A Rethinking of Difference:

Doing Inclusivity, Intersectionality & Reflexivity in Discourse and Practice in the International Development NGO Sector.

Universiteit Utrecht

by

Rebecca Crosby

5870976

Gender Studies MA

Faculty of Humanities

Utrecht University

2017

University Supervisor: Layal Ftouni

Second Reader: Jamila Muscat

Author's Note & Acknowledgements

This research has been born out of my travel experiences across South Asia where I was confronted with complex notions of privilege and positionality. I felt compelled to negotiate my own identity alongside a plethora of differences in order to be respectful of cultures I knew nothing about. My passion for feminist transnational and cross-cultural studies was cemented after completing an internship at a Dutch-based gender and development NGO. Armed with the theoretical knowledge learnt during my Masters, I began to see ways of negotiating cultural boundaries by rethinking difference. At the same time, I realised how troublesome and difficult it is to put these theories into practice.

This research would not have been made possible without the guidance and support of my University Supervisor, Layal Ftouni. Thank you for your patience and invaluable advice that – after a few hiccups – enabled this research to be written.

To my parents – all four of them – for always being at the end of the phone for encouragement, enthusiasm and reassurance throughout my Masters journey.

To my peers, for creating that special safe space since the start of the academic year, the wine, the sushi, the shoulders offered to support and to comfort. Seeing you pursue you goals, armed with talent and self-belief, gave me the courage to pursue my own. They are friendships that will last a lifetime. For me, this year has been made complete because of you.

Finally to my partner, for all that he does and continues to do.

Contents

Introduction

The focus of this research will look at the strategy of inclusivity within a cross-cultural context of Western development non-governmental organisations (NGOs) geographically located in the 'global North', specifically the United Kingdom.[1] A cross-cultural context refers to NGO interaction between countries, nominally Northern-Southern NGO interaction (Claeyé and Jackson 2011, 860), whereby NGOs located in the Northern hemisphere (in this instance, Europe) work in the global South.

I define inclusivity in the NGO discursive context as the aim to not exclude an individual on the grounds of their identity, resulting in the practice of incorporating an additional category/ies of programme participants to existing structural frameworks. By practice I refer to the action and methods applied by NGOs, and by discourse I refer to the language and policy NGOs use to transpose their visions, aims and strategies to participants. I do not discuss inclusion in relation to NGOs that have the aim of enhancing a more inclusive society, for example, increasing the inclusion of women in political and governmental roles. Nor do I refer to inclusion with regards to the internal structure of NGOs to enhance the diversity of employees and partnerships. Rather, my focus on inclusivity refers to the ways NGOs value and implements an inclusive strategic approach to their cross-cultural work.

I will be conducting a comparative analysis on the inclusive strategies of three UK-based development NGOs: Womankind, Family for Every Child[2] and ChildHope UK. Each of the three NGOs are small-medium sized working within countries in the global South and have programmes that concentrate on supporting gender equality to varying degrees.

Womankind works in thirteen countries across Africa, Asia and Latin America to strengthen women's rights organisations facilitating the promotion of women's rights

[1] While I refer to Western development NGOs throughout my research, I do not intend to generalise and speak for these organisations in their entirety, rather I make this reference with regards to my analysis of interviews and reports of three UK-based NGOs that work cross-culturally, providing a minute snap-shot of the development NGO sector.
[2] To abbreviate the name, I henceforth refer to Family for Every Child as Family.

internationally. Womankind's discourse is cemented in the belief of women's entitlement to fundamental human rights including ending violence, economic rights and political participation. As apparent by the name of the organisation, Womankind has a gender-specific agenda whereby questions pertaining to inclusion of women could be deemed irrelevant due to their gender-orientated approach. In other words, men are often not visible within their programmes due to the specific agenda of the NGO as a women's organisation. Nevertheless, inclusion remains relevant when analysing Womankind's practice and discourse. In one example, Womankind's discourse on inclusivity works to include Dalit women in Nepal within programmes concerned with financial independence and women in government roles ('Nepal | Where We Work | Womankind' 2017). Therefore, Womankind claims to be doing inclusive projects by consciously involving individuals from identifiable social categories such as caste.

Family adopts an advocacy approach to influence decision-makers on a regional, national and global level 'to implement positive change to child protection policies' (Family for Every Child 2017). Family undertakes collaborative and participatory research, projects and initiatives covering the topics of foster care, education, and family strengthening. As detailed in their Strategy 2017 – 2020, Family claim to be doing inclusive projects by involving 'children with disabilities and other vulnerable and discriminated against groups' (Family for Every Child 2017, 27). As a result, Family's inclusive strategy involves adding groups and categories to programmes to avoid exclusion of children that have disabilities or who are from vulnerable groups.

ChildHope works in ten countries across South America, Africa and Asia focusing on children and young people who are facing extreme marginalisation in poor communities, addressing issues pertaining to child protection, education and violence. Some of ChildHope's programmes include the Girls' Education Challenge Fund in Ethiopia, trafficking in Nepal, and From Sexual Exploitation to Education in Uganda. Utilising partnerships and collaborations, ChildHope works to enable, as described in their 2016 Annual Report, ''hidden' children and young people with disabilities to become more visible' (ChildHope UK 2016, 3-4). ChildHope conducts inclusive projects through the inclusion of children with disabilities in programmes; therefore

ChildHope's inclusive discourse involves adding those labelled under a disability category.

My comparative analysis of the three NGOs will look at qualitative data obtained through three semi-structured interviews, as well as a critical discourse analysis of the NGOs' reports and website content. I will be looking at the interviews, reports and website content to critically assess and problematise inclusive NGO strategies and the ways NGOs claim to be doing inclusive projects. I will look at the ways practising reflexivity and intersectionality can help to overcome the challenges posed by inclusive strategies. My analysis will work to answer my research questions which are as follows:

1. How do NGOs define and strategically implement inclusivity in programmes and projects;
2. In what ways are NGOs reflexive through the dialogue of inclusion;
3. How can intersectionality help development NGOs think differently about inclusivity;
4. How can intersectionality be applied strategically and theoretically to NGO frameworks.

In answering my research questions I take on a methodological challenge that looks at the difficulties in adopting an inclusive discourse, and the repercussions of inclusion on the subjects with whom NGOs are working. In speaking about diversity and inclusion in institutions, Sara Ahmed argues that 'inclusions can be the concealment and thus extension of exclusion' (Ahmed 2012, 183). Therefore an inclusive strategy can be seen as inseparable from exclusion. I will look at the challenges of practising inclusivity, which includes its inherent exclusion of others.

My second question relates to NGO practice of reflexivity through the dialogue of inclusion. Reflexivity is a feminist theoretical process that involves 'reflection on self, process, and representation, and critically examining power relations' (Sultana 2007, 37). Within the NGO context, reflexivity refers to the ways NGOs operate responsibly and constructively within unequal power structures, particularly relevant to NGOs that work cross-culturally (de Jong 2009, 387). In an action research study within an ecology

research team partnering with NGOs to improve Mediterranean biodiversity, Coreau discusses the importance of reflexive strategic action to improve the effectiveness of NGO initiatives (Coreau 2017, 2). Reflexive strategic action is important in the NGO context to consolidate the ethics and effectiveness of research and programmes by critically assessing NGO practice and discourse. In other words, when NGOs have realised the failure of inclusive strategies, I will look whether reflexivity was incorporated by NGOs to change inclusive practice and discourse.

My third question relates to the ways intersectionality can help rethink inclusive strategies. Kimberlé Crenshaw first introduced the concept of intersectionality when critiquing discriminatory legal framework in the United States relating to the issues of violence against black women (Crenshaw 1991, 1266; Yuval-Davis 2006, 193). Crenshaw described intersectionality as a means to combat the treatment of identity categories such as race and gender within a negative framework of liberal discourse where 'social power works to exclude or marginalize those who different' (Crenshaw 1991, 1242). As a result, Crenshaw addressed the issues of universalising identity categories by highlighting the ways intersecting vectors, specifically race and gender, interact to shape multiple dimensions of experience and identity (Crenshaw 1991, 1244). Crenshaw's argument is reiterated by Ahmed who explains 'how we experience one category depends on how we inhabit others' (Ahmed 2012, 14). In theory, intersectionality can be seen as a way to rethink inclusivity by regarding vectors of difference and identity categories 'at the crossroads' rather than as additions (Puar 2013, 382). As a result, intersectionality speaks of the crossing of categories whereas inclusivity that treats identity categories as separate entities.

My final question looks at the ways intersectionality can be methodologically applied to NGO frameworks. Doing intersectionality involves the challenge of redefining difference outside identity categories such as race, sexuality, sex, gender, age, and so on. Grünenfelder and Schurr argue that discursive identity constructions standardise and universalise an individuals' identity and negatively affects the theoretical and strategic frameworks of development NGOs; their study shows how analysing local peoples' descriptions on the ways they perceive one another can be used to simultaneously complicate and account for identity categories in development programmes

(Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 783). Through an understanding of identities as constituted by mutually reinforcing factors, Grünenfelder and Schurr argue that development NGOs will benefit from an intersectional theoretical insight in their programmes, particularly utilising the participation of local communities and individuals (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 772). Ultimately, this paper will explore the relevance of intersectionality both in practice and in discourse of collaborative cross-cultural work in the NGO sector.

This topic is centred on the themes of transnational feminism, the politics of difference and the conduct of cross-cultural research. As de Jong argues in her article on the reflections of gender-orientated NGOs and their workers, this study is relevant with reference to the tensions and complexities of discourse and practice of Western, development NGOs that have been criticised for their colonial tendencies (de Jong 2009, 387). I will elaborate on a Western NGO colonial discourse in the next chapter with a focus on gender specificity. On a broader level, this paper seeks to look at the ways it could be possible to dismantle the Western, colonising discursive framework that characterises NGO practice and discourse by addressing issues of inclusive strategies and arguing for the importance of doing intersectionality and doing reflexivity in NGO cross-cultural work.

Chapter 1.

What does inclusivity, intersectionality and reflexivity mean in the context of NGO discourse and NGO practice?

The first chapter will elaborate on the theories of inclusivity, reflexivity and intersectionality within the NGO context. I will begin by looking at the ways NGO practice and NGO discourse can be seen as a reinforcement of cultural hegemony in relation to the concept of NGO-isation. By no means do I want to denounce NGO work, however I do intend to problematise it in relation to inclusive strategies. The second section will problematise the uses of Western terminology within NGO development discourse with a specific focus on women's programmes. The third section will focus on NGO encounters of cultural difference in the global South through categorisation processes. Finally, I will elaborate on the theories of intersectionality and reflexivity with a focus on Grünenfelder and Schurr's study, *Intersectionality – A Challenge for Development Research and Practice?* I will explore the relevance and methods of doing intersectionality both in practice and in discourse of cross-cultural work in the NGO development sector.

1.1 Cultural Hegemony: NGO Practice & NGO Discourse

An exponential growth of development NGOs[3] occurred during the mid-1980s and soon followed with the publication of a significant number of studies on NGOs, which is testament to their emergence as participating actors in development processes in parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Clarke 2006, 3; 1). Many NGOs describe their activities in terms of a development discourse, such as human rights, justice and

[3] Any discussion had on non-governmental organisations is complex due to their wide-ranging linkages with one another, with a variety of governmental bodies, with social movements, with transnational networks, and so on (Fisher 1997, 441), as such, the vast diversity of the NGO field should not be underestimated.

strengthening civil society; there are many local NGOs, organisations and communities that value the operation of international NGOs in terms of addressing these issues. For example, Clarke notes that in India and Bangladesh, NGOs are advocating a political focus to push through reform-orientated legislation in the areas of bonded labour and minimum wages (Clarke 2006, 6), thus NGOs offer the viable hope for civilians to secure employment and financial security. Similarly, some socio-economic roles of NGO work provide relief and rehabilitation to victims of natural disasters or wars. Therefore the presence and provision of assistance by NGOs is extremely relevant in certain contexts as they have the capacity to address particular material conditions that positively impacts people's lives. However, in his study on the politics of NGOs in Southeast Asia, Clarke emphasises the political impact of NGOs and their politicised discursive approach:

> '[f]irst, active attempts to influence the distribution of resources within the context of a given social meaning (ideology), and second, active attempts to influence social meaning and to help social groups to cohere. NGOs involved in relief and rehabilitation serve as an example of the first level of political engagement, while NGOs that attempts to influence other discourses centred, for example, on gender, ethnicity or sexual orientation, serve as examples of the second' (Clarke 2006, 6).

In this sense, the impact of NGOs can be seen within two distinctions: NGO practice and NGO discourse. NGO practice is responsive to local, material concerns, whereas NGO discourse incorporates the implementation of values, ideals and norms that are transposed to the communities where NGOs work, thus influencing 'social meaning' (Clarke 2006, 6). These two distinctions are by no means separate from the other, but intertwine in application and implementation, particularly as the provision of resources on proposed neutral or even apolitical grounds is, in fact, political as it cannot be detached from the social meanings or beliefs concerning aid, justice, and so forth, thereby NGO discourse informs NGO practice.

Consequently, while the work of international development NGOs is greatly valued by local organisations and communities in terms of addressing issues around rights,

justice, development, and relief aid, the discursive impact of NGOs can be described using the term NGO-isation. NGO-isation is a process resulting from neocolonial globalisation (Sheppard et al. 2009, 104) where NGOs represent a new kind of dependency on countries from the global North and stand as a form of neocolonialism towards countries from the global South (Jad 2004, 34). Neocolonialism labels European countries' continued economic, political and cultural relationships with their former colonial power enforcing continued control and influence ('Neocolonialism, N.' 2017). Postcolonial feminists have argued that although colonialism has formally ended, many aspects of globalisation are best understood as neocolonial practices. As Sally Scholz explains, this 'new style of colonialism impoverishes a culture by swamping society with Western values, products or ideals' (Scholz 2012, 139). Neocolonialism links with Eurocentrism, which refers to the ways that European epistemologies are placed in the centre whereby Europeans positioned themselves as the norm (Prakash 1994, 1489). As such, Western NGOs can be seen as implementing discursive practice, values, norms and ideals from a hierarchical, hegemonic standpoint reminiscent of the colonial era.

1.2 Women's Projects & Gender Specificity

I will now look at the ways certain terminology used by NGOs perpetuates a colonial discourse.[4] As discussed in the first section of this chapter, NGO discourse and NGO practice are inherently linked, as discourse informs practice:

> 'Development NGOs are normally hinged around an amalgam of different discourses that all provide rationales for the work, appear in writings and

[4] Power becomes visible through discourse, in the colonial setting this involved shaping a discourse through epistemological colonisation, altering the narrative of knowledge production, and changing how customs, traditions and history had previously been understood through the manipulation of gender to create Eurocentric relationships and institutions of power. See Lugones, *The Coloniality of Gender,* 2016.

contain points of reference to guide the numerous decisions and actions taken in NGOs' (Hilhorst 2001, 1).

A discussion relating to NGO practice is thus deemed superfluous without considering the discursive approach adopted by NGOs. The discursive repertoire of the NGOs discussed in this research is concerned with the language of gender. Using universalising terms such as 'woman' or 'Third World women' could be seen as maintaining a process of NGO-isation amongst Western NGOs (Mohanty 2006, xv). The Sangtin Collective[5] describe NGO-isation as the processes by which development ideology is reproduced 'through the articulation of *universalizing discourses* [my emphasis] of the modern state' (Nagar 2006, 146). The text is concerned with representations of 'Third World women' outside colonising frameworks of NGO practice. My emphasis of 'universalising discourses' links the ways Western NGO discourse is characterised by discourses relating to NGO-isation; those that are universalising, Eurocentric and neocolonial. Similarly, Lugones argues the term 'woman' amongst colonial communities not only introduced a relational binary of normalness and otherness[6] with regards to gender, but also is evidence of how gender was and is fundamental to establishing a language of Eurocentric power (Lugones 2016, 21).

Moreover, Mohanty criticises the reductive categorisation of the 'Third-World woman' as a 'singular monolithic object' in Western feminist scholarly texts (Mohanty 1988, 61). In other words, white women speak from their privileged position whereby the women they speak for are left silent. The production of knowledge on individuals/women from this part of the world homogenises and exploits identities ensuring they remain under monolithic 'object' status that is characterised by powerlessness (Mohanty 1988, 79). Mohanty's critique of the ways in which 'Third World Feminism' is being appropriated

[5] *Playing with Fire* details the journey of a group of academics and NGO workers employed by a large NGO in India (known collectively as Sangtin Yatra) who adopt a collaborative methodology to work against the processes of NGO-isation and the politics of knowledge production.
[6] A Western, Eurocentric framework posits a neutral, unmarked, reference category of 'self', which 'others' are measured against. Wekker discusses that 'dominant views make use of asymmetrical, hierarchical binary categories that enable the dominant gender and the dominant racial group to represent themselves as neutral, nongendered, and nonracialized/ethnicized. That is how issues connected to power are normalized and hidden from view' (Wekker 2016, 64). As a result, the unclassified 'norm' is representative of dominance within a Western, Eurocentric hierarchical framework.

in the context of white feminist theory is an analogy in which neocolonial, Western discursive frameworks on gender and development have been appropriated in the NGO context.

Importantly, in relation to the NGO context, Dogra examines how gendered representations are used by NGOs to portray specific notions of gendered identities. She argues that in the field of gender and development, the work of NGOs has been shaped by a particular discourse:

> 'WID [women in development] makes assumptions of modernisation theories to emphasise Western values [...] NGOs messages are still largely projecting WID, as seen in their choice of individual stories of women who are either seen solely as mothers and nurturers or as means to achieve developmental goals by taking up 'women's jobs'' (Dogra 2011, 341).

NGO dominant representations of women in the global South 'are contained within what is expected of 'Third World women' as a category' (Dogra 2011, 345); that is women who have needs and problems in relation to their gendered counterpart in the 'modern' West. In this way, the terms 'woman' and 'Third World Women' describe political subjects serving NGOs by projecting specific values in relation to 'Third World difference' resulting in an emphasis of Western values. Therefore, NGOs often use a narrow focus on 'woman' as a category in order to practice inclusive strategies, as informed by Western NGO discourse. While NGOs are valued within local communities, critiques on colonial terminology adopted by NGO discourse parallels the critique of Western NGO's importation of the supposed 'best practices' relating to justice, democracy and human rights, which can be seen as discursively colonising communities within developing countries resulting in a top down approach of neocolonialism. A further look into NGO discourse and NGO practice on inclusivity will follow to determine what inclusion means in practice, and the repercussions of inclusion on recipients of NGO programmes.

1.3 Encountering Cultural Difference: On NGO Inclusivity in the Global South

The underlying framework of Western NGO discourse, including their strategies and values, can determine the effectiveness of their work; one of these strategies is an inclusive approach that involves categorising difference. Inclusivity differs from the ways it is understood by NGOs and depends on the context in which it is applied, resulting in multifaceted interpretations of an inclusive discourse. As discussed in the previous section, much of Western development and gender NGO discourse has an underlying framework of neocolonialism. In her study on NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa, Kihika critique's the Western development NGO sector

> 'as a non-contextual system whose universalizing policies will not only not work because they are set from a distance and are hence locally inapplicable but will also not achieve development for all because its liberal rationale is fundamentally incompatible with the concept of inclusivity' (Kihika 2009, 785).

Kihika defines inclusivity as bridging social-economic inequality, thus liberal rationale refers to the tendency of social-economic policies formulated by one dominant regional experience and applied across the globe regardless of context (Kihika 2009, 783). Neoliberalism thus relates to neocolonialism as a way of 'swamping society[-ties] with Western values, products or ideals' (Scholz 2012, 139). In her argument, Kihika refers to a narrative of neoliberalism that has characterised development policies that adopt an inclusive approach. She argues that geographical distance and neoliberal discourse inhibits the application of inclusive strategies when working cross-culturally. In spite of NGOs practicing inclusiveness of otherwise excluded populations in response to former top-down NGO development initiatives, Kihika concludes that sub-Saharan Africa has not made much progress with regards to poverty reduction or development (Kihika 2009, 793) due to Western, neocolonial discursive approaches.

In looking at what inclusivity means in NGO practice, the application of an inclusive approach to NGO methods is a result of a particular paradigm of engagement, 'one

which encompasses historical contradictions and struggles over who and what counts as part of a ''global' community' (Gabay 2012, 66). In his study on the Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP) in relation to hegemony, inclusivity and legitimacy, Gabay describes inclusivity as a means of 'extending membership of a single community over distance'[7] to neocolonial programmes concerning development (Gabay 2012, 67). Gabay refers to a 'global community' that can be seen as a global civil society, an arena open to everyone, but at the same time acknowledges that this is unrealistic and impossible. Therefore, Gabay argues that Western development NGO strategies of inclusion

> 'can not be entirely all-encompassing but are more likely to clash, fuse, and rework each other in unpredictable, inclusionary and exclusionary ways' (Gabay 2012, 91).

In other words, oftentimes NGO programmes must make a decision regarding the potential participants that the programme aims to target; it is not materialistically possible, particularly for small to medium NGOs, to address everyone within a given community. Hence, NGOs narrow down their target users under umbrella categories such as girls up to a certain age, or single-mothers in a particular area, which homogenously[8] labels them under these terms; this can be identified as a form of strategic inclusivity.

Strategic inclusivity links to Spivak's notion of 'strategic positivist essentialism' that refers to the unification of marginalised groups on the basis of a shared cultural identity to represent and enable speaking positions (Spivak 2003). Strategic essentialism asserts that while strong difference may exist between group members, the risk of essentialism may be worth taking if it is framed from a dominant vantage point in pursuit of getting voices heard to achieve certain goals. Such an approach could be seen as being counter-hegemonic by not reinforcing oppressions and marginalisation's by 'strategically adhering to the essentialist notion of consciousness' (Spivak 2003, 229). Whilst Brah

[7] Distance here is understood along geographical, cultural, social and political axes.
[8] In the context of this paper, I use the adjective 'homogenous' to describe a group composed of elements or parts that are, or perceived as being, all the same or of a similar kind.

criticises strategic essentialism arguing that challenging one form of oppression through essentialising inherently leads to the reinforcement of another oppression, calling for a continued interrogation on essentialism in all its varieties (Brah 1996, 127), strategic essentialism enables new political identities through common affinities of cultural difference to mobilise their constituency and get their voices heard. Thereby NGO practice of strategic inclusivity can be seen as working with a similar form of essentialism by grouping individuals on the basis of shared identity categories.

On the other hand, Sara Ahmed problematises the application of strategic inclusivity on the basis that inclusivity results in a reinforcement of oppression and marginalisation through exclusion, arguing that

> '[t]he very idea that we are beyond race, that we can see beyond race, or that we are 'over race' is how racism is reproduced […] The reproduction of a category can happen at the moment in which it is imagined as overcome or undone. This is why the very promise of inclusion can be the concealment and thus extension of exclusion' (Ahmed 2012, 182-183).

Using the example of race, Ahmed argues that the essence of being 'over race' and therefore ignoring and essentialising race as an identity factor means that a category of race is replicated, thus a strategy of inclusion reproduces categories of difference that inherently results in the exclusion of others. NGO practice of inclusivity universalises an identity by labelling them within specific categories, this leads to essentialising, excluding and distorting an individuals' reality (Gordon 2008, 5). Therefore, NGO practice of inclusivity does not acknowledge difference outside identity categories that have been created within a Western discursive framework. As a result, the repercussion of an inclusive strategy often negates the positive intentions of NGO work by classifying individuals under homogenous categories that constructs inclusionary-exclusionary boundaries.

Consequently, frequently used categorisations need to be complicated by Western development NGOs and worked with in a more nuanced way. Going further than the inclusionary-exclusionary rhetoric, I would argue that the practice of NGO inclusivity

reinforces hierarchical power relations between a Western 'self' and oriental 'other'.[9] According to Yuval-Davis, categories are used in the construction of inclusionary-exclusion boundaries to differentiate 'self' and 'other', determining what is 'normal'[10] and what is not (Yuval-Davis 2006, 195). Difference has been understood in the world in terms of opposites, for example, black as non-white, woman as not-man, homosexual as non-heterosexual, the 'other' as not 'self,' and so on. In this way, 'difference' is conceived by Western NGOs as being deviant or 'other'. The task then is to critique homogenising Eurocentric categories in which subjects are assimilated and 'othered'. NGOs are encouraged to make a strategic and methodological change to inclusive practices to abandon 'sameness' thinking and think in terms of intersectional difference whereby multiple positioning's of an individual's identity are taken into account. In the next section I will look at the ways intersectionality as a theoretical framework that acknowledges difference (Young 1990, 11), can serve as an alternative to categorising difference outside an inclusive-exclusive rhetoric.

1.4 Beyond Eurocentrism: Theorising Intersectionality

As discussed above, inclusivity works by including and excluding individuals through a process of categorising difference. Conversely intersectionality is a theoretical approach that looks outside homogenous, arbitrary categories and looks at the ways intersecting social hierarchies and systems of oppression, such as race, class, sexuality, gender, mutually construct one another, shaping multiple dimensions of experience and identity (Crenshaw 1991, 1244; Collins 1998, 62). Intersectionality has made a key contribution to Black feminist scholarship, whereby an activist and theoretical discourse on 'difference' developed; Crenshaw's work has been adapted by other intersectional theorists such as Patricia Hill Collins (1998; 2002), Brah (2004) and Puar (2013). Brah and Phoenix define intersectionality as

[9] The othering framework builds on Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, which divides the world between the Western 'self' and the Eastern oriental 'other' (Said 1979; 1985).
[10] See Note 6.

> ‘denoting the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axes of differentiation – economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective, and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts’ (Brah and Phoenix 2004, 76).

Rather than understanding difference along a single axis (Pandey 2010, 62), intersectionality acknowledges that experience is multifaceted and identities are not a set of separate and fixed differences. Intersectionality thus moves beyond an inclusive approach; it is not concerned with adding categories to a framework. Rather intersectionality involves the decentring of a subject by looking outside homogenous categories and working with multiple subject positions.

However, there are limits to the practice of intersectionality as there is always going to be an intersection(s) missed out. Chang and Culp discuss the methodological confusion of practicing intersectionality and ask ‘how many intersections are there?’ (Nash 2008, 5). Additionally, Puar problematises intersectionality arguing that when gender and/or sexuality is considered to be normative and constant from which there are variants (Puar 2013, 373), for example, race suddenly becomes an addition category that is added to the framework. In such a way, ‘intersectionality always produces an Other, and that Other is always a Woman Of Color’ (Puar 2013, 374), which results in the same exclusionary pitfalls as an inclusive method. Puar reformulates intersectionality as crossroads of multiple factors rather than additions:

> ‘categories – race, gender, sexuality – are considered events, actions, and encounters, between bodies, rather than simply entities and attributes of subjects’ (Puar 2013, 382).

Intersectionality is a crossing of categories revealing what is ignored when categories such as gender, race and sexuality are seen as separate from one another.

1.4.1 Doing Intersectionality & Reflexivity

I will now analyse the methods and benefits of implementing intersectionality into NGO programmes as an alternative to an inclusive strategy. Grünenfelder and Schurr 's qualitative research concerning identity-based development claims incorporates an intersectional methodology. By analysing people's discursive identity accounts, they highlight that though

> 'development claims are frequently made on the basis of one identity category – such as villagers, women, migrants – these identities intersect in manifold ways with people's social and geographical position' (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 782).

The case study of Amda Bela village in north-west Pakistan illustrates how incorporating the ways individuals perceive one another can be used to simultaneously complicate and account for identity categories in development programmes (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 783). Importantly, the article shows how frequently used categorisations in the development NGO sector such as gender and class can be complicated and worked with in a more nuanced way by incorporating an intra-categorical approach. An intra-categorical approach takes a common group, such as 'women', and works to reveal the complexity of lived experience within that group to eventually redefine its boundary (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 773). In this way, homogenous categories are complicated and development NGOs would become attentive to the different identities and needs of different groups within different contexts.

Similarly, while Grünenfelder and Schurr acknowledge that there has been a lack of texts that provide detailed practical support to development NGOs on the method of implementing intersectionality they encourage

> 'everyone involved in development work to reflect on how [they] use categorisations in different phases of the project, for example, during fundraising and the identification of target groups in the field (Grünenfelder and Schurr

2015, 772; 773).

It is important that development NGOs working across cultural boundaries recognise that difference is by definition manifold and fluid and should be understood and guided by intersectionality. Such recognition can be enabled through the process of reflexivity. I would argue, like de Jong, that while reflexivity is a feminist theory most used in the context of academic knowledge production, reflexivity is relevant to the practices of development NGOs (de Jong 2009, 389). The link between reflexivity and NGO practice is further emphasised by Lynch's work on reflexivity within research on civil society; she claims that 'intentionality and ethical stance cannot be separated from the research procedures or results' (Lynch 2008, 711). Therefore, it becomes clear that ethical views, morals and norms of NGOs – also considered as NGO discourse – have an equally strong influence on the way NGOs conduct their methods and practices. Consequently, reflexivity is important to NGO practice of inclusive strategies to overcome challenges by rethinking discursive assumptions created within a Western, Eurocentric framework.

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge that a subject is able to take up and negotiate different positions and identities that are available to them within the limitations of their social discourse. In other words, no one can freely choose their identities, as they have to negotiate their identity within the social discursive parameters in which they are situated (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 773). Subjectivity is formed through situated knowledges and a dynamic of power relations, and therefore an understanding of difference depends on the situatedness of NGOs and the power relations involved in NGO work. An understanding and application of intersectionality in cross-cultural work requires a process of reflexivity to critique the ways that NGO discourse and NGO practice are framed within hegemonic and neocolonial conceptions of cultural organisation and categorical logic that constructs homogenous categories. In this way, an intersectional and reflexive approach provides a site from which to question and critique inclusive strategies of Western development NGOs.

The theory of collaboration works alongside an intersectional approach by creating a

space to learn from below and by a 'rethinking of difference through *connection and relationship* [my emphasis]' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 8). Grünenfelder and Schurr reiterate the benefits of collaboration in implementing intersectionality, arguing that

> 'an understanding of, and sensibility for, identities as constituted by mutually reinforcing factors is beneficial for those people who plan and implement development projects with the participation of communities and individuals' (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 722).

Hence, collaboration amongst Western NGOs and local stakeholders enable intersectional cross-cultural work through an engagement with local understandings of difference and diversity. Planning and implementing development programmes together with communities and local individuals is key to understanding intersecting vectors of difference whereby differences of the local population are better understood. Overall, the theories of intersectionality, reflexivity and collaboration provide a site for negotiating power and difference enabling an alternative framework for reimaging difference and ethically traversing cultural boundaries.

1.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have highlighted that while NGOs have valuable impact in local communities, NGO-isation critiques the discursive element and the top-down neocolonial approach of Western NGOs. The second section looked at the ways terminology used by NGOs perpetuates a colonial discourse, with a particular focus on universalising terms such as 'woman' and 'Third World women'. I then sought to problematise inclusivity in relation to NGO discourse and NGO practice. I determined that an inclusive strategy involves categorising difference, which creates an exclusionary dynamic. Whilst strategic inclusivity has been adopted by small-medium sized NGOs as a way to negotiate restrictions on resources, such an approach identifies and utilises homogenous, essentialist Eurocentric categories. Therefore, I argue for a

constant critical deconstruction of categories, as essentialism reinforces both stereotypes and exclusions. Finally, I argue that intersectionality can help development NGOs think differently about inclusivity. In doing intersectionality, Grünenfelder and Schurr suggest NGOs to explore axes of differentiation that people use to position themselves, thereby acknowledging new vectors of difference that have not been thought of beforehand (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 773). Methods to obtain this data could include interviews and group discussion, as well as utilising collaborations with individuals, groups and organisations situated locally. NGOs are thus encouraged to make a strategic change to their discursive and practical implementation of inclusivity through a process of reflexivity by acknowledging the ways power relations and positionality influence NGO discourse and NGO practice. The next chapter will look further as to why reflexivity and situatedness should be incorporated into NGO practice in order to enhance the effectiveness of Western NGO initiatives in order to operate responsibly within unequal power structures when working cross-culturally. I will also consider my own methodological and epistemological approaches highlighting how my own situatedness impacts the knowledge I produce.

Chapter 2.

Methodology & Method

This chapter will look at the importance of incorporating self-reflexivity throughout the research process to show the ways that my own situatedness informs the knowledge I produce. I shall link the process of reflexivity to the NGO context and highlight the ways that doing reflexivity is important for NGOs practising inclusivity. Secondly, I will explore the politics of location and my epistemological approach highlighting the impact this has on my research. Finally, I will explain the methods I have used to obtain my research material; I conducted interviews and a critical discourse analysis of reports and website content of three UK-based development NGOs. I shall discuss the benefits and drawbacks of the methods I utilised and how they have helped me answer my research questions.

2.1 'Siting' & Situatedness: Doing Reflexivity

Practising reflexivity throughout my research involves a process where I must recognise, examine, and understand how my biography and assumptions can intervene in the research process (Hesse-Biber 2013, 200). In other words, reflexivity must include the process of the way knowledge is produced, acknowledging how we are all embedded in power relations and positions of privilege. In her famous account of feminist standpoint theory, Harding advocates a 'strong reflexivity' that requires researchers to gaze back at their socially situated research project (Harding 1991, 163). Strong reflexivity links with Donna Haraway's feminist objectivity, or 'situated knowledges' which defines knowledge and truth as partial, situated, subjective, and power imbued (Haraway 1988). Haraway critiques the term reflexivity arguing it does not account for intersecting standpoints:

> ‘a reflexive methodology means using the mirror as a critical tool… A mirror image appears as a static entity, [whereas] diffraction is a much more dynamic and complex process’ (Haraway 1997, 268). Diffraction, Haraway explains, is the ‘production of different patterns in the world, not just of the same reflected’ (Haraway 1997, 268).

Therefore a process of diffraction accounts for the multiple, intersecting, and mobile standpoints of situatedness. Nevertheless, I would argue that reflexivity is an appropriate term recognising that all knowledge is implicated by the social conditions under which it is produced. Therefore, in practicing self-reflexivity throughout the research process, I recognise that I am a product of my environment and the power relations of society’s social structures and institutions within which I am embedded, which in turn implicates the knowledge I produce.

In a similar vein, Haraway describes the methodological principle of ‘siting’ that urges the researcher to reflect on their ‘embeddedness in a fabric of multiple, intersecting and mobile standpoints’ (Lykke 2010, 152). The principle of ‘siting’ and situated knowledge works from a Foucauldian perspective in which the truth is never absolute but always reproduced and historically coming about, therefore knowledge relates to situatedness and is never safe, authentic and detached from politics and power (Foucault 1982, 781). Productions of knowledge and the creation of popular discourse feed not only into the framework of power relations, but perpetuates the ways knowledge production functions through the existing language of power (Foucault 1982, 786). Therefore, as Western NGO practice is discursively implicated by neocolonial tendencies, those who are in positions of power often speak *for* individuals by essentialising and distorting identities.

Consequently, to enhance the legitimacy and ethical practice of their work, NGOs should incorporate a reflexive methodology when conducting cross-cultural research by focusing on ‘issues of ethics and positionality: the question of whose knowledge counts in impact assessment, and the situated nature of knowledge’ (Gaventa and McGee 2013, 20). Similarly de Jong argues that whilst development NGO discourse assumes that the world is an unequal place with structural injustices, particularly when working in the

global South, de Jong argues that the people working for organisations and the organisations themselves are embedded in the very same unequal structures (de Jong 2009, 391). As such a process of reflexivity should be incorporated to examine the unequal power structures of the NGO context thereby enhancing the ways NGOs operate responsibly and constructively within unequal power structures both internally and externally.

Additionally, Coreau discusses the importance of reflexive strategic action to improve the effectiveness of NGO initiatives in an action research study within an ecology research team partnering with NGOs to improve Mediterranean biodiversity (Coreau 2017, 2). Reflexive strategic action, Coreau describes, is reflexive because researchers are encouraged to reflect on their own practice; strategic to consolidate reflexivity in the NGO framework to enhance its effectiveness; and 'action' as reflexivity should be incorporated into real projects (Coreau 2017, 2). Coreau argues that reflexive strategic action is important in the NGO context to consolidate the ethics and effectiveness of research and programmes by critically assessing NGO practice and discourse. Similarly, Grünenfelder and Schurr encourage all those in development work to reflect and scrutinise how categories are used (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 772). Therefore, reflecting on inclusive discourse and inclusive methods enables NGOs to realise the potential failures of inclusive strategies, by acknowledging that inclusivity forms exclusionary boundaries through a homogenous categorisation process. Therefore I argue of the importance for myself to incorporate reflexivity into the research process of this paper, whilst at the same time emphasising the importance of applying reflexivity alongside inclusive agendas within NGO structures.

2.2 Positionality and the Politics of Location

In thinking about the possible implications to the research with regards to my own situatedness, I acknowledge my passion for gender equality coupled with the feminist theoretical knowledge learnt throughout my Masters course, together with my own

personal lived experiences as a woman, as a white woman, and as a white British female traveller in countries geographically located outside the 'West'. I acknowledge that I have been shaped by my situational context and in this way, understand the extent and the boundaries of my own vision. I engage with my research topic as a heterosexual, European, able-bodied woman whose knowledge has been produced within a Western, Eurocentric and hegemonic discourse, one that defines the 'self' in opposition to the 'other' (Said 1985, 93; 102). However, I do not define 'difference' along a binary framework in opposition to myself. Rather I work to engage with intersecting vectors of difference whereby an individual identity cannot be categorised on an inclusionary-exclusionary basis under one homogenous category. Hence I work from a postcolonial[11] epistemological approach that critiques the homogenising tendencies of Western feminism, and accounts for the ways racism and colonialism are still apparent in the postcolonial world (Crosby and Brinton Lykes 2017, 153). Therefore, a postcolonial perspective incorporates an interdisciplinary approach that accounts for plurality and deconstructs structures of power. While a postcolonial approach could be deemed disadvantageous as it can be seen as reinforcing a binary status by highlighting difference of the 'other', I believe it is important to acknowledge the binary in order to create new meanings of difference, one that is not defined by 'self' and 'other'. Therefore, I work to problematise universalising categorisations that are often utilised when NGOs practice inclusive strategies.

2.3 A Multi-Layered Methodology

The use of a multi-layered methodology works towards answering my research questions on the ways Western development NGOs understand inclusion and

[11] I understand that the use of a 'post' colonial epistemology can be problematic as a 'post' suggests that colonialism is a thing of the past and that society has 'moved on'. However, a postcolonial epistemology is relevant as I critique and analyse the potential colonial tendencies of the ways NGOs conduct cross-cultural work. Therefore, the prefix of 'post' is a way to affirm a relationship of proximity to what occurred in the past. In other words, the word 'post' colonialism cannot be comprehensible without making an intrinsic link to colonialism, as post colonialism originated from colonialism.

implement inclusive strategies in cross-cultural work. I have conducted qualitative feminist research methods in the form of formal, semi-structured Skype interviews with three staff members each from Womankind, Family, and ChildHope, as well as a critical discourse analysis of reports and website content produced by the NGOs whose staff members I interviewed. The findings of the data were analysed through a feminist theoretical lens applying theories that were discussed in the previous chapter.

Firstly, I conducted semi-structured interviews; I had a list of questions that I wanted to cover, however I was not concerned about the order of the questions nor was the agenda tightly determined (Hesse-Biber 2013, 187). Rather than a structured interview whereby I would have total control over the agenda, I wanted to ensure flexibility and opportunity for the participant to raise their own concerns. I used the interviews to gain insight on how NGO workers understand and strategically implement inclusivity; to determine whether reflexivity had been incorporated to identify potential challenges of an inclusive discourse; and whether intersectionality has been considered to help NGOs think about inclusivity differently. The interviews were essential to develop an enhanced understanding on the conduct of cross-cultural interactions and reflexive processes of NGOs.

To enhance the ethical dimension of the interviews and to break down hierarchical power relations that were at play during the interviews, I emailed each of my interviewees the interview transcripts for two main purposes, a) to cross-reference the data to ensure validity; and b) to give them the choice with regards to having any comments excluded from my research, accompanied by a valid reason as to why. Having received some resistance by NGOs during the initial planning stages of this research, I was sensitive about approaching small-medium NGOs and discussing their approaches, strategies and methods. I appreciated any concern had should comments be publicised about their organisation that they believed could negatively affect funding, support and reputation. I worked to negotiate this potential obstacle by giving them control and input into the data collection process. As well as emailing the interviewees the transcripts, I also asked for their feedback with regards to the way the interview was conducted (see Appendix V & VI). Moreover, alongside considerations to enhance the ethics of my research methods, I gained informed, signatory consent from each of the

participants (see Appendix I), one of whom wanted to remain anonymous.

Notably, it is important to acknowledge that subtle power shifts occur during interviewing situations affecting interview dynamics. Such affects must be acknowledged through a process of reflexivity, as Hesse-Biber explains,

> '[reflexivity] is a process whereby the researcher is sensitive to the important "situational" dynamics that exist between the researcher and the researched that can affect the creation of knowledge' (Hesse-Biber 2013, 201).

Therefore considerations of power relations and positionality are essential to ethical and feminist interviewing practice. I tried to negotiate this power dynamic by bridging the gap between feminist academic theories of inclusion and practical application of these theories by NGOs. I felt I was successful in achieving this, as rearticulated by Jill Healey, CEO of ChildHope who wrote in an email stating that I

> 'handled the interview very well, especially showing an understanding of the difference between academic analysis and day-to-day work, and the different terminologies or approaches we may use' (see Appendix VI).

As a result, I showed awareness of my position as the student interviewer, backed by an institution embedded in social relations and by concepts generated through academic practice. I understood that my situatedness held an imbalance of power during the interview process, particularly with regards to the interviewees' understanding of academic terms such as intersectionality and reflexivity.

My second method involved a critical discourse analysis of website content and reports produced by Womankind, Family and ChildHope. It is imperative to critically interrogate and analyse languages used by those involved in cross-cultural work as they have the capacity to reinforce essentialist and oppressive knowledges that do not consider intersectional elements. As Hesse-Biber explains, '[t]he subject position of the researcher inevitably influences which discourses receive greater attention and which ones may be disregarded; (Hesse-Biber 2013, 47). Norman Fairclough recognises

language and discourse as 'the form in which 'knowledge' is produced, distributed, and consumed' (Fairclough 2003, 204), which underpins Foucault's understanding that language and media are never neutral; instead they provide contexts where power is perpetuated and knowledges are produced (Foucault 1982, 786). As such, power is made visible through discourse, or as Minh-ha puts it, '[p]ower, as unveiled by numerous contemporary writings, has always inscribed itself in language' (Minh-Ha 2009, 52).

The inextricable link between language and power applies directly to my research question on how NGOs define and strategically implement inclusivity in programmes and projects. The need for unpacking the language produced by NGOs is elaborated by Fisher who notes how NGO discourse 'creates knowledge, defines sets of appropriate practices, and facilitates and encourages NGO behavior defined as appropriate' (Fisher 1997, 441-442). By analysing the language used in the reports and website content, I am able to answer my research question on the ways that NGOs apply terms, such as inclusivity, that informs NGO cross-cultural practice and discourse. In particular I look at the ways certain terminology used by NGOs perpetuates a colonial discourse**.** As de Jong argues, Western development NGOs have been criticised for their colonial tendencies in their discourse and practice (de Jong 2009, 387). In advocating a strategy of inclusivity, NGOs often use a narrow focus on 'woman' as a category in order to enforce an inclusive NGO practice. Discourse analysis is important here, as Dogra explains,

> 'Reflecting upon the construction of 'woman' within the development discourse is, hence, crucial to our understandings of ideologies, power balance and relationships' (Dogra 2011, 333).

In this way, discourse analysis is an approach that analyses language to observe cultural and societal influences on subjective experiences, (Hesse-Biber 2013, 46) such as the use of the universalising term 'woman' introduced within communities during colonialism (Lugones 2016, 21). Therefore, it is essential to problematise NGO terminology, such as 'woman' as a category that is used to enforce a strategy of inclusivity.

2.4 Conclusion

In working from a postcolonial perspective that incorporates an interdisciplinary approach, I advocate the requirement for NGOs to incorporate a process of reflexivity that acknowledges situatedness, power dynamics and hierarchical power relations in cross-cultural work. Whilst practising reflexivity contributes to the ethical conduct of cross-cultural work, by no means do I want to suggest that it eradicates the imbalance of power relations and unethical conduct that is present in every social relation. Nevertheless, I believe that by engaging with the process of reflexivity and acknowledging difference, NGOs working across cultural differences are capable in striving for more ethical research that works *with,* rather than *for,* individuals. Reflexivity is therefore essential in overcoming the limits of inclusivity by reflecting and scrutinising homogenous categories developed within a Western, colonial discourse. I discussed the methods I utilised in order to obtain my research material. I also described the ethical measures I introduced to the data collection process; I sought consent, feedback and opinion from each of my interview participants. Such efforts were important to reduce the hierarchical power relations between myself, as the researcher, and the three NGO representatives in order to enhance my feminist methodological approach. The next chapter will analyse interviews, reports and projects of Womankind, Family, and ChildHope. I will look at the challenges of applying an inclusive strategy followed by an analysis of whether reflexivity is incorporated as a means to overcome these challenges. I will then analyse the possible ways for development NGOs to practice intersectionality and collaboration in order to rethink inclusive strategies.

Chapter 3.

Analysing Inclusive Discourse and Practice within Womankind, Family for Every Child and ChildHope.

The final chapter will reflect theoretically on interviews, reports and projects of three UK-based development NGOs: Womankind, Family, and ChildHope. All three charities are small-medium sized organisations working in countries within the global South adopting a strong partnership approach with local organisations situated within the countries that they work. Womankind has a gender-specific agenda focusing on issues such as FGM (female genital mutilation), political rights and child marriage; Family adopts an advocacy approach to research and implement positive child protection policies; and ChildHope attend to issues regarding child sexual exploitation and education.

Firstly, I will analyse how NGOs define and implement inclusive strategies with a focus on the challenges that arise by looking at examples of NGO projects. Secondly, I will discuss the ways Western development NGOs practice strategic inclusivity out of practical necessity. Thirdly, I will look at the ways NGOs are reflexive through the dialogue of inclusion by acknowledging the impact of positionality and power relations alongside the failures of inclusive strategies. Finally, I will look at the ways doing intersectionality can overcome the challenges of inclusivity, with a focus on how intersectionality can be applied strategically and theoretically to NGO frameworks. Much of the response to exclusion from spheres that are seen as legitimising human rights, such as access to politics, education, and a supportive family structure, are followed by NGOs responding with an approach of reactionary inclusion. Therefore, Western NGOs are increasingly adopting strategies that involve inclusive frameworks to overcome injustices and human rights violations in the name of development. I will problematise an inclusive approach and examine the ways intersectionality can help rethink inclusive strategies using Womankind, Family and ChildHope as case studies.

3.1 Doing Inclusivity in NGO Discourse & NGO Practice

This section will look at the ways the Womankind, Family and ChildHope define and strategically implement inclusivity. As discussed in the first chapter, NGO practice and NGO discourse are inherently entwined as discourse informs the practice. I have identified five themes during the analysis of my research material, which I have separated into five sub-sections. I will therefore be looking at the ways NGOs are inclusive of gender, with reference to use of the term 'woman'; inclusive of caste; inclusive of 'key groups'; inclusive of disabilities; and inclusive of contextual issues. I felt it was necessary to structure this section as such, in order to highlight with clarity how NGOs define and strategically implement inclusivity.

3.1.1 Inclusive of Gender

From March 2013 – March 2017, ChildHope, working with partner organisation Organisation for Child Transformation and Development (CHADET), delivered a project as part of DFID's Girls' Education Challenge Fund; it is a project that works with Ethiopia's most marginalised girls encouraging them to enrol in and succeed in education (ChildHope UK 2016, 13-15). While there is nothing written in the report with regards to the exclusion of boys, during my interview with ChildHope CEO, Jill Healey, there is acknowledgement that due to an inclusive approach that focuses on girls,

> 'quite a lot of the boys, particularly the boys who are living in very poor conditions themselves, have become quite resentful of the focus on the girls' (Healey 2017) (see Appendix IV).

As a result of the programme that includes only girls and excludes boys from a number of its core activities (particularly material support to enable school attendance), resentment has built up by those excluded from the project that could be inadvertently and negatively affecting the lives of those in receipt of the aid provided. This example

links with Crenshaw who points out that 'ignoring difference within groups contributes to tension among groups' (Crenshaw 1991, 1242) and reflects the challenges posed when a programme is implemented on the basis of inclusion.

With regards to NGOs being inclusive of gender, I turn to the terminology used by NGOs that informs an inclusive practice, with reference to the term 'woman'. Having looked at the ways Womankind, Family and ChildHope use the term 'women'/'woman' particularly on their websites, there is no disclaimer or note to define the term, nor were clarifications made or requested in what was meant by 'woman' during the interviews. Mohanty argues that a universal notion of woman as a group has been constructed under the standardised social category of an average 'Third World woman' who has needs and problems in contrast to 'the self-representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions' (Mohanty 1988, 72). A binary is created between women who have needs and problems in comparison to women in the 'modern' West. Similarly, Lugones argues the introduction of the term 'woman' amongst colonial communities established a language of Eurocentric power (Lugones 2016, 21). Therefore, without questioning the term, NGOs subconsciously perpetuate a colonial discourse maintaining a process of NGO-isation (Mohanty 2006, xv) through the manipulation of gender to enforce Eurocentric categories within countries outside a Western discourse. Analysing the terminology used by NGOs is important as Dogra emphasises that

> '[r]eflecting upon the construction of 'woman' within the development discourse is, hence, crucial to our understandings of ideologies, power balance and relationships' (Dogra 2011, 333).

Hence a narrow and unquestioned focus on 'women' as a category by NGOs enforces an inclusive practice that has been informed by a Western, neocolonial discourse.

3.1.2 Inclusive of Caste

Research Manager at Family, Camilla Jones, speaks of the ways the organisation has incorporated an inclusive methodological approach to their research and projects:

> 'on the basis of gender and location, we've factored that in, but our research projects haven't necessarily gone into other kinds of issues like caste, because I guess you're looking at something a lot larger in scale than we could manage to be truly representative'[12] (Jones 2017) (see Appendix III).

Similarly, Womankind's discourse on inclusivity works to include, for example, Dalit women in Nepal ('Nepal | Where We Work | Womankind' 2017). As such, Family and Womankind claim to be doing inclusive projects by consciously including or excluding individuals from identifiable social categories such as caste. Inclusivity here is understood as the additions of categories to NGO programmes. With reference to the work of the Sangtin Collective, NGOs must address multiple social factors, such as caste, and connect them with other issues that constitute to ones experience, because '[a]ren't caste politics constantly twisted around and complicated by class- and place based circumstances?' (Nagar 2006, 27), this also applies other identity categories such as sexuality and race. Thus an inclusive approach distorts the experiences of individuals, as their identity is not understood as intersecting. As a result, when inclusion is understood as the addition of particular groups of categories, reduction of identity and experience occurs.

3.1.3 Inclusive of 'Key Groups'

During the interview, I ask how 'Family for Every Child would define inclusivity and intersectionality', which was followed by the response

[12] It is important to note that by ending the quote here, I do not assume that Camilla Jones, and Family for Every Child, believes the research they produce is representative. Quite the contrary as reiterated by Ms Jones, 'we certainly don't ever state that our research or consultations is representative' (Jones 2017).

> ‘we can't include all groups of children within each consultation but we do consider how to make the groups representative[13] and at least not excluding of key groups’ (Jones 2017).

Upon reflection, during the interview I feel I should have asked Ms Jones to clarify what she meant by ‘key groups’. However I think that the ‘key groups’ are defined in the organisation’s standards for consultation and research that reflects Ms Jones’ reply:

> ‘[w]e will work to include all groups of children whose views are of relevance to topic of consultations and research and will not exclude children on the grounds of age, disability or language, ethnicity, gender or religion’ (Family for Every Child 2012, 1).

Therefore, Family works to not exclude children from key groups relating to age, disability, ethnicity, gender and religion. Here ‘key groups’ could refer and incorporate each of the themes that I have identified, such as gender, caste, and disability. However I wanted to maintain ‘key groups’ as a separate sub-section to highlight the ways inclusivity is understood by Family. Additionally, by way of analysing the language used in the interview and document, the organisation’s understands inclusivity by targeting recipients under umbrella categories. I feel it is important to analyse the question that I posed in light of the response that was given; I ask how the organisation ‘defines inclusivity and intersectionality’. Incorporating both terms in my question could have affected the response given by Ms. Jones, which entwines understandings of inclusivity and intersectionality with no acknowledgement of distinction made between the two terms. Nevertheless, vectors of difference are treated as separate issues defined as ‘key groups’, rather than treated as interconnected, which can lead to an incomprehensive and limited understanding of a child’s experiences.

3.1.4 Inclusive of Disabilities

In a similar vein, in response to my question regarding the ways ChildHope is working to be more inclusive, Jill Healey says:

[13] See note above.

> 'by inclusive we mean a much stronger and *visible* presence of children and young people with disabilities[14] […] and also enable them to participate as much as possible in the work that the project is doing' (Healey 2017).

ChildHope's Annual Report for 2016 states that '[w]e aim to enable 'hidden' children and young people with disabilities to become more *visible* and for our projects to become more *accessible* to them' (ChildHope UK 2016, 4-5). In conducting a critical discourse analysis of the aforementioned statements in both the report and interview, I analyse the use of the words 'visible' and 'accessible'. Again, like inclusion, these words have been applied as a reactionary response to overcome the ways that children with disabilities have been made 'invisible' and projects have been 'inaccessible' to them. Such additional categories of the visible-invisible, accessible-inaccessible, construct inclusionary-exclusionary boundaries (Yuval-Davis 2006, 195). Rather than thinking in terms of these binaries, I would say that it is important to work with ideas that a child with a disability(ties) can simultaneously experience access and in-access; inclusion and exclusion; visibility and invisibility. Therefore, while it is essential for projects to incorporate children with disabilities, inclusion is not a question of visibility or access, but a question of analysing a child's own account of their identity to ensure that the project relates to their identity as a whole and not as being visible and having access to the project by being labelled under a 'disability' category.

3.1.5 Inclusive of Contextual Issues

In problematising inclusivity further, doing inclusivity in NGO discourse and NGO practice is context dependent. Policy and Programmes Officer at Womankind states that taking an inclusive approach is

> 'difficult because you're dealing with partners in lots of countries where, for example, homosexuality is illegal, homosexuality has a death penalty attached to

[14] 'Disability' is not defined by the organisation on their website or in their reports. Therefore, I interpret 'disability' as a condition that limits an individual's life with regards to mental, physical, or psychological wellbeing.

> it or an extremely long prison sentence. FGM, for example, is used in certain contexts as a cure for women's sexuality […] Most of our sub-Saharan African programmes in some way are responding to FGM but it has different societal norms depending on what country it's in […] You need to be able to adapt a programme to properly respond to that' (Undisclosed 2017) (see Appendix II).

Therefore, the practice of inclusivity is problematic due to the contextual circumstances and potential dangers that could affect the organisation as well as recipients of programmes. Womankind goes on to explain that they

> 'get reports sometimes that this organisation turns away women that are homosexual or cases that don't make it to court because there is a question of the sexuality of the client, and these sorts of things' (Undisclosed 2017).

Womankind details the challenges of enforcing an inclusive approach within countries where particular topics are sensitive, such as homosexuality and FGM. It is apparent that a strategic approach needs to be adopted in order to enhance the effectiveness of initiatives that are concerned with contextually sensitive topics. I would argue here that inclusivity is understood as incorporating individuals from particular social categories relating, in this instance, to sexuality and victims of FGM whereby a Western, neoliberal discourse is informing NGO practice. Linking back to her study of NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa, Kihika argues that Western development NGOs' 'liberal rationale is fundamentally incompatible with the concept of inclusivity' (Kihika 2009, 785). Womankind explain that in certain contexts FGM is seen as a cure to women's sexuality, whereas from a Western NGO perspective, FGM is a form of sexual violence that oppresses females and therefore needs to be stopped. This shows the ways NGOs attempt to influence social meaning and encourage social groups to cohere with Western values (Clarke 2006, 6) perpetuating a process of NGO-isation (Jad 2004, 34). Therefore inclusivity depends on contextual specificity. Challenges arise in applying inclusive strategies when NGOs do not incorporate contextual aspects and the discursive frameworks in which subjects are situated, which could result in endangering the subjects with whom NGOs work.

Overall, using the themes I have identified in the ways that NGOs are inclusive of gender, caste, 'key groups', disabilities and contextual issues, I have highlighted the ways that an inclusive strategy can have detrimental repercussions on the recipients of NGO inclusive programmes. Sara Ahmed argues that 'inclusions can be the concealment and thus extension of exclusion' (Ahmed 2012, 183); therefore an inclusive strategy is context dependent and inseparable from exclusion. In answering my research question by looking at the methods and challenges of an inclusive strategy, I have identified that an inclusive NGO practice and discourse can cause resentment amongst recipients who are being excluded; can distort and homogenise identities and experiences under essentialising and universalising categories such as 'woman'; can expose individuals to inherent dangers relevant to the context, such as homosexuality; and can perpetuate a process of NGO-isation that reproduces a colonial discourse. I now go on to look at the ways NGOs overcome these obstacles in in their practice of strategic inclusivity.

3.2 Strategic Inclusivity

This section will discuss the ways Western development NGOs, particularly of a small-medium size, practice strategic inclusivity. Gabay argues that NGO strategies of inclusion 'clash, fuse, and rework each other in unpredictable, inclusionary and exclusionary ways' (Gabay 2012, 91). Therefore NGOs are forced to make a decision with regards to the potential participants of a programme. Oftentimes it is not materialistically or feasibly possible to address all the individuals within a given community. Hence, NGOs narrow down their target recipients under umbrella categories such as girls who have been victim or will likely be victim to FGM, or girls in poorer areas not receiving education, or single-mothers in a particular area. Such an approach can be identified as strategic inclusivity. An example of this is the strategic inclusion of children with disabilities. Ms Healey of ChildHope defines inclusivity as

> ‘a much stronger and visible presence of children and young people with disabilities in the projects we're working in and that the services and the support that they get is appropriate to their situation’ (Healey 2017).

ChildHope incorporates the tactic of strategic inclusivity to mobilise and incorporate those deemed to be representative of a marginalised, minority group such as children with disabilities. In such a way, strategic inclusivity links with strategic essentialism, which works to mobilise marginalised groups on the basis of a shared affinity (Spivak 2003, 229). As such, the risk of essentialising the experiences of an individual, in this case, the experiences of a disabled child, is worth taking if it would be framed in pursuit of achieving certain goals and ultimately benefiting the marginalised group.

Furthermore, Ms Jones speaks of the necessity for Family to practice strategic inclusivity as

> ‘our research projects haven’t necessarily gone into other kinds of issues like caste, because you’re looking at something *a lot larger in scale* than we could manage […] [therefore] we can't include all groups of children within each consultation but we do consider […] at least not excluding of key groups’ (Jones 2017).

Family works to be inclusive of ‘key groups’ understood as not excluding on the grounds of ‘age, disability or language, ethnicity, gender or religion’ (Family for Every Child 2012, 1). Family highlights the ways inclusivity poses challenges and difficulties by applying a methodology that is void of being exclusive. Therefore, NGOs are confronted with the dilemma over who and what counts in their programmes. Where strategic essentialism enables identities through common affinities of cultural difference to mobilise their constituency and get their voices heard, NGO practice of strategic inclusivity can be seen as working with a similar form of essentialism by grouping individuals together on the basis of shared identity categories with the aim of improving their situation.

Additionally, Womankind discusses the practice of strategic inclusivity with regards to incorporating contextual specificity:

> 'We get reports sometimes that this organisation turns away women that are homosexual […] It's partly just down to capacity and the fact we tend to not hear about it until months after it's happened, that we haven't challenged openly this type of incident when it occurs' (Undisclosed 2017).

Womankind details an example in the way that they are forced to practice strategic inclusivity. When reports of homophobia occur amongst local partner organisations based in the countries in which they work, Womankind is unable to respond and challenge this form of discrimination due to the capacity of the organisation. As such the organisation attempts to work within these constraints by including individuals to whom they are able to offer their services such as those who are affected by FGM.

Each of the three NGOs mentioned have had to narrow-down their target groups due to practical necessity to fulfil their strategies, visions and objectives. In doing so they adopt strategically inclusive practice and discourse to expose marginalised individuals to basic human rights. On the other hand, Brah critiques all forms of essentialism arguing that by challenging one oppression in practicing strategic essentialism inherently leads the to another form of oppression (Brah 1996, 127). Similarly, strategic inclusivity is problematised further by Ahmed on the basis that it reinforces oppression and marginalisation of those who are excluded (Ahmed 2012, 182-183).

I have discussed the ways NGOs practice strategic inclusivity. The examples I have looked at in the ways that Womankind, Family and ChildHope practice strategic inclusivity highlights the limitations of an inclusive practice. Nevertheless, within the material constraints of donor funding and capacity, small-medium NGOs must work within these boundaries, and limit programme participants in a strategically inclusive manner. In doing so, NGOs use homogenous categories such as young girls not receiving education, children with disabilities, or single mothers from a particular area. As argued by Brah and Ahmed, such an approach excludes others and delimits identities and experiences under singular categories reinforcing oppression and marginalisation.

Intersecting elements of an individuals' identity are not acknowledged, as they are only understood within certain 'key groups' pertaining to race, disability, caste, gender, and so forth. Such frequently used categorisations or 'key groups' need to be complicated by Western development NGOs, which involves a process of reflexivity and a rethinking of difference. The next section will look at the ways NGOs are reflexive in the dialogue of inclusion to rethink and overcome the challenges posed by inclusive strategies.

3.3 Reflexivity within the Framework of Inclusivity

With regards to reflexivity through the inclusion question, I will now look at the ways NGOs have realised the failure of inclusive strategies and whether reflexivity has been incorporated to alter policies and strategies. Ms. Healey of ChildHope acknowledged that 'inclusion' was written in their strategy framework for 2012-2015, however nothing had been proactively done with regards to implementing an inclusive approach:

> 'we realised that we'd said that we were inclusive but actually we'd done pretty much nothing around people with disabilities, so we developed an approach as part of our strategy to actively be more inclusive of people with disabilities' (Healey 2017).

Ms Healey's statement mirrors what is written in the Annual Report for 2016:

> '[w]e recognise that the percentage of children with disabilities participating in our programmes is not representative of the number of these children in society […] It is a priority of the strategic period 2016-2020 to give additional time and resources to achieving this' (ChildHope UK 2016, 4-5).

To be inclusive of children with disabilities, ChildHope works to improve knowledge and understanding of issues relating to disability across the organisation (ChildHope UK 2016, 5). In such a way, ChildHope acknowledges the ways they are potentially

excluding individuals, and so incorporates a reflexive approach to their practice to redevelop inclusive strategies.

Furthermore, to overcome the issues of boys becoming resentful as a result of the Girls' Education Challenge Fund in Ethiopia described earlier, ChildHope will conduct a gender audit of the project, which involves looking

> 'at the whole programme with a gender lens and consider different aspects and the different situations that the girls are in, and how we might address them differently' (Healey 2017).

In analysing the language used here, I understand that the 'different aspects and the different situations' refer to the intersecting and interconnected vectors of difference understood not along a single axis (Pandey 2010, 62), but along a vertical and horizontal axis (Puar 2013, 382). As such 'different aspects and the different situations' could refer to an acknowledgement of the ways people are defined by their unique subjective experiences and identities. Thereby, it can be determined that ChildHope is incorporating reflexivity by rethinking their strategic approach that encompasses an intersectional and alternative way of thinking about difference outside additional categories as they acknowledge that all experiences and identities are unique to the individual.

In a similar vein, when I asked the interviewees for thoughts and feedback with regards to the interview, Ms Jones of Family responded by saying:

> 'It was a bit of a stream of consciousness interview on my part and very useful for me to *reflect* [my emphasis] on our work as an organisation and how we approach our primary research' (see Appendix V).

The interview enabled Ms Jones to participate in a process of reflexivity that encompassed 'reflection on self, process, and representation' (Sultana 2007, 37). Upon reflection, Ms Jones raised issues with regards to those that felt excluded in the participant groups within the organisation's research projects. An example was

described in the social protection research that focused on the Foster Child Grant system in South Africa, whereby foster carers and people providing kinship receive a stipend from the government (Family for Every Child 2016, 13). Ms Jones revealed that whilst encouraging gender balance and acknowledging gender differences,

> '[w]e had very few men actually providing that care in South Africa and one of the men who was a foster parent was almost dismissed by the women because he wasn't really seen as a competent carer, and he did highlight in the interviews, in the group discussion, that he feels somehow cut out of a lot of the support groups that are provided to foster parents because he's a man, and a lot of them were tailored to women's issues' (Jones 2017).

Even though the male was included into the research, he still felt 'cut out' and excluded. This is not to say that Family included female foster parents, which excluded male foster parents – that was not their methodological approach. Rather, the research that was facilitated by Family acknowledged the exclusion of male foster parents within South African support groups during our interview. However, this was not mentioned in the report produced on the research entitled, *Cash for Care: Making Social Protection Work for Children's Care and Well-Being* (Family for Every Child 2016). While the report addresses the care young people receive by government social protection programmes in Ghana, Rwanda and South Africa, upon reflection, it could be considered that this element of exclusion could have been incorporated into the report recommendations (Family for Every Child 2016, 13-16), to highlight to support groups in South Africa the need to cater to the interests of male, as well as female carers. Nevertheless, in acknowledging the exclusion of male foster parents within South African support groups, Family reflects on their discourse of incorporating gender difference and the ways this informs their practice of research.

With regards to their discursive approach, NGOs are forced to work within the constraints of the politics of funding to secure money and funding opportunities. NGOs are being increasingly pressured by donors to produce quantifiable reports based on qualitative data. In doing so, NGOs undergo a process of reflexivity within their

programmes in order to obtain quantifiable data. Womankind reveals the reality of the report-writing processes:

> 'it's a continuing frustration that we have here. Increasingly the donors just want to know 'have you done this, how many people', but it's not part of our strategy. Our strategy is to do with what is the change and the added value that we are actually bringing' (Undisclosed 2017).

Similarly, the Sangtin Collective identify that their work which involved 'changing the thinking of women' remains invisible for a long time, and its results appear in qualitative forms that cannot be easily measured' (Nagar 2006, 120). As a way to manoeuvre within the constraints of report writing, Womankind adopts a reflexive methodology referred to as the outcome star to ascertain attitudinal change. The method involves approaching a sample size of the individuals that a programme reached and would ask them to determine on a scale of one to ten, the level of impact a programme had on them, thus quantifiable figures are produced that can translate to donor requirements (*Undisclosed* 2017). Womankind incorporates reflexivity to operate responsibly and constructively within unequal power structures to negotiate the demands of donor funding requirements.

Additionally, Ms Healey stated that while 'in terms of the written rigour of report writing, that can be a major challenge' (Healey 2017). ChildHope works to act as a bridge between partner organisations and donors, particularly as partners are not always accustomed to particular donor requirements such as report writing because

> '[i]t's a very European approach and not necessarily something that people would be familiar with in the countries that we're working in' (Healey 2017).

Acknowledging that 'positionality and powers are just massive drivers in the aid and development world' (Healey 2017), ChildHope recognises the imposition of discursive frameworks on countries outside Europe, and therefore works to build bridges to negotiate these frameworks so partner organisations are compatible with the donor-funding process, ensuring requirements are fulfilled in order to receive material access

required for their sustainability. Reflexivity is therefore important to the ways NGOs acknowledge power relations involved in their work cross-culturally, as reiterated by Dogra:

> 'Given their rhetoric of empowerment and rights, INGOs must address the underlying issues of ideologies and power relations their messages reflect to bridge the incoherence between their aims and practices' (Dogra 2011, 346).

By negotiating the Western discursive framework of donor requirements and acknowledging that power relations and positionality influence NGO discourse and NGO practice, ChildHope and Womankind work strategically to overcome a Western discourse that insists on including quantifiable data, excluding the qualitative impact, to assess funding measures. Consequently, a process of reflexivity enables NGOs to enhance the coherence between NGO discourse and NGO practice. In this way, NGOs can be seen as adopted a strategically inclusive discourse to negotiate donor requirements and ensure the production of quantifiable reports in order to receive funding.

Throughout this section I have looked at the ways NGOs are reflexive, for example, in the ways ChildHope reflect on their strategies with regards to being inclusive of children with disabilities; on the ways programmes have been excluded boys in the Girls' Education Challenge Fund project; on the ways my interview enabled and encouraged Family to reflect on methods; and the ways ChildHope and Womankind reflect on the impact of their programmes to negotiate donor requirements. Overall, reflexivity enables NGOs to reflect on their discourse and practice by acknowledging positionality and power relations in order to think about difference outside additional categories. Consequently, the task is to critique homogenising Eurocentric categories whereby NGOs are encouraged to make a strategic and methodological change to their practice of inclusivity. The final section will look at the ways NGOs can rethink difference by avoiding an inclusionary-exclusionary discourse and utilising intersectionality and collaborative partnerships in their cross-cultural practice to reduce oppressive, essentialising and discriminatory practices.

3.4 From Bottom to Top: Cultural Negotiation and Rethinking Difference through Intersectionality and Collaboration

In the final section I want to argue that doing intersectionality will help development NGOs think differently about inclusivity, as such I will look at the practical and methodological ways intersectionality can be applied strategically and theoretically to NGO frameworks whilst emphasising the importance of collaborative methods. Intersectionality moves beyond inclsuivity as it looks outside homogenous categories, at a crossroads of unique and intersecting positions (Puar 2013, 382). Incorporating intersectionality is important to development NGO practice. In their analysis of people's discursive identity accounts in a village in north-west Pakistan, Grünenfelder and Schurr assert that while identity claims are made under one category such as 'woman', villager' or 'migrant', such identities intersect in multiple ways (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 782), which should be acknowledged by development NGOs to avoid a reproduction of Eurocentric categories that reinforces exclusions and essentialist stereotypes.

ChildHope can be seen as incorporating an element of intersectionality in their practice by analysing a diagram used in the organisation's approach to child protection, which is based on an ecological model of child development (Healey 2017). The diagram describes a complex network of interactions and relationships with family, friends, teachers and neighbours who offer a child protection. When these layers of protection have been stripped away, the child is left seriously at risk. ChildHope examines each layers of the network to build mechanisms that enable a child's access to support and protection (ChildHope UK 2017).

Diagram detailing the interactions and relationships that offer a child protection (ChildHope UK 2017).

During our interview, Ms Healey explains that the diagram

> 'puts the child in the centre and around them the different factors that affect them, so in a normal situation you would expect them to be supported by their families, but often in the cases that we work in, they've lost that support. The communities around them may not be able or willing to support them in the way that, again, you might expect that to happen. And then there's institutions; if they're not in school that's another issue' (Healey 2017).

I would state here ChildHope identifies intersectional elements within a child's life that constitutes their supportive and protective network in working with the idea that children experience multiple and intersecting relationships simultaneously. Where Puar describes intersectionality as a crossroads of events, actions and encounters (Puar

2013, 382), ChildHope has incorporated intersectional elements as layers of relationships and networks that a child experiences.

On the other hand there are difficulties in applying intersectionality predominantly due to its lack of clear method. Ms Jones of Family recognises the difficulties of applying an intersectional approach that 'covers all bases' (Jones 2017). A lack of clear methodology and no clear definition creates obstacles to effective intersectional NGO practice as Ms Jones admits that '[w]e [Family] haven't defined intersectionality as an organisation to my knowledge' (Jones 2017). Similarly, ChildHope admits that intersectionality 'isn't a term we use an awful lot in our work […] day to day we don't usually use academic terms as they can be quite inaccessible to the people we work with' (Healey 2017). Furthermore, though Womankind admits that intersectionality has

> 'not been one of our forefront priorities, and therefore we haven't pushed it, and it's something now we still have to make a decision on strategically', they acknowledge that 'intersectionality is incredibly important and incredibly important to women's rights development and women's equality' (Undisclosed 2017).

Admittedly, practising an intersectional strategic approach is difficult, but NGOs such as the examples of ChildHope show ways of incorporating an intersectional approach.

Conversely, inclusive strategies are adopted with reference to the language utilised by Womankind, Family and ChildHope such as the frequently used categorisations of 'woman' and 'child'. In practicing intersectionality Grünenfelder and Schurr show these terms and categorisations can be worked with in a more nuanced way; an intra-categorical approach takes a common group, such as 'women' and works to reveal the complexity of lived experience within that group, to eventually redefine its boundary (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 773). Thus, homogenous categorising and universalising terminology becomes complicated where NGOs are more attentive to the needs of individuals and unique experiences. Alongside an intra-categorical approach, development NGOs could explore the politics of identification from the perspective of the people and use how they position themselves thus NGOs develop an understanding

of difference. In other words, people identify themselves through categories of differentiation whereby such categories and vectors of difference may not have been acknowledged by NGOs (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 773). Methods utilised in order to achieve this involve interviews and group discussion as well as developing collaborations with individuals, groups and organisations situated locally in order to analyse the ways people position themselves.

In looking at the methods of doing intersectionality and incorporating different identities and experiences, collaboration and partnerships enhance the effectiveness of an intersectional approach (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 722). Practical application of intersectionality is achieved through collaboration using local knowledge to create a space to learn from below through connection and relationship (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 8). A mechanism adopted by Womankind when doing intersectionality is to consult and collaborate with partners

> 'to get an understanding from partners of what they understand as intersectionality and how they can go about being inclusive' (Undisclosed 2017).

In emphasising the value of local partners' understanding of difference enables Womankind to incorporate vectors of difference that are contextually appropriate and that may not have been thought of beforehand during the planning and preliminary stages of a programme. Development NGOs can work with its partner organisations to be contextually sensitive when applying an intersectional approach.

Likewise, Family and ChildHope works within a similar strategic and collaborative framework:

> '[l]ocal civil society organisations lead our network because we believe that they have a far stronger understanding of local realities than large international organisations (Jones 2017).

> 'We very strongly feel that the people who are experts are the people on the ground and we're trying to facilitate change by working closely with them' (Healey 2017).

In this way, 'methodology that centers and values the wisdom and knowledge of the local participants illustrates how *differences* [my emphasis] can be honored and incorporated into the process of cultivating power-sharing leadership' (Norsworthy and Kaschak 2011, 217). Grünenfelder and Schurr reiterate the value placed on local knowledge obtained through partnerships and collaborations:

> '[d]ebates about participatory methods, in particular participatory learning and action approaches, long ago drew our attention to the necessity of involving a range of different stakeholders, their knowledge, and abilities to generate consensus for the programming of development interventions (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 782).

Planning and implementing development programmes together with communities and locals is key to understanding intersecting vectors of identities; this understanding is at its most strong amongst local people whereby differences of the local population are better understood. Collaborations and partnerships enable NGO workers and the recipients to NGO programmes to incorporate an intersectional approach and enact a process of power from below by articulating an alternative framework of understanding difference rather than one that rearticulates differences within exclusionary repercussions of an inclusive discourse. Therefore, collaborations between local organisations and Western NGOs can lead to a more intersectional practice due to an enhanced understanding and incorporation of differences.

3.5 Conclusion

The final chapter has looked at the ways inclusivity is applied by Womankind, Family

and ChildHope framed within five themes, as well as the challenges that such an approach entails by reproducing inclusionary-exclusionary boundaries. While strategic inclusivity highlights the necessity for NGOs to practice inclsuivity using homogenous categories, I have emphasised the oppressive and marginalising affects of essentialising difference. Therefore, I argue that reflexivity is essential in NGO cross-cultural practice to rethink inclusive strategies and discursive approaches by acknowledging positionality and power relations. Finally I looked at the ways intersectionality can help development NGOs think differently about inclusivity as well as considering the ways intersectionality can be applied to NGO frameworks when working cross culturally by looking at the importance of intra-categorical difference and using locally sourced knowledge obtained through partnerships and collaborations. Western development NGOs are confronted with and encounter intersectional issues on a day-to-day basis. While a few examples were analysed with reference to doing intersectionality, my analysis of three NGOs shows that they have not yet fully mastered the conceptual definition and methodological practise of applying intersectionality within their strategic frameworks. In theory, intersectionality regards difference 'at the crossroads' incorporating multiple subject positions (Puar 2013, 382). However, doing intersectionality is a much more complex process that involves a detachment from a monolithic, dualistic and homogenous categorisation process by acknowledging multiple subject positions.

Concluding Remarks

In answering my research questions, I have determined that inclusivity is defined and implemented by the NGOs in this study on an inclusionary-exclusionary basis based on the understandings of difference as additional categories that are seen as separate from one another. Whilst there have been examples showing a consideration of multiple vectors that affect a person's experience, such as the manifold networks a child has as shown in the diagram utilised by ChildHope in their approach to child protection, oftentimes, recipients to the programmes I have looked at have not been considered for the ways they would define and situate themselves. Instead, they have been included on the basis of being defined under one homogenous category such as 'woman' or 'disabled child', diminishing their identity and experience in an essentialist and reductive way.

To rethink NGO discourse and strategy that informs their practice, NGOs should practice a process of reflexivity. I determine that Womankind, Family and ChildHope incorporate reflexive action to some extent. Womankind comment on the ways they reflect on the impact of their programmes, such as raising awareness of the health impacts of FGM, in order to obtain quantities data for reports to negotiate the donor funding requirements. Family reflected on the ways a man felt excluded from foster care support groups in South Africa, as well as reflecting on the methods of their work during our interview. ChildHope reflected on their strategy redevelopment and determined to be more inclusive of children with disabilities; they also professed to conduct a gender audit to the Girls' Education Challenge Fund in Ethiopia to be more attentive to contextual situations. However, reflexivity is not simply about reflecting on strategies and effectiveness of programmes, reflexivity is an integral dimension to Haraway's theorising of situated knowledges (Haraway 1988, 190). In the NGO context, reflexivity is concerned with acknowledging the ways situatedness and power relations impact cross-cultural interaction, particularly when work is directed from the global North to the global South (de Jong 2009, 387); thereby reflexivity is essential in keeping high ethical and moral standards, and to enhance the effectiveness of NGO initiatives (Coreau 2017, 2).

Furthermore, I agree with Mohanty when she states that 'Western feminist scholarship cannot avoid the challenge of situating itself' (Mohanty 1988, 63). Acknowledging positionality works to break down the hierarchical neocolonial dichotomy that often occurs between Western NGO structures and recipients to NGO programmes.

I argue that intersectionality can help development NGOs think differently about inclusivity by working with multiple positions, identities and subjective experiences in nuanced and complex ways. Rather than focusing on homogenous categories understood and developed from a Western discourse, NGOs can question and complicate these categories by taking an intra-categorical approach. An intra-categorical approach works to complicate commonly used categories to reveal the complexity of lived experience and identities (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 773). The method of applying an intra-categorical approach incorporates the ways individuals define themselves; such data can be compiled through interviews, focus groups and questionnaires. Additionally, an emphasis on collaboration to enable intersectional practice is emphasised by Grünenfelder and Schurr:

> '[a]n understanding of, and sensibility to, intersecting identities and the skills to analyse them is key to planning and implementing development projects together with communities and individuals' (Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015, 782).

A collaborative, intersectional strategy within NGO discourse provides a site for negotiating power and difference outside the Western, heteronormative discourse enabling an alternative framework for reimaging difference and ethically traversing cultural boundaries.

In analysing the interviews with Womankind, Family and ChildHope, I have come to the conclusion that intersectionality is a complicated theory to understand and apply into practice due to its lack of clear methodology. Therefore further research could be done to strengthen development NGOs' ability in doing intersectionality. A guidebook could be provided to Western development NGOs that explains the practice and methods of doing intersectionality.

In evaluating the cross-cultural practice of Womankind, Family and ChildHope through three interviews and discourse analysis of reports and website content, I by no means determine that the summaries and arguments I have made are conclusive and representative of the entirety of the Western and development NGO sector. Rather I provide a brief snapshot of three UK-based development NGOs to rethink inclusive approaches. I acknowledge the power dynamics present during the interviews I conducted. I worked to negotiate an unequal balance of power by allowing the participants to review the interview transcripts and offer feedback with regards to the conduct of the interviews, ensuring they have a participatory role in the conclusions made and knowledge produced during this research. Importantly, I acknowledge that my own situatedness and knowledge on feminist theory meant I was in an advantageous position during the interview with regards to understanding complex theories. Therefore I worked to bridge the gap between feminist academic theories of inclusion, intersectionality and reflexivity and practical application of these theories by NGOs.

Throughout this paper I have worked to problematise an inclusive approach often adopted by development NGOs that work on a reactionary inclusionary-exclusionary basis. As an alternative, I argue for the importance of NGOs to engage with intersecting vectors of difference to take account of multiple identities and experience rather than focusing on one dimension of social difference. I have worked to show the importance of reflexivity and strategic redevelopment of NGO cross-cultural practice to incorporate an intersectional, rather than inclusive, discursive approach. I argue that collaboratively working with partner organisations and locals on the ground enables NGOs to gain important contextual knowledge on the areas in which they work and with the people with whom they work. Ultimately, NGOs are encouraged to learn and produce knowledge from the ground up and adopt contextually appropriate strategies in order to combat neocolonial tendencies and embrace a rethinking of difference.

Word Count: 14,953

Bibliography

Ahmed, Sara. 2012. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Duke University Press.

'Approach | Family for Every Child'. 2017. Accessed June 30. http://www.familyforeverychild.org/what-we-do/approach/.

Brah, Avtar. 1996. *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. Psychology Press.

Brah, Avtar, and Ann Phoenix. 2004. 'Ain't I A Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality'. *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5 (3): 75–86.

ChildHope UK. 2016. 'ChildHope UK: Report and Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 December 2016'. London.

———. 2017. 'What We Do - Who We Help'. *Who We Help*. Accessed July 13. https://www.childhope.org.uk/what-we-do/who-we-help/.

Claeyé, F, and T Jackson. 2011. 'Cross-Cultural Management and NGO Capacity Building'. In *Leadership in Nonprofit Organizations: A Reference Handbook*, edited by Kathryn A. Agard, 859–70. California: Sage.

Clarke, Gerard. 2006. *The Politics of NGOs in Southeast Asia: Participation and Protest in the Philippines*. Routledge.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1998. 'It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation'. *Hypatia* 13 (3): 62–82.

———. 2002. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Routledge.

Coreau, Audrey. 2017. 'Reflexive Strategic Action to Consolidate a Research–NGO Partnership during Science–Policy Interactions'. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 1–9.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color'. *Stanford Law Review*, 1241–1299.

Crosby, Alison, and M Brinton Lykes. 2013. 'Feminist Practice of Action and Community Research'. In *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*, Second Edition. Second Edition. Sage Publications.

Dogra, Nandita. 2011. 'The Mixed Metaphor of "Third World Woman": Gendered Representations by International Development NGOs'. *Third World Quarterly* 32 (2): 333–48.

Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. Psychology Press.

Family for Every Child. 2012. 'Communications Toolkit: Standards for Consultation and Research with Children'.

———. 2016. 'Cash for Care: Making Social Protection Work for Children's Care and Well-Being'. London.

———. 2017. 'Together. Creating Change for Children: Our Strategy 2017 -2020'. London.

Fisher, William F. 1997. 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1): 439–64.

Foucault, Michel. 1982. 'The Subject and Power'. *Critical Inquiry* 8 (4): 777–795.

Gabay, Clive. 2012. *Civil Society and Global Poverty: Hegemony, Inclusivity, Legitimacy*. Routledge.

Gordon, Avery F. 2008. *Ghostly Matters : Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis, US: Univ Of Minnesota Press.

Grünenfelder, Julia, and Carolin Schurr. 2015. 'Intersectionality – A Challenge for Development Research and Practice?' *Development in Practice* 25 (6): 771–84.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson. 1992. 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference'. *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1): 6–23.

Haraway, Donna. 1988. 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective'. *Feminist Studies* 14 (3): 575–99.

———. 1997. *Modest- Witness@ Second- Millennium. FemaleMan- Meets- OncoMouse: Feminism and Technoscience*. Psychology Press.

Harding, Sandra. 1991. *Whose Knowledge: Whose Science: Thinking from Women's Lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Healey, Jill. 2017. Interview with CEO of ChildHope.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy. 2013. *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*. Sage Publications.

Hilhorst, Dorothea. 2001. 'The Power of Discourse: NGOs, Gender and National Democratic Politics'. *Asian Studies* 37 (1): 1–35.

Jad, Islah. 2004. 'The NGO-Isation of Arab Women's Movements'. *IDS Bulletin* 35 (4): 34–42.

Jones, Camilla. 2017. Interview with Research Manager at Family for Every Child.

Jong, Sara de. 2009. 'Constructive Complicity Enacted? The Reflections of Women NGO and IGO Workers on Their Practices'. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 30 (4): 387–402.

Kihika, Maureen. 2009. 'Development or Underdevelopment: The Case of Non-Governmental Organizations in Neoliberal Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 1 (3): 783–795.

Lugones, Maria. 2016. 'The Coloniality of Gender'. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development*, edited by Wendy Harcourt, 13–33. Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Lykke, Nina. 2010. *Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing*. Routledge.

Lynch, Cecelia. 2008. 'Reflexivity In Research on Civil Society: Constructivist Perspectives'. *International Studies Review* 10 (4): 708–721.

Minh-Ha, Trinh T. 2009. *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Indiana University Press.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 1988. 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses'. *Feminist Review* 30 (1): 61–88. doi:10.1057/fr.1988.42.

———. 2006. 'Introduction: Playing with Fire'. In *Playing with Fire: Feminist Thought and Activism Through Seven Lives in India*, edited by Richa Nagar. Univ Of Minnesota Press.

Nagar, Richa. 2006. *Playing with Fire: Feminist Thought and Activism Through Seven Lives in India*. University of Minnesota Press.

Nash, Jennifer C. 2008. 'Re-Thinking Intersectionality'. *Feminist Review*, no. 89: 1–15.

'Neocolonialism, N.' n.d. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/Entry/126019.

'Nepal | Where We Work | Womankind'. 2017. Accessed June 30. https://www.womankind.org.uk/where-we-work/nepal.

Norsworthy, Kathryn L., and Ellyn Kaschak. 2011. 'Introduction: Border Crossings: Feminist Activists and Peace Workers Collaborating across Cultures'. *Women & Therapy* 34 (3): 211–222.

Pandey, Gyanendra. 2010. 'Politics of Difference: Reflections on Dalit and African American Struggles'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 62–69.

Prakash, Gyan. 1994. 'Subatlern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism'. *The American Historical Review* 99 (5): 1475–1490.

Puar, Jasbir. 2013. '"I Would Rather Be a Cyborg than a Goddess": Intersectionality, Assemblage, and Affective Politics'. *Meritum, Revista de Direito Da Universidade FUMEC* 8 (2): 371–90.

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. London: Vintage.

———. 1985. 'Orientalism Reconsidered'. *Cultural Critique* 1: 89–107.

Scholz, Sally J. 2012. *Feminism: A Beginner's Guide*. Oneworld Publications.

Sheppard, E., P. Porter, D. Faust, and R. Nagar. 2009. *A World of DIfference: Encountering and Contesting Difference*. London: Guilford.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 2003. 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography'. In *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, edited by Jonathan D. Culler. Taylor & Francis.

Sultana, Farhana. 2007. 'Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research'. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 6 (3): 374–385.

Undisclosed. 2017. Interview with Policy and Programmes Officer at Womankind.

Wekker, Gloria. 2016. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. London: Duke University Press.

Young, I. M. 1990. *The Ideal of Community and the Politics of Difference. In. L. Nicholson (Ed.), Feminism/Postmodernism (Pp. 300–323)*. New York: Routledge.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. 'Intersectionality and Feminist Politics'. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3): 193–209.

Appendix I. Template of Interview Consent Form

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT & CONSENT FORM FOR ORAL RECORDINGS

NAME OF PROJECT: MA1 GENDER STUDIES THESIS MCMV16031

The purpose of this assignment and consent is to enable REBECCA CROSBY [author] to permanently retain and use the recorded recollections of the individual.

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by, and/or, being deposited with REBECCA CROSBY [author] consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988.

I hereby assign copyright to REBECCA CROSBY [author]. I understand that no payment is due to me for this assignment and consent. In assigning my copyright, I understand that I am giving REBECCA CROSBY [author] the right to use and make available the content of the recorded interview in the following ways:

- Use in schools, universities, colleges and other educational establishments, including use in a thesis, dissertation or similar research;
- Publication worldwide on the internet.

Do you want your name to be disclosed? [please highlight] YES/NO

Signed: …….. Date: ……..
(Print name): ……..
Email: ……..

Project-use only
Signed on behalf of [author]: ……..
(Print name): REBECCA CROSBY

Appendix II. Womankind Interview Transcript

Interviewee: *Undisclosed*

Occupation: Policy & Programmes Officer, Womankind

Interviewer: Rebecca Crosby

Date of Interview: 17-05-17

Length of Interview: 45 minutes, 49 seconds

Interviewer: So I'll begin by just asking what are your main responsibilities as a policy and programmes officer at Womankind?

Interviewee: Yeah, certainly, so the policy and programmes team, as it sounds from the description, works dually between our policy and influencing work and then on the other side, our programmatic work, which is our work with partner organisations in countries in different developing regions of the world, very often on specific programmes with specific partners that are for that specific context. We don't do many programmes that cross many countries, but we do have our mission values and principles that all of our programmes come within. So I basically do a lot of, what you'd call, the administrative and communications management of programmes. I have been very fortunate in my time here to actually be almost exclusively managing a programme, that we have funding from a big donor, to develop, and I have been to see the partners out in country, in Tanzania and Kenya, and that was an incredibly valuable experience for understanding how the programme works on a very practical level as opposed to on paper, which developed people here, in Europe, often get a bit too caught up in. Then on the other side I help out quite a bit with basic communications, supporting Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, because of course all organisations now need a really hyperactive social media. And then I have been supporting in a couple of policy documents and briefs and I have attended quite a few events related to different policy issues that could affect NGOs here in the UK. Something that I can talk about is, I recently went to a forum that was launching a report by the LSE [London School of Economics] on gender and changing issues that women face. Over 200 women were interviewed and it was really interesting to go to that sort of forum and be able to talk to so many different people who had been a part of that research, and the different perspectives that come out of research like that, which as a small NGO, we can't afford to invest in research on that scale. So it's also teaching us what we can take back and hopefully support ourselves and how we develop in going forward.

Interviewer: Okay brilliant, that's given me a clearer understanding of the responsibilities and roles that you have. What sort of impact and responsibilities do you have with the policy and programmes themselves?

Could you explain to me a bit more about your duties?

Interviewee: Sure, I think this is where the pairing of policy and programmes can get confusing. So our policy, which is Womankind, is for our influencing here in the UK, and particularly the influencing of donors, to get donor support of governments, to get government support – I can't say much more about that right now unfortunately – and of supporters, of the UK general public, to make them aware of these issues. We'll have a programme in a specific country or region and it will have certain aims and goals, and our policy and influencing work is about how we get people here in the UK, and slightly more broadly in Europe, though we don't do very much policy work in the wider European context, more second-hand information sharing. So that's how our policy happens I suppose, that's how it's implemented at that level. On the programme side it is up to our partners, mostly up to our partners in their countries, to determine their own policy, we don't influence their policy.

Interviewer: Okay, so with regards to your communication with the partner organisations, have you been confronted with any obstacles or difficulties when you are liaising, negotiating and communicating with the partners?

Interviewee: Oh definitely. There are obviously the initial barriers of language and communication, sometimes they don't have access to email and other sorts of high-resolution technologies that we think of as so day-today and so the expectation of 'I've sent this email at 12 o' clock, they'll probably send me an answer by 2', it's just not a correct expectation to have and that was certainly one of the first things I had to bare in mind coming in to my position that there is a longer time frame and you have to give them time to respond, particularly if English is not their first language and you're asking quite a few questions about very detailed things, give them enough time to be able to formulate that response and get all the information. And so another part of that, with the communication aspect again, is being clear about what you want, which definitely when English is your first language, it's not always the easiest thing to do, because we talk in analogy and an English person never says what they mean, and very often we don't even mean what we say. You have to be able to be direct but also be respectful.

Interviewer: Is that how you would overcome these different obstacles you're describing?

Interviewee: Indeed. And I'd say in-country, it's just different attitudes to travel and time, and I think everybody who's worked in development has had that experience of waiting at the hotel at ten past seven in the morning because that's when they said they were going to be there and at half past 8 the car comes, and you're sort of like, 'I got up at ten past seven. Why? I could have had a whole extra hour of sleep'. So you know, these are all very interesting things and I think it's important to laugh about them because they're not actually that important in the grand scheme things. So I think

it's very important to laugh about them, to laugh at yourself and to adjust your expectations accordingly.

Interviewer: Yeah and being respectful, and like you said, taking on board that my way of doing things is not the only way of doing things, it's not the best way of doing things.

Interviewee: Exactly exactly, so you know, go with the flow, definitely after these two recent trips that I did to Kenya and Tanzania I've realised the importance of go with the flow, and be able to push things forward when you feel that you're not making ground or overcoming an issue. But don't take away their control and their leadership, because at the end of the day you are their guest, and that has certain… But you're also their donor, so that's a difficult relationship.

Interviewer: Okay, so there's a balance to be had. Could you describe to me how would you set about getting into contact with potential partners, could you talk me through the process? For example, do you do any research that informs the programmes?

Interviewee: Yeah, so it's quite good you're asking this because we're actually just going through scoping for what our countries of focus are going to be for the next 4 or 5 years. And so, we've had to look at how do we scope and what is it we're looking for with the scoping. So we don't go into any countries that we don't have any contacts so I can't say what it's like going to a brand new country. Every country that we have scoped already had contacts there and so, at first, we basically try and utilise those contacts that are already there to build up a network of like-minded organisations or individuals who would be interested in a partnership. And then we scope out what their current policies are, what their current programmes are, what their current capacity is, what sort of research and evidence building had they done to support their work, if they have any regional, national, institutional bonds, if they have big funding from another donor, another, I wouldn't say a competitor, but another women's rights organisation. From that point, once we've got all that information together, we start to progress with 'what is the added value of Womankind being involved here'. That is very important to us, particularly going forward over the next 5 years, is making sure that we are adding value, that we are bringing about a consistent women's movement that can be shared between those partners, and the country and us and then our supporters. I can give an example of Zimbabwe right now, we recently submitted a proposal that has I think 9 or 10 funding partners, and in the process of submitting that proposal, all the programmes of that proposal is work that they have all already done. But getting it structured into a certain way to be presented to the funder and making it more coherent so that the partners aren't overlapping in their work, while missing perhaps another huge gap in the region to do with the women's rights movement that they shouldn't be missing. We basically sent out someone who worked for two weeks with them on pulling

together how their existing programmes and policy can blend into this one bigger programme and policy, which is then built into the proposal. If we were to win then we would go forward in managing that relationship between the donor, and managing that process of the programme being initiated, and then going through for 3 or 4 years that it would be occurring. But the actual on-the-ground work and very much all of the financial management and hiring of staff and is handled by the partners. We don't get involved in that.

Interviewer: So you manage from London, from Womankind's office?

Interviewee: Yes, we do. We only have one office here in London. We have quite a small staff, our programme and policy team is about 8 people, so it's quite a small team managing quite a number of programmes.

Interviewer: With regards to the methodologies utilised, why do you think it's important to adapt the methodologies to the context?

Interviewee: Answering from Womankind's perspective, every context is different. While there are certainly some issues that might stretch across different contexts like FGM [female genital mutilation] for example, which is a really big one that we deal with. Most of our sub-Saharan African programmes in some way are responding to FGM but it has different societal norms depending on what country it's in, it has a different legal status depending on what country it's in. You need to be able to adapt a programme to properly respond to that and to, at the end of the day, add value and bring improvements for these people who are going to benefit, hopefully.

Interviewer: Okay. How does the organisation ensure that it is inclusive? Would you say that it is more of the partners' responsibility to ensure that they are more inclusive of the society in which they are working, because possibly if you are detached geographically and working from London, it might be harder to put an effective inclusive approach into practice?

Interviewee: I mean I will be honest, this is something that has come up for us recently in our strategy redevelopment: how do we ensure that our programmes, and not just us as an organisation, are inclusive and intersectional. And it's difficult because you're dealing with partners in lots of countries where, for example, homosexuality is illegal; homosexuality has a death penalty attached to it or an extremely long prison sentence. FGM, for example, is used in certain contexts as a cure for women's sexuality. So we have, up until now, tried to get an understanding from partners of what they understand as intersectionality and how they can go about being inclusive, but it has not been one of our forefront priorities, and therefore we haven't pushed it, and it's something now we still have to make a decision on strategically – do we push it more? We get reports sometimes that this organisation turns away women that are homosexual or cases that don't make it to court because there is a question of the sexuality of the client,

and these sorts of things. It's partly just down to capacity and the fact we tend to not hear about it until months after it's happened, that we haven't challenged openly this type of incident when it occurs. Though I personally do feel its something we have to take a bigger step with in years to come, as intersectionality is incredibly important and incredibly important to women's rights development and women's equality.

Interviewer: Yeah absolutely, but I think it's that fine line or rather that balance to sensitively impose an intersectional method that might not be contextually appropriate. And that's why, when you spoke about using the partners' definition of intersectionality, it is so important to do so in order to incorporate those sensitive, contextual differences. Even my definition of 'empowerment' might be very different to someone else's.

Interviewee: Indeed, there are so many different kinds of feminism and its definitely important to find the lines through it, how it all connects, but it's also difficult at times to reconcile one's own feminism with someone else's.

Interviewer: Exactly. So in what ways is Womankind transparent with its programmes?

Interviewee: I mean transparency very often, particularly in donor terms, is related to how you report your finances to the donor, and particularly when your finances are coming from, say, a governmental funder. Ensuring that you have regular audits, you have clear reporting, and that reporting is ready for publishing at the right deadline, and that you get anything that does look to have changed or to be not what was proposed, you can explain and show why this change in the programme occurred and the reason behind it, and how it has still enabled the programme to continue. From the partner side, the partners who get funding from us all have to fill in IATI [International Aid Transparency Initiative], which is a European-wide transparency and accountability, how would you describe, sort of computer programme, IT facility. That has some problems because of course not all of them may have very high levels of computer skills and we have supported them a lot in past with completing their own transparency and accountability reporting. And we also, in our relationship between just us and our partners, we ask for, in addition to whatever programme we're doing and the funding we are giving, we ask for an annual report of their organisation and their annual general audit of their whole organisation, and then our finance team here goes through that, checks that it's all above board, flags anything that seems untoward, and we'll either go back and say 'thanks that was great', no questions, or 'thanks very much but we still have some questions with this line, and this line…'. Womankind have been very fortunate to date that we haven't had any situations of fraud or blackmail or anything like that, which I know some organisations do get into an awful lot of trouble for.

Interviewer: Adding to that, I've looked at Womankind's annual reports on the website, and you do go into detail, to the penny, of the money that was spent. But how do you prove that those 73 pence was spent on what it has claimed to

have been spent on? How do you think those sorts, I don't like to say claims but without evidence maybe they are claims, how can they be proven, not necessarily to the donors, but to the general public and the supporters?

Interviewee: Yeah, I know, it's a very good question and it's one of the reasons I did come to work for Womankind because, there was a whole international report last year about how much development spending actually got to the third country where the beneficiary was, and it was 0.06 per cent[15] of all development spending around the world. So when I saw Womankind and its reports and its push for getting about 70-80 per cent of the funding that is raised direct to the beneficiary, that's great. I would say that where it becomes the difference between hard evidence and claim, maybe not difference between hard evidence and claim, but how you distinguish is that we get that 70 per cent to the partner organisation, but, and I think this is where donors sometimes live in a bit of a fantasy land, these partner organisations have running costs as well. They have to employ their staff, they have to pay people, they have to pay rent for facilities. But our view at Womankind is that this is all contributing towards the ability for them to serve their beneficiaries and so the beneficiaries are still benefiting because if we weren't funding these partners they wouldn't be there at all sometimes. And then the beneficiaries would not be beneficiaries in any sense of the word. What we do have in place now at Womankind is that we never fund more than, I think it's 30 per cent of someone's salary, so we never exclusively fund the salaries of staff on a programme with a partner. The partner does have to have the financial stability and sustainability to be able to pay that and we are just giving them a little help. That's, again, to try and ensure that as much of the programme costs as possible are going to benefit those people on the ground.

Interviewer: Where did you see that international report with regards to the spending of development funding worldwide?

Interviewee: Ah, that was last year, must have been about July or August last year and it was actually *The Guardian* article that then had the link to the report that was done by… It might have been the European Commission actually that funded the report. If you typed into Google 'only 0.06 per cent of development funding gets to the beneficiary', I'm pretty sure it would come up because it was very controversial at the time. Unfortunately I absolutely believe, particularly as I lived for two years in Geneva for study, and the amount that is spent on the different UN works there and other big, international organisations there is ridiculous, absolutely ridiculous. But they still don't pay their interns. All things considered, it is absolutely

[15] Cross checking this data, it is actually 3 per cent of international funding that is channelled directly to affected states, and a mere 1.6 per cent to local NGOs. For more information please see Chapter 4 of the World Disasters Report, which can be found here http://ifrc-media.org/interactive/1248/.

ridiculous. I can try and find it as well, I'm pretty sure I saved it on my hard drive, so I'll have a peak through my old documents and see if it comes up, and if I can find it quickly I'll send it through to you.

Interviewer: Perfect, but in the meantime if I find it I'll let you know so you don't have to search for it. But thank you, that would be really helpful. With regards to the work you do and the work of Womankind, do you think the organisation incorporates its own positionality?

Interviewee: I would say that me personally with my work within Womankind, I do try to always sort of take account of positionality and to take time wherever I am, or if I am working for a particular programme, to really understand what my positionality is. Because I think also for me it affects how I understand my capability, making sure that I appreciate my own limits, which I think sometimes aid organisations, they don't seem to realise of course they have limits, all work has limits. I do think that the basis of Womankind being a partnership rather than a traditional aid and development structure whereby we have offices in a central location and offices in every country and we import all of these foreign staff to do all of the head office work… I do think the partnership model is based around, in one sense, ensuring our positionality is maintained around the idea that we are partners with these local organisations, that we are there to support and to enable, to empower – very controversial word, I don't like it so much, I know its on our website so I'm allowed to use it in the context of Womankind. We are their partners, we are not their superiors, we are not their instructors, and so I think that's how Womankind try to incorporate its positionality.

Interviewer: Perfect, that links right into my next question where I would like to ask if you could explain the Womankind partnership model and why is it important to create these partners at a local level?

Interviewee: Okay yeah, I suppose in a nutshell the partnership model is our local partners developing their own solutions through stopping violence against women and ending inequality in their local context. That then leads into us giving them the support that they need according to the scoping that we do and the evidence and research building that they do themselves to establish what do they want from us, rather than what we can give to them, then we sort of say, this is what we can give in return. Then this combination of on the ground, grassroots expertise, in context expertise, their relationships, their local relationships with those communities and the supporters in the area they work in, combining that with our international voice as a women's rights organisation, to be able to promote what is a very, very local programme at the global level and give it the support that it does deserve. That's sort of in a nutshell the basis of the partnership model. In practice, I would say it very much is centred on an exchange of knowledge and exchange of values. We have to share values, we have to share identity to a certain extent about what women's rights are, and then also an understanding of actually what the

capacity of each of us is to add value and to move forward. So we don't just partner with anyone because 'oh you're women's rights org, that's great'. If it seems that they don't need our support, they are very well developed, very, very centred, and they have a great network built up, then we're not going to be able to add any value. They're probably not really going to want us in that relationship because they've already established it and contained it in their own context. Whereas sometimes there's an organisation that might do women's rights but actually they also, more broadly, they're a legal aid centre and they help refugees in a refugee context. But they have very, very strong, passionate views about how the refugee context could be improved through a women's-led movement. That's an organisation that we can support and can provide that shared learning and provide that development aspect, and then link them up to other organisations who we may already be partnered with and build the network that will enable them to continue that work. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: Absolutely. So you spoke about having these partnerships, which are so important to share the knowledge. What I wanted to discuss next was the ways that NGOs, particularly European NGOs, can potentially impose a particular framework on countries when they work cross-culturally, and in your opinion, how could that framework be dismantled?

Interviewee: Yes, yes this framework does exist, and I'd say even Womankind, with the best will in the world, we have set reporting methods and I don't think they're always very conducive to how those organisations actually work and, in a way, the reporting is reflective of the donor requirements. I think that going forward, the whole Western, NGO community, and Western donors, if they truly want to support development, need to start thinking about 'is it really supporting development to get this local-based organisation to write a 100-page report in a language that is not their second, but their third language with all these different graphs, and all these different spread sheets, is that actually going to benefit them in any way, or maybe, do we need to think about alternative ways of reporting information, of instilling more ownership of the reporting process in those local organisations'. I think right now, a lot of our partners feel we impose it upon them, and it's like 'oh do we have to', and I'm like 'yes, you have to'. Then what ends up happening in my role, I end up doing a lot of the sort of goading, you know 'come on, you can get this report done'. That's one of the big things I think that could change that dynamic a lot.

Interviewer: Exactly, but it's so hard to kind of measure qualitative work. How can you measure the work that you're doing when it's not data, when it's not solid fact and figure, of course it's data, but you can't put it in a graph, or you can but it's hard, and something that may not be recognised as valid by donors.

Interviewee: Yes, the transfer from the qualitative to the quantitative is hard. We do have some methods for that already. We use what's called an outcome star

for a lot of our final reporting to establish the attitudinal change. So, okay this organisation said that it's reached 10,000 people with its awareness campaign on the negative health impacts of FGM, the importance of reporting incidences of FGM, the importance of not pushing young girls to have FGM. But how many of those 10,000 people actually understood what they were told? Have they gone home and told other people about it? Have they taken action to actively end FGM in their community? So that's where the outcome star comes in, because what you say to the partners is get a sample size of that 10,000 that you have worked with over the course of the past year, get a sample of about 30-40, ask them some questions about the outcomes of your programme, what you were hoping to achieve and get them to scale, very simply with a 1-10 scale, how well has our programme helped you to understand FGM. If someone scores 10 then you know they felt the programme really allowed them to understand the process of FGM. If someone scores 1, it didn't help. That's how we sort of begin to get a picture of where the real impact is happening. From that information we can say, well if 10,000 people that were reached, 30 were surveyed, and 50 per cent said the programme had benefitted them, that they have made active changes in their lives, that's like a quantitative figure that we can bring back to donors. So that's sort of what we try to do, this balancing of the quantitative and qualitative aspect.

Interviewer: And have you put that into practice in previous reports?

Interviewee: Yeah, a lot of our reporting to government funding usually does involve a certain aspect of 'how many did you reach, how many people did this, how many people did that'. But then it also has this aspect of 'what did they understand, how has this changed the situation, what is the change that has occurred', and we've had the outcome star in practice now for a good 5 or 6 years now, if not longer. So it's quite a well-established piece of our reporting practice here at Womankind.

Interviewer: Okay, because I've read up a lot about the donor-funding process potentially limiting the potential of NGOs through this tick-the-box process and to prove that that money was spent in the way that it was promised to be spent. That's a way to overcome that, by transferring the qualitative to the quantitative.

Interviewee: I mean don't get me wrong, it's a continuing frustration that we have here. Increasingly the donors just want to know 'have you done this, how many people', but it's not part of our strategy. Our strategy is to do with what is the change and the added value that we are actually bringing. I think perhaps in the near future Womankind is going to have to start pushing with donors more to be more like 'no, it can't just be numbers', because numbers don't mean a thing. A number is just a number and you're not really finding out how those people have gained. It's a difficult one. But I think as a small organisation we have slightly more leeway than really big organisations that rely on 60-70 per cent of their funding coming from big government donors. Whereas we have a great public support base that we

do rely upon in a lot of ways, and we do of course take government funding and foundation funding, as well, but it's not our main source of funding. I think that's very important for actually being able to realise the strategy you want as a small organisation, as opposed to having your actions dictated by your donors.

Interviewer: Yes. Well we have gone slightly over the time, but do you mind if I just ask you one other quick questions. Could you just quickly elaborate on the term 'scoping' that you used previously?

Interviewee: Yes, I suppose in its most basic terms scoping is a combination of evidence gathering with research with a lot of relationship building and networking, and contacts building, and then contextualisation that allows us to make a decision on can we work here or not.

Interviewer: And the research would you yourselves do that or would partner organisations conduct the research?

Interviewee: Usually we try and get the partner organisations to conduct the research, because we want to get their voice and their opinion. Occasionally what we have done is if they don't have a research body within their organisation, we look for a local consultant based in that region or that country. We then get the partner to make a proposal of the kind of research they're looking for, which is given to the consultant, and we say to the consultant, can you do this? Then we build on the research points from there, us providing them with this external person to give this immediate support that will then benefit further on in long term.

Interviewer: Perfect, thank you, I just wanted a bit of clarification on that one.

Interviewee: Thank you, it's been really enjoyable to talk to you.

Interviewer: Thank you, you too, I've really enjoyed it. I will send you a copy of the transcript in the next few weeks.

Interviewee: Okay, good luck with your thesis.

End.

Appendix III. Family for Every Child Interview Transcript

Interviewee: Camilla Jones

Occupation: Research Manager, Family for Every Child

Interviewer: Rebecca Crosby

Date of Interview: 30-05-17

Length of Interview: 33 minutes, 53 seconds

Interviewer: As a research manager for Family for Every Child, could you describe some of the responsibilities you have?

Interviewee: Yes, I'm responsible for directly implementing secondary or desk-based research. So I published a report last year on the links between education and children's care. That was based on literature review and key informal [informant] interviews, but we also did some consultations with children and families and teachers overseas, so that was working with our members to make sure that they knew the tools to use and a chance to feed into them and discuss any of the ethical dimensions and logistics with me. But also working with members to implement primary research projects, sometimes with international research institutes. We work with the IDS [Institute of Development Studies] and others, with consultants, working with our members and then directly doing some research myself.

Interviewer: Who are your members?

Interviewee: We're a network of local civil society organisations around the world. We are present in about, I think now 30 countries, both high, middle and low income, mainly middle and low income at the moment. But they're all organisations working on, primarily children's' rights, but we try to get those with a stronger focus on children's care and protection. We focus on children's care, so children's protection and wider rights issues do come into that.

Interviewer: So when you do the research yourself, do you do that from London?

Interviewee: I tend to support, if it's going to be primary research in the field, on the ground I would be working with those local organisations to do it. The most I would do would be to go out and maybe support the training and the pilot testing of tools, and possibly be there during research. But it's difficult for somebody who doesn't speak the language and know the context to really get that kind of rich information. So in previous roles when I have done research overseas, I've worked with a translator and mainly interviewed key informants. I have when really, really necessary,

interviewed children, and ran focus groups, but always with a local social worker, and they'll be taking the lead and I'll be more of an observer. Or it's been during emergency situations where you just simply have to get on and do it. But ideally we would never really be doing that, we would always be working with local people. When you're working with vulnerable groups of children, and vulnerable groups of adults on sensitive issues, it's really only ethical to work with children that are already known to those organisations, and where the organisations have a relationship, so that they can follow up if the child becomes upset, if an issue is identified during the course of the research that needs follow-up, which is very, very likely and does occur. So we wouldn't really want an outsider going in and possibly saying the wrong thing or not being fully sensitive to the situation of that child or not knowing how to navigate the system of support.

Interviewer: Yeah, so would you say it's about negotiating those cultural differences and in doing so you need to have that local expertise?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean when you've worked overseas for a number of years you do have more sensitivity than if you haven't for sure, and it's not to say that you can't be there during the research and you can't shadow the interview, but you've got to weigh up the pros and cons of being there, and you could even lead the discussion. But especially with children, it's going to be distracting isn't it, to have this strange person from a different planet almost, there compared to if it's a local person, especially somebody they have familiarity with. It's going to cut that whole dynamic out of the interview and it's going to provide a lot stronger research results.

Interviewer: And so, can I ask the research that you produce, with the local organisations, what is the intent and purpose of that research?

Interviewee: So the purpose of research – we don't research for the sake of it at Family for Every Child, we see ourselves as an organisation that wants to create change, either at national, regional or international level, but outside our member organisations. So we see our member organisations as change agents. So if we do research it's about equipping ourselves and them and others we might work with, with the knowledge we need to create change, either through advocacy or what we call technical assistance, which is where we offer training or resource to others in the sector who can create change, so maybe training governments on foster care systems, this kind of thing. So research will always fill a gap in our knowledge or to drive and feed advocacy.

Interviewer: When you're doing the research with the local organisations or any primary research, do you feel that Family for Every Child alters and adapts the methodologies and methods used to the context, and how is that achieved?

Interviewee: It sort of depends really, I mean I'll give you a few examples. So, we did a

three-country research on social protection and we had a set of tools developed for the first research that we used in the other two countries. But particularly for the third country we adapted the questions, we added an additional research question so that we could be responsive to the local context and make sure that we provided something that was saying more than had previously already been said on that issue. We also decided to interview slightly differently so we chose some slightly different locations, slightly different groups of participants and slightly different key informants within the government, the civil servants that we interviewed, to really meet those local needs. In one of the other countries we chose research locations based on what the government felt would be appropriate locations to try and get them more on board. So it's been more about ensuring that the research is relevant and useful, that we've adapted it, more than saying we've done a completely different methodology because there's not such a great difference between contexts and cultures that we need to do it differently. Obviously we've done it in the local language. When you start and close an interview, if they value religion and prayer, we'd perhaps start with a prayer and close with a prayer. You know, you do different kinds of energisers for children that they like, that are appropriate to the context, and again, the venue that you use, the food that you use, all of those kinds of things I think would be the things that we'd adapt to make it more culturally appropriate. Of course the questions would be pre-tested in the pilot to make sure that they translate correctly, that they're not going to upset anyone, but I don't think we'd necessarily change whole methods, unless we were told that it was needed. Then we've done another research project which I think, well it was initially meant to be a research project but I think it's worked in a number of different ways, and that's digital story telling where each of the members that have been involved – there's been about 13 – have been trained in the methodology and they've all been asked to answer one question, which is 'what does being part of a family mean to you?' They then work with small groups, 5 to, I think 10 maximum, of children and adults, who make a film that is really narrating their life story around that question. And it's quite an intense 5 days or so, sometimes spread over a number of weeks, to develop these films, and the members have used them in different ways. So some have developed a lot more generic films, a lot less personally identifying. And they've all done different things with the research, some have made it almost like a therapeutic intervention and they've had social workers running the sessions, they've then played the videos to the families so that they could be part of their social intervention. They've not really seen it as research; they've seen it as either a staff capacity building tool and intervention with families whereas others used it more as research and advocacy. So we've allowed that flexibility in our projects.

Interviewer: Yeah, and so would you say in that way they've got some control in directing the research that is being produced, highlighting the validity of it.

Interviewee: Yeah. So we've not really done child-led research as such, partly because it's a lot to invest in in terms of time and not really being able to guide the research to your needs. So I'd say that the digital story telling has been the most open-ended child and organisation led that we've done. And it is challenging, I don't know if we'll be able to support that in an on-going way because it is so resource intensive and the deliverables are so unknown and I don't think we've got the luxury, in a way, to continue doing things in that way in the future.

Interviewer: So when you're writing up the research and overseeing that process, in what ways would you say that Family for Every Child accounts for cultural differences in the reports?

Interviewee: Well probably not as much as it should be. I think we've done a number of informal consultations to validate our desk-based research studies, you'll see that in the research reports on our website. I would say that where there have been a large number of countries submitting consultation findings, it's sometimes been a bit hard to really go in to the differences and, I guess, use that data really to its full effect. Where there've been fewer countries, I think it's probably been easier. What we've been trying to work towards for some years now and I'm still very hopeful that we'll manage it, is to do an online community of practice with our members where we have a series of webinars where we can strengthen their skills in conducting small-scale research themselves, because what they are very competent in doing is collecting the data, running the focus groups, running the interviews, but they struggle when they come to analysis of the findings and report writing. So we've kind of done this in two ways, sometimes they'll write up the report and the findings themselves, and sometimes we'll do it for them. If they do it themselves, sometimes the reports aren't particularly scientific, they'll come back with a lot of anecdotal information about their own programmes, their own experiences, and not really stick to what the findings of the focus groups and interviews were, and unless we ask them to share with us all the interview notes, it is very difficult to go back and probe deeper and refine those reports. The reason they don't always share the full interview findings with us is that they'll be noted in the local language because the interview's have taken place in the local language, especially when it comes to focus group discussions with local people, children, and so to do the translation of that is an incredible amount of work for them when they're busy. So that's why we've opted for the approach of them writing the reports. As I said then we've had the massive limitations of the reports not being useful because we can't share anecdotal information as research, that's just not research worthy. So then the alternative approach is asking them to translate and transcribe the interview notes, or at least give summaries and then we do the analysis and report writing ourselves. But then when we're analysing them, we're the outsiders, there's the challenge of making sure that it's really reflective of those local contexts, cultural issues that you've mentioned that are so important. So it's sort of a bit of a lesser of two evils in a way and for me the key would really be to

make sure that members are better equipped to do analysis and to do reporting themselves, so that then when we do need to support individual members to catch up to speed with that, we can, we could maybe go out and spend some time with them. But we've got a large number of member organisations that are at a higher level of competence.

Interviewer: And when you've written the reports, if they've transcribed and translated the data for you rather than doing the analysis, would you give it back to them to have a proof read of it?

Interviewee: Yeah, so that happened with the social protection research. For the first two countries they were invited to input, just on the report, not on the analysis, and I think the inputs were relatively minimal. I came on board after those two countries were complete and we did a review of their participation and they said that while they were happy with the research, they felt that it had been a missed opportunity. They talked about it more in terms of their own learning about how to do analysis and report writing but equally, as you know, we need to make sure that they have had chance to input fully into the analysis to make sure it really reflects what's going on, otherwise we'll lose a lot. So for the South Africa research we actually went out and we did a full validation workshop with the 3 local researchers who led the research, I think 1 was really the researcher, the other 2 were just people with strong local knowledge. And then we held a meeting with a local research institute called the Children's Institute of the University of Cape Town, who were very clued up on all the local policy developments that related to the research. So they helped us firstly to interpret the research based on their own knowledge, because they'd done a lot of research on similar areas, so sort of saying 'oh maybe people said that because of this reason', but also 'oh if you explain this in a certain way, we've moved on from that now and they're debating another option'. So they just gave us an understanding of what the participants might have been saying, also what some of the entry points might be for recommendations. We could of course gone a lot further. You know in previous jobs where I've worked at a country-level, we've gone back and validated research findings with groups of participants, but it's just very difficult to do that for the kind of projects we've been doing at Family. We should really build it in.

Interviewer: Okay, and in that sense, as well as seeking feedback from the recipients and the local organisations, is there a way that your own positionality and the organisation's own stance could be incorporated into the research process? I understand the limitations of it, and the questioning of positionality being research worthy.

Interviewee: How do you mean positionality?

Interviewer: So account for yourself, not necessarily individually, but from the organisation's perspective by acknowledging your standpoint regarding where you come from and the privilege that one may have. For example, I

am working within this country, in that particularly area, and by accounting for that you are acknowledging that there are power relations involved.

Interviewee: I mean we don't tend to do the research ourselves you see, so we're being provided with raw data from an interview according to set questions that are being developed. So we're analysing it and we're interpreting it, mainly we're crunching it, but we're also interpreting it. We are, then, as much as possible seeking the input from our members to interpret the data. But I think that the fact that we haven't invested as much as we need to, and that's definitely acknowledged in their skills with research, they don't necessarily see that gap and what they qualify in terms of interpretation. I think that they, I mean I'm sure they do, it's kind of obvious, but I think that they perhaps have not thought about it as deeply as someone who's doing research to say 'obviously these guys you know are missing a trick by not inviting us to input on interpreting this analysis that they've done'. So we do invite that interpretation as much as possible but what we found is where there's a local researcher on the team who knows that that's a function for them to do then they will input. So we'll send them the analysis or we'll send them the research report which obviously includes the interpretation of the analysis, and we will only get feedback from the people who do research. So the people who've done the data collection only and they've not ever really been involved in that next-level analysis and interpretation and report writing, they just don't really reply, they might correct a few typing errors, but they don't really question, they don't really engage with what we're doing. My previous boss said to me 'oh it's really annoying, people don't respond', but I think it's because we haven't really equipped them with the, I don't know, with the sense that they should do and that that's valid and important to do so. So we do acknowledge that we can't interpret the data as fully as they would, but again, it's making space for that interpretation to go on. The other challenge is that some of those researchers, even in the local countries we might be working with, are not from the same communities as the people who are the focus of the research. You know in India, you have the caste system, in South Africa one of the researchers we work with, she's white-British although she's lived in South Africa for 20-plus years. Again in Russia, a woman overseeing the research, she's British but she's been living in Russia for 20-plus years. So you do get that dynamic in some countries more than others. You know in Latin America, it usually always is local people, but again they'll probably be class issues, wealth divides within that. So there will always be an element of that I think to do with people who conduct research and people who participate in it, apart from when you've got child-led, or participant-led, or action research. So I don't want to dismiss your question, it's very, very important, and it's definitely something we grapple with, I just wanted to share the dynamics of it.

Interviewer: Not at all, because what you've discussing know leads into something else I wanted to bring in, and the dynamics between the researcher and

participants, but also the participants themselves are going to have different dynamics. And in that sense – and I know it would be hard to have control over this if the research is not done on a primary basis by yourselves, by Family for Every Child – but in what sense do you try and ensure that your research is intersectional by incorporating participants from varying levels of different caste systems, class differences, genders, and so on?

Interviewee: I think what we've managed to do to date, and I'll just give examples from particular research we've done, we've tried to balance urban and rural locations, so that's not necessarily about power but it's about making sure recommendations we come up with can be relevant to both and we can have that comparison perhaps when we're advocating then about provision of government services, we can be highlighting if there's limitation to rural areas that perhaps might be political or about discrimination within local areas, there might be local tribal issues or issues that can affect provision of services, so that's come in. We've also encouraged gender balance within participant groups, obviously sometimes we interview separately women and men most of the time, but we have interviewed together as well. So for example, for the social protection research in South Africa, we had foster parents and people providing kinship care who get a stipend from the government to do so, and that was a focus of the research really and how that affects their caring. We had very few men actually providing that care in South Africa and one of the men who was a foster parent was almost dismissed by the women because he wasn't really see as a competent carer, and he did highlight in the interviews, in the group discussion, that he feels somehow cut out of a lot of the support groups that are provided to foster parents because he's a man, and a lot of them were tailored to women's issues. You know there'll be a knitting group and this kind of thing. But he said that the social workers have almost compensated a bit in their support that they give to him, baring that in mind. So those kinds of dynamics did come out. So I'd say really on the basis of gender and location, we've factored that in, but our research projects haven't necessarily gone into other kinds of issues like caste, because I guess you're looking at something a lot larger in scale than we could manage to be truly representative. We do qualitative research that doesn't ever suggest that it's representative, it's more to give a snap shot into peoples lives, and ask local people to comment on some of the issues that we're exploring and grappling with. At the moment, our research has been at the exploratory scoping study level, while we're then trying to decide what to focus on next.

Interviewer: Okay, and with intersectionality it's quite a complex theory and concept, and to be intersectional it's difficult to-

Interviewee: Cover all bases, yeah exactly.

Interviewer: Yeah and account for all the differing vectors of an individuals' identity. And I feel it's about intertwining those different categories of gender,

class, caste, and so on, that constitute an individuals identity and lived experiences. That is a difficult notion to be implemented into practice.

Interviewee: Yeah but I think you've got to do what you can with what you've got space for and what would be useful for the research.

Interviewer: And so drawing on from that with regards to intersectionality, how do you feel Family for Every Child is intersectional and could be more so?

Interviewee: Yeah definitely, well I think that as I was saying to you, there's a couple of steps we need to take to strengthen our research, if we've got the capacity to do so in future. I mean we've been primarily funding the research ourselves to date, and that's enabled us to be very flexible when things have taken longer, and in future our research is largely going to be funded, some of it will still be funded in house like the scoping studies, but other research projects will be donor-led. So we'll obviously incorporate as much as we can within those limitations of funds and timeframes that donors put on us. But I think we need to take another step, a) with including the local organisations in the analysis, but if possible also asking them to run validation workshops with local people. It's standard practice that they would disseminate the findings of the research to local communities, and participant groups as much as possible, not all, you can't disseminate to all the participants because it's just not possible, but you know, they try and make sure that at least a summary report of the research got out to the children that participated. And as I said at the beginning, they're usually involved with the projects already so it's quite easy to do so if we catch it quickly before they've exited the programme. But they could also be running a validation workshop to validate the analysis and the findings of the analysis and the interpretation of it, rather than just giving them the findings. So that almost kills two birds with one stone, but also creates a greater chance for them to be influencing the research findings and informing the research findings. So that's one area that I think that we need to look at. In terms of other areas, it's all kind of more to do with time and I think, again, if members are stronger in their research, they might be consulting children more regularly on, you know, 'what do you think we should be looking into, what do you think is important about your life that we should be capturing, documenting, and advocating on'. And I'm sure a lot of members are doing a lot of participatory work with children, but they're not necessarily asking them about how they think it should influence the research that they do or engage with them in research, so I'd love to see that being an area that we move on to in the future. But it sort of all depends at the moment, our organisation's at a bit of a critical time with funding so we have to be a bit ruthless really in terms of getting a few things moving before we can then have the space to invest a bit in process.

Interviewer: So, I would love this conversation to carry on, but just to sort of wrap, I just wanted to ask you how you, or Family for Every Chid would define inclusivity and intersectionality, and also, what do you think is the

importance in partnering with local civil society organisations?

Interviewee: Well, in terms of defining inclusivity, I think on one level we are looking at including children with care issues, whether it be challenges in their parental care at home, or challenges within alternative care settings or without any care at all. Because they're one sub set within a wider group. [Interrupted by phone call to the interviewer]. I know you've got you're other call, would you like me to send this one by email as an email response.

Interviewer: Would that be okay? I'm really sorry for cutting you short.

Interviewee: That's absolutely fine, not a problem.

Interviewer: Thank you so much for your time and I'll be in touch with the final transcript.

Interviewee: Alright, speak to you soon Beccy.

The following text was received from the interviewee via email on 30-05-17:

Interviewee: Hi Beccy

I hope today's call was useful and that your other interviews go well. It's a really interesting focus of research and I would love to see the finished report.

Your remaining questions, which I said I would respond to on email were:

1. How does Family for Every Child define intersectionality and why is it so important to consult local children and civil society organisations?

We haven't defined intersectionality as an organisation to my knowledge. However, we do consider diversity and non-discrimination in the research as we plan and conduct it and try to highlight any issues of power dynamics, selection bias, etc. that may have come up within the methodology sections of research reports we write.

I'm attaching our standards for consultation and research in case they are of interest to you but they highlight the following, which is of relevance to the question (in blue with my comments in black):

We will work to include all groups of children whose views are of relevance to topic of consultations and research and will not exclude children on the grounds of age, disability or language, ethnicity, gender or religion. So as I said we can't include all groups of children within each consultation but we do consider how to make the groups representative and at least not excluding of key groups. The very target group that we work with - who include children not receiving the support they need

from their families or those who have left home to live on the street, work or live in alternative care - are largely not represented in standard research with children. So by targeting them in our research we aim to help to voice their concerns and needs. This is also why we believe involving them in our research is so important. Local civil society organisations lead our network because we believe that they have a far stronger understanding of local realities than large international organisations. We also feel that they have a strong influencing power with national governments, which is needed to create change on the tricky and long-term issue of reforming systems for children's care.

• We will seek to involve those children whose views are least often solicited and examined.

• We will be sensitive to gender and intergenerational differences and power relations between children and adults as they appear in specific research contexts. So we consider whether it is appropriate to interview children in the presence of their parents / caregivers, teachers or social workers where this may prevent them from speaking freely or where it might help them.

• We will not engage in token research or consultations, whereby we use the views of only a few children to represent children in general. This is a bit of a tricky one as we have not said what is a token number but we certainly don't ever state that our research or consultations is representative.

• We will train researchers to ensure that all children who take part in consultations have a say, and select methods which encourage the participation of all groups.

I hope this helps and am happy to provide further details if helpful. I know we didn't have as much time as might have been ideal.

Also as promised please find attached my consent form. I'll look forward to reviewing the transcript.

Best,
Camilla

End.

Appendix IV. ChildHope Interview Transcript

Interviewee: Jill Healey

Occupation: Executive Director, ChildHope UK

Interviewer: Rebecca Crosby

Date of Interview: 01-06-17

Length of Interview: 42 minutes, 46 seconds

Interviewer: So I'd just like us to start off if we can, by explaining your responsibilities as the CEO of ChildHope.

Interviewee: Yeah of course. So I don't know the size of the different organisations you're talking to but ours is relatively small. I think we're classed as a small to medium organisation, so in terms of the role, it's kind of lot's of things really, and varies from responsibility for fundraising through to managerial roles to supporting the Board, ensuring that the Board is a good composition to support the organisation, making sure everything's done legally, regular reviews of the strategy and ensuring that we remain close to our values and the principles behind ChildHope, ensuring child protection is covered, that we're not doing any harm to the children, supporting partners, and sort of overall people management, there's a lot of that in the role.

Interviewer: Okay, brilliant. In your experience within the organisation or in the development sector, have you ever been confronted with any obstacles or difficulties with regards to working with or in countries that have a different culture to the one with which you identify?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean all the time. Prior to working in ChildHope, I also worked in VSO [Voluntary Service Overseas], which also has a similar approach in terms of it works with a lot of partners, although obviously the actual foundation of the organisation is different in that VSO is very much focused on international volunteering. But in a lot of the work that I've done, it's been focused on working with local partner organisations and I think I've been lucky to work in two organisations where we try very hard in both contexts to work to the agenda of the organisation as much as possible and develop our partnership through that and not impose too much of our own values, etc. However, having said that, what can tend to happen is I think, especially in the current context of increasing donor demands of organisations, is that we are forced to impose quite a lot of restrictions and requirements upon the organisations that we're working with and this can be very difficult in contexts where the importance of things… It's not that people don't think it's important to be accountable for funds and that kind of thing, the partners that we work with have always

been very dedicated to making sure they are spending very effectively, but in terms of the written rigour of reporting, that can be a major challenge. Getting the kind of detail and quality that a donor may require from a partner organisation that may not be accustomed to working in that way, in a culture that is not necessarily a strongly written, documenting type of culture, getting a sort of happy medium around that and being able to report confidently to donors whilst not weighing the partner down with multiple pressures and still hassling them to get on with the work that they're doing and the reason why they got the funding in the first place, that is a kind of very, I think it's always been a challenge, but it's an increasingly difficult challenge in the contemporary donor situation.

Interviewer: Yeah, and so as a partnership do you help with that process?

Interviewee: So we act as a bridge really between organisations that find it pretty difficult to have that direct relationship with a donor because of the reasons we've said, the different languages, different cultural approaches, not accustomed to those kinds of donor requirements. It's a very European approach and not necessarily something that people would be familiar with in the countries that we're working in. So we can act as a bridge to support the partners to do those things and sometimes to do aspects of it for them, but hopefully most of the time with them so that they are, eventually, in a position to directly have that kind of relationship with the donor and be able to do that without the intermediary role. I mean we do other things, we're not just about funding going back and forward, and reporting going back and forward, but it is a key part of the work.

Interviewer: And in that sense do you feel that this donor-funding process could be restrictive to the work of NGOs? Because there is other ways to be accountable of particular funds, and report writing is just one particular way.

Interviewee: Yeah I mean there are different donors and there are different levels of expectation from donors. But there's flexibility in some contexts. Also, the requirements are based around as much an interest in learning about the process as they are in accountability. In other contexts, it's very much about accounting for every last penny and proving that to the British public or whoever. I mean the other issue is obviously of public opinion of international aid, so many donors and governments are driven by the opinion on international aid and that's kind of squeezing the requirements to make them even tighter. So you know it's very driven from demonstrating financial rigour and less driven from a learning point of view, and it needs to meet somewhere in the middle. Nobody's sort of saying we shouldn't be accountable for our finances but actually, if there's too much of that you can spend all your time doing that, you don't have time to stand back, read, reflect, learn from it and change your practice, because what you're doing is just reporting against a set of identifiers. It can go too far basically.

Interviewer: Okay, so playing this intermediary role you're working a lot with your partner organisations. Could you describe what the process is when developing a partnership and what sorts of methods are used?

Interviewee: The way that we develop a partnership generally is we'll often be connected to a partner maybe through an existing partner, or perhaps a donor or somebody who works in that country with that partner. So we would generally come to them through a recommendation of some kind, although sometimes people approach us and we'll investigate that as well. So we start very gently with people, as an organisation, we'll have an initial one or two meetings maybe, just to get to see what the work is, we would try and see as much of the work in the field as possible, combined with meeting with the staff and senior staff and if possible the Board as well. So it would start off by being quite gentle, quite informal, we would read any stuff they have got about themselves and that kind of thing. And so we express interest in one another I suppose, because during this time the partner's obviously getting to know us and learning about how we would work with them. Then if it got to the point where we thought 'right okay, we think that we probably would like to develop a stronger, longer term partnership with this organisation' and they feel the same, and we think it would be something where in the longer term we might apply for some funding together, we would do a more thorough analysis which we would document our findings. So we have a number of different tools where basically we're asking a series of questions about different areas of their work. We have this thing that we call the Partnership Development Tool. There are 6 dimensions, which we call the dimensions of change, and they're focusing around different areas such as child rights, child rights programming, through to the governance and management and that kind of thing. So we work through these quite lengthy series of questions and check out the sort of suggestions and things the partner has, and quite often at that stage they may be very small and we don't rule people out on account of not having certain systems and policies and all that kind of thing, but we'd make a note of that as something we'd have to work with them on if they were to receive funding through a UK donor. We try and be as honest as possible through that process in terms of the kind of demands that would be expected of them from a donor because it's not what everybody wants. So they may decide that actually that wouldn't suit them, that they get enough funding from maybe individual givers who don't make the same demands, etc. You know they may decide that actually our methodology wouldn't suit them because we're too dependent on donors. We are, as an organisation, we don't get a huge amount of unrestricted funding so virtually all the money that goes to our partners comes from another source, it's not from the public, it's from an institutional donor or a corporate or whatever. So we gradually get to know them, all this time we're meeting up with them. Although we're all based in the UK, we have programmes managers who regularly visit the countries they have responsibility for, so during those visits they gradually get to know each other. Then if a piece of funding were to come

up in the UK, or elsewhere but normally it's the UK that was a match for the kind of work that the organisation does… So by that time we would know what kinds of things they are specialising in, what they're looking for funding for, etc. So if something came up that we know is a good match, we'd talk to them about it, and then we work together and develop the application together and submit it together.

Interviewer: Okay, and how would you do that logistically when you're in different countries?

Interviewee: Well as much as possible we would try and fit in a visit around something crucial. So either a big application or a big report, we would try and have a physical presence around for that, but you can't always do that. But it works much better if you're face-to-face. Otherwise, we have do a lot of Skype, people use Whatsapp a lot now so that's become quite a day-to-day way of communicating, which in many ways is great because it's much more immediate than the phone and Skype and that kind of thing.

Interviewer: So it's a lot of working together, writing the applications together, so then you can work through the methods and the potential participants and beneficiaries, as well as determine what sort of methods and practice would be the most effective.

Interviewee: Yeah so in that process of developing a project or a piece of work, we would obviously try and get the views of children and young people, and different people that were going to receive the service. So we try and get it from the ground as much as possible. Our partners are very, very close to the children and young people that they work with, and we're one removed, but the partners generally are, and they're generally already working with certain groups so they have very close connections to those people. So even if we're not able to directly do a consultation with young people, they would probably be able to do that so we try and encourage that, and that's something that we're trying to develop further with regards to the children's participation in the sort of process of developing projects.

Interviewer: Okay, and then this might sound like an obvious question, but I want to ask it anyway. So why do you think it is important to 1) develop these partnerships, and 2) develop the methodologies to the context?

Interviewee: Well generally they don't work that well – if we were to create them for here they might not work very well for there without the partner organisations.

Interviewer: Okay, so with regards to how you approach the projects and the research, how would you try and be inclusive as well as intersectional, and how would you define those two terms?

Interviewee: We've done quite a lot of work around inclusion of people with disabilities

over the last couple of years and one of the things that we… This might be a bit of a long answer to your question. We were redoing our previous strategic framework which was I think from 2012 to 2015, and in there we'd made this general statement that 'we're inclusive', so when we were reviewing it in order to release our current framework which is 2015 to 2020, we realised that we'd said that we were inclusive but actually we'd done pretty much nothing around people with disabilities, so we developed an approach as part of our strategy to actively be more inclusive of people with disabilities. Previously if you'd talk to our partners, if you'd talk to us, you'd say well we don't do anything to exclude but actually then if you'd looked at the data, we realised that a) we weren't collecting any specific data around children with disabilities, and b) there were hardly any anyway, and so we thought we really need to take this seriously. So we've developed quite a rigid structure over the next 5 years of how we will become more inclusive. And by inclusive we mean a much stronger and visible presence of children and young people with disabilities in the projects we're working in and that the services and the support that they get is appropriate to their situation and also enable them to participate as much as possible in the work that the project is doing. We recognise that actually we've got a long way to go. We started the process by trying to be more inclusive and trying to increase our awareness within the ChildHope team initially in the UK and then we're now in the process of doing initial sort of training and development and support and discussion with partners. But we're taking it relatively slowly because it's a tough one because it involves resources, we're already working with children with multiple issues. We're not speeding along because we think that we would fail if we did.

Interviewer: Yeah that's interesting. And then with regards to an intersectional approach, do you work with that term at all?

Interviewee: No, we don't actually use the term very much but you know my understanding of it is the sort of multiple identities that a child has that affects them. So for example, we work a lot of girls, and quite often they're girls in poor households, of a certain age, etc. etc., so they have multiple layers that affects whether or not they're accessing schools for example. So that's kind of my understanding of intersectionality. But it isn't a term we use an awful lot in our work I have to say, day to day we don't usually use academic terms as they can be quite inaccessible to the people we work with.

Interviewer: Of course, it's just interesting to hear the understanding between the differences of inclusivity and intersectionality, because it is very hard to put these theories into practical application. So it's important to see how NGOs are able to apply these theories, which is not an easy thing to do. So I looked at the other projects that you do, for example 'Empowering Mothers and Children' and 'From Sexual Exploitation to Education', and the recipients of the projects, like all of us, have many intersectional identities, and it's important to understand how it is possible for NGOs to

incorporate these different identities. For example, the empowering mothers programme, it may be important to ask questions as to whether you have an empowering fathers programme.

Interviewee: Yeah I see what you mean. I mean, we tackle those challenges but I suppose we don't bring them necessary within discussions around intersectionality. We do talk about inclusion a lot, but less so intersectionality, although we do tackle those issues. I don't know if you've looked at our strategy on the website, but there's a diagram within that that we use quite a lot, which is around our approach to protection to the actual children that we work, and it is based on an ecological model of child development. Basically that puts the child in the centre and around them the different factors that affect them, so in a normal situation you would expect them to be supported by their families, but often in the cases that we work in, they've lost that support. The communities around them may not be able or willing to support them in the way that, again, you might expect that to happen. And then there's institutions; if they're not in school that's another issue. So we look at it in that sense, and then around that so government and policy within the country and then international policy. So I guess it's a similar type of thing, you're looking at different approaches but from a slightly different perspective.

Interviewer: Yeah so I'm looking at the diagram now and it does incorporate intersectional elements within an individuals' life.

Interviewee: I don't know if you've seen our work in Ethiopia with girls and the Girls Education Challenge Fund? That's our kind of biggest piece of work, so it's better resourced than a lot of our other pieces of work. So we are going to do quite a thorough gender audit of that piece of work very soon, and that hopefully will help to consolidate some of those issues and bring out some of the stuff that we've probably missed, not being gender experts as such in the organisation. So it will be interesting to see what comes out of that.

Interviewer: Could you explain what you mean by gender audit?

Interviewee: We're basically going to get someone to look at the whole programme with a gender lens and consider different aspects and the different situations that the girls are in, and how we might address them differently. So for example, in the Ethiopia work, there's an issue with there being such an intense focus on the girls, then quite a lot of the boys, particularly the boys who are living in very poor conditions themselves, have become quite resentful of the focus on the girls. So we need to address that effectively so that the girls don't experience violence or resentment. We just want to do a bit more of a deep analysis of those kind of impacts on the girls but also get some expert advice about how we could address some of those issues sensitively.

Interviewer: So that leads into my next question about how ChildHope monitors and reflects on the impact of its projects, and that's one example you've given

on how the organisation can reflect on the way that it works. Do you have any other strategies where you monitor and reflect on the work that you do?

Interviewee: Yeah, one of our strengths is around child protection and safeguarding so we have a specific child protection lead in the organisation and she will visit the partners and programmes and look at it from a safeguarding perspective or a protection perspective to ensure that we are not doing harm unintentionally. Obviously the ideal situation would be to review when we are developing the projects and get her to review that and pull out some of the points that could be challenging that we may not have seen and address them in the design before it gets going. But also she'll visit in the process of the project and pick out aspects if there are things that are maybe challenging to the children that we're trying to support, and address those. So we do it through reviewing the design stage but also physical visits and review as the project is being implemented. We formally report annually all the projects that we have funded, and the funding that comes from a donor. So we'll do an annual report and that gives an opportunity to look at some of the issues. That tends to be more objectives, are we meeting the objectives we were trying to focus on, and it also gives us time to look more broadly. As part of our annual reporting process we do an annual partners survey so that gives partners the opportunity to feedback the way that ChildHope is supporting them as an organisation and that again focuses on our dimensions of change that we're looking at, so they get the opportunity to talk about whether or not ChildHope has been effective in the support that we're giving to them. But they can complete that anonymously if they choose to do so, or they can tell us who they are. And normally they tell us anyway because we're so small that the anonymity thing isn't that easy to achieve because we generally know who it is if they didn't put their name on it. So they have an opportunity to feedback and tell us whether or not we're being effective. At the process, they can request specific areas that they might want more support in and we'll try to do what we can to address that, either through individuals support to them, or we also generally have a worldwide partner workshop where we try and bring as many partners together as possible – we do that annually – and that tends to be developed as a result of feedback we get from partners throughout the year but also on areas that we're wanting to focus on. So for example our disability inclusion is going to be the main focus this year because we're wanting to support partners to increase their awareness and build strategies and things to be more inclusive. So sorry I don't know if I've answered your question.

Interviewer: Absolutely, you have. It's an interesting approach you have to reflect on your own work but also incorporate the reflections and opinions of partner organisations so you improve as a whole partnership model.

Interviewee: The other tool that I mentioned earlier, the Partnership Development Journey that I spoke about with regards to beginning a partnership, we

also revisit that periodically with the partners. That gives the opportunity to reflect back on where they were last time or where we were and have we achieved the things we were saying at the time we needed to improve on, what progress have we made. So we periodically review that as well and that gives us an opportunity to pull out areas of improvement on both sides.

Interviewer: Okay, is that the Partnership Development Tool that you mentioned earlier? Is that available on your website at all?

Interviewee: Yes it is. I'm sure it's on the website, but I can send it to you though if you would like?

Interviewer: Yes that would be brilliant. As an organisation do you think about the ways or reflect upon your discursive approach? By that I mean working with other organisations and potentially implementing a sort of 'best practice' way of doing things, or do you feel like the discourse that you have is developed alongside the partner organisations?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean I think the contexts that we work in are very different. We work in 9 different countries so the context is different to each country. In terms of recruitment we have quite a diverse team here so there's people from all round the world, and we're not able to match every partnership and programme manager with the countries that we're working in, but we try as much as possible to reflect the countries we're working in and the languages that are spoken through the team we have here. So they are able to develop a stronger understanding than if it was a load of white Europeans in the office. They're able to kind of pick up the context to have those informal discussion with partner organisations, children and young people, etc., that wouldn't be as possible if they weren't as close to the context. We also try and develop longer-term partnerships so trust is built and we can have more open and honest discussions about changes in their context. So we do have a lot of discussion with our partners and when you see the Partnership Development Journey you'll see the questions are quite open, and we do allow quite a lot of discussion around situations and the issues that they're facing. When we have the partner workshops we also try and bring in sessions around the kind of global development context and the changing political framework, which you know politics worldwide has changed so much in the last few years and I think the impact of Trump and Brexit and all those kind of things, they're having impact on the partners in a way that has never really happened before. I think that in many ways there was always this feeling of UK, European, North American funding and politics were quite stable, and now everyone's been quite rocked by the instability, and the questions that people are raising as a result of the changing political situation in the UK and America, particularly. So we try and have conversations around those kinds of things. And obviously in India for example, the Prime Minister there is of a completely different kettle of fish than in the past, and that's having an impact there. So there's always a changing political context,

which we try and keep on top of and we try and understand, because you see that has a big impact on what the partners can do. In Ethiopia is another example – we have to tread very carefully in Ethiopia because there are a number of restrictions placed on NGOs. So they have to be *very* careful in how they work. If we weren't sensitive to that, we could make all sorts of mistakes that could jeopardise the partners.

Interviewer: Is that a government policy for NGOs to abide by?

Interviewee: Yeah, so things like they're not allowed to talk about advocacy, talking about rights is quite dangerous. You have to be really, really careful. So you couldn't go in there from an advocacy framework, you'd have to go in there from a developing, good practice and demonstrating good practice in order to change things. So you'd have to approach things differently. You can still do stuff but you can't lobby the government, that kind of thing.

Interviewer: Okay, so you have to take on board the different discourses that are present within the countries that you work in and you have to incorporate the political context to work with civil society. Just moving on from that, you mentioned earlier concerning the process with regards to donor report-writing which is built upon these requirements from a European perspective. In what ways do you think that NGOs could break away from that and adopt a more grassroots focused bottom-up approach outside a hegemonic, European discourse, rather than a top-down approach?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean it's tricky. I think some organisations do achieve it. I think one of the ways that it can be achieved effectively is… A lot of stuff is focused around money, because if people don't have money to do things they really struggle to achieve them. But you can diversify the funding which does give us strength in terms of what we can say and do if you're not tied to donors, then you have more flexibility to do the work that is identified as the core need rather than trying to constantly fit the work that you're doing into a requirement of a piece of funding. So I think that flexibility and increasing resources at every level really, increasing and diversifying resources at every level is a way to give people strength. I think also strong evidence, which doesn't have to be statistically verified hard evidence that is in favour at the moment, but really good evidence of what works has a very strong impact. I think also having really strong people who represent the organisation and speak well about it can make a massive difference to an organisation. Some of our partners are just amazing representatives in the work that they're doing and they have developed very strong organisations as a result of that, so it isn't all about money. There's a lot of power issues at play, so it's a tricky one. But yeah, stronger voices and a stronger mechanism of getting those voices heard.

Interviewer: Yeah, and do you think that where there is an imbalanced power dynamic and power relations, a more grassroots-focused approach could be applied if donors and NGOs acknowledge their positionality?

Interviewee: Yeah I think so, I mean positionality and power are just massive drivers in the aid and development world, and I think organisations or people that listen to the people on the ground are going to get a more realistic and authentic response to development issues. We very strongly feel that the people who are experts are the people on the ground and we're trying to facilitate change by working closely with them, that needs to happen more and more from big scale and larger organisations. I think that one of the challenges is that it tends probably to be smaller organisations that enable that to happen more, and larger organisations are less willing or able to do that, probably because of their own structures and because they've developed into quite big monsters. But I think that the people on the ground know what the issues are and how they affect them. We can only assume things, we don't know for sure exactly what the impact is, so I think the more we listen to people, the more effective our responses will be. I think in terms of groups of children and young people in our case, people often say to us, well what's the point of a small organisation and you know it's because we do tend to reach smaller groups of children and young people who could generally be overlooked by a bigger organisation because it's just not the scale that they can work to. But in terms of their own sort of value for money, analysis or whatever, they would consider 200 children on a dumpsite, for example, is too much work to develop that project, which is where I think the position for smaller organisations comes in.

Interviewer: Yeah absolutely, well I'll rap it there. Thank you so much for you time. Is there anything else you would like to add or any further questions you wanted to ask?

Interviewee: What's your time frame?

Interviewer: My submission deadline in 15th August. But over the next few weeks I'll send you over the transcript and the paragraphs where I bring in what we've discussed so you can make sure I'm not taking things out of context.

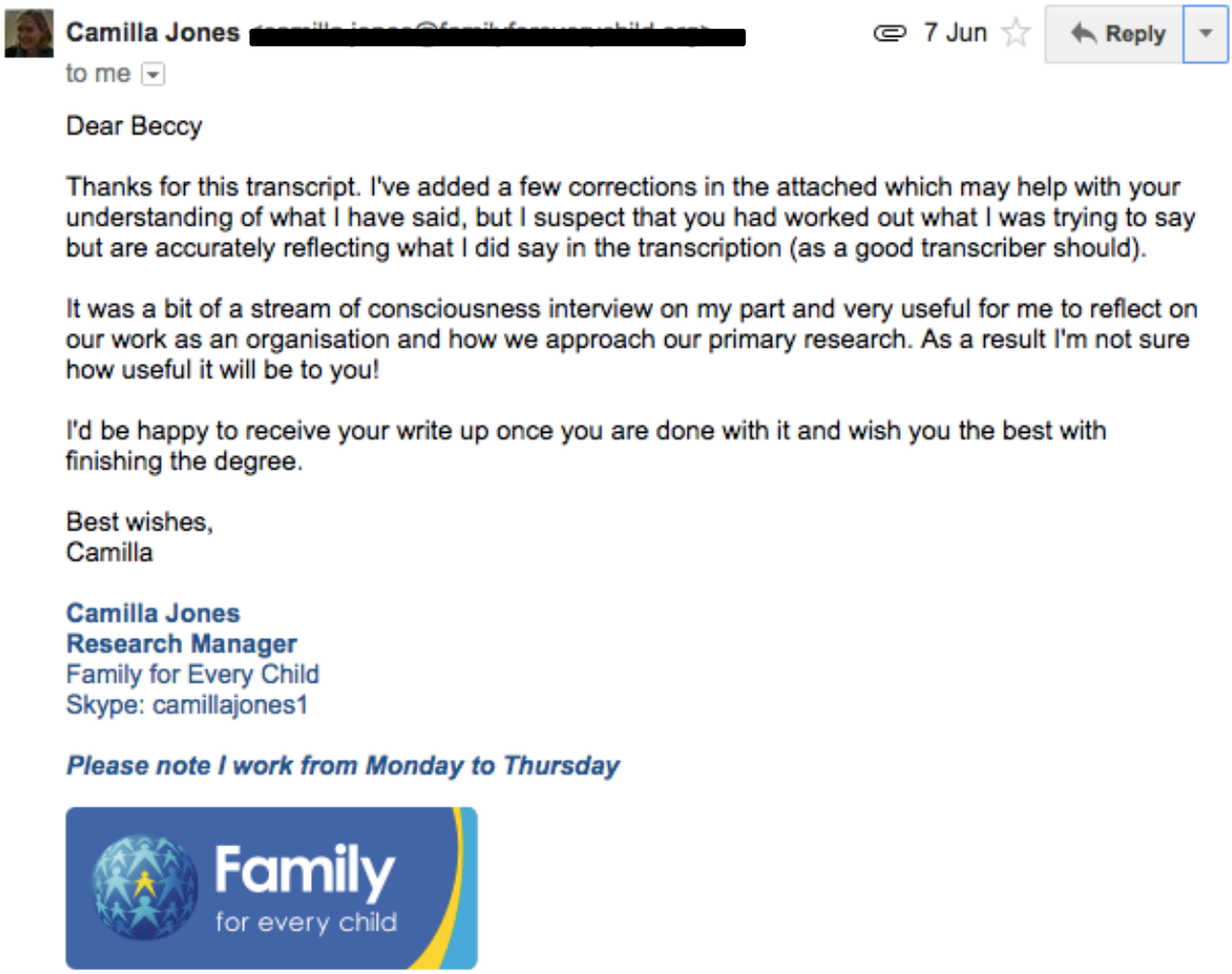
Interviewee: Okay perfect, and I'll send you over the Partner Development Journey. Okay, lovely to speak to you.

Interviewer: And you, have a good day!

Interviewee: Cheers, bye!

End.

Appendix V. Email received from Camilla Jones providing feedback of the interview.



Camilla Jones [redacted] 7 Jun Reply

to me

Dear Beccy

Thanks for this transcript. I've added a few corrections in the attached which may help with your understanding of what I have said, but I suspect that you had worked out what I was trying to say but are accurately reflecting what I did say in the transcription (as a good transcriber should).

It was a bit of a stream of consciousness interview on my part and very useful for me to reflect on our work as an organisation and how we approach our primary research. As a result I'm not sure how useful it will be to you!

I'd be happy to receive your write up once you are done with it and wish you the best with finishing the degree.

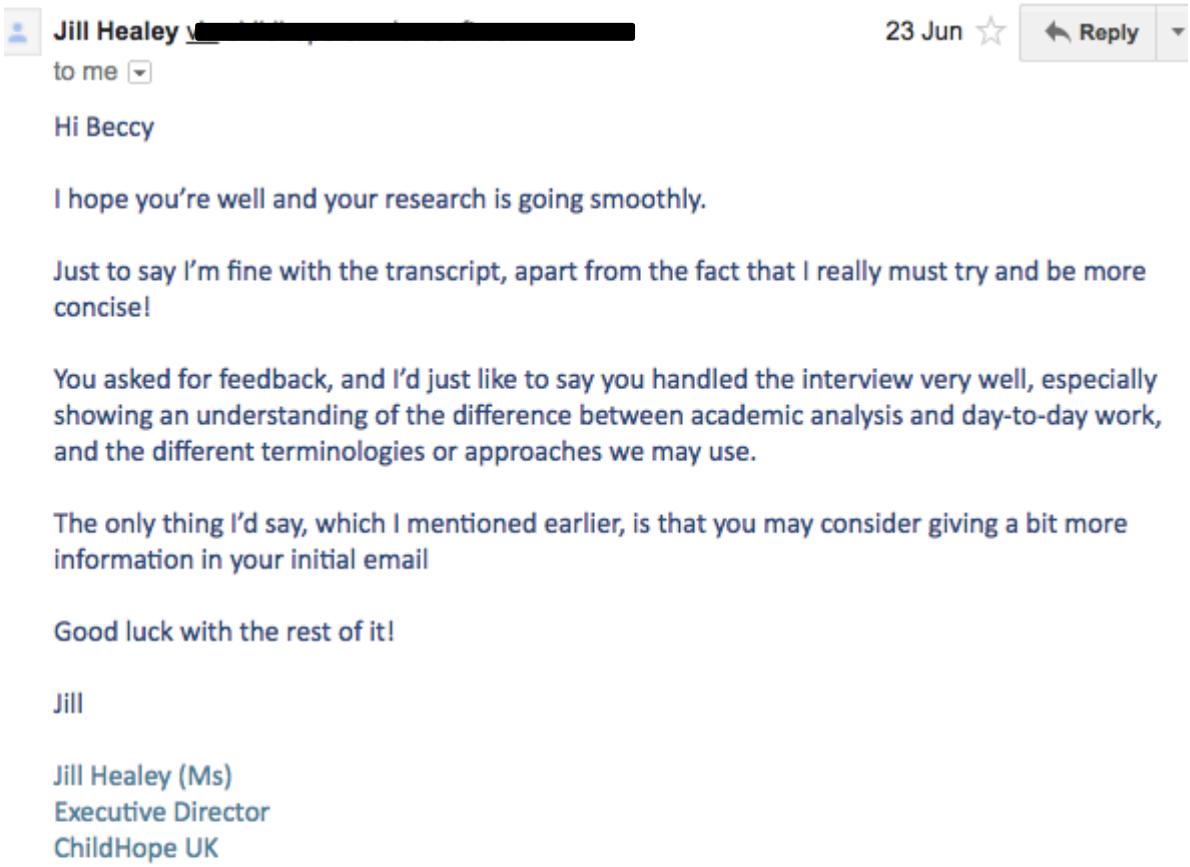
Best wishes,
Camilla

Camilla Jones
Research Manager
Family for Every Child
Skype: camillajones1

Please note I work from Monday to Thursday

Family
for every child

Appendix VI. Email received from Jill Healey providing feedback of the interview.



Jill Healey [redacted] 23 Jun ☆ Reply

to me

Hi Beccy

I hope you're well and your research is going smoothly.

Just to say I'm fine with the transcript, apart from the fact that I really must try and be more concise!

You asked for feedback, and I'd just like to say you handled the interview very well, especially showing an understanding of the difference between academic analysis and day-to-day work, and the different terminologies or approaches we may use.

The only thing I'd say, which I mentioned earlier, is that you may consider giving a bit more information in your initial email

Good luck with the rest of it!

Jill

Jill Healey (Ms)
Executive Director
ChildHope UK

Appendix VII. Table of Contacted Development NGOs

Name of NGO and Contact	**Individual**	**Date Sent***	**Response**
Restless Development UK info@restlessdevelopment.org +44 207 633 3350	Nik Hartley, CEO	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	Acknowledgement email received 15-05-17.
Age International contact@ageinternational.org.uk	Chris Roles	15-05-17	Unable to offer assistance.
Al-Khair Foundation info@alkhair.org +44 (0) 3000 999 786	Imam Qasim Rashid Ahmad, Founder	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	No response.
United Purpose up.uk@united-purpose.org +44 (0)2920 220066		15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	Email forwarded on to colleagues 31-05-17.
ChildHope UK jhealey@childhope.org.uk +44 (0) 20 7065 0960	Jill Healey, Executive Director	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	Email for more information. Replied on 21-05-2017. **INTERVIEWED**
Development in Action info@developmentinaction.org	Emily Dumont, Vice Chair of Committee; Becky Rose, Indian Programme Officer; Kavita Dattani, Chair of Committee	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	No response.
Family for Every Child info@familyforeverychild.org +44 (0) 20 7749 2490	Amanda Griffith, CEO	15-05-17	**INTERVIEWED**
Ethiopiaid support@ethiopiaid.org.uk +44 (0) 1225 476 385	Lisa Cousins, Executive Director	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	No response.
Feed the Minds info@feedtheminds.org +44 (0) 203 752 5800	Josephine Carlsson, Director	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	No response.
Global Justice Now nick.dearden@globaljustice.org.uk +44 (0) 20 7820 4900	Nick Dearden, Diretor	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	Email forwarded on to colleagues 31-05-17.
Hand in Hand International asvensson@hihinternational.org	Agnes Svensson Head of Programs; Dorothea Arndt;	15-05-17	Unable to offer assistance.

darndt@hihinternational.org	Head of Communications and Corporate Partnerships		
Human Appeal info@humanappeal.org.uk +44 (0) 161 225 0225		15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	No response.
Just a Drop Bella.Mytton-Mills@justadrop.org melissa.campbell@justadrop.org	Bella Mytton-Mills, Development Officer; Melissa Campbell, Project Coordinator	15-05-17	Out-of-office reply. Back on 16-05-17. Emailed amy.sendell@justadrop.org on 31-05-17. Emailed offering an interview on 06-07-2017.
Karuna Steven@karuna.org info@karuna.org	Ciaran Maguire, CEO	15-05-17	Invalid email addresses.
Nepal Village Foundation info@nvf.org.uk +44 (0) 2073948392	Krit Sharma, Director	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	No response.
Peace Direct dylan.mathews@peacedirect.org ruairi.nolan@peacedirect.org	Dylan Mathews, CEO; Ruairi Nolan, Head of Research and Engagement	15-05-17	Acknowledgement email received from Dylan Mathews on 20-05-17.
Seed Madagascar +44 (0) 20 8960 6629 info@seedmadagascar.org	Mark Jacobs, Managing Director,	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	No response.
Shining Life Children's Trust Email via website		15-05-17	No response.
SOS Children's Villages UK hello@sosuk.org		15-05-17	Unable to offer assistance.
WomenKind Worldwide Email via website or disha@womankind.org.uk	Caroline Haworth, Chief Executive; Disha Sughand, Feedback Co-ordinator	15-05-17	**INTERVIEWED**
Care info@careinternational.org	Laurie Lee, Chief Executive	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	Unable to offer assistance.
War on Want arehman@waronwant.org	*Asad Rehman* Executive Director	15-05-17; Reminder email sent 30-05-17	Requested interview questions, replied on 31-05-2017. No response.