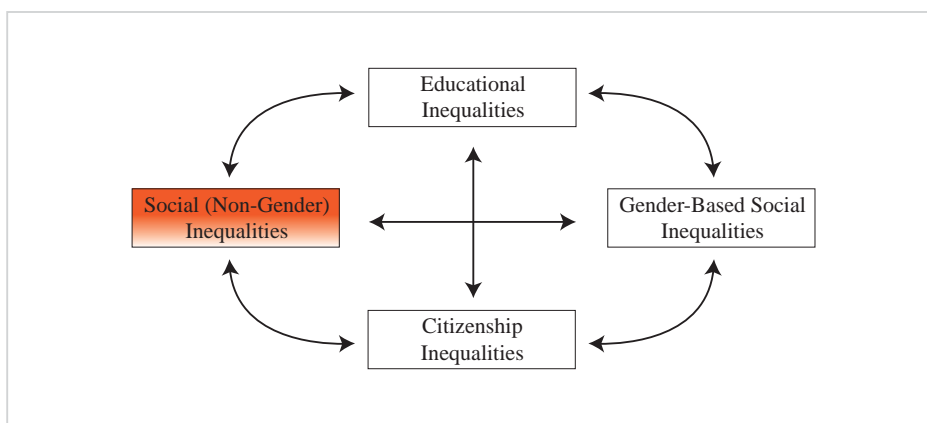
Figure 5.20.: Slum residents preparing dinner outside their home

Figure 5.19. is a night scene of men standing outside a liquor store (in local slang 'wine shop') to buy drinks. Most of them are manual labourers and rikshaw drivers, spending some of their daily income on local-brewed spirits. I have observed that these drinking sessions often lead to violent fights which are continued in their own homes, resulting often in wife abuse. This image probably represents best a combination of lived experiences of all four poverty dimensions in the BSP.
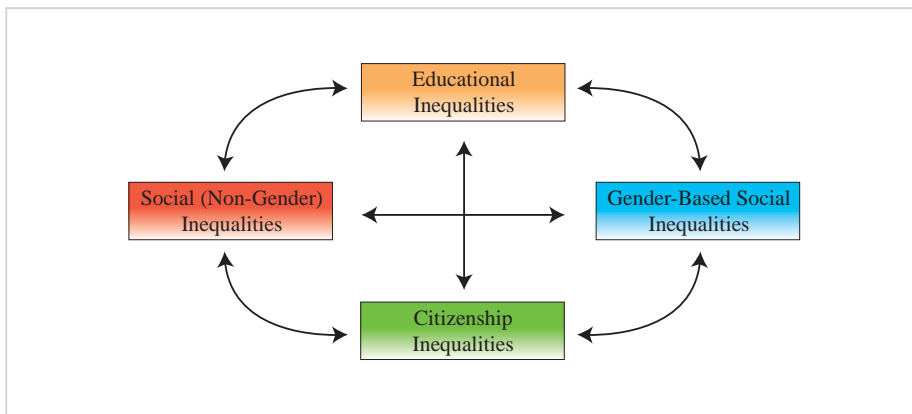
Figure 5.21.: Men outside a liquor shop in Chennai

Figure 5.22. is a place near the Chennai port where a fishing community dry their catch. The tents in the background are where many of them stay for the day, before returning to their homes at night. Whereas this is not directly reinforcing the BSP, it reinforces a subsistence level which limits peoples' capacities to what they can generate themselves, without outside help.
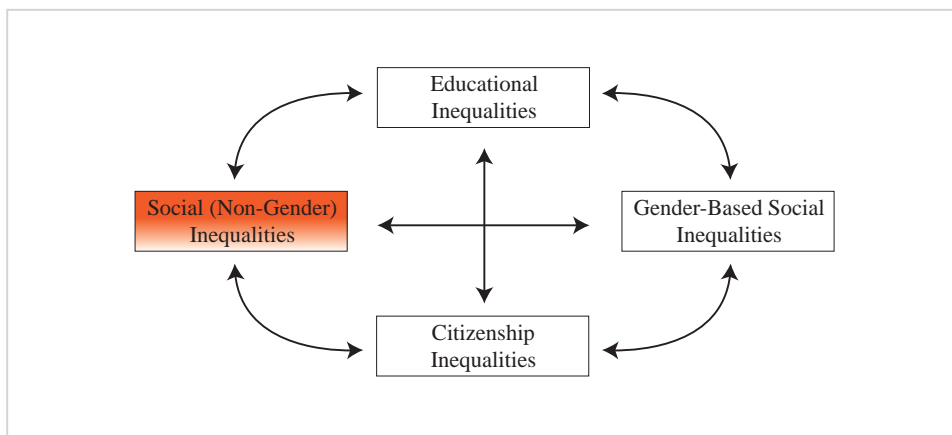
Figure 5.22.: A fishing camp at the Chennai port

Figure 5.23. is more a metaphorical image, showing an NGO doctor treating a patient. The poorer communities avoid going to hospitals, as they do not trust the doctors for they often have to pay a bribe to be seen by the doctors in the hospital. The treatment they receive is also questionable. The lack of healthcare affects women more than men. This presents a lived experience of all four inequalities in the BSP.
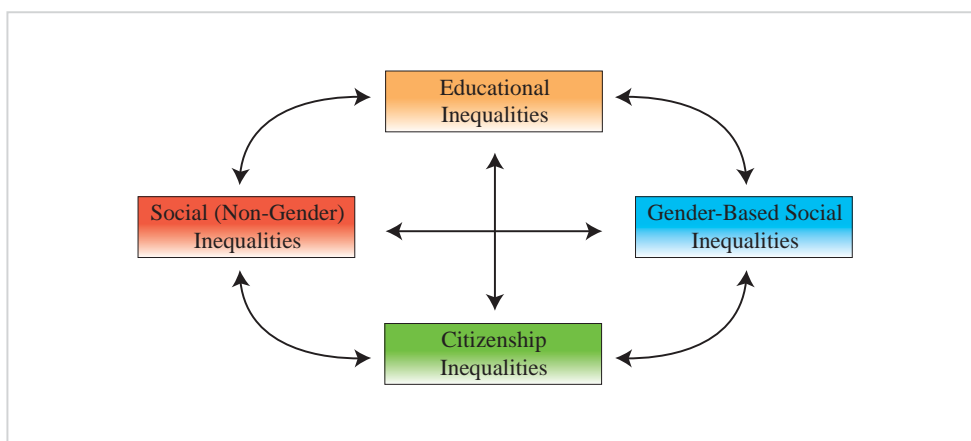
Figure 5.23.: A doctor treating a patient

Figure 5.24. forms an addition to Figure 5.23. on page 201, in that patients are lining up outside a building to see a doctor from an NGO for treatment. I observed that around 80% of the patients are women, making lack of healthcare an issue closely linked to gender. When inquiring about the high percentage of women, the doctor revealed that exploitation by the hospitals and lack of trust as the main erasons for not seeking treatment in hospitals. This experience presents a social (non-gender) inequality.
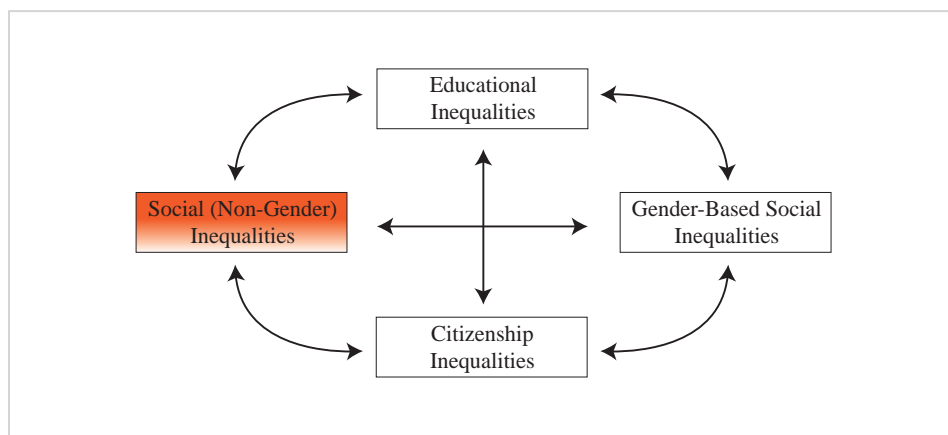
Figure 5.24.: The patient wait

Figure 5.25. depicts a woman who is living in a make-shift tent by the road side. The white canvas to the wall makes the roof of the housing and cooking is done on the stones assembled outside. People living in those subsistence conditions are exposed daily to noise and fumes by the vehicles driving past. This presents social (non-gender) inequalities and citizenship inequalities.
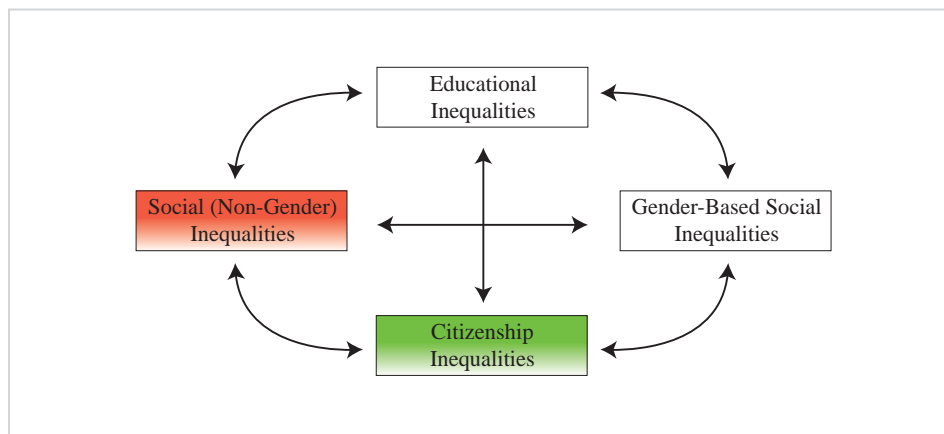
Figure 5.25.: Living by the road side

Figure 5.26. is a scene observed daily when riding on the trains of Chennai. Homeless people move through the train, begging for money, often in a huddled position. Many of them are blind or disabled in some way, not able to make an income otherwise. From early morning to late night, their voices accompany the rattling of the train. Beggary of this nature reveal lived experiences of educational, social (non-gender), and citizenship inequalities.
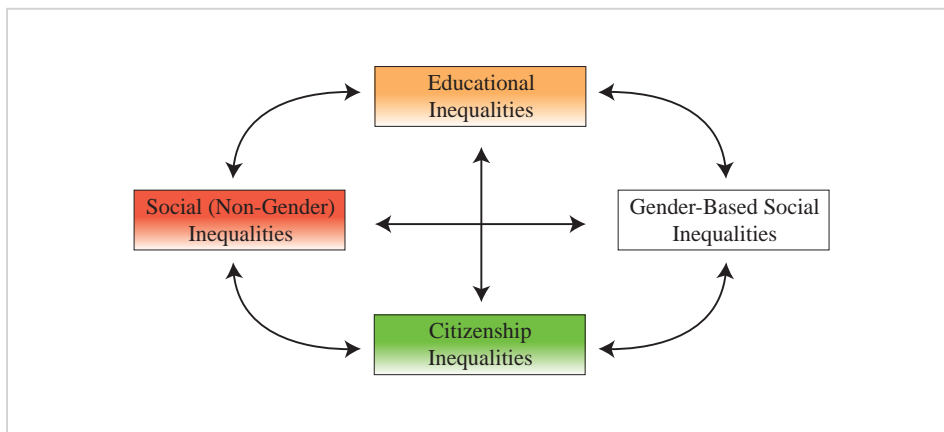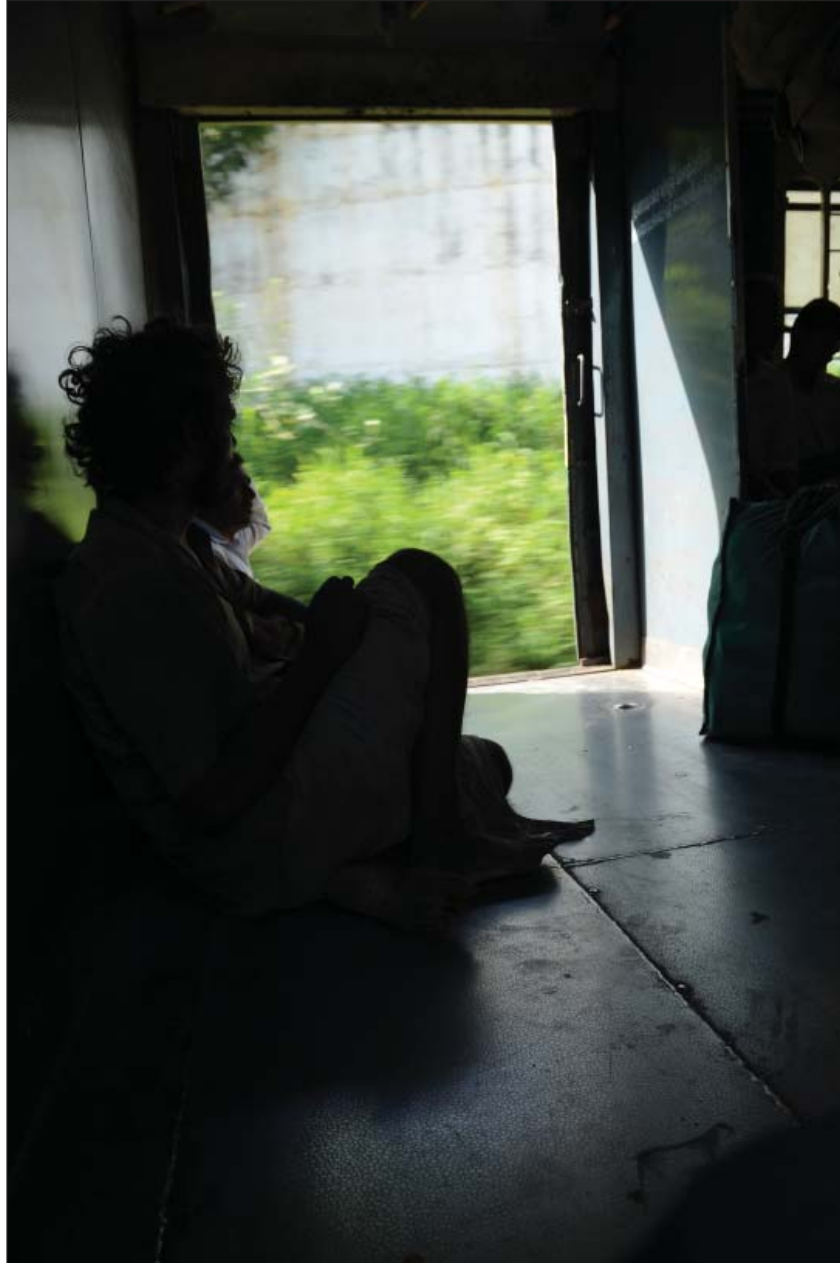
Figure 5.26.: A beggar on a train

Figure 5.27. is a scene observed every two days in summer among the slum communities. Water trucks stop for a period of time, enabling the people to collect water for washing and cooking. This helps the people through the summer. But even at other times the slum dwellers are dependent on the water trucks and often do not have any other means of getting water. Water therefore is a luxury and is treated with great care. This represents both a lived experience of social (non-gender) and a citizenship inequality, caused by disposession and structural mechanisms.
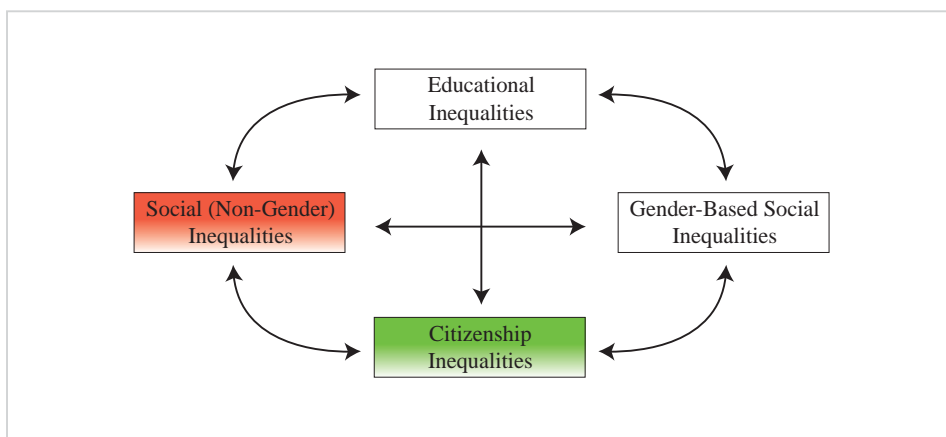
Figure 5.27.: The poor, going eagerly to collect water from the Government water trucks

Figure 5.28. is a collection of examples of the odd jobs done by slum dwellers to eke out a meagre living. On the left, a man tattoos another man's arm with an improvises tattoo machine. The middle picture shows a woman doing her work while nurturing her child in her lap. The man on the right is selling peanuts with his peanut basket in front of him. All three are either living there on the beach or in the slums areas near it. This again presents the lived experiences of social (non-gender) inequalities.
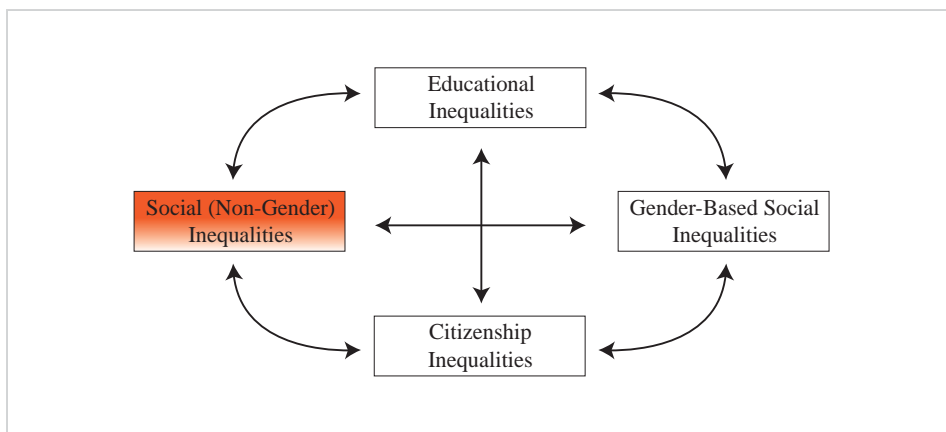
Figure 5.28.: The slum dwellers doing odd jobs

The next section outlines the Basic Institutional Problem (BIP), emergent from the data, which describes the absence of a knowledge sharing framework among NGOs, limiting their impact on the BSP.

5.8. The Basic Institutional Problem::

This section explains a Basic Institutional Problem (BIP) that emerged from the data, which limits an NGO's efforts to improve the lives of poor people. The BIP describes fundamental differences in the NGOs' structure and logics, resulting in the absence of an overall knowledge-sharing framework among NGOs. The found differences in the organisational structure and logics have NGOs working with parallel, yet incompatible approaches to reduce poverty, which do not enable knowledge-sharing among them. This impacts their effectiveness on the BSP. The BIP presents an interesting paradox. The strength and effectiveness of each NGO in their field derives from their structure and their ideologies it created and believes in. However, this strength forms a weakness, with each NGO's unique structure and logics not enabling them to share knowledge with other NGOs, knowledge that potentially could improve their own operation and impact their effectiveness. Revisiting the scene in India for a second time did not only allow for addressing of analytical gaps, but also presented an opportunity to share preliminary findings of the data and the BIP with selected NGOs in informal talks. The idea of the BIP was received with acceptance, and possible approaches to bridge the BIP, including a knowledge-sharing approach, were discussed with the participants. *Figure 5.29.* visually presents the relevant differences and their relationships which form an overall incompatibility among NGOs, preventing them from benefitting from KS4D to apply to their own projects or to joint co-operation.

This section is broken down into four parts. The first part addresses structural differences in the natures and compositions of NGOs. Part two discusses differences in NGOs' logics with regard to their chosen modus of operation, and government relationships. Part three expands on contradictions in the data, acknowledging that some knowledge-sharing is taking place, but much more on a chance basis, rather than ongoing knowledge-sharing. The final part discusses the implications of the BIP and theorises a *knowledge waste*, limiting NGOs to their own capacities and organisational boundaries. *Figure 5.29.* provides an overview of the Basic Institutional Problem emergent from the data.
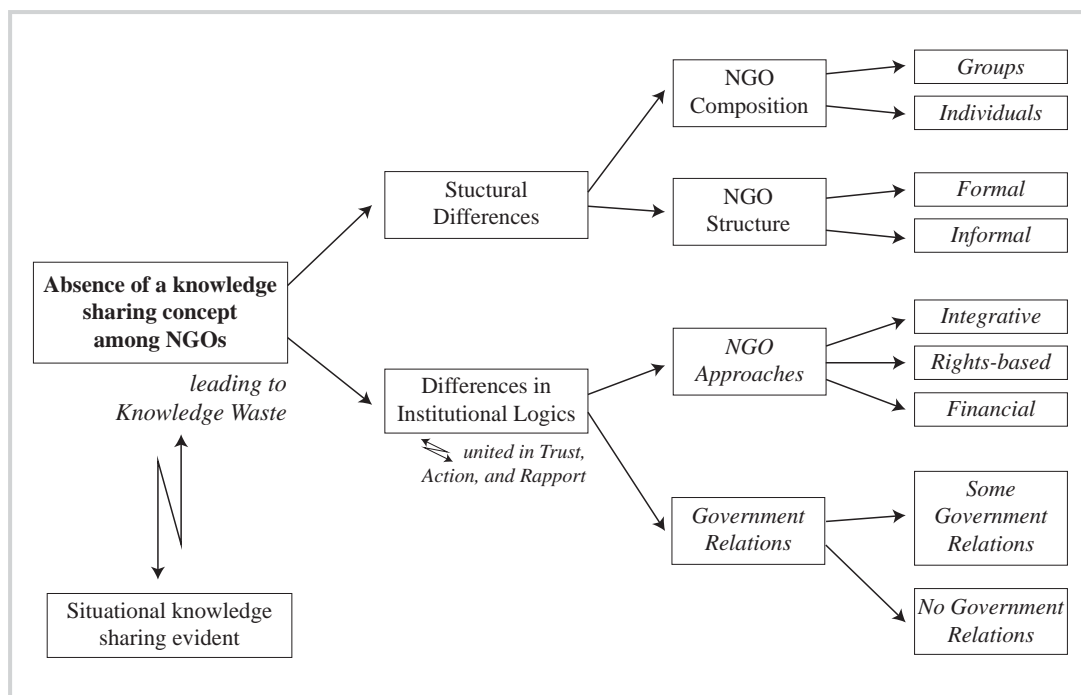
Figure 5.29.: Basic Institutional Problem:: Overview

5.9. Structural Differences::

Structural differences among NGOs are linked to the operational branch of the BIP and describe differences in organisational makeup. The data revealed that differences among NGOs in Tamil Nadu arise from their formal and informal structure, and their composition of either groups or individuals. Minor differences are also found in their use of technology and time flexibility.

::Organisational Structure and Composition

In their structure and composition, the data found that NGOs in their *structure* are broadly classified as either formal or informal. The formal sector is found to employ many of their key staff on a full-time basis and support staff on a part-time or voluntary basis. Whereas key personnel are able to observe and guide the overall outlook and programmes of the NGOs, it was found that within the formal sector, people are not always able to fully commit to social action programmes planned by the NGOs. For many NGO employees, the job is secondary and often done on a voluntary basis. One participant explains this being a constraint to NGO effectiveness:

> PP4:*"People have their own regular work and are not always 100% committed. We cannot criticise them for it."*

The participant explains that problems occur for example, when an employee in

the NGO requires information. Commitments of other employees, either work-related or personal, often prevent the transfer of any immediate information. This resultantly does not always allow for the dedication an NGO might have to fulfil goals or engage in knowledge-sharing activities. This affects the impact of social action an NGO is able to have:

> *PP5:"Our NGO is an organisation where we have members who are more part-time workers, so many ideas we are not able to follow through."*

Other participants interviewed among formal NGOs confirm that the part-time function and touch-and-go communication of most employees is a hindering aspect to their work. A participant has expressed that for NGOs to function effectively; it especially needs professional communication and information sharing. The participant states:

> *PP4:"Communication via mobile is easy. Understanding capacity is not. They don't have that awareness. We want to make it possible, enabling professional communication."*

A key strength of the formal sector found is that most NGOs interviewed do publish and distribute annual reports, situational assessments, project schemes, and general information brochures in an attempt to share their programmes, background information, and outcomes. This however is more observed in bigger, more established NGOs. Granted, smaller NGOs also publish newsletters and other information material. However it was not always clear how and to whom they were given.

The informal sector is found to face a similar problem in their nature as well as presenting problems unique to it. NGO activities in the informal sector are entirely secondary jobs in addition to other work done by the activists. Participants of the informal sector revealed that if one NGO calls up another NGO or an employee for information, often that information cannot be obtained immediately as members are preoccupied with their own projects, personal issues, or regular work. A member of a formal NGO summarised this constraint of the informal NGOs as follows:

> *PM4:"Everybody is doing this voluntary, so catching the right person at the right time can be very difficult."*

A problem unique to the informal NGO sector is their 'cyclical' and temporary nature so that their existence is often unknown to other NGOs. A participant of an informal NGO noted:

> *PM9:"We are not dependent on people for this particular organisation.*

We have our own professional base, we are working in the IT sector, and we just spend our time on the weekends on this project, giving something back to society."

Cyclical and temporary NGOs are active for a period of time or for a specific project, and disperse after. An example was given by a participant in how students in college use the time to engage in social activities. The participant noted:

PM4:"They are not a registered NGO, 20 to 60 people will be working together as a temporary group. As long as they are students, they will be working together, but never permanently. When they are gone, another new batch will come, a new set of people, engaging in social development in their study time"

A key strength of the informal sector lies within their capacities and drive to achieve outcomes, often without organisational or policy constraints. The strength for the informal NGOs, as per one participant, lies in money, creativity, and energy they commit to their projects. Participants of this large informal sector have been identified as shop-owners, wholesalers, government employees, students, and other people of professions. Many participants interviewed describe their work as a 'hobby' or personal interest, and are not driven to achieve pre-set numbers, but rather focus on qualitative sustained outcomes, irrespective of what they might be. A participant describes their activities as follows:

PM4:"What happens is the people will come and for maybe two years they will engage in development activities. When they get transferred, move away, or get married, they will be completely out of the thing. But within the two years, their performance is equivalent to ten years of the senior's performance. What the seniors can do in ten years, these guys can do in two years."

An example was given by the same participant describing a situation where the engagement of informal volunteers with schools resulted in those students being admitted to college:

PM4:"Some of the groups, since they are not registered, they will be volunteering or collaborating with the local people or the local volunteers, to engage the teachers. In the process what happened is the kids got higher marks, near Velur, Thiriupathy, and Salem. These poor children, they got higher marks and they got into admission for colleges."

Further differences presenting obstacles to knowledge sharing is the different *compositions* among NGOs. The data found that within both the formal and informal sectors, NGOs can be either organised groups or composed of a single individual. Within the formal sector, for example, it is not uncommon to find registered 'single-person-NGOs', as much as there are unregistered groups of people working informally together on projects without any official affiliations. This limits each NGO's potential to share their insights. NGOs are therefore limited entirely to their own operation and planning capacities. The cyclical and temporary nature of the informal sector presents a further challenge for NGOs to engage with the formal sector in KS4D. It becomes difficult for other NGOs to know who and how many people are involved within the areas of the Basic Social Problem, and their specific involvement. This is time an NGO is often not able to invest, again, placing their organisational boundaries within only their own capacities and the affiliations and networks they built to this point.

5.10. Differences in Institutional Logics::

The second branch of the BIP is comprised of differences in NGO Logics. Institutional logics summarises the content and meaning of organisations (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, and Suddaby 2008). Introduced by Alford and Friedland (1985), they describe institutional logics as embodied practices which are sustained and repeated through a cultural context and political struggles. Those logics translate to different NGO project-level approaches and their relationship with the government, and to uses in technology. With regards to the different approaches, participant [PP5] explained that there are different ground realities on projects. It is not new knowledge that organisations employ different approaches that can create obstacles. However, the differences in approaches reveal that even if knowledge concepts would exist, there is no means to organise it.

Despite an operational incompatibility observed among NGOs, the notions of building trust, taking action, and building rapport is present across both formal, informal, individuals and organisations. However, whereas NGOs are having similar overarching approaches, for example, an integrative approach, their actual project-level approaches and realities can still differ. As such, there exist as many different outlooks and action plans to the Basic Social Problems as there are NGOs in existence.

::Trust, action, and rapport

The data and my own observations have shown that NGOs place strong emphasis on trust, action, and rapport building as initial steps when undertaking any kind of

project. Trust building is crucial to NGOs operating in the field. One participant explains:

> PM1:"Your entire relationship is based on trust. That is something very important to the community. You don't do it and you are done. The community should trust you, they should believe in your information and as such you should always give authentic information."

Another participant argues that while trust is an important cornerstone of any action, gaining trust is one of the main difficulties that NGO face, as people do not want to be seen as victims or being labelled as 'poor'. A participant says:

> PM12:"You cannot just go to random people and say 'I see your family is very poor'. It is not going to work like this, because it only ridicules the person."

A further commonality observed among NGOs is a mindset of action. NGOs are in agreement that change is only achieved through action. When approaching a new project or working on existing ones, the NGOs are in agreement that only action will yield outcomes. One NGO interviewed, developed a concept of a call for action for people in general, cultivating the habit of social consciousness:

> PM4:"Firstly we must develop the thinking habit of 'we must do something'. For that, our NGO introduced the concept of 'Spare 2 Hours a Week'. Spare two hours in your career. We encourage people to get educated and get employed, but in the process of spending two hours for the nation one week, for society."

A second NGO supports this approach as being the initial spark of action and change within the communities affected, essentially becoming a catalyst. The participant argues that:

> PM1:"It is always the first step that matters. It is a kind of mob-syndrome. One has to take the first step, others will follow. Every community has people who want to fight. Our duty is to identify them and get them together. The moment you get them together, they will do the work."

Trust-building and action are essential in an NGOs approach to project and is practically achieved by building rapport with the leaders in an affected community. Two NGO summarises their approaches as follows:

> PM7:"Firstly we are going to meet the community leader where we are,

what is our aim of the activity, then we have to convince the community leader that we are a humanitarian organisation and are not here to politicalise that."

PM1:"Be very transparent with people and it's the best way to win over their confidence. I have the pride and say that I am coming here and having a personal interest to talk about your life. That is often received genuine with openness and trust."

In summary, the data found that irrespective of approaches chosen by NGOs to complete their projects at hand, the underlining approaches of trust, action and rapport have been found congruent throughout the NGOs. However, the data revealed that NGO approaches differ, and are in this research broadly classified into three different types: financial approaches, integrative approaches, and rights approaches. A participant summarised them as follows:

PM8:"One is direct action, another one is capacity building, building structures in the community, and thirdly capacity building of the stakeholders."

NGOs do not necessarily follow a single approach; but have been often found to combine approaches and in some cases, employ all three simultaneously. The smaller NGOs or individuals have been found to employ a single approach according to their capabilities. This becomes a problem in that NGOs are often found working parallel to one another, yet varying in their efforts and methods, making them incompatible to one another. These approaches and variations, revealed by participants, are discussed here.

::Integrative approach

An integrative approach to the BSP is revealed to be a popular approach chosen by NGOs. 'Integrated' with regards to operations within NGOs' chosen field of action refers to a close cooperation with affected communities in an effort to build capacities and share information. However, building capacities and sharing information is done differently by each NGO. A participant working in the education sector explains their approach as follows:

PM2:"We work on an integrated base, which means working with the community, improving the condition of the community, creating a kind of atmosphere that continuously improves and educates the child, working with the school. We lobby with the government and the kids."

Another NGO also engaged in the education sector describes their role as follows:

> *PM12:"We are like a bridge and we just integrate the sponsors and the students, so that the sponsor, they not only give to the support to the students, they also get to know how they are studying."*

The methods of integration between NGOs and private activists also differ. One activist says:

> *PP3:"It's all about affection, it's all about how you react to the community. I am a big believer that reform only comes from passion. A lot of the work we do is about increasing community responsibility this way."*

This is also true of another organisation interviewed, except that their depth of integration reaches to the decision making process, promoting community empowerment via promoting decision making responsibilities. The participant says the following:

> *PM3"We are simply a catalyst…and we have left the community to decide on the things, because a decision made by an affected community is always the right decision."*

The data reveals that an integrative approach is not limited to working only with affected communities or beneficiaries. NGOs have reported to be engaged with partners and other NGOs to complete projects. The data has also revealed that on occasions, NGOs and private activists act as mediators and networks to one another if the proposed projects are not within their line of activity. For example, if a sponsor approaches an activist to do a project, he/she will contact other NGOs to give the project to, but often under set conditions and criteria to ensure their reputation is maintained and a good outcome ensured.

::Financial approach

A second main approach NGOs are found to employ within their chosen field of action is a financial approach, an essential requirement in building community structures. The data revealed that NGOs predominantly involved in the education sector, and in cases of emergencies or disaster relief, use this approach. The NGOs reveal that this type of aid is sometimes necessary. "An army cannot march on an empty stomach" are the words of one interviewee, explaining the use of direct delivery in a sense [PM1]. With regards to NGOs and education, the data reveals that NGOs are

either involved with fundraising, scholarships, or with directly linking beneficiaries and sponsors.

With regards to education and fundraising, NGOs either conduct fundraising throughout the entire year, or fundraising at specific times, following the school calendar. One participant in an NGO doing fundraising in line with the school calendar says:

> PM9:"Our fundraising and active duties are only confined to three months in a year, moving with the academic school year. If you look at other NGOs, they have fundraising going on for the entire year, so they can have this amount of money, they can sponsor this many students, but we can't go anything like that. So for us, it's just like that, if it happens, it is going to happen."

The same NGO reveals that at times, education is given via direct funding. Direct funding includes awarding educational scholarships for students. They explain that the scholarships they award are given on a one-year basis and are re-assessed each year based on the performance of the student and the financial situation of the parents:

> PM9:"We have two constraints like previous year the academic performances and financial background of the parents, those conditions, those constraints means we are supporting them with a one-year scholarship. And if they perform well in that particular academic year, their support gets accumulated for the next year. This goes on."

Another NGO revealed that within the same approach, their beneficiaries are chosen based on social and economic backgrounds, with social factors weighing more in sponsor-selection than economic factors so as to provide opportunities for students to break out of the basic social problem.

Disaster-relief or emergency situations are revealed to be other targets of financial approaches chosen by NGOs. Those situations often require an approach of direct delivery, often in the form of food, emergency shelter, and supplies and essentials that people are in need of, after any form of disaster. Interviews with NGOs involved in the disaster relief when a tsunami hit the Tamil Nadu coast in 2004, provide interesting insights that rephrases the question from *What* aid is given to *How* aid is given.

The participant describes his organisation as having become popular in disaster management, due to their methods. Once the tsunami hit, the NGO travelled to the site and gave specific materials, which many organisations did not give, though regularly

required by the people. The participant said:

> PP5:*"Everybody was giving pots to the people to make rice, but they have not given pans to them. We located pans to give them, and located tambirin (a type of food) which is very important. Everybody gave rice, but nobody gave tambirin, without which nobody here can make food actually. So they are not able to make sambar, the main dish. So we were giving them sambar packets and things like that. We were also giving mirrors, soap, and bindis, essential for the people to present themselves as healthy and good looking people."*

The financial infusion by the NGO was complemented with psychological counselling, painting competitions for the children and cooking competitions for the women to assist and bring them out of the trauma. The project went on for almost four months.

::Rights approach

Another approach employed by NGOs is found to be rights-based. The data found that rights-based approaches are used by NGOs either in the form of monitoring government performance or engaging policy makers to promote changes through lobbying. One NGO, for example, explained how it branched out a policy based action as part of their focus onto the identification and monitoring of government schemes to ensure they positively affect beneficiaries. Another participant reports that government policies can often be misleading, making it difficult for beneficiaries to obtain entitlements. Their efforts revolve around training people on how to monitor those activities themselves, and assisting people through the process and pitfalls of government programmes, taking it up with the concerning officers in charge. For example, one NGO reveals in their annual report 2010-2011, that lobbying with the government under various campaigns and forcing the enactment of legal Acts in education is one of the ways they try to bring education to children in its target areas (D'Sami & Padmavathi, 2011). They also train people in recognising the provisions of the Act, as well as sensitising the children and parents to rights and rights of participation (D'Sami & Padmavathi, 2011).

A second NGO, focussed on the welfare of children, has placed part of its focus on a rights perspective, a rights-based approach. They reveal that with a rights-based approach, the focus is often on a specific law that aids and supports the NGOs in their goal. The participant explains:

> PM8:*"The government sees child labour as hazardous labour, therefore*

the child should not work. So we are working with the JJ Act which is a new act which came in 2000. It's legal coverage is more child friendly than the earlier Child Labour Act [1986], and says that the children should not be exploited emotionally, physically, sexually, etc. Therefore child labour is a physical exploitation."

An overall observed difficulty to aligning organisational strategies is that some of the NGOs and their projects are sponsored, for example by schools, private individuals, or by other organisations. Participants, whose activities are sponsored, reveal that their sponsors are interested in seeing the outcomes of the projects they fund. One participant says:

PM9:"The sponsors request to see the photos, they also come physically to see the NGO activity they fund, so we take photos of all the things that we do, upload them into Picassa, and then send them the links."

This requires time and effort of NGOs and as different sponsors are interested in different projects, time constraints of NGOs engaging in sharing project knowledge or experience with other NGOs working in the same or similar field becomes only a subsequent, if any, priority. Reporting requirements by sponsors also differ. Different reporting requirements revealed in the interviews include photographs, evidence-based reports, or their performance evaluations. The differences in formal and informal NGOs' operational and structural makeup complicates continuous cooperation; however the institutions further differ in their relationship they have with the government.

5.11. Government Relations::

Government relationships form another fundamental factor that distinguishes NGOs in their institutional logics. The data shows that NGOs are either involved with the government, have partial relations with them, or have none and seek no government involvement at all. A participant explained an overall constraint in government cooperation similar to the issues uncovered between NGOs:

PM10:"When you need either government cooperation or you need cooperation from other NGOs, they don't always give you the information you need or whatever it is. So in terms of that we do have problems sometimes."

NGOs interviewed are split with regards to the benefits of working or not working together with the government. With regards to cooperation with the government, NGOs, especially the larger more organised ones, say:

PM6:*"Whatever support is given by the government, it is given willingly...we are happy with the link we have with the government."*

Another participant described their link and relationship with the government as a more mandatory one, in their opinion the government being a main contributor to change. The participant gave the following example:

PM2:*"For example, we have bartered and campaigned with the government to include sick leave and domestic workers being recognized as workers, giving them the freedom to form trade unions, to include them under the minimum wages; all these things we've doing as ventures...but it is for the government to bring about the policy changes and to support that."*

In another interview, one NGO describes their relationship with the government as a more partial one, with the government sometimes engaging NGOs for the benefit of their employees. The participant explains:

PM11:*"We network with government departments to conduct training; government departments have invited us to conduct training to make their own employees aware about various laws and Acts so they can handle people more efficiently."*

Interviews with other NGOs reveal that often no government co-operation exists. One participant describes their relationship with the government as follows:

PM6:*"They do not interfere, so we are grateful. They are not doing us any favours and we are not doing them any favours."*

Especially among the individual activists, formal, or informal, there is a general notion that no links between them and the government exist. One participant says:

PP5:*"I am not actually working with any government organisation; I have never been doing that."*

Instead, their main support comes from friends or colleagues who informally work or fund them towards specific goals. An interesting question here is *why* some NGOs place little faith in government relationships. When asked, a participant explained the difficulties of implementation and approach:

PP4:*"[Co-operation] is not at all possible. We want to make it happen. Actually, the government has so many things to do, and they want to do it through NGOs, but it is not possible. We cannot reach them, we could*

not influence them. We don't want to waste our time. We don't know the ways of how to approach them. If I have any problem, who in the government should I approach? I do not know."

The data reveals that government co-operation varies among NGOs. The evidence suggests NGOs having continuous or partial relationship and links with the government, whereas others see the role of the government as one of non-involvement. There is no direct information about whether those links affect an NGOs operation, but it supports the notion of parallel involvement in often similar fields of activity. Incompatibilities and resistance to knowledge-sharing can derive from mistrust between NGOs involved or not involved with the government.

The analysis, however, presented contradictions with regards to the BIP and the absence of a knowledge sharing concept. Though no ongoing knowledge sharing concept was identified between NGOs, due to structural and logics factos, it was found that some knowledge sharing exists among the NGOs; however, confined to a situational context. The contradictions in the data reveal that NGOs are keen on cooperation and sharing knowledge; however, factors described in the BIP inhibit NGOs from doing so on an ongoing basis. The next section presents an interesting contradiction in the data, in that some knowledge-sharing and co-operation exists among NGOs in Tamil Nadu.

5.12. Contradictions::

The data analysis revealed a contradiction with regards to the fact that no knowledge sharing concepts exist among the NGOs. The analysis suggests that cooperation to an extent does or has existed between NGOs. One participant says:

> *PP5:"Today we have lots and lots of NGOs all around Chennai and Tamil Nadu and India, so there is a lot of people interacting with each other and understanding each other and working together."*

Co-operation among NGOs has been described by participants, and observed by myself, as an on-and-off cooperation rather than a continuous knowledge-sharing approach. For example, the Annual Report 2010-2011 of [PM2] revealed that a campaign for child rights week, a campaign to stop child domestic work, held from 15th to 19th November 2010, was planned and coordinated with other NGOs sharing that ideology. Cooperation and combined NGO efforts is found when projects and campaigns align, for example during child rights week, tree planting activities, or renovating school buildings. NGOs among themselves also invite each other for workshops and seminars if needed. Whereas this cooperation is observed and the NGOs being connected in one

way or the other, no effective concept of continuous knowledge sharing is taking place between the NGOs. One participant [PM11] attributes an on-and-off co-operation among NGOs to differences in goals, agendas, and daily items, discussed in the BIP. A contradiction found is that NGOs in general recognise the benefits of knowledge-sharing and cooperation, noting this being a weakness of the communities they work with. One participant states:

> PM1:"One person within a community would challenge human rights violations, but the communities are never together. Our duty is basically to identify them and get them together. See the moment you get them together they'll do the work."

The BIP in this section, despite minor contradictions found in the data, describes differences in NGOs' structure and logics, leading to the absence of an ongoing knowledge-sharing concept. This does not only limit an NGO's activity and impact on the BSP to its own capacities, but causes a *knowledge waste* and the disappearance of a collective memory.

5.13. Knowledge waste::

In this thesis, the researcher argues that the BIP and the absence of knowledge sharing is conceptualised as an overall *Knowledge Waste* within NGOs. Knowledge Waste in this research is described as knowledge, that has been acquired by NGOs. However, it is subsequently lost, either due to members who retain that knowledge exiting the organisation, or no formal knowledge retention process existing within the NGO. Knowledge relevant to this loss is proposed by Al-Alawi, Al-Marzooqi, and Mohammed (2007, 22) as experience, values, contextual information and expertise existent either within peoples' minds or retained within documents. The Knowledge Waste causes the disappearance of a collective knowledge pool and limits NGOs entirely to their own capacities, limiting its organisational boundary to information it has or is able to create itself.

Knowledge waste further stifles future projects as information of successes and failures by NGOs might not have been retained, except in the minds of the participating individuals. Within the formal sector, various types of publications exist that attempt to retain knowledge about their operations and outcomes with intention to share it. However, the insights of a large informal sector are often not retained or shared. Knowledge waste does not enable the retention of a collective knowledge pool of NGOs on the Basic Social Problem. A KS4D approach and co-operation among NGOs would facilitate the creating of a larger 'body of concern' to issues NGOs face within

the communities, countering a knowledge waste and creating a shared knowledge pool that can impact NGOs' efforts towards the issues within the BSP. The structure and sequence of the KS4D framework are described in the next section.

::Conclusion

The Basic Institutional Problem, emergent from the data, describes an absence of a knowledge-sharing framework aming NGOs, caused by differences in their structure and logics. Structural differences revealed different NGO compositions, with NGOs being groups or individuals. NGOs also differ in structure, classified as formal and informal. This contributes to the BIP, as the formal sector employ their key staff on a full-time basis, but their support staff often on a part-time or voluntary basis. Participant [PP5] revealed that those differences do not allow formal NGOs to follow through with all their projects. The informal sector is characterised by a voluntary body, with participant [PM4] explaining the voluntary basis of those NGOs making information sharing difficult. In term of logics, NGOs were found to have different logics, creating barriers to knowledge-sharing, brought about by different NGO approaches and government relations. Despite those factors causing a BIP, which inhibits NGOs from sharing knowledge, the data revealed a contradiction in that situational knowledge sharing exists among NGOs. This study argues that the BIP creates a knowledge waste and the disappearance of a collective memory among NGOs. To address this BIP, the next section describes a KS4D framework to bridge differences among NGOs, enabling ongoing knowledge sharing.

5.14. The Knowledge-Sharing for Development (KS4D) Model::

This section explains in detail the structure of the KS4D framework. The KS4D is a framework that describes a process that enables NGOs to effectively share knowledge without compromising or challenging each other's autonomy or independence. The KS4D framework is divided into four parts - Input, Process, Outcome, and Impact.

The Input section of the framework emphasises the necessity of NGOs to create and take part in a knowledge sharing environment that forms the starting step of sharing knowledge. A case study from Chennai is employed and forms the groundwork for the Input section which this study will expand on. The process in KS4D describes the actual knowledge sharing process among NGOs, divided into Socialisation, Dissemination and Integration, Combination, and Internalisation. This process is cyclic and leads to a number of proposed outcomes. In the outcome section, new shared institutional logics an NGO obtains are explained. NGOs engaging in KS4D extend their organisational boundaries, effectively increasing their circle of concern. In addition, NGOs become aware of strategies, processes, and routines employed by other NGOs, which they can harness. KS4D also promotes a conglomeration of information, creating a shared knowledge pool. Lastly, KS4D signals competence from the participating NGOs to each other, the beneficiaries, and possible sponsors of their project. Impact in KS4D describes a cascade of impact that NGOs can have on the BSP and the BIP. The impacts on the BSP are summarised as impacts on poverty relief and poverty prevention, avoiding trapdoors into poverty. Impacts on the BIP are summarised under the heading of "Mindset of ongoing learning and cooperation". *Figure 5.30.* visually summarises the KS4D framework.

KS4D Framework:
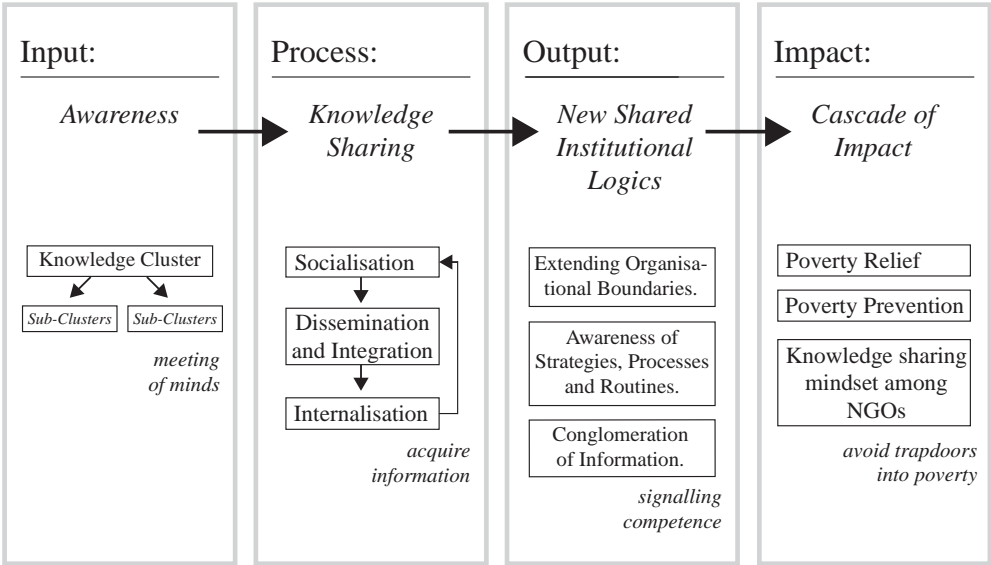
Figure 5.30.: KS4D Framework:: Overview

5.15. Input:: Awareness

The first section in the KS4D model is 'Input', which conceptualises an awareness of NGOs about one another's existence and the need to create a knowledge-sharing environment. Awareness of NGOs about one another's work facilitates information acquisition to increase the NGOs' capacities without sacrificing their individuality, method, or disctincitveness.

To create a situation where NGOs can exchange information, an inter-personal level approach is helpful, going 'back to basics' and facilitate an information exchange via a gathering that is not dependent on ICT. The literature in Chapter 3 has revealed the importance of ICT in the overall knowledge-sharing process among organisations. ICT is an option not always available for NGOs in Tamil Nadu, as the data uncovered NGOs employing different levels of technology. Therefore, creating face-to-face knowledge clusters is vital to initiate and maintain information exchange among NGOs. To support the importance of knowledge clusters in the 'Input' section of KS4D, independent of ICT, this study will present data collected from a participant, who describes an NGO in Tamil Nadu, which specialises in facilitating annual NGO meetings for them to share their knowledge. The participant's insights serve as a useful initial step of knowledge clusters creating NGO awareness, with KS4D expanding on this idea, proposing the formation of smaller independent knowledge sub-clusters in which NGOs are able to share their processes and outcomes.

::The Importance of Knowledge Clusters

The importance of knowledge clusters was emphasised in an interview with an NGO, where the participant described his involvement with a particular NGO which supports the idea of NGO knowledge clusters on an ideology that like-minded people should be coordinated and involved together. The main objective of that NGO is to gather and coordinate those who are doing a service to society; facilitating a knowledge-sharing process between the many NGOs operating in Tamil Nadu. The participant says:

> *PP4:"Like-minded people should be coordinated and involved together. The main objective is coordinating and collecting those doing a service for society. We have around 750 NGOs and people who are doing the service to society; in all means in all types, from health regarding physically challenged, agricultural environment, water consumption, electricity, and many others. We have contacts with all of them."*

This coordination and meeting is held at a one, one-day conference, in the first week of January every year. The role of the NGO is to host and facilitate the meeting, going from 10am until 5.30pm. The purpose of this annual function is to create a common ground for NGOs that allows knowledge sharing, creating opportunities for attending NGOs to share their achievements, projects, and insights with one another. The host NGO itself will give a motivational speech and record the entire meeting, and collect the participating NGOs' names and contact information in a registrar that is available to all the NGOs in form of a print or a CD. They further keep a directory of the NGOs and their achievements, collected in a separate trust body, the Customers Network Development Social Organisation (NDSO). This trust ensures that all the registrants have access to every other registrant's information and agendas. This facilitaties an overall *meeting of minds* among NGOs, initiating knowledge sharing.

During the meeting, NGOs with similar interests, start communicating with one another, or for example, if that particular individual or organisation specialises in the funding of projects, assess projects and choose which ones to support. This particular participant revealed his involvement and how his knowledge in ICT allowed coordination among NGOs who were not employing ICT. The participant says:

> PP4:*"I and J.P., we used to be the laptop group, because he takes care of all the middle class and who may not have email, those who might not know email, there will be a lot of people without the knowing of technology they will be doing in their own humble manner."*

The organisation itself, besides hosting the annual meeting, further functions as a mediator among NGOs which approach them with problems they are facing. If an NGO reports a problem, the participant says:

> PP4:*"We ask them to take a photo or provide any information and email it to us, so we can open it and see what is going on and refer them…If people are struggling. I'll be linking people, giving the information, and then they can clear this problem."*

Furthermore, they are responsible for keeping and maintaining the NGO registrer, recording any newcomers and taking out NGOs that wound and the people who stopped the project. NGOs are broadly classified into six groups: education, spiritual, environment, physically challenged, health, and home. Within each classification, NGOs are further classified. The participant gave an example:

> PP4:*"In health for example, the NGOs do blood donation, eye donation, organ donation, awareness programs, that type of work.*

With the physically challenged, NGOs will help them run their homes, get things for the government, job opportunities, everything. In spiritual, there are many temples in India, or also for the so many unclaimed bodies in hospitals, NGOs will see that the bodies are cremated or buried."

I had the opportunity to attend a function of an NGO specialised in healthcare, specifically promoting the benefits of organ donation, which in a presentation, explained the parts of a body than can be re-used and the number of lives one is able to save by donating organs.

The participant acknowledges that there are still a lot of bottlenecks with regards to standardising its operation. The organisation and the concept are still very novel and has only existed for two years, and according to the participant, it will take another 5 to 10 years to stabilise and for people to understand the importance of knowledge sharing and overcome teething problems. A problem noted by the participant is the different languages and cultures that exist throughout India:

PP4:"Each state got its own philosophies…you cannot change culture. You cannot go against the culture of Kerala; you can't go against the culture of Tamil Nadu, because everything is culturally influenced."

The participants described an approach that creates a situation for NGOs to meet and share information without the dependence on ICT, and also for NGOs to maintain their own individuality and methods. It serves as a strong foundation and initial step in how organisations without or with very little ICT input, can facilitate information sharing, create a knowledge-sharing network. This approach, however, may not be enough, with its centralised approach and registrer creating possible information bottlenecks and NGOs becoming dependent on information supplied by the participant NGOs. This can create a knowledge dependency which can stifle organisations and stop them organising their own knowledge exchanges if needed. They are given a copy of the registrer with information on other NGOs; however, one can speculate it will be difficult to set up meetings due to the mentioned structural and logics differences in the BIP. This study therefore proposes the formation of smaller knowledge sub-clusters as part of KS4D Input, which go beyond centralised meetings and allow NGOs to share knowledge without the dependence on larger organised functions.

::Formation of Knowledge Sub-Clusters

Formation of knowledge sub-clusters presents an expansion of organising the

networking between NGOs. The case study described the NGO sector getting involved in the annual meeting and sharing information, creating a registrer. This study's expands this approach by exploring the idea of smaller decentralised NGO knoowledge clusters or knowledge networks. Networks are often described as "emergent or self-organising" (Wachhaus & Harrisburg, 2012, p. 35) and direct communication is essential for their information and resource exchange. For NGOs to initially create awareness of one another, this study proposes face to face meetings of the NGOs at the larger meeting proposed in the case study. This would allow for the creation of "organic, bottom-up development of networks of federate associations that dissolve responsibility to the individual in an effort to maximise personal liberty" (Wachhaus & Harrisburg, 2012, p. 36). It counters the centralisation and dependence on a single knowledge-sharing event, held once a year. The smaller decentralised knowledge clusters are then able to host their own meetings and build relationships with one another without a centralised registrer held and updated by a single NGO, thus sharing the responsibility of knowledge sharing among them.

To illustrate this practically, the study uses the example of two actual NGOs whose goal is to create awareness of corruption and to counter it by campaigning against it, and assisting people to resist it. Corruption in India has been a wide and prevalent problem, fostered by individual citizens to pay bribes out of necessity, or to avoid inconveniences (Jenkins & Goetz, 1999a). Combating corruption in India is difficult in that obtaining certified copies of government accounts for example are not released from reluctant officials (Jenkins & Goetz, 1999b), as well as a significant hurdle of sustaining an anti-corruption movement, which 'demands enourmous attention to substantive detail...and frequent and intesive confrontation with authorities' (Jenkins & Goetz, 1999a, p. 42). Yet, this thesis does not introduce this case study of two NGOs fighting corruption, focusing on causes and consequences, which consume most studies, but instead on the methods of it (Jenkings & Goetz, 1999b). Webb (2013) argues that monitoring and reinforcing government policies and the boundaries between state and society is a popular mechanism by anti-corruption activists. The case study of the two NGOs fighting corrupion is more awareness based, and their method explained, and innovating on their approach, based on the KS4D framework. For the purpose of this example, the two NGOs are labelled NGO 1 and NGO 2. Both NGOs were found to have very similar goals. However, they employ different practices towards achieving these. NGO 1 is found to take a more proactive stance to corruption using a device they created called the 'Zero-Rupee Note', whereas NGO 2 was found to employ a mix of proactive and reactive actions. The case study proposes that when both NGOs are using a KS4D approach, knowledge about their activities and field of action is shared that allows both NGOs to revisit their own approaches and possibly cooperate.

A background of both NGOs' goals and approaches is necessary to illustrate the need for sub-knowledge custers and their effect.

::NGO 1 and 2 Goals and Approaches

Both NGOs are found to pursue similar goals of raising awareness of corruption. The goals of NGO 1 are summarised by one participant as follows:

> *PM11:"We want to create a new generation of citizens, who will think and act differently towards the problem of corruption. Our objective is…to empower the majority of Indians to know how to get their things done without paying bribes."*

By comparison, a participant describes the goals of NGO 2 as follows:

> *PP1:"It is only by propaganda or creating awareness to corruption that we can make an impact on society. To tell people not to indulge in corruption, revealing the problems it creates, and not to succumb to bribes."*

NGO 1 is actively seeking to change the mindsets of individuals in India via empowerment and teaching independence against the system. NGO 2 also emphasises the importance of creating awareness of the dangers of corruption. However, it does so by campaigning and urging people not to succumb to the pressure and temptation of corruption. Both NGOs are registered NGOs, with NGO 1 having an additional few branches in other states of India, and NGO 2 having "as many as 50 branches, about 6000 members all around Tamil Nadu" [PP1].

A smaller knowledge-cluster would allow NGO 1 and 2 to connect to one another and share their knolwedge on how they fight corruption. NGO's organising themselves into smaller knowledge clusters would allow for more effective information-sharing among NGOs, as the smaller sub-clusters would be occupied by NGOs active in the same field. Taken from the above example, NGO 1 and 2 within a sub-cluster, would become aware of each other and their work, providing an initial step for knowledge-sharing. NGOs will be able to expand their sub-cluster to their own situations and needs, being able to hold meetings when they deem appropriate, instead of relying solely on larger conferences. Kropotkin's idea of *Mutual Aid* serves as a conceptual foundation in this initial step to facilitate knowledge-sharing. Mutual aid describes relationships that are not defined by different hierarchical power positions, but founded on equality among many autonomous participants (Kropotkin, 1902). In Kropotkin's (1902) view, mutual aid recognises the interdependency among actors and that each

actor's satisfaction and success is also based on the other actors' successes. The initial input section of KS4D forms an initial preparator to the process of knowledge-sharing.

5.16. Process:: Knowledge Sharing

This section conceptualises the 'Process' of the overall KS4D model. 'Process' conceptualises the actual knowledge-sharing steps for NGOs, forming a self-perpetuating cycle, initiated and driven by the NGOs themselves. This framework attempts to shift focus away from centralised, institutional governance modes and explores a more decentralised approach that NGOs can explore to share knowledge. True to the post-colonial nature of this thesis, the KS4D process invites NGOs to absorb and assess knowledge, integrating it into their current methods without compromising their independence or autonomy. The KS4D process is divided into the following steps: socialisation, integration and dissemination, combination, and internalisation.

::Socialisation

Socialisation, as part of the KS4D process, describes information exchange of NGOs in a formal or informal social setting. Socialisation is a necessary process in KS4D to enable different types of NGOs to share and present their findings in both a formal or informal setting. Nonaka et al. (2000) argue that interaction among parties that engaged in knowledge sharing, can create mutual trust beyond any one organisation's boundaries. NGOs are able to gauge one another in this face-to-face interaction, which is not possible when sourcing their names and information from a register. Face to face socialisation is beneficial to prevent a proposed problem by Hasnain and Jasimuddin (2012) of duplicating or overlapping of NGO activities. Ambiguities and complexities in knowledge shared can also be addressed in the meeting and clarified by the sharing NGOs.

I was able to attend an event held in Chennai by an NGO which specifically focussed on mental health and stigmatisation. The attending parties were other NGOs working in the area of mental health, their sponsors, and the disabled people themselves. It allowed the NGO to share their achievements and methods, and facilitated an environment which allowed the NGOs to share information and the funders to see the impact of their work. After the event, I observed smaller groups of people forming clusters and talking.

Socialisation in both larger knowledge-clusters and in sub-clusters provides NGOs with both chance and choice to share information. The concept of smaller NGO knowledge clusters, discussed in the Input stage of the KS4D model, may provide a more comfortable environment for NGOs in which to share unsuccessful projects or

organisational problems with NGOs in the same sector, which may not be possible with a larger general NGO crowd. This type of approach has the potential to offset problems of trust and knowledge ambiguities discussed previously as knowledge sharing problems of NGOs by Hasnain and Jasimuddin (2012). This approach also does not interfere or challenge the NGOs' roots and cultures, a problem identified by a participant in the BIP section, and by Maiers, Reynolds, and Haselkorn (2005). This knowledge-sharing setting allows for NGOs to engage in an information sharing process without compromising on their overall autonomy, creating an environment that enables different organisations to share information in their effort to address inequalities explained in the BSP.

Bringing this theory and observation into a practical context of NGO 1 and 2, the data revealed differences between both NGOs' chosen approaches to create an awareness of corruption. NGO 1 describes their activities against corruption as follows:

> *PM11:"There is something called the Zero-Rupee Note. It is our device. We started printing it in large numbers and distributing it. This has acted as a change agent and got people their rights immediately without having to argue. The moment you hand the Zero-Rupee Note to the official, they immediately have a change of mind. One is that they are scared, and two, they are uncertain who that person is. At the end, they come to a conclusion that they do not want trouble with the person and get the job done without any bribe."*

The Zero-Rupee Note was given to me by the NGO. It is larger than a regular rupee note (see *Figure 5.31 and 5.32)* and made of thin cardboard to make it difficult for the receiving officials to fold and hide in their pockets. On the back of the note is the NGOs main message to not engage in corruption and the information for people to consult India's Right to Information Act [2005] to understand their rights and procedures, "promoting transparency and accountability in the work of every public authority" (Right to Information Act, 2005). A legal requirement of the Zero-Rupee Note is to explicitly state that is it not a currency.
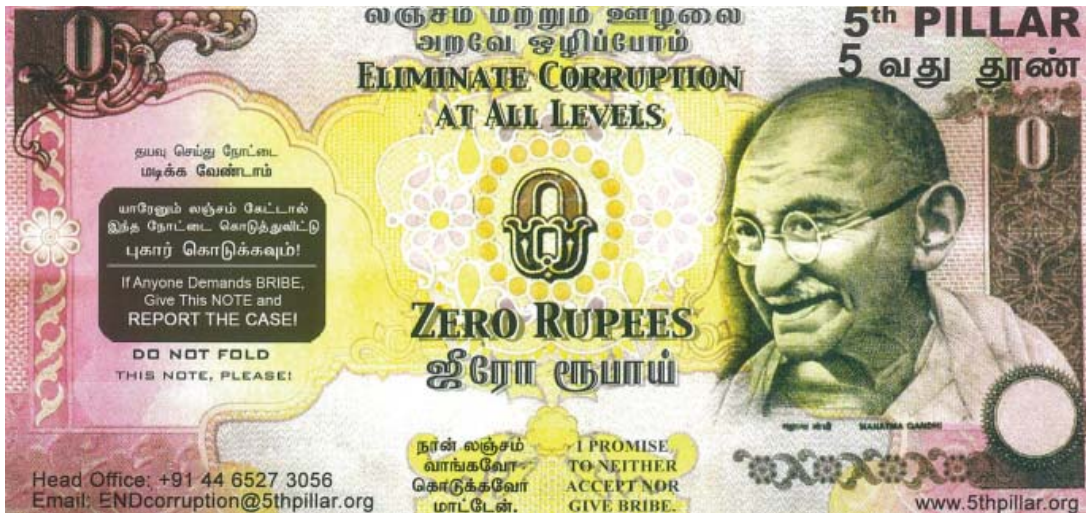
Figure 5.31: The Zero-Rupee Note:: Front view (Reproduced with Permission)

Figure 5.32: The Zero-Rupee Note:: Back view (Reproduced with Permission)

In comparison, NGO 2's approach is much more micro focussed. They describe their activities as follows:

> *PP1:"We go on propaganda meetings and other students groups…. When complaints are brought forward, we take it up and approach the concerned officer and try to solve the problem. We are also conducting meetings, going to state coroner meetings, meeting the officers, telling them that bribe and corruption are bad. The people should refrain from it, because it obviously creates a lot of problems for the country, accounting for its bad shape."*

Unlike NGO 1, NGO 2 does not have a specific tool or device they use in their work; however, they do publish newsletters in Tamil about corruption. In general, they appear more involved with the practical problems of corruption in daily life. An example of other work which they described doing, related to the NGO assisting elderly people to obtain food ration cards without paying bribes so that they can use that money elsewhere.

The socialisation process would provide an important step in knowledge sharing for both NGO 1 and 2 to share their purpose and approaches towards fighting corruption, with NGO 1 introducing and explaining in detail the use and advantages of a Zero-Rupee Note, and their success with it in the past. NGO 1 at this point would provide a digital copy of the Zero-Rupee Note, which NGO 2 can take to any of the many print shops, in Chennai and other districts. However, during the socialisation process, it is important for NGO 2 to provide assurance to NGO 1 that the knowledge received will be treated with respect and that it will be used for the purposes of countering corruption and not for image-cultivation. Once NGO 1 receives this information, the next step in the knowledge-sharing process is integration and dissemination.

::Integration and dissemination

Integration and dissemination in the KS4D process involves the storing and managing of information the NGO received during the socialisation process. This information can consist of goals, activities, practices, values, and outcomes. Integration and dissemination is an important step in the KS4D process as NGOs need to assess what they have learnt and organise that knowledge to increase their capacity (Maiers, Reynolds, & Haselkorn, 2005).

A central requirement in the integration and dissemination process is the nous of an NGO. Nous describes a mindset and intellectual capability within an organisation, an understanding and mindset of NGOs to see the bigger picture of their activities. It is the advantage of knowledge and experiences of NGOs engaged in the same area. A challenge to the success of knowledge transfer proposed by Kalling (2003) is motivation. Motivation influences the absorptive capacity of an NGO in the 'socialisation' step, and determines how willing its members are to learn new things. However, it also influences the inclination of using that knowledge within the organisation, possibly rethinking its current methods and philosophies.

This process takes a different philosophical stance on knowledge sharing and its proposed benefits from Hasnain and Jasimuddin (2012), who claim it is pointless to transfer knowledge if the 'client' (the beneficiaries of NGO activities)

cannot understand it or apply it in daily life. In these authors' opinion, a knowledge-sharing barrier occurs due to lack of education and literacy of the client (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012). This study aruges that the integration and dissemination of knowledge need not necessarily be to the client, but within NGOs. Knowledge integration and dissemination within NGOs has the potential to refine and improve their current methods, inviting cooperation, ultimately benefitting the client. The argument is that knowledge need not always directly benefit the client, but new knowledge, improving NGOs approaches, indirectly affects the client positively. It forms a non-intrusive way for an NGO to customise or refine their current logics based on needs, preserving its autonomy and independent-functioning. Voluntary integration reduces a possible knowledge-resistance among NGOs or a feeling of disempowerment and loss of autonomy. A problem in knowledge-sharing identified by Tsasis (2009) has been NGOs overstepping their boundaries, imposing authority and sparking competition among the parties. NGOs being able to self-determine the blending of new knowledge with their current discourse in the dissemination and integration process also counters manipulative tendencies by other, probably larger NGOs. It prevents larger NGOs to mainstream knowledge and exert conforming pressure around their practice onto other, smaller NGOs.

Applying this step practically to both NGO 1 and 2, in this case NGO 2, will take the knowledge gained and the Zero-Rupee Note digitals and store it within their own headquarters. Additional information gained by NGO 1 from NGO 2 would very likely be distribution methods and how to approach people and officers with the Zero-Rupee Note and the doubt it can create in their minds about asking for a bribe. NGO 2 needs to assess that information and formulate a plan of how they want to use the Zero-Rupee Note. Some of the methods they have used previously could prove more effective in combination with the note, leading to an integration of their own discourse and the new knowledge attained. NGO 2 would combine the Zero-Rupee notes with its own discourse, making it an active part of their current approach.

::Internalisation

The internalisation step forms the final part of the KS4D process, which describes the adaptation of NGOs to new institutional theories and practices. Internalisation forms is an important part for NGOs of the KS4D process, as it internalises new practices and outlooks into an NGO's conceptual and practical rhythm of operating.

The practical use of this approach in KS4D translates into NGO 2 adapting the Zero-Rupee Note with its own practices. NGO 2 revealed that their activities are for example attend the state coroners' meetings, student meetings, and practically helping

people in overcoming problems regarding corruption. With NGO 2 internalising the Zero-Rupee Note to their own operations and practices, would counter to their own perceived limitations. As the NGO 2 said:

> PP1:"Unfortunately we are only doing that small effort in respect that the enormity of the corruption problem is really big."

Due to the cut and thrust of many NGOs work in the field, especially the smaller ones, only a few of its members might be able to actively engage in the KS4D process, monitoring the NGO's performance and assessing the usefulness of shared knowledge for their own methods. Realistically, this might not happen across the board of NGOs participating. On a note of truth, some NGOs due to either their small size or limited capacities might be unable to spare time for such activities. In summary, the KS4D process is a self-perpetuating cycle, made possible by NGOs themselves, working beyond BIP with NGOs re-evaluating their discourse by combining and integrating knowledge. It allows NGOs to acquire information relevant for their projects, which increases their impact on the BSP. Adopting this approach yields outcomes of new, shared institutional logics, discussed in the next section.

5.17. Outcomes:: New Shared Institutional Logics

Outcomes in KS4D describe new shared institutional logics NGOs obtain when engaging in knowledge sharing with other NGOs. New shared institutional logics describe new practices, mindsets, and general 'ways of doing'. New institutional Logics in the Outcome section of KS4D can be broadly classified into three categories, which will be explained individually in depth in the next sections: Extending Organisational Boundaries; Awareness of strategies, processes and routines; Conglomeration of Information. An overreaching benefit encapsulating these proposed outcomes is NGOs signalling an operational competence, to themselves, the beneficiaries, and potential funders.

::Extending organisational boundaries

A benefit of NGOs engaging in KS4D is the extension of their organisational boundaries. Extending organisational boundaries for NGOs means being able to obtain information about the 'bigger picture' of concern in which they operate. For example, NGOs involved in education, specifically preventing dropout rates among children in schools, would gain an increased understanding of dropout rates in other districts in Tamil Nadu. NGOs extending their organisational boundaries through KS4D increases the circle of concern in which they operate. An increased circle of concern

here translates into NGOs' concerns being no longer their own and enables institutions to act as support pillars for one another. Extending organisational boundaries would allow NGOs to be able to share the responsibility. One participant notes:

> PP5:"Many people call me, because they want to do a project, but are not able to do it for some reason. When I went and met them, there was some discussion happening, the NGO acknowledging their limitations on the project, but there is nothing wrong with that, so he requested some funding. So the idea is I want to assist him with the project, saying that your project will make hospitals. You put your name to it, you put all your credentials to it, I only want to work. So the hospital project is yours, but under certain conditions and criteria."

Extending organisational boundaries counters a fundamental reality of especially the smaller and informal NGOs in that they can find themselves incredibly lonely in their field of activity. Among the informal NGOs, extending organisational boundaries can aid them in their work. One participant noted:

> PM4:"Sometime they will take up some project in the rural areas, it may not be a registered NGO, they will not get the funding, they will pool themselves and help the orphanages."

Extended boundaries and NGOs mutually helping one another reduces the fear of failure for an NGO and the mental burden carried by its members to achieve outcomes. With the exception of the larger established NGOs, most of them are reliant on their own capacities and output capabilities. Data from the BIP has shown that NGO plans and activities are often stifled by their own capacities, with no outside support. With extended organisational boundaries and an increased circle of concern, the responsibilities of delivering outcomes would be shared among the NGOs, and instead of being a single institution focussed on an aspect of the BSP, the focus shifts towards a shared team concern, despite each NGO independently pursuing their own programs. NGOs can face failures, setbacks, and frustration that negatively impact their motivation and determination towards exploring new approaches, possibly causing them to retreat to their 'old ways'. However, with shared responsibility and concern, NGOs will find themselves in the company of a larger group which is aware of their activities, providing that occasional support needed for an NGO to continue its activities. Extended organisational boundaries allow NGOs insight into each other's strategies, processes, and outcomes. It provides invaluable insights and considerations for their current and future activities, creating a shared ethos and visions among NGOs.

::Awareness of strategies, processes, and routines

Another proposed benefit of NGOs engaging in KS4D is an awareness of strategies, processes, and routines of other NGOs engaged in either the same field or other activities. NGOs will have access to and be able to assess and harness approaches and methods used and created by other NGOs to pursue their own goals.

Awareness of strategies, processes, and routines by other NGOs can prove invaluable information when an NGO is undertaking a project for the first time or innovating current ones. KS4D benefits NGOs by enabling NGOs to obtain advice from one another about their approaches or experiences and lessons to avoid traps that could cost money, time, or credibility. In the words of a personal friend and activist, who was involved in NGO activities for over a decade, "there is no compensation for being in the trenches, except success". Inter-NGO awareness of strategies, processes, and routines provides an environment for NGOs that enables choice and opportunities for collaboration.

> *PP4:"With some issues our NGO will be helping, some other issues will be cleared by themselves or by help of other NGOs. If they have an issue, we can help them. If they then see other people struggling with this issue, they are also able to manage this."*

The awareness of NGOs' strategies, practices, and routines does not mean that an obligation to integrate them within their organisation exists, but it provides non-intrusive ways of understanding daily practices by NGOs. This study here falls back onto the previously discussed process of mutual aid proposed by Kropotkin (1902), but it wants to refine this proposition by introducing an ongoing situational learning environment as an outcome. Situated mutual learning was proposed by Ferguson, Huysman, and Soekijad (2010) and describes a willingness of NGOs to explore complementary views, assessing their outcomes, and testing these against experiences by NGOs in that context. Within a mutual learning situation, the involved units adapt to one another (Huysman, 2000) and attempt to overcome their structural and ideological differences. Situated mutual learning however is limited to its *situational* aspect and not to an ongoing learning or knowledge sharing process. An ongoing mutual learning situation here does not describe that NGOs are involved daily in knowledge sharing activities, but suggests an environment in which NGOs can readily fall back onto a cluster of like-minded NGOs for knowledge support. While situated mutual learning is described by Ferguson, Huysman, and Soekijad (2010) as a *process*, this study presents ongoing mutual learning as an outcome, initiated by a proposed process of mutual aid, based on Kropotkin's (1902) writing.

Coming back to the illustrative example of NGO 1 and 2 and the Zero Rupee Note, the sharing of the Zero-Rupee Note would provide an avenue for NGO 2, reinforcing their current approach of drawing awareness to, and practically countering corruption practices. NGO 1, that provided that tool for NGO 2, would increase their circle of operation, creating awareness of their work, being acknowledged and intrinsically rewarded for it. Acknowledgement and intrinsic reward is imperative in inter-NGO KS4D because, as previously discussed, it is often the only form of repayment for the members' work. KS4D also creates a feedback loop from NGO 2 to NGO 1. NGO 2 would be able to provide feedback on their use of the Zero-Rupee Note and results, thereby providing valuable insight for NGO 1 to consider how they can improve their work. Furthermore, the feedback from NGO 2 affirms the tool NGO 1 developed, the Zero-Rupee Note, thereby strengthening the movement as a whole.

A previous problem discussed is a possible knowledge-resistance by NGOs towards the KS4D framework process. Knowledge resistance can arise as an NGO's counter-measure to a knowledge dominance and knowledge imposition by other NGOs (Ferguson, Huysman, & Soekijad 2010), or a possible lack of domain consensus with NGOs overstepping their bounds (Tsasis 2009). Awareness of strategies, processes and routines counters manipulative tendencies among NGOs and ensures no boundaries are overstepped. It further allows NGOs to combine their knowledge, creating a shared knowledge pool.

::Conglomeration of Information

A final benefit for NGOs engaging in KS4D is a conglomeration of information, formed into a large knowledge pool, readily accessible to NGOs, addressing their knowledge needs. Conglomeration of Information here describes a de-centralised shared-knowledge pool, in the form of documents collected or retained within members of an NGO. An important problem to address at this point is knowledge democratisation and NGO competition. Knowledge sharing among NGOs is beneficial, as long as it remains reciprocal. However, when there is no common vision among NGOs to engage in KS4D, competition can arise among the parties (Tasis, 2009). Competition creates an environment of win-lose, creating manipulative tendencies and becoming a setback for knowledge sharing. Another issue is knowledge-democratisation. When knowledge is shared, questions arise about which organisation retains its ownership and how information can be accumulated without knowledge exploitation by NGOs.

The BSP and the BIP summarised an overall NGO working environment, often done on a purely voluntary basis, with little (if any) financial benefit, and no glory. However, a fundamental drive to members of NGOs is recognition and acknowledgement of their

work. This study proposes a recognition-based knowledge-sharing and conglomeration, which individual sections attributed to the composing NGOs.

::Signalling competence

The new shared institutional logics proposed in this outcome section are not only useful in their own independent application; but also as a combined impression of NGOs signalling competence to both the beneficiaries and one another. Signalling competence is important in the overall performances of NGOs, as they expand their horizon of concern, and send a strong signal to other members or institutions within a network cluster or a larger society.

Signalling competence is important in NGO work as for NGOs this could result in the funding of projects. Much more fundamentally however, signalling competence also has a strong psychological effect on the NGOs themselves, being part of a larger body that engages and contributes towards the BSP, increasing their impact on both poverty reduction, and poverty prevention. This also provides fertile ground for both NGOs to have an on-going working relationship, sharing improvements in their approaches and goals, and improving the method of the distribution of the Zero-Rupee Note, which advances both NGOs, the beneficiaries they are helping, and the wider community.

5.18. Cascade of Impact::

This section describes the cascade of impact in the KS4D framework. Cascade of impact here describes the impacts that KS4D has on an NGO to both the BSP and the BIP. The cascade of impact on the BSP is an, by NGOs achieved, greater impact on poverty relief and poverty prevention. The two are treated as separate here, as poverty relief aims at reduction of existing problems explained in the BSP, and poverty prevention sketches NGOs' efforts to help people avoid trapdoors into poverty. The cascade of impact on the BIP manifests in NGOs in ongoing collaborative work and ongoing situational learning, creating bridges of cooperation. Furthermore, NGOs form a mindset of inclusiveness and are no longer alone in their work or burden of the BSP.

::Poverty relief and poverty prevention

A proposed cascade of impact that KS4D has on NGOs is the effect new strategies have on poverty relief. New learned logics or possible combinations of old and new

discourses aid NGOs in dealing with their own projects more effectively, ultimately increasing their impact on a chosen part of the BSP. Poverty relief here can be interpreted in both a micro and macro perspective. For example, poverty relief can be an NGO's activities to enable 150 children to attend school by paying their fees, or assist an elderly couple to obtain food ration cards without bribing the acting officer for it. These impacts are immediate and confront a current problem faced by a community. However, KS4D would not only impact an NGO's aid in poverty relief, but further impact its ability on poverty prevention.

Poverty prevention describes the idea of a prophylaxis effect that an NGO's actions can have for people, either helping them not to lapse back into poverty, or to avoid trapdoors into poverty. Following on from the example above, sending the 150 children to school enables them to learn fundamental skills during the year and have access to a school meal provided by the government. Despite the problems of educational inequality discussed in the BSP, public schooling would still provide a very foundational education, such as reading, writing, and maths, useful for any future work environment. Vocational training given by NGOs further allows students to attain jobs and not lapse back into poverty. One participant explained:

> PM5:"These kids are from very poor backgrounds and they don't have much academic excellence, but they have to survive in the competitive world. Practical vocational training is the better option for them, because they are used to physical labour, so if you train them some skills, professionally and basic, then they can stand on their own legs, independently."

Similarly, an NGO assisting an elderly couple to obtain their ration cards without paying them might enable them to handle the situation on their own the next time and enable them to handle similar situations themselves. Prevention, in essence, creates awareness to *avoid trapdoors into poverty* that people can fall into, often via succumbing to influences or a lack of knowledge of procedures. Nevertheless, a cascade of impact is also evident in the mindset of the NGO with regards to ongoing learning and cooperation.

::A mindset of ongoing learning and cooperation

A cascade of impact by NGOs can further be directed to themselves. Shared knowledge and ongoing situational learning benefits an NGO's mindset, an attitude to which an NGO perceives not only its own operations, but also in both a philosophical and practical *Dasein* (lit. translated: being). The previously discussed impact of KS4D

on an NGO's efforts on poverty relief and poverty prevention serve as an affirmation for an NGO, validating its existence and part of a movement larger than their own operations and ideals. It negates the feeling of loneliness in a cause and resultantly, a mindset of shared responsibilities, successes, and burdens is forged. This addresses the need for cross organisational development cited by Maiers, Reynolds, and Haselkorn (2005), as cascade of impact promotes an ongoing situated learning environment in which NGOs can mutually learn from another without challenging one another's autonomy or independence.

A practical impact of KS4D can be speculated on both NGO 1 and 2 with regard to corruption relief and corruption prevention. NGO 2 has gained a tool, created and proven to be useful by NGO 1. NGO 2 has the freedom to decide when and how to use the Zero-Rupee Note and a combination of their current method alongside the Notes could create a greater positive impact on corruption relief and prevention. The feedback loop NGO 2 would create by informing NGO 1 of their use and realisation of the Zero-Rupee Note in their own approach and field of action does not only, as previously stated, allow NGO 1 to consider the approach of NGO 2, but it also creates a mindset of the NGOs of not being alone in their work and that they are campaigning against a shared burden. Furthermore, positive experiences and benefits for both NGOs provide opportunities for more ongoing collaborative work and ongoing situational learning. It is important to emphasise here that the entire KS4D process at no point would question or influence an organisation's autonomy or actions without their approval, thus avoiding creating environments of pressure, such as knowledge-dominance. It could, however, create a positive environment of knowledge democratisation in which NGOs are keen to gather and learn from each other, strengthening their own processes and increasing their impact on the BSP.

5.20. Chapter conclusion::

This chapter presented the findings of this research and the theories emergent from the data, separated into the BSP, the BIP, and the conceptual KS4D framework, informed by the BIP and by illustrative examples from the data.

The BSP presented a conceptual framework, describing dimensions of poverty and their interrelationships that force people to live in poverty. The dimensions have been indentified as Educational Inequalities, Social (Non-Gender) Inequalities, Gender-Based Social Inequalities, and Citizenship Inequalities. To illustrate the dimensions of poverty of the BSP as it emerged from the data analysis, this thesis presented a photo narrative in an effort to place these theoretical dimension into a practical visual context.

This chapter then proceeded to the analysis of the BIP as it emerged from the data, summarising the absence of a knowledge-sharing framework among NGOs in Tamil Nadu. The BIP arises from differences in both the structure and the institutional logics of NGOs. It was found, however, that NGOs are similar in their emphasis on trust building, action oriented projects, and building rapport. An interesting contradiction was found in the data in that situational knowledge-sharing and co-operation are evident among NGOs. However, they remain so on an on-and-off basis. This thesis argues that the BIP and the absence of knowledge sharing connects to a knowledge waste among NGOs, stifling their future projects due to knowledge loss.

The third section of this chapter described the conceptual KS4D framework, based on the understanding of the BIP and by using examples from the data. KS4D outlines a process for NGOs to effectively share knowledge in an environment that does not challenge their independence or autonomy. The section in the framework - Input, Process, Outcome, and Impact - described in depth the steps to knowledge-sharing.

The next chapter will discuss these findings by placing them in the context of the aims and objectives of this thesis, as well as in the context of the reviewed literature in Chapter 2 and 3. The chapter also addresses the limitations of this study and proposes further avenues of study.

6

DISCUSSION

6.1. Introduction::

This chapter discusses the research outcomes and discusses them in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and 3. It also addresses the limitations in relation to the research questions.

6.2. Research Questions::

The main aim of this thesis is to explore the possibility of a post-colonial KS4D approach as an alternative to current development practices and approaches. The central question this research wants to address is whether such an approach can be conceptualised and applied. Does this approach address problems of integration and cooperation among institutions involved with poverty?

The second aim of this thesis is to generate substantive theory on the impact of knowledge-sharing as a means of poverty reduction and generating various capabilities for the poor, using Tamil Nadu, India. How will knowledge sharing impact on the ability of NGOs to reduce poverty? Subsequent questions are concerned with possible benefits and capabilities being created for the poor with this alternative KS4D approach. To achieve these aims, this research answers the following specific research questions:

- How useful are current theorisations on poverty and current development issues?

- What systems and strategies do NGOs currently use in their work to reduce poverty in Tamil Nadu, and what are the strengths and shortcomings of the NGOs?

- Is there a need for a new conceptualisation of a knowledge-sharing approach to improve the work of NGOs involved in poverty reduction in Tamil Nadu and what would it look like?

- If there is a need to reconceptualise knowledge sharing, what would be its impact on the poverty reduction work of the NGOs and what benefits would NGOs gain from engaging with this knowledge-sharing approach to reduce poverty, both immediate and long term?

6.3. Discussion – How useful are current theorisations on poverty to understanding current development issues?::

In Chapter 2, this study addressed the above question by examining current theorisations on poverty from both an international 'world' literature perspective and a local Indian perspective. Poverty, in the context of a broader literature, has been theorised both as a concept predominantly revolving around an established poverty line (Fukuda-Parr, 2012; Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003), and as a capacity approach, driven predominantly by social factors (Sen, 1999). Poverty theories in the context of a more localised Indian literature have been found revolving around social indicators and social interrelationships, rather than statistical analysis. Both literatures emphasise more the manifestations of poverty rather than the underlying causes, and while acknowledged in the literature, were often sought to reduce the issue of poverty to a few indicators.

::Current Poverty Manifestations in world literature

The world literature on poverty is characterised by a broad concept revolving around a poverty line, with people who fall below it classified as being poor (Fukuda-Parr, 2012; Laderchi, Saith, & Stewart, 2003). The basic needs approach remains a popular approach in understanding poverty, as its simplicity in understanding deprivation is characterised by the number of people below the established poverty line (Sen, 1999). A second, also predominantly economic-driven approach was found to be a neo-liberal standpoint, which sought to help the poor by inducting them into and including them in market capitalism (Meier & Stiglitz, 2002). People's wellbeing under this approach is measured by their ability to maximise resources. A more contemporary approach pioneered by Sen (1999) theorised poverty measures around human factors. Poverty measured by people's capability focusses on *doing* and *being*, instead of having and feeling (Hick, 2012). Poverty became a multidimensional concept in Sen's (1999) view, surpassing monetary deprivation and including deprivations of fundamental *freedoms* important to individuals (Alkire, 2007; Hick, 2012; Sen 1999, 2000). Within these social indicators, education, gender inequalities, lack of access to healthcare, and clean water have found a strong voice as *unfreedoms* inhibiting people's capabilities in India.

::Current Poverty Manifestations in local Indian literature

Instead of taking a broad approach to poverty, local literature on poverty in India focussed on specific social indicators, namely caste, gender, living conditions, and

informal social conventions, which cause people to live in poverty. Caste in India has been identified as a strong influence on the unceasing poverty situation (Alex, 2009; Mehta & Shah, 2003; Shaka, 2012; Varghese, 2011). Further poverty indicators were gender discrimination in modern India as an issue on a multitude of levels (Alex, 2009; Chowdhury, 2010; Jackson, 2012; Mehta & Shah, 2003; Parkar, Dawani, & Weiss, 2008; Prasad, 2011; Rao, Horton, & Raguram, 2012; Sen, 2001; Varma et al., 2007). Patriarchy, specifically, has been attributed to the prescriptions and prohibitions applying to women, similar to the population occupying a lower caste. Living conditions in Tamil Nadu have been identified in the literature as another trapdoor into poverty. An estimated 25 percent of the population lives in slums, with an estimated 2.5 million people within cities, attributing to an overall slum population in India of close to 100 million people (Chandramouli, 2003). The capability trap for slum dwellers has been identified as dependency, and the main asset of the poor remains physical labour with a large proportion of workers belonging to an 'unorganised' or 'informal' sector of the economy (Ballesteros, 2010). Their work is irregular, often in harsh conditions, with no security or any chance of self-progress (Deb, 2011).

::Findings and Contribution

The literature was found to employ a reductionist approach, placing emphasis on manifestations of poverty, but often describing the underlying causes of poverty too simplistic. This study explored the underlying poverty causes leading to unfreedoms and resulting multi-level poverty. For example, it was discussed in the literature that the high drop-out rates of children in schools are a cause of poverty. The analysis of the reasons for the high drop-outs was found to be focussing on inadequate education infrastructures and financial hardships. The data analysis in this study, in contrast, revealed that an outlook and fixation of poorer people on government jobs influences their views on schooling. Government jobs, despite lower caste reservations within them, are often only obtainable via social capital (networking) and corruption (bribery). The fixation on government jobs and its attainment problems can be argued to be as much a contributor to drop out rates. The underlying causes to education drop-outs have been found addressed more in local literature than in world literature. However, these are often translated into manifestations and not acknowledged as contributing factors in themselves.

This study seeks to provide insights into both the causes of poverty and the complexities and links between them at both a theoretical and a practical level. The Basic Social Problem (BSP) framework conceptualises poverty as inequalities under educational inequalities, social (non-gender) inequalities, gender-based

social inequalities, and citizenship inequalities. The BSP is constructed based on the participants' voices, true to the post-colonial nature of this study, and provides a more accurate context of poverty and underlining social problem than previously acknowledged in the literature.

6.4. What systems and strategies do NGOs currently use in their work to reduce poverty in Tamil Nadu?::

The study has answered the above question by addressing the different NGO approaches and examining key differences in their make-up and operations, assessing the strengths and weaknesses of NGOs. In this study, the current systems and strategies of NGOs were summarised as institutional logics. Those logics manifest as different strategies that NGOs employ to reduce poverty, broadly classified into integrative, legal, and financial. Another main factor identified was relationships with government which NGOs either have or do not have. Key similarities in NGO approaches were identified as trust, action, and rapport building. Key differences in organisational makeup were identified in NGO structure and NGO composition. NGO composition was identified as either group or individual. Structures of NGOs were emergent from the data as formal and informal. The strengths and weaknesses in the make-up and operations of NGOs in this study presented an interesting contradiction. It was found that the strengths of NGOs derive from their structure and the logics they created and believed in. However, this strength was found to simultaneously form a weakness of the NGO, as their unique structures and logics, working in parallel, were potentially incompatible and therefore preventing them from sharing their insights with other NGOs, creating a knowledge waste.

The literature that addressed barriers to knowledge-sharing among NGOs focussed on symptoms which inhibit NGOs from sharing knowledge (see Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012; Kalling, 2003; Maiers, Reynolds, & Haselkorn, 2005; Tsasis, 2009). This study expands on these findings by addressing more fundamental problems inhibiting NGOs from sharing knowledge. Rather than symptoms, it focusses on the underlying causes that are responsible for these manifestations described in the literature. What is new in this study is the focus on fundamentals leading to the absence of a knowledge-sharing concept among NGOs, and conceptualising these into a single framework, called the Basic Institutional Problem (BIP) (see *Figure 5.29* on page 214).

::Current Strategies and Systems of NGOs

Integrative approaches by NGOs describe the close co-operation between

NGOs and the affected communities with the intention to build capacities and share information. Integrative approaches by NGOs were identified in the data as those of working and improving community conditions, bringing together sponsors and beneficiaries, or working on a very affectionate basis and with unconditional care. Legal approaches are adopted by NGOs when monitoring government performance and enforcing implementations of specific laws supporting their goals. Efforts further revolve around training people in monitoring activities and creating awareness of processes and pitfalls in government programmes. Financial approaches are used by NGOs to build community structures, predominantly in the education and disaster-relief section. The data revealed that NGOs are involved in fundraising, providing scholarships or linking beneficiaries and sponsors. A key similarity observed among NGO strategies is a strong emphasis on trust, action, and rapport building. Trust building was identified as a crucial step necessary for NGOs to be accepted within a community. Furthermore, a mindset of action unites NGOs in their approaches, emphasising that only actions will yield outcomes. NGO actions serve as a catalyst to communities leading to both action and social consciousness. Rapport involved meeting community leaders, transparency of NGO outcomes and objectives, and building confidence in genuineness and openness.

::Key differences and similarities in the make-up and operations of NGOs

Key differences in organisational makeup were identified within the nature and composition of NGOs. The data revealed that NGOs are either formal or informal in nature. Formal NGOs are registered entities which are found to employ many of their key staff on a full-time basis, and support staff working on a part-time or voluntary basis. Informal NGOs are found to be not registered and their activities are done on an entirely voluntary basis. Informal NGOs were identified in this research as shop-owners, wholesalers, government employees, students, and professionals. NGO compositions in this research relate to either individuals or groups. It was found that NGOs of both formal and informal nature can be either organised groups working together, or single individuals. In a formal sector, it is not uncommon to find 'single-person-NGOs', as much as there are unregistered individuals voluntarily working together without any official affiliations.

The strengths and weaknesses found in NGO approaches and operations presented an interesting contradiction. The data and my own observations found the strength of each NGO operating within their own system. However, the unique make-up of each NGO in both structure and logics causes NGOs to work in parallel towards the BSP, yet with incompatible logics that prevent knowledge sharing.

The focus of the literature is predominantly centred around the symptoms which create knowledge-sharing barriers among NGOs. These barriers to knowledge sharing among NGOs have been summarised by various authors (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012; Kalling, 2003; Maiers, Reynolds, & Haselkorn, 2005; Tsasis, 2009). Maiers, Reynolds, and Haselkorn (2005) to an extent, mention structural problems of NGOs manifesting in knowledge-sharing barriers, but only very briefly. The literature characterises knowledge-sharing barriers among NGOs as problems of mindset, trust, and competition (Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012). Its focus is on manifestations, such as lack of funding for ICT planning and implementation, weak information management, and the need for cross-organisational development (Maiers, Reynolds, & Haselkorn, 2005). This study expands, but also challenges, this literature by examining more fundamental causes that inhibit NGOs from knowledge-sharing. Instead of the manifestations described in the literature, this study focusses on underlying causes which lead to these manifestations.

What is new in this study is the examination and conceptualisation of the underlying causes of the absence of a knowledge sharing concept in NGOs from both logics and structural perspectives. The practical contradiction of an NGO's unique structures and logics identified in this study as both strength and weakness, provides a new insight into NGOs' limited drive for a knowledge-sharing framework. Formalising this issue, outlined as the Basic Institutional Problem (BIP), provides both a theoretical and practical summary of an overreaching problem faced by all NGOs.

6.5. To what extent is there a need for a new conceptualisation of a knowledge-sharing approach to improve the work of NGOs involved in poverty-reduction in Tamil Nadu and what would it look like?::

This question was answered in this research by reviewing a broader Knowledge Management (KM) literature and examining current knowledge-sharing concepts, and a specific literature concerning knowledge sharing among NGOs. KM in contemporary business was found to have undergone three generational cycles. The first generation KM focussed on more technical solutions, creating an ICT infrastructure from which knowledge can be captured, codified, and transferred. The second generation KM transcended KM as a pure technological practice and evolved into one of enhancing capacities and creating new knowledge (Horton et al., 2011). The third Generation KM moved knowledge from a commercial to a development context, giving rise to Knowledge Based Economies. The World Bank subsequently designed a four-pillar

Knowledge-for-Development Approach (K4D), which was enhanced by the Asian Development Bank into a Knowledge Based Development (KBD) and Knowledge for Poverty Alleviation (KPA) Approach.

Current knowledge for development approaches were found unsatisfactory as they exhibited no focus on a deeper understanding of social aspects. They were characterised as an extension of colonialist ideas, reinforcing an expert culture, elitist, ethnocentric, anthropocentric, and techno-centric designs and action plans (Hjorth, 2003; Hove, 2004). A reconceptualization of knowledge sharing became necessary as a post-colonial approach would present a broader, more concerned effort to achieve development, which is flexible in nature, and focussed on the *process* of knowledge sharing. KS4D addresses not only the concerns of a broader knowledge-for-development (K4D) literature, but also the practical problems of knowledge sharing among NGOs.

::Current knowledge-sharing concepts

The literature review in Chapter 2 revealed a trend of Knowledge Management in contemporary business, which describes an integrated practice focussed on "identifying, capturing, evaluating, retrieving, and sharing all of an enterprise's information assets" (Srikantaiah & Koenig, 2000, p. 2). The first generation of KM focussed on technical solutions, capturing, coding, and the transfer of existing knowledge (Firestone, 2003; Horton et al., 2011; McElroy, 2000, 2003; Du Plessis, 2007). The second generation KM transcended the technological aspects of KM in terms of capturing 'lessons learnt' and 'best practices', and focussed on 'enhancing capacities' of groups and individuals to create new knowledge to achieve goals (Horton et al., 2011). The third generation of KM transcended the creation of 'commercial knowledge' and went beyond business applications with primary focus on ethical, social innovation and development (Laszlo & Laszlo, 2002). This emerging policy paradigm of democratising knowledge, focussed on shaping economic strategies, social visions, and other projects, became known as the Knowledge-Based-Economy (KBE) (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006; Karahan, 2012; Kefela, 2010; Sabau, 2010; Sum & Jessop, 2013). The KBE described an economy focussing not only on labour and capital alone, but also on distribution and use of information and knowledge (OECD 1996).

The World Bank subsequently composed a Knowledge for Development (K4D) approach of policies and 'best practices' given that knowledge represents the source of a "nation's competences and capabilities that are deemed essential for economic growth, competitive advantage, human development, and quality of life" (Malhotra, 2003, p. 1). This approach intends to break the cycle of poverty for millions of people by leveraging unrealised intangible assets to create capabilities among the poor that

allows the poor to help themselves. The study of the World Bank termed 'Voices of the Poor', based on interviews with 60.000 people, revealed a preference of people for knowledge and opportunities over charity to fight poverty (Nath, 2000). The K4D framework identified four pillars, namely an educational skilled labour force, a modern and adequate Information Infrastructure, an effective innovation system, and a conductive economic and institutional regime, on which knowledge and its supporting policies should be built (Chen & Dahlman, 2005; World Bank, 2007).

The Asian Development Bank complemented the KBE model by the World Bank and produced a KBD and KPA model which extends its focus of knowledge use beyond simple economic capital, to social capital and natural capital (Asian Development Bank, 2007; World Bank, 2009).The KPA framework, however, is built on a broader concept of capital than the KBE and KBD frameworks. The KPA framework extends the knowledge capital discourse to a community level anti-poverty approach that re-evaluates the concept of assets, capital and poverty itself (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). It arises from the recognition that 'poor' communities have access to alternative sources of wealth that can be used to create tangible and intangible results (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008).

Arguably, an important contribution towards the creation of knowledge economies, both the KBE and KBD models are built on knowledge-based management and sustainable development. However, they do not fully cater to the perspectives of low-income economies (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008). KPA surpassed these frameworks and is built on a broader concept of 'capital', recognising that poorer communities have access to other sources of wealth. KPA extended the concept of knowledge capital and re-evaluated the concepts of assets, capital, and poverty itself (Talisayon & Suministrado, 2008).

These current approaches, however, appear unsatisfactory as they pay little attention to a deeper understanding of social aspects and community needs. Development approaches were presented in a definite 'what works' and 'what does not work' division without contextual circumstances (Torres, 2001) and were 'not learning from experience' (Bond & Hulme, 1999). These development approaches can be said to have remained within an expert culture, reinforcing elitist, ethnocentric, anthropocentric, and techno-centric designs and action plans (Hjorth, 2003; Hove, 2004). In essence, current sustainable development approaches appear recast, old modernisation approaches (Hove 2004), creating knowledge-traps when this knowledge is taken without understanding of the unknown, resulting in a knowledge loss and further underdevelopment (Madsen & Sesai, 2010; Menkhoff et al., 2011; Chen et al., 2010). A post-colonial approach would present a broader, more concerted

effort for development, flexible and focussed on the *process* of knowledge-sharing, and assessing the needs and capacities of included communities (Hjorth, 2003).

::KS4D Framework and Contribution

The KS4D framework of this study describes a process which enables NGOs to effectively share knowledge. The strength of this framework lies in a knowledge-sharing alternative which does not compromise or challenge an NGO's autonomy or independence. The KS4D framework is divided into four parts - Input, Process, Outcome, and Impact.

'Input' in KS4D describes the framework emphasis on the necessity of NGOs being aware of each other, and creating and taking part in a knowledge-sharing environment. A knowledge-sharing environment is a situation where NGOs can exchange information on an inter-personal level, going 'back to basics' and facilitating an information exchange via a gathering that is not dependent on ICT. This allows the formation of NGO knowledge clusters which will form sub-clusters of like-minded NGOs coming together, forming an overall 'meeting of the minds'.

'Process' in KS4D summarises the proposed knowledge-sharing steps for NGOs, divided into Socialisation, Dissemination and Integration, Combination, and Internalisation. KS4D process is a post-colonial driven approach which invites NGOs to absorb and assess each other's knowledge, integrating it into their current methods without compromising their independence or autonomy. This framework attempts to shift the focus away from centralised institutional governance modes, discussed in KBD and KPA, and explores a more decentralised approach that NGOs can explore to share knowledge. The process is cyclic and enables NGOs to acquire information without knowledge sharing barriers discussed in the literature (Ferguson, Huysman, & Soekijad, 2010; Hasnain & Jasimuddin, 2012; Kalling, 2003; Tasis, 2007).

'Outcome' in the KS4D framework summarises the new shared institutional logics from which NGOs will benefit, when engaging in knowledge sharing. NGOs would be able to extend their organisational boundaries, increasing their circle of concern. NGOs would further become aware of and comprehend strategies, processes, and routines, used by other NGOs. KS4D in essence would achieve a conglomeration of information, creating a shared knowledge pool, which NGOs can access and harness. The benefits of NGOs from KS4D further signal competence of their work among participating NGOs, possible beneficiaries, and possible sponsors of their project.

'Impact' in KS4D outlines a cascade of impacts that NGOs could have in their efforts to the BSP and the BIP. The impacts on the BSP are summarised as poverty

relief and poverty prevention. Poverty relief describes reduction of existing causes of poverty outlined in the BSP framework. Poverty prevention on the other hand describes the efforts of the NGOs to help people avoid traps leading into poverty. KS4D also theorises an ongoing collaborative work and ongoing situational learning environment among NGOs,, bridging knowledge-sharing problems assessed in the literature, and catering to perspectives of low-income economies and low-income institutions. Ultimately, NGOs form a mindset of inclusiveness and no longer perceive themselves alone in their work on the BSP.

What is new in this framework is that it addresses the shortcomings of both the literature and the conceptualisation of the Basic Institutional Problem found in the data. Specific problems in the literature, such as trust, knowledge ambiguities, and lack of absorptive capacities have been addressed by Hasnain and Jasimuddin (2012). This study further expands on situated learning proposed by Ferguson, Huysman, and Soekijad (2010), and expands this concept to an ongoing situational learning which addresses a concern of cross-organisational sharing and lack of ICT infrastructures (Maiers, Reynolds, & Haselkorn, 2005). KS4D essentially is a 'back to basics' approach, which addresses a functional complexity of poverty and of institutions within it and which is able to adjust to different levels of knowing and learning of NGOs. KS4D further promotes active engagement between NGOs, bringing commitment to lessons learnt and NGOs taking ownership of both benefits and impacts they create.

6.6. If there is a need to reconceptualise knowledge sharing, what benefits would NGOs gain from engaging with this knowledge-sharing approach to reduce poverty and what would be the impact of this reconceptualisation on NGO's poverty reduction work, both immediate and long term?::

The study found that from both the literature and the data analysis, knowledge sharing needed to be reconceptualised. The study also addressed the above question by assessing the immediate and long-term practical benefits for NGOs engaging in KS4D. Furthermore, the study addressed the impact that NGOs have on both poverty reduction and poverty prevention.

::Benefits of KS4D on NGOs

NGOs engaging in KS4D benefitted from new shared institutional logics. A proposed benefit was the extension of organisational boundaries for NGOs, enabling access to information on the 'bigger picture' of concern in which they operate. NGOs extending their organisational boundaries through KS4D increases the circle of concern

in which they operate. An increased circle of concern here translates into the realisation by NGOs that their concerns are no longer their own and enables institutions to act as support pillars for one another.

Awareness of strategies, processes, and routines by other NGOs proved invaluable information when an NGO undertakes a project for the first time or innovates on current actions. KS4D for those NGOs becomes relevant when obtaining advice from other NGOs about their approaches or experiences and lessons to avoid traps that could cost money, time, or credibility. Inter-NGO awareness of strategies, processes, and routines provided that environment for NGO collaboration.

KS4D further promoted a conglomeration of information, the formation of a large knowledge-pool, readily accessible to NGOs, addressing their knowledge needs. The conglomeration of information here describes a de-centralized shared knowledge pool in the form of documents collected or retained by members of an NGO. An important problem to address at this point is knowledge democratisation and NGO competition. Knowledge sharing among NGOs is beneficial, as long as it remains reciprocal.

The new shared institutional logics proposed in this section are not only useful in their own independent application, but also as a combined impression of NGOs signalling competence to both the beneficiaries and one another. Signalling competence via expanding an NGOs horizon of concern and engaging in collaboration sends a strong signal to other members or institutions within a network cluster or larger society. Signalling competence is important in NGO work, as, for NGOs this could result in the funding of projects. Much more fundamentally, however, signalling competence also has a strong psychological effect on the NGOs themselves, equating to being part of a larger body that engages and contributes towards the BSP, increasing their impact on both poverty reduction, and poverty prevention.

::Impacts on NGO poverty reduction

A cascade of impacts of KS4D on an NGO affects both their work on the BSP and the current identified differences among NGOs summarised in the BIP. The cascade of impacts on the BSP for NGOs is a greater impact on poverty relief and poverty prevention. Poverty relief aims at the reduction of existing problems outlined in the BSP. Poverty prevention sketches NGOs' efforts to help people to avoid being trapped in poverty by creating awareness of a problem and providing alternatives. The cascade of impacts on the BIP manifests in the ongoing collaborative work and the ongoing situational learning of the NGOs, creating bridges of cooperation. Furthermore, NGOs form a mindset of inclusiveness and no longer are alone in their work or in carrying

the burden of the BSP.

A proposed cascade of impacts that KS4D has on NGOs is the effect new strategies have on poverty relief. New learned logics or possible combinations of old and new discourses aid NGOs in dealing with their own projects more effectively, ultimately increasing their impact on a chosen part of the BSP. Poverty relief here can be interpreted in both a micro and macro perspective. For example, poverty relief can be an NGO's activities to enable 150 children attend school by paying their fees, or assisting an elderly couple to obtain food ration cards without bribing the acting officer to achieve this. These impacts are immediate and confront a current problem faced by a community. However, KS4D would not only impact an NGO's ability to relieve poverty, but further impact its ability to prevent poverty.

Poverty prevention describes the idea of a prophylaxis effect that an NGO's actions can have for people, either helping them to not lapse back into poverty, or to not fall into poverty traps. Following on from the example above, sending the 150 children to school enabled them to learn fundamental skills during the year and have access to a school meal provided by the government. Despite the problems of educational inequality discussed in the BSP, public schooling does provide a very elementary education, such as reading, writing, and math, useful for any future work environment. Vocational training given by NGOs further allows students to attain jobs and not lapse back into poverty.

::A Mindset of Ongoing Learning and Cooperation

A cascade of impact by NGOs can further be directed towards themselves. Shared knowledge and ongoing situational learning benefit an NGO's mindset, contributing to an attitude in which it perceives its operations in both a philosophical and practical *Dasein* (lit. translated: being). The previously discussed impact of KS4D on an NGO's efforts in poverty relief and poverty prevention serve as an affirmation for an NGO, validating its existence and being part of a movement larger than their own operations. It negates the feeling of loneliness in a cause and consequently, a mindset of shared responsibilities, successes, and burdens is forged. This addresses the need for cross organisational development cited by Maiers, Reynolds, and Haselkorn (2005), as a cascade of impact promoting an ongoing situated learning environment in which NGOs can mutually learn from one another without challenging one another's autonomy or independence.

6.7. Limitations::

Acknowledging limitations of a research study is a sensible first step in a good discussion, because discussion about it and knowledge of it are essential for understanding research findings (Ioannidis, 2007). The understanding of research findings is enhanced through their limitations, as it not only addresses potential errors in the study, but also places the work in a specific context, increasing its credibility (Ioannidis, 2005). Acknowledging limitations is not confined to theoretical concepts, methods, or generalisability, but is a process that is interpretive and subjective to a considerable extent (Ioannidis, 2007). To outline such limitations presents an important link to the interpretation and support of a study's credibility (Ioannidis, 2007).

This research has found two main limitations. First, the research is limited to the qualitative paradigm and second, it is confined to Tamil Nadu, India, a geographically limited field of research. Second, the data analysis revealed limitations in the interview data collected resulting in an unequal emphasis on the BSP and BIP.

The qualitative nature and the limit to a single state in India is one of the main limitations of this research. This limitation raises interesting questions with regards to how these theories can be underlined by numerical data, for example, the percentage of formal and informal NGOs, the numeric break downs of formal and informal NGOs, used to determine the main knowledge-sharing barrier within the BIP. Additional research into quantifying factors discovered within BSP and BIP would draw strong support for KS4D as an effective tool for NGOs.

This research is also limited in its field of inquiry to the state of Tamil Nadu. Despite the theories on the BSP, BIP, and KS4D, emergent from data collected from various sources within Tamil Nadu, additional questions arise as to their generalisability to NGOs in other Indian states. Testing and discussing these theories with NGOs in other states within India would provide clarity about the transferability and accuracy of the theories more generally, expanding and refining them. Additional data and insights of NGOs in states other than Tamil Nadu would further add to the refinement of the frameworks and allow for the adjusting of the practical understanding of the BSP and BIP theories, and fine-tune KS4D for NGOs in that environment.

The second main limitation of this research resides in the data-collection process, which revealed a stronger emphasis of interview-data collected, on the BSP than the BIP. The BSP addressed the elements which force people to live in poverty, while the BIP addressed an absence of a knowledge-sharing concept among NGOs due to structural and institutional differences. Additional questions arise about whether other elements or factors within structural and logics differences contribute to, or affect the

BIP. More interviews and more emphasis on the operations and co-operation among NGOs would provide useful insights to the refinement of the differences that prevent knowledge-sharing among them.

The insights of this study towards poverty are new with identified causes of poverty and the complexities and links between them expanding on the current knowledge of both a broader and more localised literature. The data revealed that the underlying causes of poverty in Tamil Nadu are strongly linked to inequalities of a social and systemic nature, rather than being economically driven. Based on the inequalities of poverty found in Tamil Nadu, this study conceptualised a framework called the Basic Social Problem (BSP) (see *Figure 5.2* on page 141). This BSP conceptualises poverty in terms of educational inequalities, social (non-gender) inequalities, gender-based social inequalities, and citizenship inequalities. The BSP was constructed based on the participants' voices, true to the post-colonial nature of this study and, it is argued, provides a more accurate understanding of poverty and underlining social problems than previously available in the local literature.

6.8. Chapter conclusion::

This chapter presented a discussion of the findings on this thesis in relation to the research aims and objectives, and the literatures reviewed in Chapter 2 and 3. The limitations of this thesis were also assessed and interesting questions for further research on KS4D raised. The discussion of the findings with regards to the aims and objectives of the thesis and reviewed literature allow for a summary of its theoretical and practical contributions to both knowledge and practice.

7

CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction::

This chapter is presents the originality and contribution of this thesis to both theory and practice of current poverty and knowledge management understandings. In practice, the application of the KS4D framework presents a viable alternative for NGOs to engage in knowledge sharing, based on a practical understanding of the BIP which NGOs face. The application of KS4D argues to benefit NGOs in acquiring new institutional logics and increasing their impact in their work to reduce poverty. This thesis' theoretical contribution resides in the expansion of current knowledge sharing approaches to poverty, as well as contributing a theoretical expansion of barriers inhibiting knowledge sharing among NGOs. This thesis will end in this chapter on a personal note.

7.2. Practical Contribution::

The application of the KS4D framework provides a practical contribution to NGOs to practically come together and share knowledge. Its 'Input' section, which is awareness among NGOs, is practically viable for NGOs, as it is built on current NGO practices. However, it expands on these insights by proposing smaller knowledge sub-clusters, which are both more viable and achievable. The application of 'Process' in KS4D, the actual knowledge sharing, is viable, as it addresses and attemps to bridge, barriers to knowledge-sharing discussed in contemporary literature. The 'Outcome' and 'Impact' section of KS4D describe practical benefits for NGOs, both in their organisational approaches and in their work to reduce poverty. KS4D embodies an approach, which addresses the functional complexities of poverty and of institutional differences among NGOs, able to adjust to different levels of knowing and learning. This is achieved in a way, which does not undermine or reduce an the independence of the NGOs involved, bridging practical barriers to knowledge-sharing among NGOs discussed in the literature by Hasnain and Jasimuddin (2012), and Tsasis (2007).

The application of KS4D is practically viable, because it has been conceptualised, based on an understanding of a BIP among NGOs in Tamil Nadu, emergent from the data. The understanding of the BIP also provides a practical understanding for NGOs to comprehend their differences in structure and institutional logics. The BIP framework provides a practical awareness of NGOs to those differences, which aids NGOs in their knowledge-sharing endeavours. It furthermore allows for an understanding to the differences in the operational (derived from structural and logics) possibilities among NGOs, which can be practically viable, when initial contact and co-operation starts, preventing discouragement.

The KS4D framework further contributes to practice in that it increases the impact of NGOs on their poverty-reduction work, affecting the BSP. The BSP in itself, however, is a practical contribution, as it presents an updated concept of poverty, one of lived experiences. Conceptualised of both overreaching and specific elements, the BSP forms the practical environment in which NGOs operate. It presents a concept of poverty as lived and experienced, describing the very practical problems that poor people face in daily life, instead of conceptualising overreaching problems alone. The BSP can be followed through and broken down to its dimensions according to the demands of its viewer.

7.3. Theoretical Contribution::

The KS4D framework expands on current knowledge-sharing approaches to development by having explored the concept from a post-colonial perspective. Criticism to current literatures on knowledge-sharing for poverty reduction frameworks is that they are not capturing a deeper understanding of social problems, but are presented in ways of 'what works' and 'what does not work' (Torres, 2001). The sections of KS4D - Input, Process, Outcome, Impact - have been composed primarily on the voices and concerns of the participants, and conceptualised based on my understanding and observations. In the literature, development approaches are currently characterised by 'not learning from experience' and are criticised of reinforcing elitist, ethnocentric, anthropocentric, and techno-centric development designs and actions (Bond & Hulme, 1999; Hjorth, 2003; Hove, 2004). The theoretical contribtion of KS4D framework is addressing these shortcoming of contemporary development approaches, and presenting a development approach, which is conceptualised on the experiences and knowledge of NGOs, which are active in poverty-reduction. The KS4D is designed to be sensitive to different starting points, transitions, and outcomes (McEwan, 2008). KS4D further expands on knowledge-for-development approaches by both the World Bank and Asian Development Bank in that it involves a much more specific framework, designed for NGOs involved in poverty reduction, which are major contributors to both the poverty-reduction and overall development efforts (Suharko, 2007).

The concept of BIP, upon which understanding the KS4D framework is constructed, expands on current understandings of the barriers to knowledge- sharing, which are addressed in the literature (Hasnain & Jasimudin 2012; Tsasis, 2007). However, current literature does not address the causes of those problems and not many specific suggestions to overcome those barriers. The BIP forms a theoretical contribution in that it outlines structural and institutional logics differences as fundamental barriers to knowledge-sharing among NGOs. The conceptualisation of those differences provides

both a theoretical and practical summary of an overreaching causes, which forms an underlying explanations to the knowledge-sharing problems faced by NGOs in the literature, expanding on it.

The BSP contributes to theory in that it expands on current theoretical understandings on poverty, expanding its dimensions and interrelationships. The BSP places its focus of on the lived experiences of poverty, and conceptialises these experiences into four categories - educational inequalities, social (non-gender) inequalities, gender-based social inequalities, and citizenship inequalities. The literature on poverty has been addressed by Sen (1999) as a lack of capacities, emphasising on social indicators as measurements of human development. However, the social indicators of poverty are criticised to be proxies for a quantitative philosophy applied to poverty, based on economic indicators (Fukida-Parr, 2012; Lipton, 1997; White, 1999; World Bank, 1990). Therefore, the thesis has moved to a poverty analysis of India and of Tamil Nadu, based on local literature. Whereas the analysis of the local literature provided insights into the poverty situation, based on social factors, in India and in Tamil Nadu, the literature predominantly examines the manifestations of poverty.

True to the post-colonial foundation of this thesis, the BSP is constructed and based on the participants' voices, and contributes to poverty-theory with a more accurate context of poverty as a lived experience and the underlining causes, expanding on the literature on poverty.

7.4. Chapter conclusion and a personal note::

This thesis sought to explore a post-colonial KS4D approach as a new alternative to current development theories and practices. It further attempted to generate theory on the possible impacts of knowledge-sharing as a means to reduce poverty and generating capabilities for the poor, with Tamil Nadu, India, being the field of inquiry of this thesis. This qualitative research was predominantly exploratory in nature, supported by explanatory and predictive descriptions. It was found that, based on the review of relevant literature and understanding of the data, that a post-colonial KS4D approach has not found considerations or applications among NGOs so far to reduce poverty. This conceptual framework was created on a practical understanding and its following conceptualisation of differences among NGOs in Tamil Nadu. This thesis argues that a KS4D approach positively impacts the work of NGOs to reduce poverty and conceptualised poverty into a new, flexible, framework.

This research brought up some interesting questions for further research, concerned with the generalisability of the models and their transferability to other Indian states.

To answer these questions, these theories and frameworks need to be tested against both an understanding of poverty and the structures and institutional logics of NGOs in those states. Further questions expand into the quantitative paradigm on the possibilities of being able to quantify either the BIP or dimensions in the BSP.

Poverty and inequalities have been, and remain, a reality for millions of people. I was fortunate to never have endured poverty, yet I consider myself equally fortunate to have been taught, and made aware of, poverty. Poverty deprives a person of his or her most vital emotions, the feelings of acceptance and belonging. This thesis is set out to contribute both to an understanding of poverty as a lived, real, experience and as a momentum for NGOs to work together in their seemingly impossible struggle. This thesis is not pretty, but attempted to answer some of the questions how ordinary low-income people negotiate their daily lives and how the many NGOs operate and utilise knowledge, in their aim of helping the poor to do so. I feel less helpless now when confronted with poverty; I have seen what can be done; how inexhaustible human will can be, to help others. A knowledge-sharing approach, as outlined in this thesis, hopes to contribute to the alleviation to one of the world's biggest problems, utilising one of India's core cultural values, that of sharing knowledge.

In the words of APJ Abdul Kalam (2003, p. 121), President of India between 2002 and 2007:

> *"India is essentially a land of knowledge and it must rediscover itself in that aspect. Once this rediscovery is done, it will not require much struggle to achieve the quality of life, strength and sovereignty of a developed nation."*

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Appendix 1:: Consent Form

Consent Form

Title of Project: Knowledge-sharing for socio-economic development: The case of public, private, and non-profit organisations in Tamil Nadu, India.

Investigators: Sten Langmann

Supervisors: Associate Professor David Pick, Associate Professor Fay Rola-Rubzen

You are of your own accord making a decision whether or not to participate in this research study. Your signature verifies that you have decided to participate in this study, having read and understood all the information accessible. Your signature also officially states that you have had adequate opportunity to discuss this study with the investigator and all your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

I, (the undersigned) _____

_____

Please PRINT

of _____

_____

City _____

Consent to involvement in this study and give my authorisation for any results from this study to be used in any research paper, on the understanding that confidentiality will be maintained. I comprehend that I may withdraw from the study at any time without discrimination. If so, I undertake to contact Sten Langmann (sten.langmann@gmail.com) at the earliest opportunity.

Signature _____   *Date* _____

I have explainesd to the subject the procedures of the study to which the subject has consented their involvement and have answered all questions. In my appraisal, the subject has voluntarily and intentionally given informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

Investigator: _____   Date: _____

Appendix 2:: Information Sheet

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT FOR PARTICIPANTS - INTERVIEW

Project

The impact of Knowledge for Development on socio-economic development: the case of private, public and non-profit organisations in Tamil Nadu, India.

Introduction

Thank you for participating in this interview. The aim of the thesis is to determine how knowledge sharing can impact on the ability of organisations in the reduction of poverty in Tamil Nadu. The thesis also seeks to generate theory about knowledge for development as a means of poverty reduction and generating capabilities and social uplift for the poor. The research aims to:

- To create an understanding of outside variables that might intervene in the theoretical perspectives of knowledge sharing

- To develop theoretical perspectives on approaches to effective knowledge sharing.

- To identify perceptual gaps that exist between local governments, enterprises, and NGOs

- To examine different ways of improving the effectiveness of for-profit, not-for-profit and local government policy and practice for poverty alleviation

- To explore current anti-poverty activities of local governments, enterprises, and NGOs and critically examine strengths and key points for improvement

The Curtin University Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at Curtin University of Technology has approved this study.

Your involvement in this project

The interview will contain open-ended questions that you can answer to your liking. It is guided by a loose agenda of questions, however aims to learn about points of interest and issues important to you. If at any time the questions or the study seems unclear to you, please ask for instructions and I will clarify your query before continuing the interview. The interview should not take longer than 25 minutes.

Your confidentiality guaranteed

Neither your name nor any information that could identify you will be included in this survey. You do not have to give any personal details at any time in interview. Information that would identify you or your organisation will not be used. The data collected will be stored at Curtin University as required by regulations. The anonymity of each participant are of highest priority.

Feedback before finalisation

This research is part of a PhD thesis. Findings from this survey could be presented at conferences or published in research articles.

Your choice and rights

You are free to withdraw from this research at any time without justification. Should you choose to withdraw, you have the right to withdraw any unprocessed data that you have supplied. Your participation is purely voluntary, and highly appreciated.

Further information

This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee. If needed, verification of approval can be obtained by either writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office for Research and Development, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning (08) 9266 2784.

Thank you very much for participating in this research.

Sten Langmann

mob.: +61 40 5911 797

email: sten.langmann@gmail.com

Curtin University supervisors:

Associate Professor David Pick

ph.: +61 8 9266 2705

email: david.pick@cbs.curtin.edu.au

Associate Professor Fay Rola-Rubzen

ph.: +61 8 9266 2212

email: f.rola-rubzen@curtin.edu.au

Appendix 3:: Interview Questions

Interview

Location:_____**(Code)**_____

Interviewee's Role:_____**//**_____

Thank you for participating in this interview!

What projects is your organisation currently involved in?			
Where are those projects located?			
What is the nature of those projects?			
Are there any main objectives that remain constant in each project?			
What are they?			
How do you make sure that they are considered in each project?			
Can you give a recent example of a successful project undertaken?			
What determined its success?			
What support did you have in this project? By whom?			
Can you give a recent example of an unsuccessful project undertaken?			
Why did it fail?			
What support would you have needed for success?			
Why did you not receive it?			
Do you have standing cooperation with other organisations?			
Are they public, private, NGO?			
In what way do your organisations cooperate?			
What are the future plans and projects for the organisation?			
What resources / partners are needed to achieve those plans?			
When do you hope to achieve them?			

Appendix 4:: Early Concept - Gender-Based Social Inequalities
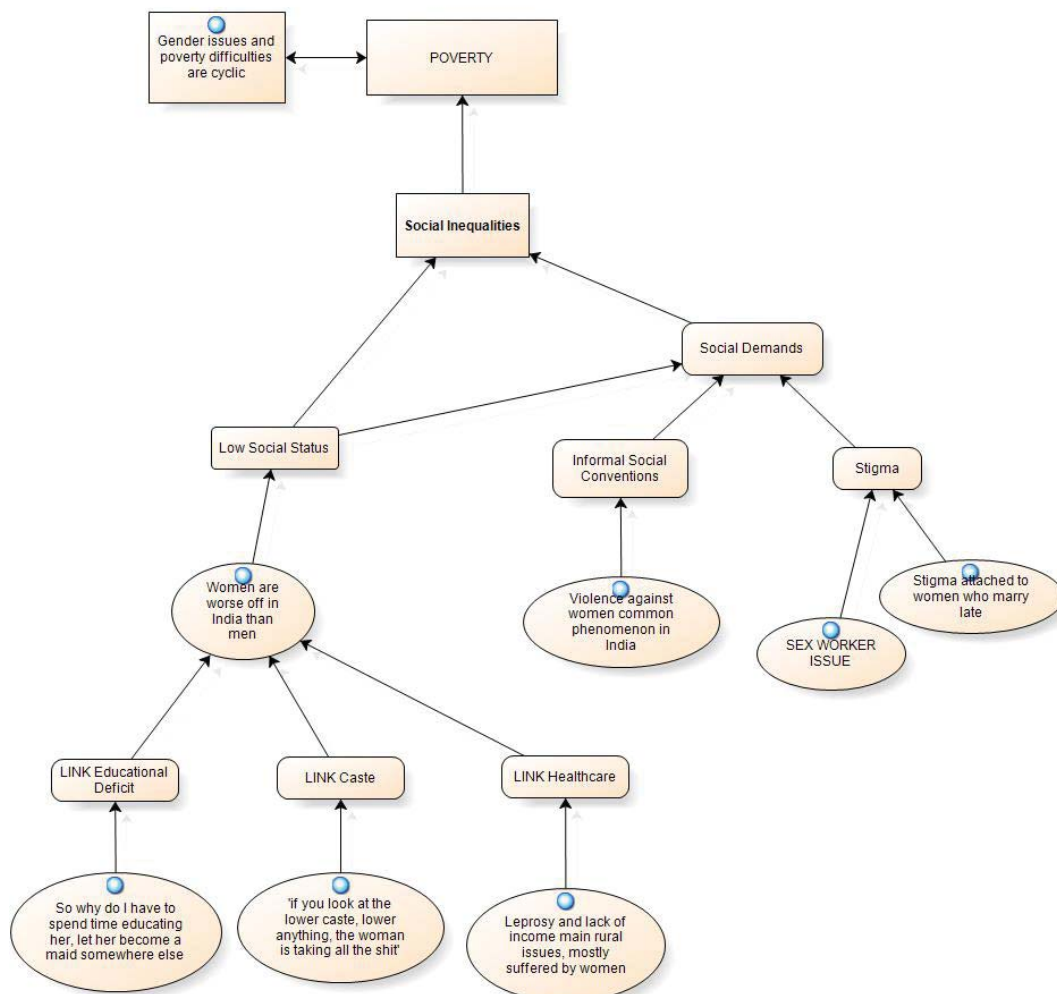
Appendix 5:: Initial Theming- Gender-Based Social Inequalities

therefore a woman who comes from poor income household is also from a low caste family, is also from a, say, a low literate

'if you look at the lower caste, lower anything, the woman is taking all the...

Responsibilities of rural women causes hypertention...

Rural women can't seek hospitals, because her responsibilit...

sex-selection at birth, female infanticide, or neglect of the girl child

Women have to walk for water to provide for whole family

Domestic abuse due do frustration

Women from poorer social backgrounds succumb to abuses

women most psychologically affected, then children, then men

shame has been used against women as a double-edged sword

'these women fight a real battle here'

Caste

Leprosy and lack of income main rural issues, mostly suffered by...

Healthcare

Section 497 of the Indian Penal Code ~which deals with adultery~ is currently under cr...

'Empowered though, women's status has not been any be...

Parent

Parent

Parent

Family abuse problems, mother-in-law problems, external affair problems. Also

Women are worse off in India than men

'they are also afraid to go, you know my mother wasn't educated, m...

Social mindset reason why larger amount of women are illiterate than men

LINK to other elements

Girls have trouble with menstruation in public schools

Education

So why do I have to spend time educating her, let her become a m...

Lack of women in education has social and cultural reason

girl students, their classes is only until substandard 5'

they all enroll female students but by the primary school completion they will get drop...

GENDER ISSUES

ILO deems women domestic work a global issue

Gender issues and poverty difficulties are cyclic

Gender Issues - Song

'more often than not it is also a lack of awarenes...

woman also faces the burden of good livelihood, good career options, low productivity skills, low income, and health'

Parent

differentiation of gender also becomes differentiation of power

Parent

Parent

Poorer women unaware of choices and options a...

Parent

Parent

Parent

'when they fall in love and run away with someone,...

'they exist, but again it's people like us who don't liste...

Lack of choice of protection abuse for sex workers

Women's conditions and opportunities improving.

'woman, if she comes from a low-caste family, sh...

'housing responsibilities in a low income househol...

Women in poverty face 'double burden'.

psychologically they are mentally unprepared, financially...

Poor women don't realise that there are options to fight supression

she faced a lot of general issues, because...

no, not many of them escape. It's like a whirlpool, once you get sucked into it you can'

Sex workers do the job to raise their children

Stigma to sex w

Example - girl taken to a new country, passport taken away and she has no choice

In a disaster, women and children are the most affected

remarriage rate higher among men

mentally ill woman is thrown out of her home, because she is...

'women are the backbone of the family'

remarraige rate low among women

Parent

Mentally disbaled children seen as a curse

Example -
Patriarchal
reasons for Delhi
gang rape

on the boys
ck on the
cause they
so frustrated
m their own li

Responsibilities and
work affect women
physically and
psychologically

they put on a
brave face, but
they are fighting a
real battle and
enduring a lot'

shame in the form
of moral sanction
has been an
effective tool that
the patriarchal s

e are many
s to the issue
violence
inst women.

O girls! Nobody
occupies their
upstairs. There is total
power cut up there.
They can rent out the
portion to ... and
bats.

Abuse not only
common in poorer
areas and
households

issue of violence
perpetrated on
domestic workers,
largely women,
remains mostly i

violence against
women surges
whenever the
patriarchal status
quo or the traditi

'These
are not
just our

Social mindset
emphasises on
woman getting
married to a
husband who is
the bread winner

Late
marriage
chosen
for fin

Parent

And what is the biggest
punishment for the
females of our species~ It
is to shame her through
sexual violation.

'I become the object of
sympathy in my
hometown for my 'yet
unmarried' status'

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Violence against
women common
phenomenon in
India

Stigma attached to
women who marry
late

Late marriage a
scandal in South
Indian
communities

'it's an illegal custom
and they practice it
on a regular level'

Child marriage
couched in
tradition.

Child marriage
not uncommon.

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parents, kids, and
officials on locaiton
confirmed child
marriages

parents say we don't have
proper security to you know
education and stuff, so you
don't know what to do with
the girls how to get them of...

SEX WORKER
ISSUE

Child marriage
age 16 to 17
yeras

x

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Parent

Sex workers
cheated into
profession

Sex workers are
told abuse is
part of their paid
job

ex workers
e client abuse
and torture

Sex workers
tempted by
higher income

Sex workers get
abused

Sex working
difficult to battle,
as to lack of
alternatives for
the women.

Sex workers are
not treated as
people by their
clients

Parent

Parent

attached
workers

'some are doing
it because they
have to feed
their family'

Sex worker
profession not
by choice mostly

Example - Sex
workers small
things can be
improved

Sex workers can
start at 16. Their
children are a
major concern

Sex workers no
fully aware of
STDs and
available care
and support

Rural women
have to work
and secure an
income

Sex workers are
not given a
choice of using
protection

Example - Sex
worker happy
someone would
just be her friend

Parent

Parent

Plantation
work is bodily
strain on
women

Rural women
40%
malnourished
and have
hypertension

Example - manmade
disaster affecting
women
psychologically

no discrimination
between earnings
of men and
women

'late marriages can
last longer when the
partners have
education and indep...