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Jihad Makhoul
University of Wollongong

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DEVELOPMENT FROM BELOW:

**An exploratory study of the concept and process of development
from lay people's point of view**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

Jihad Makhoul, BS, MPH.

Graduate School of Public Health

1999

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Jihad Makhoul

Abstract

This thesis introduces a new perspective on development in Lebanon, that of lay people in rural communities. Lay views have been missing from development literature and practice around the world. Development projects which emphasise economic development and infrastructure are often described by development professionals in terms of their achievements and tangible benefits. However, concerned researchers are dissatisfied with the outcomes of many development projects and their effects on people and their environments. The perspectives of the recipients of development projects is the topic of this research.

In Lebanon, funds for development projects during and after the recent war (1975-90) have stressed economic development and infrastructure. The governmental and non-governmental agencies carrying out these programs are driven by donor accountability and the need to apply for further funding. As a result, they have tended to overlook longer term social needs. A significant omission in official development reports are the views of project beneficiaries. It is this omission that this thesis seeks to remedy.

The study provides an ethnographic account of people's viewpoints on development in two typical rural villages in Lebanon. They are situated in Akkar which has received much development assistance over the past two decades. The ethnographic approach, similar to that used in anthropology, was used for its ability to uncover in-depth information using multi-methods of data collection. The thesis presents a detailed description of the layout and social organisation of the two villages. In many respects, these do not differ significantly from descriptions in the earlier literature which dates from the 19th century, although outside contacts, for employment, education and political activity are now more frequent.

Villagers were asked about their views of development, what they valued about their village and their experience of development projects. Their views were found to reflect their gender and position in the village hierarchy. The male leaders, who see themselves as initiators of development projects and use them to further their political ambitions, hold similar views to development professionals and use the same vocabulary. Other, less powerful men and the women hold different views, use different vocabulary and tend to talk more about the ill-effects of projects. The religious leaders espouse an

Islamic viewpoint which is similar in some ways to that of the women but their activities mirror those of the other male leaders.

No development project which has been undertaken in either village could be considered to have been successful. A detailed investigation of a water project in one of the villages shows why this is so. Lack of success has to do with factors internal to the village, as well as the project approach favoured by development agencies.

The findings indicate that there are gaps in development practice at both a state and development agency levels. Complex village social relationships, particularly internal and external power relationships, affect development projects and outcomes. These favour involvement of key male figures in development initiatives rather than all the community. Such issues point to the need for training in gender awareness and participatory approaches for the professionals as well as the need for equitable resource distribution at a country level. Although the research was limited to two villages in Akkar, the implications for practice and further research are nationwide.

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List of Abbreviations

CDR	Council for Development and Reconstruction
CDS	Central Directorate of Statistics
DPT	Diphtheria, Pertussis, Tetanus
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
GAD	Gender And Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
IRFED	<i>Institut de Recherches et de Formations en vue du Developpement</i>
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOSA	Ministry of Social Affairs
NGO	Non governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRA	Participatory Rapid Appraisal
SCF	Save the Children Federation
TBA	Traditional birth attendant
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women In Development
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Glossary of Arabic Terms

<i>abu</i>	the father of
<i>addawleh</i>	the state
<i>aili</i>	extended family
<i>ain</i>	water spring
<i>Al hamdillah</i>	Praise God
<i>aqdiyah</i>	small provinces
<i>baal</i>	non irrigated crops
<i>bir</i>	well
<i>burghul</i>	crushed wheat
<i>day'a</i>	colloquial Arabic term to mean village
<i>dibs rimman</i>	pomegranate molasses
<i>fellah</i>	peasant
<i>Fitr</i>	Muslim religious feast
<i>furn</i>	village bakery
<i>ghorb</i>	strangers
<i>haj</i>	pilgrimage
<i>harat</i>	neighbourhoods
<i>illet maddiyeh</i>	lack of financial resources
<i>islah</i>	reform
<i>kibar</i>	the big, refers to powerful individuals
<i>kishk</i>	Lebanese food made of yoghurt and crushed wheat
<i>lijni mahaliyyeh</i>	local community committee
<i>mahroumeh</i>	deprived
<i>makbas</i>	olive press
<i>min al dakhel</i>	from within
<i>mit'admeh</i>	advanced
<i>mittawrah</i>	developed
<i>moallem</i>	foreman, tradesmaster
<i>modarabeh</i>	competition
<i>mokhtar</i>	village mayor
<i>mouni</i>	foods prepared in summer and stored for winter
<i>msha</i>	village land
<i>nayib</i>	member of parliament
<i>nohood</i>	uplifting

<i>qariyeh</i>	formal Arabic term for village
<i>sab bittankeh</i>	manual construction labour
<i>saha</i>	village square
<i>sahel</i>	coastal plain
<i>saj</i>	hot metallic sphere for baking bread
<i>shabab</i>	young men
<i>shari'a</i>	Islamic law
<i>sheikh</i>	Muslim religious leader
<i>sighar</i>	the small, refers to powerless individuals
<i>sobhiyyeh</i>	morning visit
<i>sor'a</i>	stealing
<i>succar abyad</i>	white sugar
<i>ta'addom</i>	advancement
<i>tanmiyeh</i>	development induced by an agent
<i>tanmiyeh mostadimeh</i>	sustainable development
<i>tatawwor</i>	progress
<i>tayyarat mouakisi</i>	opposing currents
<i>to'od</i>	to sit
<i>um</i>	the mother of
<i>Ummah</i>	Islamic Community
<i>wajih</i>	<i>aili</i> leader
<i>waseet</i>	intermediary person
<i>wasta</i>	mediation
<i>wilayat</i>	provinces
<i>wili</i>	Muslim holy figure
<i>wojaha</i>	<i>aili</i> leaders
<i>wosoul</i>	access
<i>ynammi</i>	to develop
<i>zaim</i>	political leader
<i>zu'ama</i>	political leaders

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- Map 2 : Dar el Lawz
- Map 3 : Ain Zeitoun
- Map 4 : Hand drawn map of Dar el Lawz
- Map 5 : Hand drawn map of Ain Zeitoun

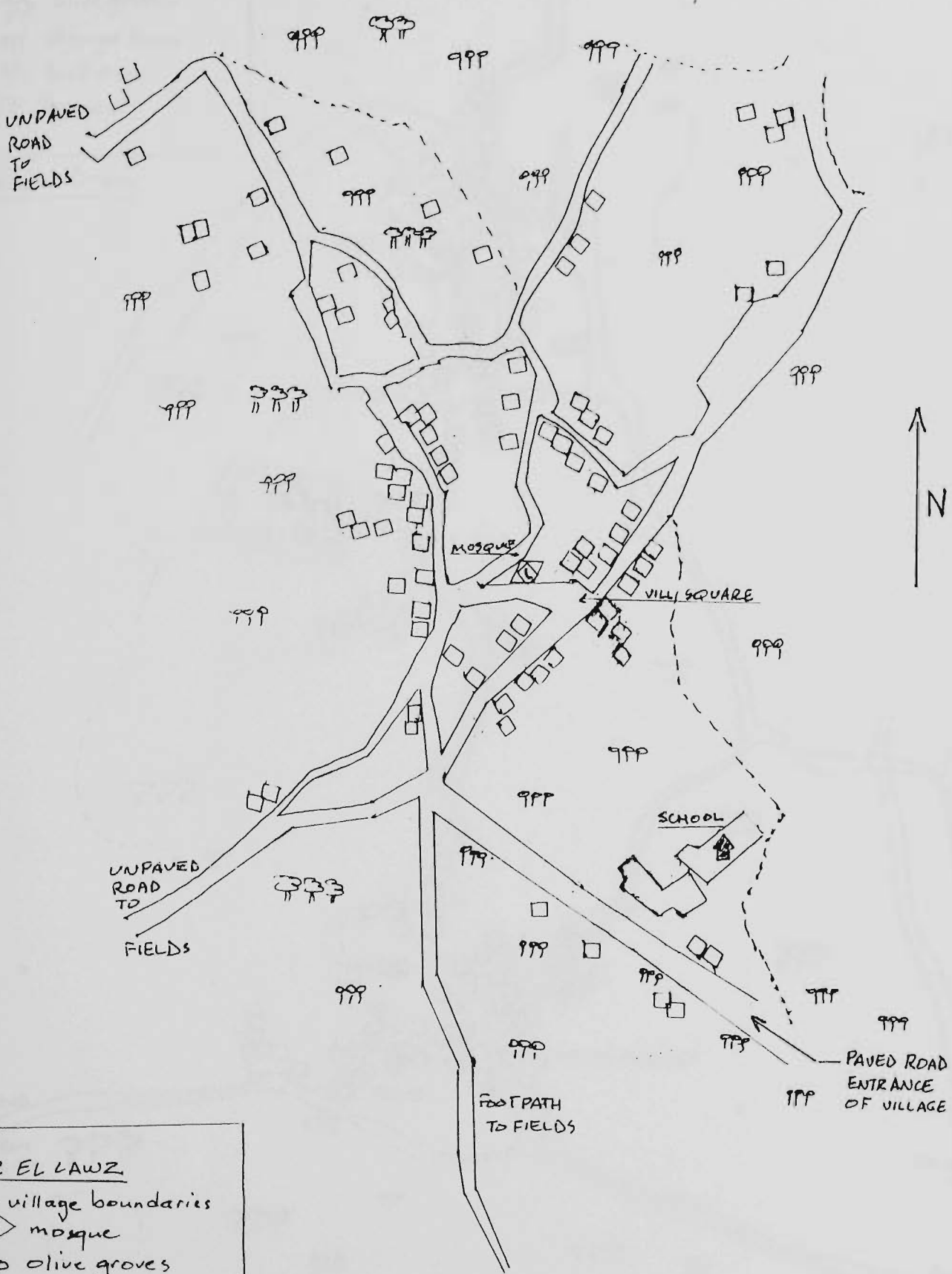
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please see print copy for image

Source : Salibi (1988)

Map 2



DAR EL LAWZ

- village boundaries
- ⬠ mosque
- 🌳 olive groves
- 🌰 almond groves
- houses

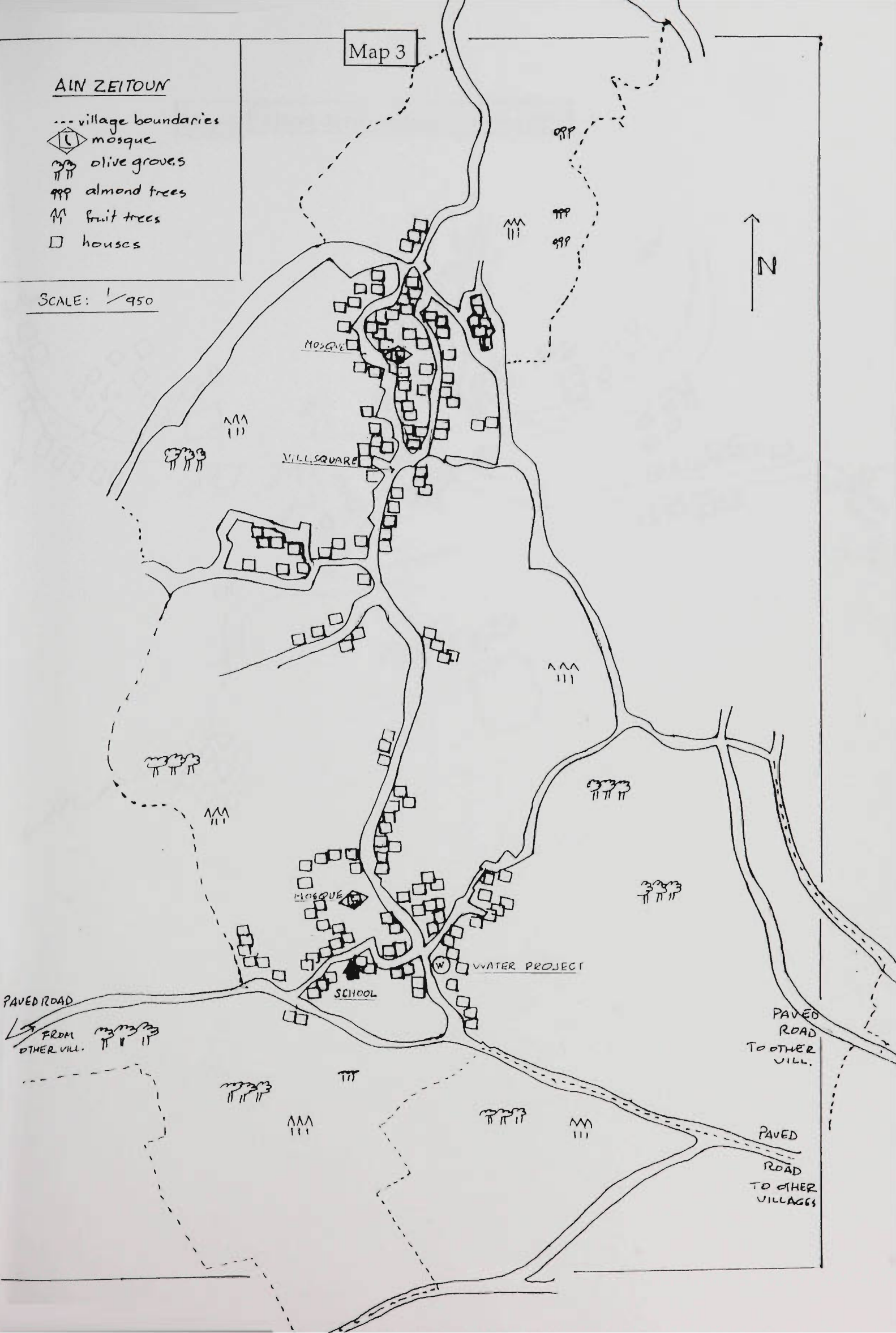
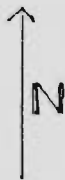
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Map 3

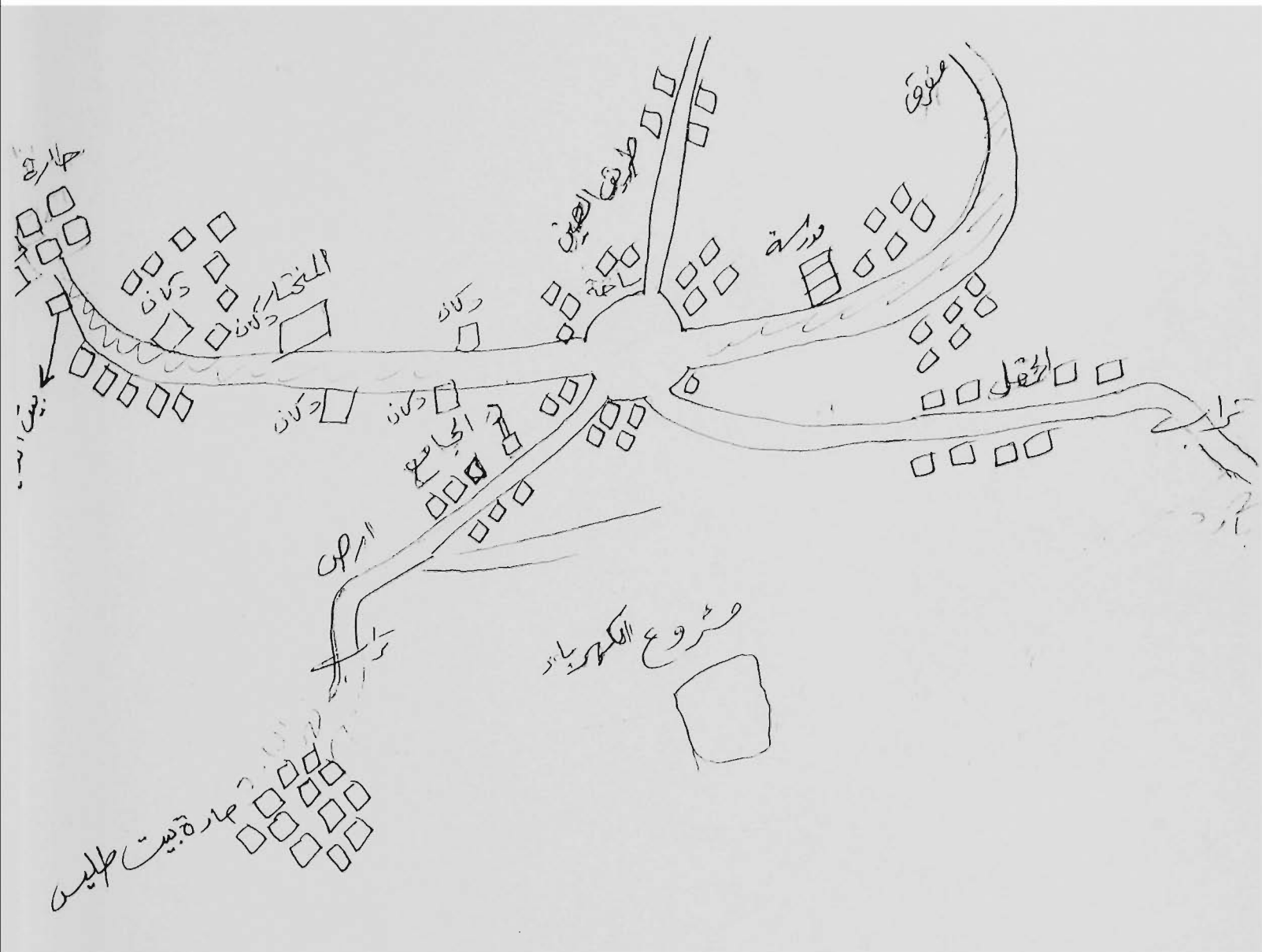
AIN ZEITOUN

- village boundaries
- ⬡ mosque
- 🌳 olive groves
- 🌰 almond trees
- 🌳 fruit trees
- houses

SCALE: 1/950



Map 4 Hand drawn map of Dar el Lawz



Map 5 Hand drawn map of Ain Zeitoun

