

Master's Thesis

The Invisible Chain

Qualitative Study of Development Justice Movement

Lund University | Master of Science in Development Studies | SIMV24 August 2020

Author **Laura Blažková**

Supervisor **Muriel Côté**



LUND UNIVERSITY

Abstract

The thesis aims to explore the role of movements in elaborating alternative development. Through the qualitative approach, the study investigates the Development Justice movement in the Asia Pacific region as a case study. The document analysis and semi-structured interview reveal how the movement had built and formulated its demands in relation to mainstream development. The study is theoretically informed by decoloniality that allows exploring the movement in relation to historical processes between the Global North and the Global South. The study reveals that mainstream development has historically impacted groups and individuals in the Asia Pacific. These groups and individuals later formed a movement and created demands for new, alternative development. This alternative framework not only addresses the mainstream development as such but also its rationality of beliefs. The thesis provides insights into alternatives and informs the development field about the role of movements in promoting, creating and framing alternative frameworks.

Keywords: *alternative development, Asia Pacific, decoloniality, Development Justice, Global North, Global South, mainstream development, qualitative study, social movements.*

Words: 18 195

Acknowledgment

I am grateful for the generous help from the Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development, and for the exciting discussions and insightful interviews with Diyana Yahaya, Wardarina, Hien Nguyen, and Eni Lestari from the International Migrant Alliance. Thank you for your time, engagement and participation.

I would not be writing this thesis if it would not be for Lund University. There, I met teachers who encouraged me, motivated me, and gave me great space in classrooms for discussion, my thankful thoughts go to Anne Jerneck, Yahia Mahmoud, Sidsel Hansson, and Astrid Norén-Nilsson. I want to thank my supportive supervisor Muriel Côte, who has given all the space and time to create the thesis.

I am grateful for my classmates' support - I always had fascinating discussions about research processes with you all. My special thanks go to Izzan Fathurrahman, Peter Agyen Sarpong, Muhamad Adryan Sasongko, Sarrah Bouazizi, Nina Fuchsová, and Rachel Doherty for your listening, support and arguing with me.

My gratitude goes to my kind family. I would not be at this stage of my life without your loving support, patience, and encouragement. I also thank you all, Wichuta Teeratanabodee, Romana Kremláčková, Marketa Bobková & Monika Cabicarová, your friendship guided me through difficult and happy times, you are truly the best. I send the warmest thought of gratitude to you, Espen Johansen, you are my biggest inspiration. Words cannot describe how much you have taught me in the past years. I am grateful for the time, joy, laughter and challenges we have had during this writing process – you are truly my partner in crime. And my last thought goes to you, Malin Kisro, my heart keeps thanking you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	3
Acknowledgment.....	4
List of Tables	7
List of Figures	7
List of Abbreviations	8
1 Introduction.....	9
1.1 <i>Development Justice</i>	9
1.2 <i>There Was No Miracle.....</i>	11
1.3 <i>Aim and Research Questions</i>	13
1.4 <i>Outline of the Thesis</i>	14
2 Background of APWLD.....	15
2.1 <i>An Overview of APWLD.....</i>	15
2.2 <i>The Birth of APWLD in the post-colonial era</i>	17
2.3 <i>Tackling new challenges, growing and building movement solidarity.....</i>	18
2.4 <i>Adapting, transitioning and expanding women’s movements</i>	19
2.5 <i>Conclusion</i>	19
3 Literature Review	20
3.1 <i>Terminology.....</i>	21
3.1.1 <i>Global North and Global South</i>	21
3.1.2 <i>Development.....</i>	22
3.2 <i>The field of Mainstream Development.....</i>	23
3.2.1 <i>The Origins of Mainstream Development: Strategies and Ideas</i>	23
3.3 <i>The field of Social Movements.....</i>	25
3.3.1 <i>Social Movements in Development</i>	27
4 Theoretical Framework.....	29
4.1 <i>Decoloniality over Post-colonialism</i>	30
4.2 <i>Decoloniality.....</i>	31
4.3 <i>Development and Decoloniality</i>	32
5 Methodology	35
5.1 <i>Qualitative Approach.....</i>	35
5.2 <i>Research Strategy and Design.....</i>	36
5.3 <i>Data Collection: Triangulation.....</i>	37
5.4 <i>Document Analysis</i>	38
5.4.1 <i>Document Selection & Analysis Technique</i>	38

5.5	<i>Interviews</i>	40
5.5.1	<i>Semi-structured Interview & Analysis</i>	42
5.6	<i>Additional Materials</i>	44
5.7	<i>Reflection</i>	46
6	“We Have Our Development Justice Warriors”	48
6.1	<i>The Framework</i>	49
6.2	<i>The Movement</i>	51
6.3	<i>Conclusion</i>	53
7	Becoming Visible	54
7.1	<i>The good old friend, Growth</i>	55
7.2	<i>Emerging In-Between Conversations</i>	61
7.3	<i>Conclusion</i>	67
8	Discussion, Conclusion & Recommendation	68
8.1	<i>Discussion</i>	68
8.2	<i>Conclusion</i>	71
8.3	<i>Recommendation</i>	72
9	REFERENCES	74
10	APPENDICES	78
10.1	<i>Appendix 1: Example of Document Coding</i>	78
10.2	<i>Appendix 2: Interview Guide</i>	79
10.3	<i>Appendix 3: Example of Interview Coding</i>	81

List of Tables

Table 1. Summary of Data and Evidence	37
Table 2. Selected Documents for Analysis.....	39
Table 3. List of Participants.....	43
Table 4. List of Audio and Video Data.....	45

List of Figures

Figure 1. Development Justice - Candles on the Letters	65
--	----

List of Abbreviations

APWLD - Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development

FPAR – Feminist Participatory Action Research

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

UN - United Nations

WB - World Bank

1 Introduction

This opening chapter sets the context of the study. It provides background information on Development Justice, briefly addresses mainstream development in Asian context, and identifies research aims and questions. The next chapter will be discussing Development Justice in depth, and the literature review will summaries main debates on development related to the research questions and aims of the study.

1.1 Development Justice

[...] from indigenous peoples, women, migrants, peasants and goods producers, workers, and many other marginalized sectors, including people with disabilities and different identities; we all struggle. We do not struggle as individuals, but we struggle as movements. We struggle not in isolation with each other, but we struggle in solidarity as one broad but solid movement to realize Development Justice¹

In 2014, Vernie Yocogan Diano, an activist and member of the Development Justice movement, addressed in her speech the urgency to collectively act and demand an alternative development model. This urgency came from negative experiences with mainstream development models that have historically failed to deliver promises of growth and modernization (APWLD, 2016). Vernie as well as other activists from grassroots movements met at the People's General Assembly in New York to discuss their perspectives on mainstream development models, and promote the new, alternative model - Development Justice.

Born out of conversations amongst women, grassroots, indigenous, and poor-led movements, groups, and individuals in the Asia Pacific, Development Justice started addressing inequalities, injustice and challenges of the Western development system (APWLD, 2015). The Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) summarised people's demands into one broad framework that calls for five fundamental shifts in the current development model,

¹ APWLD (Jan 15, 2015) People's General Assembly for Development Justice 2014. APWLD YouTube. Retrieved from YouTube in March 2020 https://youtu.be/4K_oQhOKE0s

- 1) **Redistributive Justice** that aims to redistribute resources, wealth, power, and opportunities. It targets existing global, development systems that channel resources and wealth from developing countries to wealthy countries, from people to corporations;
- 2) **Economic Justice** that aims to create economies that enable dignified lives, accommodate needs, and facilitate capabilities, employment, and livelihoods available to all, and is not based on the exploitation of people and/or natural resources;
- 3) **Social & Gender Justice** that aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination, marginalization and exclusion that pervade communities;
- 4) **Environmental Justice** that recognises the historical responsibility of countries, and elites within countries whose production, consumption and extraction patterns have led to human rights violations, global warming, and environmental disasters;
- 5) and **Accountability to People** that requires democratic and just governance that enables people to make informed decisions over their own lives, communities, and future.

(APWLD, 2016)

These shifts aim to replace Western, hegemonic, growth-driven development model and promote Development Justice that is just and equitable (APWLD, 2016). Since its establishment in around 2012, Development Justice has grown into a broad, transnational movement that connects hundreds of groups, movements, and individuals across the Asia Pacific (APWLD, 2016). Moreover, the movement has successfully promoted the framework at local, national, and international levels. The way the movement represents its demands at all levels and works both with and partially against mainstream development has brought attention to this research.

In the Asia Pacific region, there has been a growing tendency for indigenous, grassroots, and poor-led movements to organise and work transnationally to resist various expressions of mainstream development strategies (Motta & Nilsen, 2011). Researchers have studied multiple movements, including women's movements, and several forms of protests and activism at local and national levels (Lindberg & Sverrisson, 1997, 1997; Dufour, Masson, & Caouette, 2010; Wolford, 2010; Motta & Nilsen, 2011).

Thus, to study movements in itself is not original or new; however, the context plays a significant role in how one investigates them, understands them, and think

about them (Walsh, 2018). Across the broad literature on social movements, little attention has been paid to movements in the Asia Pacific that work transnationally to challenge mainstream development and create an alternative framework. The Development Justice movement in this study brings original insights into the role of movements in mainstream development, and shows how the movement continuously re-tell the struggles and demands of marginalised groups. With this consideration in mind, the thesis aims to unwrap the process of creating, promoting, and demanding Development Justice.

1.2 There Was No Miracle

The term ‘mainstream development’ or ‘current development’ used throughout the thesis describes top-down ideology and models that promote economic growth and modernization (McEwan, 2019: 40). These models are often found in policies and global agendas for development, created explicitly by countries in the Global North for countries in the Global South² (Rist, 2014). Some of the agendas are well-known, such as the Millennium Development Goals³ (MDGs) or the Sustainable Development Goals⁴ (SDGs). Both agendas are examples of how mainstream development represents global, systematic, top-down strategies that target poverty, inequality, hunger, and other development issues in the Global South (Rist, 2014).

Although the intentions of these agendas are often good, the results and impacts might have negative effects on already marginalized and poor groups and individuals (McEwan, 2019). Researchers have found evidence of negative side-effects of these agendas and criticised mainstream development for its focus on growth and use of measurements, which often overlook the complex issues of , for

² For further clarification of this term, *see* chapter 2

³ The United Nations Millennium Development Goals are eight goals that all 191 UN member states have agreed to try to achieve by the year 2015. Signed in 2000, countries committed to combat poverty, hunger, diseases, illiteracy, and other development and global issues. For more information, *see* <https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

⁴ The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals were adopted in 2015 in reaction to MDGs. SDGs contain 17 Goals that tackle inequality, poverty, hunger, gender inequality, and other global challenges. For more information, *see* <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>

example, social aspects of poverty or gender inequality (Rigg, 2016; Rist, 2014; McEwan, 2019).

However, these global agendas are not the only examples of mainstream development. The term refers to general strategies created under the Western, growth-driven ideas of development (Rist, 2014). These ideas are promoted as efficient tools that can navigate a country from being an “underdeveloped” towards modern and “developed” (McEwan, 2019: 40). In the regional context of Asia Pacific, the following example from the 1990s illustrates such growth-driven, development strategies. It is the story that has been told and retold that it has lost its ability to impress - the Asian miracle (Rigg, 2016: 1).

In 1993, the World Bank (WB) praised Asia (mostly Thailand, Viet Nam, Philippines and Malaysia) for achieving outstanding economic growth and named private and direct foreign investments as the engine of successful development and modernity (WB, 1993). This gloried model promised economic growth to many, not only in Southeast Asia but also in the Global South. More than twenty years later, the miraculous engine failed and did not convert enough motion to resolve poverty issues in the region (Rigg, 2016). Instead, the growth-driven, top-down development models led to the privatization of natural resources, high levels of production and consumption, and generated extreme forms of exploitation, global inequalities and injustices (Grugel & Uhlin, 2012).

The negative side-effects of the growth-driven development models have been well documented in a series of studies (McEwan, 2019; Rist, 2014, Escobar, 2011; Li, 2007). Such models left marginalized people in poor conditions and created additional barriers to education, resources or gender representation (UNDP, 2020; Sen, 1999). In reaction to the failed development, many marginalized, poor, and rural groups demanded new models in development with less focus on the economic growth (Rist, 2014; Escobar, 2011). One of the proposed models and demands, created from experiences of failed development and discussion among marginalised

groups, is the Development Justice. This work will generate fresh insights into newly proposed alternatives and explore the role of movements in elaborating alternative frameworks in the development field.

1.3 Aim and Research Questions

With the above contextualization in mind, the aim of this research is twofold. First, an overall aim is to explore the role of movement in mainstream development. This investigation will depart from decoloniality, which seeks to make visible, open up, and advance positionalities that displace Western modernity as the only framework of development (Walsh, 2018: 17). Subsequently, the second aim is to understand how the Development Justice movement not only acts but also promotes the framework at national and international levels. Here, decoloniality opens room for further examination of actions, processes and perspectives that led to creation of an alternative framework. Based on these aims, the following research questions guide the examination of Development Justice movement and ask:

What does Development Justice reveal about the role of social movement in elaborating alternative development?

- a) *How did Development Justice emerge as an alternative framework to mainstream development?*

These questions provide an important opportunity to advance the understanding of movements and alternatives in development field. The research informs the field of development about emerging concepts in the Global South.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters (including the introduction). The first chapter has been described and provided an overview of the study. Following chapter will bring background information about APWLD and inform the reader about its historical engagement with mainstream development. The third chapter, literature review, will summarize key concepts and theories in mainstream development and social movement. The next chapter will introduce the theoretical framework - decoloniality. The fifth methodological chapter will explain and describe the analysis process. In the next two chapters I will address research's aim and the sub-question. These chapters will offer both descriptive and analytical discussions of the finding in relation to the theory and literature review. The thesis ends with chapter eight where I will discuss the main research question, overall findings and propose recommendations for further studies.

2 Background of APWLD

This chapter provides historical information about the APWLD, its programmes and setting in which Development Justice was born. As will be explained shortly, the Development Justice was built upon existing networks of women's movements, groups and individuals in the Asia Pacific, therefore the APWLD is a significant part of the research background and a case study. The collected data about the movement, which will be later used for an analysis, will be selected from the APWLD online publication and reports. This research, however, does not evaluate the organisation as a whole but focuses on one aspect of the organisation and that is the Development Justice movement.

2.1 An Overview of APWLD

APWLD describes itself as “a regional, non-partisan, non-profit, non-governmental, women' rights organisation” that holds consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (APWLD, 2015). APWLD strongly supports feminist groups in the Asia Pacific to influence policies and development at the local, national, regional, and international levels (APWLD, 2013). APWLD's strength has been in its ability to build movements of women's advocates at regional and international levels, and how it mobilises networks of people and amplifies marginalized voices (APWLD, 2013: 5).

APWLD has over five hundred members from twenty-seven countries in the Asia Pacific (APWLD, 2015). They connect movements, groups, and individuals across the region and collaborate with movements and groups from other areas of the world (APWLD, 2014; APWLD, 2015). APWLD's international secretariat is based in Chiang Mai, Thailand and was established in 1997. The first secretariat was originally in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (APWLD.org)⁵.

⁵ APWLD (n.d.) *About Us*. Retrieved in February 2020 from <https://apwld.org/about-us/who-we-are/>

Since the establishment, APWLD has been promoting and securing women's rights and Development Justice. Through its nine programmes, such as; *Feminist Law & Practice, Women in Power, Breaking Out of Marginalisation, Climate Justice, Labour, Migration, Grounding the Global, Feminist Development Justice and Women Interrogating Trade, and Corporate Hegemony*, APWLD empowers women and their movements and works to enable women to use law and human rights as an instrument of social change for equality, justice and Development Justice in the Asia Pacific region (APWLD.org)⁶. Their programmes are mostly financed by external funding and grants, for example, one of their common and biggest donors is SIDA – the Swedish International Development Coordination Agency (APWLD, 2013; APWLD, 2014; APWLD, 2015).

One of the main methods and strategies used that support women's movements and groups is the Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR). "FPAR creates new forms of collaborative relationships essential to empower women and to amplify their voice" (APWLD.org)⁷. APWLD's principal purpose for this method and strategy is to "change systems and structures to improve the lived of marginalised women." The APWLD's FPAR principles are to: bring structural changes, amplify women's voices, a decision in the hands of the community, recognise diversity, aim to shift power, foster movement-building, and builds capacity⁸. Overall, the FPAR strategy enables communities and participants to set the agenda, collect and analyse data and control the use of the outcomes⁹.

Since its existence, APWLD has experienced and processed different stages of mainstream development. As termed by APWLD's founding member Virada Somsasdi in her 'Institutional memories and advocacy work of APWLD' APWLD's journey went through three different waves. These waves will be

⁶ APWLD (n. d.) *Our Programmes*. Retrieved in February 2020 from <https://apwld.org/our-programmes/>

⁷ APWLD (n. d.) *FPAR*. Retrieved in February 2020 from <https://apwld.org/feminist-participatory-action-research-fpar/>

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

described briefly to provide background information about APWLD and its experiences with mainstream development and growth-driven strategies.

2.2 The Birth of APWLD in the post-colonial era

The first APWLD's wave started between 1986 and 1997. At the time when APWLD was founded, many countries in the Asia and the Pacific experienced rapid industrialization in the post-colonial era. The profit-oriented and growth-driven approach to development created inequalities and power imbalances between the Northern countries and the South (Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019). The development model put pressure on farmers and exploited natural resources. Some of the results of such development resulted in the degradation of the environment, deforestation and destruction of traditional subsistence farming and livelihoods (Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019). As said,

This growth-driven development approach, combined with existing patriarchal values, placed the majority of women in extremely vulnerable situations. In the early 1990s, there were rapid pressures and changes in the region from industrialisation and neoliberalism. The region experienced a paradigm shift in development, from development through aid to development through trade and investment. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the World Bank (WB) aggressively pushed for growth-driven policies in the region, eventually gaining the power to influence the economic, financial and trade policies in the Asia Pacific.

(Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019: 16)

As a reaction and response to negative consequences of growth-driven, neoliberal and development strategies, the APWLD initiated programmes such as Women and Democracy, Women and Religion, Economic Rights and Violence Against Women (APWLD.org)¹⁰. These programmes relied on regional meetings, research, advocacy, and training of members of the APWLD. The APWLD began to form a network of women's organisations, shared information across communities and mobilised women's rights actions (Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019).

¹⁰ APWLD (n. d.) *About Us*. Retrieved in March 2020 from <https://apwld.org/about-us/who-we-are/>

2.3 Tackling new challenges, growing and building movement solidarity

The second APWLD's wave started in 1997 and ended by 2007,

this time was when dramatic changes were taking place in the region, and globally. The Thai financial crisis spread to several other countries in Southeast Asia, spawning the unprecedented Asian Crisis of 1997-1998. The IMF's solutions to these countries were on the condition of imposing neoliberal trade policies of deregulation, privatisation and liberalisation, which compelled many Asian governments to eliminate subsidies, cut tax, and open their markets to foreign investment and ownership. By the end of 2000, economic and cultural globalisation was going full speed where collaborations were taking place between the lead global institutions like the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF in partnership with Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and countries and their transnational corporations. But the promise of prosperity from globalization did not happen.

(Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019: 28)

The harmful impacts of globalisation were described in APWLD External Evaluation Report 1997-2000 as follows “[...] the world saw an increasing disparity between the rich and the poor, the exacerbation of poverty, social injustice and inequalities along the lines of gender, class, race and ethnicity. The richest 225 people today control \$1 trillion, which is equal to the annual income of the poorest 47% of the world's population” (Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019).

APWLD supported grassroots women mobilisation, and built a network of groups, movements, and individuals across the region to gather evidence of the negative consequences. APWLD began promoting its demands at regional forums, such as Beijing+ 5, and co-organised forums, meetings with international organisations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Defenders, and the UN¹¹. APWLD published several publications, reports, and documents on the issues, injustice, and struggles in the region. In 2017, APWLD celebrated its 20-year anniversary (Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019).

¹¹ APWLD (n. d.) *About Us*. Retrieved in March 2020 from <https://apwld.org/about-us/who-we-are/>

2.4 Adapting, transitioning and expanding women's movements

The third wave is dated between 2008 and 2017, during this time:

the world faced a global financial crisis triggered by a proliferation of financial products linked to risky mortgage loans in the United States. The 2008 financial meltdown affected many countries simultaneously and led to a global economic crisis [...] This crisis also affected the donor-funding environment in the development sector. Donor countries reassessed the aid allocations and shifted funding priorities toward the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

(Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019: 40).

In the meantime, the APWLD network was growing. The organisation connected movements across the region and became engaged in shaping the post-2015 agenda through advocacy, mobilising, analysis and movement building, such as the UN, lobbying governments, organising a People's General Assembly and formation of networks (Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019). In 2013, APWLD along with civil society groups, representing 92 organisations from 21 countries and representing various major groups and stakeholders, collectively developed a series of key demands for lobbying in the post-2015 process – which was framed as Development Justice (Taguiwalo & Chakma, 2019).

2.5 Conclusion

The evolution of APWLD went through different events, crises and development frameworks that motivated APWLD to create strategies of resistance through its nine programmes, to mobilise and unite movements and groups in the region, and to promote demands built from struggles and marginalisation. The organisation has a long history of evidence-based experiences with many forms of mainstream development. However, there is little known about how Development Justice emerged as an *alternative* to mainstream development. To bring the movement into this discussion, I will summarize the mainstream development strategies and ideas as well as an overview of movements in development in the literature review. This will provide a starting point of the research and background information for the research question and aims.

3 Literature Review

This chapter is a theoretical literature review that will discuss concepts and subjects related to the field of development and social movements. For the literature review itself, I found support in *Writing the Literature Review: A Practical Guide* by Efron & Ravid (2019). Both authors are experienced in the field of educational research and their work guided me through this process. Efron & Ravid (2019: 2) describe the literature review as a systematic examination of the scholarly literature about one's topic and area of focus. Thus, the literature review is a significant component of study that provides background for the research, narrows the topic of the research, and helps to develop data collection and analysis (Efron & Ravid, 2019:5).

To write a trustworthy interpretation and review of the debates and concepts, it is advised to clarify terms and key concepts used in the thesis, situate the topic within the historical background, recognize influential researchers and scholars, and generally discuss debates in the field of study (Efron & Ravid, 2019: 8). To follow these recommendations for literature review, I used literature, electronic databases and academic materials used during my master studies to find relevant documents and debates in the field of development studies. I first evaluated around fifty academic works and found around thirty of them to be the most relevant and significant for my research. This evaluation and writing process developed from seeing and finding interconnection between debates and research.

As a result of the literature examination, the review presents three main subchapters, which first, discuss the terminology used throughout this thesis; secondly, examine the Western/Global North origins of development; and lastly, discuss concepts and topics on social movements in general and in the field of development.

3.1 Terminology

3.1.1 *Global North and Global South*

The way in which parts of the world are described can give a great deal of insight into who has the power to decide which qualities and indicators are valued and which are denigrated (McEwan 2019: 17). McEwan, professor of Human Geography with main research interests in the ethical the role of postcolonial and decolonial politics in shaping responses to global challenges, explains that different concepts are used to describe parts of the world, such as ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ or ‘developing’ countries, Western and Southern countries, Global North and South, First, Second and Third world (Mohanty, 2003).

The terms Western/Global North and Global South are generally used in this thesis. This is a generalized term and geographically inaccurate, “but it is perhaps the least problematic means of distinguishing between relatively wealthy countries and continents (e.g. Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, USA and Canada) and relatively poorer ones (e.g. Africa, Asia, Latin America and Caribbean and the Pacific) (McEwan 2019: 17, Rist, 2014). Although other terms such as developed/developing countries are still used in development literature, it is often used to distinguish between richer and poorer countries and implies the existence of a magical cut-off point where countries stop being ‘developing’ and become ‘developed’ (McEwan, 2019).

Thus, it is perhaps most useful to think of North/South as a metaphorical rather than a geographical distinction, where North refers to the pathways of transnational capital and South to the marginalized poor of the world regardless of geographical location (McEwan, 2019: 17, Mohanty, 2003). In this research, I will borrow McEwan’s terminology and refer to the countries in the Global North as those who are relatively wealthy, and the countries in Global South who are relatively poorer, but most importantly this reference acknowledge that both global actors are

connected through historical, economic and political relationships (McEwan, 2019).

3.1.2 Development

Defining development creates numerous difficulties. McEwan (2019: 16) explains that development is one of the most complicated words in English language. In development studies, the term has been defined as the use of resources to relieve poverty (Ibib). However, as McEwan discusses, the term can mean *different things at different times and in different places*. It has no clear meaning with little international consensus, but many nation-states and international organisations claim to pursue it and it is assumed by development organisations to be possible (McEwan, 2019:16).

I find similarities in Rist's definition. In his book *History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (2014), Rist argues that development is part of modern religion. It is part of beliefs in economic growth that play a significant role in shifting mainstream development. The author further explains that development, from the Global North perspective, has been defined as evolution, progress or modernity (2014). This perspective and type of development is, in this research, called **mainstream development**, and its origins will be discussed in the next sub-chapter. However, before I continue with further debate on the origins and history of mainstream development, another term needs to be addressed, and that is **alternative development**, especially the 'alternative' part of the term.

Generally, this term is used when describing another model, perspective, or framework that stands in opposition to what is the mainstream. The literature offer limited options on definitions of the word alternative. Thus, after a close investigation of the word, I concluded that the meaning in the word itself could perhaps be the most useful for the research.

The word *alternative* comes from Latin ‘alternate’ or ‘alterno’ meaning interchange. It means **inter**-change, not **ex**-change, as it is often implied when discussing an alternative. It means *a choice between two or more options*. The ‘inter’ of the term means *between*, in other words, an alternative could be understood as *between-changing*. In this research, the alternative is not viewed as a model or process or exchange, but as *a process of changing*.

3.2 The field of Mainstream Development

3.2.1 *The Origins of Mainstream Development: Strategies and Ideas*

The concept of development has been historically shaped and re-shaped by many actors, institutions and scholars who have different images, purposes and aims of what development should be, by whom, and to who (Rist, 2014: 4). In contemporary debates, one of the main critiques has addressed and opened up new questions about the Western understanding of progress, modernity, and development. To understand the basis of the arguments regarding development as a Western idea and image, it is first important to understand where and how development strategies historically originated.

Since the end of the Second World War, development went through an evolution of theories and rapidly expanded into political and economic discussions. One of the first discussions about economic development practice can be traced to the inaugural speech of President Truman in 1947 (Escobar, 2011; Rist, 2014). There, Truman encouraged rich and “developed” nations (those in the Global North) to develop “developing” countries through economic investments and trade. As he described in his speech: “More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas” (Escobar, 2011). These words divided world into new, and at the same time old, unequal settings of power between the Global North and Global South.

After the speech, the Western countries have begun operating in the Global South on the belief that development and growth were synonymous (Escobar, 2011; Rist, 2014). International organizations such as the UN and World Bank characterised development as a practice that aims to increase production and growth under the assumption that more is better (Rist, 2014). In this context, such a system has promoted self-regulated markets with freedom for capital, goods, services and freeing-up trade at the global level (Rist, 2014; Escobar, 2011). Moreover, it has advocated for the privatisation of public goods, resources and services (Rist, 2014: 18). In practice, development projects were often funded from the West and focused on the modernisation of “traditional” communities and their integration into the modern economy (Rist, 2014; Escobar, 2011).

To return to the ideas and beliefs of development, Arturo Escobar, in his book *Encountering Development - The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (2011), mapped the origins of Western narratives of development. As Rist (2014), Escobar found a rich history of development in the Global North, and argued that Western ideas and imaginaries begun the series of development proposals. For example, the narrative of poverty was often defined as an economic deficiency and thus, target of development strategies. However, this economic target was later proven to be wrong and insufficient. Escobar points out the failure of development strategies came from Western ideas of poverty and development solutions to it. These ideas were based on Western power that regulated development practice and forms of knowledge (p. 10).

Although Rist (2014), as well as Escobar (2011), did not offer answers that would fully explain why mainstream development accepted an economic solution to the issues, they both invite the reader to challenge the narratives of Western imagination and practice of development. To conclude, Escobar proposed investigating alternative ideas and practices of development in “concrete local settings” and supported the promotion of pluralistic grassroots movements.

Although this proposal was written few years ago, his call is still relevant today as mainstream development continues with its legacy.

Since the two influential works were published, many alternative proposals were investigated across the development studies, such as feminism (Mohanty, 2003) or sustainable development (Rist, 2014). Even among the mainstream development actors, alternatives were proposed. The UN defined today's alternative as

alternative development is much more than switching from one crop to another. It requires creating products for which there is market demand, supporting entrepreneurship, involving civil society, empowering the disenfranchised and preserving the environment.¹²

This alternative proposal is called *alternative*, but as it calls for creating new products and markets, it continues promoting the mainstream ideas of development that are rooted in growth-driven strategies. In the UN proposal, the alternative is still focused on the outside, rather than challenging its own beliefs, knowledge and strategies of development. To challenge the ways of thinking within and with mainstream development, one might find support in decoloniality, which confronts Western domination of ideas. This theoretical proposition will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.3 The field of Social Movements

Social movements have produced some of the most significant social changes of the past few centuries (Fominaya, 2014). During the 1960s and 1970s, many groups of individuals organized to pursue political goals, influence democratisation processes, and address issues of labour (McCarthy, 2009; della Porta & Diani, 2006). Many movements started as a political reaction to a change or new policy, e. g. anti-war movements during the Cold War or civil campaigns in the US. Since the 1960s, social movements have expanded and become a powerful tool for

¹² The UN (n.d.) The United Nations on Alternative Development. Retrieved in June 2020 from <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/alternative-development/index.html?ref=menuseide>

women's liberation movements or environmental protests (della Porta & Diani, 2006: 6). For its powerful outcomes and the ways movements influenced policies, they became crucial points of analysis and research for many scholars.

Tarrow, one of the key scholars and researchers in areas of social movements, collective action and political sociology, addresses in his book *Power in Movement* (2011) characteristics, dynamics and consequences of social movements. Tarrow (2011) explains social movements as part of collective action that is 'used by people who lack regular access to representative institutions, who act in the name of new or unaccepted claims, and who behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others or authorities' (p.7). For Tarrow (2011), movements have distinct social processes where people engage in political conflicts that are meant to promote a change. Like Tarrow, Della Porta & Diani (2006: 20) argue that social movements are distinct social processes, however, they are also linked by networks. According to Diani (1992: 13) social movements themselves are in fact, based on networks of informal interactions.

Most studies from Europe and North America showed that networks play, in most cases, an essential part for collective action (see Crossley, 2007; Diani & McAdam, 2003, della Porta & Diani, 2006). Moreover, many studies paid attention to social networks concerning mobilisation strategies (della Porta, 1988, Diani 2004) and collective identity (Diani & Bison, 2004). Highlighting the importance of networking, research has also mapped networks through social network analysis (SNA), using statistical software. Such techniques were able to investigate the structures and forms of social networks (Scott, 2000, Freeman, 2004, Sounders, 2007). However, most of these cases, theories, and methods, were developed in the Global North.

Diane Davis (1999) argues that social movements are built on 'Western' assumptions about modernity and historical experiences. This makes the context of social movement networks limited to mostly one region, and generally neglecting experiences of social movements and networks from the Global South.

A similar argument is well documented in the *Citizenship and Social Movements: Perspective from the Global South*, edited by Thompson and Tapscott (2010). The authors argue that the literature on social movements “is vast and extends back nearly a century, it remains a truism that by far the bulk of the writing and theorizing in this field has been oriented to the analysis of movements in the Global North.” (p. 2). This mode of analysis often denies the complexity of social movements, historical background and struggles in the Global South.

The established research on social movements revealed that studies have not treated movements in the Global South in much detail. The general publications lack explanation and provide insufficient examination of other forms and purposes of movements, especially in the Global South. Coming from these limitations, the thesis focuses on the movement that emerged, developed, and originated in the Global South.

3.3.1 Social Movements in Development

Several scholars explored and investigated social movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially with a focus on political changes and democratization (see Kanishka & Rodan, 2007, Weiss, 2017 & Kengkij & Hewison, 2009). Many movements in the Global South deal with wider social and political struggles, historical conflicts, and development. These movements, especially in Africa and Latin America are well documented. However, the movements in development that deal with privatization of public goods and resources, especially in rural areas, poverty and inequalities are still not as researched as other movements in the political field (Rist, 2014: 18) nor movements that stand against the mainstream system, such as the MDGs and SDGs.

Several researchers have focused on and studied movements that work towards the protection of land rights, resource distribution and farm production (Wang & Woods, 2013). The most known and by many considered the most important

transnational social movement network La Via Campesina brings together millions of peasants, landless people and rural women to defend peasant agriculture for food sovereignty to promote social justice¹³. On this movement, a great amount of work has been done (Borras, 2004; McMichael, 2006).

Many rural groups and small movements connect to larger network movements like La Via Campesina. They enhance their political voice and collectively resist neoliberal globalization projects (Borras 2008; Woods 2007). To understand how these large network movements, work in particular places and among small groups, Wendy Wolford (2010) zooms closer to the large movement and investigates how social mobilisation and identities within a large movement works.

Wolford's research comes from her experience with the large, national movement the Rural Landless Worker's Movements (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Terra, or MST*) in Brazil. Wolford points at a relation between large movement and small groups, showing that it is not always possible to produce a coherent movement identity among small groups of the movement. This brings the work of large, international movements into a question. Such an observation shifted the choice of a case for this research and supported the decision to focus on Global South movements that originated from local groups and communities. Wolford's research has motivated this thesis to question how movements, from the Global South, position themselves within mainstream development.

¹³ La Via Campesina (n.d.) *Who are we?* Retrieved in March 2020 from <https://viacampesina.org/en/>

4 Theoretical Framework

The literature review revealed a need to examine the movements that emerge in the Global South in response to Western and growth-driven development models. The thesis introduces the Development Justice movement and aims to understand its resistance to mainstream development. It also looks at the way the movement creates new epistemological perspectives that displace Western rationality.

To understand and investigate the ways Development Justice emerged, the thesis will depart from decolonial theory. This theory has evolved through intensive historical and academic debates on Western modernity/coloniality and brings connection to the Western narratives of development (Walsh, 2018). To begin with, the evolution of this theory and its position will be discussed to understand where and how decoloniality leads the theoretical application in this research. In relation to the thesis, it is also reasonable to define this theoretical choice over postcolonial theory, since the dialogues between these two approaches challenge the insularity of historical narratives emanating from Europe, particularly in the context of demonstrating the Western ideas of modernity and development.

To get a comprehensive overview of decoloniality for the research, three primary texts have been selected: *On Decoloniality: concepts, analytics, praxis* by Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh (2018), *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* by Walter Mignolo (2011) and *Postcolonialism, Decoloniality and Development* by Cheryl McEwan (2019). These texts were selected based on a literature overview, together they support, comprehend each other, and create greater theoretical support for the analysis.

4.1 Decoloniality over Post-colonialism

As Bhabra (2014: 119) argues, both postcolonial and decolonial arguments have been most successful in their challenge to the insularity of historical narratives emerging from Europe. As for postcolonialism, the theory and condition emerged as an intellectual movement consolidating and developing around the ideas of Edward W. Said, Homi K. Bhabha, and Gayatri C. Spivak. In general, postcolonialism has two possible meanings: first, referring to temporal aftermath after colonialism and second, critical aftermath - that is, cultures, discourses, and critiques that lie beyond but remain closely influenced by colonialism (McEwan, 2019: 24).

In contrast, decoloniality has its root and reason in the modern/colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2011). Decoloniality follows, derives from, and responds to the ongoing colonial process and condition originated in the Global North (Walsh, 2018). It denotes ways of thinking, knowing, being, and doing that began with, but also precede the colonial enterprise and invasion. It implies the recognition and undoing of the hierarchical structures that control life, knowledge, and thought that are intertwined with Western modernity (Walsh, 2018: 17).

Both postcolonialism and decoloniality emerged from political developments contesting the colonial world order established by the Global North (Bhabra, 2014). Although postcolonial theory would be applicable in this research, it offers limited space in understanding the epistemological aspects of the movement. Therefore, this thesis finds support in decoloniality that allows for further examination and gives a possibility to investigate actions, strategies, and ways of thinking that lie in lived experiences and struggles formulated to confront the Western, modern, economically driven, development system.

4.2 Decoloniality

Decoloniality has a history and praxis of more than 500 years. From its beginnings in the Americas, decoloniality has been a part of (trans)local struggles, movements, and actions to resist and refuse the legacies and ongoing relations and patterns of power established by external and internal colonialism, ideas of modernisation and Western ideologies (Walsh, 2018: 15). The Development Justice movement responds to and recreates the Western ideologies of development. Thus, the theory offers analytical examination of the Development Justice movement in relation to historical processes of development, and the way it creates new, alternative frameworks.

Decoloniality emerges from the need to delink from the narrative and promises of modernity - not to resist, but to re-exist. In this sense, decoloniality is both an analysis of modernity and a set of creative processes leading towards new ways of doing¹⁴. However, Mignolo (2018: 146) points out that decoloniality cannot be understood without understanding modernity/coloniality that engendered it. Thus, the study's analysis will depart from the examination of Western ideas and strategies of development. I will search for evidence that reveals the Western ideas of development, and the new processes that created Development Justice movement.

For decolonization to be fully operative, it also needs to create alternatives to modernity. In this case, it is Development Justice that represents the alternative to mainstream development. Mignolo (2018: 113) suggests to think from the experience of what modernity/development has disavowed to show that modernity/development is only half of the story. To explore the experiences that

¹⁴ see also Mohanty (2003)

have led to the establishment of Development Justice, the connection between decoloniality and development should be defined.

4.3 Development and Decoloniality

Decoloniality in development studies and debates do not appear to have practical connections. Nevertheless, despite existing divergences, several convergences provide opportunities to connect these fields of research and debates to move beyond the impasse. Bringing together development and decoloniality in meaningful dialogues acknowledges modernity as a part of the development project.

As Mignolo (2018: 113) states: development means modernity. It is the ideology of modernity and economic progress that divided the world into developed and developing countries. The Global North created specific imaginaries of ‘modern’ countries and assumed that the Global North alone could define and solve problems in other parts of the world – in the less ‘modern’ countries (McEwan, 2019: 37). The Western ideas of modernity appeal mostly in the global agendas for development, between the Global North and South mentioned earlier in the literature review.

Decolonially speaking, these ideas of a modern, developed world and sort of a plan for how to achieve it is, according to Mignolo, a fiction and a construction made by actors, institutions, and languages that benefit those who built the imaginary and sustain it, through knowledge and financial means (Mignolo, 2018: 110). The idea of modernity and development, which promises happiness and salvation through progress, modernization, development, and market liberalisation, is often tied up with the logic of coloniality and power (Mignolo, 2018: 142). The colonial matrix of power is the complex combination of the rhetoric of modernity (progress, development, growth) and the logic of coloniality (poverty, misery, inequality).

Like Mignolo, McEwan (2019) points out the Western ideas of modernity and continues with the argument writing that decoloniality starts with provincializing European development thought, opening the possibility of reorienting development studies. This is not European development as a geographical entity, but rather European intellectual traditions that have made it impossible to think of anywhere in the world without invoking categories and concepts. These concepts include modernity and development itself.

Decolonizing the field of development involves understanding of how development produced its narratives and stories, how these have political and material effects on people. It involves new forms of activism and their possibilities as genuine partners in the development (McEwan, 2019: 410). From this perspective, the research explores the movement and its action of activism through concepts of **insurgency and resistance**.

The concept of **insurgency** is certainly not new. It has been used to refer to insurrections and rebellions, to consecratory actions and historical initiatives that confront the structures, politics, and practices of power and domination (Walsh, 2018). Yet rarely are such references connected with relation to re-existence.

Walsh's (2018: 34) conceptualisation of the re-existence urges, puts forth, and advances ideas from the ground up and from other imaginaries, visions, and knowledge. Here, Walsh's conceptualization offers an investigation into the action of creation, construction, and intervention of Development Justice. It allows to revitalise the struggles and actions of historically excluded communities, groups, peoples, and movements (Walsh, 2018: 34). Such struggles and actions have opened paths that lead to new arrangements of thought, knowledge, theorizing, and thinking within and toward new constructions of development thinking, doing, and processing (Walsh, 2018: 34). Thus, in this research, it is not the rebellion that I search for, but re-existence and re-formulation of development.

The second reference for the analysis is **resistance**. Resistance has been a term used by social movements themselves and by those who purport to study them (McEwan, 2019; Mignolo, 2019; Walsh, 2018). Resistance is often defined as an opposition or resistance that activate social action¹⁵. However, in this theoretical standpoint, resistance does not just resist or oppose, but begins to propose. The defensive opposition of a social, cultural, and political reaction *against* has moved towards a propositional and insurgent offensive *for* (Walsh, 2018:31). The resistance, in research, means that Development Justice is not only *against* mainstream development, but proposes *for*.

Together, resistance and insurgence are not simply gestures, stances, or actions to be described as an analytical observation. Their power and potential are in the way how to once again construct strategies but also epistemological ideas and narratives (Walsh, 2018: 48). Thus, the analysis of Development Justice will bring insights into how movement elaborate alternative that replace the Western narratives of development and the ongoing patterns of domination.

¹⁵ Note: As mention in the literature review on the field of social movements, the resistance was often described as protests, opposition to political changes.

5 Methodology

In this chapter, I reason for my methodological choices, describe research strategy, data collection and analysis processes. Theoretical propositions and thoughts drive the methodological part. Here I bring APWLD documents, publications, and other materials for analysis and build a structure for the case. The chapter will conclude by indicating methodological reflections. After this chapter, the analysis will follow.

5.1 Qualitative Approach

Researchers have investigated social movements in a variety of ways. Previous studies have dealt with several quantitative as well as qualitative research techniques and tools analysing and investigating the role, mechanisms, and structures of movements (Crossley, 2010). The quantitative research offers an effective way of translating large data into structures and connections that would be otherwise invisible (Crossley, 2010). However, since quantitative researchers often rely on numbers and percentages in a table or chart to convey meaning (Hesse-Biber & Leave, 2004), the abstraction and simplification translated, for example into graphs or matrix, can overlook and filter important elements of social life, meaning or experiences that are significant for this research (Crossley, 2010; Saunders, 2017).

In contrast, a qualitative researcher is interested in interviews, observations, and focuses on insights, the meaning of experiences, and hidden structures (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Those meanings and insights are often investigated through the eyes of those who experience it (Hesse-Biber & Leave, 2004; Saunders, 2017). This advantage of the qualitative approach has shown to be an effective approach in understanding and investigating movements. Thus, after an examination of previous methods, the qualitative approach was chosen as the most suitable for the aim of this research and chosen theory. Since the theory itself has holistic characteristics, the approach to the data analysis holistically. This means that the

practice of qualitative research was reflexive, and process-driven, ultimately producing culturally situated and theory-enmeshed knowledge through an ongoing interplay between theory and methods, researcher and researched (Hesse-Biber & Leave, 2004).

5.2 Research Strategy and Design

In this qualitative study, a single case-study strategy was applied. A case-study provided tools and strategy that allowed me to get a deeper insight into the Development Justice movement and capture its complexities (Yin, 2014:16). Since this study investigates the Development Justice movement situated within APWLD's programmes, the case study strategy was applied to define the case here as Development Justice and not the APWLD organisation as a whole. This differentiation was significant when choosing data for analysis and creating research questions.

The case-study strategy significantly helped to structure the study by following the five components of research design, which are: a) a case study's question, b) its propositions, c) its case, d) the logic linking the data to the propositions; and e) the criteria on interpretation the findings (Yin, 2014: 27). The first three components lead research design into identifying the data that are to be collected. The last two components lead the design into anticipating case study analysis and suggestion of what is to be done after the data have been collected (Yin, 2014: 34).

The case study offered another advantage for this study and that is to use many different sources of evidence (Yin, 2018: 4). Therefore, the research design must also be "open-ended and flexible in terms of both the design and execution of the research," open to discovering new analytical findings that might alter the design of the research (Ibid.:153).

5.3 Data Collection: Triangulation

The study used multiple sources of data evidence, such as documents, interviews, and additional video and audio materials. This type of data evidence and collection is called triangulation and has two main benefits for this research (Yin, 2018: 129). First, multiple sources of evidence enabled me to capture the complex structures, experiences, motivations, and actions and provided me with an in-depth understanding of the Development Justice movement (Yin, 2018: 113). And second, using triangulation enabled me to corroborate and connect findings within different data sets, which reduced the risk of biases and increased the credibility of my study (Bowen, 2009; Yin, 2018: 126). Thus, among the data collected, there was not one type of data that had a complete advantage over the other. The data provided findings necessary to answer research questions and aims.

I found triangulation well integrated into theoretical proposition. The theory guided me capture the lived experience, struggle, and how an alternative development was constructed. Thus, all types of data were necessary to evaluate in order to understand the perspectives, actions, knowing, and doing that have many forms. As a result of the methodological choice, the findings were mutually reinforced answers for research questions and aims.

Table 1. Summary of Data and Evidence

Type of data	Unit of evidence	Source
Documents	Reports	APWLD
	Working papers	APWLD
	Evaluation documents	APWLD
Interviews	Four interviews	Researcher
Audio Records	Radio podcasts	APWLD - SoundCloud
	Video reports	APWLD - YouTube

Since I had a large amount of data, the process of bringing order, structure, and interpretation to the data was at the beginning messy, time-consuming, creative, and fascinating. The process was not linear but involved many steps back and forth

until description, analysis and interpretation met and produced data for research questions. I was guided by analytical procedures that will be described in the following subchapters starting with document analysis, interviews, and additional materials.

5.4 Document Analysis

Documents can provide details of the study case, trace back to history and find relevant information for the research question. In this research, document analysis helped uncover processes, ways of thinking and action that led to the creation of Development Justice. Using document analysis is “a systematic procedure for reviewing documents - both printed and electronic” (Bowen, 2009: 27) that provided detailed and specific background and historical information about Development Justice. The document analysis allowed me to interpret and understand the component parts of local struggles, movements and actions that refuse the ongoing patterns of mainstream development.

5.4.1 Document Selection & Analysis Technique

The document analysis required data selection instead of data collection. Most of the documents were selected from APWLD’s document database, and some organisational documents were shared with me directly by participants.

Because of the high number of documents on APWLD’s website, I used purposeful sampling methods and established criteria for the selection process (Bowen 2009). Purposeful sampling is based on an assumption that the researcher wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore, must select a sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I searched for the following topics in the documents, such as: growth, Global North, Western modernity, mainstream development (MDGs and SDGs) and Development Justice and movement. These topics are based on the literature review as well as on theoretical propositions.

Some of the documents listed on APWLD’s website does not reveal their content in their titles. Therefore, to avoid excluding relevant documents, I skimmed through all materials listed on APWLD’s website and searched for keywords linked to the research topics, such as: Development Justice, alternative development, growth-driven development, Western strategies such as SDGs and MDGs, and movement.

After the document selection, the document analysis continued with three steps: skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation (Bowen, 2009: 32). These documents allowed me to “uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research” (Bowen, 2009: 29).

I started collecting the document in December 2020 and continued in the next four months with skimming, reading and interpretation. I found the term ‘Development Justice’ was first mentioned in the Annual Report from 2012. From this year, I continued carefully skimming through the rest of the documents. I found a repetitive appearance of the keywords up until 2019, which, at the time of this research, were the latest accessible documents. I selected 14 documents, publications and annual reports that included all key words mentioned above.

Table 2. Selected Documents for Analysis

Organisation	Title	Type	Year	Author
APWLD	Promoting and Fulfilling the Right to Development Case studies from Asia Pacific	Publication	2019	Sanam Amin & Trimita Chakma
APWLD	Development Justice	Policy Briefer	2019	APWLD
APWLD	Changing Development From the Inside- Out	Report	2017	Rebecca Napier-Moore, Wardarina, Trimita Chakma, Haley Pedersen and FPAR partner authors
APWLD	People's Development Justice Report from Thailand	Report	2017	APWLD

UN	Delivering Development Justice?	Discussion Paper	2016	Tessa Khan
APWLD	Our Rights! Our Voices! Our Resources!	Report	2014	Rebecca Napier-Moore, Kate Lappin, Wardarina, Aileen Familiara & Trimita Chakma
APWLD	Political Economy of Violence Against Women in Asia Pacific	Report	2007	Misun Woo and Mae-Anne Llanza
APWLD	Annual Reports	Report	2012,2013,2014,2015,2016,2017 & 2018	APWLD

These documents revealed information, historical background, and captured debates when the movement emerged. APWLD publishes all of the documents, except one that was published by the UN. However, this one document was written by a member of APWLD - programme office Tessa Khan, thus fell within the scope of the research.

When analysing the documents, elements of content analysis combined with thematic analysis have been implemented¹⁶. Content analysis is described by Bowen (2009) as the process of organizing information into categories. I used the program NVivo, where I highlighted parts of the text and organised them into categories. I linked these categories to the overall aim of the research and theoretical consideration, such as: Western ideas, growth-driven model, alternative development, belief in growth, MDGs and SDGs, and others. After the content analysis, I organised content into themes and, through theory, linked themes to the research question.

5.5 Interviews

In this research, talking directly to participants allowed me to understand better and explore actions, processes, and perspectives that led to the creation of alternative development. From a decolonial standpoint, the interviews with members of the

¹⁶ For an example of document coding *see* Appendix 1

movement revealed detailed information about ways of thinking, knowing, and experiences with development.

Initially, the purposeful sampling technique was used to interview participants, however, this later changed into a snowball technique. The first sampling method was used to strategically access participants so that the chosen participants were the most relevant to the research (Bryman, 2012: 416). Additionally, because this research followed a case study strategy, criteria for interviewees had to fall within the study context and research questions. Thus, participants in this interview shall be a) members of APWLD and Development Justice movement and b) live in the Asia Pacific region, and c) speak English as one of their languages. Although English is not mine nor participants' native language, we were able to communicate and without any complications.

I first looked at the names of authors under APWLD's publications (those listed in the document analysis section) and the names of programme coordinators at APWLD. After that, I used contact information revealed at the website and emailed the potential participants. After the first three interviews, I was given contact information for other members of the movement; thus, the sampling technique changed to the snowball technique.

First, I emailed 25 potential participants in November 2019. The email contained information about the study, including explaining the process of collecting data and securing anonymity. I have not received any replies, thus I sent a second wave of emails in February 2020. During February, I received some negative responses, as the contacted people did not feel, in their own words, *relevant for the research* and recommended other names to contact. I got three positive replies and started planning the first interviews. I also sent a third wave of emails in March 2020. I contacted the recommended names and received two positive responses. But in the end, one of the potential participants did not continue with our email conversation. Most of the potential participants emailed me back and explained that during the

pandemic of COVID-19, they did not have additional time for an interview and wished me good luck with the research.

All participants were informed about the research, its purpose, how I use collected data, store them, and that they have access to the collected information. I contacted forty candidates and collected four interviews. I conducted interviews during March and July 2020, the shortest interview was seventy-five minutes long, and the longest interview took ninety-three minutes. Due to travel restriction and also personal goal to avoid flying due to environmental footprint, I aimed to do all interviews online.

One interview was done via Skype, and three interviews were done on Zoom. One of the three Zoom meetings was initially planned to be done on Go-To-Meeting, but this website did not have a good Internet connection. We improvised and used Zoom instead. After each interview, I expressed my gratitude for their participation in my research in a follow-up email.

5.5.1 Semi-structured Interview & Analysis

I used semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions¹⁷. This strategy's choice was motivated by the theoretical proposition of the study, which aims to discuss perspectives, views, and aim for an understanding. The semi-structure interviews with open-ended questions allowed me to have flexible and open conversations with participants, where I could ask additional questions when necessary (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2014).

Although I informed interviewees about the anonymity in the email and reminded them before the interview that I could anonymize the interview, all interviewees wanted to keep their real identity and names public. I also asked for permission to record the conversations. The recording was vital because it allowed me to keep a

¹⁷ For example of the Interview Guide, see Appendix 2

track and later analyse the text for the research. The recordings are stored in my computer under a password, and interviewees can request to see the data.

On the 24th of March 2020, the first interview was collected with Diyana Yahaya - the programme officer of the Women Interrogating Trade & Corporate Hegemony programme at APWLD. Diyana Yahaya was part of the Development Justice movement since 2013 and participate in many meetings and projects related to Development Justice.

The second and third interview was done on the 3rd of April with Hien Nguyen and Wardarina. Hien is part of APWLD since 2014 and works as the programme associate of the Feminist Development Justice and Women Interrogating Trade & Corporate Hegemony. Wardarina works for APWLD as programme officer of the Feminist Development Justice programme. Wardarina is involved in Development Justice from its very beginning and is one of the leading speakers and figures in Development Justice.

The last interview was done on the 7th of July 2020 with Eni Lestari, founder of the International Migrant Alliance and member of the Development Justice movement. Eni has been a member of APWLD as well as Development Justice since its beginning.

Table 3. List of Participants

Date	Name	Organisation	Region - Country
24 March 2020	Diyana	APWLD	South East Asia
03 April 2020	Hien	APWLD	South East Asia
03 April 2020	Wardarina	APWLD	South East Asia
07 July 2020	Eni	IMA	Indonesia

The analysis of interviews followed two steps and was very similar to the document analysis. First, I transcribed interviews into word documents, double-checked the records with transcripts, and then highlighted quotes and parts of conversations I

thought were significant for the research (Bryman, 2012). This process was time-consuming but was necessary as I did not want to overlook/overhear a vital message or point in the interview (Yin, 2014). After transcribing the interviews, I read the transcripts. At this point, I already read many documents from the data analysis, and I found that the data gave me a detailed insight into the topics and findings from document analysis.

In the next step, I have begun with open coding in the NVivo program. I decided to use the NVivo program due to the time limitation of the study. In NVivo, I sorted data into subcategories and themes. I started seeing patterns and connections between data in documents and interviews. Some of the issues were overlapping, for example, the lack of representation and, at the same time, building a movement. Both were later classified under a theme resistance¹⁸. All the themes were created under the influence of decolonial theory as well as research questions. I created seven themes related to the first sub-question, nine themes related to the main research question, and five themes related to the aim of this research.

5.6 Additional Materials

For this research, the ‘native’ video data will be used. This form of video analysis draws on videos that have been recorded – and produced in a more or less professional way – by actors other than researchers, for example, private tapes made available to the researchers, video clips uploaded on YouTube or ‘video diaries’ triggered by the researchers (Pink, 2007). The videos were chosen because they captured an atmosphere, performance of the movement, and provided insights into how the meetings of the movement look. I focused on capturing the context and setting of the video, rather than studying people or their behaviour. This technique, especially in the development studies field, was a challenging step for me as

¹⁸ For an examples of coding, *see* Appendix 3

research because I had to step out of traditional analysis into more artistic/contextual search. To do that, I was motivated by the theory that challenged me to seek “new ways of thinking.”

I also used an audio podcast that helped me to track back in time where Development Justice began. Members of the movements created the podcasts. Compared to the interviews, I thought the information revealed in the podcast could be less detailed because of a broad audience. However, I found that in podcasts and interviews, members of the movements spoke equally open, ready to talk about their ideas and experiences.

For example, one of the podcasts was done with Wardarina, who also participated in my interview. In both cases, I found Wardarina to be express and provide detailed information about the movement. This was only a personal observation, I made as a researcher, who worried about its position in the interview, however, as I listen to the voice expression, choice of wording and details, I gained the impression that for example, Wardarina was equally open to me regardless of my position. This observation was based only on my observation and did not have to be the same for the participant.

Table 4. List of Audio and Video Data

Type of record	Unite	Year	Source
Radio podcast	Podcast: Global Strike to Achieve Development Justice	2019	APWLD
	Podcast: Building international social movement & alliances	2018	APWLD
Video Report	Financing for Development Justice, Equality and Human Rights	2015	APWLD
	People's General Assembly for Development Justice	2014	APWLD

Both videos, as well as radio podcasts, were superficially analysed. Motivated by the theory, I focused on the performance - visual elements - in videos and searched for the possible meaning and explanation of the action. In the podcast, I paid attention to details and listened to the discussion among members, which helped expand the overview of the findings.

5.7 Reflection

As I mentioned my position as the researcher, I would like to address my consideration and reflections. I do not see myself as a member of the Development Justice movement since I have not officially ‘registered’ myself at APWLD. However, I admit that my support goes strongly for the movement. This is due to my relatively long interest in the movement, which began two years ago with my first academic paper at Lund University. Since then, I have been *online* following the movement at every possible platform. Although I have known the movement for some time, many topics that were discussed during the interview and found in the documents I did not know. This is not necessarily wrong, especially for the study, because it allowed me to have ‘the first’ experience with discovered findings and information.

This leads me to the second consideration and reflection, and that is regarding my interpretation of the study. As a researcher, I must acknowledge and reflect on my understanding that is driven by social processes. Thus, searching, analysing, interpreting, and writing, I perceived as a learning process. The study’s intention was never to prove something or to become something. The purpose was driven by curiosity and joy in and from learning. From an academic perspective, the intention was also inspired by the will to connect with the ‘real’ world that was, until the research, based on secondary data and textual interpretation.

My third consideration goes to the careful writing process and the selection of words that described the findings. I faced situations when I found my interpretation

too straightforward, which I did not intend. Thus, writing analysis took a long process, engaging in stepping in and out of the research to reconstruct the findings.

6 “We Have Our Development Justice Warriors”¹⁹

At the beginning of the thesis, I pointed out the purpose of the thesis and that is to understand how movements create an alternative development framework. In this chapter, I begin the process of unwrapping, investigating, and presenting the first set of findings addressing these aims.

To better understand how the movement created an alternative, I start with a presentation of mapped debates and actions that established an alternative framework. Here I bring my terminology into practice and view the creation of alternative as a practice, not as an exchange. The process is mapped through actions, strategies and a range of discussions that the movement underwent. I discuss members’ experiences and capture the real-life experience with mainstream development that played a significant role in building, creating, and shaping Development Justice.

The analysis of the alternative will be done through decolonial lenses. I also view alternative as a process of de-linking from the ideas of modernity. The de-linking process will be represented in an analytical and descriptive way to better understand the complexities of actions and experiences. Before I introduce the analysis, it is important to point out that “the process itself [developing the framework] took several years and it also went through different forms and different kinds of versions before we got the current model”²⁰. Therefore, the findings in this, as well as other chapters, are part of ongoing action, strategies, and formulation. Some of the events and debates will repeat, but that is, as I said in the methodological part, due to overlapping findings and connections between different sections. And lastly, as Eni

¹⁹ Interview with Wandarina, Zoom, 07.04.2020

²⁰ Interview with Hien, Zoom, 07.04.2020

said, Development Justice is an “outside and inside” process. In the context of this analysis, this chapter discusses the “inside”.

6.1 The Framework

The alternative framework did not emerge in a form as it is today. Instead,

in the past, we had instead of five transformative issues we had fourteen. It was informed by what our grassroots members were telling us, their key demands, and how they wanted to see the new development model.²¹

Development Justice was not even viewed as an alternative, but rather as demand. The demands came from experiences with mainstream development, from failed promises of growth and current living conditions. After the demands went through debates, and when APWLD collected more evidence from the FPAR²², these demands were slowly formulated into a call for Development Justice. In the context of Development Justice, justice did not mean only equal access to resources, but also,

recognising that there is injustice and then we want to highlight those injustices. We also need to identify who is the actor who is causing the injustices and then the most important point in Development Justice is talking remedy²³

Here, one can recognise that the original demands expanded into identifying actors in mainstream development. The demands were no longer only representing the bottom-up views and experiences but started challenging the Western actors and strategies.

The five fundamental shifts in the Development Justice framework²⁴ addressed the main issues of mainstream development. **Redistributive Justice** addresses the institutions that channelling the wealth from the poor to the rich; the **Economic**

²¹ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03.2020

²² APWLD (2013) Annual Report 2012, p.8; APWLD (2014) Annual Report 2013

²³ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

²⁴ APWLD (2019) Development Justice; Khan (2016)

Justice aims for economic systems that work people and provide “living wage, decent work and social protection”; **Social and Gender Justice** addresses the issues of patriarchy, social exclusion, discrimination, and other matters; **Environmental Justice** points out the historical, environmental responsibility of rich countries and last; **Accountabilities to Peoples** “is the fundamental for us, knowing that the situation right now with this shrinking democratic system, even sinking civil society, does not have space anymore”²⁵.

These shifts confront the Western development system and point out the historical failure of development. However, these demands are not ‘new’, they have been promoted at local levels for decades,

a lot of it, especially among grassroots movements and civil society, in the local context, they are already advocating and practicing the demands in one or another way, these demands have been with us for a very, very long time²⁶

Wardarina brings an interesting point. If the demands have been with the people for a very long time, one could wonder why they have not been heard. From its beginning in the 1980s, APWLD has been mapping, formulation and collecting experiences, and promoting the demands²⁷. Thus, the knowledge about development issues has been mapped but perhaps not understood by international organisations. As Escobar (2011) argued, the Western ideas of development were rooted in power over knowledge and development practice. This power lies in the hand of Western actors who create their own narrative of solutions. This could possibly explain why the demands turned into addressing the actors. From decolonial lenses, these demands began de-linking and deriving from and responding to the ongoing development process and condition created in the Global North (Walsh, 2018).

²⁵ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

²⁶ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

²⁷ Khan (2016); Moore et al. (2017) *Changing Development From the Inside-Out*; Amin & Chakma (2019) *Promoting and Fulfilling the Right to Development Case Studies from Asia Pacific*

6.2 The Movement

Development Justice aims to collect all demands, struggles, and experiences and bring all groups of people together under one broad movement where “all of the demands have to happen across all society, where one demand cannot be without the other”²⁸. APWLD built a movement, collected demands, and mapped struggles through used strategies, such as the FPAR and movement building, to bring the groups and demands together.

The movement building is APWLD’s central approach and played a crucial role in building, creating, and developing the movement for Development Justice. The movement not only connected groups across the region and united their demands but also offered solidarity. And “solidarity was existential”²⁹ for creating and continuing with the movement. Such acts of solidarity came from different places and actions,

Since 2013 when Development Justice was kind of formed, and during that time, in the Asia Pacific, around 100 organisations were putting a stand on for Development Justice, we were like yes, let’s do this! Let’s do this together. ³⁰ [...] At the beginning of the movement’s formation, we had a big campaign on development, just this campaign. And then we have like several countries voluntarily joining us, there was no funding, nothing! There was nothing. And people made campaigns, public seminars, and workshops and all those actions for Development Justice.³¹

These collective actions not only represent solidary thinking, but also solidary doing. As the movement has grown and its focus turned again towards local communities, APWLD “were aiming to introduce and make people familiar with the term Development Justice.”³². One of the way how to transnationally introduce the framework was to use action methods.

²⁸ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03.2020

²⁹ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03.2020

³⁰ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

³¹ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

³² Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

In July 2012, a new phase of Feminist Participatory Action Research for change began. The 18-month project supported local organisations to work with their communities to build evidence and advocate for change in development. From the decolonial perspective, these processes can be understood as de-linking processes that are, metaphorically speaking, processes that are opening the door to new ways of doing and thinking. These coordinated efforts ensured that the most marginalised women from Asia Pacific (rural, indigenous, and migrant women) could represent their voices at global decision-making processes.³³

Turning now to the next process of building the movement and collective demands, one of the significant events to support and promote Development Justice was and the People's General Assembly. The Assembly was created before and while the United Nations General Assembly took place in New York in 2013. As the members of the movements were not invited to the UN Assembly and APWLD proposed speakers were rejected to speak at the UN, APWLD created new, People's General Assembly. APWLD invited movements, grassroots, groups, and individuals to discuss current development challenges and directions

APWLD worked to influence both the formal proceedings and a larger audience on Development Justice. In an outdoor park in New York, APWLD supported grassroots women to narrate their experiences of development. The People's General Assembly received widespread media coverage in the region, including interviews on Radio Australia for our speaker Helen Hakena and a feature on the assembly on a popular Philippines TV channel as well as an article on Banglatimes news website. This coverage promoted action on the issues highlighted as well as increased pressure for Development Justice.³⁴

APWLD recognised that movements become more powerful when collaborating with other social and people's movements³⁵. In around 2012, I found that the movement joined around one hundred grassroots, individuals, and groups. During the interview, Wardarina mentioned that today, they have around six hundred

³³ APWLD (2016) Annual Report 2015

³⁴ APWLD (2014) Annual Report 2013

³⁵ APWLD (2014) Annual Report 2013; APWLD (2014) Annual Report 2015

members. This international meeting showed that the movement is able to bring local demands to international discussion.

As the movement gets bigger, APWLD continues actively discussing the demands. Although this is a transnational movement, it shall not imply that people's struggles are summarised into one broad framework. Instead, the movement frequently elaborates and collects new evidence and demands from different perspectives. Even in 2019, APWLD updated the Development Justice framework to more extensive demands. This active involvement in shaping alternative development shows that the movement that does not stand *against* the mainstream development but mostly promotes *for* the new.

6.3 Conclusion

In this section, I introduced actions, perspective and key points that established the movement. This investigation confirmed that the movement puts forth, and advances ideas from the ground up and from other imaginaries, visions, and knowledge. Through processes of training, protests, movement building, and collaboration across movements in the region, APWLD mobilised groups at all levels and began to propose and challenge mainstream development. The section showed, theoretically speaking, the beginning of the construction of new, alternative development that led to the arrangement of new paths, activities, processes, and thinking and theorising development. In the next chapter, I will address how these processes challenge Western ideas and strategies of development in more detail.

7 Becoming Visible

This analysis is the result of interviews and document analysis that answer the first sub-question: *How did Development Justice emerge as an alternative framework to mainstream development?* In this chapter, the variety of experiences, perspectives, and reactions will be presented. It will be a presentation of the beginnings of the Development Justice movement and a retrospective journey to the past and present points of mainstream development.

In this sub-question, the preposition “to” - an *alternative framework to mainstream development* - expresses the motion in the direction towards something, in this case, towards mainstream development. This formulation of the sub-question shaped the focus of the analysis. Based on the formulation, an overview from the literature review and findings, the analysis is divided into two themes. The first part discusses the role of the growth in shaping alternative thinking and the formulation of new models. The second part will continue with a discussion on MDGs and SDGs in shaping Development Justice. All two themes emerged during the data analysis and showed to be the strongest and most significant for the research question. This analysis chapter will end with a conclusion, and the main question will be discussed in the following chapter.

I mapped the first appearance of Development Justice in APWLD’s Annual Report from 2012, and from that point, I continued analysing the rest of the documents up until 2019. I was able to build an overview of events, perspectives, and experiences that shaped Development Justice. Several events happened simultaneously and can have a repetitive appearance throughout the analysis. This repetitive appearance is not intentional but highlights the complex impacts of mainstream development that shaped the way alternative development emerged. In addition to the document analysis, every interviewee had unique experiences with initial processes and

creation of Development Justice and mainstream development, which enriched the overall findings and debate in the analysis.

7.1 The good old friend, Growth

As mentioned earlier in the literature review, mainstream development is mostly based on the ideas and strategies of growth. Rigg (2016) informed us about the development models that significantly changed the economic growth of many Asian countries in the last decades and pointed out the evidence of negative side-effects. I found evidence in APWLD's documents that support Rigg's argument,

despite remarkable progress in economic development, evaluation from various sources indicated that national social and economic developments in the past thirty years have failed to distribute resources, wealth, and opportunities to the people equally and make economies work for the people.³⁶

The fact that growth-driven development models did not bring *happiness and salvation* is not new. Tessa Khan points out that there is now overwhelming evidence that growth neither automatically reduces poverty nor creates decent work. The growth-driven models rely on exploitations and deepen inequalities³⁷. As a result of such development, APWLD documents captured impacts of mainstream development in the Asia Pacific on “women from the Global South that bear the brunt of the devastating consequences of deepening wealth inequalities [...] Yet those women share none of the prosperity of a development model focused on growth”³⁸

APWLD documents³⁹ summarized that growth-oriented, mainstream development models do not work for rural, indigenous, and migrant women in the Asia Pacific⁴⁰.

³⁶ APWLD (2017) Peoples Development Justice Report Thailand 2017, p. 28; APWLD (2016) Annual Report 2015; APWLD (2014) Annual Report 2013

³⁷ Khan (2016) Delivering Development Justice; also in Podcast on Global Strike to Achieve Development Justice

³⁸ APWLD (2014) Annual Report 2013, p. 9

³⁹ APWLD (2016) Annual Report 2015; Woo (2007) Political Economy of Violence Against Women in Asia Pacific, also discussed in Podcast: Building international social movement & alliances & People's General Assembly for Development Justice

⁴⁰ APWLD (2013) Annual Report 2012, p. 26

Members' experiences are rooted in a long history of growth-oriented projects and strategies that occurred in different forms, shaped by various actors and places. APWLD offers a wide range of evidence and documentation of stories, experiences and struggles of members of APWLD. For example, members of Development Justice describe domestic workers' conditions and limited, in some cases no access to healthcare, sanitation, education and protection.

These are some examples that mapped, proved and documented struggles and experience that APWLD reveals in their documents. And starting from a recognition, that

There is something fundamentally problematic with the development system. The way it has been structured, the way it has been built, the way we presume that everything is supposed to be about economic growth, and then if you have economic growth, you will have an automatically better life for people or if you have high GDP the country is doing well.⁴¹

Diyana describes the first seeds that planted ideas for a new, alternative framework. The recognition of the struggles but also the recognition of failed growth-oriented development system came from the mapped experiences, observation, and discussions of APWLD members and civil society in the Asia Pacific.

Members of APWLD documented that growth-driven mainstream development strategies limit their possibilities and opportunities⁴². For example, Wardarina explained how Millennium Development Goals failed to deliver the promises of growth⁴³. The failure was not only in the ideas of development but in a way, the mainstream development system was technocratic. It was also very top-down. It was not universal - meaning that only developing countries needed to catch up with development and growth - and it was also very donor-centric oriented.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03.2020

⁴² APWLD (2016) Annual Report 2015; Amin & Chakma (2019) Promoting and Fulfilling the Right to Development Case Studies from Asia Pacific

⁴³ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

⁴⁴ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

Whether recognized or not, these mainstream, growth-oriented development projects have been marked by Western ideas (Walsh, 2018: 28; Rist, 2014). The Western ideas of growth picture development as a universal, progressive and civilized mission that Diyana described can generate a better life (Dignolo, 2018: 147). Decolonially speaking, these top-down, growth-oriented models have a long tradition in the Global North.

For decades, mainstream development pictured the Global South as underdeveloped and in great need of economic assistance from ‘developed’ countries (Rist, 2014; Rigg, 2016; McEwan, 2019). Over the years, the Western imagination has created a one-sided, top-down narrative of development where growth became an inseparable part of a development project. Even in the current debates, Tessa Khan reminds us that the pattern of the growth continues:

The following question of whether or not growth should be the principal goal of economic and development policymaking is the one that the developed governments, and developing alike, seem the least willing to answer.⁴⁵

And rejecting the primacy of economic growth is, however, an urgent ethical imperative. This strong bond between growth and development is not only rooted in the system, policies and agendas, but as Diyana explains here, in the way of thinking that,

the narrative of economic growth being the only measurement of development is so ingrained in people, in different sectors, in our education system, and so on. It is so ingrained in people that so many times we hear government officials saying that: yes, globalisation has killed people but so what, we cannot reverse globalisation, so just have to deal with it.⁴⁶

These ingrained ideas and beliefs that Diyana describes are central issues of modernity and development. The economic growth and development construct

⁴⁵ Khan (2016) Delivering Development Justice?

⁴⁶ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03. 2020

ongoing processes that focus on fulfilling the imaginaries and fictions that originated in the Global North (Mignolo: 142). Here, one can see not only the strong connection the economic system that represents modernity, but also the willingness to overlook and ignore the real outcomes of such a system. With decolonial lenses, this excludes, limits and prohibits any other varieties of thinking, doing and processing development. Thus, when it comes to creating an alternative development, it is not only the strategy of growth but also the idea and beliefs that the members of the movement face, oppose, challenge, re-create and re-define. As found in Diyana's explanation

That [changing the ideas of economic growth] has been really the challenge. It is so shocking to hear so many governments and even the UN officials saying that 'yes we recognize there is something wrong with our economic system or our development system' but they are not going one more step and saying that ok maybe we need a different system.⁴⁷

The overarching issue in the last two quotes is that the Western idea of growth and development are believed to be universal and absolute (McEwan, 2019: 47). Walsh (2018: 44) explains that this behaviour lies deep in Western domination that is part of an embodied political, epistemic, modern/colonial order. Thus, the narrative, strategies, ideas and beliefs that promote better life thought progress, growth, modernization and development continue in the hands of those who created it. Diyana, as well as other interviewees, agreed that this is perhaps the most difficult battle to fight,

One of the most challenging things that I have personally had, was really just challenging the idea which is so fixed in people and so in governments that - this is the only economic system we can have. We cannot deny it to have any other economic development system in the world.⁴⁸

However, this research reveals one successful way of challenging this domination is by recognizing the domination. As Diyana explained,

⁴⁷ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03. 2020

⁴⁸ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03. 2020

I guess for us the fact that more and more people can recognize that there is something fundamentally wrong with our development system is still a good first step because you know up until recently or a decade or two decades ago, most governments and many people would not even talk about what is so problematic with our development system. So in the scale of a baby steps, this is one really tiny step.⁴⁹

Diyana described to me how the recognition of growth, failed promises of better life and domination led to new ideas. And explained to me that the recognition that,

there is something fundamentally wrong and problematic with our development model and development system, was how we at APWLD along with other social movements, started talking about apart from our criticism, what would be our alternative to the current system.⁵⁰

And at this time, around 2012 and 2013, APWLD has begun to outline new strategies of action and formulating a vision of development that would re-think, re-create, re-build and unlock new strategies, models, and ideas of development. From the findings in documents, interviews, and audios, the research points out that the recognition comes from not only the strategies but challenges to re-think them. It is the epistemological domination of Western ideas of modernity that gives limited space for thinking otherwise.

This process started with discussions and debates among APWLD's members, civil society and organisations from across the Asia Pacific⁵¹. The early visions of alternative development aimed not only to confront the strategies of growth but eliminate inequalities of wealth, resources, power, and opportunities between countries, between rich and poor, and between men and women.⁵² This vision began to confront the legacies of mainstream development and ideas of growth that had control over people, and the way of thinking and doing development. It created the

⁴⁹ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03. 2020

⁵⁰ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03. 2020

⁵¹ APWLD (2014) Annual Report 2013, p. 7

⁵² APWLD (2018) Annual Report 2017, p. 10

foundation for Development Justice and as Wardarina explained further, the whole process was

an **opportunity** to actually exposing the current neoliberal model of development that is not working for the rural, indigenous, migrant, urban, poor women in the region. So, it came from a place of **resistance** where we want to actually show and influence the discussion in on what kind of development that we want.⁵³

The decolonial reference in this quote is transparent and leading towards the decolonial resistance. The **opportunity** explains the movement's position towards mainstream development, the recognition of the growth-driven models and ways of thinking, and the form of building and forming resistance and re-existence. One could argue that the *against* (exposing) the current system and re-existence *for* alternative development is the beginning of proposing and determination. The quote reveals that there was no defensive process but a process of creating challenges and new constructs (Walsh, 2018: 31).

The findings in this part correspond with Rist's (2014) and Escobar's (2011) argument that Western imaginaries and beliefs control development in the Global South. In the next sub-chapter, I will explain the resistance processes that emerged during the debates around the post-2015 Agenda.

⁵³ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

7.2 Emerging In-Between Conversations

As was mentioned in the literature review, development organisations, such as the United Nations, have endeavoured to label whole parts of the world as ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘poor’ to create a moral imperative for intervention on their behalf (McEwan, 2019: 230). This intervention was done through development agendas such as the MDGs and later, the current SDGs (McEwan, 2019: 229). In the findings, I found that APWLD was actively involved in the processes of the post-2015 agenda and creation of the SDGs

When we conceptualized the Development Justice framework, it was also when there was a whole global conversation about the new development agenda, which was supposed to come after the millennium development goals. So as civil society, we also felt that was an opportunity for us to influence this and global scale. Because a lot of these macro policies are being made at the global level and are implemented from the top-down approach⁵⁴

This could mean that the movement began to represent their own position in mainstream development. It shows how the movement promotes its own ideas regardless of the mainstream views and perspectives. It was around 2012 and 2013, when the UN has begun a series of discussions on MDGs, also known as the post-2015 agenda, and started formulation of the new, mainstream development agenda - the SDGs 2030. APWLD was active during these processes, involved in the UN meetings and report writing, attended numerous global and regional forums, and promoted Development Justice⁵⁵.

During that time, APWLD began a series of discussion in the Asia Pacific and in which they asked questions on “what we, as civil society in the Asia Pacific, are **thinking**; what are our **experiences** with this type of development, whether there is justice in the current development system we have today and so on”⁵⁶ APWLD evaluated and mapped the demands based on a survey and created some concrete

⁵⁴ Interview with Diyana, Skype, 24.03.2020

⁵⁵ APWLD (2016) Annual Report 2015; APWLD (2015) Annual Report 2014

⁵⁶ Interview with Eni, Zoom, 07.07.2020

recommendation and solution coming from diverse constituencies in the Asia Pacific

We talked to the indigenous peoples, to the migrants, to the urban boards and to people with disabilities, the women, the feminist groups, you know, like we are trying to be as diverse as possible and circulating that survey.⁵⁷

From the decolonial view, one could find in these discussions the process of forming existing-based responses that create practice towards ongoing patterns of modernity/development (Walsh, 2018). The struggles, related to the inequality, poverty, and marginalisation, were not labelled as decolonial by the movement, but the theory offered me to understand these struggles as decolonial because of their proposition and prospective praxis toward an otherwise (Walsh, 2018). Thus, after the evaluation, I found that the meetings and processes were part of the process of creating, proposing and opened a path to new thinking within and towards mainstream development

in our meeting at the global level or regional level, we always **tried to make up in an alternative space** because we know that the space provided by the UN is not enough, that is not enough.⁵⁸

And as APWLD engaged groups, individuals and movements in the meetings within the network but also with the UN, APWLD provided space for engagement for expressing experiences that led to arrangements of thoughts, knowledge, theorizing, and thinking and constructions of Development Justice. While APWLD mapped the demands and struggles, *perhaps somewhere in between conversation*, begun the process of, in decolonial language, de-linking. One of their demands in the SDGs was the access to and control over resources and sustainable livelihoods, the integration and full enforcement of Decent Work and Living Wage, and Democratic Participation and Voice of the most marginalised.

⁵⁷ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

⁵⁸ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

In August 2013, APWLD had another meeting with the Asia Pacific civil society in the region, together with the Ministry of Dialogue of the post-development agenda, “and that is when Development Justice was born.”⁵⁹ However, this does not mean that Development Justice was developed as a reaction to SDGs or an outcome of the MDGs,

it is important to understand that we are not saying that Development Justice comes as a response to the SDGs. Because what we want is that Development Justice conceptualises the ideas and solution we have been pushing for”⁶⁰

This conceptualisation resists the ongoing narratives of mainstream development, but does not entirely come from it because

we are not actually embracing the sustainable development goals just like that. You know, it's not like we truly believe in it and then accept it. We know that there are so many flaws. The SDGs are not far away from this market driven kind of model of development. So, we use the SDGs for us as a platform to actually really pointing out the failure of the newly neoliberal capitalism and its impact to go to the peoples, including all those marginalized groups.⁶¹

Thus, Development Justice became a movement of grassroots organisations, movements, individuals, and groups that collectively re-constructed, re-created, and promoted the demands. One of the examples of action and process is the People’s General Assembly on Development Justice. The People’s General Assembly came about on the occasion of the President of the United Nations General Assembly’s Special Event in 2013 towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The People’s General Assembly provided the space to share local stories of global problems, share perspective on current development models,

The People’s GA was the first attempt to challenge and provide a different forum than the UN General Assembly. Speakers at this forum were really from grassroots organisations and they provided good stories and presentations. The emotion was there at the square and

⁵⁹ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

⁶⁰ Interview with Wardarina, Zoom, 07.04. 2020

⁶¹ Interview with Hien, Zoom, 07.04.2020

people felt it. We were working to change the development paradigm, to provide a new view.⁶²

The People's General Assembly happens every year since 2013 and besides discussions, the event also presented cultural performances and a photo exhibition of the lives of garment workers in Bangladesh. To get an overview of this event, a YouTube video provided me with a brief insight into such a process, actions, and discussion.

As the people of the People's General Assembly for Development Justice in 2014 place the candles on the letters of the words Development Justice, we hear Kate Lappin, the former programme director of APWLD, in the tones of metal drums, speaking about the People's General Assembly: "It is a space for the people to talk about what is happening, what development is doing to people's lives, to question the inequality of the global systems that set up the rules."⁶³

⁶² Interview with Eni, 07.07. 2020

⁶³ Interview with Eni, 07.07. 2020

Figure 1. Development Justice - Candles on the Letters



APWLD (2015) People' General Assembly 2014⁶⁴

This poetic, symbolic, aesthetics action challenges us, in a decolonial way, to think about the expression as a rebellion towards development. It is not only political, developmental, economic project but also the process of theorization of experiences, struggle against structures and against imaginaries.

The People's General Assembly invited into discussion about the current development system, many movements, individuals and organisations from the Asia Pacific, and other regions of the world. Compared to the UN General

⁶⁴ APWLD (2015) People's General Assembly 2014. APWLD. YouTube.com. Retrieved in March 2020 from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4K_oQhOKE0s&t=1s

Assembly, the People's General Assembly is a representation of grassroots movements and groups that come together to discuss and challenge development agendas.

The analysis revealed generous amount evidence of the meetings, forums, discussions, and provided spaces to re-create, challenge and, reconstruct the development agendas. However, after the SDGs was officially approved, the demands did not make into the agenda

The Sustainable Development Goals include targets that we all agree with and fought hard for. But despite all our best efforts they [the UN] still promote growth and a continuation of an inherently unfair, exploitative system. They missed the chance to introduce a universal living wage, they missed the chance to develop a global tax body, they missed the chance to review and end trade agreements that are harmful to human rights. They missed the chance to change the economic systems that depend and produce exploitation.⁶⁵

After the years of promoting, demanding, and collecting the Development Justice at international levels, APWLD raised set of questions among themselves,

should we continue with the advocacy at the UN, what have we gained in the UN? We spend lots of money, thousands of dollars just to fly one person, and yet what have we gained? Why we spent so much resources for something that you gained nothing? Or you gain so little which becomes meaningless for the society⁶⁶

The organisation has the power to set terms in which issues are discussed and interpreted, and lead to the formulation of development goals, values, and objectives in particular spaces and places (McEwan, 2019: 232). However, despite the domination of the mainstream development system, Development Justice continues to promote its demands and work towards new reflections on the SDGs.

⁶⁵ Interview with Eni, 07.07.2020

⁶⁶ Interview with Eni, 07.07.2020

7.3 Conclusion

I have brought evidence that showed processes, narratives, imaginaries, and beliefs of growth-driven and mainstream development, and addressed the question *How did Development Justice emerge as an alternative framework to mainstream development?* The alternative development emerged *to* (not from) mainstream development, but not only to its strategies and agendas, but also emerged as an epistemological challenge to the Western ideas of modernity/development.

The research has shown the experiences through findings in documents, interviews, and additional materials. Decoloniality navigated me to unlock the actions as well as the epistemological domains of the movement (Walsh, 2018). How Development Justice emerged was not a linear process but rather a dynamic and active process involving reaction to and with a different process. As I also mentioned in the terminology, the creation of alternative is process of *between-changing*. This process explains the title of the sub-section and shows that the alternative did not appear as an exchange, but as process of changes. I mapped the process coming from two central angles, first the problem and ideas of growth; second, debate and reaction to development agendas and models after the millennium development goals.

In this analysis, there is no one point, time or a place where Development Justice emerged as an alternative to mainstream development. One of the reasons is that the alternative had been emerging as a process, not as an exchange. The movement had brought historical evidence, perspectives, and debates from local to international levels, and navigated the process of re-existence.

8 Discussion, Conclusion & Recommendation

In this last section, I will address the main research question where a summary of findings, debates, and theoretical considerations will conclude research's aims. After the discussion, I will summarise the main points of the thesis and propose recommendations for further study.

8.1 Discussion

In the discussion, I will briefly summarise previous chapters and bring the findings into a discussion on *What does Development Justice reveal about the role of social movement in elaborating alternative development?*

In the first analysis chapter "*We Have Our Development Justice Warriors*" I have shown the evidence of strategies of action, collaboration, movement building, and training. It showed that the movement has their Development Justice warriors who support and promote the framework at all levels, without any financial support. This has also provided a better understanding of the role of movement as an organiser, as a planner, as a home of thought, as a provider of time and space, as a representative, as a bridge between the local and international levels, as the link between the invisible chain. The invisible chain is a metaphor that I use to describe, understand, and explain how the movement of groups, grassroots, and individuals connect as individual rings into an invisible chain.

In the chapter *Becoming Visible*, findings have shown the continuity of Western patterns of modernity/development, ideas of growth, and global agendas and strategies of development. In this section, one can find active implementation of the theory. This provided an insight into how development and decoloniality connect and support each other in this context. The results from the analysis showed that despite the attempt to change and re-think mainstream development, Development Justice has not been heard, perhaps understood, at international levels. The mainstream legacy continues to rule the current and next generations of

development agendas. The finding supported McEwan's understanding of development, who argued that "development is about ideology and the production and transmission of policies and discourses. It is not simply about financial and material flows, such as aid and investment, but is also about the flow of ideas" (2019: 210). These flows of ideas were the main problem when discussing alternative thinking and doing. However, the research pointed out that the movement challenged Western ideas by active involvement in international debates and forums. This provided new insights into how contemporary alternatives are shaped, created and promoted and better understanding of the role of the movements in development.

Regarding this observation, the findings added to the existing evidence on how such imaginations and beliefs have historical impacts on movements and individuals in the Global South. And at the same time, it mapped how the groups have begun to re-create, re-define and construct an alternative. But not an alternative that opposed mainstream development, but an alternative that continues a process of changing. This, I argue, is because the alternative cannot ignore the past and actively work with past experiences. How historical events have been re-constructed by those who experienced them provided new understanding of development as such.

The alternative, in this research, has developed thought histories, experiences, discussion and processes. The aftermath of the beliefs and strategies continues to impact lives and became part of the history of places, stories, and experiences. Thus, the alternative cannot be thought of exchange for something new, the 'ex'change process cannot be done as the histories are written in stories and memories and cannot be simply 'exchanged'. These experiences should be part of the mainstream discussions and debates on development. However, this would require new ways of thinking with and from the perspectives of the groups, individuals and movements.

I conclude the observation of the alternative with Escobar's view (2011), who argues that there are no alternatives that can be applied to all places or all situations for all time. This should be perhaps highlighted the most. The research discussed Development Justice as an alternative, but it should not be viewed as the only alternative. Escobar (2011) suggests investigating alternative in local settings. These settings - historical and epistemological - were discussed in the analysis but several questions about alternatives still remain to be answered.

Moving to the role of social movements in mainstream development, another observation was made. I agree with Walsh (2018), who argued that it had been the social movement of historically excluded from development debates and processes. The analysis showed that the movement was invited for several discussions on development. However, this was also based on whether the UN provided an invitation. It was again, in the hands of the organisations, who decided if and how the movement will be represented at global levels.

I analysed the movement but what is perhaps missing in the analysis is the relation to Wolford's argument. Wolford (2010) pointed out the issues of movements' identity. Wolford (2010) argues that international movements have often different ideas about the identity and demands compare to small groups that are part of them. This research did not convert enough findings that would be sufficient for Wolford's argument. Although the study analysed large amount of data, to build an overview of the movement's identity requires perhaps more extended and in-depth research involving groups and other movements of Development Justice.

To turn to the main research question, what the finding has revealed about the research is perhaps not "physical," but rather abstract. If I were to conclude in short, the role of Development Justice in mainstream development has been multi-dimensional, complex, abstract, and concrete, and continues to work towards more diverse roles.

The movement's role is not only to be against policies at national levels or political conflict (della Porta & Diani, 2006; Tarrow, 2011). The role is mostly to propose new ways of thinking and doing. The movements described in the literature seem to have a one-sided view and limited possibilities that describe and define movements. Thus, influenced by decoloniality, I argue that the role of the movement in development is primarily epistemological. The movement provides insights and overviews of development and collects experiences, histories, and perspectives that are transformed into demands and ideas. The movement can influence development agendas and its role is significant when confronting the legacy of Western thoughts. As found in the analysis, the Development Justice movement has a role outside and inside.

This dualistic position shows the diversity and flexibility of the movement. The role is diverse, complex, and has a responsibility towards many. The theory has allowed me to analyse the role of the movements, which was not only to stand *against* mainstream development but to create space *for* discussion, re-create new ideas, re-think past histories, and form narratives that promote demands and challenge the domination of Western thought.

8.2 Conclusion

The thesis has explored the Development Justice movement and its role in mainstream development. It has unwrapped the processes of action, thinking and doing that has led to the creation of the Development Justice framework and the movement itself. Simultaneously, the thesis explored the possibilities and implications of decoloniality in the context of Development Justice, which led to new ways of thinking with and about movements in development.

The thesis focused on five main areas. First, it has provided an overview of the literature on the origins of mainstream development, its ideas and imaginaries, and social movement in development that has dealt with proposing and creating alternative models. Second, it has opened theoretical discussion and implication of

decoloniality in the development field. Third, it has discussed relevant methodological approaches for development as well as decolonial research. Forth, it has brought empirical findings that supported both decoloniality and literature finding, as well as it has found a way how to connect the field of development and decoloniality. And finally, it has generally explored the possibilities for further studies in the development field, movements in the Global South, particularly in the Asia Pacific.

8.3 Recommendation

The study provides qualitative findings into the role of movements in elaborating alternative development frameworks. However, a greater focus on local settings could produce interesting findings that reveal how people form the demands and what justice means in relation to their experiences with development. Also, the thesis lays the groundwork for future research into development studies and decoloniality. Further work needs to be carried out in order to find practical implication of decoloniality in development field. Further research might also explore and examine social justice in development field, especially in the Global South. And lastly, as the SDGs are slowly coming to an end, research on social movements in development can reveal findings into the impacts of mainstream agendas in the Global South, especially in the Asia Pacific.

9 REFERENCES

- Amin, S., & Chakma, T. (2019). *Promoting and Fulfilling the Right to Development Case studies form Asia Pacific*. APWLD.
- APWLD. (2007). *Political Economy of Violence Against Women in Asia Pacific*. APWLD.
- APWLD. (2013). *Annual Report 2012* . APWLD: http://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/2012_APWLD_Annual_Report.pdf
- APWLD. (2014). *Annual Report 2013* . APWLD: https://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/2013_APWLD_Annual_Report.pdf
- APWLD. (2015). *Annual Report 2014 Growing the Power of Movements*. APWLD: https://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/2014_APWLD_Annual_Report.pdf
- APWLD. (2016). *Annual Report 2015 Advancing Development Justice*. APWLD. APWLD:https://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/annual-reports/2015_APWLD_Annual_Report.pdf
- APWLD. (2016). *Development Justice Brief*. (APWLD, Producer) Retrieved January 22, 2020, from Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development:http://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/2016_Development_Justice_Briefer.pdf
- APWLD. (2017). *Annual Report 2016 Women Forging a Feminist Future*. APWLD. APWLD : https://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/annual-reports/2016_APWLD_Annual_Report.pdf
- APWLD. (2018). *Annual Report 2017 reSister,perSister, SISTER*. APWLD: https://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/2017_Annual_Report_public_version_web.pdf
- APWLD. (2017). *People's Development Justice Report from Thailand*. APWLD.
- APWLD. (2017). *Annual Report 2018 We learn We Rise*. APWLD:https://apwld.org/wpcontent/uploads/2019/07/2018_APWLD_Annual_Report_web.pdf
- Bhambra, K. G. (2014, December 18). Postcolonial and decolonial dialogues. *Postcolonial Studies* , 17(2), 115-121.
- Borras, S., M. Jr. (2004). *La Via Campesina: an evolving transnational social movement*. TNI Briefing Series. No 2004/06. Amsterdam: Transnational Institute.
- Borras, S., M. Jr. (2008). La Via Campesina and its Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8 (2-3), 258-89.
- Bowen, G. (2009) Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9 (2) 27-40

- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods. 4th Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Creswell, W. J. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Vol. 3rd ed). Thousand Oaks, California, USA: SAGE.
- Crossley, N. (2010). The Social World of the Network. Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Elements in Social Network Analysis. *Sociologica: The Italian journal of sociology online*, 1:1(34).
- Crossley, N. (2010, April 1). The Social World of the Network. Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Elements in Social Network Analysis. *Sociologica*.
- Davis, D. (1999). The Power of Distance: Re-Theorizing Social Movements in Latin America. *Theory and Society*, 28(5), 585-638.
- Della Porta, D. (2007). *The Global Justice Movement Cross-National and Transnational Perspectives*. Colorado: Paradigm Publishers.
- Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2006). *Social Movements an Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Dufour, P., Masson, D., & Caouette, D. (2010). *Solidarities Beyond Border: Transnationalizing Women's Movements*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Efron, E. S., & Ravid, R. (2019). *Writing the Literature Review : A Practical Guide*. New York: Guilford Publications.
- Escobar, A. (2011). *Encountering Development The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Fominaya, F. C. (2014). *Social Movements & Globalization* . London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grugel, J., & Uhlin, A. (2012). Renewing Global Governance: demanding rights and justice in the global South. *Third World Quarterly*, 33(9), 1703-1718.
- Hesse-Biber, N. S., & Leave, P. (2004). *Approaches to Qualitative Research A Reader on Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kanishka, J., & Rodan, G. (2007). Beyond Hybrid Regimes: More Participation, Less Contestation in Southeast Asia. *Democratization*, 14(5), 773-94.
- Khan, T. (2016). *Delivering Development Justice? Financing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. UN Women.
- Kengkij, K., & Hewison, K. (2009). Social movements and political opposition in contemporary Thailand. *The Pacific review*, 22(4), 451-477.
- Li, T. M. (2007). *The Will to Improve Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. DUKE University Press.
- Lindberg, S., & Sverrisson, A. (1997). *Social Movements in Developmnet - The Challenge of Globalization and Democratization*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

- McEwan, C. (2019). *Postcolonialism, Decoloniality and Development* (Vol. Second Edition). Oxon: Routledge Tylor & Francis Group.
- Merriam, B. S., & Tisdell, J. E. (2016). *Qualitative Research A Guide to Design and Implementation* (Vol. 4th editidion). San Francisco, USA, CA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Mignolo, W. (2011, Fall). Epistemic Disobedience and the Decolonial Option: A Manifesto. *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*.
- Mignolo, W. (2018) The Decolonial Option In D. W. Mignolo, & E. C. Walsh, *On Decoloniality Concepts, Analysis, Praxis* (p. 304). Duke University Press.
- Mohanty, T. C. (2003). *Feminism without Borders Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- Moore, N. R., Lappin, K., Wandarina, Familiara, A., & Chakma, T. (2014). *Our Rights! Our Voices! Our Resources !*. APWLD.
- Moore, N. R., Wandarina, Chakma, T., Pedersen, H., & al., e. (2017). *Changing Development From the Inside - Out*. APWLD.
- Motta, S., & Nilsen, A. G. (2011). *Social Movements in the Global South*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pink, S. (2007). *Doing Visual Ethnography*. SAGE Publications
- Rigg, J. (2016). *Challengin Southeast Asian Developmnet The Shadows of success*. New York: Routledge.
- Rist, G. (2014). *The History of Development From Western Origins to Global Faith* (Vol. 4). London: ZED Books.
- Saunders, C. (2007). Using Social Network Analysis to Explore Social Movements: A Relational Approach. *Social Movements Studies*, 227-243.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- Smitha, C. K. (2018). Agrarian Movements in Neoliberal India: A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh Vyvasaya Vruthidarula Union. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 1(2), 123-144.
- Tarrow, G. S. (2011). *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taguiwalo, M. J., & Chakma, T. (2019). *APWLD HERSTORY 1986-2017*. Chiang Mai: APWLD.
- Thompson, L., & Tapscott, C. (2010). *Citizenship and Social Movements: Perspective from the Global South*. London & New York: Zed publisher Ltd.
- Wang, C., M., & Woods, M. (2013). The Role of Guanxi in Rural Social Movements: Two Case Studies from Taiwan. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 13(2), 197-212.

- Weiss, M. (2017). Resistance and Resilience: Coping with/against the state. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 374-404.
- WB. (1993). *The East Asian Miracle Economic Growth and Public Policy*. Washington, D. C.: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development World Bank.
- Walsh, C. (2018). On Decoloniality. In D. W. Mignolo, & E. C. Walsh, *On Decoloniality Concepts, Analysis, Praxis* (p. 304). Duke University Press.
- UN, U. N. (2020). *World Social Report 2020 Inequality in a Rapidly Changing World*. United Nations
- Wolford, W. (2012). *This Land is Ours Now: Social Mobilization and the Meaning of Land in Brazil*. Duke University Press.
- Wood, M. (2007). Engaging the Global Countryside: Globalization, Hybridity and the Reconstitution of Rural Place. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(4), 485.
- Yin, K. R. (2014). *Case Study Research Design and Methods* (Vol. 5). Thousand Oaks,: SAGE.

10 APPENDICES

10.1 Appendix 1: Example of Document Coding

Example of Document Analysis		
Finding	Category	Theme
With the Campaign, APWLD join forces with a bigger movement to push for a people-centred, just and sustainable development. In 2013, together with Campaign for People's Goals and Centre for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL), APWLD organised a People's General Assembly in New York City.	Strategy of resistance	Building Movement
We recognise women's movements become more powerful when we collaborate	Strategy of resistance	Building Movement
The post 2015 Development Framework should acknowledge and address the inequalities between countries, within countries and between men and women, and also consider intergenerational responsibilities.	Recognition	Mainstream Development

10.2 Appendix 2: Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. BEFORE THE INTERVIEW

Technical steps:

- 1) Contact the person a week before the appointment and confirm the day, time for the interview and exchange Skype details
- 2) Test Skype, recording equipment, sound and camera

2. INTERVIEWING

Before the actual interview

- 1) Introduce researcher, research and what will happen with the material
- 2) Ask for permission to record the interview and use the material for academic purposes (anonymous, transcripts)
- 3) Tell how the data will be stored (interview will be on my private computer and the data will be stored for around one year)

During the interview

- 1) The researcher aims to be flexible, attentive, let conversation to go to topics and issues that are important for my research, ask sub-questions
- 2) The researcher forced to be engaging, actively listen, focus and give the person enough time to think and speak
- 3) The researcher is always honest and expresses gratitude for this interview and time the person put into this

After the interview

- 1) The researcher will immediately write and complete notes, observations, impressions and reflections

3. QUESTIONS

(questions do not have exact order as listed below; it depends on a natural rhythm of the conversation which questions come first and last)

1. General questions:

- Can you tell me about your engagement in APWLD organization?
- Can you describe me the Development Justice movement, how did it start?
- Why did you choose “justice” in your title? What does it represent?
- In what ways Development Justice differs from SDGs (particular goal 10 - reducing inequalities)?
- What motivated you to be part of the Development Justice actions?

2. Theme Mainstream Development

- What are the main challenges you faced when it comes to achieving the objectives of development justice?
- In your opinion, what makes it difficult to influence the way mainstream development (SDGs) is done?
- Do you have access to institutions, like the UN? How would you describe to me the process of engagement with an international institution?
- Do you experience difficulties when interacting with the UN representatives?
- In what way has historical development practices play influenced your work? For example, last Millennium Development Goals?

3. Theme Resistance and Insurgency

- Do you work with other organizations and movements to promote development justice? How can someone become a member?
- How do you come together as a movement? Why do you think that so many organizations and other movement support development justice?
- How would you describe the relationship between your organization and other movements?
- Are there any difficulties when gathering together in New York or somewhere else? Can anybody come?
- How would describe to me the role of solidarity?

4. End Questions

- Where does Development Justice leading now?
- *Is there anything you would like to add and is there anything I should have asked you but I have not?*

10.3 Appendix 3: Example of Interview Coding

Example of Interview Analysis		
Findings	Category	Theme
For us in APWLD, how it really came about was it started off from a recognition that there was something fundamentally problematic with our development system. The way it has been structured, the way it has been build, the way we presumptions that everything supposed to be about economic growth and then if you have economic growth you will have automatically better life for people or if you have high GDP the country is doing well.	Recognition	Growth-strategy
And starting from the idea that there is something fundamentally wrong and problematic with our development model and development system, was how we at APWLD along with other social movements started talking about - apart from our criticism what would be our alternative to the current system.	New ways of thinking	Creating alternative
And then the other thing that we remember, we decided to make a survey about the issue of the region. And then also some concrete recommendation and solution coming from diverse constituencies in Asia Pacific. We talked to the indigenous peoples, to the migrants, to the urban boards and to people with disabilities, the women, the feminist groups, you know, like we are trying to be as diverse as possible and circulating that survey.	Action	Collective action
we use the SDGs for us as a platform to actually really pointing out the failure of the newly neoliberal capitalism and its impact to go to the peoples, including all those marginalized groups.	Development	Mainstream strategy