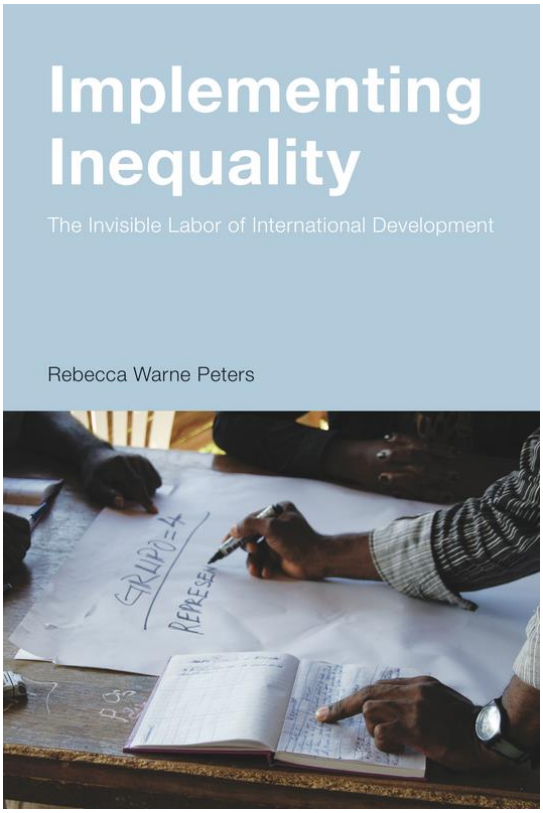

TEACHING GUIDE

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This teaching guide is intended as a springboard for your classroom discussions, whether you're diving into the whole book or selecting chapters based on your course's thematic requirements. My hope is that the activities shared here will help students to think critically about the theory and ideas presented in the book while also thinking about how these same concepts apply more practically in their own professional careers.

Implementing Inequality is a book about a good governance program in Angola, but it will interest students of many additional and broader subjects as well. Readers interested in international development, globalization, applied anthropology, African studies, postwar Angola, labor issues, the anthropology of work, managerial sciences, monitoring and evaluation, bureaucracy, and more will all find something thought-provoking and relevant for them in this book, and their voices will be valuable additions to any discussion.

In this teaching guide, each chapter is accompanied by a summary, outline of key theory, and discussion questions you can use to kick-start your conversation with students. These questions are meant to be adaptable to your setting—they include questions for reflection prior to reading as well as to inspire energetic and thoughtful discussion after reading. They can be adapted for oral discussion or for written assignments such as reflections or blog posts.

Through reading the book and engaging in these conversations with their peers, I hope students will come away having thought deeply about this complex industry, the hierarchies we work within every day, and how they can lead change in their own fields to make them more equitable and effective. If you want to share any successes or feedback, please don't hesitate to reach out to me at rebecca.peters@oswego.edu.

Thanks!

Rebecca Warne Peters

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter Summary

This introductory chapter sets the stage by introducing the central case study of the Good Governance in Angola Program (GGAP) and presenting historical and theoretical context of the book's themes. The GGAP was a democratization and governance intervention implemented from 2007 to 2012, beginning just five years after the end of Angola's civil war and not long after the country's first successful parliamentary elections. The GGAP was funded by a Western bilateral aid agency (called WestAid in the book) with contributions from an oil company and a diamond company. It was implemented through the collaborative efforts of three large international NGOs (American, British, and Canadian) with two main objectives: improve the capacity of local government employees and work with local people to improve civic participation, namely through new community-based organizations called Area Development Organizations, or ODAs, for their acronym in Portuguese.

This book examines a different kind of development encounter, one experienced laterally among the *implementariat*.

Theoretical analyses of the international development industry often examine the "development encounter," a lens which focuses on the relationship between development agents and recipients and which is often erroneously mapped onto global hierarchies of race and nation. In privileging these encounters, however, a large number of development workers and tasks are easily overlooked or misunderstood.

Across the development and humanitarian response industries, the vast majority of salaried employees are "national" staff members—citizens employed by international organizations to carry out development programs in their own countries. Within the formulation of the "development encounter," it is not entirely clear which side they occupy: are they part of the global North because of their interventionist efforts, skills, training, and experience? Or are they part of the global South because they are citizens of a developing country?

This book examines a different development encounter, one experienced laterally among the *implementariat*. As presented in this book, the development implementariat is the class of development workers made up of those rank-and-file staff members working in developing countries for international programs and organizations. The defining feature of the implementariat is that this class of development workers is tasked to realize development plans and policies rather than to determine what they should be from the outset.

Finally, this chapter outlines the research methods undertaken by the author. Ethnographic research took place over 12 continuous months, including the GGAP's Phase I midterm review, and was comprised of participant observation and interviews (usually in Portuguese) at the main NGOs' headquarters in Luanda as well as in several field offices.

Key Theory

This introductory chapter introduces several theoretical concepts that will be seen throughout the rest of the book. These include:

- Development encounter
- Developmental hierarchies
- Implementariat
- Infrastructural violence
- Practice-theory approach
- Principal-agent thinking
- Social and relational work
- Structural stupidity of bureaucracy
- Subjectification

Discussion Questions

Before Reading

It is often said that anthropology makes the strange familiar and the familiar strange. One way this happens in *Implementing Inequality* is by uncovering the **"common sense"** of the development industry—those aspects that are taken for granted as self-evident, almost natural. By uncovering this "common sense" of an industry, we can better begin to question and critique it and identify ways to improve it. What examples of development industry "common sense" can you think of? What are some examples of "common sense" you see in other industries or other areas of life such as your job, college, family life, social life, etc.?

After Reading

I. Much of the book's arguments are set against an anthropological history of viewing development through the lens of the **"development encounter."** What is the development encounter? What are some of the advantages and limitations of using the development encounter traditionally conceived as an analytical tool? Why does Peters choose to expand upon this premise?

II. What does it mean for development to be **"doubly social,"** and why is this important?

III. In this introduction, the author introduces the concept of the **"implementariat."** What is the implementariat in development? Who makes up this class of people and how do they relate to other members of the development hierarchy? Is there a hierarchy within the implementariat?

IV. How would you classify the **implementariat** in other industries such as education, medicine, the armed services, business, etc.? Do you see similar themes in these industries with respect to how different actors/jobs in these professions operate and are regarded within and outside of their industries?

V. Peters asserts that, "Policy makers, analysts, consultants, and donors are international **development's bourgeoisie**, maintaining control over what the industry will do and what its trajectory will be, (4)." In such a globalized world, are there actors not directly affiliated with the industry that control what the industry will do and what its trajectory will be? What role does the implementariat have in defining this direction or leveraging development for the social change they want to see? Is there a role for potential beneficiaries?

CHAPTER 1

Development Hierarchies

Summary

Development institutions (particularly NGOs) are becoming increasingly professionalized, looking to both public and private institutions as exemplars. As a result, development industry wisdom about its internal structures and relationships increasingly, but indirectly, derives from ideas prevalent in the management, administration, organizational behavior, and policy sciences. As part of international development's increasingly professionalized practice, oversights prevalent in management thought are reproduced in the industry. Management thought itself neglects the sociality of bureaucrats, policy makers, and implementation agents and their work, and this is just one avenue through which development professionals are led to neglect their own sociality even as they conscientiously work toward inherently social ends in the wider world.

Chapter 1 introduces this specific conceptual landscape of development management, including the various hierarchies resulting from the uncritical adoption of these ideas and practices. It examines how the industry views its own composition, including its characterizations of the relationships that different development professionals (such as "local" or "expat") have with one another and their work. It also introduces the foundational logics (such as interpretive labor, shadow work, and principal-agent thinking) that are taken for granted in the administration of development institutions and especially the management of the donor-implementer dyad as a special kind of contractualized, professional relationship. Chapter 1 highlights how different kinds of work are unequally valued in development organizations by exploring how the social and relational aspects of implementation and policy making are mischaracterized as a result of the increasingly professionalized landscape of development management.

Chapter 1 highlights how different kinds of work are unequally valued in development organizations by exploring how the social and relational aspects of implementation and policy making are mischaracterized as a result of the increasingly professionalized landscape of development management.

Key Theory

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts, including:

- Development encounter
- Development hierarchies
- Discretion
- Distributive labor
- Implementariat
- Interpretive labor
- Managerial and administrative sciences (and their influence on development's professionalization)
- Principal-agent thinking
- Shadow work
- Social and relational work
- Street-Level Bureaucracy

Discussion Questions

Before Reading

Given what you have read so far and what you know about the development industry, what **hierarchies** exist (whether global or internal to the industry—or anywhere in between)? What are the effects on the micro and macro scales, for the industry as a whole (including its assumed objectives), and for those who work in and/or benefit from it?

After Reading

I. What is **shadow work**? What examples are described in the book? What are other examples that you have identified in other areas of life, whether work or personal?

II. What is **interpretive labor**? In what ways are the implementariat more heavily burdened by interpretive labor?

III. Peters writes: "Understanding implementation as **more than mere "discretion,"** as instead the exercise of a kind of autonomy, as Schuller and others urge, would justify significant changes to the structural organization of such work and allow for different, and differently informed, voices to wield influence," (36). Imagine this world. What would it look like for the implementariat to have more of a voice? What might happen if society acknowledged implementation as more innovative and creative than mere discretion?

IV. As this chapter outlines, certain work is valued above other work due to the status of the people who perform it and the kind of work they are assumed to be performing. What other factors contribute to **work's value** in a society, garnering more prestige, power, and pay? In what ways have these become part of the **"common sense"** of how work is understood today?

V. What does Lipsky's concept of **"street-level bureaucracy"** have to say about how front-line workers "make policy?" In what ways does Peters and her analysis of the GGAP build on and depart from Lipsky's analysis?

CHAPTER 2

Development's Inputs & Outputs

Summary

This chapter considers the behind-the-scenes work performed by the implementariat in order to bring about formal "development encounters" (such as a training or the meeting of an Area Development Organization, or ODA), discussing how and why this work was not commonly credited in the GGAP's accounting structures. The most notable of these accounting structures, and one common among international development management, is logframe analysis (LFA). At its core, LFA and related practices seek to demonstrate the causal relationships between what an intervention does and the effects it intends to have. The logframe is an instrument designed to demonstrate these effects by outlining the intervention's inputs, outputs, purpose, and goals. Implementation staff themselves are considered "inputs," as are many of the more visible results of their work (trainings, for example).

> Many essential tasks are often eclipsed, discounted as mere "preparatory work" and relegated to development's backstage.

However, many essential tasks are often eclipsed by this language of inputs, discounted as mere "preparatory work" by administrative staff in Luanda and relegated to development's backstage not just in logframes but also in job descriptions, program reporting, and other structures in place to monitor the intervention's progress. These tasks include arduous travel to the often rural communities the program was active in, building trusting relationships with community members, learning how to best work within existing intra-community relationships, and answering to questions and requests from administrative colleagues who often did not understand the work of the field staff. While these structures do not themselves create the power dynamics evident in the international development industry, they reflect the existing social dynamics of the field, crystalizing these dynamics and shaping the kinds of information and perspectives that are available for practitioners and analysts.

Key Theory

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts, including:

- Audit culture
- Development's "backstage"
- Development hierarchies
- Implementariat
- Interpretive labor
- Logframe/Logframe Analysis (LFA)
- Shadow work
- Social and relational work

Discussion Questions

Before Reading

The international development industry is full of objectives and program descriptions like "empowering" and "building capacity" in various communities. However, these terms are vague and often eclipse the actual day-to-day **"backstage" work** done by the implementariat. What are some other examples of vague wording such as this that you have seen in position descriptions, program objectives, performance goals, etc. (consider reviewing posts on international development job boards or program pages on multilateral organization or international NGO websites)? Choose one or two of these words or phrases and dive deeper—what are some of the precise activities, the day-to-day work, that these words and phrases may eclipse? You don't have to know, exactly—just consider the myriad interpretations these phrases may have.

After Reading

I. This chapter discusses how much of the field staff's work is considered merely preparatory to the "real" work of development intervention. What are some of the examples given in this chapter of the work that happens on **"development's backstage?"**

II. Based on what you know of the GGAP's work, what are some **ways work gets "counted"** in the GGAP? Consider both formal recognition and recognition based on other, less explicitly-stated factors.

III. Peters mentions that Rita and most field agents had never seen any version of the GGAP's logframe and that an older copy from the original program proposal even became "coveted contraband" within the program. What does this opacity towards implementation staff with regard to the logframe reveal about the in-house relationships in the GGAP and about **development hierarchies** in general?

IV. Consider the often-cited phrase **"what gets measured gets done."** What is the underlying logic of this phrase and what is it supposed to impart regarding professionalized work? Do you see any parallels with what Peters describes with regard to the logframe's use in the GGAP? What are some ways it may be incorrect or lead to unintended outcomes?

CHAPTER 3

Reinforcing Hierarchies: Monitoring and Evaluation

Summary

The work of the implementariat cannot be fully appreciated without understanding the central aspect of Interpretive labor—all the sensitive, attentive, relational, and imaginative work of "trying to decipher others' motivations and perceptions," which shape one's own actions in response (Graeber 2015). Indeed, interpretive labor is what renders the implementariat's work more than mere discretion: it is what makes it the delicate, social, imaginative, and taxing set of duties it is, as described in Chapter 2. Interpretive labor is a type of imaginative work, and just like the elite in Marx's analysis of factory production, it is development's upper classes—the industry's policy making elite—who get credit for and are rewarded for imaginative work.

However, among development professionals, as in many settings of inequality and structural violence, interpretive labor is also unequally distributed, and the implementariat is doubly taxed. First, the implementariat must conduct the interpretive work of translation and teaching in its interactions with beneficiaries. Additionally, they are explicitly tasked with interpreting and carrying out interventions as they have been designed by the policy making elite. This tasking is particularly evident in the set of tasks that make up "monitoring and evaluation."

Among development professionals, as in many settings of inequality and structural violence, interpretive labor is also unequally distributed, and the implementariat is doubly taxed.

The example of the GGAP's monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system demonstrates how the international development industry relies on a great deal of interpretive labor, as the field staff was pressed to understand the administrative staff's perspectives and approaches to M&E while the administrative staff was not similarly pressed to understand the field staff's substantive objections and suggestions for the system. Here as elsewhere, M&E targets almost entirely the professional work of implementation, not programmatic design, and thus holds implementation agents "accountable" to donors and the elite, rather than the other way around. This unequal focus of M&E programming effectively reduces accountability to nothing more than surveillance of field staff.

Key Theory

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts, including:

- Audit culture
- Boundary Objects
- Boundary Work
- Development hierarchies
- Implementariat
- Imagination Work
- Interpretive Labor
- Structural violence

Discussion Questions

Before Reading

Think about the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems you're familiar with. Who contributed to their design? Who is held accountable by them, and by whom? (If you are not familiar with any M&E programs, how do you think this should work?)

After Reading

I. Peters notes that, "It is a characteristic of **structural violence** that interpretive labor is unequally distributed: those with more power do less understanding of others' perspectives, especially of those beneath them, while those with less power must do more understanding, particularly of the ideas, values, motivations, and perceptions of those who wield power over them." What are some examples from this chapter of how interpretive labor has been unequally distributed within the GGAP?

II. Are some groups or demographics disproportionately expected to do more **interpretive labor**? Who makes up these groups? What are some examples of ways they must conduct an unfair share of interpretive labor both on and off the job?

III. This chapter includes many examples from Peters' fieldwork, such as how Julie, an intern from England, designed the GGAP's M&E system, and how Samuel, a program director, mistakenly identified himself as "female" on a sign-in sheet. What other examples are included and what do they demonstrate with regard to **interpretive labor**, **development hierarchies**, and **audit culture**?

IV. This chapter also incudes via footnote an example of a music conductor inadvertently writing a chord that would require six fingers to play on the piano.

What does this example suggest about **accountability** and the range of possibilities for the development industry?

V. What are **boundary objects** and what are some M&E instruments that could serve as boundary objects? To what extent are these instruments successful as boundary objects in the example of the GGAP?

VI. This chapter suggests that, ultimately, donors are only **accountable** to each other. How could members of development's implementariat hold policy makers and program designers accountable? Could beneficiaries? Similarly, how could field staff knowledge and experience be included in the program design process?

CHAPTER 4

Designing Interventions for Peers, Not Beneficiaries

Summary

This chapter recounts how the GGAP intervention came about, tracing the contentious debates over how and especially where the program should be implemented, including the Request for Application (RFA) process, the winning consortium's response to it, and the influence of the Oil Company and the Diamond Company. Central to these debates were donors' and implementing agencies' reputational concerns as donors sought *status among* their peers and implementing organizations sought *distinction from* their peers. This is just one way that programs such as the GGAP are often products of the development industry's internal dynamics more than they are thoughtful responses to genuine societal need. As exemplified by the GGAP, donors and large international agencies sought to converge in the same places because the physical location of intervention serves, for them, as a threshold reached: an indication of membership among institutional peers. For implementing agencies, however, there is motivation to use physical location to distinguish themselves from peers—potential competitors—by independently claiming impact and success in specific places.

> Programs such as the GGAP are often products of the development industry's internal dynamics more than they are thoughtful responses to genuine societal need.

The chapter also highlights other influences on location selection. For example, as mentioned above, the Oil Company and Diamond Company played a significant role in site selection. Additionally, implementers continued to work in areas where their presence had already been established and where they had worked before, transitioning what had been humanitarian and post-conflict assistance during and immediately following the Civil War to the less emergency-driven development and governance work.

In many ways, the work of development intervention, whether as an individual or as an institution, can be seen as performative, or claims-making: the interveners are socially identifiable as a result of their intervention work. Importantly, the social identification is most important among development's professional peers, not between implementers and beneficiaries. While critical analyses of the "development encounter" typically privilege the relationship between agents and intended beneficiaries, these lateral ties among interventionists also have notable effects and cannot be ignored.

Key Theory

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts, including:

- Development encounter
- Development hierarchies
- Development peerage
- Imagination work
- Social and relational work
- Social utility

Discussion Questions

Before Reading

Partnerships are receiving increasing attention across industries, including in development. What functions do partnerships serve? More widely, how do relationships between and among organizations in a particular field (existing and hoped for) affect organizations and their work?

After Reading

I. What factors influenced the locations ultimately chosen for intervention in the GGAP? What factors related to **site selection** are more explicitly stated? Which do you think are most important? Which do you think should be most important? Why?

II. What role did the Oil Company and Diamond Company play in site selection for the GGAP? How might the interests and internal dynamics of **private companies** affect their involvement with public development interventions?

III. Throughout *Implementing Inequality*, Peters argues that development programs like the GGAP are often products of the development industry's **internal social dynamics** more than they are thoughtful responses to genuine need. What are some examples of how this happens in the development industry? Does this happen in other industries? How?

IV. What does it mean for interveners to be, as Peters says, "**socially identifiable** as a result of their intervention work?" What are some examples from this chapter of how being socially identifiable pans out among institutions and organizations? How do you think this might happen (if at all) among individuals? When considering organizations and individuals being socially *identified*, who is privileged as the *identifier*?

V. What role does **knowledge** play in how organizations and development institutions work? What knowledge is most important? Whose knowledge is most

important? In the case of the GGAP, what kind of knowledge is displayed and privileged in the RFA? What kind of knowledge is missing?

CHAPTER 5

Partnership and the Development Praxiscape

Summary

Chapter 5 examines the development praxiscape—the patterns by which different practices come to be taken up in various development interventions. The development praxiscape encompasses everything from the activities in which development workers directly engage beneficiaries to the managerial practices through which they keep their organizations running and their careers unfolding. Analyzing how the GGAP came to adopt its interventionist methods, this chapter argues that these methods were selected not because they were best suited to the development challenges at hand but because they served the more immediate, instrumental purpose of cementing interventionists' working relationships with one another.

While the interviewees had different interpretations of how the GGAP came to be, interpersonal relationships among development professionals were constantly central to the GGAP's founding, no matter the source.

For example, while the GGAP's originating proposals and evaluations offer only anemic discussions of the precise interventions to be undertaken, the role of partnerships in the project was emphatically discussed throughout these same documents. Additionally, a series of interviews spotlights the differing interpretations regarding the origins and history of the GGAP. While the practitioners interviewed had different interpretations of how the GGAP came to be (including vastly different regard for the roles played by Angolans and expats), interpersonal relationships among development professionals were constantly central in to the GGAP's founding, no matter the source.

These interviews included GGAP staff members as well as professionals who worked with a predecessor program called the Good Governance in Luanda (GGL) program. The GGL was a similar urban/peri-urban program implemented during Angola's civil war that stood out in many narratives as having pioneered the community and municipal-level public forums method and the formation of ODAs that became key aspects of the GGAP in its own rural intervention sites. The creation of these municipal organizations not only functioned within the development praxiscape as a "sticky" development activity (one that can be repurposed for almost any development goal), but also allowed these development interventionists to reshape local social organization into forms more recognizable to them—organizational forms they found easier to engage with and enlist as partners.

Of course, a method's utility in strengthening collegial relationships does not disqualify it from also being useful to bring about real social change. However, it is not always the case that those methods that build relationships and advance development goals are the same, and often development decisions are made to establish or maintain professional relationships rather than to bring about real social change.

Key Theory

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts, including:

- Development encounter
- Development hierarchies
- Development praxiscape
- Implementariat
- Logframe Analysis (LFA) and Logframe

Discussion Questions

Before Reading

Given what you know about the development and other interventionalist industries, how are specific interventions chosen? What factors are taken into consideration? What factors might affect a decision? How do you believe interventionist methods should be chosen?

After Reading

I. What is the **development praxiscape**? What does examining the praxiscape tell us about development and about interventionist activities more widely?

II. As this chapter discusses, the **Good Governance in Luanda Project (GGL)** was a key precursor to the GGAP. In what ways were the GGAP and GGL similar and different? How were their contexts similar and different? How did relationships and programming in the GGL influence the creation of the GGAP and its programming?

III. What roles did **personal relationships** play in the origins of the GGAP? How did interpretations of the role of personal relationships differ among those interviewed?

IV. Peters refers to ODAs and other interventions as **"sticky" development activities**. What does it mean for an activity to be "sticky?" Can you think of other examples in the development industry or in another field?

V. Program design and evaluation tools such as Logistical Framework Analysis (LFA) are meant to avert practices like those described in this chapter that might undermine the intention of development. However, these structures for decision

making often do not "see" all the way down to actual implementation and may not acknowledge the social characteristics of professional development work. What are some of the **social characteristics** of development work described so far and, in your view, how would acknowledging them change development practice?

CONCLUSION

Development Without Borders

Summary

The book's conclusion recaps its arguments about the internal social dynamics of international intervention, urging practitioners, theorists, and critics to examine the organization and conduct of international development work differently. While many analyses of the field take "the development encounter" as a de facto framing and analytical entry point, this book has shown that development professionals predominantly "encounter" each other, rather than the beneficiaries supposedly on the other side of their industry's foundational divide. Development workers must first navigate the deeply social structures and practices of their own industry and its institutions before they can achieve the broadly social impacts they desire.

Putting aside the development encounter as the primary framing device, this research takes an agent-centered rather than institution-centered approach by focusing on the implementariat: the class of development workers made up of those rank-and-file staff members working in developing countries for international programs and organizations. Much of the work that the implementariat engages in is "shadow work," actions that are wholly required, but largely unrecognized and only indirectly acknowledged and rewarded, if at all. Much of this work includes significant interpretive labor: all the sensitive, attentive, relational, and imaginative work of understanding and interpreting others' motivations, needs, and actions—work typically required more of the implementariat and less of their elite counterparts. Ultimately, the labor of development is both unequally distributed (especially its interpretive labor) and unequally recognized (becoming shadow work).

Recent efforts to decolonize the profession and redress its internal inequalities will not be successful unless the ideas and practices underlying them are also addressed.

Many people within the industry are working to improve it. However, rectifying the internal inequalities of the industry and strengthening its capacity to carry out its ostensible mission will require not just redistributing power and privilege among the industry's hierarchical levels but also capacitating its elites to conduct the interpretive labor of understanding the perspectives and priorities of the implementariat. Recent efforts to decolonize the profession and redress its internal inequalities will not be successful unless the ideas and practices underlying them are also addressed. Seeing the sociality of development work more clearly and valuing the different kinds of activities required to further social change will enable future interventions to fully support their most important work and their most productive workers.

Key Theory

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts, including:

- Agent-centered approach
- Audit culture
- Development encounter
- Development hierarchies
- Development peerage
- Implementariat
- Interpretive labor
- Praxiscape
- Principal-agent thinking
- Shadow work
- Social and relational work
- Street-level bureaucrats

Discussion Questions

Before Reading

At several points in *Implementing Inequality*, Peters highlights the "**good intentions**" of those who carry out and participate in development interventions, often contrasting this with the ways the development industry works might undermine the ostensible goals of development. Based on what you've read in the book and from your own experiences, how do you believe members of the development industry with said good intentions can best improve the industry and rectify these practices that undermine its goals?

After Reading

I. What does it mean that, as stated in the conclusion, "**development professionals predominantly encounter *each other*** in the course of their work, rather than the clients or beneficiaries who are supposedly on the other side of their industry's basal divide?" What are some examples of this from the book? What are the implications of this for how we view the development industry and how it might change?

II. Throughout *Implementing Inequality*, the field of international development is referred to as the "**development industry.**" What does it mean for development to be an industry? How does this affect the work it does, and is there a tension between what it does as an industry and what we think it should do as a field of practice?

III. How do the concepts of "**insiders**" and "**outsiders**" play out in *Implementing Inequality*, particularly related to who gets to participate and how?

IV. Peters writes that development professionals must "first navigate **the deeply social structures and practices of their own industry** and its institutions before they can achieve the broadly social impacts they desire. What are some examples of how this bears out in the development industry? Does it happen in other industries? How? How might this affect who gets to participate?

V. The introduction says, "Adopting the perspective of the implementariat suggests that the **potential to change** international development's structures and systems in fact lies within the industry, rather than only in resistance to its structures and systems from below or outside it." After reading the book, what are some fundamentally in-industry actions practitioners might take to improve the industry? What are the benefits and challenges in any industry to changing it from the inside?

VI. Why was this book ultimately named ***Implementing Inequality***? How do you interpret this? If you had to change the name, what would you choose?

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

I hope you enjoyed reading, analyzing, and discussing Implementing Inequality. Much of my research with the GGAP did not make it into the book and can be found in the articles below. Additionally, I've included some of my favorite resources related to the themes and topics discussed in the book. I hope you'll enjoy these resources—videos, blogs, programs, and more—as you explore these themes and topics more deeply. Please note that for materials that are not my own, descriptions have been pulled from their websites (linked).

Articles

Front-line Work and Interpretive Labor in an Angolan Development Program

Critical Policy Studies (2019), Volume 13, Issue 4

> This paper ethnographically examines the in-country workforce of a decentralization program in postwar Angola. I compare the everyday activities of rank-and-file field staff to the policy prescriptions of the Good Governance in Angola Program (GGAP), carried out from 2007 to 2012. Development's front-line agents are tasked with a double burden of interpretive labor and this aspect of their work, though crucial, goes unrecognized in the industry, simultaneously creating the conditions within which they can creatively respond to local contingencies and inadvertently concealing the true nature of their work and the extent of their resource needs from supervisors.

Refusing the Development NGO: Departure, Dismissal, and Misrecognition in Angolan Development Interventions

Anthropological Quarterly (2019), Volume 92, No. 1

> Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in international development increasingly follow a neoliberalized management model, hiring professional employees to conduct the work of social transformation under a bureaucratic regime that sees the recruitment and retention of staff members as rational transactions between employer and employee. A central concern for local staff is their presumed inferiority to international staff, a dichotomy increasingly mapped onto that of implementation vs. administration staff rather than local vs. international in the larger development industry. Development NGOs misrecognize the resignations and firings of implementation staff as personal decisions or failures rather than as responses to structural inequalities within the industry, leaving intact unequal relations of power within the very profession meant to combat inequality on a global scale.

Local in Practice: Professional Distinctions in Angolan Development Work

American Anthropologist (2016), Volume 118, No. 3

> Development workers employed by international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are commonly classified as national (local) or international (expatriate) staff members. The distinction is presumed to reflect the varieties of expertise required for the work and the workers' different biographies. I argue that professional distinctions among development workers are social achievements and instruments of strategic manipulation by individuals and NGOs rather than accurate reflections of work or workers. The case study provides insight into the institutional reproduction of hierarchical inequalities and the complexly social reasons why those who suffer their limitations may act in ways that reinforce, rather than resist, unequal social structures.

Participation Denied? The Professional Boundaries of Monitoring and Evaluation in International Development

Human Organization (2016), Volume 75, No. 4

> Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of international development programming is expected to produce "evidence-based" insight for both policy and practice. While supportive of evidence-based decision making, critics of contemporary M&E practice charge that it reflects the development industry's deepening audit culture, causing deleterious effects. I offer the example of a democratization program in postwar Angola to examine how the design and conduct of M&E in this case reinforced social boundaries and hierarchies of power among the program's own staff members.

Development Mobilities: Identity and Authority in an Angolan Development Programme

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (2013), Volume 39

> This ethnographic essay considers how international non-governmental organizations are able to make claims to authoritative knowledge about development work by offering the transnational mobilities of their staff members as evidence. I examine how one professional's biography—his trajectory from Angola to Britain and back again—was differentially presented to external donors and internal staff members as befitting the institutional needs of an international good governance intervention in Angola.

Videos

Poverty, Inc.

www.povertyinc.org

> The West has positioned itself as the protagonist of development, giving rise to a vast multi-billion dollar poverty industry—the business of doing good has never been better. Yet the results have been mixed, in some cases even catastrophic, and leaders in the developing world are growing increasingly vocal in calling for change.
>
> Drawing from over 200 interviews filmed in 20 countries, *Poverty, Inc*. unearths an uncomfortable side of charity we can no longer ignore. From TOMs Shoes to international adoptions, from solar panels to U.S. agricultural subsidies, the film challenges each of us to ask the tough question: *Could I be part of the problem?*

Good Fortune

archive.pov.org/goodfortune

> Over the past 50 years, the West has sent some $2.3 trillion in aid to Africa, the poorest of the world's continents. It would be difficult to find anyone who believes that money has significantly reduced poverty or succeeded in promoting social stability on the continent. Many, both inside and outside the international development community, are asking how so much money could be spent to so little effect. A more explosive question might be why some communities in Africa are not only disillusioned by the aid projects, but even fighting to stop them. The documentary *Good Fortune* delivers eye-opening answers from the point of view of the people resisting development projects that are supposed to help them.

Beyond Good Intentions

www.beyondgoodintentionsfilms.com

> Beyond Good Intentions is an organization committed to uncovering more innovative and effective approaches to international aid worldwide. Through our film series and educational programs, we are working to catalyze a much-needed dialogue about aid effectiveness in hopes of transforming the current system.
>
> The Beyond Good Intentions film series follows the round-the-world journey of first-time filmmaker, Tori Hogan, as she investigates how international aid can be more effective. Shot on location in eight different countries, the ten-episode series takes viewers along for the ride as Tori meets with countless aid workers and recipients to uncover more innovative approaches to helping communities in need

The Price of Aid

Icarusfilms.com/if-aid

Every day the U.S. donates millions of tons of food to famine victims and other starving people in the world's poorest countries. This provocative documentary, through an in-depth case study of a recent famine crisis in Zambia, shows how these aid programs may address an immediate crisis but at the same time can create long-term problems for the recipient nation.

The Price of Aid reveals the vast bureaucratic network of American aid agencies involved in the 'hunger business,' one in which rich countries benefit from the problems of poor countries.

The Samaritans

www.imdb.com/title/tt8922544/

The Samaritans is a snarky, half-hour scripted series centered around the absurdities of the multicultural team at Aid for Aid™, a dysfunctional, fictitious non-governmental organization (NGO). In the Kenya field office, the cosmopolitan staff collectively create more problems than they solve, all under the guise of 'saving' Africa.

The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism

naomiklein.org/the-shock-doctrine/

The Shock Doctrine is the unofficial story of how the "free market" came to dominate the world. But it is a story radically different from the one usually told. It is a story about violence and shock perpetrated on people, on countries, on economies.

Based on breakthrough historical research and four years of on-the-ground reporting in disaster zones, Klein explodes the myth that the global free market triumphed democratically, and that unfettered capitalism goes hand-in-hand with democracy. Instead, she argues it has consistently relied on violence and shock, and reveals the puppet strings behind the critical events of the last four decades.

The **six-minute companion film**, created by Oscar Award winning director Alfonso Cuarón, was an Official Selection of the 2007 Venice Biennale and Toronto International Film Festivals.

Blogs

Secret Aid Worker

www.theguardian.com/global-development/series/the-secret-aid-worker

Anonymous stories from development practitioners published in *The Guardian* often highlighting criticisms of the industry, power dynamics, inequality, and the success (or lack thereof) of the industry.

Stuff Expat Aid Workers Like

stuffexpataidworkerslike.com

Stuff Expat Aid Workers Like is an ongoing series of sometimes satirical, sometimes ironic, usually humorous (but sometimes dead serious), always honest vignettes of the humanitarian aid industry from the inside.

Programs and Reports

Project FAIR (Fairness in Aid Remuneration)

www.project-fair.business-school.ed.ac.uk/

Within the international aid sector, most organizations remunerate their national and international employees on different scales. The differences between the pay and benefits scales within this so-called dual salary system are often extreme, reflecting challenges of attracting skilled international workers to difficult contexts, whilst remunerating national employees appropriately within their local economy.

Project FAIR builds upon a strong body of research into the psychological impact of these disparate salaries in the sector, in particular their impact on some employees' motivation, performance, and retention, and thereby aid activities. We aim to create a collaborative space for discussion of practical, evidence-based alternatives to the dual salary system that enable aid and development organizations to maximize their contributions to decent work, sustainable livelihood, and poverty eradication.

CHS Alliance

www.chsalliance.org

The CHS Alliance is a global alliance of humanitarian and development organizations committed to making aid work better for people. We believe organizations deliver higher quality, more effective aid when they are accountable to the people they serve.

Together, we are a movement to strengthen accountability and to put people affected by crisis at the heart of what we do by implementing the Core Humanitarian Standard (CHS). The Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability (CHS) sets out Nine Commitments that organizations and individuals involved in humanitarian response can use to improve the quality and effectiveness of the assistance they provide.

The CHS places communities and people affected by crisis at the center of humanitarian action.

Peace Direct: Time to Decolonize Aid Report

www.peacedirect.org/us/publications/timetodecoloniseaid/

In November 2020, Peace Direct, Adeso, the Alliance for Peacebuilding and Women of Color Advancing Peace and Security held a three-day online consultation with 158 activists, decision- makers, academics, journalists, and practitioners across the globe. Participants and guest contributors exchanged insights and local experiences on the current power dynamics and imbalances that exist within the humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding sectors.

They discussed how structural racism manifests itself in their work, and how they envision a decolonized system that is truly inclusive and responds to their needs. The consultation received more than 350 detailed comments across nine discussion threads. This report presents the findings and recommendations from that consultation.

Angolan History: Queen Njinga

en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/njinga-mbandi/biography

Njinga Mbandi (1581–1663), Queen of Ndongo and Matamba, defined much of the history of seventeenth-century Angola. A deft diplomat, skillful negotiator and formidable tactician, Njinga resisted Portugal's colonial designs tenaciously until her death in 1663. Developed by UNESCO, this site includes a biography and additional learning and teaching materials related to Queen Njinga.